ANNALI DI STATISTICA

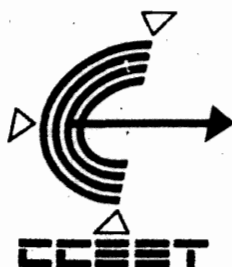## ATTI
DELLA CONFERENZA INTERNAZIONALE SUGLI INDICATORI DEL MERCATO DEL LAVORO PER LA TRANSIZIONE

Roma, 8 luglio 1991

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON LABOUR MARKET INDICATORS FOR TRANSITION

OCDE / OECD

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Saluto dell'on.le Claudio Vitalone
(Sottosegretario di Stato al Ministero Affari Esteri).

Sono particolarmente lieto di portare il saluto del governo italiano, del Ministro degli Affari Esteri On.le Gianni De Michelis e mio personale a questa Conferenza sugli "Indicatori del mercato del lavoro per la transizione".

La Conferenza nasce da un'intesa tra una molteplicità di enti diversi quali l'Istat, l'Università di Roma La Sapienza, il Ministero degli Affari Esteri, l'Eurostat, l'OCSE. Si tratta dunque di un'iniziativa non solo italiana, che coinvolge due grandi organizzazioni internazionali - e quindi i Paesi che ne fanno parte - insieme a Paesi dell'Europa Centrale e Orientale.

Un'iniziativa che si inquadra in un disegno assai ampio di cui si sono già visti due momenti importanti: la Conferenza su "Sistemi statistici dei Paesi dell'Europa Centrale e Orientale", tenutasi a Parigi nel settembre del 1990. E la Conferenza su "Statistiche economiche per le economie in transizione", tenutasi a Washington nel febbraio 1991 ad opera del Bureau of Labor Statistics degli Stati Uniti e dell'Eurostat.

Non siamo quindi alle prime battute, ma nell'alveo di un dialogo già proficuamente avviato in ambito multilaterale, al quale ogni Paese partecipa con la propria specificità, nell'ottica delle singole sinergie create (e da creare) per tutto ciò che esiste di profondamente comune.

E' un incontro tra specialisti quello che vede riuniti intorno a questo tavolo statistici ufficiali, economisti, accademici chiamati a consulto - potremmo dire - su di un problema essenzialmente tecnico: come poter assicurare attraverso adeguati indicatori statistici il monitoraggio del processo di transizione dell'economia centralizzata all'economia di mercato.

Un processo assolutamente nuovo, inedito, che rappresenta una sfida per tutti coloro che si trovano ad esservi coinvolti, e vede in prima linea ovviamente, chi ha il compito di prendere decisioni non certo facili.

Un processo destinato a riavvicinare attraverso strutture economiche simili i tanti Paesi della grande famiglia Europa, che si incamminano verso una maggiore omogeneità non solo culturale, dopo la caduta di muri e steccati che per troppo tempo li avevano tenuti divisi.

Proprio per questo esprimo il mio rammarico di non vedere qui con noi i rappresentati dell'Unione Sovietica.

L'oggetto della Conferenza è un problema tecnico di statistica economica, ma sappiamo bene che le realtà sottese a questo problema sono realtà di grande valenza sociale, prima fra tutte il lavoro, diritto-dovere che appartiene fino in fondo alla dignità umana di ciascuno di noi.

I temi che verranno discussi in questi tre giorni sono lo specchio di un triste elenco che non vorremmo mai leggere: disoccupazione, necessità di emigrare per trovare lavoro (o piuttosto nella speranza di trovarlo), mancanza di una qualificazione professionale adeguata. Sono solo alcune delle enormi, tragiche difficoltà che molte persone si trovano a dover affrontare, particolarmente in alcuni paesi.

Riuscire a individuare e misurare le cause di questi fenomeni e a valutarne la portata è la prima indispensabile premessa per poterli affrontare e gestire.

Sembra quasi superfluo sottolineare l'importanza di una collaborazione aperta a tutto campo, che ci veda uniti, nord e sud, est e ovest di fronte alla problematiche del nostro tempo. E proprio questa Conferenza ne è una manifestazione: collaborazione tra più enti per organizzarla; scopo

dichiarato: aiutare dei Paesi amici nel momento di un difficile passaggio.

Non dunque fratelli maggiori e fratelli minori, ma colleghi che hanno vissuto esperienze diverse e che uniscono i loro sforzi per fare fronte ad una situazione particolarmente delicata che nessun Paese può certo risolvere singolarmente, con le sole sue forze, in un isolamento più o meno splendido.

Da tutto ciò che ho detto risulta chiaro, credo, che io giudico questo incontro estremamente importante. Non a caso esso si svolge nella sede del Ministero degli Affari Esteri italiano che molto ha operato e opera per la cooperazione internazionale.

Al mio augurio di buon lavoro si unisce la soddisfazione di saper che un altro passo avanti viene fatto per unire sempre più strettamente i Paesi della comunità internazionale.

Welcome address by Mr. Claudio Vitalone
(Under - Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

I am very pleased to welcome the attendants of this Conference on the "Labour Market Indicators for the Transition" on behalf of the Italian Government, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Gianni de Michelis, and myself.

The Conference stems from an agreement reached by many different bodies, such as Istat, La Sapienza University of Rome, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Eurostat and OECD. Therefore, this is not only an Italian initiative but it involves two large international organizations - and thus its member countries - together with countries from Central and Western Europe.

This initiative is part of a broad scheme which already gave birth to the Conference on the "Statistical Systems of Central and Western Europe", held in Paris on September 1990, and the Conference on "Economic Statistics for Transition Economies", organized in Washington by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the USA and Eurostat on February 1991.

We are not at the first steps. This dialogue has already successfully started at multilateral level. Each country is participating with its specific features in the frame of the single synergies created (and to be created) for what the countries have deeply in common.

This is a meeting among experts, official statisticians, economists, academicians, summoned, we could say, to give their advice on a mainly technical problem. How can we assure that the transition process from centralized to market economy is monitored through suitable statistical indicators? This totally new process represents a challenge for all the people involved and mostly decision-makers whose task is certainly not easy.

This process is bound to implement similar economic structures to reunite the many countries of the great European family. Such countries are now moving towards a greater homogeneity, not only at cultural level, after that walls and fences that had separated them for too long have fallen.

This is the reason why I express my regret for not seeing here the representatives of the Soviet Union.

The subject of the Conference is a technical problem concerning economic statistics, but we know very well that realities underlying this issue largely affect social life, starting from labour, a right-obligation which deeply belongs to the human dignity of each of us.

The subjects which will be discussed in these three days reflect a sad list we would never want to read: unemployment, need to migrate to find a job (or rather in the hope of finding it) and lack of suitable professional qualifications. These are only some of the huge and tragic difficulties faced by many people especially in some countries.

Nevertheless, in order to tackle these phenomena, it is first necessary to identify and measure their causes as well as to assess their range.

It seems almost unnecessary to underline the importance of a large-scale open cooperation which unites North and South, East and West in facing the problems of our time. This Conference actually proves it: several bodies cooperated for its organization and the declared purpose is to help friend countries during a difficult transition.

Therefore, there are not elder and younger brothers. There are colleagues who leaved different experiences and now join their efforts to face a very delicate situation which cannot be solved by an isolated Country relying only on its own power.

It should be clear, at this point, that I consider this meeting extremely important. It is not by chance that it is held in the offices of the Italian Foreign Ministry, which has been actually working extensively for international cooperation.

I wish you a good work and express my satisfaction for this further step beyond towards the ever greater union of the international community.
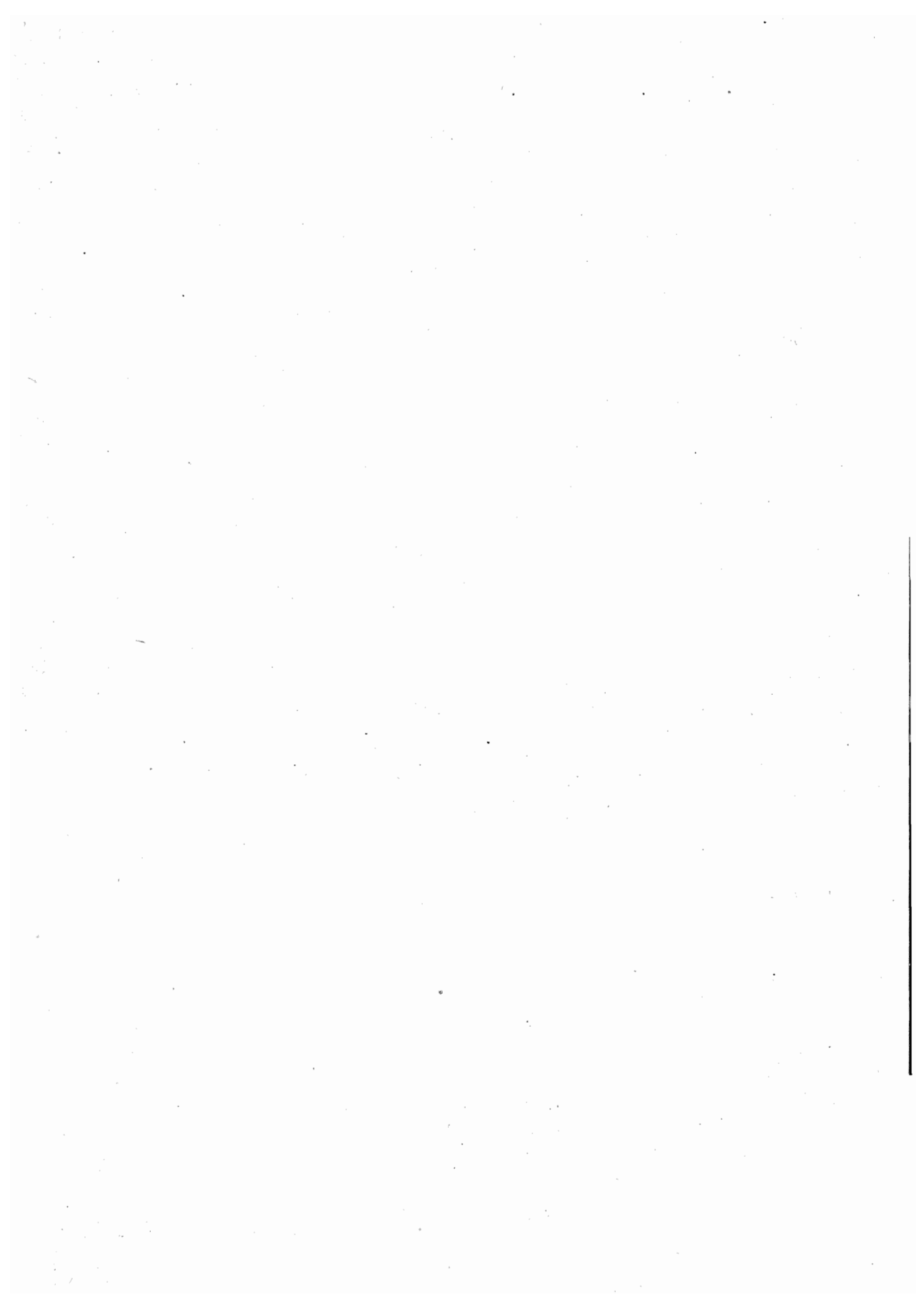
Saluto del Prof. Guido Mario Rey

(Presidente dell'Istituto Nazionale di Statistica).

In seguito ai recenti sviluppi politici nei paesi dell'Europa centrale e orientale sono state avviate alcune importanti modifiche anche nei sistemi economici. Il processo globale di trasformazione condurrà questi paesi verso un'economia di mercato ma con caratteristiche nazionali e con profonde modifiche nella posizione relativa dei settori produttivi.

La riorganizzazione della produzione, le modifiche nella domanda, la ridefinizione delle regole per la determinazione dei prezzi e della distribuzione del reddito (che sarà più orientata al mercato), la creazione di un settore monetario e finanziario richiedono che le decisioni vengano prese in modo più decentrato ed autonomo rispetto al passato; contemporaneamente si assisterà ad un progressivo ma graduale ridimensionamento del settore pubblico. Autonomia, decentramento, mercato hanno in comune l'esigenza di dover disporre di una massa ingente di informazioni e di segnalatori degli squilibri. É indispensabile che queste informazioni siano coerenti, tempestive, complete, corrette, disponibili per tutte le componenti della società. E questi sono appunto gli attributi di una buona statistica.

Se concentriamo in particolar modo la nostra attenzione sugli aspetti riguardanti il mercato del lavoro, notiamo in particolare che la modificazione dei metodi produttivi avrà certamente notevoli conseguenze su questo mercato con il relativo impatto politico-sociale. La perdita di competitività di certi prodotti, precedentemente considerati essenziali, o la loro sostituzione con beni similari importati, potrà creare disoccupazione con riferimento ai lavoratori direttamente o indirettamente coinvolti nella loro produzione.

La modifica dei metodi di produzione grazie all'introduzione di nuove tecnologie può dar luogo ad una disoccupazione che difficilmente può essere assorbita in altri settori, e al tempo stesso generare una domanda di lavoratori esperti da parte di tutti i settori economici, particolarmente quelli maggiormente influenzati dai mutamenti tecnologici. Lo squilibrio tra domanda di lavoro qualificato ed offerta di lavoro generico non è naturalmente un problema solo delle economie in trasformazione: esso è anche presente nei paesi occidentali, e lo sarà ancor di più nei prossimi anni; tuttavia i grandi mutamenti e la riqualificazione in corso nei paesi dell'Europa centro-orientale è verosimile che drammatizzino la dimensione degli squilibri.

Una soluzione - almeno parziale - al divario tra qualità della domanda di lavoro e qualità dell'offerta può probabilmente essere fornita da una politica che stimoli la mobilità del lavoro. Tuttavia è necessario che all'interno di ciascun paese sia compiuta un'attenta pianificazione dei bisogni e delle qualificazioni occupazionali, con particolare attenzione al nuovo mercato del lavoro quale risulterà dopo che siano avvenute le trasformazioni.

I decisori politici avranno quindi da compiere un lavoro estremamante attento, nel prendere il giusto provvedimento nel posto giusto e nel giusto momento: in questo compito essi devono essere assistiti dall'informazione statistica.

A questo scopo è necessaria un'adeguata scelta di indicatori economici che consentano di prendere le necessarie decisioni politiche; ma alcune statistiche di base non sono necessariamente tutte disponibili in ciascun paese dell'Europa centrale e orientale. Una notevole quantità di dati di fonte amministrativa può essere ottenuta dai documenti economici in questi paesi, mentre meno abbondanti sono in genere i dati ottenuti da inadagini campionarie, specie sulle famiglie, per la minore importanza che è stata ad esse data in passato.

Particolare cura dovrà essere dedicata a governare la transizione anche in campo statistico per evitare di annullare una acccumulazione di dati di fonte amministrativa che può risultare preziosa se analizzata secondo schemi nuovi e adattata alla nuova realtà economica e sociale.

Lo sviluppo di un sistema statistico "nuovo", in grado di soddisfare le necessità immediate e future dell'economia in mutamento dei paesi dell'Europa centrale e orientale, mentre si dimostra assolutamente indispensabile, perde molta della sua utilità nel supporto alle decisioni se non viene realizzato in modo cordinato e armonizzato con gli altri paesi. Abbiamo tutti una grande opportunità di evitare quasi completamente le lunghe e tediose procedure che si rendono necessarie quando sistemi statistici differenti devono essere integrati tra loro: nel caso presente, se procediamo fin dall'inizio nel quadro di uno schema generale definito con uno sforzo multilaterale, gran parte della comparabilità dei singoli sistemi nazionali sarà stata già conseguita.

