Outflow of labour: Consequences for the sending countries

Centre

Marek Okólski
Centre of Migration Research
Warsaw University

Three years after EU enlargement Challenges for labour migration policies

Fafo Ostforum Annual Conference Oslo, June 5th, 2007

Outline of the presentation

- About main concepts
- ☐ CEE migration before 2004
- Consequences of past migration for CEE countries
- Recent (post-accession) movements from EU8
- Possible consequences of on-going migration
- Tentative conclusion



About main concepts

- ☐ Territorial scope: **CEE** what does it mean?
 - → flexible approach: EU8/10 + occasionally some other countries

- "outflow" what does it mean?
 - → documented and undocumented, emigration and circulation (if economically-motivated)

Centre

Outflow in the past: why history now?

A large majority of CEE populations (one distinct exception) lived in backward rural areas still in the beginnings of the the post-war period

Communist industrialisation failed to transfer many of those people to cities nor to include them into the mainstream of economy

In many parts of CEE semi-subsistence economy present on the eve of recent transition

In some (most demographically important) countries large surpluses of labour difficult to accomodate in national labour markets

Centre

□ CEE migration before 2004 (part 1. until 1989)

- emigration exceptional but sizeable
 - o politically-driven (until 1961 from ex-GDR; 1956/57 from Hungary; 1968/69 from ex-Czechoslovakia; 1980/81 from Poland)
 - o ethnically-driven, mainly to FRG (mid-1950s from Poland; from mid-1970s from Poland and Romania)
- labour movements
 - o major exception: westward migration of ex-Yugoslavs from mid-1960s (bilateral agreements, recruitment)
 - CMEA: intraregional migration in the 1970 and 1980s (Poland and Romania major source countries)
 - o project-tied employment in non-European countries
- circular movements of false tourists
 - state-organised and controlled excursions (mainly intraregional) → origins of mass-scale petty trade/

Centre

lioration Research

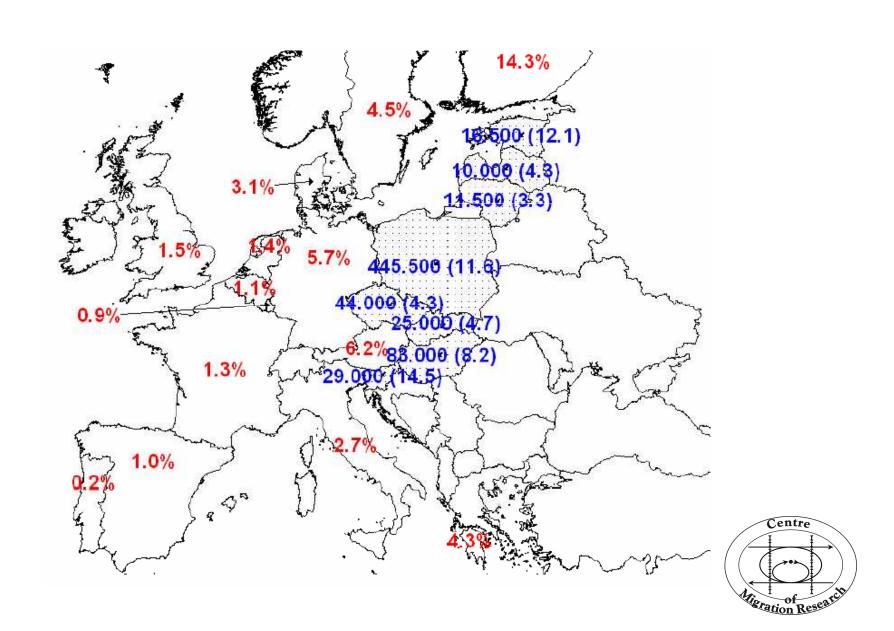
o individual flows from Poland -> incomplete migration

□ CEE migration before 2004 (part 2. since 1989)

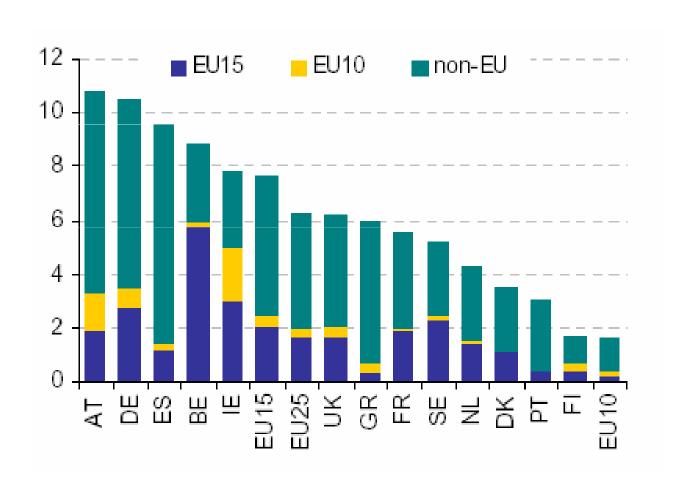
- □ incomplete migration a predominant flow from Bulgaria, Poland and Romania (and Moldova, Ukraine, ...) → more or less irregular
- regular labour movements
 - o based on bilateral agreements
 - based on unilateral quota system
 - o other (intracompany transfers, individual recruitment, admission for students, etc.)
- □ other movements (ethnic, political, family reunion) → declining importance from mid-1990s



EU8 citizens residing in EU15 countries, 2000



Share of foreigners in EU (%) by origin, 2005





High emigration from CEE – reality or myth?

plus undocumented migrants

[by their very nature – difficult to quantify]
but...

in all regularisation programmes pursued in EU so far a little more than 800,000 irregular migrants from CEE were identified (of whom 40% - Albanians in Italy)

CEE migration before 2004

altogether outflow until 2004 did not matter significantly for the host countries

it did not significantly contribute to the reduction of population surpluses in sending countries either...



