

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRIA

^aMAGDALÉNA TUPÁ, ^bSERGEJ VOJTOVIČ

*Department of Management and Human Resource Development,
Faculty of Social and economic relations, University of
Alexander Dubček in Trenčín, Študentská 3, 911 50 Trenčín,
Slovakia
email:spisiakovam@gmail.com, ^bemail:sergej.vojtovic@tuni.sk*

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Abstract: In the past years we have noticed changes in the features of migrating work force from the Slovak Republic. The most common target country of Slovaks leaving for work is no longer the Czech Republic, but Austria. Calculations of migration benefits from the arrival of work force from the Central and East European countries in Austria countries and calculations of losses and benefits from the migration from the third-world countries aim at explaining the development of economical, social and demographic parameters in the country. It may be stated that work force migration from Central and East Europe is beneficial for Austria and high expenses on refugees.

Keywords: Immigration, emigration, refugees, third world countries, consequences of migration.

1 Introduction

Labor force migration is one of the most relevant economic and social issues. The original EU member states feared that after EU enlargement they would have to face an unchecked influx of migrants from the new member states from Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, which resulted in the implementation of temporary restrictions in order to protect domestic markets in Austria, Germany, etc. In the context of push and pull theory, the main economic motivations behind the intention of migrants to abandon their home country and seek employment abroad are higher wages, lower unemployment rates and higher number of available positions. Migration of labor force has many benefits for both the sending and the receiving countries. In the case of the former, it reduces unemployment and thus the pressure on the public finances, while the latter gains already qualified labor force, i.e. it gains workers whose education and training has been paid for by another country. On the other hand, it has its drawbacks, be it the so called “brain drain”, issues with integration, public tensions, etc. Therefore, migration and its many aspects (i.e. its causes and motivation behind it, its scope, its regional impact) have been extensively studied. A significant portion if this researched focused on the migration of highly qualified workers who drive the innovation flow, and who are particularly valuable for the receiving country.

However, the free movement of workers is not the only kind of migration countries face nowadays. Multiple military conflicts have created a mass influx of refugees, who flee from the danger into the safer and often more economically developed countries. The scope of refugee crisis puts a considerable strain on the receiving countries who often tighten their migration policies, which affects economic migrants as well. When regulating migration flows, countries can implement both direct and indirect measures. The example of the direct ones could be quotas on the number of asylum seekers. The indirect measures include additional financial support provided to those mi-grants who decide to return to their home country before asking for an asylum, restrictions limiting the immigrants’ access to the receiving country’s labor market, etc.

Despite the fact that countries of Western Europe enjoy many economic benefits because of migration from Eastern and Central Europe, public opinion, politicians and mass media often engage in a heated debate on migration. On one hand, there is a humanitarian duty to help the refugees, and on the other, there is a fear that the influx of refugees and migrants from Eastern Europe will threaten their social and economic order.

Considering the magnitude of this issue, migration should be at the forefront of academic research. However, most of the studies are con-ducted on local samples or rely heavily on estimates.

National statistics on migration also do not offer a detailed insight into the scope of migration and the specific motivation behind it.

2 The theoretical basis of investigation of economic aspects of migration to Austria

Emigration flows dominate in most countries in Central and Eastern Europe mainly. Borders of migration were opened by changing the social organization. Political and economic instability in post-communist countries, low living standards, high unemployment rates were not attractive to migrants not only from Western Europe, but also for migrants from neighboring countries in Central Europe. On the contrary, ever more immigrants began to leave from these countries gradually migrants were enticed by their families living and working abroad, employment opportunities, higher wages, a stable social order, and so on. World global processes of economic and social development intensified this trend. EU enlargement and the adoption of new Central European countries provided additional opportunities for the citizens of Central European countries on labor markets of Western Europe, where one of the main pillars is free movement of labor (Habánik, Koišová, 2011; Dagilene, et al, 2014), which has become applicable for the newly adopted countries in 2011.