Occorre tuttavia tenere presenti le differenti situazioni locali: i sistemi statistici attualmente esistenti, nonché le differenti priorità delle singole politiche, che variano naturalmente da paese a paese, contribuiscono a rendere il quadro ancora più complesso, richiedendo un'adeguamento dei sistemi generali alle esigenze specifiche di ciascuna realtà sociale.

La ricognizione di questi problemi è stata in parte compiuta in un gran numero di riunioni internazionali, concentrate in un periodo assai breve: basti menzionare la conferenza dell'OCSE sui "Sistemi statistici dell'Europa centro-orientale" (10-12 settembre 1990), il gruppo di lavoro presso l'Ufficio Centrale di Statistica ungherese, concernente i "Principali problemi della transizione" (15-19 ottobre 1990), la "Conferenza sulle statistiche economiche per le economie in transizione: l'Europa orientale negli anni 1990" organizzata dal Bureau of Labour Statistics statunitense, sponsorizzata anche dall'EUROSTAT (14-16 febbraio 1991). Oltre alle riunioni di cui sopra, l'argomento dei paesi in transizione è stato affrontato anche nella massima parte delle riunioni a carattere più generale, nelle quali è stato dedicato ad esso un ampio spazio.

Al tempo stesso l'esperienza italiana basata sulla presenza di un profondo dualismo economico che caratterizza ancora molte aree del paese e su assetti produttivi in cui convivono grandi imprese e un tessuto molto esteso di piccole e medie imprese e infine la presenza di una economia mista in cui si sviluppa l'integrazione in campo economico fra settore privato e settore pubblico penso possa rappresentare un punto di riferimento per la realizzazione di un sistema statistico che sappia adattarsi con maggiore flessibilità alle esigenze delle economie nella fase di transizione.

Questa nostra esperienza, nonchè le nostre difficoltà e le soluzioni adottate in campo statistico sono a disposizione dei nostri colleghi dei paesi in via di transizione e mi auguro che questa occasione possa essere l'inizio di una fruttuosa collaborazione che auspichiamo possa realizzarsi in un ambito multilaterale.

Ora è chiaro che la cooperazione può assumere forme assai varie: assistenza nell'impiego delle nuove tecniche e metodologie di indagine direttamente nei paesi interessati; formazione e stages sulle tecnologie campionarie o sulle metodologie informatiche nei paesi occidentali; seminari e conferenze in cui favorire lo scambio di idee e risultati tecnici.

É comunque essenziale che tutte queste attività siano orientate ad un obiettivo comune, senza duplicazioni di sforzi. É anche molto importante che le definizioni, le classificazioni e le metodologie adottate in un paese siano le stesse di quelle usate negli altri: ed ancora una volta un'iniziativa multilaterale mostra di essere la soluzione migliore.

L'importanza dell'adozione di soluzioni univoche , del confronto continuo di metodi e di risultati, dello scambio fruttuoso di idee, ci porta a ritenere che anche questa occasione, arricchita dalla presenza di partecipanti assai esperti e qualificati provenienti dagli uffici di statistica, dalle aziende e dall'università darà un valido contributo al miglioramento della conoscenza dei problemi da affrontare, e analizzerà anche i modi e i tempi per pervenire alla loro risoluzione.

Welcome address by Prof. Guido Mario Rey

(President of National Institute of Statistics).

Due to recent political developments in Central and Eastern Europe Countries some major modifications have taken place also in their economic systems. The global transformation process will lead the Countries towards a market economy though with national characteristics; also deep modifications will take place in production sectors relative ranking and a monetary and financial economy will be created.

Reorganization of production, demand modification, redefinition of more market-oriented prices determination rules and income distribution, ask for more decentralized and autonomous decisions with respect to the past. Simultaneously the public sector will see a progressive though gradual reduction. Autonomy, decentralization, market, have the common need of having available a substantially growing amount of information and indicators of unbalances.

If we focus our attention on points concerning labor market, we particularly note that modifications of production methods will certainly have major consequences on this market, with consequent political and social impact. A loss of competitiveness of some products, formerly considered as essential, or their substitution with similar imported goods, could create unemployement with reference to workers directly or indirectly involved in their production.

Modification of production methods due to the introduction of new technologies may also generate unemployement which may be difficult to absorb in the other sectors. At the same time they cause a demand for skilled workers from all economic sectors, particularly those mostly affected by technological changes. The unbalance between demand for skilled work and supply of unskilled workforce is of course not a problem specific of transition economies: it is also present in western countries, and it will be so even more during the next few years; yet the major changes and requalification ongoing in Central and Eastern Europe are likely to dramatize the size of unbalance.

An incomplete solution to the gap between quality of labor demand and quality of labor supply may probably lie in a policy which stimulates labor mobility inside each country; nevertheless a careful planning of occupational needs and qualifications must be performed, paying particular attention to the new labor market as it will result after transformation will have taken place.

Policy makers will therefore have a really careful job to perform, taking right decisions in the right places at the right time: in this task they must be assisted by statistical information.

To this end, a choice of suitable statistical indicators is needed, in order to take relevant political decisions; yet some of underlying statistics are not necessarily all available in each Central and Eastern Europe country: while generally a large amount of administrative data may be obtained from economic documents in these countries, data obtained by sample surveys, especially on households, are less plentiful, perhaps because of the limited importance formerly given to this kind of surveys.

Special care should be devoted to the management of transition also in the statistical field, in order to avoid elimination of administrative data accumulation which may prove precious if it is analyzed according to new schemes and adapted to the new social and economic reality.

The development of a 'new' statistical system, able to fulfill the immediate and future needs of the changing economy of the Central and Eastern European Countries, while proves itself absolutely essential, loses much of its use in supporting decisions unless it is implemented in a coordinate and harmonized fashion with respect to other Countries: we all have a great opportunity of avoiding lengthy and tedious procedures necessary when different statistical systems are to be marged together: in this case, if we proceed from the beginning in the framework of a general scheme as designed by a multilateral effort, a large part of the integration of the system now in existence, as well as different priorities of single policies, which of course vary from country to country, contribute to make the frame even more complex, asking for an adequate tailoring of general systems to the specific needs of each social reality.

A review of these problems has been partly done during many international meetings, concentrated in a very short period of time: we can remember the OECD conference on Statistical Systems of Central and Eastern European Countries, held on 10th to 12th September 1990, the workshop on Major Fields of Transition Problems held in Budapest from 15 to 19 October 1990, the Conference on 'Economic Statistics for Economies in Transition: Eastern europe in the 1990s' organized by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics and cosponsored by Eurostat on 14th to 16th February 1991. Besides these specific meetings, the subject of transition countries has been discussed also in most of the meetings of a general kind, in which a large importance has been devoted to it.

At the same time, Italian experience based on a deep economic dualism which characterizes still many regions of the country and on production systems in which large companies and a network of small and medium enterprises operate together, and lastly on a mixed economy in which an economic integration develops between public and private sectors, I think may represent a reference point in the development of a statistical system adaptable with more flexibility to the needs of economies in a transition phase.

We are very glad to place our experience as well as our difficulties and corresponding solutions in the statistical field at our colleagues of transition countries disposal, and I also hope this occasion may be the beginning of a fruitful collaboration which we wish may be conducted in a multilateral enviroment.

Now it is clear cooperation can assume quite different forms: assistance in the implementation of new techniques and survey methodologies directly in the countries involved; training and stages on sampling techniques or EDP methods held in Western Countries; seminars and conferences to enhance exchanges of views and technical results. It is nevertheless essential that all these activities be oriented to a common target, without duplications of efforts. It is also very important that definitions, classifications and methodologies adopted in one country be the same as the ones used in the others: so a multilateral management proves again to be the best solution.

The importance of adopting univocal solutions, of continually confronting methods and results and of fruitfully exchanging ideas, leads us to the conclusion that also this occasion, enriched by the presence of expert and qualified participants, will give a substantial contribution to the enhancement of knowledge of problems we must face, and will also suggest ways of approaching their solution.

Welcome Adress by Mr. Paolo Garonna

(Deputy Head Social Affairs, Manpower and Education Directorate OECD).

I wish to join Mr. Franchet and Professor Rey, in welcoming you on behalf of the Secretary General of the OECD to this Conference. I want to pay a special tribute to ISTAT and to its Chairman, Professor Rey and to Eurostat and its Director Mr. Franchet, and to Mr. De Esteban for having promoted and sponsored with us this Conference. Particularly welcomed is the participation of other international organizations, such as the EEC Commission and ILO that play such an important role in international statistical cooperation and with whom the OECD has a long-standing tradition and practice of common interest and cooperation, a tradition that has been strengthened by the more recent need to develop new initiatives in support of the ongoing economic transformations taking place in Central and Eastern Europe.

Statistics are not normally a hot issue in the policy debate over the transition to the market economy; and anyway this is not a good season to deal with hot issues in the torrid Roman climate of to-day.

Nevertheless, statistics figure prominently among the various forms of assistance and activities for cooperation with the reforming countries of Eastern and Central Europe within the programme of work and of partnership with those countries that the OECD is presently carrying out.

I will leave to my colleague J.P. Tuveri, who will participate in the concluding Round Table, the task of illustrating more precisely the role of the OECD in the international cooperation with the CEECTs (Central and Eastern European Countries in Transition). Tuveri is the Deputy Director of the Centre for Cooperation in the Central and Eastern European Countries in Transition that the OECD has created to give visibility to its efforts in support of the transition to the market economy, and to coordinate the inputs from all the different areas of the Organization's activities, including statistics and monitoring labour market developments.

I wish to limit my introduction at exploring a few working hypotheses on why "labour market indicators for transition" matter, and how policy-making, and the interaction between statisticians, labour analysts and labour administrators can help in providing a response to the current and upcoming needs of the transition.

These hypotheses outline the role played by labour markets in the transition and the importance of the policy management of labour market reform and related policy transformation.

The simple point I want to make is that labour market management in a phase of transition from a command-type to a market economy is an exstremely "information-intensive " process, i. e. a process that requires a good deal of appropriate statistics and indicators.

There are two sets of reasons for that. The first has to do with the increasing importance of information in the functioning of the market economy, and in particular in the labour markets of a market economy; the second concerns the specific requirements of the sweeping and wide-ranging transformation necessary for the successful completion of the transition.

It is well known that the market mechanism is the most effective instrument for generating and transferring the information required by economic agents who freely negotiate and exchange their labour force. Preferences, endowments, skills and the decentralized decisions of employees and employers, or those resulting from collective agreements of their respective organizations, shape a system of relative prices and wages that incorporate many of the relevant signals and information required by labour market players.

The establishment of a well-functioning and effective labour market is therefore not simply a precondition, but is itself a major part of the kind of information monitoring and information system that a market economy requires.

This conceptual principle has important practical implications.

One of these is clearly pointed out by G. Faith in his paper when he recognizes and criticizes the 'temptation' for statisticians in transition countries to simply add unemployment counts (provided by labour administrations) to conventional concepts and data, such as 'active and inactive earners', without changing collection procedures and without adopting ILO-OECD definitions. This 'temptation' or practice gives the illusion of continuity in 'time series' and prevents the necessary improvements from taking place, creating a "hybrid", that certainly does not help the transition:

which is why many countries in transition have taken a completely different route more in line with the OECD countries experience.

It has to be recognized that the information collected in a command-planned economy has, in spite of possible apparent analogies, a completely different nature from that required by a functioning labour market. Even the collection and use of administrative data has to be fundamentally readjusted and reorganized to be an element of the organization of the market, where many agents come into play (private and public, small firms and large enterprises) and where individuals and households become the main source of information on the internationally accepted definitions of labour market status.

This part of the argument justifies the "pars destruens" of the statistical transition, i. e. the fact that a lot of information used, misused or simply collected (and not used) for planning purposes under the former regulations has become redundant and useless, and is probably to be discontinued. This might be, i. e. in my view the case of the annual enterprise censuses that have become, anyway, in most cases, untractable.

But this is only one side of the argument. There is another important side, which has emerged quite clearly by applyng to the OECD labour markets the recents contributions of the economics of imperfect information or of asymmetric information.

It has been shown that there is an increasing risk of market failure in the acquisition and transmission of relevant labour market information. The consequences of 'adverse selection' and 'moral hazard' have been widely discussed in the literature and are well known in the policy experience of OECD labour market authorities, in relation e. g. to training and educational certification, long-term employment contracts that provide job security and wage stability, institutions of cooperation and bargaining within the industrial relations system. In other terms relative prices (wages in this case) have often proved to be inefficient mechanisms for conveying information on relative shortages/surpluses of labour, giving rise to distorsions and calling for institutional corrections.

But 'moral hazard' is also well known in the practice of former comunist countries, where both suppliers and users of statistics conspired to 'improve' data on the achievement of the plan.

We need not expand here the reasons for this increasing risk of market failure due to "information" failure: it suffices to mention increasing heterogeneity and uncertainty both on the demand and the supply side of the labour markets, the increasing partecipation of women and immigrants, the upgrading of skill requirements, the variety of demand patterns and production processes, etc.

If this argument is correct, there are two important policy implications: 1) an active role of labour market authorities is required in monitoring labour market development. This applies to OECD 'market economies', and therefore "a fortiori" to countries which wish to become like 'market economies': 2) it is necessary to create information systems that are accessible by a pluralism and variety of users - private, public and collective - that respond to their long-term and short-term needs; that are reliable and can be confronted across different sectors, labour markets and national economies. In one word we need "transparency" (Glasnost) in the statistical system.

The second set of reasons for monitoring the transition are specific to the transition process itself, i. e. the need for developing indicators appropriate for this exceptional and unprecedented hystorical experience. The main one is the question of urgency. Olenski puts it in a very suggestive way: "in transition countries - he says - economic time passes quickly". And the nature and scale of the problems do not leave any option for waiting until the transition in the statistical system has come to completion and the new procedures and systems have become fully operational.

An 'urgency approach' is almost inevitably required: an approach made up of ad-hoc solutions (such as small sample surveys, use of administrative data, etc.) and focussing on ad-hoc indicators. As a matter of fact, the results of the new household surveys are not likely to come on a regular basis for many months to come, possibly not earlier than 1993 for many countries. However, given the rapidity of changes involved in the transition process, there is a need for more frequent data particularly for closely monitoring the dynamics of wages and the growth of unemployment, as indicated by the Polish experience with 'urgent surveys' in the 1990. In this context, the question arises as to whether a more efficient use of data collected via administrative sources should be given priority.

Even if household and enterprise surveys remain the basic source of information on employment, unemployment, and earnings, good business registers, registers of employees paying social security contributions, of job-seekers at labour offices, etc. could on the other hand, make it unnecessary to have very frequent surveys, and, on the other hand, contribute to improving small-area representation.

However, this is only one preliminary suggestion, among the many that will be provided - I hope

- in the discussion at this Conference.

Besides, the specificity of the transition problematique calls for a careful identification and selection of the relevant policy indicators: what are those indicators? What statistics are there, or could be provided, to construct them? To what extent they differ from similar indicators used for analyzing OECD labour markets?

On both these sets of questions, i. e. the design of the 'new' monitoring system for the reformed economy and the adoption of immediate solution for monitoring the process of transition and the establishment of the labour market, this Conference will have to provide answers and/or direction for further research.

More the latter probably than the former, since the Conference will focus on the quantity side of the labour market (employment, unemployment, migration and labour shorthages); other relevant topics, such as earning, social policy indicators, industrial relations and training, will have to be dealt with in other more specialized occasions.

One aspect became apparent in laying the foundations and the frameworks for this Conference, i. e; that monitoring means much more than developing appropriate statistics and indicators. It involves in fact building-up a "system" (information system) of statistical source, research capabilities and policy experimentation; it requires developing a "process" of effective interaction among the main actors in the labour market, the policy makers and labour administrators, the social partners, the labour market analysts and the producers of the data.

