
Labour Force Migration and Family Policy: Case of Latvia – Overview

Darbaspēka migrācija un ģimenes politika: pārskats par Latvijas situāciju

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The article analyses the processes of modern wave of migration in Latvia that has started in the middle of 1990s that touches aspects of labour force migration, economical and social situation in the state as well as the population policy. In order to understand the means the government of Latvia is undertaking, as well the analytical conditions and the processes of economical and migration activity, the article provides with the facts and statistical data that will illustrate the situation of Latvia in regards to migration and its influence on family development and prognosis of future development, also analyzing the importance of principles of solidarity and subsidiarity in the context of mobility regulation of the families. The article is based on the conclusions of the surveys of the Commission of Strategic Analysis, as well on the surveys of Institute of Economics and Institute of Foreign Policy.

Key words: labour force migration, family policy, population policy, remigration, social and economical situation, social solidarity and subsidiarity.

Introduction

The processes of rapid economic migration in the middle of 1990s in Latvia started similarly to other Baltic countries. After the gaining of independence in 1991 there was an illusion that people would stay and contribute to the prosperity and welfare of their homeland. Many did it, many returned or repatriated from the countries of their exile. But the shock that emerged during the transition to a free market economy in the beginning of 1990s led a country to an unprecedented increase in premature deaths, a decrease in women's employment and also the birth rate – especially in families with single earners. All this resulted in the current decrease in the number of the active age-population, extreme aging and depopulation, not speaking about fragile economical system in the country that led to rapid migration.

Studies regarding the potential migration from Eastern Europe, as well as the experience of the prior stages of EU enlargement, confirm that emigration falls with time and gradually decreases as well with the quality of life increasing in the people's home countries (Indāns, Lulle & Co, 2006).

In order to understand the means our government is undertaking, as well the analytical conditions and the processes of economical and migration activity, the article provides with the facts and statistical data that will illustrate the situation of Latvia in regards to migration and its influence on family development. The article will be based mostly on the conclusions of the surveys of the Commission of Strategic Analysis, as well the surveys of Institute of Economics and Institute of Foreign Policy.

When the State started to realize that more and more people leave the country for profit-making on continued basis, it also appeared as a shock for the State. On April 2, 2004, on the initiative of the then President of Latvia, Dr. Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga¹ there was established Latvia's Commission of Strategic Analysis under the Auspices of the President of the Republic of Latvia. The Commission's main goal was to generate a long-term vision of Latvia's development through interdisciplinary and future-oriented studies². Migration processes in the State were the ones that pushed closer the establishment of a group of experts and researchers under the Commission of Strategic Analysis serving as a think tank that is seeking to consolidate Latvia's scholarly potential for the benefit of Latvia's future development. The Commission is also stimulating dialogue with the country's legislative and executive powers, as well as the general public, on matters that concern Latvia's development and the consolidation of democracy.

Reasons for migration

Analysis of migration processes, including those of workforce migration, has become live issue in the last two or three years. From November 2005 until January 2006, four researchers of the Commission of Strategic Analysis conducted an interdisciplinary study *Latvia and Free Movement of Labour: the Case of Ireland* regarding the flow of Latvian labour force to Ireland among Latvians residing in Ireland, performing more than 500 in-depth interviews, questionnaires and expert interviews (See Indāns, Lulle & Co, 2006). The survey speaks of some of the reasons.

1) *Economical situation in the state and income level abroad.*

Income in developed EU countries (for example, in Ireland) is much greater than it has been while working in Latvia. The income of the respondents prior to leaving

Latvia differs greatly: net wage was from 50 Lats (~70 Euro) a month up to 450 Lats (~640 Euro) and more.

Depending on the job done, income differs significantly also while working in Ireland (from 900 Euro up to 3,000 Euro a month). The majority of respondents interviewed in Ireland admit that it is possible to save up money, as well as send money to Latvia on a regular basis (the average of 100-200 Euros a month) (Ibid.).

2) The differences of living situation – economically undeveloped regions of Latvia

Up to now remote areas (especially the Eastern part of Latvia) have suffered these losses of labour force most of all as they have lower rates of employment and residents have fewer possibilities to choose a proper job. Among the reasons one could mention equal tax rates in the capital city and the most remote rural districts, a rather sparse population density, the poor condition of local roads and the insufficient frequency of public transport. As researcher P. Eglīte suggests, regional policy could be implemented by differentiation of the profit tax by distance from the capital city and additional investments for modernisation of all kinds of infrastructure outside the most advanced central part of Latvia. More information for employers about the possibilities to use different kinds of distance work could also be of some help (Eglīte, 2006, 329).

The statistics of migration

As we all have seen during the 1990s voluntary emigration to the West started and gradually became more and more intense, especially after EU accession in 2004. As most of these migrants intend to stay abroad for a rather short period, they do not declare a change of residence and therefore their number is not reflected in statistics. That is the main reason why we don't have adequate statistics about these processes. According to labour registers in some Western countries, the total amount of actual émigrés from Latvia could be as high as 60,000-100,000 (Ibid, 325-326).

According to the data of the Ministry of Economics of the Republic of Latvia, the majority of Latvian labour is leaving for: **Ireland, Great Britain and Germany**. This constitutes approximately 5% of the total active labour force of Latvia, which is characteristic also to other new European Union member states. According to official data, **50,000 persons** have left Latvia in search for employment in the EU, 15,000-20,000 of which are located in Ireland. Numbers are relative and changing, thus – may not be exact. Taking into account the unofficial data, the number of persons who have left can fluctuate even within the range of 30%. So it is possible to speak of even 40,000 people immigrating to Ireland.

In a country where number of inhabitants by the January 2008 was 2,270,900 people, proportions of those left are a serious indicator. To condense the colours, the number of inhabitants of Latvia almost two years ago by the January 2006 was 2,294,590. The actual loss in these two years is 23,690 people. We need to take into consideration that death rate in Latvia is among the highest in Europe, but those who have left also contribute to this increasing number of losses.

The Study of situation in Ireland confirms that an increasing number of inhabitants of Latvia are now trying to use the opportunities of legal employment (Indāns, Lulle & Co, 2006) and that means the number of those returning is decreasing.

Here is the sample of official data on long-term international migration that shows its inconsistency with the total number of long-term emigrants to other countries from Latvia.

Table 1/ 1. tabula

International long-term migration of inhabitants by periods³
Iedzīvotāju starpvalstu ilgtermiņa migrācija pa periodiem

	Left Latvia / Pametuši Latviju	Entered Latvia / Iebraukuši Latvijā	Migration balance / Migrācijas balanss
	Total / Kopā	Total / Kopā	Total / Kopā
1991 - 1995	168 230	30 842	-137 388
1996 - 2000	47 064	12 223	-34 841
2001 - 2005	17 268	7 786	-9 482
	Left Latvia / Pametuši Latviju	Entered Latvia / Iebraukuši Latvijā	Migration balance / Migrācijas balanss
	Average a year / Vidēji gadā	Average a year / Vidēji gadā	Average a year / Vidēji gadā
1991 - 1995	33 646	6 168	-27 478
1996 - 2000	9 413	2 445	-6 968
2001 - 2005	3 454	1 557	-1 897

The comparatively high number of those who left Latvia in the period of 1991-1995 may be explained by Russian army troops of ex-Soviet Union leaving the territory of Latvia. And the comparatively high number of those who entered Latvia in the same period can be explained by returning of Latvians who have lived in exile during the years of Soviet occupation.

