

ILO Policy Advisory Committee on Fair Migration in the Middle East Discussion Note for Policymakers*

Interregional dialogues on migration involving countries in the Middle East and Africa

Migration from African countries to the Middle East is increasing. While Egypt continues to dominate the stock of African migrant workers in the region, particularly in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, emerging yet fragmented data suggests an increasing phenomenon of migrant workers in vulnerable situations from various African countries in East and West Africa. Currently, the two major interregional dialogues on labour migration to the Middle East do not include African countries. What is the way forward, therefore, to ensure that relevant stakeholders from African countries can participate in an inter-regional dialogue which covers the unique issues faced by African migrant workers? How can African countries, and the international community, prevent fragmentation of dialogues, which could lead to a ‘race to the bottom’ in protections for migrant workers?

1. What do we know about migration from Africa to the Middle East?

Migration between Africa and the Middle East is complex, with countries often simultaneously representing points of origin, transit and destination. Demographic and socioeconomic trends, conflict and increasingly, climate change, are among the multitude of factors that influence migration dynamics.

According to UN population estimates and projections,¹ 41 per cent of the world’s total population growth in the next decade (+742 million in 2020-2029) will take place in Sub-Saharan Africa (+301 million). In the following decades, the share of Sub-Saharan Africa in the world’s total population growth is projected to continuously increase as follows: 53 per cent in the 2030s, 66 per cent in the 2040s, 75 per cent in the 2050s, 86 per cent in the 2070s, and respectively 109, 131, 157 and 189 per cent in the four decades from 2060 until 2100 when Sub-Saharan Africa would remain the only region with positive rates of population growth, while all other regions would have negative rates. This will create an enormous challenge in creating jobs and many workers may seek employment opportunities abroad.

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Whilst data on the number of workers migrating from Africa to the Middle East is limited, there is indication of a marked increase over the past two decades, including the employment of more African women as domestic workers, especially in Lebanon and the GCC countries.²

The stock of migrants from African countries in the GCC was estimated by the Population Division of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) to be 3.6 million in 2019 (including workers in both a regular and an irregular situation), and around 213,000 in Jordan and Lebanon.³ However, UNDESA data appears to significantly underestimate the total number of Sub-Saharan African migrants. For example, while estimates from the Gulf Labour Markets, Migration, and Population (GLMM) Programme indicate at least 44,618 Kenyan workers in the Gulf, and some researchers put this figure at up to 300,000 Kenyans,⁴ UNDESA marks zero Kenyans in the Gulf in 2019. Similarly, UNDESA documents just over 177,000 Ethiopians in GCC countries, Jordan and Lebanon, while the total number has been estimated by other sources to be more than one million.⁵

Egypt dominates as a country of origin, followed by Sudan. Both countries have a long history of migration to the Middle East at various skill levels.⁶ More recently, labour migration from countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is also becoming more prominent, particularly female domestic workers from Ethiopia.⁷

According to the African Union, the African diaspora in the Middle East remitted up to USD 98 billion in 2014.⁸

1 UNDESA (2015) [World Population Prospects. The 2015 Revision.](#)

2 Human Rights Watch (2017) [Working Like a Robot: Abuse of Tanzania Domestic Workers in Oman and the UAE.](#)

3 UNDESA (2019) [International migrant stock. The 2019 revision.](#)

4 Malit, Jr., F.T. and Al Youha, A. (2016). [Labor protection in the Gulf Countries: A comparative analysis of Kenyan governmental dilemmas in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.](#)

5 It has been estimated that there are approximately 500,000 Ethiopian workers in Saudi Arabia alone. According to Lebanon administrative data, there were more than 178,000 Ethiopian domestic workers in 2018, and according to the African Union (AU), in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Ethiopians represent 60 per cent of all domestic workers. *Report of Meeting of African Ambassadors of main countries of origin of African migrants to the Middle East States and GCC*, 29 October 2019 (hereafter AU, 2019).