- Ethnic "unmixing"
- ☐ Brain drain, mainly before 1990
- Remittances, the balance of payment
- Labour market allocations
- Regional development
- Household economy



Ethnic "unmixing"

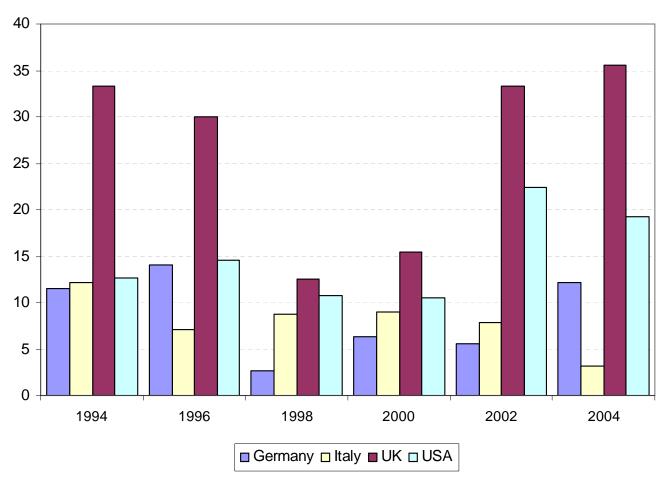
→ towards ethnic homogeneity (the Baltic States, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania)

Brain drain

→ after first few years of the transition accelerated outflow of the highly educated (diversified according to target countries)



Share of migrants staying temporarily abroad (for longer than 2 months) with tertiary education in major receiving countries; Poland, 1994-2004, 3rd quarter (in %)





Patterns of education selectivity of migration in Poland (15+), Population Census 2002

Education (completed)	General population	Poles who emigrated any time after 1988 (still de jure residents)	Poland's residents with German/Polish dual citizenship	Long-term foreign residents who arrived after 1988	Return migrants who arrived after 1988	Temporary foreign residents
males						
actual no. (thousand)	14.962,1	339,3	124,3	10,7	22,6	12,0
% all males aged 15+	(100,00)	(2,27)	(0,83)	(0,07)	(0,15)	(0,08)
University or equivalent	9,9	12,7	5,1	46,0	28,7	40,9
Intermediate (secondary)	21,5	27,1	16,8	29,5	29,5	37,8
Lower than intermediate	68,6	60,2	78,1	24,5	41,8	21,3
females						
actual no. (thousand)	16.326,3	393,3	118,1	10,6	28,8	11,5
% all males aged 15+	(100,00)	(2,41)	(0,72)	(0,06)	(0,18)	(0,07)
University or equivalent	11,0	15,1	5,2	35,8	28,0	31,5
Intermediate (secondary)	29,3	41,7	26,2	39,5	40,1	45,5
Lower than intermediate	59,7	43,2	68,6	24,7	31,9	Centre'

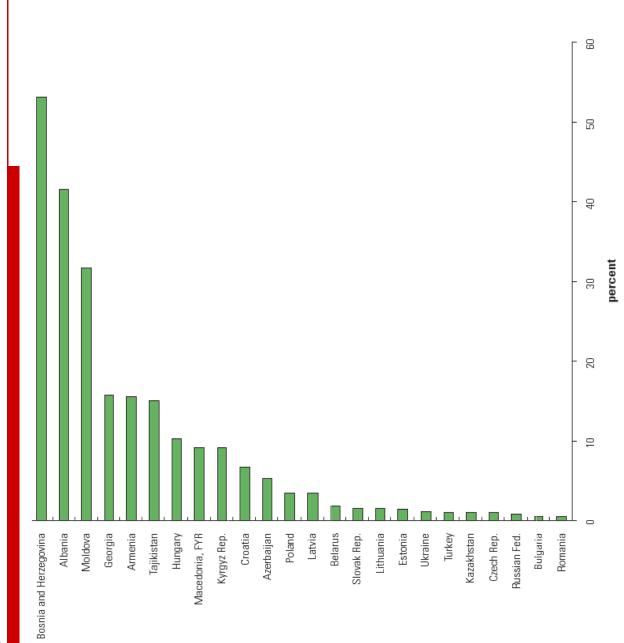
Remittances and the balace of payment

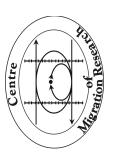
→ growing importance, especially in the former USSR