The Figure 1 shows the main destinations of long-term population migration (longer than one year) from Latvia in 1995 and 2005 (percentage):

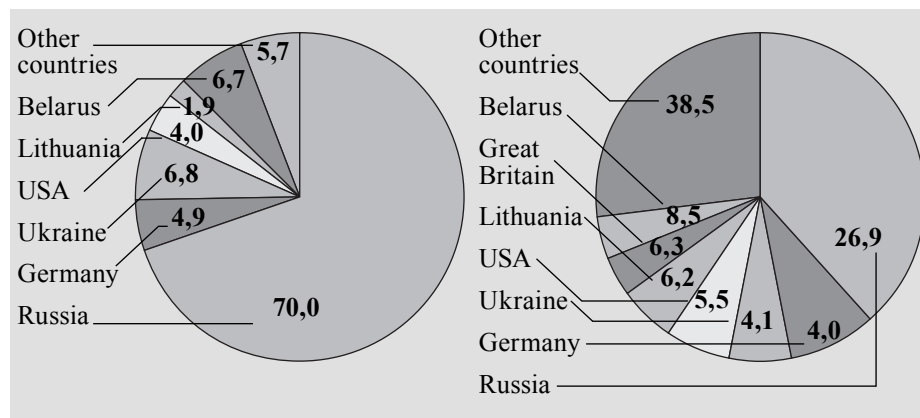


Fig. 1. Main destinations of long-term population migration from Latvia in 1995 and 2005 (percentage)

1. att. Galvenās uzņemošās valstis iedzīvotāju ilgtermiņa migrācijas periodā no 1991. līdz 2005. gadam (procentos)

Summary on reasons for departure

From the interviews done with the emigrants, the Study *Latvia and Free Movement of Labour: the Case of Ireland* indicates the main reasons or combinations that facilitate the decision to leave for work in Ireland. They are as following (See Indāns, Lulle & Co, 2006):

1. Economic considerations: low wage, unemployment, lack of opportunities are important factors, however, typically, a decision to leave for work in Ireland was taken when economic considerations combine with difficulties in personal life, at work, domestic problems and other factors. A higher wage is not the only factor. Working conditions, environment in which people live, as well as the state, local government and family support networks (or lack thereof) also are of great importance.

2. The main pressure factor is the differences in the quality of life in Latvia and Ireland.

3. Incapability to find a job immediately after school, university or inability to pay for studies.

4. In addition to the issue of wages, the discriminating and unprofessional attitude of employers toward employees is also considered as a problem. Illegal salaries and the overall low level of social guarantees also are significant reasons. Immigrants from Latvia enjoy relatively broader rights when working legally in the EU.

5. In Latvia, there is a shortage of easily accessible information on employment opportunities and precise information regarding the demand for experts in the near and more distant future.

6. The perceptions about the employment advantages in the West and myths about “labour paradise”, which are not confirmed in reality, form additional motivation to leave for work abroad. The generators of such perceptions or agents in a more narrow setting are friends, neighbours, and acquaintances of individuals, who share their experiences of working abroad; in a broader setting – those are mass media and representatives of recruitment business.

Description and analysis of migration wave

This recent wave of emigration has several peculiarities in comparison with previous outflows:

- the diversity of individual motivations;
- the longevity of the process;
- short or interrupted stays abroad;
- dominance of young people among participants;
- depopulation in the sending country which limits the possibilities to compensate losses of the population and labour supply (Eglīte, 2006, 325-326).

The latter marks a great difference with traditional sending countries in Asia and Africa, which have high fertility and population growth rates. Emigration from these countries to some extent helps to level off population growth, the employment rate and income levels with receiving countries. In Latvia, in contrast, emigration may well cause faster aging, shortages in the labour supply, some increases in wages, corresponding decreases in investments, as well as smaller effects from investments in demography and education. Instead, the most advanced EU member states receive a

relatively qualified labour force without any delay and investments. It may well enlarge existing difference in living standards between sending and receiving countries.⁴

In the middle of 90-ties the legal barriers for travel between Latvia and most other European countries were removed. After Latvia joined the EU in 2004 not only visa-free travel and 90 days' stay was allowed, but also free movement of migrant workers, and in three countries employment even without working permits.

Due to inevitable structural changes in the economy, shortages of certain specialists occurred. To address such problems, a special Law on Immigration was adopted allowing enterprises to invite migrant workers from the 3rd countries if the State's Employment Agency over a month's period could not offer a local labourer of the qualification required and the employer guaranteed a salary at the average level for Latvia.

Due to the free movement of labour some 5% (around 100,000 people) of the active age population have left Latvia for more prosperous EU member states, shortages of labour force have become more frequent and employers have demanded a liberalisation of immigration rules. These demands are not popular with the public or officials because both groups are well aware of the likely consequences.

Consequences of continuing migration

Speaking on consequences of further immigration, there is resemblance in these prognosticated consequences made by different European nations. Similar to ours, the conclusions made by Austrian demographers for their country, are the same as that made in Latvia: *minimisation of aging and the sustainable reproduction of the active age population is possible only through support to families to raise the birth rate*. The problem is that this supplement to the labour force can be expected only in some 18-20 years. In the meantime employment and migration policy should be implemented (Eglīte, 2006, 326-7).

Another reason for instituting a migration policy is the demographic consequences of current emigration from Latvia. As already mentioned, traditionally, sending countries have extremely high birth rates, low employment and widespread poverty. *In such situations emigration to prosperous countries and remittances to families left in the homeland help to level population growth and standards of living in sending and receiving countries*.

By contrast, in Latvia the birth rate is too low even for the replacement of generations and emigration *may cause additional loss of potential parents*. This means that there are no possibilities to compensate the loss of human resources caused by emigration and a supply of guest workers to the old member states of the EU will stop in about 10 years, not to mention the extreme aging and shortage of the labour force in Latvia and some other East European countries.

Demographic losses in these countries are connected with economic losses; the means invested in upbringing and education of young people up to graduating secondary school then benefit not the homeland, but more prosperous hosting countries. Due to such an unfair redistribution, differences in welfare in old and new member states increase, rather than level out.

In spite of this popular opinion, there exists also another perspective how to evaluate the investment of means in upbringing and education of young people from which the other country benefit in case of the people emigrating. The homeland may benefit

from those it has invested in long-term if there's an adequate education policy and high quality education provided. Brian McCormick, the economist of Irish Employment agency, when visiting Latvia in 2006, shared the experience of Ireland, reporting that after the [Irish] government had given the huge amount of investments in the education of age group of those 15-24 in the 1960s and 1970s government experienced the brain drain. State lost it in the 1980s and it turned into a *brain-gain* where state got a "value-added" return. Government invested in the education, and people got their experience abroad, they simply became attractive to abroad, and they were bringing it back into Ireland. As Brian McCormick sees it, it was a very far-sighted government policy in the 1960s and 1970s to realize the people were going to come back in the 1990s (McCormick, 2006).

All these reasons lead to the conclusion that the most desirable goal for migration policy of Latvia would be promotion of **remigration** of recent labour migrants from current receiving countries. Such goals do not mean any limitation on travel for studies, professional contacts and experience (e.g. mobility), tourism, etc., but only *to avoid a redistribution of population*. Such a policy is rather successfully enforced in Ireland and is currently being initiated in Lithuania. The state's activities necessary to meet the goals of migration policy can be chosen according to the results of several surveys recently carried out among potential migrants, actual émigrés and those who have returned⁵.

Reminding the main reasons behind current emigration, namely: **1)** low pay for work and rather bad working conditions, and **2)** difficulties in finding a proper job in some small towns and rural areas, P. Eglite comes to conclusion that, –

First of all, the legally established minimum wage should be increased. The current level is the lowest in the EU and provokes employers to pay part of the real wage unofficially, thereby avoiding any taxes and insurance. This has far-reaching consequences on the state's possibilities to guarantee a proper pension and support families, all of which could raise the general welfare.

Secondly, and no less important is increasing wages in the public sector to avoid losses of qualified employees leaving for other countries and other branches of the national economy.

The free movement of labour and mutual recognition of qualifications has opened opportunities for workers from Central and Eastern European countries to work in Europe.

As the living standard in the old EU Member States exceeds the living standard in the new Member States considerably, the economic incentive to move abroad is high. Besides the situation in Ireland confirms that an increasing number of inhabitants of Latvia now are trying to use the opportunities of legal employment (Indāns, Lulle & Co, 2006) increasing the number of those staying abroad on official grounds. Raising wages may sound trivial especially when everyone is speaking on that right now but this is truth among employees of the public sector such as **teachers, researchers and physicians**.

As it is possible to see in Table 2.1 & 2.2, the number of students in universities and colleges in the study fields of teacher training and education science, social sciences, science and math as well agriculture are decreasing in the last three years allowing to conclude that the prestige of the named occupations is not that high anymore and a serious attention of government policy should be drawn to this question; when in

its turn the study fields of engineering science and technologies, arts and humanities, services and health and social care are gaining more popularity in recent years (See Table 2.1 & 2.2). The analysis of the present situation in this sphere would be more precise if the statistics for those that have graduated the named fields of studies would be gathered serving as a more direct link to the analysis of influx of fresh specialists into the market of employment.