6 According to the Egyptian government, there are more than 6 million Egyptian workers in the Middle East.

7 ITUC-AFRICA (2018) [African Labour Migration to the GCC States: The Case of Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda.](#)

8 [An African Trade Union Overview](#), p. 3; UNDESA (2017) [International migrant stock: The 2017 revision.](#)

8 Head of Diaspora Unit, AU Civil Society and Diaspora Organization, cited in AU (2019), above, n. 5.



Table 1: Estimated African Migrant Stocks and Share in the Population of GCC countries, 2000 and 2019

Country	African migrant stock (2000)	African migrant stock (2019)
Bahrain	33,705	100,522
Kuwait	158,746	483,956
Oman	38,453	104,585
Qatar	14,280	228,861
KSA	638,991	1,568,165
UAE	347,271	1,108,094
All GCC	1,221,446	3,594,183

Source: UNDESA 2019.⁹

The majority of African workers who migrate to the Middle East are young and low-skilled. Many are engaged in construction work, but the composition of migrant workers is becoming more feminized due to the high demand for work for women in the domestic work sector. In 2017-18, the Ethiopian and Ugandan governments lifted bans on domestic workers' employment in the GCC states and Lebanon (in the case of the Ethiopian government), whilst the Ghanaian government put in place a ban on domestic workers to the Middle East after reports of trafficking and physical abuse.¹⁰ The number of bilateral labour agreements (BLAs) and Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) in the Africa – Middle East corridor also continues to grow.¹¹

African workers face a range of human rights and decent work deficits, starting in countries of origin with abusive and fraudulent recruitment practices that can lead to irregular migration, trafficking and forced labour. The absence of pre-employment and pre-departure orientation in many countries exacerbates these practices. At destination, common problems faced by African workers include contract substitution, non-payment or delays in the payment of salaries, low pay generally as compared to other migrant workers, excessive working hours, and confiscation of passports. They can also suffer verbal and physical abuse, including gender-based and racial violence and harassment, particularly in the case of migrant domestic workers.¹²

2. What are the opportunities for intra-regional dialogue in Africa relating to migration to the Middle East?

Whilst there are multiple discussions and platforms at the intra-, inter-, and sub-regional levels in the African continent, most of the dialogue is currently focused on intra-African migration, and discussions with Middle Eastern countries largely take place on a bilateral basis. Furthermore, the absence of a regional mechanism for dialogue and advisory support on labour migration law, policy and practice (particularly one

which involves social partners) across Africa remains a major hindrance. However, the situation is changing.

One opportunity for dialogue in Africa is the **Commission on Labour and Social Affairs** (AUC) under the auspices of the African Union (AU). The AUC, in 2006, adopted the AU Migration Policy Framework for Africa (MPFA) and the African Common Position on Migration and Development (ACPM), providing comprehensive and integrated policy guidance to AU Member States and regional economic communities in Africa. In 2018, the AU adopted a revised Migration Policy Framework for Africa (2018-2030) and Plan of Action, which includes a section on labour migration and education, and identifies inter-state and inter-regional cooperation as a cross-cutting issue. In this regard, the Framework draws attention to the need to foster cooperation and collaborative partnerships on migration within Africa but also with other regional entities, such as the European Union and the League of Arab States.¹³ As part of the Aspirations¹⁴ enshrined in Agenda 2063, the AU is facilitating consultations among key countries of origin and destination for African migrant workers to the Middle East and Gulf region with the objective of building essential international cooperation frameworks in the corridor.

Complementing these efforts is the **Labour Migration Advisory Committee** (LMAC), which was one of the first outputs of the AU/ILO/IOM/United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) Joint Programme on Labour Migration Governance for Development and Integration in Africa. The LMAC is the first of a three-layer comprehensive and integrated consultation mechanism on labour migration/mobility consisting of coordination and consultation structures at national, regional economic communities and Africa-wide levels. The LMAC has recognized the importance of improved understanding of and addressing the issues around migration to the Arab States and has facilitated a series of consultations and information sessions with key countries of origin and destination, which began in 2018 during the Symposium on Intra-African Labour Mobility. Preliminary assessment missions were also carried out to the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and the Abu Dhabi Dialogue Secretariat in 2019, following which LMAC concluded that African migrant workers in most of the key destination countries face similar issues and challenges, requiring a joint approach. The AUC thus convened a Meeting of African Ambassadors of the main countries of origin of African migrants to the Middle East States and GCC, on 29 October 2019, to discuss the creation of a multilateral mechanism between the AU and the countries in the Middle East.

