

D 6.2 – East-West and North-North Migrating Youth and the Role of Labour Market Intermediaries. The Case of Austria and Norway.

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Executive Summary

This report explores the role of labour market intermediaries for youth mobility in Europe. Positioned between employers and job seekers, labour market intermediaries often are involved in transnational recruiting processes. The report analyses recruiting strategies of employers and job search strategies of young migrants, thereby also taking account of the working conditions of young migrants.

The research uses a comparative design, focusing on the situation of young EU8 migrants in Austria and young Swedes in Norway. Austria and Norway provide particularly attractive job prospects to migrants, since in comparison with other countries, youth unemployment rates are low, wage levels are high and working conditions are good. Furthermore, in both countries, several industries are characterised by labour shortages.

The research concentrates on three industries with a high demand for labour: tourism, care/health and high-tech. It draws on 116 interviews, conducted with young migrants, employers, labour market intermediaries and other experts.

The results indicate that employers in Austria and Norway are interested in recruiting young migrants from neighbouring EU countries, because they need great numbers of flexible workers. Young migrants are attracted by good job opportunities – in particular by comparatively high salaries, attractive career prospects and good working conditions. Further important drivers for young people to apply for jobs in Austria or Norway are geographical proximity, good language skills and a certain spirit of adventure. On the other hand, major obstacles for job matching are information deficits, lacking social networks and insufficient foreign language skills.

Labour market intermediaries can help to overcome barriers within the transnational recruiting/job search process. These institutions can have several functions. For instance, they provide information or they serve as matchmakers who manage the entire recruiting process. Some labour market intermediaries do the complete administrative work for both employers and young migrants.

According to our research findings, mainly private companies are involved in transnational recruiting/job search processes. In contrast, public labour market intermediaries (i.e., employment service agencies) only play a minor role. The importance of intermediaries varies across industries and between the two countries. For instance, in Austria, in the 24-hour care sector they are key players, who recruit women from EU8 countries to work in private households. Many of them get support by other intermediary agencies located in EU8 countries in order to reach young people who are willing to work in Austria. In Norway, the role of labour market intermediaries is related to the skill level. They are more important for high-skilled migrants than for the lower skilled.

In both countries, labour market intermediaries have powerful positions in the triangular relationship between themselves, employers and young migrants. Their impact on working conditions is strong, but ambivalent. On the one hand, they have the power to secure good working conditions for young migrants by counselling and controlling the employer. On the other hand, since usually they consider employers as their main clients, they feel more committed to employers than to migrants. As a consequence, the position of young migrants is weaker, bearing the risk of exploitation.

This research underlines the importance of labour market intermediaries for youth migration in Europe. However, we advocate for drawing more attention on the needs of young migrants. As one strategy to achieve this objective we suggest that public labour market intermediaries should take a more active role in transnational recruiting/job search and matching processes of young migrants in

Europe.

Key words:

Youth migration; labour migration; recruiting strategies; job search strategies; labour market intermediaries; working conditions

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1. Introduction

The flagship initiative Youth on the Move, launched in 2010 as part of the Europe 2020 strategy, presents one of the answers of the European Commission to the increasing problem of youth unemployment. This initiative comprises manifold actions, aiming at the promotion of mobility in order to foster youth employment, to leverage skills and experiences of young workers and to improve the matching quality of labour supply with labour demands (European Commission, 2010). Young people looking for work might be more willing to move to get a job than older job-seekers (Strack, Linden, Booker & Strohmayer, 2014). They might have greater opportunities to move due to fewer ties and obligations. At the same time, young migrants are at a disadvantage as relative newcomers or outsiders to the labour market; their CVs are shorter, work-related networks are smaller and their financial resources often scarcer (Eurobarometer, 2011). This means that they have poor access to information on job-openings and requirements and that it will be challenging for potential employers to assess their potential productivity.

While the Youth on the Move initiative mainly addresses young people, further actors, such as employers or labour market intermediaries, play an important role for the youth in becoming successful moving workers in providing information on, access to or assistance in reaching the labour market. In addition, intermediaries may function as a guarantor for the young applicants' productivity. For instance, a comprehensive study by Coe, Johns and Ward (2007) stresses the importance of temporary staffing agencies for globalised labour markets. Elrick and Lewandowska (2008) as well as Freeman (2002) point to their bridging function in the matching process between young migrants and vacant job positions in various EU countries.

Yet, despite the worldwide significant increase of both the number of labour market intermediaries and their significance for job matching within the last few years (Bonet, Cappelli & Hamori, 2013), the role of these institutions for mediating employment relationships across EU country borders is not fully understood so far. In particular, scientific knowledge about their impact on employment outcomes of migrant youth is limited. This paper addresses this knowledge gap. Focusing on the triadic relation between young migrants (under 35 years of age), employers and labour market intermediaries, the aim of this report is to analyse the specific activities within this triad, the reasons of the actors for their involvement and the consequences thereof.

We apply a comparative design by using the cases of Austria and Norway. Both countries have highly regulated labour markets which are characterised by comparatively high wages and good general working conditions. To enable focused comparisons, we concentrate on certain segments of the labour market. In terms of individuals, we focus on young migrants from EU8 countries¹ working in Austria and on young Swedes working in Norway. We chose these groups because of the geographical proximity and cultural similarities between the sending and receiving countries. This selection allows us to focus on practical barriers and obstacles that may be negotiated and facilitated with the help of intermediaries. In terms of industrial sectors, we focus on tourism, health/care and high-tech. According to official statistics, these three industries are especially relevant for young labour migrants of all skill levels and for both women and men. Our analyses draw on secondary data sources and in particular on interviews conducted with young migrants, employers, labour market intermediaries and experts in the field. We aim to contribute to the literature on labour migration of

¹ EU8 countries are Eastern European countries which joined the EU in 2004, i.e. the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

European youth, especially concerning the reasons of the different actors involved with these processes and the mechanisms underlying successful matching of young intra-EU migrants with employers.

This report is organized as follows. The next section describes labour market intermediaries, followed by a presentation of the methodological approach. Sections 4 and 5 introduce the context of East-West migration from EU8 countries to Austria and North-North migration from Sweden to Norway, respectively. In each of the two country sections we first provide key figures based on secondary data bases, before we present findings of our interviews concerning rationales of youth for migration and rationales of employers for recruiting young migrants. Section 6 summarises interview findings concerning young migrants' job search strategies and employers' recruiting strategies, thereby focusing on the role of intermediaries. Drawing on the interview findings, too, Section 7 addresses issues of work contracts and working conditions – again focusing on the role of intermediaries – and Section 8 depicts gender issues. The discussion in Section 9 elaborates on similarities and differences between the two country cases. The report concludes with some policy implications.

2. Labour Market Intermediaries

Labour market intermediaries simultaneously serve two different customers: the individuals searching for a job and employers looking for employees. Hence, they transform the “bilateral employee–employer relationship into a three-way ‘triangular’ relationship” (Bonet et al., 2013, p. 342). We follow the definition by Bonet and colleagues, who define labour market intermediaries as “entities that stand between the individual worker and the client that needs work done” (Bonet et al., 2013, p. 343). Furthermore, we follow Autor, who describes labour market intermediaries as institutions that “facilitate, inform, or regulate how workers are matched to firms, how work is accomplished, and how conflicts are resolved” (Autor, 2009, p. 1). Labour market intermediaries can take many different forms. Benner (2003) suggests a categorisation of intermediaries according to three different criteria:

- depending on their *function*: information providers, network builders, risk reducers or transaction costs reducers,
- depending on their *services*: information providers, matchmakers or administrators and
- depending on their *funding*: membership-based intermediaries, public-sector intermediaries (e.g., public employment services or educational institutions) or private-sector intermediaries (e.g., online job portals, executive search firms, professional employer organisations or temporary work agencies).

A particular form of labour market intermediaries are temporary work agencies, which themselves act as employers that lend their employees to client companies on a temporary basis. A large share of the temporary agency’s workforce are young people (Voss et al., 2013) and other groups facing more difficulties to enter the labour market (e.g. Andersson & Wadensjö, 2004). Thus, it is argued that temporary work agencies might facilitate the transition from unemployment to employment for individuals with otherwise limited job prospects (Arrowsmith, 2006; Heinrich, Mueser & Troske, 2007) and function as a stepping stone to the labour market, particularly for migrants (Andersson & Wadensjö, 2004; Voss et al., 2013). However, critics point out that temporary work agencies might take advantage of the difficult situation of disadvantaged groups on the labour market (e.g. McDowell, Batnitzky & Dyer, 2008).

As to working conditions, the role of labour market intermediaries again is discussed ambivalently. There is evidence that migrants recruited by intermediaries obtain better working contracts as compared to migrants using informal networks, e.g., they obtain higher wages (Bonet et al., 2013). However, conflicting with these findings, other studies reveal negative effects on labour market outcomes for workers employed by temporary work agencies (e.g. Autor & Houseman, 2010). Furthermore, recruiting and selection processes of labour market intermediaries are not always free from discriminating biases, e.g. against migrants or women (Bonet et al., 2013), and they have the potential of exploiting workers, in particular the highly vulnerable group of (young) migrants (McDowell et al., 2008).

3. Methods

Our empirical design draws on secondary data from national registers and comprehensive qualitative field work that comprises interviews with young labour migrants, employers, labour market intermediaries and other experts in Austria and Norway. The focus lies on the importance of labour market intermediaries for the recruiting and matching processes and the working conditions of young migrants.

To enable focused comparison between Austria and Norway we selected three industries. Official statistics and information obtained at advisory meetings with labour market experts provided the basis for this selection. Selection criteria were: number of (young) migrants (should be considerably high), labour demand level (should be considerably high), skill levels required (different skill levels) and gender composition (different compositions). These criteria led to the following three industries (see also Table 1):

1. Tourism, characterised by a high number of young migrants, fairly high labour demand, low skill level (or medium level) and balanced gender composition.
2. Care or health, depending on the country:
 - a. In Austria, we concentrate on 24-hour care in private households. A legislation introduced in 2008 led to a significant increase of migrant women from EU8 countries working as self-employed caregivers in private households in Austria. This increase was further fuelled by a drastic growth in the number of intermediary organisations in this sector. Until August 2015 no specific formal qualification was required by law and entry barriers in general were low; establishing an own business in this sector was quite easy, for both caregivers themselves and persons or organisations acting as intermediaries.² Hence, the required skill level for 24-hour caregivers is low. The vast majority of caregivers are women.
 - b. In Norway, we concentrate on health and care personnel as well as trained nurses. There is a large demand for lower skilled health and care workers in elderly care. In addition, a large number of Swedish nurses is attracted by the good working conditions in the Norwegian health sector (although in Sweden the demand for nurses is high, too). The required skill level is medium (to high) and most of the nurses from Sweden are (young) women.
3. High-tech/ IT, characterised by long lasting labour shortage of (highly) skilled workers, which gives reason to an active recruitment of employees from abroad. The required skill level is generally high, and the majority of workers are men.

² In August 2015, a legislative proposal was submitted that aims to secure formal quality standards and to separate services concerning care itself from intermediation activities.

Table 1 Characteristics of the industries considered

Industry	Importance of intermediaries	Share of young migrants	Required skill level	Gender composition
Tourism	low/medium	high	low	equal
Care (Austria) Health (Norway)	high	high	low medium	women-dominated
High-tech	medium	low/medium	high	men-dominated

Between September 2014 and October 2015 we conducted 116 interviews, thereof 60 in Austria and 56 in Norway. We conducted the interviews either face-to-face or by phone. The language was German or Norwegian, respectively, with the exception of two interviews in Austria done in English and one interview which was conducted in Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian language with the assistance of a professional interpreter. To capture the different perspectives we interviewed 43 young migrants (under 35 years of age on the time of migration), 28 employers, 29 intermediaries and 16 policy makers and/or labour market experts. To obtain information regarding the role of labour market intermediaries we selected both migrants who found their current job with the assistance of an intermediary as well as migrants who found their current job without an intermediary.

Various strategies were used to recruit the interviewees starting with labour market experts providing information on intermediaries and employers recruiting and hiring young migrants. In addition, we applied extensive internet research in order to identify employers and intermediaries; we sent them information on the project and an invitation to take part in an interview. Migrants were recruited through social contacts, migrants' organisations and associations, by placing ads on social networks, and by direct personal approach. Recruiting interviewees has been challenging. In particular, it was difficult to convince intermediaries and to get in contact with private households and migrants in the 24-hour care sector in Austria. It also turned out to be a challenge to recruit higher skilled migrants in Norway.