After a transitional period that the country could apply, Article 45 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union with further secondary legislation and the case law the Court of Justice has entered into force in full range. The citizens of newly admitted Central European countries they gained the right to seek employment in another Member State to work there without a working permit, to live for this purpose in it, but also to stay after termination of employment in it. Aforementioned legal standards ensure to citizens of the newly adopted countries the same treatment as is standard for nationals of Western European countries in terms of access to employment, working conditions and all other social and tax advantages.

Migration policies implemented by destination countries are other factors with great impact on the emigration of workers from Central European countries. For example, pro-immigration policy of the German Federal Republic and Austria caused the rise of interest in these countries, a policy objective was to attract skilled workers by releasing the rules of employment in insufficient jobs, creation of attractive working conditions and various forms of benefit. Austria has become the most frequently elected country from various countries of Central Europe and the Balkans. Examination of internal labor migration within the European Union countries fills a gap in professional and public discussions only partially (Andrijasevic, Sacchetto, 2016; Pajnik, 2016)

For example, annual decrease in short-term emigration to Austria from Slovakia represents almost 13,000 people and reached the level of 42,100 persons. In 2014 – 2017, growth from 37,000 to 55,600 persons. We have noticed increasing interest in Germany also, 28,800 people emigrated there in 2017 it was 24,900 people in 2018. The number of shortterm emigrants to the Czech Republic decreased slightly, but with greater insight into the target country we find that using intergovernmental agreements of the former Czech and Slovakia after the split about the same conditions for study, as domestic students have and the quality of study, Slovakia losing almost 30% graduates of secondary schools because they want to study at universities in the Czech Republic. Migration flows are developing also in other neighboring countries similarly - in Poland, Hungary, Serbia, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria and other Balkan countries.

Analysis of the intensity and scope of migration flows of labor force abroad dominates in most cases of exploring of labor migration in Central Europe, its motives (Divinský, 2005; Blanchflower, Shadforth, 2009; Rosenow, 2009; Schaeffer, 2010; Kordoš, 2014; Simkus, 2014) and they less frequently

analyze its economic and social consequences for the country as well as for migrants. Migration is seen as a positive phenomenon for the source country as well as the recipient country without justification its positive aspects in professional and scientific works mostly (Daugėlienė, 2007; Favell, 2014; Kahaneč, 2015). Analysis of the economic impact of labor migration for countries of origin as well as destination country occurs in professional and scientific publications only marginally (Čekanašvičius, Kasnauskienė, 2009; Schaeffer, 2010; Polakowski, Szelewa, 2016). Impact of labor migration for level of wages in the target countries is examined rarely and also just marginally (Daugėlienė, 2007; Drinkwater, 2009). Most analyzes of labor migration abroad is focused on investigation of its impact on unemployment rate (Karbach, 2005; International, 2012).

Economic aspects of migration are not in the main focus of professional and scientific community in most cases. It is rule to say about the added value and its economic aspect only with regarding the problem of brain drain (Kazlauskienė, Rinkevičius, 2006; Daugėlienė, 2007; Polakowski, Szelewa, 2016). It also considers the eventual potential economic losses for the country of emigration (Divinský, 2009) and about the benefits of immigration for the country, which thus obtains costless prepared labor force. As a positive phenomenon are evaluated acquire new business knowledge and new experiences, especially language (Adepoju, et al., 2010; Kazlauskienė, Rinkevičius, 2006), so that the acquired knowledge and experiences could be utilized at work after returning home (Jančíková, 2014).

The problems of the impact of migration on social policy of the state on different social or ethnic problems are beginning to require attention (Rievajová, Bernáthová, 2002; Mau, Burkhardt, 2009; Spies, Schmidt-Catran, 2015). Attention is given to the security aspects of migration, terrorism and climb crime also, in cases where migrants are suspected or convicted. (Karabinoš, Balga, 1997; Haládk, Csámpai 2002; Andersson, 2016).

Professional and scientific community, public opinion, politicians, public institutions and mass media do not have the information and knowledge about working immigration, nor on immigration from third countries, despite the importance of this issue. Information is at the level of estimates, assumption and judgments in most cases. The exact balance of immigration flows abroad, their scope and intensity in time and space, the impact on employment as countries of origin of emigration as well as countries of destination, the experience of return calculation or assessment of the balance of losses and benefits of immigration for society, state, and possibly for the migrants themselves absent in measures and policies of the state, local authorities, as well as in professional and scientific research and publications yet.