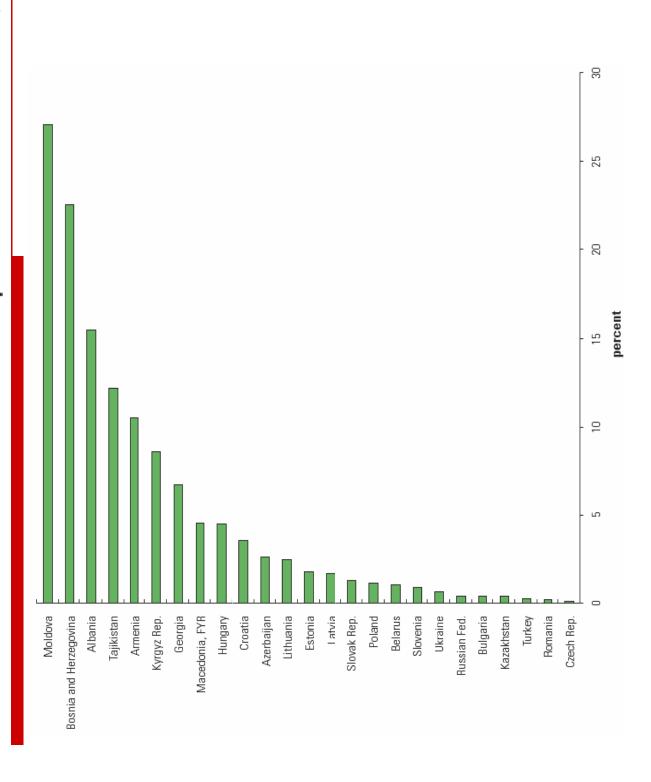
Remittances as a Share of Exports in 2003

(percent)





Remittances as a Portion of GDP in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union, 2004





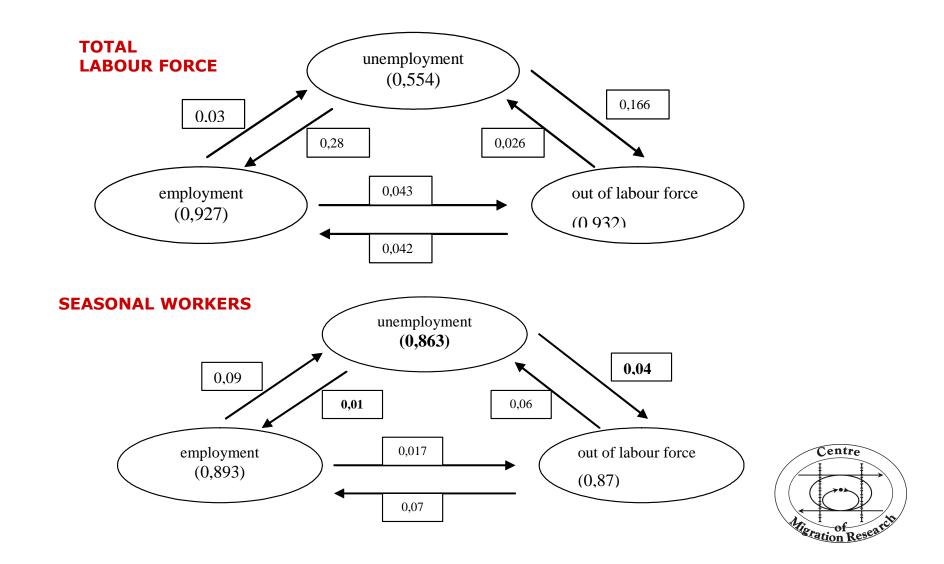
Labour market allocations

very little impact; practically only on local scale

→ evidenced: detrimental impact of seasonal migration upon participation rates



Average annual probabilities of labour market status change; total labour force and seasonal workers, Poland, 1995-2001



Regional development

- → low unemployment rate
- → low employment rate
- high inactivity rate
- → high level of relative individual affluence but little "multiplier effect"