It is important that this Conference brings together representatives of all these different worlds, producers and users of labour market statistics, both from OECD and from CEECTs. All worlds will have to learn useful lessons from one another. Indeed, CEETs might have now an opportunity that OECD countries do not have, that of building up their information and statistical system at the same time as they develop their labour market institutions and therefore in harmony with these institutions. And they can, therefore, strike the appropriate balance between the independence, the integrity and the policy coherence of their labour market monitoring systems; a balance that - we have to say - not all OECD countries have been able to reach, at least not to the same extent and degree of success.

In conclusion a few words on the role that the OECD has played and is playing in the field of statistics and labour market indicators. The Organization has two main tasks: 1) that of producing internationally comparable figures on its member countries labour markets; 2) that of devicing international standards for the compilation and presentation of statistics, in cooperation with other major international organizations. The OECD has played an important role in areas such as labour volume in national accounts and standardized unemployment rates, and is currently engaged in such diverse fields as training and migration statistics, earnings, part-time and shift work, up to standards for releasing data in the public domain.

The present context of increasing attention for, and demand on, international organization is presenting a favourable climate for the development of new standards that improve the quality and comparability of statistics, and for the promotion of grater cooperation among international organization, such as the initiative recently taken by Eurostat and OECD to improve their condition. This Conference is notably a reflection and illustration of this favourable climate, which has been produced by the current events in Eastern Europe, what Dahrendorf has called the "revolution in Europe of 1989".

I hope this Conference will be able to fully exploit these great opportunities and provide concrete ideas and projects for the development of multilateral and bilateral assistance to the ongoing reform of labour market statistics in Central and Eastern Europe.

There has been recently an upsurge of international seminars and meetings, many of them of a rather general nature; contributing often to the emergence of severe bottlenecks in the supply of competent people in these countries for attendance at conferences and for carrying out the work. There has not been in my view a matching emphasis on follow-up to these meetings, in terms of technical assistance projects targeted to specific needs and countries.

I wish this Conference will lead to exactly this kind of outcome and to improving the coordination and cooperation among national and international organization involved in Eastern Europe.
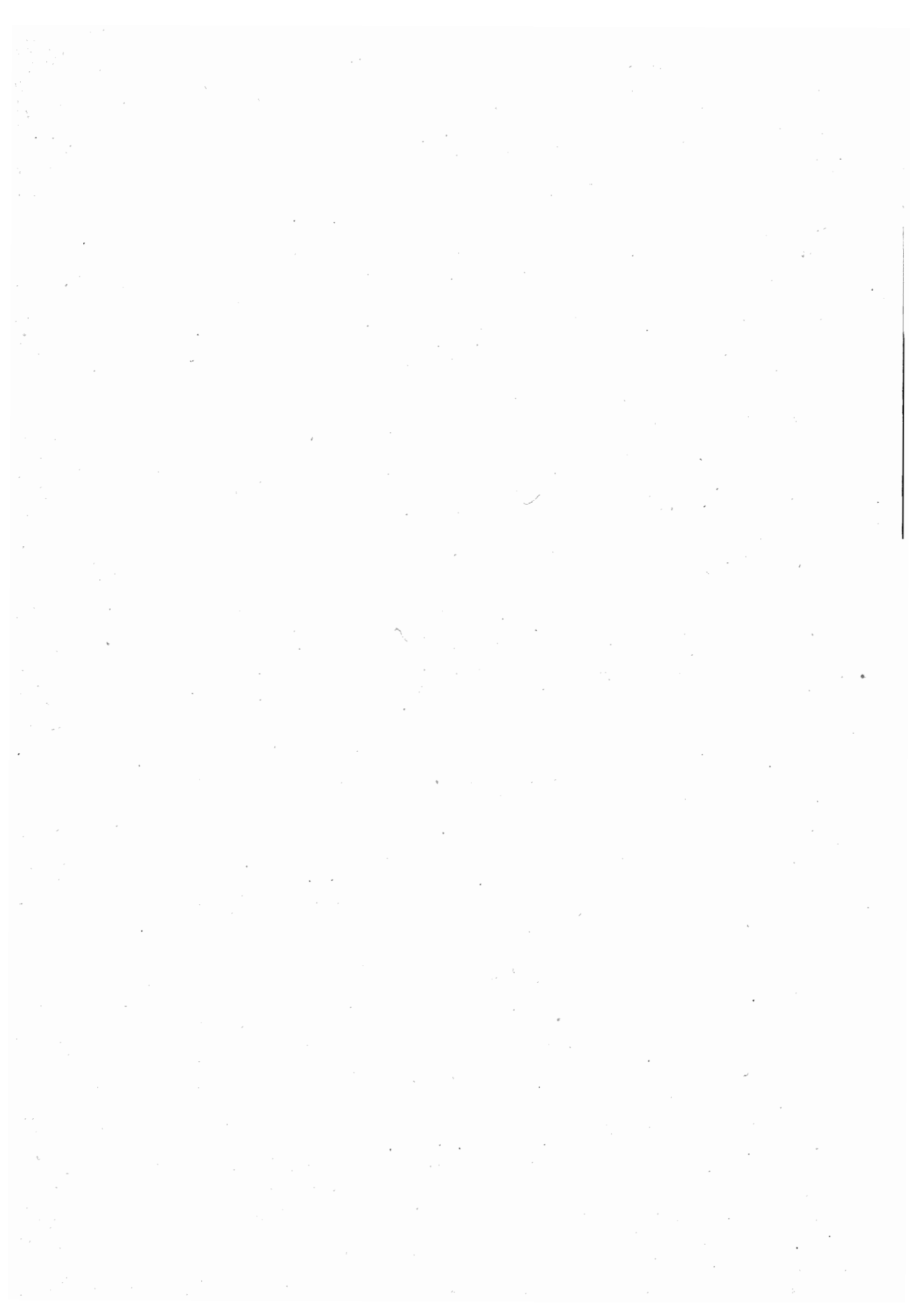
Welcome address by Mr. Yves Franchet

(Director General of Eurostat).

Monsieur le Président, Mesdames et Messieurs,

Les récents bouleversements et le changement de stratégie politique des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale représentent pour les pays de la CEE et les institutions communautaires à la fois un défi et une opportunité.

L'opportunité consiste à aider des pays qui ont décidé de se transformer en démocraties à économie de marché, remplaçant ainsi des structures qui empêchaient la création de liens réels et profonds entre l'Est et l'Ouest de l'Europe, et partecipant à la construction d'un espace européen démocratique, dont les racines historiques sont profondes.

Le défi consiste à savoir le faire. La tâche est ambitieuse et l'histoire nous enseigne que de telles transformations sont complexes et semées d'obstacles. Il faut que la communauté internationale, et en particulier la CEE soit persistante et patiente dans une coopération et une assistance qui doit être de longue durée.

Comme il fallait s'y attendre, la statistique a été présentée comme une priorité par tous les pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale dans leurs programmes de coopération avec le G-24 et dans les accords avec la CEE.

Comment en effet suivre et évaluer le effets socio-économiques et financiers de programmes souvent radicaux dans cette période de transition sans transformer fondamentalement l'appareil de connaissance statistique?

Dans les économies à planification centrale, l'appareil statistique, surtout dans le domaine économique, sert essentiellement à préparer les décisions du pouvoir central et à mesurer si elles ont été réalisées.

Dans les démocraties à économie de marché, les statistiques servent de source de référence dans les débats démocratiques et pour les décisions du marché. Elles décrivent les conséquences des choix complexes et interactifs du Marché: entreprises, individus, administrations. Elles doivent être acceptées par tous comme objectives et indépendantes.

Les bouleversements économiques et sociaux que vivent les pays d'Europe en transition vers l'économmie de marché entraînent des modifications dans la nature et le mode de fonctionnement des principaux acteurs: apparition de nombreuses unités privées de production, de distribution et de services, avec des stratégies individuelles, chômage conjoncturel ou structurel, inflation dénotant soit l'ajustement des prix aux coûts soit le déséquilibre entre emploi et offre de biens et services.

Il est essentiel à la fois de mettre en place des systémes statistiques qui répondent à l'ensemble des questions nouvelles, d'une façon cohérente et efficace, et de développer des indicateurs conjoncturels qui mesurent ce qui se passe dans cette phase de transition. La première action prendra plusieurs années, la seconde devrait être en place dans les prochains mois.

La coopération entre les institutions internationales qui peuvent aider à mettre en oeuvre ces ajustements se développe rapidement.

Eurostat s'est vu confier par le sommet des Chefs d'Etat de la Communauté à Paris en 1989 la tâche de cordonner la coopération statistique avec les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale pour le compte du G-24. Nous mettons en place des programmes par pays et régionaux avec une forte participation des pays membres de la CEE, des autres pays du G-24, notamment les Etats-Units et le Canada, ainsi que de l'OCDE, de la Commission Economique pour l'Europe à Geneve et des agences spécialisées - FMI, Banque Mondiale, BIT.

Je me réjouis que l'ISTAT ait bien voulu organiser ce séminaire conjoint sur un théme crucial, celui de l'emploi et des migrations.

Je souhaite à vos travaux une bonne réussite et suivrai avec intérêt le compte rendu de vos débats.
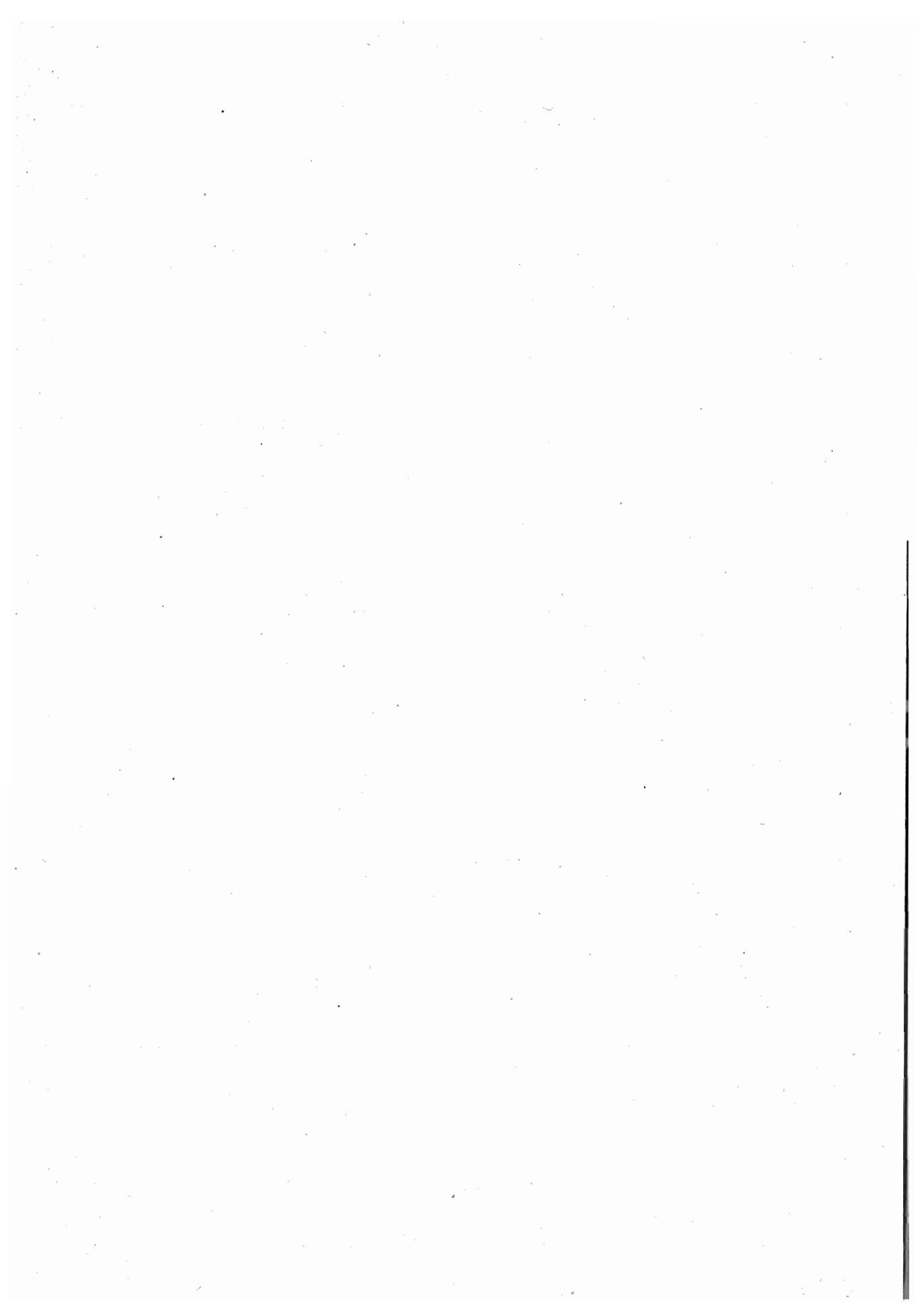
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CONCEPT AND MEASUREMENT
OF UNEMPLOYMENT
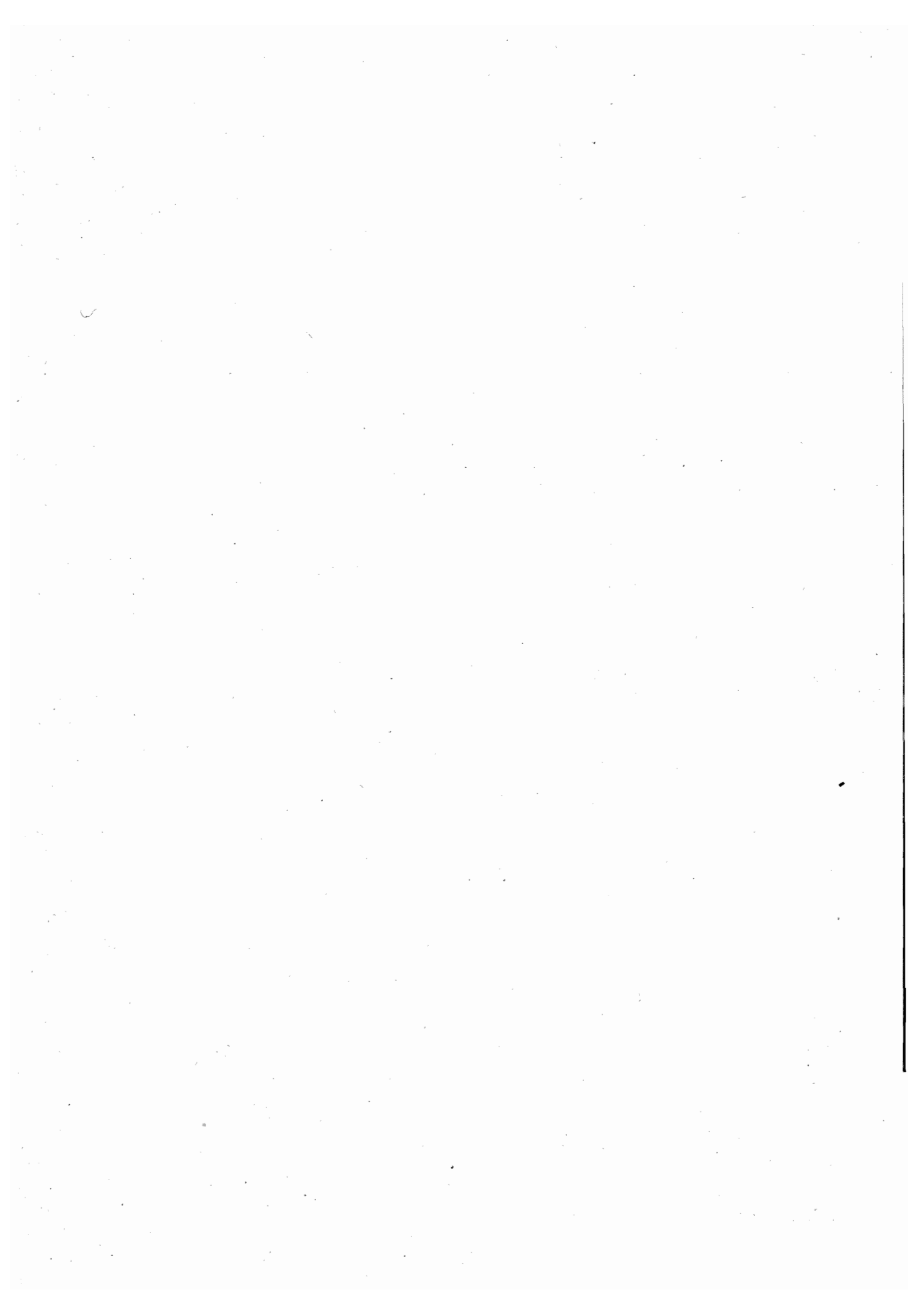
THE CONCEPT AND MEASUREMENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT: PRESSURE FOR RADICAL CHANGE IN HUNGARY'S EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

by

Gaspar FAJTH
Central Statistical Office, Hungary

The biggest difference between eastern European systems of compiling labour statistics and those recommended by the International Labour Office and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development lies in the concept and measurement of employment. In accordance with recommendations by the Council for Mutual Economic Aid for Communist Countries (COMECON), Eastern Europe's official labour statistics developed in the last four decades were based on full employment, and ignored unemployment. As a result the concept of an economically active population was reduced to a country's so-called active earners. This approach was rooted in official ideology and propaganda, and by the end of the "extensive period of development" in the mid-1970s, overt unemployment held only marginal importance in Hungary. This started changing during the mid-1980s when political pressure lessened and unemployment increased. For the first time, Hungarian statisticians faced the problem of defining and measuring unemployment.