3 Research objective, methodology and data

This study aims to evaluate the economic gains and losses from the migration in Austria. We look into both the immigrants from the new EU member states (Central Europe) and the influx of refugees from the third countries. The main goal of our study is to create a model approach to evaluation of economic gains and losses from the labor force migration, while determining the economic impacts of the two above mentioned migration waves on Austrian economy. In order to reach this goal, we will calculate both the costs and profits stemming from the immigration of labor force from the surrounding countries. We also look into the costs and profits connected with the refugee crisis, such as costs of asylum proceedings, costs of measures aiming to foster the refugees' integration into the society and the labor market and the potential economic gains from such an integration along with the return on spent public finances in the long term. Since the scope of this study does not allow for analyzing all Western European countries, we have chosen to focus on Austria, which is attractive for both economic migrants and refugees.

We have used statistical data on the number foreign nationals in Austria and their position on the Austrian labor market. We have created a model of calculating the losses and gains, which converts selected macroeconomic indicators (Statistics Austria, 2018, Federal Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection of Austria, 2018, ILO 2018, OECD, 2018). We have also used data on the number of refugees and asylum seekers (IOM, 2018, Federal Chancellery of Austria, 2018). Data on the number of refugees, the state expenses for their care and protection, their placement on the labor market, integration and the contributions to the state budget were gained from the various state institutions' (Institut für Höhere Studien, 2015; Wiener Institut für internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche, 2015; International migration Report, 2015; Oswald, Weissensteiner, 2015).

The study uses general scientific methods of induction, deduction, scientific abstraction and comparison, analysis and synthesis of selected facts, phenomena and processes. To calculate the data acquired, statistical and mathematical methods and calculations were implemented.

Multiple theoretical theories covering the issue of migration discuss its motives (push and pull factors), with the economic factors, such as unemployment and wage levels, are considered to be the most important ones. According to ILO, Austria's unemployment rate is in the long term significantly lower than Slovak unemployment rate. The big-gest difference was observed in 2010, when it reached 9.6 percentage points. Since then, the unemployment rate in Austria has been growing slightly, while the unemployment rate in Slovakia has fallen, which has reduced the differences. In 2018, the difference between Slovak and Austrian unemployment rate was only 1.3 percentage points.

According to Statistics Austria, which works with the national definition of unemployment, Austrian unemployment rate rose to 9.1 % in 2015 (for comparison in 2009 it was 7.2 %), this value being the highest in the last two decades. Unemployment rate in 2018 is 4.9%, annual decrease almost 28,000 people. National statistics also record the unemployment rate among the foreign nationals, which was 7.7 % in 1995, then continued to grow to 10.6 % in 2005. Afterwards it started to fall until 2009, when it again exceeded 10 %, and it has been continuously growing since 2013, reaching its highest value of 13.5 % in 2016. In 2018 is 11.3%, in people without a passport is 33%.

Immigrants in Austria work predominantly in construction, hospitality, healthcare and tourism, which corresponds with the development of new available job positions. The above-mentioned positions are often relatively less attractive for the domestic workers because of comparatively lower wages, and therefore immigrants supplement domestic workforce in these positions.

Table 1 Gross wage development 2009 – 2018

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Slovakia	744.5	769	786	805	824
Austria	2378	2393	2418	2477	2513
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Slovakia	858	883	912	954	1013
Austria	2556	2599	2646	2689	2732*

* Note: for 2009 – 2018 data until 31. 12., in Austria estimate

Source: ŠÚ SR, Statistics Austria (2009-2018), authors' table

Higher wages in prospective countries are an important motivational factor in the process of considering the option to immigrate (Ravenstein, 1985). Even though the wages in Slovakia have been steadily growing over the studied period, the wages in Austria are almost 2,5 times as high. The difference between the wages in both countries is slightly decreasing, since the wages in Slovakia grow faster than those in Austria; however, there is no denying that they remain rather staggering. The gross wages in Slovakia grew faster than in Austria by 4,58 percentage points. Slovakia experienced the biggest growth in

2018 (6,18 %) and Austria in 2012 (2.4 %). The gross wages in Slovakia grew faster than in Austria by 4,58 percentage points.