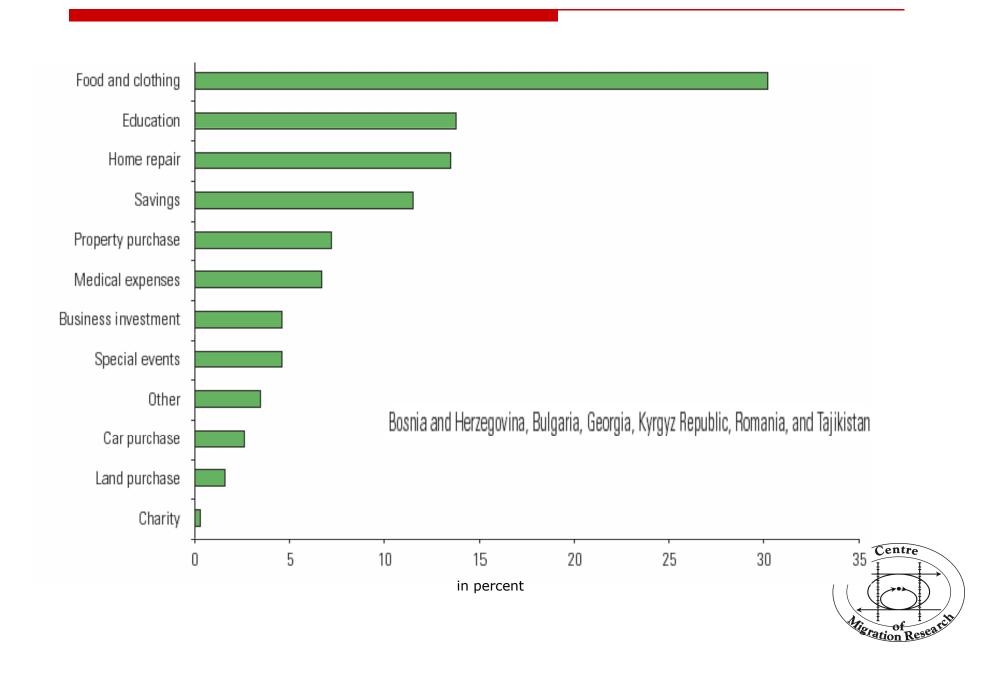


Household economy

→ towards the maintenance of social status and living standars



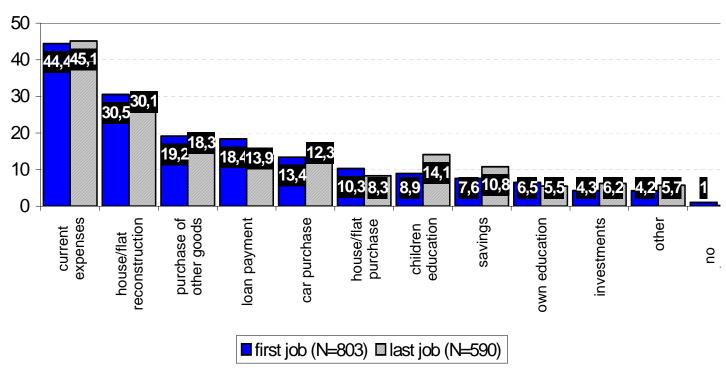
Expenditure Patterns from Remittances in Six ECA Countries



Migration in CEE in the transition period

Allocation of money earned during a seasonal work abroad, Poland (2002)

Major uses of remittances by type of expenditure, first and last job, in per cent





in general: no major structural effects

→ by binding migrants to home communities, incomplete migration hampered modernisation and transition to efficient market economy



■ Recent (post-accession) movements from EU8+2

Very difficult to assess at this moment:

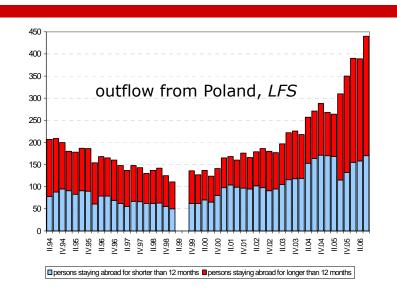
- o too short time to complete any in-depth study
- o a great diversity of actual movements and a great complexity of their mechanisms
- the lack or at best inadequacy of many relevant registers; deficient statistical evidence
- politisation of on-going migration debates that seems to affect many recent approaches to the problem

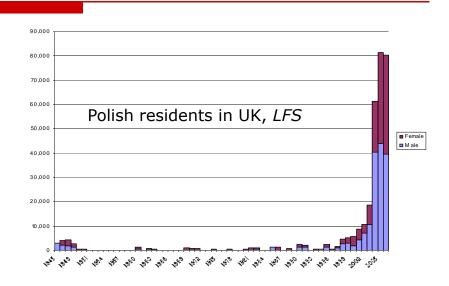
However, all sources suggest a landmark

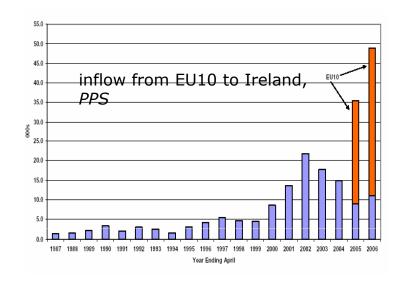
→ a continuous and accelerated outflow of labour

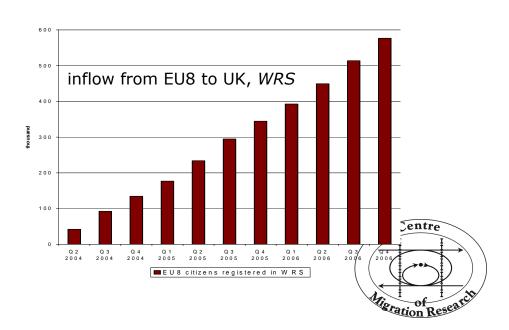


Various accounts of post-accession migration (1)