Another important recent development was the conclusion of the High Level Regional Ministerial Meeting on Labour Migration Policies in East and Horn of Africa on 20-21 January 2020, in which the participating **Labour and Social Protection Ministers** from 11 countries in East and Horn of Africa agreed to set up a regional annual forum by the end of 2020, which would, amongst other tasks, 'cooperate

⁹ UNDESA (2019), above, n. 3.

¹⁰ ITUC-AFRICA (2018), above, n. 7.

¹¹ Kenya has concluded BLAs with Qatar, Saudi Arabia and UAE. Similarly, Ethiopia has concluded BLAs with Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and is in the process of negotiating BLAs with four other GCC countries. Madagascar and Uganda are also in negotiations with GCC countries to conclude BLAs (based on information collected from representatives of Ministries of Labour during the joint ILO-IOM *Expert Consultative Workshop on Assessment of Bilateral Labour Migration Arrangements*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 22 November 2018).

¹² ITUC-AFRICA (2018), above, n. 7, pp. 16-18.

¹³ [Migration Policy Framework for Africa \(2018-2030\) and Plan of Action](#), pp. 13-21 and 52-53 respectively.

¹⁴ [Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want. First Ten-Year Implementation Plan \(2014-2023\)](#), September 2015. See also AU, 2019, above, n. 5.

towards establishing a common platform for engagement with the GCC on labour migration.¹⁵

Whilst there are a number of (sub-regional) regional consultative processes (RCPs) on migration in Africa, few deal specifically with labour migration. The **Intergovernmental Authority on Development Regional Consultative Process on Migration** (IGAD RCP) is an active RCP with eight East African participating countries,¹⁶ run in collaboration with the AUC and the IOM, and has taken an increasing interest in migration to the Middle East. In 2015 and 2018, the IGAD focused on labour migration, with labour migration towards the Middle East a point of discussion amongst its Member States; however, no clear approach has yet been formulated on this issue.

The **Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa** (MIDSA), which brings together 16 countries in the sub region,¹⁷ initially commenced only at the technical level; however, in 2010, MIDSA held its first ministerial meeting with high-level participation of most countries in the region as well as donors. Technical and ministerial-level meetings are now held on a biannual, alternating basis. In 2014, the Southern African Development Community (SADC),¹⁸ which manages the MIDSA, launched the Labour Migration Policy Framework, developed through tripartite consultation, in addition to already existing treaties and protocols on the free movement of persons.

In 2001, the **Migration Dialogue for West Africa** (MIDWA) was established by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for the 15 states operating free movement within the region and regional passports.¹⁹ MIDWA has seven thematic working groups comprising migration experts from ECOWAS and Mauritania. In 2013, the ECOWAS Commission joined with the EU, ILO, IOM and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) to implement the Support to Free Movement of Persons and Migration in West Africa project, which is aimed at supporting migration data management, border management, labour migration and combating trafficking in persons in West Africa.

