Brain Drain from Lithuania: the Attitude of Civil Servants

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The concept of brain drain includes not only a physical emigration of highly qualified persons from one country to another but also a transfer from one department of an organization to another, as well as any other loss of skills and knowledge of one economic unit necessary for economic growth and development in favour of another economic unit. Brain drain occurs as a result of the factors of attraction and repulsion of migration of qualified specialists, scientists and students. Three levels of the reason for brain can be distinguished: individual, organization, and state.

Brain drain occurs in all countries of the world with a varying extent and character. In the economically developed countries more attention is given to the problem of brain drain. It has become an object of interest and research in these countries much earlier than in the economies of transition. This can be proven by a more extensive and accurate statistics provided in different sources, as well as the abundance of different research. In Lithuania little analysis has been made on this phenomenon. It is difficult to determine the extent of brain drain from Lithuania due to the lack of statistical data and sociological research. The article underlines that the emigration of highly educated specialists from Lithuania may have negative economic, social, cultural and even political effects on the development of the country.

Several social groups of Lithuania sensitive to the phenomenon of emigration have been listed in this article. It analyses the migration trends of business world, academic youth, scientists, as well as other highly qualified specialists and civil servants. It is stated in the article that the emigration of specialists from Lithuania is not massive, since the demand of qualified labour abroad is smaller than that of unqualified; however, high qualification and professional competence of workers from both public and private sector becomes a precondition of brain drain from Lithuania to other countries.

The article provides the results of the research on the attitudes to migration by civil servants. The majority of the respondents who leave Lithuania are interested not only in the financial benefit; they associate their work abroad with the possibility to satisfy personal needs, first of all self-actualization, career, and professional development. The article maintains that high competence of specialists and knowledge acquired in Lithuania can be easily transferred abroad and this is what encourages the respondents to emigrate. Highly qualified specialists often find a job in their speciality and are satisfied with the evaluation of their work abroad. The analysis of the literature and the study into the migration of civil servants has given theoretical and empirical grounds to the above statement.

Keywords: brain drain, civil, servant, emigration.

Introduction

Countries advancing to knowledge economics are especially concerned with their intellectual capital, the kernel of which is human capital, i.e. human intellect, education, competence, skills, experience, and values.

One of the most important factors of the intellectual capital is the ability to educate people of necessary competence and to use that potential. In this meaning, the “brain drain” is a rather important problem for preserving human capital.

“Brain drain” in Lithuania was encouraged by political, economic and social changes that started after the reestablishment of independence. Demographic disbalance, its change, differences in wages, lagging behind of technical and scientific thought, structural changes in scientific institutions predetermined the departure of part of high-skilled labour to other countries of the world. With the development of economy, the country was affected by the globalization of economic activity, which was in many aspects related to the essential changes on the Lithuanian labour market and its membership in the European Union.

Making analysis of publications published by various authors and institutions as well as material about emigration provided by other information sources, it is possible to state that the problems of “brain drain” have been little studied. The phenomenon of “brain drain” is understood as an element of economic migration and is evaluated only as one of the possible variants of migration of the individual, with no any analysis made of “brain drain” consequences for the intellectual capital of the state, competitiveness of organizations, and even development.

The available statistical data reflect only the actual state, but they do not allow one to reveal emigration causes, to research reasons for behaviour of migrants, approaches; therefore such data are insufficient for the needs of causal analysis. In many publications, it is quite often just repeated that “brain drain” in the country is large. It is difficult to measure it in quantitative terms, and qualitative evaluations are often based on the opinion of mass media. Data surveys of improbability selections cannot be generalized for the greater totality, and their results reflect only the opinion of the respondents.
The Aim of Research

- To clarify the social and economic factors of Lithuania predetermining the causes of “brain drain” in terms of emigration of civil servants, especially whether accession into the European Union may be a factor stimulating that phenomenon.

Tasks

- To study and evaluate the potential “brain drain” of the civil servants from the Office of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Lithuania.
- To identify part of the civil servants, participants of the survey, who would like, intend or plan to depart.
- To define the main “push” factors for departure of the specialists of the above-mentioned institutions.
- To clarify the needs of the civil servants from the Office of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Lithuania relating to their work environment, personal as well as needs related to the political, cultural or other environment of the country, and where (in Lithuania and abroad), in their opinion, higher opportunities exist for their satisfaction.