The number of persons who participated in Austria and Norway are presented in Table 2. Most of the young EU8 migrants that were interviewed in Austria are from Hungary or from Slovakia. In the Austrian sample there are 15 women and 7 men. In Norway, 11 are women and 10 are men. The average age of all interviewed migrants in Austria is 28.8 years (ranging from 18 to 36 years) and in Norway is 24.4 years (whereas their average age at the time of migration was 25.4 years in Austria and 21.5 years in Norway). Hence, the interviewed Swedish migrants in Norway are younger than the EU8 migrants in Austria. The range of time since working in Norway or in Austria ranges from newly arrived (two weeks) to 15 years within the whole sample of migrants.

Table 2 Samples by industries and kind of interviewees for Austria and Norway

Interviewees	Austria				Norway				Total
	Tourism	Care	High-tech	General	Tourism	Health	High-tech	General	
Labour market experts	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	5	16
Intermediaries	2	6	5	2	2	3	3	6	29
Employers	5	5	5		5	4	4		28
Young migrants	9	8	5		8	8	5		43
<i>(thereof assisted by an intermediary)</i>	<i>(3)</i>	<i>(5)</i>	<i>(2)</i>		<i>(3)</i>	<i>(4)</i>	<i>(3)</i>		<i>(14)</i>
Total	17	20	16	7	16	13	11	11	116

Prior to the interviews all interviewees were informed in a consent letter about the aim of the study, responsible persons and data protection guidelines. The interview guides developed and customised to the different kinds of interviewees, industries and countries, covered topics such as for the migrants: reasons for migration, educational and occupational background, applied job-search strategies – including assistance by intermediaries – and working conditions; for employers and intermediaries: labour supply and demand, rationales to employ migrants, applied recruitment strategies – including assistance by intermediaries – offered working contracts and working conditions and perceived obstacles to hiring migrants. In addition we asked all the informants to identify national and international policies that promote or hinder intra-EU migration and shape working conditions. The interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. In addition, the most important information on the context of the interview was edited into a comprehensive table sheet. We analysed the interviews separately for the two countries, continually discussing preliminary results between the two country teams. To enhance validity we backed our analyses with official statistics from both countries in the sense of a data triangulation approach (e.g. Patton, 1999).

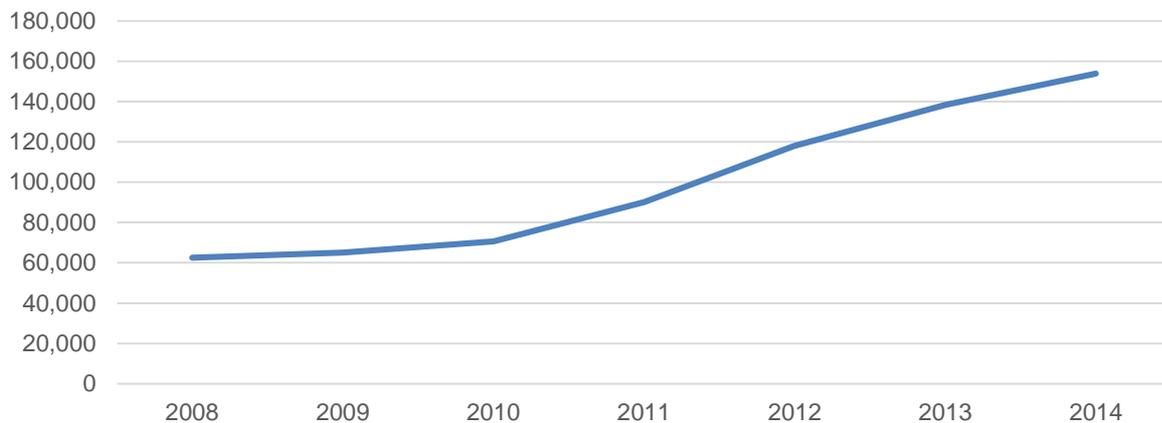
4. East-West Migration: Young EU8 Migrants in Austria

After the accession of the EU10 member states in May 2004, Austria initially restricted free labour movement for eight (EU8) out of these ten countries. In May 2011, these restrictions were lifted, leading to a constantly growing number of migrants from EU8 countries entering the Austrian labour market.

4.1 Key Figures

Figure 1 presents the number of migrants from EU8 countries working in Austria between 2008 and 2014. Within the last five years, the number of EU8 employees more than doubled from about 70,000 employees in 2010 to over 150,000 employees in 2014.

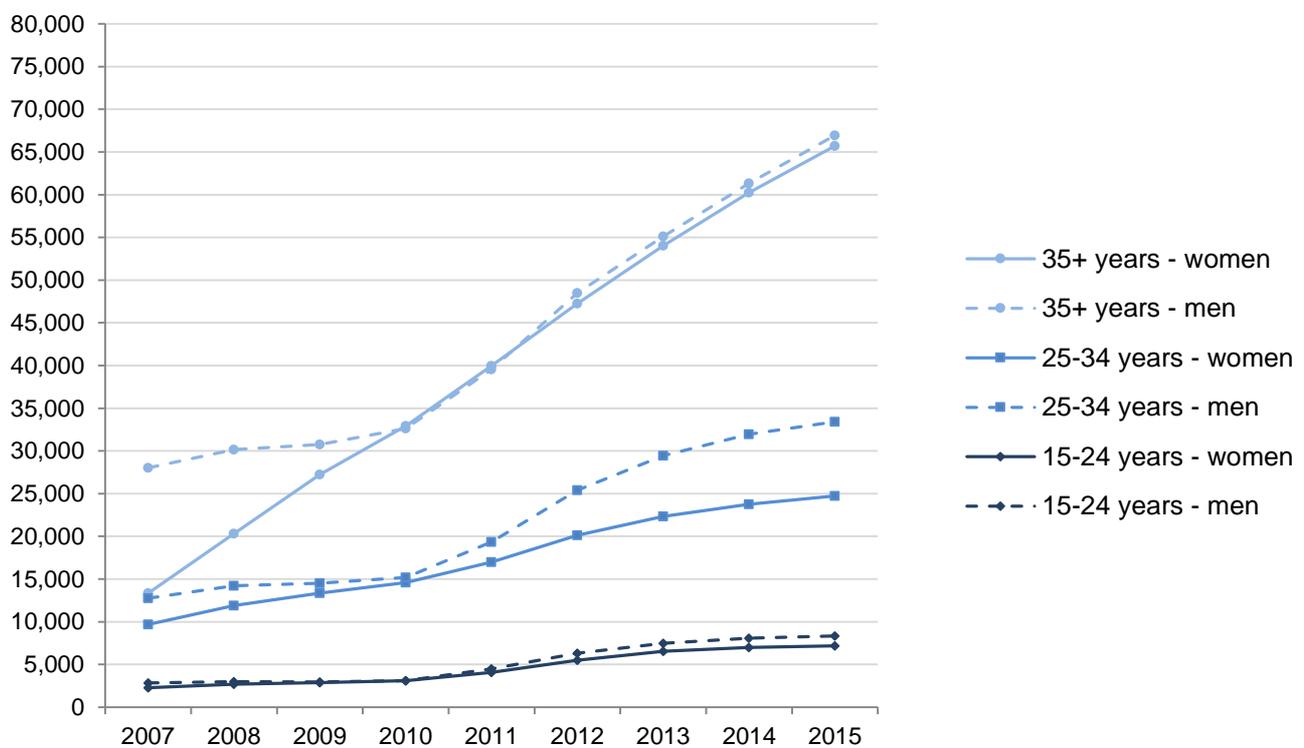
Figure 1 Number of EU8 employees in Austria 2008–2014 (no self-employed)



Source: Austrian Association of Social Insurance (Hauptverband der Sozialversicherungsträger)

Figure 2 displays the number of all EU8 migrants working in Austria, differentiated by age. In 2015, a total of 206,294 EU8 migrants worked in Austria either as employees or self-employed, exceeding 5 per cent of the Austrian workforce. Youth under the age of 35 years account for 36 per cent of the EU8 migrants (see Figure 2; 73,650 persons). While few EU8 persons under 25 years of age work in Austria, numbers increase for young adults of 25 years and older. Concerning gender, Figure 2 shows that men outnumber women, with the largest difference for the group of young adults between 25 and 34 years of age. Furthermore, this gender gap has increased since the restrictions for the free movement of workers were lifted in May 2011. Figure 2 indicates that the number of men was affected more strongly by the removal of the restrictions than the number of women. In all three age groups, the number of men has increased more rapidly after 2011 than between 2007 and 2010.

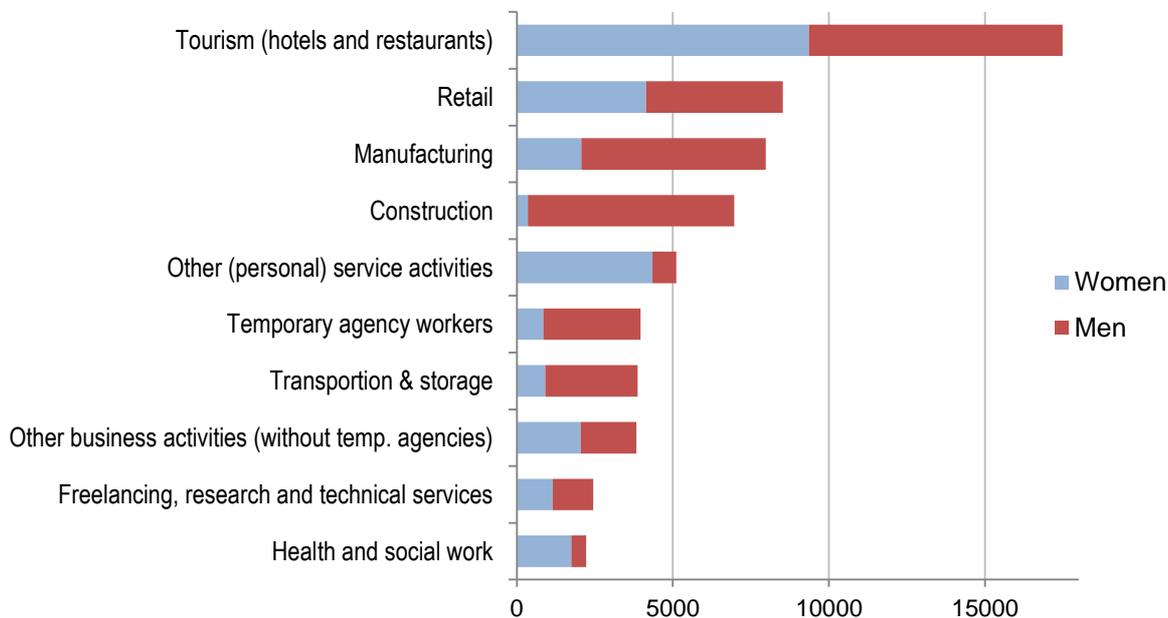
Figure 2 Number of EU8 migrants working in Austria 2011–2015 (employees and self-employed)



Source: Monitoring of Occupational Careers (Erwerbskarrierenmonitoring, AMS, February 2016)

EU8 migrants concentrate in certain industrial sectors. According to Figure 3, the tourism sector is the most important recipient of young EU8 migrants in terms of absolute numbers. Young EU8 migrants account for a share of 13 per cent of all people working in this sector. The industry category called 'other personal service activities' is worth explaining: young EU8 migrants account for a share of 30 per cent in this sector, a large part of them working in private households as self-employed 24-hour caregivers. Furthermore, many young EU8 migrants are employed by temporary agencies, amounting to a share of 11 per cent. In contrast, other industries are characterised by smaller shares, e.g. the institutionalized health and care sector, where only around 3 per cent of all workers come from a EU8 country. Obviously, young EU8 migrants face high entry barriers to certain industries, whereas other industries are easier to access – mainly those industries characterised by high demand for (migrant) workers.

Figure 3 Number of young EU8 migrants (aged 15–34 years) working in Austria in 2015 by industries



Source: *Monitoring of Occupational Careers (Erwerbskarrierenmonitoring; AMS 2015)*

Gender composition varies across industries too (see Figure 3), thereby resembling the common horizontal gender segregation of the Austrian labour market. Of the five most important industries, the tourism and the retail sector are fairly gender balanced. Manufacturing and especially construction industries are clearly dominated by men. Furthermore, more men than women are employed by temporary agencies. In contrast, 'other personal service activities' – the category comprising mainly self-employed 24-hour caregivers at private households – is dominated by women.