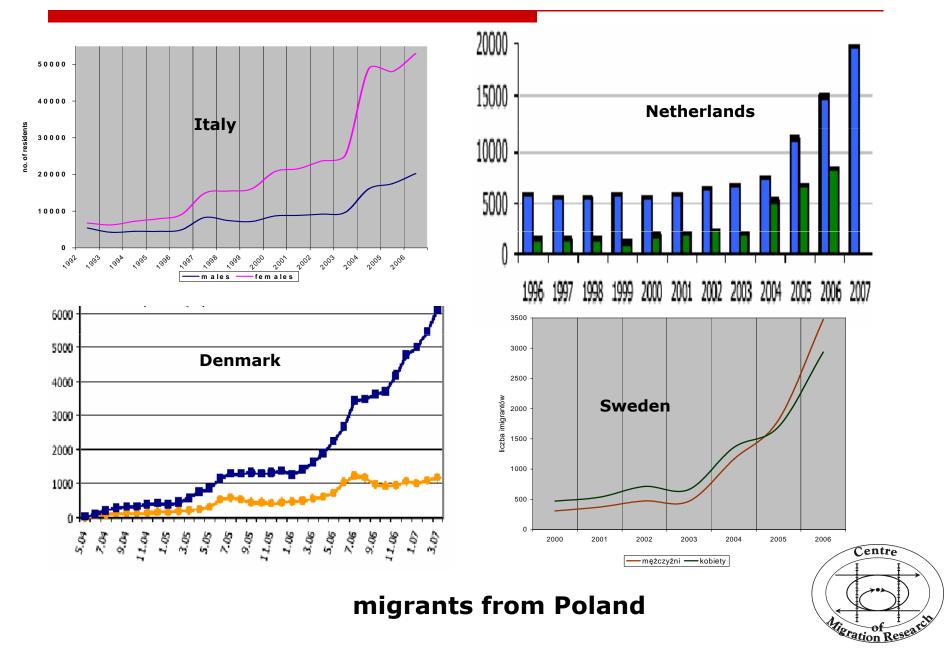








Various accounts of post-accession migration (2)



Germany: net inflow from EU8 small and nearly stagnant

In 2005 net immigration from EU8 rather low (63,190) though a bit higher than in 2004

Discovery of other opportunities?

No. of small businesses owned by EU8 nationals increased by 226% over 2005 → from 4,388 on 1 January 2005 to 14,327 on 31 December 2005



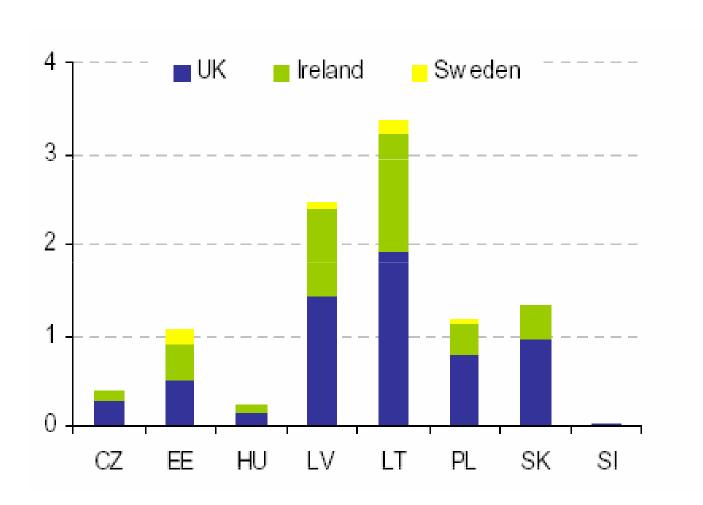
Recent (post-accession) movements from EU8+2

another sign of a landmark:

→ after Poland, Romania and Bulgaria a huge migration potential has been triggered off in Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia and Estonia



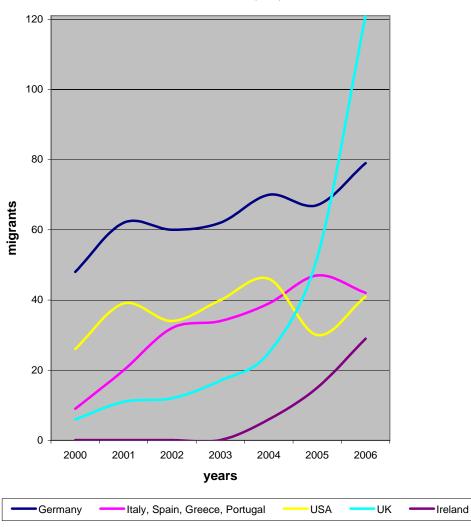
Workers arrived from EU8 during 20 months after May 1st 2004 as % of working age population of home countries





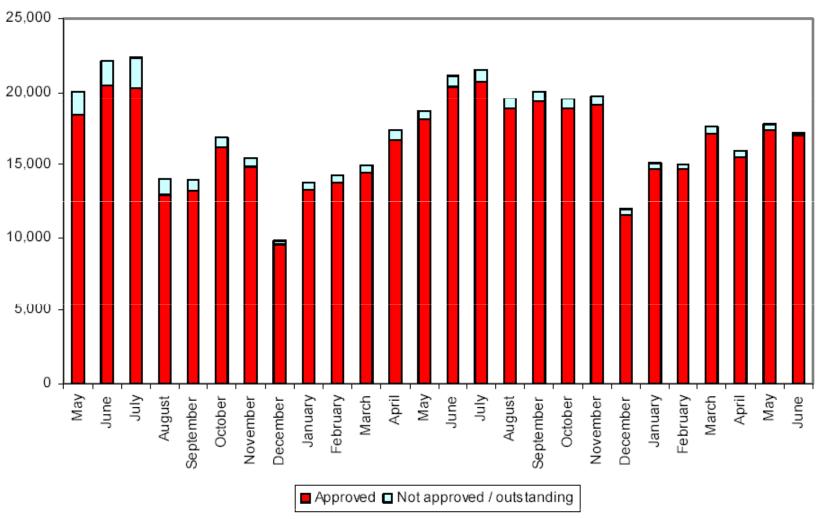
Post-accession change of trend of the outflow from Poland by major destinations