Other RCPs in Africa, such as the **Migration Dialogue from the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa Member States** (MIDCOM) and the **Migration Dialogue for Central African States** (MIDCAS), also include labour migration as part of their thematic focus, amongst a range of other migration issues, such as irregular migration, migration and development, and migration and health.²⁰

These various RCPs in Africa are brought together by the **Pan-African Forum on Migration** (PAFOM), which aims to promote and deepen inter-state dialogue and intra/inter-

regional cooperation on migration. In 2018, it was decided that in future the PAFOM will be led by the AUC, and the outcome document of the meeting (while focusing largely on intra-regional migration) referred also to labour migration to the Middle East, particularly from Uganda, and drew attention to the need to collect more accurate and reliable data and statistics for the development, implementation and monitoring of evidence-based migration policies.²¹

One useful model for how African countries could engage in closer intra-regional dialogue on migration to the Middle East, is the Colombo Process, an RCP focused on issues related to labour migration, including to the Middle East (and other regions).²² The **Colombo Process** organizes Ministerial and Senior Officials' meetings, although the relevant focal points are generally from ministries of foreign affairs and specific ministries established to address overseas employment rather than labour ministries. The aim of the Colombo Process is to provide a forum for Asian countries of origin to:

- Share experiences, lessons learned and best practices on overseas employment;
- Consult on issues faced by migrant workers, governments of countries of origin and destination, and propose practical solutions for the wellbeing of migrant workers;
- Optimize development benefits from organized overseas employment and enhance dialogue with countries of destination; and
- Review and monitor the implementation of recommendations, and identify further steps for action.

COLOMBO PROCESS

Established: 2003

Members: Twelve Asian countries of origin (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Viet Nam and Cambodia).

Observers: Governments from destination countries – GCC (except Oman), Italy, Malaysia, Republic of Korea, Switzerland, as well as UN organizations (ILO, IOM, UN Women).

Meetings: Senior Officials' Meetings every year; Ministerial meetings are held every second year.

The Colombo Process has evolved around the following thematic areas (supported by different working groups): (a) Skills and qualification recognition processes; (b) Fostering ethical recruitment; (c) Effective pre-departure orientation and empowerment; (d) Reducing the costs of remittances transfer; (e) Enhancing capacities of the Colombo Process participating countries to track labour market trends in support of Colombo Process goals; (f) Consular support for migrant workers;

15 Communiqué of the Regional Ministerial Forum on Harmonising Labour Migration Policies in East and Horn of Africa: A United Approach on Safe, Regular and Humane Labour Migration, 21 January 2020. The countries participating were Kenya, Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania and Uganda.

16 Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda.

17 Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

18 Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

19 Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo. The MIDWA Regional Secretariat was created within the ECOWAS Commission in 2017, chaired by the ECOWAS Free Movement Directorate with technical support from IOM. The MIDWA Steering Committee comprises representatives of nine ECOWAS Member States and four observers: Switzerland, ECOWAS, EU, and IOM.

20 Summary information on all RCPs, including those in Africa mentioned above, is available from the IOM website at <https://www.iom.int/regional-consultative-processes-migration>.

21 *Final Report of the 4th Pan-African Forum on Migration (PAFOM), Djibouti, 19-21 November 2018*.

22 See the Colombo Process website at <https://www.colomboprocess.org/>.

(g) Operationalization of the migration-related Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in a holistic manner; and (h) Promoting equality for women migrant workers.

Additionally, the Colombo Process aims to link up with other RCPs, including the Abu Dhabi Dialogue (discussed below), to “promote further joint activities ... on common thematic areas through replicating pilot projects between selected countries of the [Abu Dhabi Dialogue] ... and how to respond to any future policy developments in the GCC on labour mobility” (Colombo Declaration 2016). In October 2019, the Government of Sri Lanka was invited, as the former Chair of the Colombo Process, to share lessons learned with the African Ambassadors of the main countries of origin of African migrants to the Middle East States and GCC.²³

3. What are the opportunities for inter-regional dialogue between African countries of origin and the Middle East, particularly the GCC?