Concerning demands forecasts for the three industries, our interview partners expect an increase in demand for migrant workers in general, and also for young EU8 workers. In particular, they expect the labour demand in the (24-hour) care sector to increase considerably.

4.2 Rationales of Young EU8 Migrants for Migrating to Austria

Rationales of young EU8 migrants are mainly related to their home countries' socio-economic context. As the eight countries are characterised by varying labour market outcomes, the labour migration streams to Austria vary across these countries too. Table 3 presents the number of migrants from different EU8 countries working in Austria and selected country characteristics.

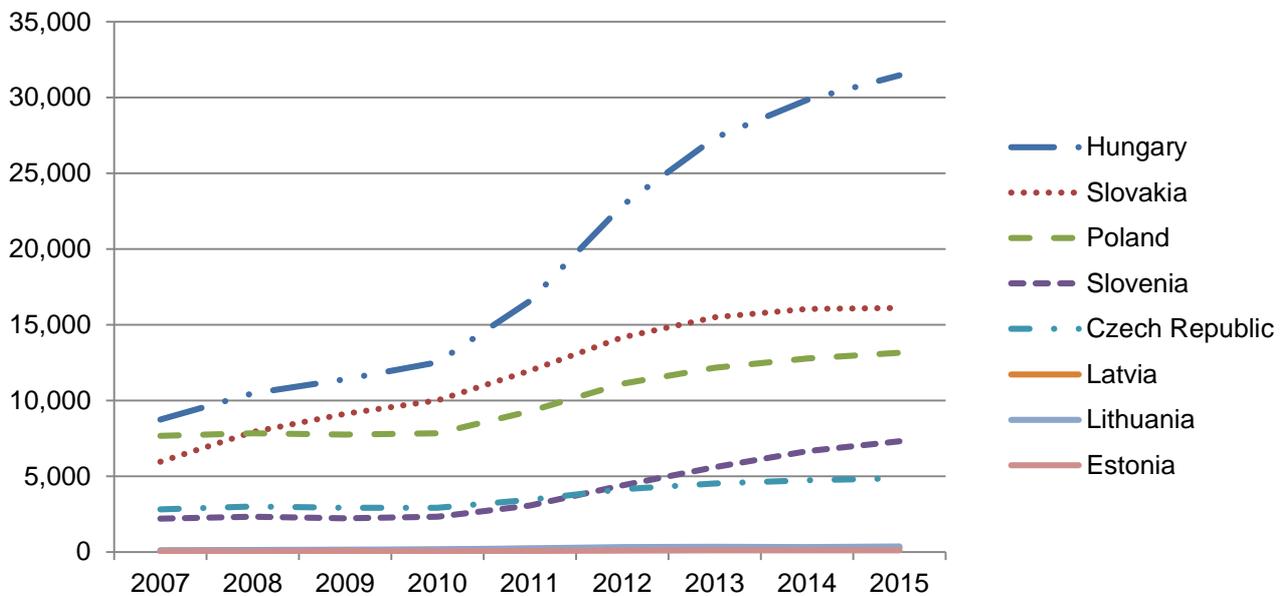
Table 3 Labour market characteristics of Austria and EU8 countries

Country	Number of workers in Austria (in 2015)	Gross monthly earnings (median; in 2011) ²	Youth unemployment rate (under 25 years; in 2014) ³	Geographical proximity ⁴
Austria	3,183,038	2,679	10.3	
Hungary	77,974	487	20.4	240 km (bordering country)
Slovakia	56,174	712	29.7	80 km (bordering country)
Poland	36,559	618	23.9	683 km
Slovenia	19,100	1,352	20.2	380 km (bordering country)
Czech Republic	14,759	819	15.9	330 km (bordering country)
Latvia	874	520	19.6	1,350 km
Lithuania	645	489	19.3	1,160 km
Estonia	211	703	15.0	1,660 km

Sources: ¹ *Monitoring of Occupational Careers (Erwerbskarrierenmonitoring, AMS 2016)*; ² *EU-SILC*; ³ *Eurostat 2015*; ⁴ *Distance between the capital cities according to google maps. Though we aimed at figures referring to the same calendar years, we were not able to obtain the gross monthly earnings in the year 2014 for all countries. We decided for presenting the most recent available information.*

In 2015, most of the EU8 migrants in Austria come from Hungary (77,974 persons; 38% of EU8 migrants), followed by Slovakia (56,174 persons; 27%), Poland (36,559 persons; 18%), Slovenia (19,100 persons; 9%) and the Czech Republic (14,759 persons; 7%). Only less than 1 per cent (1,730 persons) of the EU8 migrants in Austria come from the Baltic countries Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia. Since restrictions on free labour movement were lifted in May 2011 the number of EU8 migrants from all countries has increased. However, the number of Hungarians has grown most (see Figure 4). The large difference in the median earnings between Austria and Hungary as well as the geographical proximity might be main reasons for this significant increase since the free access to the Austrian labour market in 2011. In general, wage differentials and geographical proximity seem to influence labour migration of EU8 people to Austria. Baltic countries show significant lower median earnings compared to Austria. However, due to the long distance, Austria does not present an attractive country of destination. Slovenia and the Czech Republic are geographically closer to Austria, but median earnings in these countries are comparatively high. The smaller wage differentials may be the reason why fewer young people from Slovenia and the Czech Republic work in Austria as compared to Hungary, Slovakia and Poland.

Figure 4 Number of young EU8 migrants (aged 15–34 years) working in Austria by home country



Source: *Monitoring of Occupational Careers (Erwerbskarrierenmonitoring, AMS, February 2016)*

To capture the subjective perspective of young EU8 migrants, in interviewees we asked about pull and push factors related to the migrants' decision to work (and live) in Austria. Not surprisingly, most of the young EU8 migrants came to Austria to earn 'good money'. In particular, for migrants from Hungary and Slovakia the income differential between their home countries and Austria was an important issue. Many migrants report that they have to pay off a loan, e.g. for a house or an apartment they have bought in their home country. The following quote is representative of many interviewees:

"In Hungary, I would earn 200 to 300 Euros per month; here in Austria I get more than 1,000 Euros for the same job, that's a big difference. With the money I would earn in Hungary I wouldn't be able to build a future for myself or to establish an own family."
(Migrant, int.no. 17, tourism sector)

Independent of industry, the wish to obtain a higher income presents a strong pull factor for the interviewed migrants. However, it is a particularly important motive for migrants working in tourism or 24-hour care sector. Interviewees working in the high-tech industry additionally stated that better career prospects in Austria and the opportunity to work with new technologies were pull factors.

Apart from economic reasons, many interviewed migrants described the good general living conditions as a factor that contributes to the attractiveness of Austria. Furthermore, the Austrian social security system and the comparatively good working conditions present not only pull factors related to the initial decision to move to Austria, but they are also reasons for young EU8 migrants to stay in Austria.

Another factor attracting young EU8 migrants are personal social contacts to Austria. Many interviewees report that prior to their migration decision they already had known a family member or a friend living in Austria. Social networks may be another reason for the fact that migrants from certain countries cluster according to different industries. In the tourism industry, Hungarians account for the biggest share. Around 56 percent of the EU8 migrants working in the Austrian tourism industry come

from Hungary. In contrast, the 24-hour care sector is dominated by migrants from Slovakia (about 80 per cent of the EU8 migrants working in this sector are from Slovakia).

As already implied by Figure 3, industrial sectors might not be equally attractive to young EU8 migrants. Young migrants are especially attracted by industries where other young people work. From the young persons' point of view, working in a skiing area or another touristic centre where peers from their home country work is more attractive than working isolated in a private household to care for an elder person.

A particular push factor for young people from Hungary relates to current political changes. For instance, an interviewee moved to Austria for studying (and working), because due to a new law she would have been forced to work in Hungary for some years after graduation if she did not pay back university tuition fees.

Migrants have different future plans and wishes for their future depending on their country of origin, industry and age. The interviewed Slovaks often report that they wish to return into their home country. Most of them are caregivers that mainly come to Austria to earn money but wish to live in their home country in the future. In the tourism and technical industry, many young migrants plan to stay in Austria or to move to another country, as e.g. Germany. There is a tendency in our sample that younger migrants more often consider staying abroad in the future while migrants older than 30 years more often plan to return to their country of origin.

4.3 Rationales of Austrian Employers Concerning Young EU8 Migrants

Employers' rationales vary from industry to industry, mainly due to the kind of skills which the respective jobs require. In addition, labour shortages play an important role.

Employers of the tourism and the care sectors face the problem of locals being unwilling to do low-skill jobs. The following quote of an intermediary illustrates this rationale.

"I would also hire Austrians; however, most Austrians don't want to work as 24-hour caregivers, because working hours are inconvenient and these jobs are poorly paid."
(Intermediary, int.no. 7, care sector)

This description resembles a typical reasoning which Ortlieb and Sieben (2013) call an "adding value through mere labour strategy". That is, Austrian companies employ EU8 migrants simply because of their availability and their willingness to do a certain job for which no other job candidates are available. In contrast, employers are not interested in specific competencies related to the foreign background of the migrants, such as language skills or cultural competencies. According to our interviewees, job requirements include German language skills, prior working experience, high reliability and a high motivation and willingness to work. In the care sector, general life experience is valued too; therefore, workers in this field are on average older than in the tourism industry, where employers mainly hire young, flexible and hardworking persons.

In the high-tech industry, jobs are rather attractive to local employees too. However, there is a significant shortage of (highly) skilled high-tech workers in Austria, forcing employers to recruit migrants. As one of the interviewed employers puts it:

"Shortage of skilled workers? It's much more than a 'shortage', it's a serious threat for our company." (Employer, int.no. 51, high-tech industry)

Employers and intermediaries of the high-tech industry are mainly interested in professional knowledge and skills. At some companies, German language skills are an important prerequisite for employment, especially at firms mainly operating locally. Typically located at the countryside and using German as company language, these companies aim to hire mainly Austrians or other German speaking employees. Since many EU8 migrants learn German at school, employers recognise these persons as a relevant group. In contrast, high-tech companies that mainly operate at international markets and use English as company language do not differentiate between EU8 migrants and migrants from other countries.

Interestingly, none of the interviewed employers and intermediaries mentioned that they strategically search for migrant employees with specific competences related to their foreign background and with specific international networks, although the companies might benefit from these characteristics (see also Ortlieb & Sieben, 2013; Ortlieb, Sieben & Sichtmann, 2014; Ortlieb & Winterheller, 2014). In general, employers and intermediaries in this sector are less aware of the group of EU8 migrants as compared to the tourism and the care sectors.

4.4 József & Zuzana: Two EU8 Migrants in Austria

In the boxes below, we present two ideal-typical stories of two young EU8 migrants who work in Austria. The stylized and condensed stories are constructed on the basis of interviews with migrants, employers and intermediaries. Even if they do not embody actual migrants they represent two typical stories from our material.

The story of “József”

József is young Hungarian man at the age of 24. He gained a university degree in electrical engineering in Hungary and has been working in Austria since 6 months. Back home he participated in a student competition and won the first prize with his team. The prize was an internship of three months in an Austrian company. He was very happy to get that opportunity, but it was difficult for him to move to Austria: he had problems to find an affordable place to live, because as a student he only had limited financial resources. Moving to Austria was related to different costs, e.g. for travelling, for the hotel that he needed until he found a place to live, for deposits and the basic living equipment, etc. Furthermore, he had only basic German skills and so it was difficult to get information about room listings. He had already been in contact with a number of people that offered a room on an online portal, beforehand, but since he didn't speak German very well and was looking for a room for only some months he was not considered as a very attractive applicant. He was in contact with more than 30 people until he got the chance to rent a room in a shared apartment. His two student colleagues who also won an internship decided not to take that chance because of all these obstacles.

Thus, József came alone to Austria. He worked as hard as he could to convince his employer to get a more permanent position. Since he was one of the best students of his university he did a very good job and got a job offer for another two years after the internship. He is very happy about this opportunity and still works as hard as he can in the hope to get a permanent position one day. He often works at night and at the weekends. He has only few friends in Austria and so he uses his time mainly to work. He enjoys his work because he is in the R&D department and works with new and exciting technologies. However, sometimes he wishes to have more spare time and more friends in Austria.

Nevertheless, József is very grateful to have this job because at home he would not earn so much. Even if he only gets the minimum wage defined by the collective agreement for his profession his earning is much higher as that of his friends who stayed in Hungary. He is not sure if he will ever turn back home: maybe he stays in Austria, maybe he will move to Germany where job opportunities are even better.