I. APPROACHES TO ECONOMIC ACTIVITY: HUNGARY VS. ILO-OECD

Differences between Hungary's concepts of economic activity until recently and those based on the resolutions adopted at the 13th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 1982 (and then incorporated into the ILO's recommendations) are striking:

- Instead of "employed", the most important concept of economic activity is "active earner";
- The concept of unemployment does not appear in traditional Hungarian statistics;
- The ILO term "economically active population" is replaced by "active earners" or "working-age population";
- The working-age population has an upper age limit, i.e., the age of retirement (60 for males and 55 for females);
- Instead of the residual category of "economically inactive population", the concepts of "inactive earners" and "dependents" are used.

Although there would seem to be some similarities between the two approaches, the differences are crucial - more so than one might expect. Because the two systems were developed under very different conditions to serve very different objectives, they reflect contradicting approaches to economic activity.

1. Objectives

ILO concepts of economic activity are designed to reflect the behaviour of individuals in the labour market and, in particular, their willingness to take a job. They are based on a strict system of criteria which provides information on people's intentions to find jobs and their success or failure in doing so. Consequently the ILO's definition of an economically active population includes everyone available for work at a certain time, i.e., those employed and unemployed.

Conversely, Hungary has until now based its concepts of economic activity on state institutions rather than individuals. Their purpose was to monitor the realisation of centrally planned large-scale social and economic projects. Under this system the individual was regarded as a passive subject whose life's course was determined by the central planning mechanism. For statistical purposes, the population was divided into groups of:

- under working age,
- working age,
- over working age (i.e., over retirement age).

Ideally, when the economic system had reached its "optimal" state, these groups were to be covered respectively by statistical concepts of:

- dependents,
- active earners, and
- inactive earners.

The first category can be identified in the optimal case with children, the second with young and middle-aged adults, while the aged are assumed to enjoy social protection. On this basis some

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"objective" indicators may be compiled, such as the level of employment, i.e., the ratio of active earners to persons at working age - irrespective of whether those people want to work or not.

The system approached reality as adult women were drawn into full-time jobs, child-care facilities like kindergartens and afternoon schools were provided, and pension schemes were extended to all persons over the working age: these developments decreased the number of dependents at both working and retirement ages.

However, the scheme became confused when:

- the active earner status was extended when retirement age was reached and retirement often postponed;
- people retired and became inactive earners before retirement age (e.g. age exemption for disability);
- a population of employed pensioners accumulated when pensioners were allowed to take jobs;
- child-care allowances (later child-care fees) were introduced which enabled one parent to stay home with a baby for up to three years.

Because there was no proper order of priorities in the system, it was difficult to cope with and account for new and changing categories. While economic activity was considered as a means of measurement, work actually performed was not distinguished in the statistics. This implied that employed students were regarded as dependants while employed pensioners were included among inactive earners, as were those receiving child-care allowances who stayed at home with a baby (although their employment was maintained).

2. Priorities and Connections

An important feature of ILO-OECD concepts is the attempt to establish a one-to-one link between production and its corresponding employment. The concept of employment holds absolute priority: a person working to produce goods or services (or holding such a job but temporarily absent from it) during the reference period is regarded as employed, even if the number of hours worked and/or the income seem insufficient to make a living. The only criterion is that the activity complies with the System of National Accounts (SNA) of the United Nations. The definition of unemployment implies that no such activity is performed. The relationship between production and employment manifests itself in this case too, but obviously in a negative way.

In contrast, Hungary's concepts of economic activity emphasized the state's role in taking care of its dependents by ensuring proper status and living conditions, while the production-employment relationship was rather loose. Even in the case of active earners, no such link existed, and not everyone working was counted as an active earner. Again, this was caused by the system's diverging priorities. Instead of a list of strict definitions of concepts, there was a list of descriptions:

a) "Active earners are those persons who perform paid activity, possess income, do actually work at the given time, or have a job; consequently, the employees of enterprises, institutions, offices and co-operatives and the members of co-operatives belong here. In addition, here belong the self-employed and his (her) employees as well as the family workers of non-agricultural self-employed... Furthermore, casual workers, day-labourers and agricultural family workers having worked at least 90 days during the year are also counted here. ... The number of active earners is calculated on the basis of the adjusted number of the legal staff (which excludes those receiving child-care allowance and pensioners)... Here belong also those spending their term of notice or their prolonged term because of re-organization as well as those performing some work for public use... The staff of active earners does not include those job-holders who enjoy pension or receive child-care allowance."

b) "Inactive earners are those persons who do not perform earning activity, but do possess earnings or income. Inactive earners are those receiving old-age pension, ... child-care allowance, ... and also the so-called other inactive earners who make their living by letting or leasing their estate, house or dwelling... (etc.)."

c) "In the group of dependents are counted all persons who belong neither to the active nor to the inactive earners, as they possess in general no income or earnings and are cared for by an individual or an institution. Such are the children under 14 years, the 14-year-old and older persons attending the normal course of a secondary school or a university, ... those working only in their own household... (etc.)."

The individual's activity is not important in this system; the link to state institutions is what matters.

3. Means of Measurement

For measuring economic activity the ILO-OECD recommend using the concept "currently active population", i.e., a short reference period, provided the labour market is not markedly seasonal (in which case the concept of "usually active population" is recommended). The length of the recommended reference period may be a day or a week, its goal being to provide a snapshot (or series of snapshots) of current employment and unemployment situations. The use of this concept means that in defining and measuring employed, unemployed and economically inactive populations on the basis of the so-called labour force framework, a currently active population may also be identified.

The labour force framework uses specific rules for dividing the population into three mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories: employed, unemployed and economically inactive. Under this framework three criteria must be satisfied for an individual to be considered unemployed:

- "without work" (which excludes the possibility of being employed or self-employed);
- "seeking work", and
- "currently available for work", (which excludes economic inactivity).

These criteria may best be checked and the employed, unemployed and economically inactive populations identified by using a properly designed questionnaire to interview households. For this purpose, specific household sample surveys were developed, usually called labour force surveys.

Hungary's system of collecting employment statistics was not designed to monitor current labour market situations. Although investigations into mid-year production in the so-called socialist sector (comprising all state-owned enterprises and co-operatives) included a measurement of active earners working there, their main purpose was to indicate the dynamics and productivity of the sector. The most important goal in measuring economic activity was to compile labour force balances by comparing resources and the use of labour through exploring reserves in the manpower being used under the country's one- and five-year plans.

The Hungarian system was not based on household surveys, but rather on the availability of mandatory statistical records kept by all enterprises and institutions.

Although data on economic activity was gathered in Hungary in household surveys (household budget surveys, income surveys, time budget surveys, etc.), such information - with the exception of the decennial population censuses - did not play an important role in compiling labour force balances, and was not generally used to produce current employment data.

Under such systems economic activity was not determined by a strict set of questions as in the ILO labour force framework; instead of considering actual facts and conditions, the labels of administrative records or the conclusions of an interviewer or respondent were accepted.

II. MEASURING UNEMPLOYMENT IN HUNGARY

Poor economic growth and a failing centrally planned economy saw unemployment manifest itself in Hungary during the 1980s. Its existence was gradually accepted by the labour authorities, who established a system to help the unemployed. An unemployment allowance was introduced in 1989, but special kinds of assistance, such as a retraining allowance, had already existed from the mid-1980s. The most important achievement in this area was the Employment Act, approved by Parliament in 1990, which set up a modern unemployment scheme similar to that in OECD countries.

There exists a temptation for statisticians in transition countries to simply adopt unemployment data provided by labour administrations on the basis of the new unemployment system, and to supplement the existing concepts with them in order to approach ILO-OECD recommendations. This way, previous data collection procedures could continue to be utilised, time series continued, and the expense of improving data collection systems avoided. In 1990 the Hungarian Central Statistical Office adopted another approach when preparations began for the design and implementation of the Hungarian Labour Force Survey to measure employment and unemployment.

I. Registering Unemployment in Hungary

a) An embryonic data base of registered unemployment has existed in Hungary since before official acceptance of unemployment and legal unemployment assistance. Introduced by the labour administration in 1985, this system involves collecting data on turnover at regional labour bureaus (employment agencies), as well as on the numbers of vacant jobs. The data contains information on whether the job-seekers have a job or not. (The corresponding number of unemployed remained insignificant, however, until the introduction of the unemployment allowance in 1989: figures at year's-end were 600 in 1985, 6000 in 1986, and 10,000 in 1988). The basic registration document is known as an "Employment Service Form", completed in co-operation with the person looking for work. This contains basic personal information and some data on employment (job-holder or jobless), and on earnings and jobs. This method of data collection is not totally objective, and the practices of employment agencies differ across regions.

The number of unemployed clients registered with an agency is sometimes seen as an indicator of that particular bureau's performance, thus agencies may be interested in registering at least a certain number of unemployed. However this contributes little to the basic activity of the agencies and increases their administrative burden.

Even the best register contains some bias, since in many cases there is no feedback when a registered unemployed person finds a job. To reduce these discrepancies Hungarian authorities ask the unemployed to present themselves every month at the same agency. If a person fails to appear, he or she is deleted from the register. Obviously, some may find public employment agencies inefficient, and this may be a reason why they fail to show up. Discrepancies in the system, however, can only be eliminated if all unemployed people register themselves, and the length of the checking period reduced to zero. The corrected register could reflect the dynamics of data at least under stable conditions. The registration system has been developing over the past few years and this is obviously reflected in the data, as the changing inclination of the unemployed to register themselves and the actual growth in unemployment. (Regulations when completing an Employment Service Form also change often). All these modifications highlight the limitations of comparisons and analyses of information gathered from administrative agencies.

The greatest deficiency in data attached to the turnover of job-seekers provided by employment agencies in Hungary is caused by the fact that their clientele traditionally comprises low-quality labour, thus only a segment of the labour market is represented.

b) Monetary incentives motivated more of the unemployed to present themselves after the introduction of the unemployment allowance in 1989 and later the unemployment benefit scheme provided for under the Employment Act of February 1991. Apart from the actual spread of unemployment, this is apparently responsible for part of the manifold increase in the numbers of registered unemployed in the past few years. (There were 145,000 registered unemployed, the majority of them benefit claimants (116,000), in March 1991).

Under Hungary's unemployment scheme, those who have worked previously receive benefits for a period ranging from six months to two years, while previously unemployed people starting up new businesses get an assistance for six additional months. Unemployed people participating in retraining programs receive compensation for earnings and costs, new entrants to the labour market may obtain unemployment allowance for six months, and those losing their job three years before reaching eligibility for pension may receive a preliminary pension. To become eligible for unemployment benefits, a person must:

- have worked at least one year in the last four years, during which employment insurance was paid (this entitles the person to unemployment assistance for up to six months; each additional year worked entitles the person to a further six months, with a two-year limit. The benefit amounts to 70 per cent of the last earnings in the first half of the unemployment period and 50 per cent in the second);
- be under the retirement age;
- comply with the rules of the agency.

The concept of "unemployed receiving benefit" does not exclude all earning activity: a person may work for payment provided the salary does not exceed the minimum wage. However people seeking a job and available for work are excluded if they:

- are over the retirement age;
- did not have some formal employment did not pay employment insurance within the last four years;
- have ehausted the maximum period;
- have not yet exhausted this duration, but have had their benefit terminated due to unsatisfactory co-operation with the agency, or for refusing either a job corresponding to their qualification or a retraining possibility;
- have accepted a retraining possibility which included receiving assistance above the minimum wage;
- are new entrants to the labour market who have used up their six months'allowance.

It is obvious that data on the "unemployed receiving benefit" are no longer restricted to low-quality labour; in theory they cover the entire active working-age population. However - as it is easily seen from the definition - they still do not include all the unemployed. On the other hand, people in low-income work may be counted, as well as those working in the irregular economy. The conclusion complies with that of international literature which states that no system of unemployment registration can provide a fully comprehensive picture of unemployment. The registered unemployed and the unemployed measured by statistical survey methods are two different concepts; in general they only partially overlap. Hungary should be prepared for this, too.

2. Experiments with the Statistical Measurement of unemployment

a) The concept of unemployment was first used in Hungarian statistics in the 1990 Population Census. An attempt was made to insert unemployment into the traditional system of concepts, in other words, to develop a "Hungarian version" of the ILO-OECD concept by excluding, for example, students and pensioners. Two types of the unemployed were considered in the 1990 census:
- "The 'first-time new entrant' is a person who has finished his/her studies and has not yet performed work for payment but is looking for a job or wants to start his own enterprise, and has made some steps for this purpose by contacting friends or employment agencies, or via advertisements, (etc.)";
- "An 'unemployed (person) looking for job' is one who had performed work for payment earlier, but at present has no job, is looking for a job or wants to start his own enterprise, and has made some steps for this purpose by contacting friends or employment agencies, or via advertisements, (etc.)"

Although these definitions look rather similar to those of the ILO, they were put into practice not by questions investigating certain facts on employment but by questions on the personal opinion of the respondents on their status. It is likely that people describing themselves as unemployed had actually no formal employment at the time of interview. It is, however, also very likely that a number of people performing some illegal activity (i.e. working without a permit or paying no income tax), as well as some making their living as small entrepreneurs, described themselves as unemployed. No question on availability for work was included in the questionnaire. Despite all these uncertainties the results of the 1990 Population Census on the number of unemployed (110,000 persons) should be regarded as a better estimate than that obtained from the unemployment register (24,000) of early 1990. Unfortunately, the two data sets cannot be matched, since there were no questions on registration in the Census.

b) The technique of labour force surveys, developed first in the United States (Current Population Survey, BLS), is used widely in OECD countries (it is an obligatory survey in EUROSTAT member countries), and also in many developing countries. The labour force survey is a proper statistical tool with the following characteristics:
- providing simultaneous, comprehensive and systematic monitoring of employment, unemployment and underemployment, by
- allowing full application of ILO-OECD concepts;
- using survey techniques which minimize subjective bias in classification and provide freedom for a national definition of the concept of unemployment (the category of unemployed does not occur directly in the questions and thus it is not the respondent who makes the classification);
- providing important additional information, as employment data are collected in household/family environments.