Stock of residents of Poland staying abroad for more than two months (2Q), in thousands



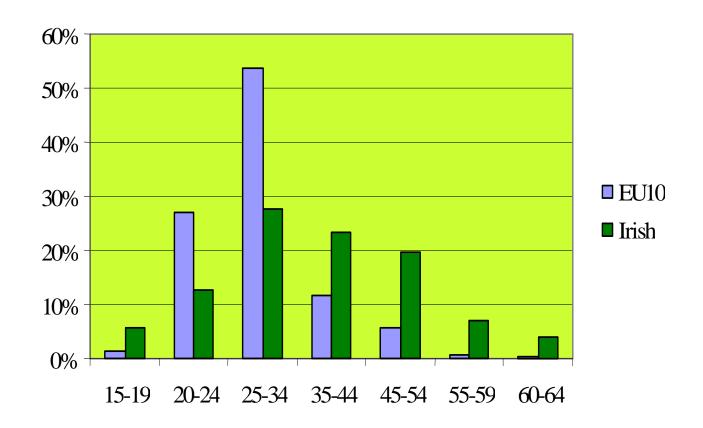


Seasonality of post-accession flows: UK





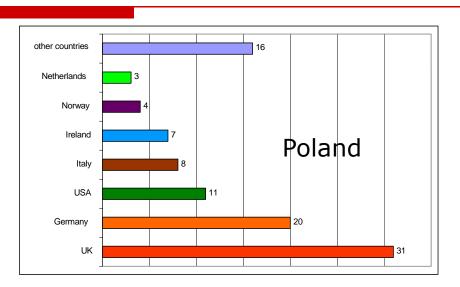
Age composition of native and migrant (EU10) workers Ireland, 2006

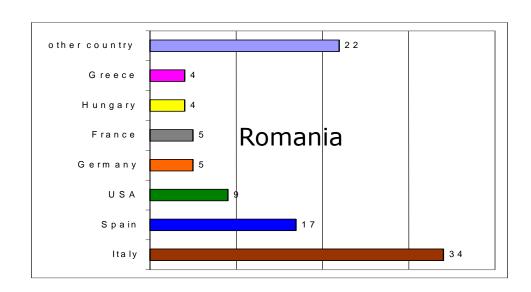


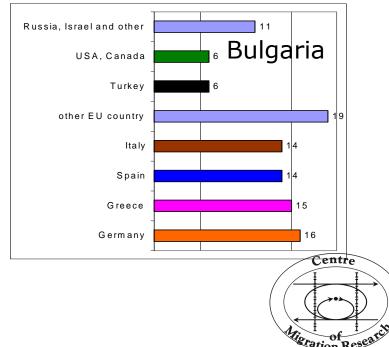


Different geographical patterns of outflow, 2005

Poland – UK and Germany Romania – Italy and Spain Bulgaria – Germany and Greece







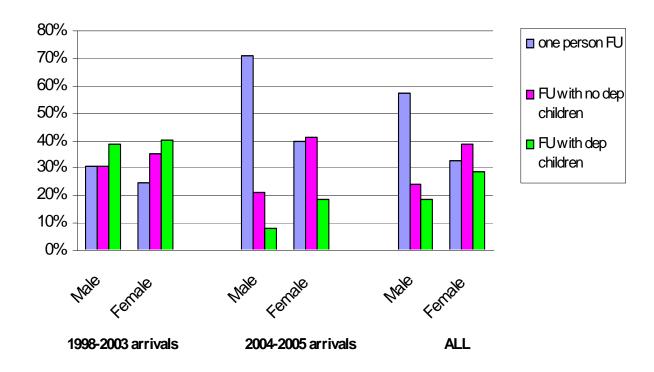
85% Polish migrant workers in UK are below age 35

	Arrived 2000-2003		Arrived 2004-2006			
Migrant characteristics	Poles	other	Poles	other	other	
		EU8		EU8	Europe	
Males (%)	49.3	42.2	59.4	54.6	49.3	
age (%):						
16-25	27.4	33.3	41.5	45.9	36.3	
26-35	58.9	43.1	43.9	33.6	44.8	
36-59/64	13.7	23.5	14.5	20.6	19.0	
Married (%)	47.3	42.2	41.1	35.6	28.8	
living in (%):						
London	58.2	57.8	19.5	20.2	25.5	
East/South East	21.9	15.7	20.7	14.2	29.0	
Other UK	19.9	26.5	59.9	65.6	45.5	

Centre

"New" migrants more often come with no family members

In the past a majority of documented migrants stayed with their family members; the domain of single migrants was incomplete migration. After 2004 that has changed.