Table 2.1 / 2.1 tabula

Number of Students in Universities and colleges by the field of study⁶
Studējošo skaits augstskolās un koledžās atbilstoši studiju nozarei

Academic Year / Akadēmiskais gads	2000/ 2001	2003/ 2004	2004/ 2005	2005/ 2006	2006/ 2007	2007/ 2008
Total	101 270	127 656	130 706	131 125	129 497	127 760
<i>Including:</i>						
Teacher training and education science / Izglītības zinātnes	18 480	18 603	17 739	<u>16 007</u>	<u>13 587</u>	<u>11 705</u>
Arts and humanities / Humanitārās zinātnes un māksla	6 887	9 129	8 664	9 238	9 310	9 543
Social sciences, business, law / Sociālas zinātnes, komerczinības un tiesības	51 263	68 983	71 272	<u>71 049</u>	<u>69 551</u>	<u>68 589</u>
Science, math, IT / Dabas zinātnes, matemātika un IT	6 592	6 354	6 853	6 792	6 627	6 181
Engineering science and technologies / Inženierzinātnes, ražošana un būvniec.	10 128	14 899	12 352	13 159	13 531	13 995
Agriculture / Lauksaimniecība	1 795	2 073	1 903	<u>1 605</u>	<u>1 441</u>	<u>1 296</u>
Health, health and social care / Veselības aprūpe un sociālā labklājība	3 091	4 329	6 188	6 793	8 146	8 784
Services / Pakalpojumi	3 054	3 286	5 735	6 385	7 202	7 560
Groups not clas- sified elsewhere / Citur neklasificētās tematiskās grupas	-	-	-	97	102	107

Table 2.2 / 2.2 tabula

**Proportion of Students in Universities and colleges by the field of study
(percentage)⁶**

**Studējošo skaita attiecība augstskolās un koledžās atbilstoši studiju nozarei
(procentos)**

Academic Year / Akadēmiskais gads	2000/ 2001	2003/ 2004	2004/ 2005	2005/ 2006	2006/ 2007	2007/ 2008
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Including:</i>						
Teacher training and education science / Izglītības zinātnes	18,2	14,6	13,6	12,2	10,49	9,161
Arts and humanities / Humanitārās zinātnes un māksla	6,8	7,2	6,6	7,0	7,19	7,47
Social sciences, business, law / Sociālās zinātnes, komerczinības un tiesības	50,6	54,0	54,5	54,2	53,7	53,68
Science, math, IT / Dabas zinātnes, matemātika un IT	6,5	5,0	5,2	5,2	5,12	4,84
Engineering science and technologies / Inženierzinātnes, ražošana un būvniecība	10,0	11,7	9,5	10,0	10,45	10,95
Agriculture / Lauksaimniecība	1,8	1,6	1,5	1,2	1,11	1,01
Health, health and social care / Veselības aprūpe un sociālā labklājība	3,1	3,4	4,7	5,2	6,2	6,87
Services / Pakalpojumi	3,0	2,6	4,4	4,9	5,56	5,91
Groups not classified elsewhere / Citur neklasificētās tematiskās grupas	-	-	-	0,1	0,08	0,08

Low salaries among the latter (**teachers, researchers and physicians** as marked in the tables) have already resulted in pronounced aging within this professional group. This may well cause a *lack of medical services* for residents of rather remote areas.

Latvia regarding health care workers is experiencing similar challenges to Estonia. Although the number of those choosing to study in the field of health and social care is increasing in recent years, the country feels shortage in supply of health care professionals although the prestige of being a health care professional is relatively high in the country, as well knowing that many emigrate for having better paid job positions abroad. As a result both countries are faced with a severe shortage in healthcare workers, which is becoming more and more pronounced each year, as current workers change their profession, retire, or take up positions outside Latvia. With the existing rate of training and licensing of new doctors, it is estimated that it would take some 200 years to replace the 400 practising general practitioners who are close to retirement (20% are currently over 60 years old). Nurses also are in short supply with approximately 500 nurses per 100,000 population presently and the need for 700-900 nurses per 100,000 population emerging in order to provide a quality service. The

number of foreign nationals employed in the health sector in Latvia is very low, constituting 0,53% or 132 healthcare workers of the total number and coming primarily from Russia in 2006 (EC, EMN, Managed Migration and the Labour Market: The Health Sector, 2006, 10-11).

The Latvia Minister of Health recognises that the shortage of healthcare workers is real and that the situation will grow worse in the coming years, because time is needed to educate and train new workers. However, there is not a specific policy for addressing this situation through immigration, except for the intention not to facilitate or encourage the inflow of cheaper healthcare workers from, for example, Belarus, Ukraine or Russia (Ibid).

The tendency of health care workers going to work abroad will obviously continue in the nearest future. This has been caused by low salaries of health care workers and the scarcity of budgetary finances for modernizing the health care system and the introduction of new high-tech know-how which is true especially for Estonia (EMN, Estonian Migration Foundation, Managed Migration and Labour Market – the Health Sector, 14).

In its turn speaking of teachers and pedagogues – *a shortage of teachers* is already a problem in large cities because there are more possibilities to find other work, which is more appropriate for their diploma but better paid (especially those teaching foreign languages, IT, chemistry, etc.). Higher wages for teachers would not only keep at school, but also raise the prestige of university education. Up to now, education is not as popular among boys as among girls, and this is one of the reasons to current shortage of specialists in industry and construction.

Speaking of *researchers* on European level, the increased pace of globalisation has exposed the EU economy to mounting competition from abroad. The range of economic activities exposed to external competition has widened, now including the production of both high-tech and labour intensive goods and services. Research & Development investment in the EU has become close to stagnation. If current trends continue, Research & Development investment will be at 2,2 % of GDP in 2010, considerably lower than the agreed objective of 3%. Against this background important decisions need to be taken which will determine Europe's economic and social future. The EU will work towards a **common framework** for managing economic migration at EU level and already by now proposes accelerated admission procedures for longer term stays of third country researchers and the facilitation of uniform short-stay visas in order to tap the world's human capital and mine its wealth of knowledge (Common Actions for Growth and Employment, 2005, 2, 9).

In order to develop a knowledge-based society as a long-term goal with high productivity and a sustainable supply of qualified labour, in addition to raising wages the state should start with bringing its **family policy up-to-date**.

Thinking of first steps at local national level, the income of families with children can be increased and the shortage of well-educated young employees reduced if the demand for places in child-care centres just after the end of fully paid child-care leave (1 year) would be satisfied. Municipalities could devote more finances for this task on the condition the state covers all the expenditures for competitive wages to well-educated careers in child-care centres.

But the lack of proper statistics on emigration mentioned above hinders researchers to evaluate the losses caused by emigration and drafting & implementing an effective migration policy (*see* Eglīte, 2006, 328-29).

Prognosis

In 2006 there was conducted a questionnaire of the inhabitants of Latvia with representative selection (The attitude of society towards labour force migration, 2006). In total, 1060 people were surveyed in the age group from 15 to 74. As the selection was representative, it is possible to say that results represent the view of all inhabitants of Latvia, in other words, it is possible to generalize the data on the entirety of all inhabitants of Latvia.

Approximately 22% people see as positive the fact that inhabitants of Latvia leave working for other countries. 38% sees it rather than positive; negative – 30%. In that way 60% evaluate positive and only 29-30% negatively.

On question – Have you during last 5 years considered at least once the probability leaving to work in other country? – 39% are saying yes. And for the question – How great is the possibility that in next 2 years you could go working to another country? – 9,6 % (age group 15-74) sees a very big possibility; 13% – rather big, giving totally 22% or almost 1/4 – 1/5 of population.

As this survey was representative, we can make calculations and try to understand, *how many people theoretically could leave the country*. These data are not totally correct and we should consider the statistical error. All measurements are in the “corridor of preciseness” therefore with a probability of 95% it is possible to say that **7,7-11,5%** inhabitants of Latvia that makes up to 138 000-207 000 people within next 2 years may leave.