The story of “Zuzana”

Zuzana is a young woman from Slovakia at the age of 32. After high school she worked in different offices as a secretary. She married at 26 and got her first child at 27. One year later she got divorced and since then she has experienced financial difficulties. She has to pay back a loan in order to keep her apartment where she lives with her daughter. Thus, Zuzana decided to work as a 24-hour caregiver in Austria. She already knew some women who worked in Austria and she heard that they have rather good earnings. So she participated to a course for caregivers of 200 hours provided by the Red Cross. In a folder offered by the course she found information about an agency in Bratislava that helps women to get a job as caregiver in Austria. She called and they gave her an exam date to prove her German skills. Unfortunately, she failed and so she had to improve her German skills for the next two months using an old school book of her sister. In a second attempt she passed the exam and got a job offer within two weeks. Two cooperating agencies, one in Austria and the other in Slovakia, managed all the paper work and they sent a taxi to her apartment that directly brought her to an Austrian household.

Zuzana has been working in Austria as a caregiver since 2011. She usually is available in a household for 24 hours for two weeks long. Then another Slovakian woman arrives with a taxi and brings her back to Slovakia for two weeks. Her parents take care of her daughter while she is working in Austria.

Zuzana works as a self-employed, but all formalities are done by the intermediary companies. She has to pay around 350 Euros per year for these services. Even if she hardly ever needs the help of the agencies, she is willing to pay that fee because in the case she loses her current client she will get a new one within some days or weeks. At the moment, she is rather happy with her job: she lives with a friendly family that treats her in a good way. However, she already had worked in households with very difficult and unfriendly clients. At one place the situation was so bad that she decided to leave it. The intermediary agency supported her but she thinks now that she shouldn't complain again about a client.

Zuzana is rather happy with her situation because she earns good money and is able to pay back her loan. In the two weeks when she is at home she can spend a lot of time with her daughter. However, it's very hard to be separated from her the other two weeks. Furthermore, she is rather isolated, working in a household that is situated on the countryside in Austria. Apart from the relatives of the client she cares for she knows no Austrians. Since she always has to be available for the client, when she is in Austria, she has no possibility to get in contact with other Austrian people.

Zuzana hopes to pay off her debts as fast as possible: so she can turn back to Slovakia and live with her daughter.

5. North-North Migration: Young Swedish Migrants in Norway

Norway has during the last decade become a major labour migration country in the OECD, with inflows of labour migrants – mostly workers from the EEA – exceeding all OECD countries except Switzerland, as a share of its population (OECD, 2014). Swedish immigrants and commuters constitute the second largest group of foreign workers after the Polish. However, Swedes account for the largest share of young labour immigrants to Norway (short and long term).

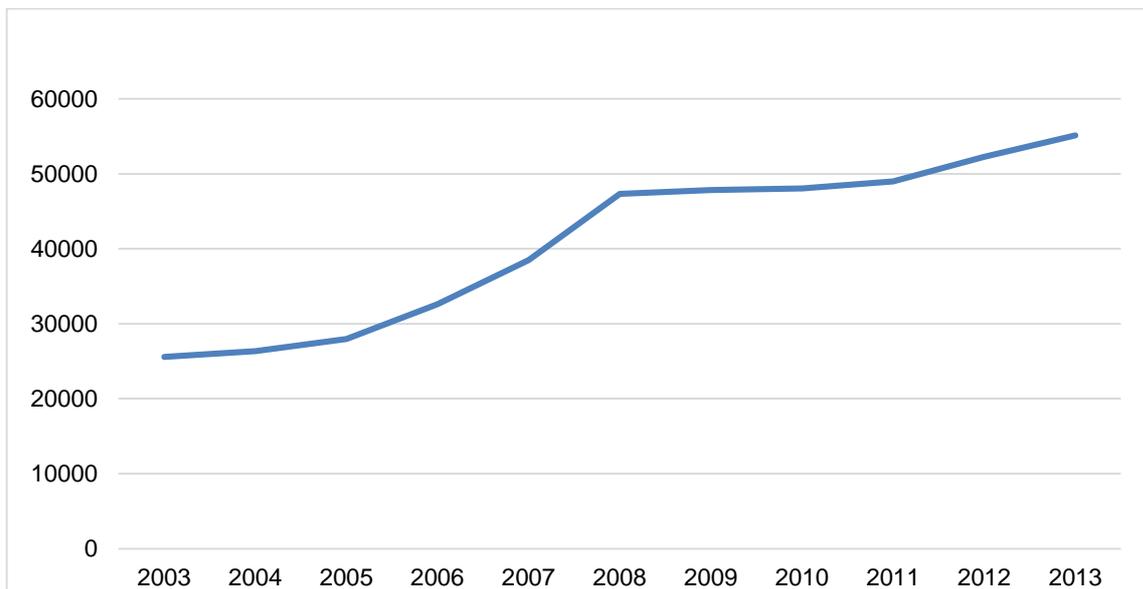
Swedes have a long tradition for moving to Norway for work. In 2014, the Nordic countries celebrated the 60th anniversary of the common Nordic labour market. Similar to the freedom of movement enjoyed by citizens of the more recently established EU, citizens of the Northern European countries Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland wanting to work in a Nordic partner country have since 1954 been able to move freely across internal borders without a work or residence permit. The agreement was also later joined by Finland. The long history of labour migration between Sweden and Norway makes this North-North migration an interesting comparative case to the more recent labour migration from EU8 countries to Austria.

5.1 Key Figures

55,103 Swedes were working in Norway at the beginning of 2014. About half of these were not registered as residents in Norway, meaning that they were commuting or having a shorter horizon for work shorter than 6 months. The numbers have been relatively high for several decades, but have risen in response to the increasingly difficult labour market for youth in Sweden. A large share of the Swedish migrants work through temporary agencies. In Norway, 2 percent of the employed are Swedish, whereas they constitute 14 percent of the total number employed by temporary agencies. This is especially evident in Oslo, the Norwegian capital: Every third person employed by temporary agencies in Oslo is a young swede (Aftenposten, 10.6.2015).

Figure 5 presents the number of migrants from Sweden working in Norway between 2003 and 2013. As we can see, the immigration from Sweden has been substantial for a long period and there has been a steady increase in the number of migrants for the last decades. During this period of 20 years, the number of Swedish immigrants to Norway has increased by 166 percent. The total number of Swedes in Norway more than doubled between 2003 and 2013. A main explanation for this increase is a large unemployment rate among Swedish youth and a more favourable labour market in Norway than in Sweden. The number of Swedes in Norway has levelled out and the increase stagnated at the onset of the financial crisis. The level was stable from the end of 2007. From mid-2011, we observe a new increase in the total number of Swedes in Norway.

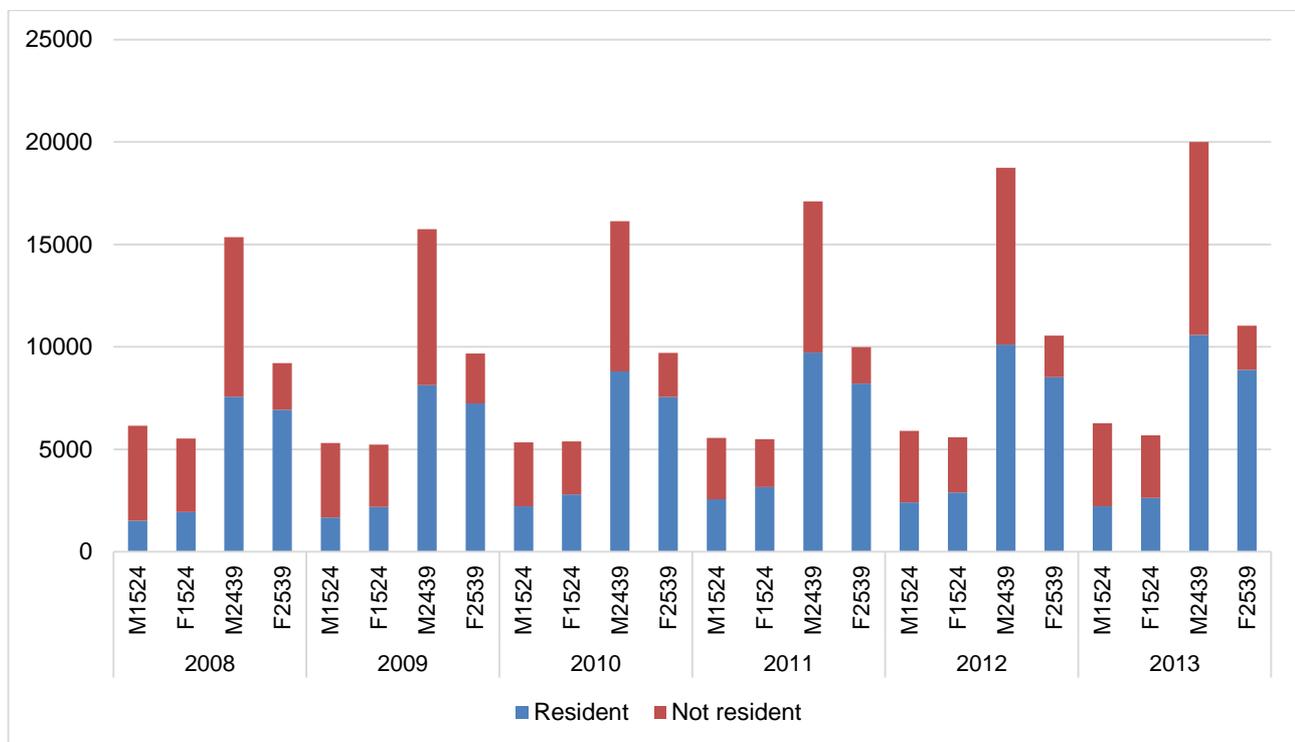
Figure 5 Number of Swedes in Norway 2003 – 2013.



Source: Statistics Norway (SSB)

Figure 6 displays the number of young Nordic nationals working in Norway in the 4th quarter of 2013 by gender, age and residential status. The variable 'residential status' consist of two categories: Those staying to work for more than 6 months are registered with the Central population register. Employees on short-term stays are persons who expect to stay in Norway for less than six months, and they do not have the status as residents in the Central Population Register. In the figure, we observe a steady increase in the number of young Nordic men and women working in Norway. The largest growth and the largest numbers we find in the group of young adults (24-39), whereas the number of youth is relatively stable. More young men than young women come to work in Norway and the largest gender gap is among in the oldest group. Among the young migrants, it is just as common for young women to come to work as for young men. Furthermore, it is more common for young men to have short-term stays than for women. The gender differences in the young adult age group is mainly due to the number of non-resident employees.

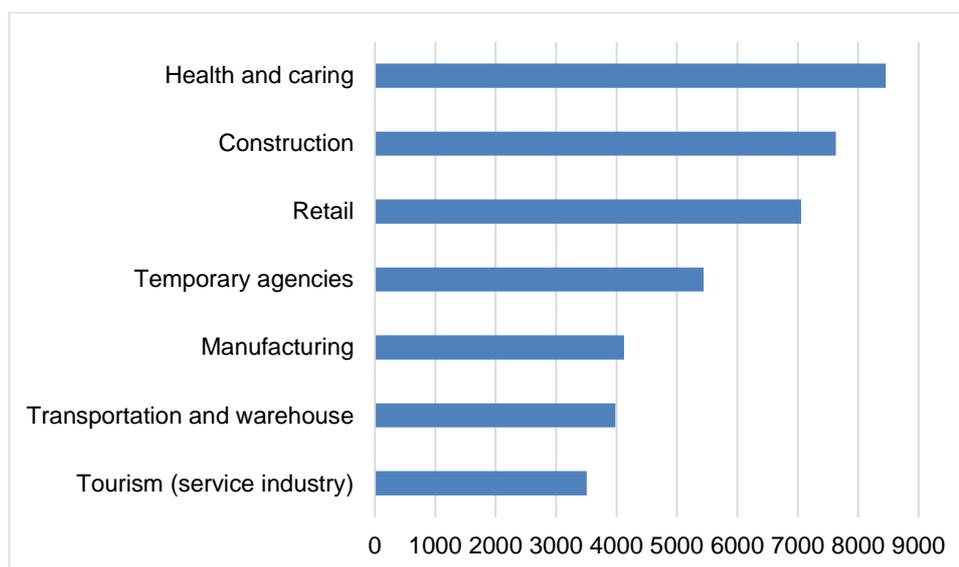
Figure 6 Number of young Nordic nationals working in Norway, by age, gender and residential status from 2008 to 2013.