As mentioned, preparations for the development of the Hungarian Labour Force Survey began

in mid-1990. The questionnaire was tested in January 1991 and an experimental survey was conducted on the full sample (30,000 households) in April, May and June 1991. The survey is scheduled to provide quarterly information on 30,000 households (i.e. about 60,000 persons) from 1992. (10,000 households will participate each month and will be interviewed four times a year).

It took a relatively short time to design the survey and implement the experimental programme, and costs were rather moderate. This would have been impossible without:

- a data collection network developed previously for similar purposes (i.e., for collecting data on households); the use of this system considerably reduced expenses. This USHS - Unified System of Household Surveys - used at the HCSO since 1976, comprises two continuous probability samples selected from enumeration districts of the Population Census. Various HCSO surveys on household budgets, income, time budgets, health, etc. are conducted on these samples by a network of experienced interviewers on a fixed schedule, and are controlled by the 20 regional (county) HCSO offices. The two samples together (30,000 households) seemed a suitable size for the experimental Labour Force Survey. From 1992 a new USHS sample will be taken from the 1990 Census; its area representation was improved for the purposes of the LFS;
- experience which showed a willingness of the population to co-operate; it was thus unlikely that results would be biased due to a high non-response rate. (In the 1987 income survey on 20,000 households, the rate was only 4-5 per cent);
- an ILO-recommended system of concepts and survey techniques already practised in several countries. Adopting these was made easier through help from the statistical institutions in some of these countries;
- pressure from Hungarian government agencies and several international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank to adopt market-economy standards.

The Hungarian Labour Force Survey uses two sets of questionnaires, the first concentrating on the socio-demographic data of households and individuals, the second on economic activity of individuals and comprising 20 questions, 18 relating to economic activity. The last two questions try to establish data on registered unemployment by inquiring if the respondent is registered or receives an unemployment benefit.

The experimental questionnaire was aimed at measuring unemployment by ILO-OECD standards, and thus used ILO-OECD concepts of economic activity and not those used traditionally (active earner, inactive earner, dependent). In its present form, the Hungarian survey:

- considers only the population aged 15-74;
- defines working one hour for payment per week as the lowest limit of employment;
- includes self-employment (e.g. on small agricultural plots or farms) only if goods are produced, at least partly, for the market. (This is a deviation from ILO recommendations as well as from Hungarian GDP calculations where consumption of agricultural goods and, in the latter case, construction work for housing, are taken into account regardless of their market connections);
- uses a reference period of one week. The same period is used where availability for work is concerned, but it is increased to four weeks where respondents are looking for jobs;
- seeks information about job-seeking only from those having worked less than one hour; only those having worked less than 36 hours are questioned on their intention of working more;
- contains some information on multiple job-holding;
- regards the discouraged worker as outside the labour force:
- regards those on child-care benefit as employed.

Special features of Hungary's case (the novelty of the survey's approach, the importance of self consumption, the widespread labour-hoarding, etc.) imply that a thorough examination of some of these points is necessary.

The main objective of the labour force survey is to provide a comprehensive picture on the number of the unemployed for a certain period in time. Besides this, it asks job seekers about the duration (number of weeks) of their job-search and asks all respondents without a regular job about the latest time they had one. However, it must be assumed that these retrospective questions provide a relatively unreliable estimate of the duration of unemployment.

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A major advantage of the Hungarian unemployment register, on the other hand, is its ability to follow individuals in the register, by means of their personal identification. This makes possible to provide information on flows in and out unemployment as well as on the duration and incidence of unemployment. The identification is based on the eleven digit code called the 'personal identification number', developed for population registration purposes, and associated with each individual from birth till death in Hungary. This comprehensive identification system, introduced in 1981 and used widely for several administrative purposes, is now being abandoned following a recent decision of the Constitutional Court on human rights grounds. At the present time a special unemployment register identification code needs to be developed to avoid illegal claims in the unemployment benefit system. Hopefully this could be utilised for statistical purposes as well and could safeguard the advantages of the Hungarian register, in this limited area. But direct matching of individual files of different data bases might become impossible, due to the above decision. This implies a significant loss for statistics.

III. CONCLUSIONS

1. Human resources are of primary importance for a successful transition. Consequently decision-makers - including the public - need comprehensive and reliable information on labour market situations and on the nature of employment and unemployment. This is underlined by Hungary's unpreparedness for the negative consequences of radical change, and by its limited financial resources to manage unemployment.
2. Public employment agencies provide a basic source of information on unemployment. However their registers alone are not totally reliable. The register of people receiving unemployment benefits - also an indicator of activities in the employment administration - could be considered an important data source in its own right.
3. In addition to information on unemployment from employment agencies, other labour statistics have become available from household surveys; both approaches are still being developed. Of the two, the agency-based registers are more restricted in nature; household surveys tend to be more comprehensive and flexible, and therefore more suitable in following ILO guidelines. The Hungarian register on the other hand could provide - by use of personal identification codes - important information about the duration and incidence of unemployment. It is imperative to preserve this characteristic of the benefits register, despite the collapse of the system of personal identification numbers.
4. Traditional Hungarian concepts of economic activity and their ILO-OECD counterparts differ basically in spirit and approach, and these differences strongly influence the goal, content, and system of measurement. This is highlighted when an entire system is adopted, i.e. when Hungary tries to measure unemployment using the Labour Force Survey.
5. Whether Hungary could graft unemployment into its traditional concepts of economic activity would depend on how strict a definition were used as well as the system of its measurement. There are two possibilities:

a) Among the three main categories, unemployed receiving benefit could be counted as inactive earners, and other unemployed as dependents. (A similar method was used in Hungary between 1986 and 1989 when the registered unemployed were counted as dependents);
b) The three categories (active earners, inactive earners, dependents) could be supplemented by additional subdivisions of unemployed (as in the case of the 1990 Hungarian population census).

6. Other changes, in the same spirit of "reform", could use data from unemployment registers to modify the traditional categories and thus approach the ILO-OECD recommendations more closely. These could include supplementing the economically active population by counting pensioners and students seeking jobs (at public employment agencies) among the unemployed, and by adding pensioners and students who work to the active earners category. The economically inactive population could be determined by the total of inactive earners and dependents. (Categorising those receiving child-care benefits or allowances is not clear cut; in principle, they could be regarded either as economically active or inactive).
7. This approach may be justified on the basis that, from a Hungarian viewpoint, the ILO-OECD concepts tend to concentrate on economic aspects and ignore the social side but when it comes to living standards, it is far from irrelevant if an employed or unemployed person is a

middle-aged head of a family, or a young student or a pensioner. This "social" approach is significant also because mass unemployment is an unusual phenomenon in Hungary - as in the rest of eastern Europe - which could lead to severe social conflict.

8. There may, however, be a case against such a hybrid solution: when attempting to establish a sound methodology, priorities should first of all be pin-pointed - in this case priorities regarding economic activity shaping the labour market, and the approach to social protection, i.e., ensuring certain living standards and full employment. This depends on Hungary's strategy in its transition to a market economy. As mentioned, economic concepts until now have reflected the needs of a planned economy. Some of its goals have already been realized, while many others have become meaningless. The new statistical system should therefore be based on the principles of a market economy. Nevertheless the specific conditions of the transition period should be taken into account in adopting the corresponding methods. This does not imply temporary survival of the planned-economy spirit: rather it should reflect a consideration for the problems of transition, its crises and tension.

9. Reconciliation between the traditional eastern European social approach to economic activity and its ILO-OECD economics-based counterpart is unnatural because:

- The economic category of "dependent" cannot be interpreted in a capitalist world because it would imply that people not receiving state support either in the form of employment or some benefit should be kept by other persons;
- The term "inactive earner" refers to a positive, honoured category, while "unemployment benefit" refers to conditions sharply different from those connected with pensions, child-care fees or child-care allowances;
- The concept of "active earner" reduces to "employed", for example, those receiving no pension when pensions are no longer state subsidies but instead some type of insurance benefit.

In conclusion, "reformed" versions of obsolete concepts may be justified only if the time series of previous periods can be adjusted to the new philosophy. The new statistical system should be based on ILO-OECD recommendations and should represent a radical deviation from traditional practice.

10. Measuring economic activity by ILO-OECD concepts of employment and unemployment can best be realised by developing a Labour Force Survey. Arguments for this usually stress the importance of reliable information on unemployment. Owing to radical structural and organizational changes in the economies of countries in transition, the traditional data collection system on employment - which relied heavily on big socialist enterprises - faces enormous difficulties and cannot provide reliable information on actual employment in the short run. Household surveys are therefore becoming indispensable tools in measuring employment.

11. Labour Force Surveys have only two major disadvantages: relatively poor small-area representation and high costs. These are linked because improving small-area representation increases costs. Fortunately, methods based on auxiliary sources of information, e.g., such as registers, are suitable for improving small-area statistics. Experiments must be carried out to decide if Hungarian register data may be used for this purpose. The high costs of labour force surveys could be reduced, however, if various household surveys were combined; in the Hungarian practice this solution would seem appropriate.

12. At a time when attention is focused on living standards, traditional concepts of economic activity in this area will be replaced by a more prosaic system based on the economic approach. This will obviously become controversial; however, the analysis of negative side-effects of the transition towards a market economy may not be the responsibility of a single survey and its corresponding conceptual framework. It is imperative to combine the radical changes in collecting employment statistics with the reform in collecting statistics on living standards. In Hungary this will be facilitated by the Unified System of Household Surveys; the common sample basis allows for consistency between the results of various USHS surveys and those of the Labour Force Survey.

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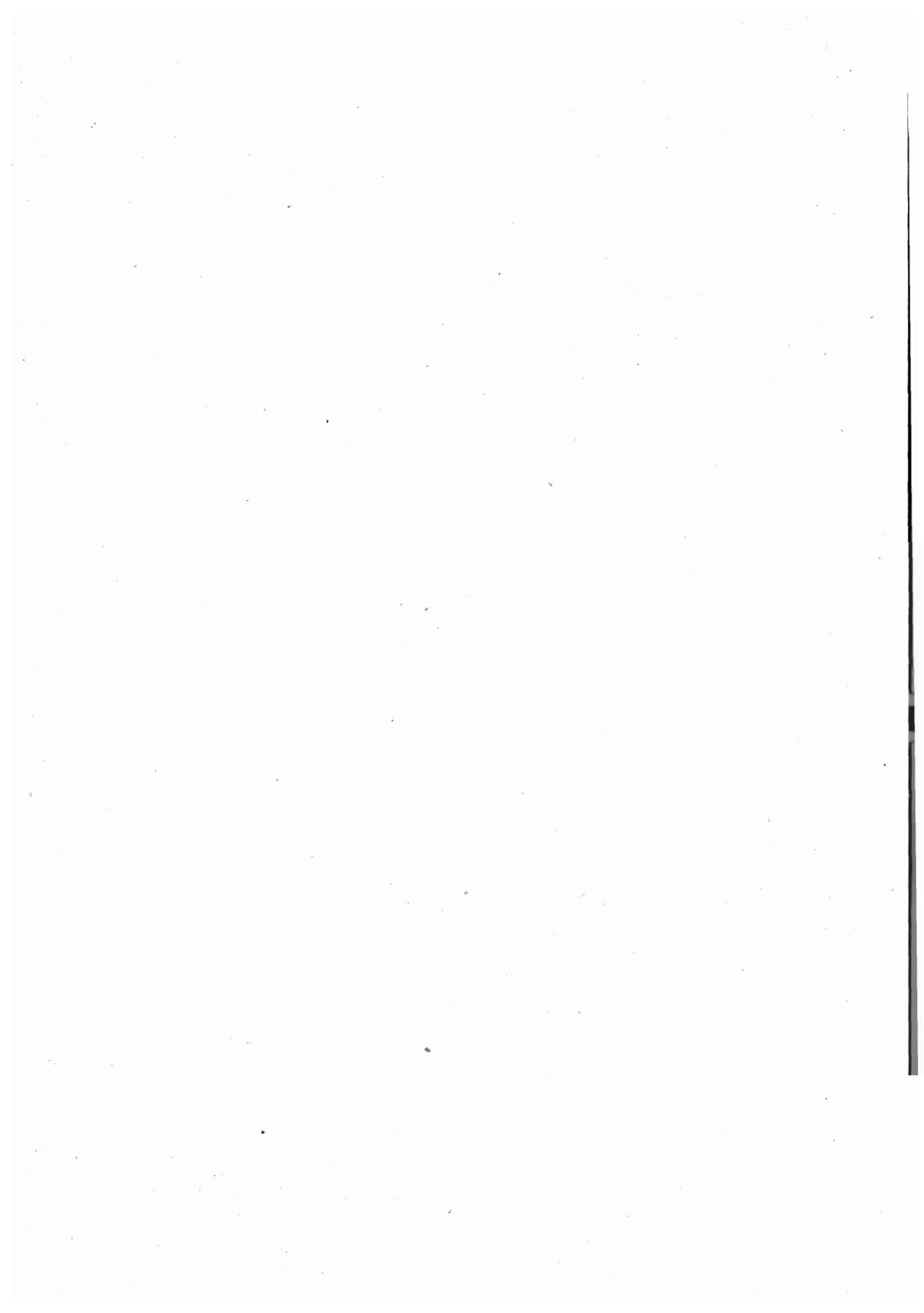TURVEY, RALPH, (edited 1990), "Developments in International Labour Statistics", ILO, London - New York
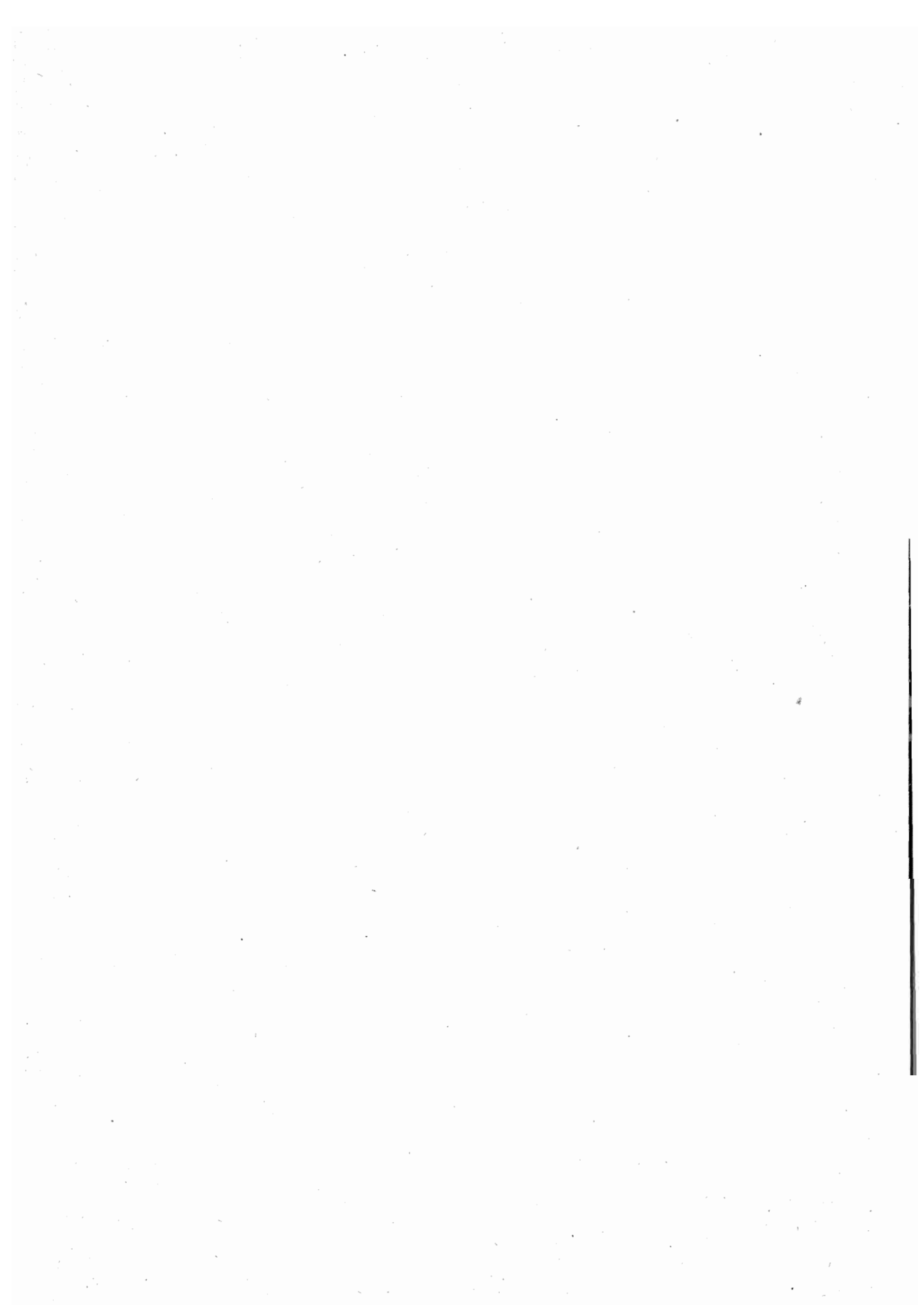
CONCEPT ET MESURE DU CHOMAGE

par

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1. L'objet de cette contribution est de présenter, à partir du cas de la France (qui est sans doute représentatif de la situation de la plupart des pays de la Communauté européenne), certains problèmes de définition et de mesure du chômage. A partir de là, on décrira les principaux indicateurs statistiques permettant de suivre l'évolution du marché du travail et de conduire la politique de l'emploi. On s'intéressera particulièrement à la question de l'élaboration d'indicateurs synthétiques sur la base de plusieurs sources, et donc au problème de la "réconciliation" entre ces différentes sources statistiques. L'objectif ainsi poursuivi est de fournir des éléments de réflexion et parfois des propositions de solutions concernant des problèmes qui se posent déjà - ou qui risquent de se poser rapidement - dans des pays en transition où le chômage est en forte croissance.