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Table 2 Inhabitants of Austria according to their nationality

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Inhabitants overall	8351643	8375164	8408121	8451860	8507786	8584926	8700471	8772865	8822267
Austrians	7468064	7464961	7456692	7447592	7441672	7438848	7432797	7430935	7426387
Non-Austrians	883579	913203	951429	1004268	1066114	1146078	1267674	1341930	1395880
EU (27)	389130	411843	439464	474641	518670	570298	616401	655524	693855
EU (14)	186375	196948	206349	217776	230730	241231	253055	262803	272024
New member states (13)	202755	214895	233115	256865	287940	329067	363346	392721	421831
Slovakians	19211	20381	22547	25333	28612	32052	35326	38094	40182
Immigrants from the third countries	486265	492954	503458	520980	538745	566915	642186	677201	692600

Source: Statistics Austria (2009-2018), authors' table

Out of 8.8 mil. people living in Austria in 2018, more than 1.4 mil. (15.8%) were foreign nationals. The number of immigrants rose by more than 4% since. Almost half (49.71%) of the foreign nationals living in Austria came from other EU member states. 30.22% of immigrants came from new member states (those who joined EU after 2004); this number was a result of 7.41% growth over the studied period. The number of Slovak nationals living in Austria has been growing steadily during the studied period, and in 2018 there were more than 40 thousand Slovak nationals living in Austria, which was 2.88% from the overall number of immigrants in Austria. Immigrants from the countries not in the EU constitute more than a half of foreign nationals in Austria; their number growing by 125,7 thousand over the studied period 2015 - 2018.

When it comes to specific states, most of the foreign nationals in Austria in 2005 were from Serbia, Turkey, Bosna and Herzegovina, Germany, Croatia, Poland, Romania, Macedonia, Hungary and Russia. The situation has changed in 2015, and the most numerous immigrants were from Germany, Turkey, Serbia, Bosna, Croatia, Romania, Poland, Hungary, Russia, and Italy.

Table 3 Asylum rulings in Austria (2009-2018)

Year	Asylum rulings			
	Overall	Affirmative	Refusals	Other
2009	15821	3247	13531	3459
2010	11012	2977	13290	2512
2011	14416	3572	11553	2100
2012	17413	3680	10745	1878
2013	17503	4133	10379	2163
2014	28064	8734	9068	1032
2015	88340	14413	13152	8009
2016	42285	22307	13124	10992
2017	24735	21767	14320	7005
2018	13746	14696	12897	3259

Source: Statistics Austria (2009-2018), authors' table

More than 88 thousand refugees asked for an asylum in Austria in 2015. Most of them came from Afghanistan (25 563), Syria (24 547) and Iraq (13 633). In 2018 refugees asked from Syria (3329), Afghanistan (2120) and Iran (1107). The asylum seekers are not allowed to work until the asylum procedure is over and an official ruling on their case has been made, therefore they have to be financially supported by the state. If a refugee is accommodated in a specialized facility, they are entitled to a maximum allowance of 40 € because the accommodation and food are already provided for. Other benefits include 150 € per year for clothing and 200 € per year for school necessities. It is estimated that the overall cost per one refugee who came into the country in 2015 is 16200 €. In case the asylum is granted, Austrian government provides 17 € per day for an accommodation for the duration of four months, 180 € per month for food, 40 € allowance, free health check-up, free healthcare and education along with school supplies.

The cost of the minimum care for one asyulant while they are looking for an employment is roughly 828 € per month if the person is living alone. If the household consists of two adults, they receive 621 € per month per person and 224 € per month per child. Asylum is being granted for at least three years. The overall expenses expedited by state in connection with the refugee crises cover basic care (accommodation, food, allowance, clothing, school supplies, etc.), cost of the asylum procedure, family benefits, healthcare, school attendance, integration policy, active employment policy, transportation, legal help, interpreters, and many others. In 2015, all these expenses amounted to 350 mils. €, and it is expected that by 2019 the cost will reach 2.4 billion €. Cumulative costs for the state budget are estimated to reach 8.1 billion €.