Source: Statistics Norway (SSB)

As we can see in Figure 7, the most important industry for young Swedish migrants is health and caring, followed by construction and retail. There is also a large proportion of the young migrants working in temporary agencies and tourism, but the tourism industry is the least important industry among those presented in Figure 7. The tourism industry seems more important for young Swedish migrants than Figure 7 indicates because of the relatively high penetration grade of temporary agency work within tourism. Many of the young Swedes work in Oslo (about one third), the capital of Norway, and within this local labour market young Swedish migrant constitute about every fourth young employed (Statistics Norway).

Figure 7 Swedes in different industries in Norway 2014



Source: Statistics Norway (SSB)

There is currently a demand for highly skilled workers in the Norwegian labour market, in particular in the health and care professions, the education sector, engineers, IT personnel, specialised construction and industrial work. Demand for unskilled workers is relatively low and expected to remain low (Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration – NAV). According to the manpower talent surveys (Manpower, 2013), Norwegian employers have less difficulty in meeting demand for workers with specific skills than other EEA and OECD countries. Employers reported shortages in skilled trades and engineers – as is the case almost everywhere in the OECD. Norwegian employers also listed shortages in sales representatives, teachers, drivers, cooks and receptionists. Some of these medium-skilled occupations require language skills, making them difficult to fill with immigrants from beyond neighbouring Nordic countries (OECD, 2014). Rural regions in particular face challenges attracting talent (Cappelen, Gjefsen, Gjelsvik, Holm & Stølen, 2013).

5.2 Rationales of Young Swedish Migrants for Migrating to Norway

Why do Swedish migrants move from Sweden to work - and why do they choose Norway as a destination? The answer to the first question relates to certain push-factors in the Swedish labour market: The unemployment rate among Swedish youth is higher than the EU-average (see Table 4). Low skilled Swedish youth are at particular risk of unemployment. There are large regional differences in employment opportunities, meaning that many young people will have to move to get jobs, from areas of few or no job-opportunities to areas where the demand for labour is higher. This necessity of moving to get work is a central push-factor that leads us to the pull-factors of choosing Norway as a destination. As some of our informants told us: They had to move and the move to Norway was in many ways easier than a move within Sweden. According to them, it is easier to get both a job and a dwelling in Norway and especially in Oslo.

The primary reason of young Swedish migrants for moving to Norway refer to lacking job opportunities in Sweden. As one of our migrant puts it:

“I did not come here for the high salary; I came here to get a job” (M23 IT sector).

In addition to the lack of job opportunities, many of the migrants that we have interviewed for this project say that the working conditions in the jobs offered in their local labour market, regarding working hours, work-stress and career opportunities are also push factors for migration. In particular, the young swedes working in the health sector underline this work-stress rationale for migration. They claim there are more resources in terms of time for each patient in the Norwegian health care system than in the Swedish. Furthermore, they experience the demand for workers to be high and the wages is in general higher than in Sweden.

“Back home I had to run my feet off. My boss was always watching me and I didn’t dare to turn in sick – if I did they wouldn’t put me up for work in the calendar for next month” (F21 Health sector).

The relatively high wages in Norway is an important rationale for choosing Norway over other countries and different Swedish regions for migration. This applies for all industries. Some of these wage differences and the dissimilarities in unemployment rates between Norway and Sweden is visible in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Wage differentials, youth unemployment and youth unemployment by skill level in Norway and Sweden.

	Gross monthly earnings 2013 (Euro)			Youth unemployment 2014		Unemployment by skill level 2014		
	All	Men	Women	15 – 24 years	25 – 29 years	Levels 0 - 2 ¹	3 and 4 ²	5 to 8 ³
Norway	5 262	5 608	4 813	7.9	5.7	7.5	3.1	2.2
Sweden	3 539	3 805	3 285	22.9	9.1	19.1	7.0	4.4

Source: Statistics Norway (SSB) and Statistics Sweden (SCB)

¹ 0–2: Less than primary, primary and lower secondary education

² 3–4: Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education

³ 5–8: Tertiary education

In addition to the economic rationales to move to Norway, many of our informants also point to social and adventurous reasons to move abroad and to Norway for work. Many migrants have a short-term

perspective for their migration. Some of them plan to go backpacking worldwide, others plan to move home to Sweden for education. They would like to earn a lot of money relatively quickly to be able to live their lives somewhere else – and Norway is valued as a good place to achieve this. There are great language similarities between the countries; the distance is short, and the means of transport accessible. Being a neighbouring country most Swedes would also have basic knowledge of Norway, its culture, language, climate, geography etc.

Social network is an important pull-factor for choosing Norway as a destination country. Many Swedes migrate to Norway to be closer to their friends who already work and live there. Some also have their boy- or girlfriend living in Norway. They choose particular places in Norway because they know people who are or have been here. As an example, many choose Oslo because they know people in the city and know they will be able to stay with friends during the first period of migration. This reduces the transactional costs and risks of moving. From previous research, we know how important role transnational networks play in migration. According to the Gallup World Poll, adults who can rely on help from friends or family in other countries if needed are nearly three times more likely to say they would like to migrate (30%) than those who do not have these types of networks (11%). In other words, many Swedish migrants choose Norway since they feel it is not as risky as moving to other places. If they do not get a job or a place to stay most of them could always jump on the next train home.

5.3 Rationales of Norwegian Employers Concerning Young Swedish Migrants

As previously mentioned, there are currently some shortages in the Norwegian labour market. In this section we look at how the employers think and act to meet these shortages. Why do they choose foreign workers in general and Swedish youth in particular? The main reason for recruiting and hiring young labour market is of course the constant need for labour, both high skilled and low skilled. There is need for motivated and productive labour, for stable, predictable yet flexible labour in many industries. The main reason for recruiting and hiring young Swedish labour market is the accessibility of Swedish job-applicants and the relatively low training costs compared to other groups of labour migrants due to language skills, cultural skills and similar procedural skills in the more specialised industries. In other words, the employers' rationales concerning the employment of young Swedish migrants rest mainly on problematic shortages in the Norwegian labour market, as the following quote illustrates.

“The day the Swedish economy is recovering – we have a problem” (Expert employers' organisation in the tourism sector).

Norwegian employers in general are very positive to young Swedish labour migrants, even when compared to hiring young Norwegians. According to the employers we interviewed, Swedish youth are associated with some positive attributed traits. Swedish youth are often valued as hard working, highly motivated, positive and outgoing. These traits are particularly important in the service and people oriented sectors like the tourism industry and the health and care sector. They are also important in the technical IT sector for the jobs that require customer contact. In comparison with other migrant workers, for instance EU8 migrants, the Swedish migrants have the advantages of language similarities with Norwegian. It also seems like the Swedish workers have some cultural advantages, and that the Norwegians prefer to speak and relate to Swedes. As one of our informants puts it:

“Our customers (in the hotel) are more positive to and relate better to our Swedish staff than the other immigrant groups. Even if our other (EU8) foreign staff understand and speak more or less perfect Norwegian, our customers like the Swedish accent better.” (Hotel director).

Besides the language advantages, Swedish migrants also enjoy the comparative advantages of having a similar welfare state as Norway. This applies for both the educational and the health and care system. Within the Norwegian health and care sector, there are strong demands for both language and educational skills. Swedish nurses have an advantage over other European trained nurses in that the components of the education and the working procedures in the hospitals and care institutions are very similar in Sweden and Norway. Thus, Swedish nurses are preferred when health institutions must choose foreign labour:

“We have been vacuuming our neighbouring country for nurses for quite some time now – I would say there is an ongoing Scandinavian war over nurses that we seem to be winning” (Expert health)

The IT industry is different from the tourism and health and care industry. In many of the larger IT companies, the official working language is English. This reduces the comparative advantage for Swedish migrants over other potential migrant workers. However, the swedes are still attractive because of their renowned and relatively familiar educational system. In addition, there is great demand for low-skilled labour working with support and supply towards clients. This latter part of the industry hires many young people and the swedes have a comparative language advantage over other migrants, as the following quotation of one informant from an intermediary company illustrates:

“Even if the official working language of our sector is English, clients expect to be able to discuss their problems in their native tongue - Norwegian” (Intermediary in the IT sector).

In sum, the rationale behind Norwegian employers' decisions to hire young Swedish migrants relates to both short and long-term need for labour. The young swedes represent accessible, easily trained labour force. Due to similar educational systems and acknowledged competence, the Swedish migrants also enjoy great trust among the Norwegian employers.

5.4 Fredrik & Lisa: Two Swedish Migrants in Norway

Below we present two ideal-typical stories from a low-skilled male and a high-skilled female Swedish migrant to Norway. The two stylized and condensed stories are constructed on the basis of interviews with migrants and intermediaries from Norway. Even if they do not represent actual migrants they represent two typical stories from our material. They illustrate some common experiences related to the decision to migrate, the migration and the process of getting a foothold in the labour market in Norway.

The story of “Fredrik”

Fredrik came to Norway from a small place in the North of Sweden to find a job. Having only finished high school with an IT specialization, his career prospects back home were meagre. Many of his friends - those who had not already left for other countries or larger Swedish cities to work or study – were unemployed. Fredrik had a job, a fixed term, relatively poorly paid job with an IT company. His employer expected him to work hard and never be absent from work – others could fill his position on a day’s notice. He wanted to get away – to discover the world. Through his network of friends, he knew that there were job-opportunities in Norway and that the wages were considerably higher than in Sweden. He had some savings and borrowed money from his Grandmother before heading for Norway with a telephone number to a friend of a friend where he could stay for a couple of nights. Through his contact, he was encouraged to contact the Swedish association in Norway. This association offers cheap lodgings and he had a room within a week. In the lobby, he met a group of other swedes on their way to the IRS to get a D-number and he was told to set up a bank account in a Norwegian bank – he joined them. Parallel to this he applied for a range of jobs through the internet and visited bars and restaurants to look for job-openings. On his third day he contacted a temporary agency and was offered a two weeks engagement in a restaurant starting the following week. The first period was a bit of an adventure, he gained many new friends and a lot of fun. He did however encounter some challenges. He soon experienced that the costs of living were high in Norway and he was running short on funds. It took him only about a week to land his first job, but he would not receive his first paycheck before after a month. The standard of his dwelling was not good for a long time stay and he started looking for a place to live. He was offered a room in a shared dwelling with other swedes in an apartment downtown, but in addition to paying the first month’s rent, he had to come up with a two months security deposit. Without additional funds from his family, his adventure would have ended here.

Two years later Fredrik is still in Norway. After a period of working on different short term contracts on IT projects he was offered a permanent contract working for a firm that he had been working for through the temporary agency. After the company had paid a fee to buy him out of his engagement with the temporary agency he is now working in a large private IT company with good training and career opportunities. He is still dreaming of travelling the world, but he may have to wait for the holidays.

The story of “Lisa”

Lisa worked as trained nurse in a Swedish hospital in a large city not far from the Norwegian border. She graduated from her university two years ago and had been working in the same hospital for the last year. At a seminar she was approached by a representative from a staffing company offering her the same amount of pay in two weeks that she now made in a month if she would be willing to move to Norway. She accepted when she was offered a flat on the hospital grounds in Norway and assistance in going through the formal procedures for credential recognition needed to work in a Norwegian hospital, formalities related to taxes etc. Two months later she started working in Norway, but having colleagues and patients that could understand her native language and even a few colleagues from her hometown.

Her main discontent with her situation was related to the limitations on working hours. She now plans to move back home to be closer to friends and family.

6. Job Search and Recruiting Strategies

After having explored the rationales of young migrants concerning migration and of employers for employing young migrants we now turn to the question of how the two parties come together and what job search and recruiting strategies they use. Furthermore, we examine the role of intermediaries for the matching process and discuss some country variations between Austria and Norway.

6.1 Job Search Strategies of Young Migrants

Young people searching for jobs abroad apply a range of strategies - often simultaneously. This holds also true for young EU8 migrants and Swedish migrants looking for work in Austria and Norway. The most prevalent strategy is internet-based search via web-based job portals, social media or directly with potential employers' homepages. Also of great importance are actual or virtual networks of friends and relatives or direct personal contact with potential employers. How successful the different strategies are for the migrants in acquiring a job may vary between industries.

Internet-based search is often the first and preferred strategy for young migrants to find vacant positions and apply for jobs. There is a range of public and private job-portals, more or less directed at specific occupations and industries available. In particular, in the high-tech industry, young migrants use social media (e.g. LinkedIn), web-based job portals or the homepage of the employer they are interested in, both in order to apply for jobs and to gain knowledge of requirements and working conditions as well as general information on the destination country.