Currently, the main RCP on migration towards the GCC is the **Abu Dhabi Dialogue Among the Asian Labour Sending and Receiving Countries (ADD)**.²⁴ The ADD, operating since 2008, is a voluntary and non-binding state-led RCP on labour mobility. Its discussions have focussed on core projects covering: technology (e.g. recruitment and data synergies); a Comprehensive Information and Orientation Programme (CIOP); alternatives to current recruitment models; skills certification and mutual recognition (to assess also whether certified workers fare better in the labour market at destination); and – more recently – the future of domestic work in the GCC and the Future of Work.²⁵

ABU DHABI DIALOGUE (ADD)
Established: 2008
Members: GCC countries and Malaysia (destination countries), and ten Asian countries of origin (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Viet Nam).
Observers: Governments (including the Swiss government), UN organizations (ILO, IOM, UN Women), the World Bank, and selected private sector, trade union and civil society representatives.
Meetings: Senior Officials Meetings every year; Ministerial meetings are held every second year.

The ADD has introduced a number of promising practices when compared to other RCPs, including:

- The technical quality of the discussions, given that the meetings involve Ministers responsible for labour migration, and high-level officials dealing specifically with labour migration;
- Granting observer status to selected private sector and civil society representatives. For example, at the Ministerial Meeting in 2019 and the Senior Officials’ Meeting in 2018, employer and worker organizations were present, represented by the International Organisation of Employers (IOE), and the South Asian Regional Trade Union Council (SARTUC), as well as civil society representatives.

Government observers from Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya were also invited to participate in the Senior Officials’ Meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 2018.

The Arab Regional Consultative Process on Migration and Refugee Affairs (ACRP) comprises 21 Arab participating States from the Middle East and North Africa,²⁶ with the permanent chair and secretariat provided by an intergovernmental organization, the League of Arab States (LAS). A unique aspect of the ACRP relative to the RCPs discussed above is that it includes the broader Middle East region rather than only the Gulf. Thematically, however, there is not a strong focus on labour migration, other than in the context of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (GCM), follow-up to which was discussed at the ACRP’s Fifth Meeting in April 2019.²⁷

In addition to the above regular RCPs, UN agencies and trade unions have organized ad hoc interregional dialogues bringing together representatives from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The ILO identified the need for more regional dialogue on migration, while also recognizing that “regional and national institutions can be weak and under-resourced” and that “there is a need for more and better involvement of ILO constituents [in such dialogues, including by] building the capacities for ministries of labour and workers’ and employers’ organizations to participate in regional debates and processes.”²⁸ In 2017, the ILO organized the Interregional Consultation on Labour Migration and Mobility from Asia and Africa to the Middle East bringing together ILO constituents and stakeholders from 22 countries to review challenges faced.²⁹ Another interregional consultation, focussing on Asian migration to the Middle East, with one African observer from Uganda, was recently held in Bangkok in December 2019.³⁰ There have also been interregional trade union dialogues on labour migration.³¹

23 AU 2019, above, n. 5.

24 See the ADD website: <http://abudhabidialogue.org.ae/>.

25 See The [Dubai Declaration](#) of the 5th ADD Ministerial Consultation, 16-17 October 2019.

26 Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, UAE, Yemen. Currently suspended: Syria. See the IOM website at <https://www.iom.int/arab-regional-consultative-process>.

27 [Fifth Meeting of the ACRP](#), 15-16 April 2019.

28 ILO. 2017. [Conclusions concerning fair and effective labour migration governance](#), International Labour Conference, 106th Session, para. 16.

29 ILO [Interregional Consultation on Labour Migration and Mobility from Asia and Africa to the Middle East](#), Beirut, Lebanon, 4-5 October 2017. This Consultation followed two earlier interregional meetings focusing on labour migration between Asia and the Arab States, held in 2014 and 2015, and an interregional forum on migrant domestic workers in 2016, which also included African countries. See respectively [Interregional Experts’ Meeting on Realizing a Fair Migration Agenda: Labour Flows between Asia and Arab States](#), Kathmandu, Nepal, 3-4 December 2014; [Tripartite Meeting on Realizing a Fair Migration Agenda: Labour Flows between Asia and Arab States](#), Bali, Indonesia, 6-7 May 2015; and [Inter-Regional Knowledge Sharing Forum on Realizing a Fair Migration Agenda for Migrant Domestic Workers in Africa, the Arab States and Asia](#), Madagascar, 5-7 May 2016.