Population groups that with the most probability may leave the country is in the age group of 15-24, from which 45% have said that probability may be “very high” or “rather high”. By age groups escalating, the probability decreases.

Most sought-after goal of emigration is Great Britain: almost 38% inhabitants of Latvia have said this is the right place to go. Second place is Ireland with 31% and only after that come Germany with 23%. Second block of countries are Northern countries – Sweden, Norway, Denmark as well USA with 12%.

Keeping in mind that 59% previously said that to leave working for other country is a good, positive thing, answering to the question whether they consider migration as a problem in a country, in entirety *2/3 of inhabitants consider this as problem, that means that state should do something about it*.

From all inhabitants of Latvia half confirms that already by now among their family members or friends there are several people who have been abroad for purposes of working, and we see that only 31% of inhabitants have no among their closest friends anyone to talk with, from which to directly gain the info.

All-in-all 69,8% inhabitants of Latvia say that their attitude is “very negative” or “rather negative” in regards the coming of guest workers for working in Latvia. “Very negative” are 39% that is more than 1/3 of population. (For example, in the building of new house of the Bank of Latvia was the case of inviting great number of guest workers.) As being “very positive” this invitation is valued only by 2,8%, “rather positive” – 13,5%, that all-in-all makes around 17% of inhabitants of Latvia. As the researcher concludes, this is something for Latvian politicians to start worry and the quicker the better.

In the perspective of inhabitants of Latvia there is a receipt that government of Latvia should act after, it is simple and quite trivial – it says: raise the wages and then we may change our mind. Together 67% surveyed inhabitants of Latvia say the

Latvian government should do something to hinder the coming to work of inhabitants of other countries to Latvia. In other words – *we don't want to see here at homeland immigrants, nevertheless, as it was showed before, we ourselves are much willing to leave the country for working abroad and to be in regards the welcoming country as immigrants*⁷.

Analysis of interrelation between migration processes and family situation

Analyzing the family situation in the light of labour force migration processes one should take into consideration some new aspects of making qualitative observations, research and interpretation of migration processes nowadays as the phenomena of labour force migration is taking dynamic character in changing Europe.

Interpretation of reasons for departure

Interpreting the results and analyzing the mentioned reasons for departure found in the interdisciplinary qualitative study *Latvia and Free Movement of Labour: the Case of Ireland*, conducted by researchers of the Commission of Strategic Analysis (See Indāns, Lulle & Co, 2006), several important problematic aspects concerning family in the context of migration appear:

- During the study the initially proposed hypothesis that the majority of Latvia's inhabitants will remain in Ireland for an extended period of time or permanently was not confirmed; quite the opposite, the majority of respondents intend to return to Latvia.
- As the **most typical factor of attachment to Latvia** is presented the individual and relational attachment – family, friends. Material factors (real estate) and emotional reasons (love for home country) stay behind the personal relational needs.
- Summary on Reasons for Departure show that typically a decision to leave for work in Ireland was taken when **economic considerations combine with difficulties in family, personal life**, and other factors, – there appear a **combinations of reasons**, and family is one of the dominating elements in the private migration business.

Therefore the **family policy** is one of the central issues in state migration policy and cannot be overlooked, considering the family factor of great importance providing recommendations to the representatives of state institutions, non-governmental and private sector. This asks for integrative approach analysing the phenomena holistically.

Change of research paradigm

There appear **changes of theoretical scientific paradigm** of research, interpretation of migration processes. The traditional theoretical model of 'push/pull interpretation of migration' (people pushed out of stagnant economics and pulled up towards industrial centres) is being criticized as too mechanical paradigm where thinking is preoccupied with institutional and strategic forces **loosing sight to intersubjective processes of human life** (Ryan, 2004, 357). Today rational economical calculation model or 'binarism of receivers and donors' (Papastergiadis, 2000, 31-33) gives space to the **model of individual decision and motivation dynamic in the context of mor-**

al dilemma; that can be well seen in the case of those emigrating to Ireland. Therefore migration decisions cannot be reduced to rational economically pushing factor alone. New hermeneutic paradigm of migration nowadays gives possibility to discuss the **concept of altruism** helping to understand the implicit inner contract between migrants and their family members. This 'concept of altruism' was introduced by R. Lucas and O. Stark (See Lucas, 1993, 901-918; also Sana, 2007, 909-911).

Support to families in decision making

There is a necessity of complex and **deeper exploration of the reason- and motivation combinations** which are typical for families in the process of decision making to migrate, in order to help family to avoid the mistakes with domino-effect, destruction of family and also to provide an appropriate support during mobility process. Some of the empirically stated problems for today are as following:

- Parents departing for work abroad leave their children to relatives, neighbours, acquaintances, and even orphanages, and many of children very soon are found without any control, supervision and support; that being observed by social workers both in cities and in countryside to an increasing level in last years.
- Parents have difficulties to weigh out, which decision is less traumatic for children – separation from family or adaptation in the society and school of the foreign country (especially if it is a Scandinavian country as there exist a remarkable language barrier for children who have learned English as their foreign language).
- Efforts of married couples to solve marriage crisis, family conflicts by the means of economic instruments, earning money, – here the widespread **phenomenon of family dysfunction** appear. Interaction between family dysfunction, migration history, and psychotic symptoms in children and adolescents has been sociologically acknowledged (See Patino & Co, 2005, 442-443).
- Unsuccessful attempts to escape the addictions changing environment and not recognizing the necessity of more profound professional help.

Altogether it shows in many cases the lack of resources of a family in the times of decision-taking on these crucial issues that are migration-related as they are closely connected to the very existence and stability of family.

Principles of solidarity and subsidiarity in working

Importance of the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity in the context of mobility regulation of the families. Analysis of migration in Latvia points at the **problem of social isolation of a family facing migration possibilities**. Today in Latvia mobility processes are absolutely private issue, – individuals and families, using their rights, have to bear full responsibility for their actions. There is no control, no filter, no help, nor support from the side of state institutions and local authorities.

In decision-making period and problem situations related to working abroad the principle of **social solidarity** should be activated and that is understood as integration of resources of civil society, state institutions, family members, communities etc. supporting the family. Seeking for such resources today the resources of Church communities have strategic influence on social processes in state. In historical situation of Latvia nowadays the Church faces the specific challenge of social mission for recreation of responsibilities of civic society and introducing **communitarian thinking**.

According to the Social teaching of the Catholic and Orthodox Church the human being needs to live in society; society for him is not an extraneous addition but the requirement of his nature. Only through the exchange with others, mutual services and dialogue with his brethren, a person develops his potential; one thus responds to his vocation or calling. The one rightly pays loyalty to the communities, which he is a part of and respect to those in authority who are in charge of the common good. Each community (in our case family) is defined by its purpose and consequently obeys specific rules. **Today migration situation in Latvia exposes the fact that large number of families don't accomplish the tasks and duties of family therefore the task of society and state has become overcoming the social isolation of emigrating families.**

One of the key principles of Catholic social thought is known as the **principle of subsidiarity**. It is a principle of freedom of social communities and basis of the individual freedom of each member of society. This principle holds that nothing should be done by a larger and more complex organization, which can be done as well by a smaller and simpler organization. Subsidiarity principle predicts that higher instances intervene only in the cases when separate small communities fail to fulfill their specific tasks. The principle of subsidiarity as a basic principle of social philosophy is formulated by Pope Pius XI (1931): “Just as it is wrong to withdraw from the individual and commit to a group what private enterprise and industry can accomplish, so too it is an injustice, a grave evil and a disturbance of right order, for a larger and higher association to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower societies. This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unchangeable. Of its very nature the true aim of all society should be to help members of the social body, but never to destroy or absorb them” (Pius XI, 1931, §79).

This is why Pope John Paul II took the “social assistance state” to task in his 1991 encyclical *Centesimus Annus*. The Pontiff wrote that the Welfare State was contradicting the principle of subsidiarity by intervening directly and depriving society of its responsibility. This “leads to a loss of human energies and an inordinate increase of public agencies which are dominated more by bureaucratic ways of thinking than by concern for serving their clients and which are accompanied by an enormous increase in spending” (John Paul II, 1991).

Subsidiarity presupposes

- grassroots empowerment,
- popular participation,
- decentralized decision-making,
- partnership relations.