The use of *Social networks* is an important and often successful strategy for acquiring a job abroad. These networks are found in the form of close networks of friends or family or extended networks in the form of virtual social networks like Facebook (or dedicated groups on Facebook). In particular, in the tourism sector in both countries and in the 24-hour care sector in Austria, where mostly lower skills are required, young people use personal contacts to get a first job easily and quickly. Young migrants treat social networks as a trustworthy source for information as well as actual door openers into the labour market of the destination country.

Personal show is a relatively common and somewhat effective strategy for the young, at least in tourism. This strategy requires presence in the destination country and may not be feasible for everybody. The young migrants take rounds and visit potential employers, hand in their CVs and try to get a word with the manager. They often follow up the visit with a telephone call. This is perceived as a way of showing resourcefulness among the young job-seekers. The strategy is not used in the health care sector or the IT-sector, where the hiring process often is more formalised.

Active (or passive) use of different types of *intermediaries* is also a widely used strategy among young migrants. Swedish migrant in Norway often use public employment offices or temporary agencies to get a first job. EU8 migrants in Austria mainly use web-based intermediaries as information providers or private agencies that support them to find labour in Austria.

6.2 Recruiting Strategies of Employers

Recruiting strategies of employers are diverse and they differ across industries. According to the employers interviewed, the most relevant strategies – in addition to strategies that include intermediaries – are the following:

Advertising. Advertising in traditional media like newspapers are on a waning trend. Web-based advertising are considered to be more effective, both in terms of costs and in terms of accessibility and visibility. Most employers use their own company websites to promote job advertisements or general information on career opportunities in their company to attract workers. A range of web based job portals, more or less industry-specific, are readily available for employers. One obvious advantage is that these job-portals are also easily accessible for job applicants abroad.

Personal social networks. One of the most effective strategies to recruit personnel from abroad is the use of personal social networks. Many firms use their (migrant) employees as recruiters. Employers' rationale for using personal social networks of their employees is the experience of "good workers" to recruit "good workers". In several industries, and in the high-tech sector in particular, some employers have formally institutionalised this strategy through providing monetary bonuses to employees recommending qualified job candidates. Compared to web-based advertising, which attract a higher number of applicants, the number of candidates reached by this strategy is much smaller, but in the experience of the employers, the matching quality is higher.

Unsolicited applications. Many employers receive a large number of applications even without advertising. This is particularly true among large international and attractive employers in the IT industry, but also in the tourism sector. In practice, even if the employers have access to a large number of applicants, they experience that many of the applicants are not qualified or not available for a job at the time when labour is needed in the company.

Internal job market in international companies. Both in the IT and the tourism sector international companies with branches abroad make strategic use of internal information channels to recruit qualified workers. In our material this is not the most important strategy, but one widely preferred because of the relative low risk of recruiting young personnel already familiar with the company culture and procedures.

Collaboration with educational institutions. In all industries employers mention collaboration with educational institutions as a potential strategy for recruiting young qualified workers from abroad. This may work in several ways: as a way of providing information of job and career opportunities to potential candidates or offering training and internships for selected candidates. Austrian and Norwegian employers in IT, health and tourism participate in job-fairs at universities or colleges in the respective countries (Sweden or EU8 countries), either through their branch organisations or in person to attract qualified personnel. In this way, educational institutions act as a kind of labour market intermediaries.

Labour market intermediaries. The use of intermediaries is an important strategy for recruiting migrant workers. Intermediaries may fill a range of different functions in the process of hiring workers (see the following section; cf. also Bonet et al., 2013).

6.3 The Role of Intermediaries

Intermediaries are potentially involved in almost all stages of the recruitment process, thereby providing the whole spectrum of possible services for employers and migrants, as outlined below. Intermediaries may work as:

- *Information providers.* Employers typically choose private and public internet-based job platforms (e.g. EURES, karriere.at, nav.no or finn.no) to publish their job advertisements and young migrants usually look for jobs on these platforms. In addition, some draw on social media networks (e.g. LinkedIn, Facebook, or Xing) – in particular employers or employees of the high-tech industry. In contrast, intermediaries providing information via print media are of minor importance.
- *Accession providers.* As already described above, some employers use educational institutions in sending countries as a form of intermediaries to get access to young migrants. For instance, an Austrian hotel collaborates with a tourism school in an EU8 country, providing internships for good pupils. If the work performance of the trainee is high the hotel offers a long term work contract to the trainee after graduation. In the high-tech industry, many employers collaborate with technical universities both in Sweden and EU8 countries. For instance, one employer arranges an annual competition, the prize of which is an internship in the Austrian company. If the candidate performs well she or he can get a permanent job offer after graduation. In the educational institutions also student unions are used as accession providers. Norwegian companies recruiting to IT and health arrange academic seminars in Swedish institutions or sponsor student festivals in order gain access to talented students.
- *Matchmakers.* Depending on the industry, employers also use intermediaries as matchmakers. In the high-tech industry, intermediaries (e.g. executive search firms) usually pre-select candidates and provide a shortlist of the best qualified candidates to their clients. In the tourism industry, only few firms draw on matchmaking services by intermediaries. Usually, employers themselves make their choices on the basis of the numerous applications they receive. However, some internet-based service institutions in the tourism sector recently started to quickly deliver information concerning the matching quality of applicants. In the 24-hour care sector, private households communicate their needs and the intermediary companies manage the whole matching process.
- *Administrators.* In the high-tech industry, administrators are used in form of temporary agencies, usually for demand peaks for (lower) skilled workforce. In the tourism sector, intermediaries offering the whole spectrum of human resources services are almost never used. In the 24-hour care sector, intermediaries are used by ‘employers’ (private households) and self-employed caregivers as administrators. In this sector, intermediaries take over the whole management of the relationship between the private household and the migrant caregivers, e.g. they manage the application for financial care subsidy for the families, the registration as self-employed for caregivers, as well as the transport of the migrant caregivers from their home city to the employer.

The interviewed intermediaries fulfil different functions, ranging from information providing to network building, and risk or transaction costs reduction. Their importance in the triangular relationship between employer and employees is similar in the two countries observed, but varies from industry to industry. In the high-tech industry, intermediary agencies are well established. They help employers

looking for qualified workers find employees from abroad. In the tourism industry intermediaries play a more peripheral role. In Austria, migration streams from EU8 countries are mainly facilitated by (web-based services of) large public or private intermediaries. In tourism in Norway, a relatively large proportion of young migrants are hired through temporary agencies. In the Austrian 24-hour care sector, intermediaries typically are young companies that within only a few years have succeeded to take over a central role for migration streams from EU8 countries to Austrian private households. The interviewed intermediaries in this sector exclusively recruit migrants. Intermediaries specialising in Swedish nurses play an important role in recruiting migrant workers to the Norwegian health sector.

When do migrants use intermediaries? Intermediaries may help overcome some of the obstacles of migrating to work. They provide important functions regarding the need for information; information on vacancies, on requirements, rules, regulations and life in general in the destination country. Intermediaries may fill important functions related to network building and reducing the risk or transaction costs of the migrants. Accordingly, migrants use intermediaries whenever they lack information or personal social networks to establish contact with a potential Austrian or Norwegian employers. Intermediaries, in the form of temporary agencies, play an important role for many migrants in order to land their first job.

In the high-tech and the tourism sectors, EU8 migrants typically try to find a job by using the cost-free services of information providers, e.g. internet job portals. In contrast, in the 24-hour care sector migrants also use intermediaries as administrators. They receive a large number of different services from the intermediaries: from paperwork to travel arrangements and assistance in finding a place to work as a self-employed caregiver. These “full-service” arrangements make it very easy to enter as a self-employed caregiver the Austrian labour market. The two preconditions are basic German skills and having completed a care training lasting at least 200 hours. Many intermediaries that recruit migrants from EU8 countries use the assistance of a company in an EU8 country. Hence, migrants have contact opportunities in their own country and can get all information about working as caregiver in Austria in their own language. With this assistance intermediaries also help migrants to overcome language barriers. As intermediaries in this industry provide services to self-employed migrants, migrants themselves have to pay for the services of the intermediaries, while in other industries the costs of an intermediary’s assistance are usually borne by the employer.

Similar arrangements are found in the health sector in Norway. There has been an acute shortage of health personnel in general and nurses in particular. Intermediaries specialising in recruiting nurses for Norwegian public and private employers offer Swedish nurses higher wages, assistance in applying for recognition of educational credentials and work experience needed to work in Norway as well as assist in travel arrangements and providing a place to live while in Norway.

The decision to use an intermediary in the process of migrating to find job is not however, always intentional. Intermediaries working for employers place ads and often do the first screening of applicants, it is thus not always clear for the migrants in the first place that they are using an intermediary. For instance, one interviewee working in the tourism sector in Austria reported that she actually had searched for a job in her home country. She was invited to a job interview – however, the company was located in Austria. She had never planned to migrate to Austria but since she had to pay back a high bank loan in her home country she eventually decided to take the job. All remaining issues were managed by the intermediary company, including transport to Austria and registration formalities. As the interviewee summarises this ‘lean’ procedure:

“I only had to say ‘yes’ and get into the car that brought me to a small hotel in the countryside of Austria.” (Migrant, int.no. 40, tourism sector)

While this procedure is representative of practices related to fields of extreme labour shortages, similar arrangements can also be observed for other industries.

When do employers use intermediaries? Employers mainly use intermediaries in order to recruit hard-to-reach candidates with special skills or to meet short term or acute labour force demands related to order peaks or seasonal fluctuations. The rationale for using intermediaries is often to diminish the workload of hiring processes and to reduce the risk of a mismatch for the employer.

In the high-tech industry, many companies have long-term business relations with intermediaries. Even if many firms in this sector are large with in-house HR departments, they additionally use services for executive search to staff top management positions or to recruit workers with very specific skills – or in cases of acute demand due to the acquisition of large-scale work intensive projects. In the first case they make use of intermediaries specialising in headhunting and in the latter they may turn to temporary agencies.

In the tourism industry, HR departments usually are less developed due to the smaller size of the company. They use the services of intermediaries to reduce the workload of large amounts of applications or for validating information on certificates and qualifications obtained abroad. Employers in this sector (e.g. hotels, restaurants) mainly rely on internet-based services of private or public labour market intermediaries, e.g. the e-Job-Room of the Austrian or Norwegian Public Employment Service or the European Job Mobility Portal (EURES). Some private intermediary firms provide internet-based services that offer information on the degree of match between a position and the applicants' qualifications. In general, turnover rates in the tourism sector are relatively high. However, due to the large number of job seekers who are available at short notice and a relatively low degree of training efforts, mismatches are not very risky. Exceptions are higher skilled workers, e.g. chefs de rang. For these positions, professional place and search firms are used more often.

In the 24-hour care sector, 'employers' usually are private households searching for caregivers that work for them for an unknown period of time. Hence, these 'employers' are small and, of course, they do not act like a professional human resources department. Private households often need a caregiver at short notice, for instance because a family member suffered from a stroke. Thus, they often contact professional companies to obtain assistance. In Austria, 24-hour care sector intermediaries play a crucial role, since they do not only offer recruiting services to find caregivers, but they also manage the whole interaction between the private household and the caregiver, who typically work as self-employed. Interviewed private households report that one of the reasons for consulting an intermediary was to reduce the risk in the case of an unexpected loss of the caregiver, e.g. because of illness. In the health sector in Norway, large employers like hospitals have experienced an ongoing labour shortage of skilled nurses and have established long-term collaboration with intermediaries supplying them with young skilled personnel from Sweden.

When do intermediaries use intermediaries? Many labour market intermediaries use further intermediaries to get access to the (young) people in EU8 countries. Usually, each intermediary specialises in one country, typically by drawing on a gatekeeper person or an agency located in the respective country. These persons are familiar with the language and/or special recruiting practices within the respective country. In the 24-hour care sector, for example, interviewed intermediaries often collaborate with former caregivers from EU8 countries (usually Slovakia). This person manages the recruiting process in the respective foreign country and provides new applicants for the intermediary. In most job search or recruiting processes more than one intermediary is involved building a *chain of intermediaries* in more or less institutionalised model for collaboration.

7. Work Contracts and Working Conditions

Working conditions cover a broad range of issues, such as working time (hours of work, rest periods, work schedules), earnings, career opportunities, as well as other conditions that exist at the workplace. Migrant workers, and maybe especially youth, are at risk of exploitation when they leave their country of origin for work, as they often lack good information about the jobs and the working conditions in their destination countries. Many also suffer poor working and living conditions in receiving countries. In this section, we look at the working conditions among our young Swedish and EU8 migrants. What kind of working conditions do they have? Do working conditions vary between migrant workers with or without help from intermediaries?