The unusually high numbers of refugees put an undue amount of pressure on the asylum procedures and supporting institutions, healthcare system, child therapists, and other supporting professions. The number of conflicts between domestic population and immigrants escalates, and the ethnic cultural tension within the society grows. Domestic population experiences pressure on all the systems ensuring the functions of the country and society, which negatively influences their perception of immigrants. The mandatory school attendance leads to higher number of pupils in the class who do not speak the language. The fact that 70 % of asylum seekers have completed only elementary education puts pressure on the labour market, where they struggle to find employment, thus creating the need for the state to invest into their education so that they would gain the necessary skills.

4 Analysis and discussion

Austria's policy can be considered in general proimmigration, even though in 2004 in reaction to the EU enlargement it implemented the strictest temporary restrictions possible. These measures limiting the access of workers from new member states to the Austrian labor market were an attempt to protect the domestic labor market. The enlargement was a cause for worries since four new member states were either its neighbors or in close geographic proximity. These worries included unemployment growth, added pressure on the wages and growing public finances, however, the development after the Austrian labor market was completely opened in 2011 showed that these worries were unfounded. Similarly, as it was with the EU enlargement, the refugee crisis causes a serious apprehension towards influx of foreign migrants and the effects it could have on Austrian economy.

One of the arguments raised is the fact that it is impossible to determine with certainty, who of the people seeking a refugee status are doing so purely from economic reasons. Austrian pro-immigration policy sends a clear signal towards the protection of human rights. However, it is difficult to uncover when this lenient policy is being exploited, especially when we consider

that those seeking asylum often cannot provide personal documentation.

The influx of immigrants from the third countries, which has been escalating since 2014, puts undue pressure on the public finances. The receiving countries aim to place immigrants on the labor market as soon as possible, which, in case of Austria and its potential, is technically feasible. For example, Austrian government is proposing creating 40 thousand new jobs through ecologization of economy. However, barriers such as lack of language skills and lack of sufficient qualifications hinder the potential placement of new migrants to these newly created positions.

Austrian statistics show that 50 % of jobs created since 2010 went to immigrants from the new member states (TASR, 2017). Specifically, it was 105 thousand jobs in 2014, 133 thousand in 2015 and the estimate for 2016 is 170 thousand. Rising unemployment (even though only slightly) puts pressure on the policy makers to adjust their approach. Austrian Chancellor Christian Kern proposes limiting the access of migrants from Eastern and Central Europe to Austrian labor market. Limitations are being placed on the number of accepted refugees. In 2016, the upper limit on the number of accepted claims was 37.5 thousand (the number of submitted claims was around 95 thousand). The new limit for 2017 - 2019 is 35 thousand/year (maximum 80 persons per day), and there is also a limitation on the number of refugees transiting through Austria to another EU country set at 3200 per day.

Immigrants from the third countries cannot satisfy the need for skilled labor on the Austrian market. Their low qualification and lacking language skills mean that state would need to invest into their education and training first, not to mention covering the cost of living. In majority of cases, asylum seekers are employed on positions that do not require higher qualifications, i.e. a low skilled labor such as helping hands on construction sites, cleaning, dishwashing, etc. The domestic population usually has very little interest in these jobs because of low salaries and social status they afford. Closing off the labor market for immigrants would put pressure in raising the wages for these low skilled jobs to make them more attractive for domestic workers.

When it comes to asylum seekers and their motivation for immigrating, The Economist conducted a survey in 2015 that looked into the asylum seekers in Europe and the validity of their claims according to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. This survey concluded that three quarters of asylum seekers truly come from war-torn countries, however there are differences between the states (for example 81 % legitimate claims in Greece significantly differs from 46 % in Italy). If the asylum seeker's claim is denied, such person should be deported and returned to their country of origin, however, statistics show that on average only around 40 % of asylum seekers whose claim has been denied return back to their country.