There appear the **necessity of balance between the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity**, developing by the state the migration regulation strategy and family policy involving social services, orphans court a.o. social institutions with the purpose to share the heavy burden of responsibility carried by separate families, which try to solve their crisis situations through the desperate decisions for migrating.

Thus migration might become the solution for problems of people, e.g., individual, family, but it can't be the solution for nation' and/or state' problems (*See EMN, Estonian Migration Foundation, 2005, 25*). Regarding this matter the reciprocity analysis between families's (individual's) contribution to state and vice versa should be undertaken in regards state's solidarity to the families that stay at home.

European dimension of workforce migration and better jobs

At present, Europe finds itself at a crucial crossroads facing both internal and external challenges. Europe must address the challenge of ageing populations which in the long-run will result in a considerable shrinking of the working-age population while increasing the share of retired persons. As it is proposed in EU Common Actions for Growth and Employment, unless the decline in the size of the workforce is compensated by increases in labour productivity, potential growth will drop dramatically to around 1% by 2040, which is only half of the current level. Such a decline in economic performance together with a rise in age-related expenditures would put the European social model under considerable stress. (Common Actions for Growth and Employment, 2005, 2) and thus illustrates the future prognosis.

As it is a goal for Europe to achieve full employment, improve quality and productivity at work and strengthen social and territorial cohesion it then must attract and retain more people in employment, increase labour supply, modernise social protection systems, improve the adaptability of workers and enterprises and increase investment in human capital through better education and skills. The European Community will also facilitate occupational and geographic mobility opening up the employment opportunities arising from a pan-European labour market and remove obstacles to labour mobility. In order to raise employment and productivity and strengthen social cohesion, the Community supports and supplements Member States' efforts in the domains of human capital, education, vocational training, including a particular focus on integrating young people.

We can see these goals in the direction of **creating more and better jobs** highlighted in EU strategical communications as *Working together for growth and jobs – A new start for the Lisbon Strategy* (2005) and in *Common Actions for Growth and Employment – The Community Lisbon Programme* (2005) a.o.

Conclusions – final observations

1) As is evident from the considerations outlined above, **most are not specifically targeted at migration, but rather address family or employment policy** in a context of aging, depopulation and a decreasing supply of labour. This is not by chance. People always tend to migrate from regions with a poor standard of living to those with higher standards, and parents are forced to limit the number of children in their family if their income is too low for the maintenance of two or three offspring and they are not confident about employment and higher income in the future. Accordingly, a real increase in earnings and a gradual levelling of the standard of living in all the member states of the EU would help both to minimize emigration and raise fertility (Eglīte, 2006, 328).

It follows that a **migration policy aiming to revert the outflow is an inseparable part of population policy** and can be successful only if the latter is implemented on a full scale. Up to now all the laws and decrees of the Government are accepted in compliance with the Constitution, directives of the EU and possibilities of the state budget without taking into account the preconditions for reproduction of the population. On the contrary, the shock that emerged during the transition to a free market economy led to an unprecedented increase in premature deaths, a decrease in women's employment and also the birth rate – especially in families with single earners. All this resulted in the current decrease in the number of the active age-population, extreme

aging and depopulation. The situation could change on the condition that state policy is carried out in accordance with the needs and desires of the population.

20 As Study on Ireland shows, in analyzing the *preconditions* set forth by the respondents, upon the fulfilment of which they would return to Latvia, the **economic growth of Latvia and improvement of the quality of life** can be put forward as the most important. Respondents emphasize that not only the increase of wages is important, but also the increase of financial and social stability are relevant processes that would facilitate the return of inhabitants of Latvia employed abroad. The need to invest the EU funds in the development of the entire country and human resources is particularly emphasized, as well as the need to promote the development of small and medium-sized business.

3) A large part of respondents wish to *work in a job adequate to their skills and education. A part of respondents wish to start a medium-sized or small business.* The starting of one's own business is closely related to the dynamics of economic prosperity in Latvia and the hope that the resources of the EU Structural Funds will facilitate and strengthen it. We can observe that more of those who are coming back to Latvia **bring with them original ideas** for medium-sized or small businesses and implement them here on permanent basis. This may serve as *the factor of cultural and social enrichment.*

4) *Activities of national government.* When the Latvian Christian Academy organized international conference in November 2005 “Migration: theological, human rights and socioeconomic aspects”, there were no approved joint action program from the side of government yet. **Joint Asylum and Migration Management System Development Programme for 2006-2009** was approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia only on January 31 2006, and it constitutes the unified management system for asylum seekers and immigrant labour force. The Programme addresses the short term and long term issues of legal migration, illegal migration, asylum, individuals' ID and foreign nationals' integration, analyzing the tasks in the spheres of legislation, institutional and technical provision (Joint Asylum and Migration Management System Development Programme for 2006-2009 (summary version), 2007).

5) **State's controlled migration flow – an option for sustainability** and for improving Growth and Employment Strategy of the Community Lisbon Programme. Mr. Ilmārs Mežs, the head of national office of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Latvia gives a perspective that if the migration processes are regulated by the state, namely, the receiving country, which is in the need of labour force, then it is a benefit to receiving country and migration can be considered as positive. But if behind the curtain of migration stands the intention of labour force to capture the local economy or the control over economics, then it is evil and can be considered as negative⁸.

If we speak of such examples where the receiving State initiates the immigrant-welcoming policy, then we should mention the first minister of Integration affairs of Ireland Conor Lenihan who last year initiated the idea of acceptance of immigrants in the civil service (f.e., in the police) of Ireland. But unfortunately this project failed; from 7000 immigrant applicants for working at police only 200 hundred passed the test of suitability and now only 11 people from 1000 accepted applicants are representatives of other nations. That has led to overworking the terms of acceptance for police.

Nevertheless the minister of integration invites other public authorities become open in their acceptance of foreigners. To his mind, immigrants would see this as a positive signal if the public sector would be opened for them. At the same time minister invites immigrants to establish their own enterprises contributing to the whole society. The goal of ministry is to represent only those who reside in Ireland on legal basis, and the minister considers that society should get use to the idea the immigrants are here for stay, as well that the integration may take several decades to happen (Integrācijas ministrs, [Minister of Integration]).

Estonian Migration Foundation sees and considers state's managed migration in the terms of legal migration as well, similarly to the Joint Asylum and Migration Management System Development Programme in Latvia: registration of foreign labour force (how many people and from which country, etc.) and their equal treatment and better informing about their rights and obligations, which is provided by law (EMN, Estonian Migration Foundation, 2005, 25). Therefore it seems as common option for establishing managed migration system in the Baltics.

6) Policy of State's support to the popularization of occupations relevant to state's economic, innovative, educational and health situation. 1) The state's provided study fees at universities and colleges; 2) The cancelling of study credit to those graduates choosing the state's welcomed sphere of occupation.

Rapid migration is a challenge for a state to start improving its own economical attractiveness first of all to its inhabitants so that economical situation in country allows its citizens to satisfy their economic, social, educational and cultural needs at their place of living being oriented towards the promotion of individual and family welfare.

NOTES AND REFERNECES

1. Its founding resolution was jointly signed by the President and the Prime Minister.
2. The Commission of Strategic Analysis has undertaken to research Latvia's opportunities as a member of the European Union and NATO, along with Latvia's place in global development processes. The Commission is also stimulating high-quality dialogue with the country's legislative and executive powers, as well as the general public, on matters that concern Latvia's development and the consolidation of democracy. The Commission is actively taking part in the formulation of various policy-making documents for Latvia. In 2005 and 2006, the Commission contributed to three such policy papers: a *National Development Plan*, a *Growth Model for Latvia* and *The Priority Areas of Science in Latvia*.
3. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics of Republic of Latvia [LR Centrālā statistikas pārvalde]/ Contact: Department of inhabitant statistics [Iedzīvotāju statistikas daļa]/ Copyright/ Unit: skaits/ Matrix: 4-39.
4. Eglīte P. The Challenge of Emigration for Population Policy in Latvia, p. 326. (See note: Karnītis E. Dzīves kvalitāte kā Latvijas nākotnes mērķis [*Quality of Life as the Goal of Latvia's Future*]. *Nacionālas intereses: formulējuma meklējums*. Stratēģiskās analīzes komisija. Zinātniski pētnieciskie raksti 1/2004 [*National Interests: Seeking the Formulation*. *Commission of Strategic Analysis*. *Scientific Proceedings 1/2004*], pp. 105-120.)

5. See Eglīte P. The Challenge of Emigration for Population Policy in Latvia, p. 328.; Indāns I., Roze M. Migration Policy in Latvia after the EU Enlargement. In: *A look into the Future: Latest Demographic Projections*. Commission of Strategic Analysis, Research Papers 2(8) 2006. Rīga: Zinātne, pp. 120-133.; Eglīte P., Markausa I. M., Pavļina I., Brants M. Leaving Latvia since joining EU. (*Contents, tables and summary in English*) *Apcerējumi par Latvijas iedzīvotājiem / Nr.12* Rīga: LZA Ekonomikas institūts, 2006 [*The study on inhabitants of Latvia, No.12, Riga: Institute of Economic of the Latvian Academy of Sciences*], pp. 7-57).
6. Source: Central Bureau of Statistics of Republic of Latvia [LR Centrālā statistikas pārvalde]/ Contact: Department of culture, education, science and health statistics [Kultūras, izglītības, zinātnes un veselības statistikas daļa]/ Copyright/ Unit: skaits/ Matrix: 9-25.
7. At webpage www.MillionReasonsWhyLatviaIsTheBestCountryInTheWorld.lv it is possible to find some ironic expressions on the fact of rapid migration, thus expressing nation's ironic and humorous self-evaluation. One of the million reasons why Latvia is the best country in the world is... *because we all love our homeland so much that we try not to wear it out and are simply leaving the country, and... because the last one who leaves Latvia for Ireland has to switch off the lights in the airport.*
8. Since 1998 there is Agency of International Organization of Migration (IOM) working also in Latvia not being part of the system of UN nevertheless connected with it. The objective of IOM is securing coordinated flows of migration in all the world as well the facilitation of settlement and integration of migrants within the economic and social structure of receiving countries; the promoting of cooperation between state and international, state and nongovernmental organizations for studies and consultations not only on questions of migration processes but also on the specific situation and needs of migrants as particular individuals.

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Darbspēka migrācija un ģimenes politika: pārskats par Latvijas situāciju

Kopsavilkums

Raksts analizē mūsdienu migrācija viņa procesus Latvijā, kas aizsākās 90. gadu vidū, un skar tādas jomas kā darba spēka migrācija, ekonomiskā un sociālā situācijā valstī, kā arī demogrāfisko politiku. Lai izprastu, kādus līdzekļus izmanto Latvijas valdība, kā arī ekonomiskās un migrācijas politikas analītiskos priekšnosacījumus un procesus, raksts aplūko statistiku un pētījumus, kuri atklāj Latvijas situāciju attiecībā uz migrāciju un tās ietekmi uz ģimenes attīstību un nākotnes attīstības prognozēm. Tiek aplūkoti arī solidaritātes un subsidiaritātes principi ģimeņu mobilitātes regulēšanas kontekstā. Pārskata raksts savos atzinumos balstās uz Valsts Stratēģiskās analīzes komisijas, Ekonomikas institūta un Ārpolitikas institūta pētījumiem.

Analizējot **migrācijas cēloņus**, jāpiemin Valsts Stratēģiskās analīzes komisijas 2006. gadā veiktais starpdisciplinārais, uz kvalitatīvām metodēm balstītais pētījums “*Latvija un brīva darbspēka kustība: Īrijas piemērs*”, kas aptvēra vairāk kā 500 padziļināto interviju, aptauju un ekspertinterviju (*skat.* Indāns, Lulle & Co, 2006). Pētījums min galvenos aizceļošanas iemeslus: 1) Runājot par *ekonomisko situāciju valstī un ienākumu līmeni ārzemēs*, tad respondentiem ienākumi Īrijā ir daudz lielāki, nekā tie ir bijuši, strādājot Latvijā. Respondentu ienākumi pirms aizbraukšanas no Latvijas ļoti atšķiras: neto darba samaksa bijusi, sākot ar 50 latiem (~70 eiro) mēnesī līdz 450 latiem (~640 eiro) un vairāk. Arī strādājot Īrijā, ienākumi būtiski atšķiras, atkarībā no veicamā darba (sākot no 900 līdz 3000 un vairāk eiro mēnesī). Lielākā daļa intervēto respondentu atzīst, ka saņemtā alga ir tik liela, ka ir iespējams veidot lielākus vai mazākus iekrājumus, kā arī regulāri sūtīt naudu uz Latviju (summas būtiski svārstās, bet vidēji tās ir ap 100-200 eiro mēnesī). 2) Savukārt, *aplūkojot dzīves apstākļu atšķirības tepat Latvijā*, jāpievērš uzmanība lielāko pilsētu un attālo mazattīstīto reģionu salīdzinājumam. Līdz šim tieši mazattīstītie reģioni (īpaši Latvijas austrumos) ir visvairāk cietuši no darbspēka aizplūduma, ņemot vērā, ka šajos reģionos: a) ir zemāki nodarbinātības rādītāji; b) iedzīvotājiem ir mazākas iespējas izvēlēties atbilstošu darbu; c) pastāv vienādi nodokļu nosacījumi galvaspilsētā un visattālākajos un mazāk attīstītajos lauku reģionos; d) pastāv diezgan neviendabīgs iedzīvotāju blīvums; e) zema vietējo ceļu un infrastruktūras kvalitāte; kā arī f) nepietiekamas publiskā transporta iespējas. Kā norāda pētnieki, kā risinājums būtu jāievieš reģionālā politika: a) diferencējot ienākumu nodokli atkarībā no attāluma no galvaspilsētas; b) papildus investīcijas dažāda veida infrastruktūras modernizācijai ārpus visvairāk attīstītās Latvijas centrālās daļas; kā arī c) veicināt informācijas izplati darba devēju unņēmēju vidū par dažādām darba iespējām atšķirīgos reģionos.

Raksturot konkrētu **migrācijas statistiku**, ir diezgan grūti, jo lielākā daļa no tiem, kas dodas uz citu valsti, plāno uzturēties mītnes zemē īslaicīgi, un tamdēļ nedeclarē uzturēšanās vietas maiņu, kas arī izskaidro iemeslu, kāpēc aizbraukušo skaits nav precīzi atspoguļots oficiālajā statistikā un mēs nevaram izveidot precīzu migrācijas procesu ainu. No datiem, kas iegūti dažādās Rietumeiropas valstīs, kopējais emigrantu skaits no Latvijas varētu būt no **60 000** līdz **100 000** iedzīvotāju, savukārt iecienītākās valstis, uz kurām dodas no Latvijas izbraukušie, ir **Īrija**, **Lielbritānija** un **Vācija**, kas kopā veido aptuveni 5% no darbspējīgajiem Latvijas iedzīvotājiem. Pēc oficiālajiem datiem darba meklējumos Latviju ir pametušas **50 000** personu, no kurām 15 000-20 000 atrodas Īrijā, bet pēc neoficiālajiem datiem šis skaits varētu būt vairāk kā 40 000 iedzīvotāju.

Savukārt, raksturojot ilgtermiņa migrāciju (*skat.* 1. tab.), salīdzinoši augstais to personu skaits, kas pametuši Latviju laika periodā no 1991. līdz 1995. gadam (168 230) var tikt izskaidrots ar bijušās Padomju Savienības armijas vienību aizbraukšanu no Latvijas. Savukārt salīdzinoši augstais to personu skaits, kas iebrauca Latvijā šajā pašā periodā (30 842) var tikt izskaidrots ar to latviešu atgriešanos, kas padomju okupācijas gados bija spiesti apmesties uz dzīvi ārzemēs – trimdā.

No intervijām ar emigrantiem Īrijā veidojas **rezumējums par izbraukšanas cēloņiem**. Galvenie cēloņi, cēloņu kombinācijas, kas lika savā laikā pieņemt lēmumu doties strādāt uz Īriju, ir sekojoši: 1) Ekonomiskie apsvērumi: zema alga, bezdarbs, iespēju trūkums ir būtiski faktori, taču raksturīgi, ka lēmums braukt strādāt uz Īriju ir ticis pieņemts, ekonomiskajiem apsvērumiem kombinējoties ar sarežģījumiem personiskajā dzīvē, darbā, sadzīves problēmām un citiem faktoriem; 2) Galvenais spiediena faktors ir bijušās dzīves kvalitātes atšķirības Latvijā un Īrijā; 3) Nespēja atrast darbu uzreiz pēc skolas, augstskolas vai nespēja samaksāt par studijām; 4) Bez algu jautājuma par problēmu tika uzskatīta arī darba devēju diskriminējošā un neprofesionālā attieksme pret darbiniekiem; 5) Latvijā trūkst viegli pieejamas informācijas par darba iespējām; 6) Papildus motivācija doties strādāt uz ārzemēm ir nākusi arī no priekšstatiem par Rietumu darba priekšrocībām un mītiem par “darba paradīzi”, kas realitātē nav apstiprinājušies.

Aprakstot un analizējot **migrācijas viļņa īpatnības**, salīdzinājuma ar iepriekšējiem migrācijas viļņiem, tam ir raksturīgas sekojošas atšķirības: 1) individuālo motivāciju dažādība; 2) procesa ilgums; 3) īslaicīgas vai pārtrauktas uzturēšanās ārzemēs; 4) jaunu cilvēku īpatsvars starp procesa dalībniekiem; 5) depopulācija atstātajā valstī, kas ierobežo iespējas kompensēt iedzīvotāju un darba spēka pieprasījuma zaudējumus.

Pieskaroties **pieaugošās migrācijas sekām**, pastāv līdzība prognozējamajās sekās ar citām Eiropas valstīm: 1) *Vecuma samazināšanās un ilgtspējīga darbaspējīgās iedzīvotāju grupas atražošana ir iespējama, tikai veicinot atbalstu ģimenēm dzimstības rādītāju palielināšanai*. Problēma pastāv apstākļi, ka šāds darba spēka pieaugums plānojams tikai pēc 18-20 gadiem. Starplaikā jātiek ieviestai ilgtspējīgai nodarbinātības un migrācijas politikai. 2) Tradicionāli nosūtītājvalstīm ir raksturīgi augsti dzimstības rādītāji, zems nodarbinātības līmenis un plaša nabadzība. *Šādās situācijās emigrācija uz pārtikušajām valstīm un līdzekļu pārvedumi ģimenēm dzimtajās valstīs palīdz izlīdzināt iedzīvotāju pieaugumu un dzīves apstākļus nosūtītāj- un saņēmējvalstīs*. 3) Salīdzinoši, Latvijā dzimstības līmenis ir par zemu, lai notiktu paaudžu norma nomaiņa un *emigrācija var radīt papildus zaudējumus potenciālo vecāku grupā*. Tas nozīmē, ka nav iespēju kompensēt emigrācijas izraisītos cilvēkresursu zaudējumus un darba spēka aizplūšanu uz vecajām ES dalībvalstīm izsīks 10 gadu laikā. 4) *Demogrāfiskie zaudējumi šajās valstīs ir saistīti ar ekonomiskajiem zaudējumiem*.

Nosauktie iemesli liek secināt, ka visvēlamākais Latvijas migrācijas politikas mērķis būtu neseno aizceļojušo iedzīvotāju **remigrācijas** veicināšana. Šāds mērķis nozīmē *izvairīties no iedzīvotāju izkaisīšanās*. Šāda politika diezgan veiksmīgi tiek realizēta Īrijā, kā arī tiek ieviesta Lietuvā.

Paturot prātā patreizējās migrācijas galvenos cēloņus, pētnieki nonāk pie secinājumiem, ka ne mazāk svarīga ir, ja ne darba samaksas sabiedriskajā sektorā paaugstināšana, kas patreizējās ekonomiskās lejupslīdes situācijā izskatās ilgtermiņā nesasniedzama, tad vismaz tās stabilizācija, lai izvairītos no kvalificēta darbaspēka un uzņēmēju aizplūšanas uz citām valstīm un zaudējumiem noteiktās tautsaimniecības

jomās. Šāda aizplūšana jau notiek tādās profesijās kā **skolotāji, pētnieki un medicīnas speciālisti**.

Kā rāda 2. tabula, arī studējošo skaits augstskolās un koledžās tādās studiju nozarēs, kā **izglītības zinātnēs (skolotāji u.c.), sociālajās zinātnēs un lauksaimniecībā** mērķtiecīgi samazinās pēdējo 5-6 gadu laikā; visdramatiskākais stāvoklis ir izglītības zinātņu jomā, kur studentu skaita samazinājums laika posmā no 2005. līdz 2008. gadam ir sasniedzis 32,5%, tātad par trešdaļu mazāks ir šo profesiju izvēlējušos skaits pēdējā gadā, kā tas ir, salīdzinot ar 2005. gada uzņemšanas rādītājiem. Tas ļauj secināt, ka profesiju prestižs nosauktajās jomās vairs nav augsts un ka valdībai būtu jāpievērš tam uzmanība, attīstot tautsaimniecību ilgtermiņā. Zemas algas nosauktajās jomās Latvijā (**skolotājiem, pētniekiem un mediķiem**) ir jau devušas rezultātu doto profesionālo grupu novecošanās paaugstināšanā. Agri vai vēlū tas radīs *medicīnisko pakalpojumu trūkumu* iedzīvotājiem attālinātākajos apgabalos.

Meklējot risinājumus **pētnieku** jomā Eiropas līmenī, ES izstrādā **kopēju ietvarsistēmu** ekonomiskās migrācijas problēmu kontrolēšanai ES līmenī un jau tagad piedāvā atvieglotas un ilgtermiņa paātrinātas uzņemšanas procedūras trešo valstu pētniekiem un vienotas īstermiņa uzturēšanās procedūras veicināšanu, lai veidotu pasaules cilvēkkapitālu un iegūtu no tā zināšanu bagātības (*skat. Common Actions for Growth and Employment, 2005, 2, 9*).

Lai ilgtermiņā attīstītu uz zināšanām balstītu sabiedrību ar augstu produktivitāti un ilgtspējīgu kvalificēta darbaspēka piedāvājumu, valstij ir jāizstrādā un jāievieš **mūsdienīga ģimenes politika**.

2006. gadā tika veikta Latvijas iedzīvotāju aptauja par *Sabiedrības attieksmi pret darbaspēka migrāciju*. Kopā tika aptaujāti 1 060 cilvēki vecuma grupā no 15-74 gadiem. Tā kā šī aptauja bija reprezentatīva, var veikt aprēķinus un mēģināt saprast, *cik daudz cilvēku teorētiski varētu atstāt valsti*. Visi mērījumi ir “precizitātes koridorā”, tādēļ ar 95% varbūtību var apgalvot, ka *iedzīvotāju grupas, kas ar lielāku varbūtību varētu atstāt valsti, lai dotos strādāt citur ir vecuma grupā no 15-24 gadiem, no kuriem 45% ir izteikušies, ka varbūtība ir “ļoti liela”, vai “drīzāk liela”*. Vecuma grupām pieaugot, iespējamība samazinās. Vispieprasītākais gala mērķis ir **Lielbritānija**: 38% Latvijas iedzīvotāji ir teikuši, ka tā ir īstā vieta, kurp doties; otrajā vietā ir **Īrija** ar 31%, un tikai pēc tam seko **Vācija** ar 23%. Īrijai ir pārliecinoši otrā vietā. Otrais valstu bloks ir Ziemeļvalstis – Zviedrija, Norvēģija, Dānija, kā arī ASV ar 12%.

Taču aplūkojot **migrācijas procesa un ģimenes situācijas savstarpējo ietekmi**, Stratēģiskās analīzes komisijas veiktā kvalitatīvā pētījuma rezultātu analīze uzrāda nozīmīgas tendences: pirmkārt, pretēji hipotētiskajam pieņēmumam, ka lielākā daļa no Latvijas emigrējušo vēlas palikt ārzemēs, pētījums atklāja pretēju noskaņojumu – respondentu pārsvars plāno atgriezties Latvijā. Pētot galvenos faktorus, kas raksturo emigrējušo piesaisti Latvijai, kā dominējošie izvirzās attiecību saites – ģimene (pirmajā vietā), draugi. Materiālie faktori (īpašums) un emocionālie iemesli (mīlestība pret dzimto zemi, utt.) ievērojami atpaliek no ģimenes saišu nozīmīguma. Sekojoši, ģimenes politikai ir jābūt vienam no centrālajiem valsts migrācijas politikas jautājumiem.

Par to liecina arī migrācijas procesu izpētes jaunais zinātniskais diskurss: migrācijas procesi nav skaidrojami vienīgi ar ekonomiskiem instrumentiem. 21. gs. ir notikusi **migrācijas izpētes zinātniskās paradigmas nomaina**: tradicionālais migrāciju skaidrojošais ‘*izstumt-ievilk*’ modelis (proti, stagnējoša ekonomika izstumj cilvēkus, kas tiek ievilkti industriālos centros) tiek būtiski kritizēts par pārāk mehānisku me-

todoloģisko pieeju, kurā dominē institucionālā domāšana, kas zaudējusi skatījumu uz svarīgajiem intersubjektīvajiem procesiem cilvēka dzīvē. Šodien racionālo ekonomiski kalkulējošo modeli, ko raksturo ‘*ņēmēju un donoru binārisms*’, nomaina **individuālo lēmumu pieņemšanas un motivācijas dinamikas modelis, kas migrācijas procesu interpretē morālo dilemmu kontekstā**. Pētnieki, raksturojot migrantu un viņu ģimenes locekļu saskarsmi, izvirza ‘altruisma konceptu’, kas padziļināti palīdz atklāt migrācijas motivācijas dinamiku.

Šāda kompleksa motivācijas izpratne paver iespēju sniegt savlaicīgu konsultatīvu palīdzību lēmumu pieņemšanas procesā ģimenēm, kuras vēlas atstāt valsti, lai tās izvairītos no domino-efekta motivācijas kļūdām un iespējamās ģimenes destruktīvas. Ģimeņu situācijas izpēte Latvijā saistībā ar migrācijas procesiem ļauj spriest par veselību problēmu loku, kas uzrāda **pieaugošu ģimenes disfunkcijas fenomenu** un liecina, ka Latvijā ģimenes un indivīdi, kas dodas darba meklējumos uz ārvalstīm, atrodas izolācijā un apslēptībā no valsts institucionālās, nevalstisko un īpaši reliģisko organizāciju koordinētas pārziņas un aprūpes.

Sabiedrībā nav nostiprinājies atbilstošs sociālās **solidaritātes un kohēzijas tīkls**, – tā aktivācija un ģimeņu atbalsta resursu integrācija ir viens no patlabanējiem stratēģiskajiem uzdevumiem Latvijas sabiedrībā. Šajā stratēģijā nozīmīga vieta jāieņem arī Baznīcai, īstenojot tās sociālo kalpošanu, kas balstās garīgo principu ieviešanā, lai būtiski uzlabotu sabiedrības locekļu dzīves kvalitāti un cilvēcisko cieņu. Īpaši te jāmin Baznīcas sociālajā koncepcijā izstrādātie **solidaritātes un subsidiaritātes principi**. Atbilstoši Rietumu un Austrumu tradicionālās Baznīcas mācībai, cilvēka kā Dieva radītas būtnes imanenta, dabā ielikta prasība ir dzīvot sabiedrībā – tikai attiecību, savstarpējās sadarbības un kalpošanas kontekstā, tiecoties nevis uz egocentrētu, izolētu labumu, bet uz kopējo labumu, uz augstāku mērķi, var attīstīties personībai un grupai Dieva dotais cilvēkpotenciāls. Ģimene kā kopiena šobrīd ekonomiskās krīzes laikā un migrācijas turbulencē ir apgrūtināta un nespējīga īstenot savu teocentrisko *telosu* (jēgas piepildījumu), tā irst, un cilvēki (īpaši migrantu Latvijā atstātie bērni) pārdzīvo nošķirtības sāpes, tādēļ šīs sociālās problēmas risinājums rodams līdzsvarotā solidaritātes principa atjaunošanā, palīdzot pārvarēt migrācijas skartās ģimenes institūcijas sociālo izolētību. Sociālās solidaritātes principam vienlaikus jātiek līdzsvarotam ar sabiedrības **subsidiaritāti**, kas ir sociālo kopienu un katra sabiedrības locekļa brīvības pamats. Šis princips paredz, ka to, ko spēj veikt mazāka mēroga un vienkāršākas struktūras organizācijas, nedrīkst pārņemt augstākas, sarežģītākas organizācijas, tādējādi ‘aprijot’ sociāli svarīgu un dzīvotspējīgu sabiedrības šūniņu potenciālu, tā iznīcinot pilsonisko sabiedrību. Šajā gadījumā, valsts nevar institucionāli pārvaldīt darbaspēka migrācijas straumes, ignorējot Dieva nolikto ģimenes pašnoteikšanos, atbildības spēju un motivācijas dinamiku. Subsidiaritātes princips paredz sabiedrības locekļu vairākuma iespējošanu (dodot cilvēkiem iespējas un prasmes savu problēmu risināšanai grupā); decentralizētu lēmumu pieņemšanu; partnerattiecību intensificēšanu.

Secinājumi – gala novērojumi: 1) Kā redzams no izteiktajiem novērojumiem un apsvērumiem, lielākā daļa nav tendēti uz migrāciju, bet gan uzrunā ģimenes vai nodarbinātības politiku sabiedrības novecošanās, depopulācijas un pieaugoša darbaspēka pieprasījuma kontekstā. 2) No tā izriet, ka migrācijas politika, kas ir vērsta uz iedzīvotāju aizplūšanas apturēšanu, ir neatņemama sastāvdaļa demogrāfijas politikai, un var būt veiksmīga tikai tādā gadījumā, ja pēdējā tiek īstenota pilnā apjomā. 3) Analizējot respondentu nosacījumus, pie kuriem viņi atgrieztos Latvijā, kā galvenais tiek minēts dzīves līmeņa un apstākļu uzlabošanās Latvijā, kas ir diskutējams jautā-

jums. 4) Liela daļa respondentu vēlas strādāt darbu, kas būtu atbilstošs viņu spējām un izglītībai. 5) Liela daļa respondentu vēlas uzsākt vidējo vai mazo uzņēmējdarbību. Daudzi no tiem, kas atgriežas Latvijā, atved sev līdzīgas oriģinālas idejas uzņēmējdarbībai un sāk tās ieviest, kas kalpo kā kultūras un sociālās bagātināšanās faktors. 6) Valsts tikai 2006. gadā pieņēma Vienoto patvēruma un migrācijas kontroles sistēmas attīstības programmu 2006.-2009. gadam, ko apstiprināja Ministru Kabinets un kas ietver vienotu patvēruma meklētāju un imigrantu darbaspēka vadības sistēmu. 7) Valsts kontrolēta migrācijas plūsma – kā iespēja ilgtspējībai šajā jomā un EK Lisabonas programmas Izaugsmes un nodarbinātības programmas uzlabojums Latvijā. Ja migrāciju procesus regulē valsts, proti, uzņēmējvalsts, kas nosaka darbaspēka pieprasījumu, tad tas ir ieguvums uzņēmējvalstij un migrāciju var uztvert pozitīvi. Taču, ja aiz migrācijas priekškara stāv darbaspēka vēlme sagūstīt vietējās valsts ekonomiku, tad tā ir ļauna parādība un migrāciju šajā gadījumā jāuzskata par negatīvu. 8) Valsts atbalsta politika, popularizējot profesijas, kas ir būtiskas valsts tautsaimniecībai, tās ekonomiskajai, inovatīvajai, edukatīvajai un veselības aprūpes situācijai, kur kā risinājums varētu būt valsts nodrošinātas budžeta vietas vai apmaksātas studiju maksas augstskolās un koledžās, kā arī studiju kredīta dzēšana tiem augstskolu un koledžu beidzējiem, kas pēc augstskolas pabeigšanas izvēlas strādāt valsts veicināto profesiju jomā. 9) Straujā migrācija kļūst par izaicinājumu valstij sākt uzlabot tās ekonomisko pievilcību vispirms tās iedzīvotājiem, lai situācija valstī ļautu tās iedzīvotājiem apmierināt viņu sociālās, edukatīvās un kultūras vajadzības viņu dzīves vietās, tādējādi veicinot individuālo un ģimenes integritāti.



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