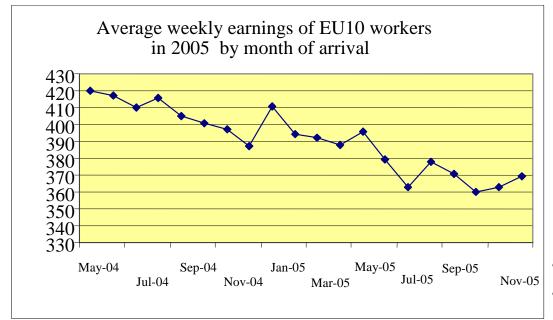


United Kingdom, LFS



Migrants from EU8 are paid less than locals. Ireland







Three quarters of Polish workers perform simple manual work in UK. Their pay is low

	Arrived 2000-2003		Arrived 2004-2006		
Situation in UK	Poles	other	Poles	other	other
		EU8		EU8	Europe
Employment rate	84.1	85.4	84.3	73.1	74.1
Self-employment rate	31.0	13.4	4.4	2.8	8.7
Employed in (%):					
Manufacturing industry	8.6	24.4	26.9	32.4	19.4
Construction	25.9	18.3	7.4	9.7	4.2
Services	65.5	57.4	65.7	58.0	76.4
Occupation (%):					
Management/professional	7.8	12.2	9.8	7.1	41.7
Intermediate	43.1	26.8	15.7	14.8	21.6
Semi-routine	20.7	24.4	31.5	25.6	15.1
Routine	28.5	36.6	43.0	52.3	21.6
Average weekly hours	39.3	41.3	41.7	39.7	39.1
Hourly earning (deflated)	6.70	7.23	6.01	5.88	9.80 Centre

A summary: main characteristics of post-accession outflow

- CEE highly internally diversified with respect to migration
- There is still a substantial migration potential in CEE (exceptions: CZ, H and SLE)
- The rise in outflow after May 1st 2004 was stronger than expected
- Profile of a migrant has changed after the accession



Possible consequences of the on-going outflow

- □ Radical relief to labour market a decline in unemployment
- Strong increase in the volume of remittances
- ☐ Temporary "frictions"
 - deficit of some highly skilled professionals
 - deficit of low-skilled workers in construction and agriculture
 - imbalances in certain local labour markets
- Prosepctive long-term effects
 - o consistently rising wage level
 - o large inflow of foreign labour and related challenges
 - o some (considerable?) return migration
 - o demographic disproportions



Radical relief to labour market – a decline in unemployment

Unemployment rate (annual) in 2006 compared to 2004

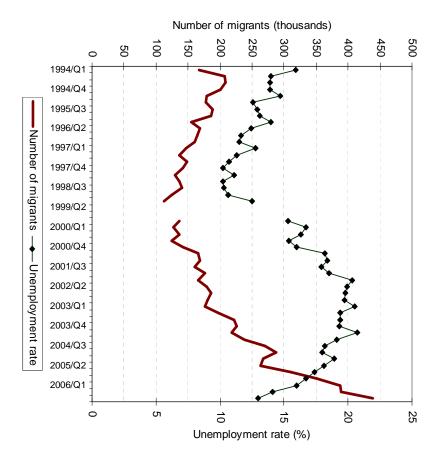
EU15 decline from 8.0% to 7.4%

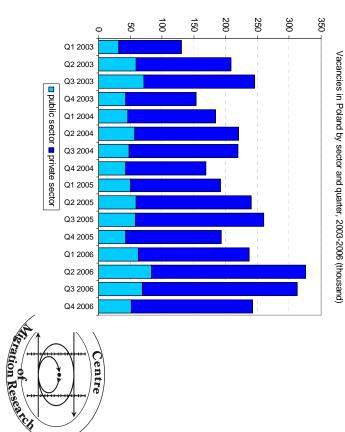
decline in EU8 countries (exception - Hungary):

- Lithuania by 5.8 points (to 5.6%)
- □ Poland by 5.2 points (to 13.8%)
- □ Slovakia by 4.8 points (to 13.4%)
- ☐ Estonia by 3.8 points (to 5.9%)
- □ Latvia by 3.6 points (to 6.8%)
- Czech R. by 1.2 points (to 7.1%)
- Slovenia by 0.3 points (to 6.0%)