I. **LE CHOMAGE CONSIDERE COMME UN DES TROIS CONCEPTS FONDAMENTAUX QUI STRUCTURENT LA DESCRIPTION DU MARCHE DU TRAVAIL (I)**

2. On s'interroge dans cette partie sur les définitions des trois grandes notions qui structurent la description du marché du travail, à savoir l'emploi, le chômage et l'inactivité. Sans revenir sur les normes du BIT supposées connues de tous, on présentera la façon dont, en général, elles sont interprétées et appliquées en France et on fera part des interrogations qu'elles suscitent.

3. Dans un domaine difficile et sensible, les recommandations issues des travaux de la 8ème Conférence Internationale des Statisticiens du travail (1954) ont permis des progrès importants dans l'élaboration des statistiques nationales et dans les possibilités de comparaisons internationales. La France a adopté ces recommandations à partir de 1975 dans ses enquêtes sur l'emploi et a procédé à partir de 1982 aux aménagements rendus nécessaires par les révisions ou précisions décidées par les 13ème et 14ème Conférences Internationales des Statisticiens du travail (1982 et 1987).

4. Sur les recommandations actuelles, trois points méritent d'être notés:

    - les critères retenus par le Bureau International du Travail ne sont pas à proprement parler des critères juridiques mais plutôt socio-économiques (voir par exemple le critère de "lien formel" avec l'emploi);
    - le concept d'emploi a la priorité sur celui de chômage ou d'inactivité; le chômage est ainsi considéré comme une situation extrême d'absence d'emploi;
    - les recommandations sont exprimées de facon assez générale et nécessitent d'être interprétées, dans les enquêtes mesurant l'emploi et le chômage, à la lumière des contextes nationaux.

5. Du fait de la dégradation progressive depuis une vingtaine d'années de la situation sur le marché du travail et des mesures de promotion de l'emploi ou de lutte contre le chômage qui l'ont accompagnée, certaines situations nouvelles se sont développées, proches des frontières entre inactivité, emploi et chômage. Il s'agit de savoir comment les définitions internationales s'appliquent à ces situations, décrites dans le cas de la France mais qui se retrouvent sous des formes proches dans les pays voisins.

6. Une première catégorie, très importante (environ 250 000 bénéficiaires actuellement), concerne les préretraites qui sont apparues dès 1972 et ont été progressivement transposées des personnes de 60 à 65 ans à celles ayant 55 à 60 ans. Le caractère commun à toutes ces situations est le fait que les intéressés ne recherchent pas d'emploi; s'ils en acceptaient un, ils perdraient le bénéfice de leurs allocations. Selon les critères du BIT, ils sont donc classés comme inactifs et non comme chômeurs. Un autre cas, plus récent mais qui touche aujourd'hui plus de 230000 personnes, a été traité de façon analogue: c'est celui des personnes de plus de 55 ans inscrites à l'Agence Nationale pour l'Emploi (ANPE) et qui ont usé de la faculté qui leur est donnée de demander à être dispensées de recherche d'emploi. De cette facon, elles peuvent continuer à bénéficier d'avantages tels que l'indemnisation jusqu'à leur retraite, sans avoir à "pointer" ni à faire la preuve qu'elles recherchent un emploi.

7. A l'autre extrémité de la vie active c'est à dire aux âges jeunes, nombre de situations intermédiaires entre la formation et l'emploi sont également apparues. L'application à celles-ci des critères du BIT est souvent délicate car elle dépend de l'appréciation que l'on porte, cas par cas, sur l'accomplissement par les bénéficiaires d'un travail concourant à la production de

biens et services, et moyennant un salaire ou un traitement en espèces ou en nature. Dans le cas de situations comportant un contrat de travail avec versement d'un salaire, on a procédé comme on le faisait déjà pour les apprentis, c'est à dire qu'on classe les bénéficiaires en actifs occupés. Le jugement est plus difficile à formuler pour d'autres mesures prises en faveur des jeunes, par exemple celles dont les titulaires sont considérés juridiquement comme stagiaires de la formation professionnelle. Selon les cas, on a considéré qu'il s'agissait tantôt de situations plus proches de l'emploi car comportant un travail effectif et une part de la rémunération venant de l'employeur, tantôt de situations plus proches de la formation (donc de l'inactivité). Le cas des Travaux d'Utilité Collective (TUC) a d'ailleurs fait l'objet en 1985 d'un avis du BIT (cf. "Note sur les statistiques du chômage en France et la définition internationale du chômage").

8. Enfin, s'est posé aussi le problème des congés de conversion, qui ne sont pas destinés exclusivement aux jeunes ou au travailleurs âgés, mais à tous les salariés menacés de licenciement dans des branches ou des zones géographiques en difficulté. Plusieurs dispositifs de ce type se sont développés en France à partir de 1984 mais ils n'ont jamais atteint des résultats vraiment significatifs (ils bénéficient aujourd'hui à un peu plus de 20000 personnes). Selon les cas, ces dispositifs ont été assimilés à de l'emploi lorsqu'on a jugé suffisant le lien des personnes concernées avec leur entreprise, ou sinon à du chômage, dans la mesure où les autres conditions pour être classés comme chômeur que l'absence d'emploi, étaient remplies.

9. On est ainsi conduit régulièrement en France à examiner les situations nouvelles situées aux franges de l'inactivité, de l'emploi et du chômage, du moins celles qui ont, ou pourraient prendre une importance statistique. Les classements qui résultent ainsi des normes internationales font l'objet d'examens critiques approfondis, au sein par exemple du Conseil National de l'Information Statistique ou à l'occasion de missions confiées à des experts (ex. mission Malinvaud 1986 ou mission Dubois-Lucas 1990-1991).

10. En outre, certaines organisations patronales ou syndicales ont parfois été amenées à formuler d'autres propositions de classement, sans toutefois remettre profondément en cause les recommandations internationales. Si l'on tente d'analyser les motivations sous-jacentes à ces diverses prises de position, il semble que trois logiques entrent en conflit. La première recherche un indicateur de résultat de la politique économique et sociale, le souci étant d'avoir une mesure synthétique du résultat obtenu en matière d'emploi. Les tentatives faites pour définir un indicateur alternatif à la série des Demandeurs d'Emploi en Fin de Mois (DEFM), largement diffusée par les média, n'ont toutefois guère convaincu.

11. La seconde logique considère que les classements opérés par les statisticiens contribuent à définir le statut social des individus concernés. Elle se préoccupe de la connotation péjorative du label de chômeurs et veut en éviter l'usage pour tous les bénéficiaires des multiples dispositifs mis en place par la politique de l'emploi.

12. La troisième logique, la plus répandue, s'inspire d'un souci de connaissance. Il s'agit de décrire au mieux le marché du travail et son évolution, ainsi que de comparer la situation nationale à celle d'autres pays. La description est structurée à partir des trois concepts fondamentaux d'activité, d'emploi et de chômage, dont les définitions doivent dès lors être soigneusement précisées et rester stables au cours du temps.

13. C'est cette troisième voie qui est privilégiée en France, comme le préconisait d'ailleurs le rapport Malinvaud réaffirmant de facon très nette le principe d'associer étroitement les définitions françaises à celles du BIT. Parallèlement aux statistiques du marché du travail établies par l'ANPE, doit donc être menée, selon des critères précis, une évaluation du chômage au sens du BIT à partir des réponses fournies par les intéressés aux enquêtes par sondage.

14. Il importe toutefois, devant le développement, dans la plupart des pays, des dispositifs de promotion de l'emploi et de lutte contre le chômage, d'enrichir la description grâce à des présentations adéquates des statistiques, éventuellement grâce à la mesure de concepts complémentaires des trois concepts principaux. Comme on l'a dit, on a assisté en France au cours des quinze ou vingt dernières années à une diversification des situations d'emploi, dont on peut déceler de nombreux signes: arrêt dans l'extension du salariat lié à la reprise des créations d'entreprises, développement de formes particulières d'emploi telles que les emplois temporaires ou les stages, différenciation des situations au regard du temps de travail avec notamment l'essor du travail à temps partiel... Comme dans d'autres pays, divers dispositifs ont multiplié les cas dans lesquels l'emploi est associé à une activité de formation ou n'est pas aussi complet que les intéressés le souhaiteraient. D'où la nécessité d'enrichir à intervalle

régulier la description traditionnelle des évolutions de l'emploi et du chômage, tels qu'ils sont définis par le BIT.

15. On a choisi de privilégier ici la description de la catégorie de "sous-emploi visible", car cette situation est susceptible de se développer sensiblement dans les pays en transition connaissant un excédent de main-d'oeuvre. En contrepartie d'une définition très extensive de l'emploi, les définitions internationales introduisent, comme sous-catégorie de l'emploi, la notion de sous-emploi: "Le sous-emploi existe lorsque l'emploi d'une personne est insuffisant par rapport à des normes déterminées ou à un autre emploi possible, compte tenu de la qualification professionnelle (formation ou expérience de travail) de l'interessé". Elles distinguent le sous-emploi visible, seul susceptible d'être directement mesuré par des enquêtes et le sous-emploi invisible. La mesure du sous-emploi visible nécessite une batterie de questions servant à déterminer:

   a) la durée du travail réellement accomplie pendant la semaine de référence;
   b) la durée hebdomadaire habituelle de travail;
   c) lorsque la durée réelle est inférieure à la durée habituelle, les raisons de cette différence;
   d) le caractère involontaire d'une durée du travail inférieure à la "normale";
   e) la recherche d'un travail supplémentaire ou la disponibilité pour un tel travail.

16. Le questionnaire des enquêtes sur l'emploi réalisées chaque année en France de 1982 à 1989 ne permet pas de cerner précisément le sous-emploi selon les critères du BIT car aucune interrogation ne porte sur les points d) et e). On s'est efforcé cependant d'approcher la notion de sous-emploi visible à partir des questions sur le caractère du travail (à temps complet ou à temps partiel), les durées effective et habituelle du travail et les raisons d'un écart éventuel, enfin la recherche d'un autre emploi (et non d'un travail supplémentaire) avec la distinction temps complet-temps partiel.

17. On détermine d'abord au sein de la population ayant un emploi au sens du BIT "le réservoir potentiel du sous-emploi": ce sont les personnes dont le travail est à temps partiel et celles à temps complet dont la durée effective de travail durant la semaine de référence a été inférieure à l'horaire habituel pour des raisons telles que mauvais temps, chômage partiel, réduction saisonnière d'activité, formation, activités occasionnelles... Naturellement il s'agit dans une très large majorité de cas, de situations librement acceptées qui n'entrent pas dans la définition du sous-emploi.

18. Pour approcher les personnes dont la situation de travail est involontaire et qui sont disponibles pour un travail supplémentaire, on a retenu les seules personnes à la recherche d'un autre emploi à temps complet ou encore celles recherchant un autre emploi, qu'il soit à temps complet ou à temps partiel. Il y a peu de chances que l'un ou l'autre de ces deux sous-ensembles corresponde réellement au concept de sous-emploi visible au sens du BIT, car la disponibilité pour un travail supplémentaire ne coïncide pas avec la recherche d'un autre emploi. Au moins la première estimation à laquelle on aboutit, (sinon les deux), est une mesure par défaut du phénomène qui peut être suivie annuellement depuis 1982: on constate ainsi que le sous-emploi (au sens restrictif donné ci-dessus) a progressé en France de 150 000 personnes au printemps 1982 à près de 400 000 en mars 1986 pour diminuer ensuite jusqu'à 330 000 en mars 1989. Par ailleurs, ont été introduites dans le questionnaire de la nouvelle série d'enquêtes-emploi qui a démarré en 1990, des questions permettant de mesurer de façon précise et conforme aux recommandations internationales, le sous-emploi visible. Mais ces questions n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'exploitations approfondies.

II. LES INSTRUMENTS D'OBSERVATION

19. On a déjà parlé à plusieurs reprises de l'enquête annuelle sur l'emploi, instrument essentiel d'observation du chômage. Il convient également de procéder à l'examen du recensement de la population et des données d'origine administrative sur le chômage.

1. L'enquête annuelle sur l'emploi (2)

20. Ces enquêtes, effectuées de façon régulière depuis le début des années soixante, constituent, dans l'intervalle de deux recensements, la principale source sur la population active, l'emploi et le chômage. Actuellement, un enquête est réalisée chaque année en mars

auprès d'un échantillon d'environ 70 000 logements (soit au taux de sondage de 1/300), parmi lesquels 65 000 donnent lieu à interview.

21. L'échantillon est constitué d'aires de 40 logements environ, tirées avec probabilités égales après stratification en 21 régions et 10 catégories de communes, à partir des résultats du dernier recensement de 1982. Pour éviter de trop fortes fluctuations d'échantillonnage liées à 12 constructions dans certaines aires d'ensembles de logements, on constitue un échantillon spécial composé de grappes de 10 logements en moyenne à partir des autorisations de construire sur permis de 10 logements et plus. L'ensemble de l'échantillon, aréolaire ou spécial, est divisé en trois sous-échantillons et renouvelé par tiers tous les ans, de sorte que, pour deux enquêtes successives, deux sous-échantillons sont communs. Ce dispositif permet, tout en évitant d'interroger les mêmes ménages plus de trois fois, de réduire les erreurs aléatoires affectant l'estimation des variations entre deux enquêtes et de mesurer avec plus de précision les flux de mobilité.