The Concept of “Brain Drain”

The term “brain drain” is interpreted as the departure of educated or professional people from one country, economic sector or field to another, usually for better wages or better working conditions (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1997, p. 466). “Brain drain” may be described as transnational, not forced, most often legal, long- or short-term, individual or group, economic migration of professionals or skilled labour force.

The concept of a skilled specialist varies from country to country, but most often a qualified specialist is considered to be the individual with a higher education or possessing especially extensive experience in the specific sector of activity (Iredale, 1999). C. Castle and M.J. Miller distinguish two structural models of professional, skilled specialists which have been formed lately, i.e. travelling of those from the developed countries to the less developed countries with a temporary assignment to work or study from the less developed countries into the more developed countries (Castles, Miller, 1998, p. 60). Such concept of the “brain drain” covers the movement of natural persons from one country or economic sector to another country (Business: The Ultimate Recourse, 2002, p. 1191).

It is also worthwhile to analyze various kinds of “brain drain”, since this phenomenon may be viewed differently. In the 1997 OECD report on the mobility of people with a high qualification, the two main concepts related to the “brain drain” are discerned: “brain exchange” and “brain waste”. Brain exchange means movement of competence in two directions between the country of departure and the host country. However, where the one-way movement evidently prevails, the terms “brain gain” and “brain drain” are used. The term “brain waste” specifies the loss of qualifications resulting when highly skilled personnel migrates to those forms of employment, where experience and skills, acquired in the previous work, are not needed.

In general, it is necessary to distinguish the two different phenomena – temporary departure seeking to extend one’s scientific world outlook and departure for ever – the actual “brain drain” (Salt, 1997).

Quite recently, a new definition “brain circulation” has been started to be used when it is spoken about the cycle of movement – departing abroad for studies, being employed here, then returning home to make use of the opened opportunities. It is thought that this form of migration will become still more popular in the future, especially if economic discrepancies between the states go down (OECD, 2001).

The concept “brain drain” is quite broad, but the major part of foreign and Lithuanian scientists, who explored that phenomenon, is satisfied with its a rather simple and narrow definition. Actually, this term was created by the British Royal Society to describe the departure of scientists and technologists to the USA and Canada in the sixth decade and the beginning of the seventh decade of the 20th century (Cervantes, Guelléc, 2002).

R. Marcinkevičienė (2004), while analyzing the migration discourse in the Lithuanian press, provides the linguistic explanation of that concept as the metaphor of the word emigration, which, in the author’s opinion, elucidates the most secret notions of the spoken phenomena and defines concretely their concept. The metaphor “brain drain” arises negative associations and means the vanishing and decay of intellect, abilities, talent, knowledge, and wisdom. Due to such application of the metaphor, the concept “brain drain” in the works of different authors is often understood differently. Some authors (Bosch, 2003; Jucevičienė, Viržintaitė, Jucevičius, 2002; Stankūniene, 1996) underline the mobility of scientists, doctors of science and scientific employees of various fields; other authors (Cervantes, Guelléc, 2002; Uskokov, Malaha, 2001) distinguish the mobility of professionals in various areas, highly qualified specialists with a higher education (i.e. academic studying young people, scientists, engineers, specialists of health care and information technologies, other highly skilled specialists).

Another important moment interpreting the concept “brain drain” is the unity of the origin of the “brain” and the areas of its use. Interest in the problem of “brain drain” is based on the knowledge accumulated on the importance of intellectual and human capital for the organization and the state. In this case, it is important to identify wherefrom knowledge and skills have been gained by the individual. In Lithuania, due to the difficult economic situation formed, a major part to the huma capital is invested by the state, since organizations and individuals are not able to do it themselves.

Thus, the concept of “brains” would cover those qualities of human capital, which were acquired during investments into the human capital, i.e. by way of formal and informal training, health improvement, encouragement of migration, job and information seeking. If a person received higher education, for example, in Lithuania, it
is deemed to be considered that his “brain”, or intellectual capital, is created by investment of the state of Lithuania into education, therefore its use should be also designed for Lithuania’s welfare and benefit. By each investment their repayment is being sought. With the best “brains” leaving Lithuania, the country loses the possibility to be repaid the funds invested into the preparation of emigrating specialists.

In the modern society, where one speaks about the knowledge economics, where electronic business exists, and where high-level communication technologies are developed, the physical migration of human beings is not the only opportunity of the brain drain. A good variety of ways and possibilities exists while residing in Lithuania to work in the institutions of another country, to create new ideas and sell them to other states. Thus, it is clear that the concept “brain drain” should also include the “brain drain” by a virtual method.