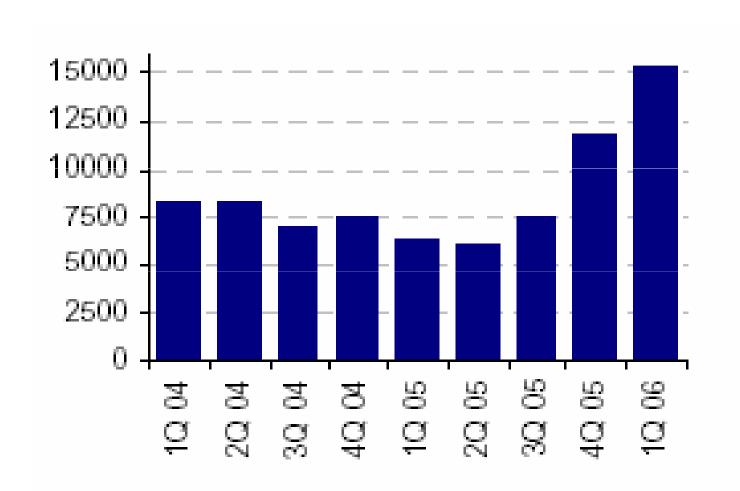


Migration effect on labour market in Poland



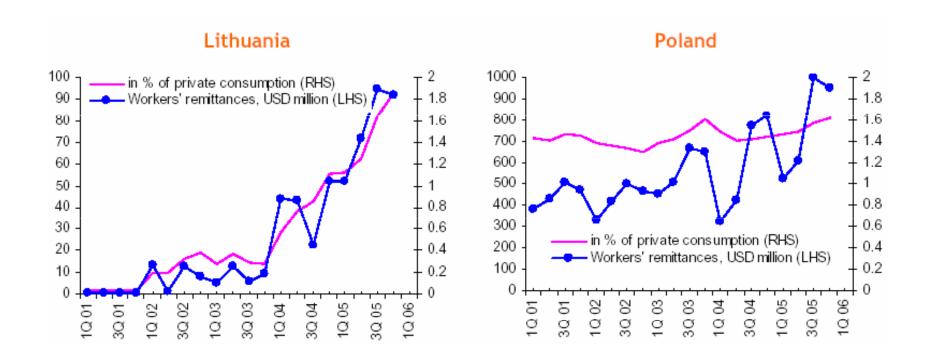


Number of job vacancies in Lithuania, 2004-2006





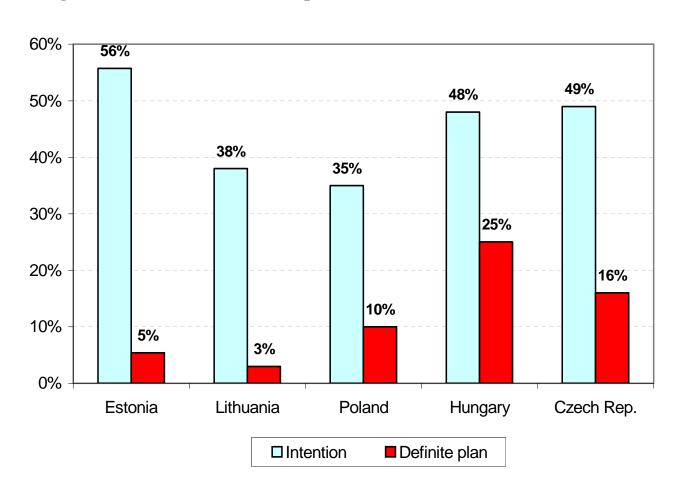
Workers remittances in Lithuania and Poland, LFS 2001-2006





Migration intentions of the highly skilled on the eve of EU accession

Migration intentions of health care professionals in selected CEE countries, 2004



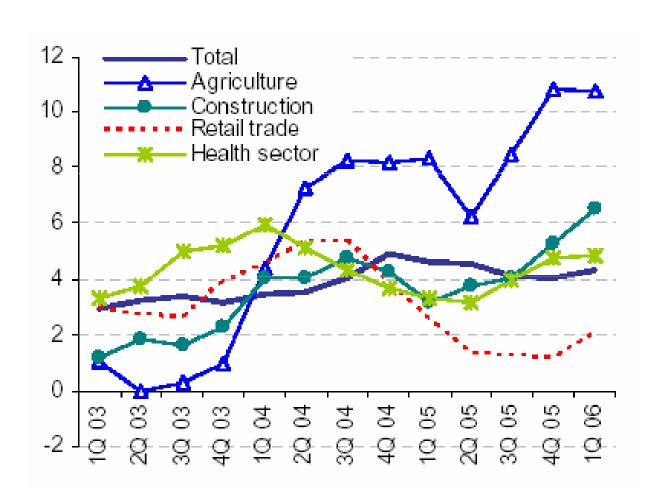


Polish physicians who within 24 months after the accession were able to seek employment abroad (EU)

Specialisation No. of employed physicians		No. of certificates	Ratio of certificates to employed physicians (*100)	
Anaesthesiology and			, ,	
intensive therapy	3,984	625	15.6	
Plastic surgery	142	21	14.7	
Chest surgery	218	28	12.8	
Blood vessel surgery	231	19	8.2	
Radiology	1,993	154	7.7	
General surgery	5,395	334	6.1	
Total	81,346	3,074	3.7	



Rise in average monthly wage in selected sectors (%); Poland, 2003-2006





Tentative conclusion

an underlying hypothesis:

in any relatively backward economy a precondition for a take off to modern and sustainable economic growth is a massive outflow of people ("labour market pre-emption")

recent (post-accession) outflow from CEE strengthen the prospects for a successful "labour market pre-emption"

as a precondition for increased labour market effectiveness



THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