22. L'extrapolation à l'ensemble de la population des résultats observés sur l'échantillon se fait en deux temps: d'abord sur la base de la stratification géographique utilisée pour l'échantillonnage; ensuite par redressement (estimation par le quotient) de la pyramide des âges de la population des ménages ordinaires obtenue à la suite des opérations précédentes, sur l'évaluation démographique établie à partir des résultats du recensement de 1982 et du mouvement de la population observé ou estimé depuis lors. Les fluctuations d'échantillonnage demeurent malgré tout assez importantes pour brouiller quelque peu l'observation des évolutions d'une année sur l'autre: l'écart-type de la variation annuelle de l'emploi mesurée par l'enquête peut être estimé à environ 60 000 personnes; celui de la variation du chômage à près de 40 000 personnes.

23. L'enquête couvre la presque totalité de la population française, soit l'ensemble des ménages ordinaires et, dans la population des communautés, les personnes qui ont gardé des liens familiaux avec un ménage ordinaire où les renseignements les concernant peuvent être collectés (élèves internes, étudiants en cité universitaire ou foyer, militaires du contingent, personnes vivant dans un foyer de travailleurs, ouvriers logés dans un baraquement de chantier temporaire...). La population non couverte représentait en 1982 environ 1 400 000 personnes mais moins de 350 000 actifs.

24. Par rapport aux statistiques administratives, les enquêtes sur l'emploi présentent deux avantages essentiels. D'une part, elles permettent d'observer simultanément les effectifs correspondant au trois grands concepts d'activité, d'emploi et de chômage, fournissant ainsi un bilan nécessairement équilibré de leurs variations. D'autre part, grâce à l'utilisation de batteries de questions appropriées, elles rendent possible une application scrupuleuse des définitions internationales recommandées par le BIT. C'est en particulier le seul instrument permettant d'estimer le niveau et donc le taux de chômage au sens du Bureau International du Travail.

25. En revanche, en raison notamment des fluctuations d'échantillonnage, l'enquête n'est pas la source la mieux adaptée pour mesurer les évolutions annuelles de l'emploi. C'est davantage sur moyenne période qu'elle suit correctement les variations d'effectifs. Au contraire les estimations basées sur les sources administratives, plus fiables pour le conjoncturiste, sont susceptibles d'être affectées de dérives à moyen terme, liées par exemple à des changements législatifs et réglementaires ou à des modifications des règles de gestion auxquelles l'enquête, grâce à la stabilité formelle des concepts qu'elle utilise, est moins sujette.

26. Contrairement à certaines enquêtes étrangères, effectuées notamment dans des pays à structures fédérales pour fournir des données conjoncturelles que les sources administratives trop hétérogènes ne peuvent procurer, l'enquête française a une vocation structurelle affirmée. Le questionnaire développe un examen en profondeur des phénomènes d'emploi et de chômage qui permet de les situer au sein de la société française (analyse par catégorie socio-professionnelle entre autres), d'en étudier les développements récents (activité des femmes, travail à temps partiel, travail intérimaire, contrats à durée déterminée, stages...) et de les replacer dans le cadre de la cellule familiale ou, plus exactement, du ménage.

27. Pour diminuer les coûts d'exploitation et assurer la comparabilité des résultats dans le temps, les modalités et le questionnaire de l'enquête principale restent fixes dans l'intervalle de deux recencements. Mais elle sert aussi de véhicule à des enquêtes complémentaires sur des questions d'intérêt particulier. Un des avantages essentiels de l'enquête réside dans cette stabilité: le même questionnaire, les mêmes modalités de dépouillement et d'exploitation sont utilisées année après année dans l'intervalle de deux recensements de la population. Ce principe a naturellement été conservé pour la nouvelle série d'enquêtes démarrant en 1990.

Cependant trois améliorations importantes sont intervenues à l'occasion du changement de 1990: d'abord le questionnement a été enrichi, notamment pour mieux apprécier certaines situations complexes et mieux mesurer, comme on l'a vu, les phénomènes de "sous-emploi visible"; ensuite on a tenté de raccourcir les délais d'exploitation de l'enquête (actuellement de quatre ou cinq mois), tout en préservant soigneusement la qualité des résultats: une solution a été de concevoir l'exploitation de manière à disposer très tôt d'un certain nombre d'informations précoces et provisoires mais significatives; on va s'efforcer enfin d'obtenir à partir de 1992 des résultats par région en profitant de la rénovation du plan de sondage et des méthodes de redressement statistique de l'enquête, pour en améliorer la représentativité régionale.

2. Les recensements généraux de la population

28. Effectués tous les 6 à 8 ans, les recensements de la population jouent un rôle unique dans le dispositif d'observation de l'emploi et du chômage aux différents niveaux géographiques (région, département, zone d'emploi, canton, commune). Le dernier recensement a été effectué en mars 1990, l'enquête sur l'emploi étant alors avancée au mois de janvier au lieu de mars. Le précédent recensement avait eu lieu en février-mars 1982.

29. Le questionnaire du recensement de 1990 est très proche de celui de 1982, mais son dispositif d'exploitation a été profondément revu: exploitation exhaustive légère tout d'abord avec des premiers résultats prévus pour la mi-1991, puis exploitation lourde d'un quart des bulletins avec des résultats prévus pour 1992.

30. Le recensement fournit la base des estimations officielles d'emploi. Il faut cependant noter que le concept d'activité retenu dans le recensement n'est pas identique à celui préconisé par le BIT. Il correspond approximativement à la déclaration spontanée des personnes interrogées, dans la mesure où il n'est pas possible de poser, au cours d'une opération aussi lourde et sans l'intervention d'un enquêteur, la batterie de questions nécessaires à l'obtention d'un niveau d'emploi ou de chômage conforme aux recommandations du BIT. Le questionnaire de l'enquête-emploi reprend à son début le même questionnement que celui du recensement: aussi peut-on théoriquement retrouver à partir de l'enquête le concept d'emploi au sens du recensement. De fait, les différences entre les deux modes de questionnement, en particulier l'intervention d'un enquêteur dans un cas et pas dans l'autre, ainsi que les incertitudes déjà évoquées affectant les résultats de l'enquête en matière d'emploi, font que cette possibilité d'exploiter l'enquête n'est pas réellement utilisée. Le recensement fournit à un moment donné des niveaux d'emploi et de chômage ventilables selon de nombreux critères détaillés mais non conformes aux définitions internationales; l'enquête sur l'emploi permet un suivi des tendances structurelles d'évolution de la population active au sens du BIT, sans pouvoir donner une image très précise de son niveau et de ses mouvements sur courte période.

3. Les données d'origine administrative

31. Le principal indicateur permettant de suivre l'évolution conjoncturelle du chômage est tiré des statistiques sur l'activité de l'Agence Nationale Pour l'Emploi (ANPE), organisme chargé de l'inscription et du placement des demandeurs d'emploi. Traitées avec rigueur, les données provenant de l'ANPE, notamment la série des demandeurs d'emploi en fin de mois (DEFM), se sont révélées fournir une mesure précoce et relativement fiable des évolutions à court terme sur le marché du travail et constituer un indicateur avancé des variations du chômage au sens du BIT. Depuis la mise en place du système GIDE (Gestion Informatique des Demandeurs d'Emploi) qui a débuté en 1984 et s'est achevée en 1986, la gestion des demandeurs d'emploi, dont la production des statistiques du marché du travail constitue un sous-produit, est entièrement informatisée. Le dispositif, qui intègre intimement la gestion proprement dite des demandeurs par l'ANPE et leur indemnisation par l'UNEDIC (organisme chargé de la gestion de l'assurance-chômage), repose sur une collaboration étroite des deux organismes. La mise en place de GIDE s'est accompagnée de celle de la vérification par correspondance de la permanence de la demande d'emploi, qui a remplacé la procédure antérieure de pointage. A la fin de l'année 1986, à la suite de la présentation des conclusions du rapport Malinvaud, les procédures de construction de la statistique des demandeurs d'emploi ont été réformées avec la révision du calendrier d'actualisation des fichiers des

agences locales pour l'emploi. De cette facon, l'indicateur des DEFM est utilisé pour mettre à jour mensuellement les estimations des taux de chômage au sens du BIT fondées sur les niveaux de chômage tirés de la dernière enquête sur l'emploi (voir partie IV ci-dessous). Cependant les modifications des modes de collecte statistique et les investigations réalisées dans le but d'évaluer les effets des changements dans les procédures de gestion n'ont pas permis de réduire totalement les sources de biais et les variations erratiques que la série peut comporter (voir partie V ci-dessous).

32. Une autre conséquence tout à fait positive du rapport Malinvaud a été d'étendre l'établissement de données sur les stocks de bénéficiaires de mesures de lutte contre le chômage, en accompagnant notamment chaque action nouvelle de quelque importance, de la mise en place des circuits d'information permettant l'observation des stocks correspondants de bénéficiaires. De cette façon, le système statistique permet une meilleure appréciation globale de l'impact des diverses actions mises en oeuvre.

33. Enfin parmi les sources administratives sur le chômage, il faut signaler les statistiques des chômeurs indemnisés (60 pour cent environ des demandeurs d'emploi), établies par l'UNEDIC. Ces données proviennent d'une part des statistiques mensuelles, sous-produit des opérations administratives de paiement, d'autre part du fichier national des allocataires, instrument statistique spécifique mis en place par l'UNEDIC. Ces deux sources se complètent mutuellement, la première permettant d'avoir des informations conjoncturelles rapides (mais au prix d'une sous-estimation systématique des effectifs en cours d'indemnisation), la seconde fournissant un décompte complet des personnes indemnisées (mais au bout d'un long délai). Par sa richesse et son ex haustivité, le fichier national des allocataires constitue un instrument privilégié pour les études structurelles sur le chômage indemnisé et offre la possibilité d'analyses longitudinales du chômage récurrent.

III. LES PRINCIPAUX INDICATEURS STATISTIQUES PERMETTANT DE SUIVRE L'EVOLUTION DU MARCHE DU TRAVAIL

34. L'information du grand public en matière de marché du travail se limite le plus souvent en France à la seule statistique mensuelle des demandes d'emploi en fin de mois (DEFM), corrigée des variations saisonnières. Cette statistique serait interprétée à tort comme mesurant de façon exacte "le nombre des chômeurs". En fait le niveau absolu de la série ne fournit en aucun cas la mesure recherchée. Seules ses variations peuvent être considérées comme donnant une assez bonne approximation des variations du chômage.

35. De plus, une statistique unique ne peut pas permettre d'appréhender de façon satisfaisante la réalité et la complexité du marché du travail. Quelque soin que l'on ait mis à le définir et à le mesurer, un nombre de chômeurs ne peut résumer toute l'information souhaitable. Des données complémentaires doivent donc faire régulièrement l'objet d'une large diffusion publique; celles-ci doivent renseigner sur l'importance et l'évolution des effectifs se rangeant dans des catégories intermédiaires, qui n'appartiennent pas vraiment au chômage mais en sont proches.

36. Pour répondre à ces attentes, l'INSEE et le Ministère du Travail diffusent simultanément, vers le 25 de chaque mois, des sortes de tableaux de bord complémentaires permettant à chacun de suivre l'évolution du marché du travail et les résultats de la politique de l'emploi. L'information diffusée mensuellement par l'INSEE se résume à deux numéros d'"Informations Rapides" présentant, sans commentaire, des statistiques essentielles relatives au marché du travail. Le premier, intitulé "Chômage et Emploi", fournit des taux de chômage au sens du BIT par sexe et tranche d'âge (moins de 25 ans, 25 à 49 ans, 50 ans ou plus) ainsi que les dernières évolutions connues de l'emploi salarié dans l'industrie, dans le bâtiment et dans les services marchands. Le taux de chômage (corrigé des variations saisonnières) est ainsi considéré comme une meilleure mesure du chômage que la série des DEFM, car plus proche des définitions internationales et susceptible de se prêter à diverses comparaisons (3). En outre, présenter un taux de chômage en pourcentage avec un chiffre après la virgule revient en France à considérer comme négligeables des variations du nombre de chômeurs inférieures à 25 000; or c'est effectivement à peu près la limite des variations significatives, compte tenu des diverses causes d'imprécision affectant le taux de chômage.

37. La seconde fiche statistique diffusée mensuellement par l'INSEE ("Emploi et marché du travail: statistiques à la fin du mois de...") comporte, outre les dernières évolutions sectorielles de l'emploi salarié, les principaux indicateurs du marché du travail en provenance de l'ANPE

ou de l'UNEDIC: demandes d'emploi en fin de mois par sexe et tranche d'âge, demandes enregistrées et demandes placées ou annulées au cours du mois, offres d'emploi en fin de mois et offres d'emploi enregistrées au cours du mois, demandes en fin de mois à temps partiel, demandes en fin de mois à durée déterminée, chômage indemnisé, chômage partiel indemnisable au cours du mois (toutes ces statistiques étant fournies en données brutes et, dans la plupart des cas (4), en données corrigées des variations saisonnières).

38. Le Ministère du Travail présente, quant à lui, un tableau de bord mensuel plus complet et commenté, dans un numéro de "Premières Informations" intitulé "L'évolution récente du marché du travail". En plus des éléments diffusés par l'INSEE, cette publication contient notamment un tableau relatif aux principaux dispositifs de la politique de l'emploi: flux d'entrées et stocks de bénéficiaires en fin de mois pour les mesures visant à promouvoir l'emploi (dont l'aide aux chômeurs créateurs d'entreprise et les contrats de retour à l'emploi pour les chômeurs de longue durée), les stages de formation et les incitations au retrait d'activité. Le "Premières Informations" comprend également les demandes d'emploi enregistrées à l'ANPE selon la raison de leur dépôt, les demandes sorties selon le motif, les demandes d'emploi en fin de mois selon la qualification, la nationalité, la région de résidence du demandeur, ainsi que des indicateurs de fluidité du marché du travail (ancienneté moyenne des demandes en fin de mois, part des demandeurs d'un an d'ancienneté ou plus, durée moyenne d'attente des demandes sorties, taux de satisfaction des demandes déposées au cours du mois ou des trois derniers mois). Ces indicateurs sur l'ancienneté de chômage sont l'objet chaque mois d'un examen particulier du fait de l'extension prise ces dernières années par le chômage de longue durée. Malgré les mesures prises en leur faveur, les chômeurs de longue durée n'ont en effet guère bénéficié de la reprise récente de l'activité et des créations d'emploi qui l'ont accompagnée.

39. Par ailleurs des constats annuels sont établis soit par l'INSEE, soit par le Ministère du Travail, une première fois au printemps de façon précoce et provisoire, une deuxième fois à l'automne lorsque les données sont disponibles pour opérer une sorte de radiographie du chômage, confrontant notamment l'évolution sur un an du nombre de chômeurs au sens du BIT et la série des demandes d'emploi en fin de mois. Ces constats annuels sont le support principal d'une information plus complète que les données conjoncturelles et visant à mieux répondre à la préoccupation de connaître la situation et l'évolution récente du marché du travail dans ses aspects principaux. Le bilan annuel opéré par le Ministère du Travail insiste plus, de façon logique, sur la mise en oeuvre au cours de l'année précédente des mesures de la politique de l'emploi dont il a la charge.

IV. L'ELABORATION D'INDICATEURS SYNTHETIQUES: L'EXEMPLE DES TAUX DE CHOMAGE

40. L'exemple des taux de chômage illustre parfaitement la nécessité de combiner des données d'origines différentes pour construire des indicateurs synthétiques à des fins conjoncturelles. Pour des raisons de coût, de disponibilité des données et d'intérêt conjoncturel, l'INSEE calcule trois types de taux de chômage (au sens du BIT) à un rythme infra-annuel:

- des taux de chômage nationaux mensuels par sexe et âge;
- des taux de chômage régionaux et départementaux trimestriels, soit par rapport à la population active totale, soit par rapport à la population active salariée si l'on veut s'affranchir des différences de poids de l'agriculture entre les régions ou les départements;
- des taux de chômage infra-régionaux ou infra-départementaux par bassin ou zone d'emploi.