Thus, the scope of the concept “brain drain” is of four levels:
- “brain drain” from one country to another – countries exporting “brains”, importing “brains”, and transit countries;
- “brain drain” inside the country from one region and city to another region and city (e.g., in the case of Lithuania, a distinct “brain drain” is noticed from different regions and towns of the country to Vilnius);
- “brain drain” from one organization to another – employees most often seek better wages, better working conditions, career opportunities, and higher social guarantees;
- “brain drain” inside the organization – employees of one unit move or are groundlessly transferred to another unit, this is most often related to “brain waste”.

That way, the concept of “brain drain” covers not only physical departure of highly-skilled persons from one region of the country to another, from one organization to another, from one unit of the organization to another, but also the loss of skills and knowledge, necessary for economic growth and development, of one economic entity in favour of another economic entity.

Attitude of Civil Servants to Emigration

With a view of proposing the opportunities for solving the problem of the “brain drain” from Lithuania, a survey of the causes for the brain drain from Lithuania was conducted. As respondents were selected civil servants, and the causes stimulating specialists from Lithuania to leave for work and residence to foreign countries are sought to be clarified.

Quantitative and qualitative (case analysis) investigation was selected as empirical research methods.

During quantitative research, 14 percent of the civil servants from the Office of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania and the Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Lithuania took part. The target selection was used in the research.

The major part of the respondents of the survey (81%) maintain that they would not be willing to go abroad. Of 19% of those thinking about the departure, only two thirds have actual plans.

The respondents who participated in the research stated that the main reasons for their unwillingness to depart abroad is the fear of the unknown (27%). Positive causes: good wages (24%), possibility to study and work in Lithuania (24%) and favourite job (22%) are of less importance (Fig. 2). Other indicated reasons: family ties, age, and career opportunities. Several non-standards causes were also indicated: nationality, civic duty (I don’t want to be a “second-class” citizen, “emigrant”), to be an “unskilled labourer”, “I am quite a person with a civic duty”, “here is my home, family”, “I feel perfectly in Lithuania”, “I am a Lithuanian”, etc.).

The respondents were requested to answer a question about their intentions to leave. Of those willing to depart, 7% would like to emigrate for ever, and 33% of the respondents would like to leave for the period of 4–10 years. Quite a significant part (60%) of the respondents is planning to leave for the shorter (up to 3 years) period, to work and come back.

Of those respondents actually planning to leave, one third (33%) would go for the longer (5–10 years) period. Two thirds (67%) of the respondents planning to depart would go for some time to earn and come back.

The respondents were also asked to indicate when they were planning the future departure. It is interesting to note that a considerable part of the respondents expect to leave as soon as possible, i.e. almost a half (47%) would implement their intentions to depart within the immediate 2 years. The remaining could not point out the concrete plans of their departure.

The respondents planning to leave were requested to answer to a question what actions they took wishing to depart. About one third of the respondents planning to depart responded that they had not yet undertaken any concrete actions relating to the future departure (36%). The remaining respondents answered that they accorded most attention to the search of information in the Lithuanian and foreign press and Internet (correspondingly, 50% and 36%). One third of the respondents asserted that they searched for information by their personal channels – through their friends and acquaintances (29%).

The respondents planning to depart were also asked about the reasons stimulating them to seek a job abroad. The main reason for job-seeking abroad for the majority of the respondents is their wish to gain international experience and raise their qualification (67%). Other reasons are: inadequate wages (40%), poor career perspectives (27%), dissatisfaction with the post they hold (20%), family and other circumstances (13%).

On the basis of the analysis of survey results, it is possible to state that the major part of civil servants departing abroad potentially would get involved only in the activity corresponding to their acquired professional qualification or education.

The respondents planning to depart were asked to answer where they intended to be employed. The absolute majority of the respondents (80%) intend to be employed in the European Union institutions. It is possible to presume that work in the Lithuanian civil service stimulates the respondents to participate in competitions and to become “Eurobureaucrats” and to continue their career in the European Union institutions, since the Law
on Civil Service of the Republic of Lithuania grants them the right after coming back to Lithuania to get back the status of a civil servant. As the survey results showed, however, 20% of the respondents would agree to get employed in the private sector as well.

The survey was aimed to clarify whether the education of the respondents would be sufficient for being employed in the European Union institutions. The same proportion like those intending to be recruited in the European Union institutions (79%) hold that their education is sufficient for being employed in Europe. 21% of the respondents could not give an answer as regards the compliance of their knowledge and qualification with the market requirements in the European Union countries. None of the respondents evaluated his qualification negatively.