30 ILO [Inter-regional Meeting on Labour Mobility between Asia and the Arab States: Sharing of experiences and progress under the Bali Declaration with specific focus on women migrant workers](#), Bangkok, Thailand, 3-4 December 2019.

31 In 2018, the following regional trade union federations signed an MOU on migrant workers, committing to action and dialogue: ASEAN Trade Union Council (ASEAN-TUC), South Asian Regional Trade Union Council (SARTUC), African Regional Organisation of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC-Africa), and the Regional Organisation of the International Trade Union Confederation for Asia and the Pacific (ITUC-AP).

4. The future of dialogue on African labour migration to the Middle East?

African countries increasingly see the importance of multilateral, interregional dialogue on migration to the Middle East. At the meeting of Ambassadors, in October 2019, the Ambassador for Mali, in its capacity as the Chair of the AU Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC), confirmed that the AU will consult and re-strategize the process leading up to the Africa-Middle East Dialogue.

The strengthening of inter-regional dialogue is also key to the GCM, which, under Objective 23 refers to a need to strengthen international cooperation and global partnerships for safe, orderly and regular migration.

A discussion of how to engage in dialogue on migration regarding African migrant workers to the Middle East is therefore timely, and stakeholders in both regions should give careful thought to how such a dialogue could be structured in the future.

SOME KEY ISSUES TO CONSIDER INCLUDE:

1. *In deciding how best to engage African countries in dialogue with destination countries in the Middle East, there is a critical need to take stock of the lessons learned from other interregional and regional dialogues (ADD, Colombo Process) and proceed in an evidence-based way.*
2. *As an important first step, an intra-regional forum for discussion of labour mobility from Africa to the Middle East is critical, as can be demonstrated by the Colombo Process (with a view also to discussing possible lessons learned from that process);*
3. *It is important to mitigate the risk of a ‘race to the bottom’ and/or direct competition among origin countries (including between Asian and African countries of origin), and this should be a primary consideration in deciding how best to structure dialogue(s). Therefore, there also needs to be continued direct engagement between African and Asian countries of origin to share experiences and lessons learned.*
4. *Such an interregional dialogue should aim to develop targeted solutions to migration policy issues of common interest; address the opportunities and challenges of labour migration in the Africa-Middle East corridor; be mutually beneficial, transparent and tailored to the specificities of the two regions; and be in line with international law, in particular human rights and labour standards and global development frameworks.³²*
5. *A collaborative approach in agenda setting between origin and destination countries is essential in terms of addressing the unique aspects of African migration, such as the high level of trafficking in persons, migrant smuggling, and the racial abuse and discrimination experienced by African migrants during the migration process and at destination.*
6. *Due to the specific needs of women, men, girls and boys in migration from Africa to the Middle East, an interregional dialogue must be gender-responsive in order for these needs to be properly understood and addressed, and to ensure respect for their human and labour rights at all stages of the migration process.*
7. *In order to ensure policy coherence, identify needs and opportunities across different levels of government and sectors, and maximize the effectiveness and impact of implementation, a whole-of-government approach is required, involving Ministries of Labour, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Social Affairs, Finance and Development Planning, and other relevant government actors. Local authorities should also be included in such a whole-of-government approach.*
8. *In accordance with the spirit of the GCM, the whole-of-government approach needs to be accompanied by a whole-of-society approach, to ensure that an interregional dialogue between countries in the Middle East and Africa is as inclusive as possible – and includes the private sector, employers’ and workers’ organizations, migrant and diaspora associations, and civil society organizations – to be able to facilitate discussion of issues which may not be raised at an intergovernmental level.*
9. *Regional economic communities in Africa could also serve as platforms to develop minimum standards for bilateral labour agreements and MOUs to avoid a ‘race to the bottom’ and/or direct competition among origin countries in Africa.*

³² In particular the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the SDGs, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the Third International Conference on Financing for Development, and other relevant frameworks, such as the Paris Agreement on climate change and the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction.