

## BALTIC TRIPLETS? OUT-MIGRATION MIGRATION AND RESPONSES TO CRISIS

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### ABSTRACT

This article addresses intersections of migration and economic development as one of the most topical contemporary challenges in the Baltic states. It uses empirical approach to compare governmental responses to recent economic crisis starting in 2008. Article analyses, how these responses were reflected in statistics revealing socio economic dynamics within years of crisis and beyond. Methods of comparing statistical and analysing secondary data are applied. All three states have similar future challenges of aging and declining population and see return migration as one of possible solutions to address this challenge. However, the processes in Estonia provide a better ground for its government to claim that the country makes effort to ensure more stable development. Also, the results demonstrate that Estonia displays more different trends, while Lithuania and Latvia are closer to each other in out-migration trends.

KEYWORDS: *Baltic states, migration, crisis, development.*

JEL CODES: R100; R230; Y100.

### Introduction

Regions have relative geopolitical locations over time: the Baltic states carry meaning as a part of the Soviet Union and its the furthest margin to the West during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while currently they are the EU member states, a part of 'European space'. In relation to intra-European migration the trio may be seen as the Europe's eastern periphery, supplying migrant labour.

By looking at recent economic developments and migration, this article argues that the Baltic states cannot be treated in a unifying way, due both differences in migration trends and to political and economic dynamics.

On macro level, the general challenge of the Baltic countries, which after the collapse of the Soviet Union adopted open economy approach and have liberal market economies, is similar: all three are experienced large scale emigration and, besides, due to aging and declining population, may face demographic problems in future with subsequent economic effects. Therefore, governments and other institutions in all three countries acknowledge emigration as a serious challenge and try developing policies and taking a stance on return migration as a viable opportunity to address the future problems.

On individual and household level, in Latvia as well as other Baltic states, most important reasons to leave were low salaries, unemployment, personal reasons (Krišjāne *et al*, 2007; Apsīte-Beriņa, 2013). Many current migrants from the Baltic states, from one hand, state that they may return, if overall situation improves in their countries and, on the other, the state representatives claim that return may be facilitated along

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with general economic development (Apsīte-Beriņa, 2013; Lulle, 2011; Hazans, 2009). These above mentioned contexts lay out existing problems in three countries and form basis for the research focus.

The purpose of the article is to show that there are differences within three countries, if we have a closer look to dynamics on yearly basis during crisis. By using comparison of economic dynamics and migration patterns, the goal of this article is to provide data-based explanation show (dis)similar political and economic development trends are in three Baltic states and subsequently, how grounded governmental claims to encourage return migration to successfully recovering countries are?

Methodology and research design are developed with the main goal to provide evidences comparatively. Therefore, the main source of data is Eurostat with its robust methodology on data collection and interpretation. In cases, when these data are not available, they are supplemented by national data and other sources. Secondary sources from existing research on out-migration patterns in the Baltic states are analysed. In following chapters the tasks to achieve the goal are undertaken: (1) to compare recent out-migration trends, (2) to compare political and economic responses to crisis and main indicators of development, as reflected in statistics and (3) derive conclusions.

## 1. Out-migration trends in the Baltics

The first geographer Georg Ravenstein (1885) in his migration laws formulated more than a century ago stated that migration most people move to places where are better wages, predominantly, in close proximity, migration is gender specific, as more men move abroad and further distances, while more women move in shorter distances. Also, he stated that each stream has its counter stream, in other words, return migration also takes place. Situation has changed profoundly since Ravenstein's laws were formulated, especially due to transport connections. However, his basic ideas still suggest valuable ideas to migration research.

According to the Estonian Human Development Report 2011, the collective populations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had dropped by 1.5 million, or 15 %, from 1990 to 2010, the fastest decline seen in Europe during that period. For example, Latvian population census shows that the decline in population in 2001–2011 was from 2.3 million to 2 million. Actual population size (according to the recent census in 2011 population size was 2,070,371 in Latvia, 2,988,000 in Lithuania and 1,294,236 persons in Estonia.

### 1.1. Lithuania

In Lithuania population from 3.67 million in 1990s have decreased to 2.98 million in 2013; in other words about 700 thousand less inhabitants in two decades (Krupickaitė 2013, based on Statistics of Lithuania and calculations). Due to natural reasons population decreased by 96,46 thousand, and by 618,94 thousand due to net migration in 1990–2013.

The largest Lithuanian diasporas abroad, taking together several waves of outmigration in 20<sup>th</sup> century are US (700,000), UK (200,000), Ireland (90,000). UK and Ireland clearly form new diasporas of labour migration as well as Nordic countries more recently, though, still smaller in numbers. However, it should be noted, that there was also a large diaspora of Lithuanians in exile in UK (Krupickaitė 2013, based on Lithuania Ministry of Foreign Affairs). According to Krupickaitė, period of 1995–2003 can be characterised as increasing emigration, while after EU accession in 2004, emigration peaked and continued to grow and those, who were already working, for example, in Ireland and UK, legalised their status. The biggest recent emigration event from Lithuania took place in 2010. Declared emigration from Lithuania increased from 21,970 to 83,160 persons, in relative terms 2.5 % of population, which is exceptionally fast exodus (Krupickaitė, 2013). Last economic crisis has profoundly impacted emigration in Lithuania. Most of emigrants are at working age: for example, 77 % of Lithuanian emigrants in 2010 fell in the age group of 15–44 (Lietuvos statistikos departamentas, 2012).

According to estimates in Lithuania, 33,745 or about third of those who emigrated in 2001–2009, returned back to Lithuania (Krupickaitė, 2013). Thus, crisis and its aftermath are indeed defining feature in

Lithuania that could open up a new stage of differentiating emigration, return and stabilisation trends. From the view of government, it is crucial how to ensure this stabilisation and better opportunities for return.

### 1.2. Latvia

During the past decade more than 213 thousands have emigrated and in 2011 Latvia's population was 2 070,371 according to Census in 2011, down from 2.3 million counted in 2001 Census. So roughly, 10 % of population, mainly economic active people left Latvia in one decade. Emigration especially peaked after joining the European Union (EU) and in 2009 and 2010 as a response to deep economic recession, which started in late 2008.

The difference in the level of remuneration was the main driving force and the most frequent motivation of those with secondary/vocational education and low paid jobs in Latvia, who were more likely to be found outside the capital city (Krišjāne *et al.*, 2007). The study also found that international mobility was twice as high among 20–29 year-olds compared to all other respondents, while the majority of respondents intended that their migration be short term. The main destinations for recent migration were the Great Britain and Ireland (Krišjāne, 2011). Since 2011 there is an increasing attractiveness of Nordic countries as well, however, numbers are still low. Internet based survey in 2012 revealed that about 20 % of Latvian citizens living abroad wish to return, while 42 % expressed such wish but were uncertain if the intentions will be actually realised. Besides, those, who emigrated during the crisis, more often stated that they do not intend to return, which indicate distrust to governmental actions and ability to secure more stable future development (Apsīte-Beriņa, 2013). Majority of respondents expressed a will to return, when economic downturn started in Ireland and UK in 2006–2007; however, many could not realise their intentions because they become more settled in these countries and, most importantly, Latvia turned into severe recession in late 2008 (Barcevičius *et al.*, 2012).

### 1.3. Estonia

According to Census in 2011, population in Estonia was 1.29 million. The decrease of population due to emigration is clearly less than in other two Baltic countries: during years 2000–2008, 29,377 people emigrated from the country. Reiter (2013) states that 25.7 thousands of Estonian citizens were employed abroad in 2012, while 6.2 thousands have emigrated by 2011, the latest available statistical information. Estonian data shows that during economic downturn in 2009–2011 there was no considerable increase in emigration trends and in numbers of those employed abroad. Actually, in 2010–2011, there was even slight decrease from 22.1 to 21.6 thousands employed abroad, which is in sharp contrast with emigration peak in Lithuania and emigration trends in Latvia in 2009–2010. Most emigrants are young; the biggest age group are 25–29 years-old (Tammaru, 2013). According to population register, in total 87.2 thousands of Estonian citizens were living outside Estonian territory (Reiter, 2013). In proportional terms, Estonian citizens, working abroad consist 3.6 % of Estonian labour force and 4.1 % of employed. In Estonian case, considerably more men work abroad, proportionally to Estonia-based labour force, 7.2 % men and 3.5 % women respectively. This could be explained by attraction of Estonian migrants in construction and others male dominated professions in the most attractive destination countries, most notably, neighbouring Finland. 20 % of Estonians were employed in construction abroad in 2012 (Reiter, 2013). Biggest Estonian diasporas abroad are in Finland (about 30 thousands), Sweden (25 thousands) and USA (25 thousands), where the last two comprise also the post-war exile diasporas (Tammaru, 2013; Tammaru *et al.*, 2010). Vast majority – 74 % – of Estonian respondents said, that reason for emigration are low salaries, unemployment and a will to earn better wages (Veidemann, 2010, quoted in Reiter 2013).

Lastly, return migration takes place also in Estonia, however, no precise data was available. Besides, due to proximity of Finland, Estonia differs from two other countries on more pronounced weekly or similarly frequent commuting trends, where people work abroad but are still considered as living in Estonia.

To sum up, Lithuania and Latvia are more similar in terms of destinations countries of recent migrants, and Lithuania has experienced the biggest population loss due to emigration. Trends in Estonia rather more reflect basic assumptions of Ravenstein's (1885) migration laws due to closer economic cooperation, geographical proximity and cultural closeness to Finland.

## 2. Recent political and economic dynamics

### 2.1. Responses to crisis

Estonia has joined the European monetary union in 2011 but also both other countries are bound to Eurozone through their currencies pegged in euro-area. This was also the reason why countries did not choose devaluation strategy during the crisis. Euro-peg underpins the monetary and fiscal policy, strategy to recover after the crisis. Latvia was the only Baltic state forced to ask EC and IMF support. Financial assistance of 7.5 billion US dollars amounted over 30 % of Latvia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). A fiscal austerity programme in Latvia was approximately 15 % of GDP between 2008 and 2011.

The size of the measures undertaken to correct the budgets in 2008 and 2009 in all three Baltic states reached 8–7 % of GDP. Wages in public sector were cut by 18 % in 2009 and a further 9 % in 2010 in Latvia and around half of that in Estonia and Lithuania (Kallaste and Woolfson, 2013).

Public sector salaries were cut by 30 % in Latvia and 20–30 % in Lithuania during the crisis. Austerity measures included reductions and reforms of maternity and child allowances and benefits, reductions in unemployment and health insurance. Value added tax (VAT) and excise taxes were increased in all Baltic countries. The increase of VAT in Lithuania was from 18 % to 21 %, and in Latvia from 18 % to 22 %, and in Estonia from 18 % to 20 %. In Latvia corporate income tax was increased from 24 % to 26 % and as well as real estate tax and the non-taxable minimum personal income tax threshold was reduced by almost two-thirds in 2009, while personal income tax increased from 24 % to 26 %. VAT in Latvia was reduced again to 21 % in July 2012.

In Latvia and Lithuania due to global financial crisis, the governments had to reduce the contributions to second pillar pension funds from 8 to 2 % in Latvia and from 5.5 % to 1.5 % in Lithuania. The reduction of the state contributions to the second pillar in Latvia and Lithuania has meant that future retirees, who participate in the second pillar, will get lower pensions than it was originally planned.

Estonian government had also taken measure to reduce social insurance fund deficit and redirected state contributions from second pillar to first in 2009 and 2010, but returned to 2 % state second pillar contributions in 2011 and to the original 4 % in 2012, with a catch-up period of 6 % state contributions scheduled for 2014–2017 (Aidukaite and Genelyte, 2012).

After the deep crisis, the GDP growth in the Baltic countries is among highest in the EU in past and current years: in 2011 yearly growth of GDP was 8.3 % in Estonia, 5.5 % in Latvia and 5.9 % in Lithuania, while EU27 average was 1.5 % (Eurostat, 2012).

### 2.2. Economic dynamics in the Baltic states since 2008

In the meantime International Monetary Fund (2013) forecasts that the economy is expected to grow at an average rate of 3.2 % in forthcoming years in Latvia. It will take another three years, at least until 2015, before the Latvian economy reaches the 2006–2007 pre-crisis real GDP level.

Table 1. Real GDP growth (%)

Country/ year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013 f	2014 f
EE	-4.2	-14.1	3.3	8.3	3.2	3.0	4.0
LV	-3.3	-17.7	-0.9	5.5	5.6	3.8	4.1
LT	2.9	-14.8	1.5	5.9	3.7	3.1	3.6

Source: Eurostat, 2013; GDP indices

Table 2. Public balance, general governmental debt 2008–2011 (% of GDP)

Country/ year	Public balance				General governmental debt			
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2008	2009	2010	2011
EE	-2.9	-2.0	0.2	1.1	4.5	7.2	6.7	6.1
LV	-4.2	-9.8	-8.1	-3.4	19.8	36.7	44.5	42.2
LT	-3.3	-9.4	-7.2	-5.5	15.5	29.3	37.9	38.5

Source: Eurostat, 2012; Public balance and governmental debt

From high inflation rates in 2008, all countries plummeted into very low inflation in 2009–2010 and even deflation (Latvia, 2010), while inflation started climbing again in 2011.

Table 3. Annual average inflation rates (%)

Country/ year	2008	2009	2010	2011
EE	10.6	0.2	2.7	5.1
LV	15.3	3.3	-1.2	4.2
LT	11.1	4.2	1.2	4.1

Source: Eurostat, 2012; inflation indices

There are considerable share of shadow economy in all three states. However, in this measure Latvia stands out against two other Baltic states.

Table 4. Shadow economy index in the Baltic states (% of GDP)

Country/year	2009	2010	2011
EE	20.2	19.4	18.9
LV	36.6	38.1	30.2
LT	17.7	18.8	17.1

Source: Sauka and Putniņš, 2012

### 2.3. Demographic trends: youth and pensioners

Population is aging in all three Baltic states with similar trends: for example, during a decade 2000–2010 population aged over 65 increased by 338 thousands, from 14.8 to 17.4 %, or by 2.6 percentage points in Latvia (CSB, 2012).

Table 5. Age structure in 2011 (thousands)

Country/ by age group	0–14	15–64	65+
EE	15.1	67.2	17.7
LV	13.7	68.9	17.4
LT	13.8	69.7	16.5

Sources: CSB 2012; Lietuvosstatistikosdepartamentas, 2012; Statistics of Estonia, 2012

Overall, the life expectancy, which is one of important indicators of quality of life, is highest in Estonia (76 years, 2010), in Latvia it is 73.7 years, and in Lithuania 73.5 years of average life expectancy.

Since most of out-migrants from the Baltic states are young and taking into account, that return migration might imply needs to improve or add new skills in life-long learning, education is also important indicator to understand dynamics in the Baltic countries.

Table 6. Tertiary level attainment (%) of population\*

Country/ year	2008	2009	2010	2011	Target 2020
EE	34.1	35.9	40.0	40.3	40
LV	27	30.1	32.3	35.7	34
LT	39.9	40.6	43.8	45.4	40

\*aged 30–34, who have completed tertiary level education

Sources: CEDEFOP, based on Eurostat, 2012; EU Labour force survey, 2012

Data shows that Estonia is making considerably bigger effort to involve its inhabitants in life-long learning.

Table 7. Adult participation in Lifelong Learning (%)\*

Country/ year	2008	2009	2010	2011
EE	9.8	10.5	10.9	12
LV	6.8	5.3	5	5
LT	4.9	4.5	4	5.9

\*(persons aged 25–64, who stated that they received education or training in the four weeks preceding the survey)

Sources: CEDEFOP, based on Eurostat, 2012; EU Labour force survey, 2012

To prevent emigration of young people, countries should address the problem of youth unemployment. Latvia and Lithuania are among the eight EU countries with the highest youth unemployment rates, while situation in Estonia is slightly better.

Table 8. Youth unemployment (age group 15–24)

Country	Rate			Ratio		
	2009	2010	2011	2009	2010	2011
EE	27.5	32.9	22.3	11.0	12.6	9.1
LV	33.6	34.5	29.1	14.0	13.9	11.2
LT	29.2	35.1	32.9	8.9	10.4	9.6

Source: Eurostat, 2012; youth unemployment indices

As already stated above, population are aging and declining in all three countries. World Social security report 2010/2011 (reference year 2009) wage and salaried employment as a share of total employment was slightly lower in Lithuania 88.9 % (92.3 % in Estonia and 89.9 % in Latvia), while proportion of working age population, contributing to old age pension scheme reveal more alarming trends in Lithuania, 56 %, while in Estonia it was 68.3 % and in Latvia 66.5 % (WSSR, 2011).

According to national statistical information (reference year 2009), average monthly old-age pension was the highest in Estonia (301 EUR), while in Latvia it was 230 EUR and in Lithuania 233 EUR (Lietuvosstatistikos departamentas, 2011; CSB Latvia, 2011; Statistics of Estonia, 2011).

#### 2.4. Wages, employment and poverty

Unemployment in years of crisis was skyrocketing, in Lithuania and Latvia in particular. Although, national institutions provide unemployment figures, Eurostat is used here to provide comparison in all three countries. Unemployment rapidly increased during the crisis: in 2010 official unemployment levels in Latvia and Lithuania were 17–19 % and still remained among the highest in 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 2012 with more than 15 % in both countries. However, all three states show good recovery in employment rates: compared to 2010, the highest increases of employment rate were recorded in Estonia 4.1 %, Lithuania 2.9 %, and Latvia 2.5 %.

Table 9. Employment rates by age and gender, 2011

Country	Total employment, numbers, thousands			Rate %					
	Age 15 and older			15–64			55–64		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
EE	609	301	308	65.1	67.7	62.8	57.2	57.3	57.1
LV	971	470	492	61.8	62.8	60.8	51.1	52.6	49.9
LT	1371	667	704	60.7	60.9	60.5	50.5	54.5	47.4

Source: Eurostat, 2012; EU Labour force survey, 2012

All three countries have implemented unemployment insurance that is earnings related, but has minimum and maximum ceilings. To qualify for unemployment benefits in Lithuania a person should be at least 18 months in paid employment, while in Latvia it is at least 9 months, in Estonia – at least for 6 months (Aidukaite and Genelyte, 2012). According to analysis by Aidukaite and Genelyte (2012), Estonia has more favourable situation for unemployed if three Baltic states are compared. The duration for payment of unemployment benefits in Lithuania is up to six months (with work record below 25 years). In Latvia – nine months payment 9 work record (one to 19 years). In Estonia – up to 6 months (work record below 4.6 years; up to 9 months if the insurance period is 4.5–9 years; up to one year if work record is 9 years or more.

Table 10. Unemployment rate (%) in the Baltic states

Country	2008	2009	2010	2011
EE	5.5	13.8	16.9	12.5
LV	7.5	17.1	18.7	15.4
LT	5.8	13.7	17.8	15.4

Source: Eurostat, 2012; Unemployment indices

Real wages grew in 2007 by one fifth in Latvia and 13–14 % in Lithuania and Estonia. The growth continued also into 2008. But during the crisis in 2009 and 2010 there was a decline of real wages by 5–8 % in 2009 and 2–6 % in 2010 in all three states. Nominal wages declined in 2009 in all Baltic countries up to 5 % and in 2010 there were still declining in Latvia and Lithuania (Kallaste, Woolfson, 2013).

Gross monthly minimum wage in Purchasing Parity Power in July 2012, according to Eurostat was as following: 367 in Estonia, 382 in Latvia and 353 in Lithuania.

According to national statistical offices, the average monthly wage was in 2010 in Estonia 792 EUR, Latvia 633 EUR and Lithuania 576 EUR. The average monthly wage grew in Latvia by 4.4 % in 2010.

In regard to the most important criterion by migrants themselves – level of salaries – Estonia was again ahead two other countries, while in Lithuania decrease was reflected in statistics of average salaries during the crisis.

Table 11. Net average monthly salaries\*

Country/year	2008	2009	2010
EE	557.89	529.45	536.50
LV	419.24	428.10	424.64
LT	404.41	376.90	369.92

Source: Eurostat, 2013; \*Net salary after taxes and with social allowances calculated as for a single parent without children allowances

If minimum monthly salaries are compared, there was no positive dynamics during and after the crisis in Lithuania. Estonia was doing better in terms of lower proportion of minimum wage earners. According to Eurostat, from the Baltic states only Latvia was among nine EU countries where tax burdens on low wage earners in 2012 was above 40 %.

Table 12. Gross minimum monthly salaries (EUR)

Country/year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
EE	278.02	278.02	278.02	278.02	290
LV	229.75	254.13	253.77	281.93	285.92
LT	231.70	231.70	231.70	231.70	231.70

Source: Eurostat, 2013; Minimum salaries indices

Table 13. Minimum salaries as a proportion of the mean value of average monthly earnings (%)

Country/year	2008	2009	2010	2011
EE	34.9	36.2	35.6	33.8
LV	36.2	40.9	42.2	45.1
LT	39.6	40.5	42.0	44.1

Source: Eurostat, 2013; Minimum salaries indices

Migration trends described above revealed that there are strong gender factor in outmigration, which can be explained by pull factors in receiving countries in industries. However, in order to understand situation in gender terms, valuable indicator is gender pay gap. This is among the rare indicators, where Estonia was doing worse than two other Baltic countries. In 2009 the highest gender pay gap in EU was in Estonia above 30 % whereas in Latvia and Lithuania it stood at 15 %. In Estonia the highest gender pay gap was found in industry, energy and construction.

In Latvia and Lithuania, that was influenced also by the highest proportion of female low-wage earners compared to the EU average (more than 30 % in each of these countries. Estonia acknowledges that GPG is a major problem in the country; recommendations have been made to diminish the gap through indirect measures (Anspal *et al*, 2010). That can be partly explained by higher levels of part-time work by women in



Estonia.

Table 14. Part-time employment (% of total employment by gender) in 2011

Country	Total	Men	Women
EE	9.3	5.0	13.5
LV	8.8	7.3	10.3
LT	8.2	6.5	9.8

Source: Eurostat, 2012; Part-time employment indices

Lastly, in terms of inequality and poverty, again, Estonia is doing better than two other countries. Risk of poverty rate (cut-off point: 60 % of median equalised income after social transfers), in Latvia was 21 %, in Lithuania 20 %, while in Estonia that was 15.8 % in 2010 (Eurostat).

Table 15. Gini-coefficient on income

Country	2008	2009	2010	2011
EE	30.9	31.4	31.3	31.9
LV	37.7	37.4	36.1	35.2
LT	34.0	35.5	36.9	32.9

Source: Eurostat, 2012; Gini-coefficient

Gini-coefficient measures inequality in society, suggests that Latvia is the most unequal society among the three Baltic states: in 2011 Gini-coefficient for Latvia was 35.2 %, Lithuania 32.9 % and Estonia 31.9 %.

## Conclusions

Emigration from Latvia, the same as from Lithuania, increased directly after the beginning of the crisis in 2008, while in Estonia there was no sharp increase observed. Therefore, when comparing development trends and out-migration processes during crisis, Estonia displays dissimilar trends to two other Baltic states.

In Estonia's case, the largest diaspora of recent migrants are developing in Finland, which is in close geographical and cultural proximity, while in cases of Lithuania and Latvia the largest new labour diasporas are forming in UK, Ireland and only recently started developing in Nordic countries. These diasporic connections may play an important role in development of countries economically, socially and culturally and develop in even more different trends.

Economic and financial crisis, which started in late 2008 had the profound influence on the Baltic states' economies. Latvia was hit the hardest among the three countries as it was also forced to seek for the international financial help from IMF and the European Commission. However, out-migration from Lithuania was even more significant.

Although, all three states are similar, Estonia has better development trends and economic achievements. Austerity measures on child allowances and contribution to pension funds were milder and temporary as well as recovery from unemployment during the crisis was faster in Estonia. Moreover, there are less low salary earners in Estonia and comparatively less risk of poverty and inequality, compared to Latvia and Lithuania.

To conclude, despite political and historical similarities, both terms of out-migration and responses during the crisis and recovery, the Baltic States display differences, that can lead to further reaching conse-

quences in future.

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## **BALTIJOS TRYNUKAI? EMIGRACIJA, MIGRACIJA IR ATSAKAS KRIZEI**

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### Santrauka

Šiame straipsnyje nagrinėjama migracijos ir ekonominio vystymosi sankirta, kaip viena aktualiausių problemų, su kuriomis susiduria Baltijos šalys. Pasinaudojus empirine prieiga, lyginami vyriausybės veiksmai esant ekonominei 2008 metų krizei. Straipsnyje analizuojama, kaip jie išryškėjo socioekonominę dinamiką atskleidžiančioje statistikoje. Tyrime taikomi lyginamosios statistikos ir antrinių duomenų analizės metodai. Visos trys valstybės patiria panašių ateities iššūkių: visuomenės senėjimas ir gyventojų skaičiaus mažėjimas, tuo tarpu emigrantų sugrįžimas matomas kaip viena iš priemonių, galinčių padėti šias problemas spręsti. Estijoje vykstantys procesai leidžia manyti, kad jos Vyriausybei labiau sekasi užtikrinti stabilų vystymąsi, tyrimo rezultatai taip pat rodo, kad Estijoje pastebimos skirtingos tendencijos, tuo tarpu Latvijoje ir Lietuvoje jos panašios tuo, kad čia vyrauja emigracijos tendencija.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: *Baltijos šalys, migracija, krizė, vystymasis.*

JEL KLASIFIKACIJA: R100; R230; Y100