The majority of the respondents set sufficiently high requirements for a job abroad. The major part of the respondents would agree to be employed in a job corresponding to their profession – 47% of the respondents would agree only to do work offering the highest prospects of improvement, and 40% of the respondents would only do a job related to their professional qualification. The remaining respondents did not set special requirements for a job abroad: they would be satisfied only with the permanent job or even the status of a temporary employee.

In summary, it is possible to state that respondents depart abroad not only because they are interested in material benefit, but also seeking to satisfy their competence needs, as they do not doubt of the easy transfer of their professional competence needs into the system of another country.

As the research data show those planning to depart would be motivated to stay in Lithuania by a wage increase of not less than by 50–100%. One fifth of the respondents (20%) would like the growth in present wages to exceed 200%, and half of the respondents would desire at least 100–200% of wage increase.

By research it was also sought to clarify how the respondents understand “good life”. The subjective understanding of “good life” conditions the choice of the specific individual and forms the internal basis for taking a decision on migration, therefore answers to those questions are very important (Jučevičienė, 2002).

The respondents most often associate “good life” with the material values and social security: good wages, possibility to use the developed infrastructure of social services, and social guarantees. The possibility of improvement is also evaluated as very important, but many other moral and spiritual values, in the opinion of the respondents, are less important attributes of “good life”.

Further following evaluations of self - realization opportunities supplement perfectly the earlier observed hierarchy of “good life” values: most of the material values are related to the life abroad, whereas moral (or post-material) values are related to the life in Lithuania. The respondents indicated that opportunities to use the developed structure of services, good wages and security are more characteristic of the life abroad, while professional realization, cultural life and favourite job, of the life in Lithuania.

During survey the respondents were requested to express their approach to the present - day migration. As the research results showed, the respondents mostly evaluate emigration as a natural and inevitable phenomenon, the consequences of which may be reduced by seeking to maintain the relationship and cherishing the nationality. The statement that emigration is just a temporary economic phenomenon received the least support on the part of the respondents.

Those planning to depart were also asked what changes could be that they would not think of emigration. As the research results showed, the major part of the respondents selected not only the economic reasons, but also the general progress of public life and social policy. The most important factors, in the opinion of the respondents, able to change their opinion on emigration are: favourite job (67%). Other important factors are career opportunities (53%) and social guarantees (53%). In general, it is possible to state that practically today of equal importance are the factors of both personal welfare and dissatisfaction with social and political life in Lithuania.

In summary, it is possible to assert that a statistical survey respondent is a young male, about 35 years of age, single, knowing perfectly a foreign language, a civil servant with a Master’s degree and a higher technical education.

The data obtained make it possible to presume that it would be quite complicated to hold back the respondents in Lithuania. This is explained by the fact that the respondents rather tend to stress foreign advantages, the “brains” search for optimum opportunities, for supply of which Lithuania will not be able to compete in the international context in the short term (possibility to use the developed infrastructure of services, good wages and security, etc.). Foreign advantages pointed out by the respondents against the opportunities offered by Lithuania are most significant in those aspects to which the respondents devote the greatest attention when describing “good life”, i.e. good salary, professional improvement possibilities. Factors where Lithuania has a relative superiority, i.e. moral values (or post-material), are not priority ones in the perception of the quality of “good life” by the respondents. Wages that respondents wish to receive in order not to leave (about 4 thousand Litas, on the average) exceed significantly the average wages in Lithuania.

The present - day emigration is estimated by the majority of respondents as a natural and inevitable process. The most important factors, able to change the opinion about emigration are as follows: favourite job, career opportunities and the general improvement of the national economic situation.

Conclusions and Recommendations
1. Since the available official statistical data on the population emigration from Lithuania only partly reflect the actual situation and do not allow one to reveal the emigration processes, scale, causes and tendencies, therefore, seeking to conduct the comprehensive and more exhaustive research, it is expedient to develop the uniform mechanism for investigation and accounting of emigration processes and to prepare the unified research methods.
2. The problem of “brain drain” cannot be solved effectively by traditional measures of social policy, or
be the object of activity of just one state institution. Close contacts are necessary between programmes being implemented by different ministries in tackling the afore-mentioned problem. Upon evaluation of the situation, it is necessary to prepare the state programme, which would foresee the legal, administrative and economic measures encouraging the specialists in problematic fields to stay in Lithuania.