In general, work contracts and working conditions vary significantly across different industries with rather good conditions in the high-tech industry, but most young Swedish and EU8 migrants work in industries or professions with challenging working conditions that are characterised by long working hours and low wages. This is the case for many migrants in the tourism industry in our interviews. Many work on temporary contracts and seasonal or shift work characterizes the industries (e.g. ski-resorts, 24-hour care sector). Nevertheless, most migrants report to be very satisfied with their working conditions. They compare their conditions with the situation in their home countries and usually the jobs in the host country (Austria or Norway) provide better working conditions (with higher wages and better career opportunities) compared to jobs they had (or would have) in their countries of origin.

Working time. Lower skilled migrants usually have to work long hours and they often have to work in the evening or at weekends. 24-hour caregivers have to be available for 24 hours a day during a period of at least two weeks.

“While working for 24 hours a day for two weeks as a caregiver I only had one break of one hour.” (Migrant, int.no. 59, care sector)

Since many migrants migrated to earn money, some of them wish to have long working hours in order to earn a lot of money within a short period of time, as the following statement of an intermediary in the nursing industry in Norway demonstrates:

“They usually work 37.5 hours per week. However, if they could choose they would prefer to work up to 70 hours per week” (Intermediary, care sector)

Earnings. In the high-tech industry, highly skilled migrants usually have high salaries. However, wages of lower skilled migrants are usually rather low. In the 24-hour care sector, incomes range from around 30 to 80 euros (gross) for 24 hours. In the tourism sector, many young migrants work for the minimum wage (that is determined in Austria by the collective bargaining agreement of the industry). Nevertheless, young migrants are often satisfied with their income because it is usually more as they would earn in their home countries.

Career opportunities. Our interviews unveiled one important difference between native and migrant workers in Austria. In all industries, incumbents of jobs at a higher level of the organization’s formal hierarchy are much more often native workers. For instance, in the tourism and the high-tech industries Austrians typically exclusively hold management positions. Highly skilled migrants working in the high-tech sector state that their career development opportunities are poorer compared to their Austrian colleagues. We did not find this pattern among our Swedish migrants. On the contrary,

several of the low skilled Swedish migrants argued that they experienced the career opportunities as good, and in many cases better than in Sweden. Some was already in leader positions.

Living conditions. In industries such as the 24-hour care sector or the tourism industry in Austria, migrants usually live directly at their workplaces. On the one hand, in this way they save money because they usually get free board and lodging on top of their salary. On the other hand, employees have less private sphere and are more exposed to their employers. In particular, in the 24-hour care sector, migrants are very vulnerable because they usually live in the same household as their client(s) and often share facilities such as the bathroom and the kitchen. In general, many migrants live in small apartments, sometimes with flatmates in order to minimize living costs.

7.1 The Role of Intermediaries

The role of intermediaries concerning work contracts and working condition is twofold. On the one hand, they can act as powerful mediators that secure good working conditions and feasible work contracts. On the other hand, there is also a danger that intermediaries use the young migrants' lack of information and weak position in the labour market to exploit them. We did not find any big differences in working conditions between young migrants using intermediaries and those who did not. Most often migrants, at least among our Swedish migrants in Norway, use temporary agencies to get work at their initial stay in the destination country. Through these intermediaries, they got temporary work to pay for living costs, and in most cases, they turned over to more fixed contracts directly with an employer after some time. In general, the migrants had good experiences with the intermediaries. They received good information about the Norwegian labour market, and the intermediaries visited them at their working places to make sure they were OK.

Despite the lack of directly negative descriptions of employment at intermediaries, it was unveiled that some of the jobs mediated through temporary agencies are very short and uncertain. Many were call-in substitutes and they registered with several temporary agencies simultaneously in an attempt to secure a decent income. In Norway, many young migrants are hired on so-called 'zero-hour-contracts'³ with limited control over their working time. Based on the prevalence of such contracts, Friberg (2016) has argued that temporary agencies have operated as a spearhead to establish a permanent 'hyper-flexible' level of working migrants in an otherwise strongly regulated Norwegian labour market.

An attempt to secure the working conditions of workers working for temporary agencies is the directive on Temporary Agency Work (2008/104/EC) introduced in 2008. The directive aims to guarantee a minimum level of effective protection to temporary workers laying down the principle of non-discrimination, regarding the essential conditions of work and of employment, between temporary workers and workers who are recruited by the user company. In our material, both employers and intermediaries state they are very well aware of the existence of and their obligations related to this directive.

Intermediaries seem to have a distinct and central role in the health and care industry in both Norway and Austria. However, their role may be different. In Norway, intermediaries are important for Swedish nurses to get access to hospitals and other health and care institutions. The Swedish nurses get the work conditions as Norwegians, but in some cases, they also receive bed and boards. This is a sharp

³ This is a type of contract where the employer claims to have the discretion to vary the employee's working hours, usually anywhere from full-time to 'zero-hours'.

contrast to the EU8 migrants working in the Austrian 24-hour care sector, and the use of intermediaries in this sector.

There is a distinct difference in the regulation of intermediaries such as temporary agencies, where employees are hired by the agency, and intermediaries matching employers with the self-employed workers in the 24-hour care sector. In contrast to the former, the latter are not covered by the Directive on Temporary Agency Work.

7.2 The 24-Hour Care Sector: A Growing and Challenging Industry

The 24-hour care sector in Austria is a fast growing sector within the health and care industry. The sector is a special case regarding working conditions. A high share of foreign workers characterizes the sector and the working conditions are challenging. As a representative of a non-profit intermediary organisation puts it:

“Working in this industry is rather challenging, you have to be tough. Many clients have dementia. A caregiver is alone with the client and responsible for 24 hours per day and 14 days long and has to manage everything during this period.” (Intermediary, int.no. 54, care sector)

In the 24-hour care sector, (young) migrants work as self-employed. Typically, they have a service contract with the household – for which Austrian Federal Ministry provides a template – and a separate contract with the intermediary. Law does not regulate these contracts. Thus, some ‘black sheep’ intermediaries exist which deploy oppressive contracts to bind migrants. However, only few of our interviewees reported on having personally experienced a form of oppressive binding. One evidence relates to the organisation of travelling: according to the migrant caregivers, some intermediaries encourage or even force caregivers to use a certain taxi company for their travel home and back to work, even if other providers would be faster and/or cheaper.

Nevertheless, most migrant caregivers evaluate their situation rather positively (cf. Bahna 2015) and are interested to use the services of intermediaries. Many intermediaries play the role of a mediator between employee (resp. self-employed caregiver) and employer (resp. private households) and they provide special services to reduce the risks that (young) migrants might face:

- Risk reduction of losing the job. Since clients typically are elder persons or persons that are seriously ill, often the job terminates abruptly, e.g. due to the death of the client. Intermediaries provide a buffer against this risk by offering a new client – usually within a few days.
- Securing good working conditions. Migrant 24-hour caregivers, who typically live in the Austrian private households far away from their home countries, are at their clients’ mercy. Intermediaries operate as point of contact and as mediator in the case that problems with the clients arise.
- Securing a fair income. As an Austrian intermediary company is more powerful than a single EU8 migrant (especially a migrant women), intermediaries can protect caregivers from exploitation by private households.

Because of these services provided by intermediaries, self-employed migrants have to pay fees to the intermediaries in the 24-hour care sector, while in the other industries usually only employers pay for the intermediaries' services.

8. Gender Issues

Since gender plays a central role for causes and consequences of labour migration (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006), in this section, we discuss gender patterns among the EU8 and Swedish labour migrants coming to Austria and Norway.

In Norway, we found a gender gap with fewer women than men from Sweden working in Norway (see Figure 6). Both among commuters and residents the number of men is higher than the comparable number among women. Many of the Swedish migrant workers in the Norwegian health sector are women nurses educated in Sweden. This group is in many ways different from the other groups of Swedish migrants. They are older, have higher education, and they often have children in Sweden. Most of these nurses do not come to work in Norway because of problems with unemployment in Sweden, but because of the higher wages and more favourable work plans offered in the Norwegian health sector. Similarly as caregivers in Austria they have a large workload in the period they stay in Norway and then they have an equivalent period off work home with their children in Sweden.

In Austria, there is a similar gender gap for EU8 migrants, in particular, in the age group between 25 and 34 years (see Figure 2). After the restrictions for EU8 migrants were lifted in 2011 the number of young men from EU8 countries working in Austria has increased much faster than the number of women. When we asked our informants they point to the explanation of family obligations – towards children and/or parents. However, this does not explain that the gender difference was much smaller before free labour movement. Furthermore, many young women from EU8 countries in our sample have children and are nevertheless working in Austria. Their children often stay with their grandparents in the country of origin, while the mother is working in Austria. Thus, family obligations only provide a rather weak argument for the growing gender gap. A deeper look into the data shows that the number of men from EU8 countries employed by temporary agency has been growing rapidly and much faster than the number of women. Around 1,100 male EU8 migrants were employed by temporary agencies in 2007 and 8,100 in 2015. However, data do not provide any information about the industry these temporary workers are actually working. Deeper insight might be found in male dominated industries not considered in this study, e.g. the construction industry.

We found the typical gender segregation between different industries with a larger number of women working in reproductive professions – as 24-hour caregivers in Austria or as nurses in Norway – and with a large share of men working in technical fields. In the 24-hour care sector in Austria, there is also a vertical gender segregation: most of the caregivers from EU8 countries are women. However, many of the intermediating persons we know are men (except from the large Austrian non-profit organisations that operate as intermediaries in this sector). EU8 women work as self-employed caregivers, while men (often middle- or higher aged native Austrians) act as their intermediaries and managers. This sector was also the main area where gender issues arose during our interviews. For instance, intermediaries stated that they would like to see more men doing care work, because taking care of clients with severe physical impairments requires physical strength, such as lifting a person out of bed into a wheelchair. Furthermore, in their opinion men cook equally well as women. However, most clients have reservations about men and prefer women as caregivers.

In the high-tech industry, 'gender' did not come up as topic during the interviews in neither Norway nor Austria. Although (or: because) most employees in this sector are men. In the tourism sector, shares of women and men employees seem nearly equal. However, they usually do different tasks. While women typically work as waitresses and room maids, men more often work in restaurant kitchens.

9. Discussion

Both Austria and Norway attract young migrants from neighbouring countries providing relatively attractive working conditions with high wages and high job security compared to the countries of origin. In Austria one of the largest – and rapidly increasing groups are EU8 migrants – with around 210.000 of them working in Austria in 2015. Most of them are older than 25 years old. In Norway, EU8 migrants also constitute an important group in some sectors. However, in the tourism, health-care and IT industries, young Swedish migrants are more important. In sum, around 60.000 Swedes were working in Norway at the end of 2013.

Both Austria and Norway experience labour shortages in several segments of the labour market. In particular, there is a high demand for motivated and flexible workers in the tourism industry. Furthermore, employers in the IT sector need highly skilled workers, like in most countries in the EU, and there is also a quickly growing demand of health and, in particular, care workers in both countries. For Austrian or Norwegian employers, young migrants from neighbouring countries offer easily accessible, trainable and highly motivated labour supply. In addition, they constitute a pool of workers functioning as a potential buffer against changing business cycles, they possess specialised skills or are willing to do jobs that young nationals are not willing to do.

Despite these similarities, Austria and Norway vary in their relation to the respective countries of origin we focus on in this study. Austria has implemented transitory periods on free movement of workers from EU8 countries until May 2011, while migration to Norway from Sweden has had a history of free mobility since 1954. Furthermore, Norway and Sweden share similar languages, educational systems, and a long history of an open reciprocal labour access. Accordingly, in Norway the health system is relatively open for highly skilled migrants (mainly nurses) from Sweden. Norway and Sweden have similar educational systems and a well-developed authority for approval of (foreign) educational credentials. Thus, barriers for Swedish nurses that want to work in Norway are very low. In Austria, however, the institutionalized health and care system has rather high barriers for migrants, because foreign degrees and certificates are usually less valued than Austrian ones. An exception is the non-institutionalized 24-hour care sector for private households that was recently legalized in Austria and allows self-employed to work in private households since 2008. This sector has very low access barriers and thus a large number of women from EU8 countries work in this industry. Nevertheless, EU8 migrants often have to acquire new skills to enter the Austrian labour market: the most important ones are German language skills. In addition, Austrian employers often have insecurities about foreign qualifications and skills of EU8 migrants. Proceedings and official service centres that regulate the recognition of foreign certificates have only recently been introduced and often migrants have to fulfil additional requirements to get an equivalent degree. For instance, many young EU8 migrants that had already worked as nurses in their home country are only allowed to work as caregivers in Austria. Otherwise, they would have to pass some additional exams.