Refugees put pressure on public finances in any receiving country, be it additional cost of healthcare, cost of asylum processes, living expenses, family benefits, education, language courses, interpreting, integration and active employment policy and transportation cost in case asylum is denied (900€ per month, 10,724€ per year – Die Presse). One quarter of refugees coming to Europe are younger than 15, another 27 % is between 16 and 24 years of age, and both these age groups require education. While the cost of education in Austria is on average twice as high as in Slovakia, when compared with other EU or OECD it oscillates around the average values. In general, refugees finish their education in a shorter time than the domestic population, since they want to become independent and find a job as soon as possible, and inadequate education is one of the main hindrances to that. The overall state of education in countries, which refugees are coming from (Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Eritrea, etc.), is incomparable to that in EU. 82 % of women and 55 % of men (53 % of people under 25) in Afghanistan cannot read or write. Even though the situation in Iraq is more positive, 38 % of population still do not have formal education. When it comes to Syria, ILO statistics (2013) show

that 10 % of men and 22 % of women are illiterate. 15 % of refugees do not have basic education, 65 % has finished elementary or high school, and only 20 % have college education. Low level of education combined with not speaking the language creates the probability that asylants will re-main unemployed, what is confirmed by Austrian statistics, according to which the employment rate of refugees oscillates between 25 and 38 %. Historically, the predictions of refugees' employability within 5 years are not positive. If we use the influx of refugees into Austria in 1985 as a reference, only 50 % found employment within the first 5 years and 70 % only within 15 years.

On the other hand, migrants coming from the countries of Eastern and Central Europe are already educated and qualified, and the majority of them is between 21 and 35 years old. Therefore, they are in a time of their life when their productivity is the highest. The unemployment rate of foreigners in Austria was 11.3 % in 2018, which was the highest rate during the studied period. However, this negative trend was influenced by the migration crisis and migrants from countries with low levels of education, which raised this rate by roughly 4,3 percentage points. Immigrants from Eastern and Central Europe are usually coming to Austria with an already secured work position, and Austria is thus gaining skilled workers without having to spend money on them, since the costs of their education, social coverage and healthcare have already been paid by another state from its public finances.

In addition to gaining a new source of labor force, immigration also improves receiving country's reproductive potential. While the Austrian natality was 1.3 in 2013, the birth rate among the immigrants was 1.9. However, higher natality does not mean that immigrants receive more family benefits. According to the Austria's Federal Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection, immigrants receive less social benefits than the Austrian average. On the other hand, immigrants contributed to the compensation fund with 460 mil. € in 2017, the immigrants were on average 13,6 days on a sick leave, which does not exceed the overall average. The health insurance companies received 12.8 billion € in 2017, 7.62 % of which (891 mil. €) was paid for by immigrants. On the other hand, only 41.3 mil. € was paid back to immigrants in the form of sickness benefits. In general, each employed immigrant brings extra 2400 € per year into the Austrian budget. In case an immigrant builds a family with an Austrian citizen, this contribution rises to 2600 € per year. From an economic point of view, immigrants from Eastern and Central Europe bring more resources into the state budget than they take from it.

5 Conclusions

Creation and analysis of modeling approach to the assessment of the balance of losses and benefits of the two migration flows say in favor of benefits which create working immigrants from Eastern and Central Europe in Austria. On the other hand, workforce migration abroad represents loss of economic values as well as a significant part of the development potential for source countries.

Migrants from refugee crisis represent increased demands on public finances associated with their protection, asylum procedures, the process of economic and social integration, mainly for Austria. Rate only economic losses and benefits of immigration in this category of immigrants is inadequate. Human life represents highest value, therefore it is not possible to express it in economic categories.

Model assessment of economic losses and the benefits of migration to Austria cannot create comprehensive view of the actual balance of profits and losses for the state and society. It is not giving a complete and broad picture of this phenomenon in the system of economic and social processes and does not correspond to long-term goal of economic and social development of the society. The complexity of migration requires the assessment of the economic and social values of the society in view of demographic, cultural, psychological and moral.

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