3. In solving the migration problems of specialists, it would be purposeful to make the more effective use of the national fiscal policy, which would reduce the incentives for emigration and would stimulate re-emigration, i.e. to ensure the transparent tax environment, to apply the profit tax privileges for investments to scientific research and higher and medium technologies, to create conditions for entrepreneurs first of all to invest in Lithuania, not to transfer the production or the provision of services to other countries, to create favourable conditions for return of the Lithuanian capital accumulated abroad, to apply the experience of Lithuanian entrepreneurs abroad in the development of Lithuanian international economic relations.

4. Seeking to reduce emigration of academic brains and of studying young people, it would be necessary to carry out the actual and cardinal reform of higher education and study system. The key measures of general type for solving that problem would be: creation of the environment favourable for science and innovations, the qualitative scientific work, implementation of the stimulating financing system, increase in the mobility of scientists, implementation of effective system for study loans, the programmes for preparation of specialists should be coordinated with the needs of the Lithuanian market.

5. A natural rotation should occur between the officials working in the EU structures and the civil servants in the Lithuanian state institutions to enable the more effective use in Lithuania of the experience of civil servants gained in the European Union.

References


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„Proton nutekėjimas“ iš Lietuvos: Valstybės tarnautojų požiūris

Santrauka

Spartaus globalizacijos procesai, integracija į euroatlantines struktūras paskatino lietuvių tautos emigracijos bangą. Sudėtinga
ekonominė situacija, augantis nedarbas, vidaus politikos nestabilumas, didėjantis taksos tarp skirtingų visuomenės sluoksnių, neadekvatūsi valstybės politika miestų ir periferijos atžvilgiu topo ir tebėra pagrindinės emigracijos iš Lietuvos priežastys. Emigracijos mastai dar labiau padidėjo, Lietuviui tapus ES narei ir atsiverus galimybėms legaliai isburdinti kai kuriose senosiose ES valstybėse nėrėse.

Narystė ES teikia Lietuvai daug pranašumų - skatina visuomenės demokratizacijos, geraisė didėjimą, industrializaciją, ekonomikos augimą, urbanizaciją, komunikacijų plėtrą bei užtikrina didesnį saugumą. Kita vertus, tam tikrų išvartydų „modernizmo“ tendencijų bruožai bei globalizacijos, socialinės ir kultūrinės diferencijacijos ypatumai turi daug neigiamų pasekmių, o viena svarbiausių ir prieštaraičio vertinamų tokių Lietuvos narystės Europos Sąjungos pasekmių yra specialistų emigracija, arba „protų nutekėjimas“.

Analizuojant įvairių autorių, institucijų paskelbtas publikacijas bei kitų informacijos šaltinių pateikiamą medžiagą apie emigraciją, galima teigti, kad Lietuvoje „protų nutekėjimo“ problematika mažai išsiūrė, neabejotinių trūkų specializuotų tyrimų, skirtų specifinėms su emigracija susijusioms problemoms nugalint. Daugelyje publikacijų dažnai tik konstatuojama, kad šalyje „protų nutekėjimas“ yra didelis, jį sunku išmatuoti kiekviens, o kokybiškiai vertinamai dažniai remiasi masinių informacijos prieminių nuomone. Remiantis turimus duomenimis ir prognozėmis, galima teigti, kad specialiųjų emigracijos procesas gali sukelti socialinių ir panašių padarinių Lietuvos gyvenimo kokybei bei socialinei infrastruktūrai.

Tenka pripažinti, kad „protų nutekėjimo“ analizė profesinių aspektų yra labai mažai nagrinėta sritys Lietuvos mokslinių tyrimų erdvėje. 

Atsižvelgiant į tai, suformuotas darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai:
Norint paslygti „protų nutekėjimo“ iš Lietuvos problemas sprendimo galimybės, buvo atliktas „protų nutekėjimo“ iš Lietuvos priežasčių tyrimas, kurio metu tyrimo respondentai pasirinkus valstybės tariautojus, siekė išsiaiškinti, kokios priežastys skatina specialistų iš Lietuvos išvykti gyventi ir dirbti į užsienio valstybes. 

Kaip esminių tyrimo metodai pasirinkti kiekvienas ir kokybinis (atvejo analizė) tyrimas.

Kiekvieno tyrimo metu aptkausta 14 proc. Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo kanceliarijos ir Lietuvos Respublikos Ūkio ministerijos valstybės tariautojų. Tyrimo panaudota tikslinė atnau.