Main mobility drivers for labour migration of young people are labour market opportunity differentials between countries. Individuals are found to weigh the potential gains against the likely social and other relevant costs related to migration (Benton & Petrovic, 2012). In our study, major drivers for youth labour migration are better job opportunities and better working conditions with higher wages compared to the country of origin. Both Austria and Norway are characterized by low youth unemployment rates and comparatively high median earnings compared to their eastwardly bordering countries. In 2014 youth unemployment rate in Austria was only 10.3 whereas in the EU8 countries it ranged between 15.9 in the Czech Republic and 29.7 in Slovakia. Furthermore, gross monthly

median earnings in Austria are about twice as high as in Slovenia and even more than 5 times higher than in Hungary. In Norway, youth unemployment was even below 8 percent while it was over 20 percent in Sweden. In 2014, the mean wages in Norway were about 70 percent higher than the mean wages in Sweden. For both the North-North migration and the East-West migration examined in this study, wage differentials play a major role. However, it is a stronger pull factor for young EU8 migrants working in Austria than for Swedes in Norway. Some young EU8 migrants reported that even with a job at home they decide to work in Austria because low incomes in their home countries make it difficult to establish an own life. Swedes mainly moved to Norway to find better job opportunities.

This difference in labour market outcomes between host and home country has two sides. On the one side, it may pose a threat to the labour market situation of young migrants. They are often more willing to do poorly paid jobs with poor working conditions in Austria or Norway when it still pays compared to job opportunities and incomes in their home country. In the case of Norway, where there are no agreed minimum wages, and where wages are negotiated in collective agreements, wages and working conditions in the more unregulated parts of the labour market may be particularly vulnerable. This might be the case, in particular in industries where the union coverage is low, as for instance in the tourism industry or the 24-hour care sector. Furthermore, high wage differentials are usually related to significant differences in the costs of living. This poses an important obstacle for migrants in the phase of gaining a foothold in both Austria and Norway. Young migrants adjust however, by being more able and willing to accept living and housing conditions way below the average – at least for a limited period. Both in Austria and Norway young migrants turn to shared housing or even couch-surfing for the start of their labour migration. This opens up for many ad-hoc living arrangements and a possible grey market in housing – another challenge and possible threat to the young migrants. Industries that offer board and lodging, e.g. the tourism or the 24-hour care sector, are therefore particularly attractive for young migrants that plan to earn money to then turn back to their home countries.

On the other hand, labour migration might help young people to overcome temporary crises in the own country and provide youth's life with new experiences and chances. Both Austria and Norway are attractive in terms of living standard – they have a well-developed health system, provide good working and living conditions, etc. Most migrants interviewed in Norway have migrated to the area around a “large” city and they enjoy the adventure, the new culture and freedom to live their lives in a way that was not available to them at home.

Labour migration also affects both the labour market of the sending and the receiving countries. As an example, the labour migration of young Swedes to Norway in general and to the Oslo region in particular has effects on wages and employment on the Norwegian labour market. Due to increased competition for jobs, Norwegian youth have less opportunities to gain work experience (Sundt, 2012). Sundt (Ibid.) shows that one percent increase in the share of young Swedish workers will result in a decrease in the share of young Norwegians by 0.5 percent.

The role of labour market intermediaries differs considerably between industries and slightly between the two countries. In Austria, intermediaries are major players in the 24-hour care sector where migrant women are supported to get a job working as self-employed in an Austrian household. In Norway, however, intermediaries play a somewhat more important role for the high-skilled migrants. In both countries, labour market intermediaries hold powerful positions in the triangular relationship between employer and employees. In some cases, they use their power to secure better working conditions for migrants. However, most labour market intermediaries have a stronger relation to the employers than to the employees they recruit or hire. They see the employers as their ‘clients’ they

work for while the workers are sometimes seen as the 'goods' they provide. Hence, young migrants are in danger to be exploited, in particular when they are young and from another country. Especially, in the 24-hour care sector in Austria, where intermediaries hold a powerful gatekeeper position between private households and migrants some (but not all) intermediaries use their position to exploit the self-employed migrants. Thus we propose to focus more on the needs of the migrants themselves, and in particular on the needs of the young low-skilled migrants. These tend to have fewer resources available in terms of money and family support and they face bigger challenges and obstacles in achieving a strong foothold in the receiving country.

10. Conclusion and Policy Implications

One important strategy to combat youth unemployment is to increase the mobility of young workers – from a country or area with few job-opportunities to a country or area with a need for labour. The transaction costs for both employers and job seekers may however be too high – thus hindering the potential flow of workers within Europe. For employers the transaction costs relate to getting in contact with potential workers, insecurity regarding competencies, skills, motivation and stability. For job seekers the transaction costs relate to lack of relevant and trustworthy information on job-openings, the social costs of leaving friends and family behind and the costs of finding ones place in a new country.

In this section we focus on the perspectives and experiences of young migrants. Young migrants usually move through certain stages in the migration process: decision, preparation and moving, entering and gaining a foothold in the new labour market and decisions on staying in the country of destination or returning back home. In the subsequent paragraphs we elaborate on the prototypical stages of the migration process. Drawing on our research findings we suggest policy implications.

Decision. At this stage, information is crucial (cf. EUKN, 2013). The needed information is not only job-related but young people are also concerned with issues related to language, social contacts and living conditions in the country of destination. However, they find it challenging to acquire relevant, systematised and trustworthy information. Labour market intermediaries, like the local public employment services or educational institutions, could play a more crucial role as information providers that support youth in moving abroad to get a job. However, currently these institutions often do not yet undertake the task of supporting young people who wish to move to another country. We suggest to foster international collaboration of the public employment services, e.g. in form of the network of EURES that was established for this purpose. Furthermore, social media should be considered as an important communication tool to reach young people.

Preparation and moving. The preparation stage involves making practical arrangements for the moving stage, such as finding a place to stay in the country of destination or having a plan how to survive financially during the first period. Our results indicate that in this stage social networks in the country of destination are very helpful. Furthermore, migrants who wish to move to Austria need sufficient German language skills. Insufficient languages skills make it difficult to get to get in contact with people in the country of destination in order to have better access to housing. Programmes that help to improve language skills and to foster transnational networks are helpful to overcome obstacles in this stage. An increased focus on intra-EU exchange during education may be one way, subsidised language courses or increased opportunities for financial support for participating in language training another. Furthermore, financial support opportunities should be offered in order to help young migrants to overcome financial obstacles related to travelling and surviving during the period waiting for a first pay check. This could be done in a model similar to the one in “Your first EURES Job (YfEJ)” or the Swedish “jobbresan” model (see also example of best practice below).

Entering the labour market in the destination country. At this stage, many migrants are just happy to get a job at all – working conditions and type of contracts are of secondary priority. Furthermore, the non-recognition of foreign qualification and experience and the above mentioned insufficient language skills may force young migrant to jobs that lie under their skill level. This may negatively affect matching quality as well as work contracts and working conditions for the young migrants. At this stage, many migrants accept short-termed contracts and poor working conditions in order to earn money. Also, they often find better working conditions in Austria or Norway as in their home countries

and are thus willing to work long hours or to do jobs that lie under their skill level. Here again, public (or private) labour market intermediaries or labour unions could be mediators that stand between employers and employees that negotiate working contracts and working conditions. This services could be set up as a web-based service or as an actual contact point for migrants. Continued efforts to standardise educational criteria and to develop a European dictionary of education and grades may be another strategy to help migrants (but also employers) to get adequate positions.

Gaining a foothold in the labour market. Many migrants plan to use the first job in the receiving country as a stepping stone into the foreign labour market. However, the leap to a better job is usually hampered by further obstacles. Since they have already accepted certain working conditions that often do not provide training or career opportunities or the possibility to acquire relevant working experience they might get trapped in that job category. 24-hour caregivers in Austria, for example, have very low chances to find a job in another industry in Austria because their position usually does not provide any training opportunities and living in private households only offers little opportunity to build social networks or to get in contact with other Austrian employers. Interviewees working for temporary agencies in Norway mention quarantine regulations in their working contracts as obstacles for career development. Hence, we propose to more strongly focus on the role of labour market intermediaries and – if necessary – limit their power. Labour unions should be encouraged to take responsibilities also for the young migrants employed by intermediaries within their industry. In general, we suggest programmes that help young migrants to develop their skills at work and to participate to training programmes that support them to get access to jobs that fit to their skills and interests.

Decision on staying or returning. After a successful labour migration there comes a point where the migrants are faced with the decision of staying in the country of destination or returning home. The labour market opportunities back home may have changed and the experience and skills gained by working abroad may have increased their job opportunities. These decisions include a complex set of evaluations for the migrants. Many of the young migrants we interviewed – in particular highly skilled workers – plan to stay in the country of destination because of lack of career opportunities in their own countries.

Whether retention of or the return of migrants should be encouraged by policies is a matter of discussion (a discussion taken elsewhere, e.g. in the form of brain-drain/brain-gain debates). Significant numbers of young migrants come from the EU8 countries to Austria and from Sweden to Norway. Currently, most of these migrants provide 'mere labour' in the sense of Ortlieb and Sieben (2013). From the perspective of the receiving countries, these developments, on the one hand, can be considered positive, because the migrants compensate for certain labour market shortages. On the other hand, since availability of young migrants presents the most important reason of employers for recruiting them, and employers do not seem to invest in the migrants' career development or to value competences related to their ethnic background, the receiving countries might not fully capitalise on the young migrants' competences. The influence on the sending countries labour market is also not yet clear. On the one hand, the situation might be threatening, because they lose young people in their own workforce. On the other hand, youth mobility might help to overcome temporary phases of high youth unemployment in the own country and sending countries might profit from the working experiences and networks of returning migrants afterwards (cf. Masso, Kureková, Tverdostup & Žilinčiková, 2016).

The role of intermediaries. Our results indicate that intermediaries play a role in all the above described stages of migration. In general, online social networks are especially successful to reach young migrants at the first stage. Because personal recommendation is also important to reduce uncertainties related to the matching process, intermediary companies often rely on an anchor person or organisation in the migrants' country of origin. The international partners help to find trustful, motivated and qualified employees. With respect to working conditions intermediaries have the potential to act in both directions: on the one hand, some of them use their advantage in knowledge to exploit young migrants. On the other hand, many intermediaries protect their clients and ensure good contract and working conditions to the young migrants.

As an intermediate actor in the relationship between employers and migrants, labour market intermediaries are not necessarily neutral. Following a business' logic, intermediaries focus on those who pay for their services. In most cases they consider employers as "clients" and migrants as assets. Their first responsibility is towards their clients and thus, the demand side of the labour market. Their relation to the employers is dependent on providing a good "products": workers with the right qualifications, motivation and loyalty – preferably at the lowest possible cost. In this logic and relation there is a risk of selling the "goods" too cheap – leaving young migrants in jobs with poor working conditions: low pay for long working hours, short term contracts etc. At the same time migrants are important assets for the intermediaries that make their money on selling these assets to employers.

To sum up, we propose to strengthen the role of public labour market intermediaries and to focus on existing private labour market intermediaries, thereby increasing monitoring and regulating their businesses to secure good working conditions for young migrants.

Example of Best Practices

A policy example – Jobbresan (The job travel): As a response to soaring youth unemployment in some Swedish municipalities an innovative project was launched in collaboration between the municipality, the public employment service and the social security administration. The project was coordinated by the Nordic council of ministers. Focusing on the needs of the young unemployed a model called *Söderhamnsmodellen* was developed, consisting of three steps aimed at removing the main obstacles faced by young labour migrants. These were lack of capital and work experience, lack of networks in the country of destination and advice on how to find work and place to live in Norway. The project recruited long-term unemployed living off unemployment benefits or social assistance. The young unemployed were offered some initial courses in writing CVs, applying for jobs, how to perform in a job interview and general training in Norwegian language and culture. After a short period of training they were sent by bus to the Norwegian capital Oslo. In Oslo they were offered shared housing with expenses paid for a month. During the first days they were instructed on practicalities related to bank-accounts, work permit and job-search and invited to an introductory meeting with local representatives from the labour union providing information on rights and obligations in the Norwegian labour market. Experiences from the participants were positive, they enjoyed being together as a group sharing information and experiences, they had readily available assistance to assess job-offers and contracts etc. As a result, a surprisingly large share of the job-travellers found jobs within a short period of time.

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