41. Effectuées en données brutes, les estimations des divers taux de chômage sont ensuite désaisonnalisées pour jouer pleinement leur rôle d'indicateur conjoncturel.

42. Il n'existe pas de source statistique exhaustive, et qui plus est conjoncturelle, qui permette d'oberver sans biais les taux de chômage définis précédemment. Il faut alors s'appuyer sur les diverses sources qui fournissent une information utile pour estimer l'emploi et le chômage nécessaires au calcul des taux. Ces sources sont de deux types: enquêtes par sondage et sources exhaustive d'origine administrative. Toutes sont sujettes à des erreurs de mesure, les premières étant les plus affectées par des erreurs aléatoires.

43. L'enquête-emploi permet d'estimer, moyennant quelques correctifs, le chômage au sens du BIT au niveau national mais pas régional. De plus elle ne fournit qu'une observation annuelle,

disponible dans un délai relativement long pour un conjoncturiste (de l'ordre de 3 à 4 mois). Une source annexe doit donc être utilisée pour régionaliser, départementaliser... et pour actualiser mensuellement les données tirées de l'enquête-emploi. Cette source est la statistique administrative des demandeurs d'emploi en fin de mois inscrits à l'ANPE, irremplaçable aujourd'hui en tant qu'indicateur conjoncturel mais présentant néanmoins des inconvénients sérieux: différence de concept entre chômage au sens du BIT et DEFM (voir partie V); sensibilité, comme toute statistique d'origine administrative, à la règlementation en vigueur (conditions d'inscription à l'ANPE, de renouvellement de la demande d'emploi, d'indemnisation, avantages directs liés à l'inscription...) et aux règles de gestion des fichiers dont elles sont un sous-produit (S); ruptures de série entraînées, aux niveaux infra-nationaux, par les opérations d'inventaire des fichiers réalisées annuellement et par roulement dans les différentes Agences locales.

44. Une fois par an, à l'été, lorsque les résultats de la dernière enquête-emploi sont disponibles, ainsi que des estimations plus assurées de l'emploi, la série des taux de chômage est révisée rétrospectivement. Egalement, en début d'année, les taux sont revus pour tenir compte de l'actualisation (très fréquente) de la correction des variations saisonnières du chômage et des dernières estimations arbitrées de l'emploi.

V. LA PRECISION DU SUIVI STATISTIQUE DU CHOMAGE: CHOMAGE AU SENS DU BIT ET DEFM

45. Devant l'intérêt aigu porté aux évolutions du chômage, l'examen des résultats statistiques se veut précis. L'attention s'attache alors souvent à des différences qui ne sont pas vraiment significatives. Il convient donc d'avoir une idée de l'ordre de grandeur des incertitudes et pour cela, de procéder à la confrontation des sources principales permettant de suivre l'évolution du chômage: l'enquête annuelle sur l'emploi et les statistiques mensuelles du marché du travail.

46. La différence de concept entre chômage au sens du BIT et demandes d'emploi se traduit par des divergences en niveau et en évolution entre les deux indicateurs. Ainsi, en janvier 1990, le nombre des chômeurs mesuré par l'enquête-emploi s'élevait en France à 2 237 000, celui des demandes d'emploi à 2 850 000 (si l'on y inclut les demandes d'emploi à temps partiel ou à durée déterminée). Au cours des quatre dernières années, le nombre des chômeurs-BIT a évolué systématiquement plus favorablement que celui des DEFM, l'écart cumulé sur les variations atteignant 370 000 personnes (graphique 1). D'un côté 15 pour cent des chômeurs ne se disent pas inscrits à l'ANPE en janvier 1990, proportion qui varie peu depuis quelques années; de l'autre 27 pour cent des inscrits ne satisfont pas aux critères du BIT pour être chômeurs, soit qu'ils aient un travail (11 pour cent), soit qu'ils ne soient pas immédiatement disponibles (5 pour cent), soit enfin qu'ils ne recherchent pas ou plus d'emploi (11 pour cent). La forte augmentation de cette dernière catégorie depuis 1986 explique comptablement les 2/3 de la divergence d'évolution entre chômage au sens du BIT et DEFM (6). Le 1/3 restant correspond à une différence d'appréciation sur l'évolution du chômage "enregistré", entre d'une part les inscrits à l'ANPE selon l'enquête-emploi et d'autre part les DEFM présentes dans les fichiers de l'ANPE.

47. Le rapport d'étape remis début 1991 par MM. Dubois et Lucas au Ministre du Travail apporte une série d'explications au décalage croissant entre le nombre des DEFM recensées chaque mois par l'ANPE et celui des chômeurs au sens du BIT mesurés par l'enquête-emploi: mauvaise prise en compte par l'Agence des activités réduites, mauvaises déclarations des intéressés sur la recherche effective d'emploi, changements en cours du système informatique, décalage dans l'actualisation des demandes d'emploi...

Chômage au sens du BIT et demandes d'emploi
de 1982 à 1990 (à la date de l'enquête-emploi)
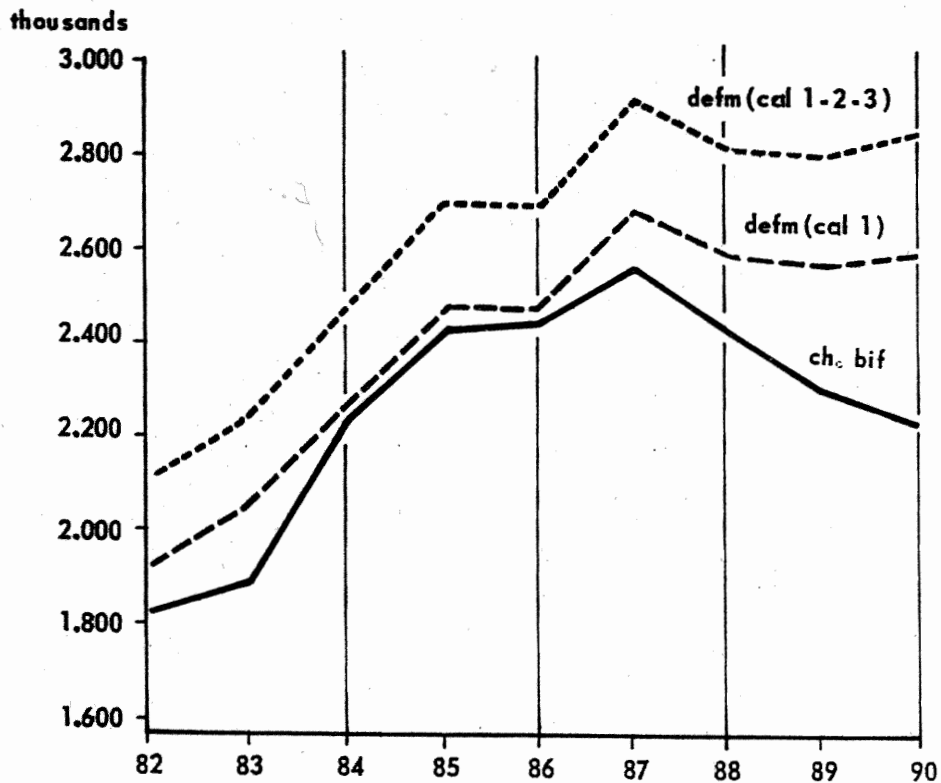
Source: INSEE - Ministère du Travail

48. En même temps, le rapport Dubois - Lucas préconise un certain nombre de remèdes: outre un renforcement des contrôles, on chercherait à unifier les procédures de traitement de l'information concernant les demandes d'emploi et leur mise à jour; d'autre part, on essaierait de construire un indicateur BIT mensuel, à l'aide d'un sondage auprès des demandeurs d'emplois "afin de caler le chiffre de l'ANPE sur la définition du BIT". Ceci repose en fait le problème d'une enquête-emploi effectuée à un rythme plus régulier que l'année: le trimestre, voire le mois. Pour diverses raisons, la France continue, et devrait continuer au moins quelques années encore, à privilégier l'enquête structurelle, donc annuelle. Ce qui ne signifie pas qu'elle ne dispose pas de bon indicateur synthétique et conjoncturel du chômage puisqu'il a le taux de chômage (voir partie précédente).

CONCLUSION

49. Quels sont les principaux enseignements à tirer de toutes ces considérations? On peut au moins en dégager quatre.

1. Il est nécessaire, pour disposer d'un bon système statistique de suivi du chômage, de développer les deux types d'observations complémentaires, qui sont les enquêtes auprès des ménages et les données d'origine administrative sur le chômage. Les données d'origine administrative présentent l'inconvénient d'être tributaires de la réglementation en vigueur (conditions d'inscription, de renouvellement de la demande d'emploi, d'indemnisation, avantages indirects liés à l'inscription) et de la qualité de gestion des fichiers dont elles sont un sous-produit. De l'autre côté une enquête n'est en général pas suffisamment "lourde" pour fournir des estimations à un rythme très fréquent ou à un niveau géographique fin. De plus il faut du temps pour mettre en place ce type de programme d'enquêtes auprès des ménages. D'où la nécessité, en particulier pour les pays en transition, de mettre sur pied et d'exploiter des systèmes administratifs fournissant comme produit de leur gestion des données utiles pour le suivi de la conjoncture du marché du travail.
2. Lorsqu'on met en place une nouvelle mesure, il faut avoir le souci d'en apprécier les effets sur le plan statistique et d'en mesurer le nombre de bénéficiaires et l'impact sur l'évolution du chômage.
3. Même si l'on privilégie certains indicateurs (et certaines méthodes de mesure), il faut à périodicité très régulière, présenter des données très diversifiées aux responsables de la politique de l'emploi et plus généralement au grand public, avec de façon permanente le souci d'en faciliter la lecture et l'interprétation. Il en va de la crédibilité des statisticiens.
4. Enfin, il convient de développer des études fines sur les différents types de chômeurs (et notamment sur les chômeurs de longue durée), sur leurs itinéraires et l'influence du contexte familial où ils se trouvent, sur l'évolution des conditions de vie des ménages marqués par le chômage.

50. D'où la nécessité et l'intérêt de mesurer, en même temps que le nombre de chômeurs, leur ancienneté dans le chômage. Mais il ne faut absolument pas mélanger chômage et situations de pauvreté dont la perception repose sur des enquêtes-revenus plutôt qu'emploi.

NOTE

1 Cette partie, ainsi que la suivante, s'inspirent largement du rapport remis au Premier Ministre en juillet 1986 par M. Malinvaud, qui était alors Directeur Général de l'INSEE.

2 La présentation faite ici de l'enquête-emploi française correspond au schéma de sondage encore en vigueur en 1991. A partir de 1992, le plan de sondage en sera progressivement rénové, pour permettre notamment d'obtenir des résultats significatifs au niveau régional. Rappelons que cette enquête est la version française de l'enquête communautaire sur les forces de travail (EFT).

3 Pour bien montrer l'intérêt de tels taux de chômage, il suffit de rappeler que les programmes sociaux de la CEE font explicitement dépendre l'éligibilité des régions communautaires aux programmes d'aide économique, de leur taux de chômage harmonisé.

4 Pour pouvoir estimer des coefficients saisonniers, il faut disposer de séries temporelles non perturbées sur une période d'au moins 4 années: ce n'est pas le cas par exemple de la série des chômeurs indemnisés, affectée par chaque changement de règlementation.

5 La mise en place progressive d'un nouveau système de gestion informatique dans les unités de l'ANPE a partir de 1989 s'est à nouveau traduite depuis quelques mois par des perturbations, dont l'importance est souvent difficile à chiffrer.

6 Ceci amène à s'interroger sur le choix effectué en France et dans d'autres pays de la Communauté, et amenant à considérer que le renouvellement chaque mois de son inscription à l'ANPE constitue pour une personne sans emploi et déclarant en chercher un acte effectif de recherche d''emploi.

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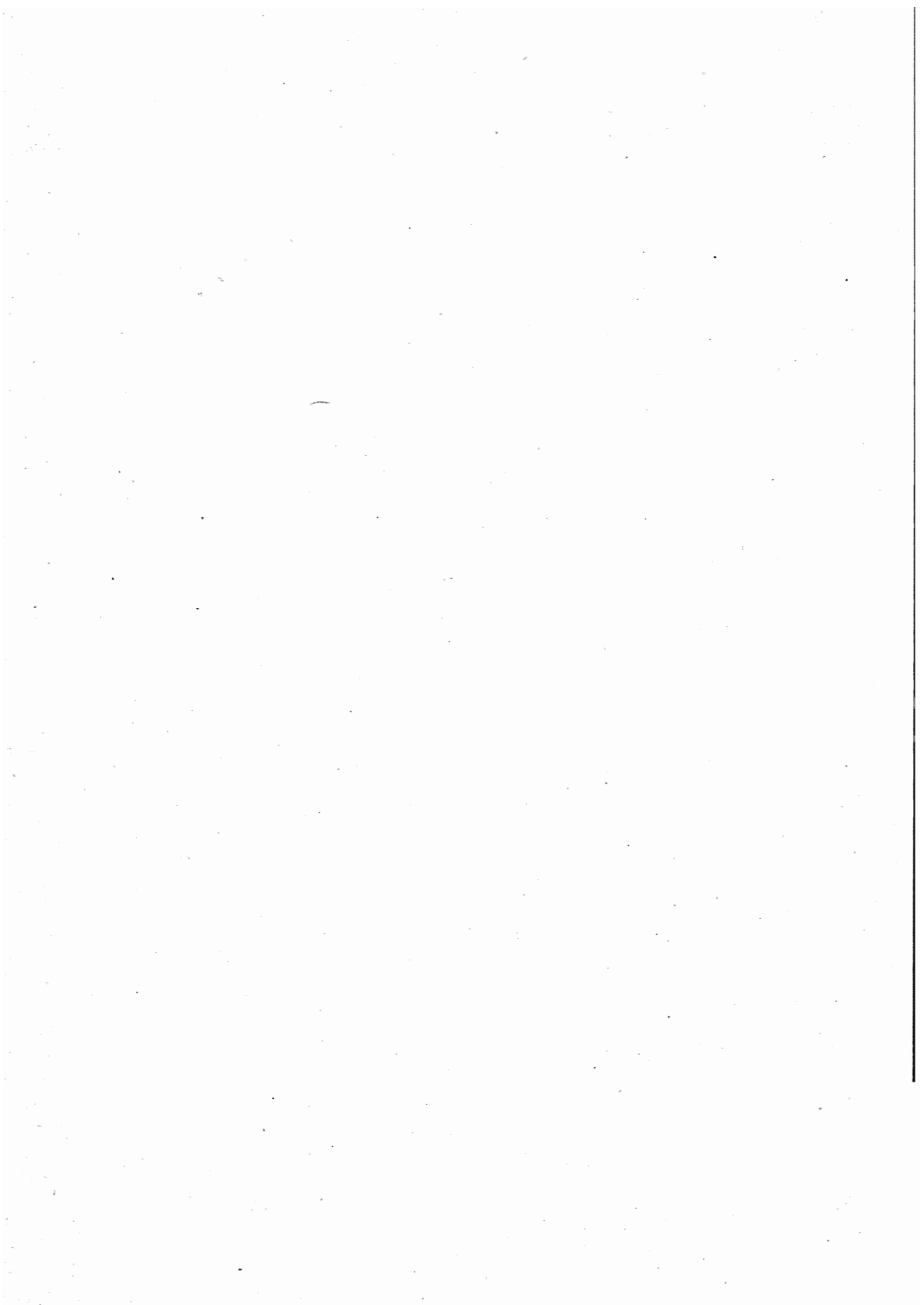
COMMENTS ON THE PAPERS
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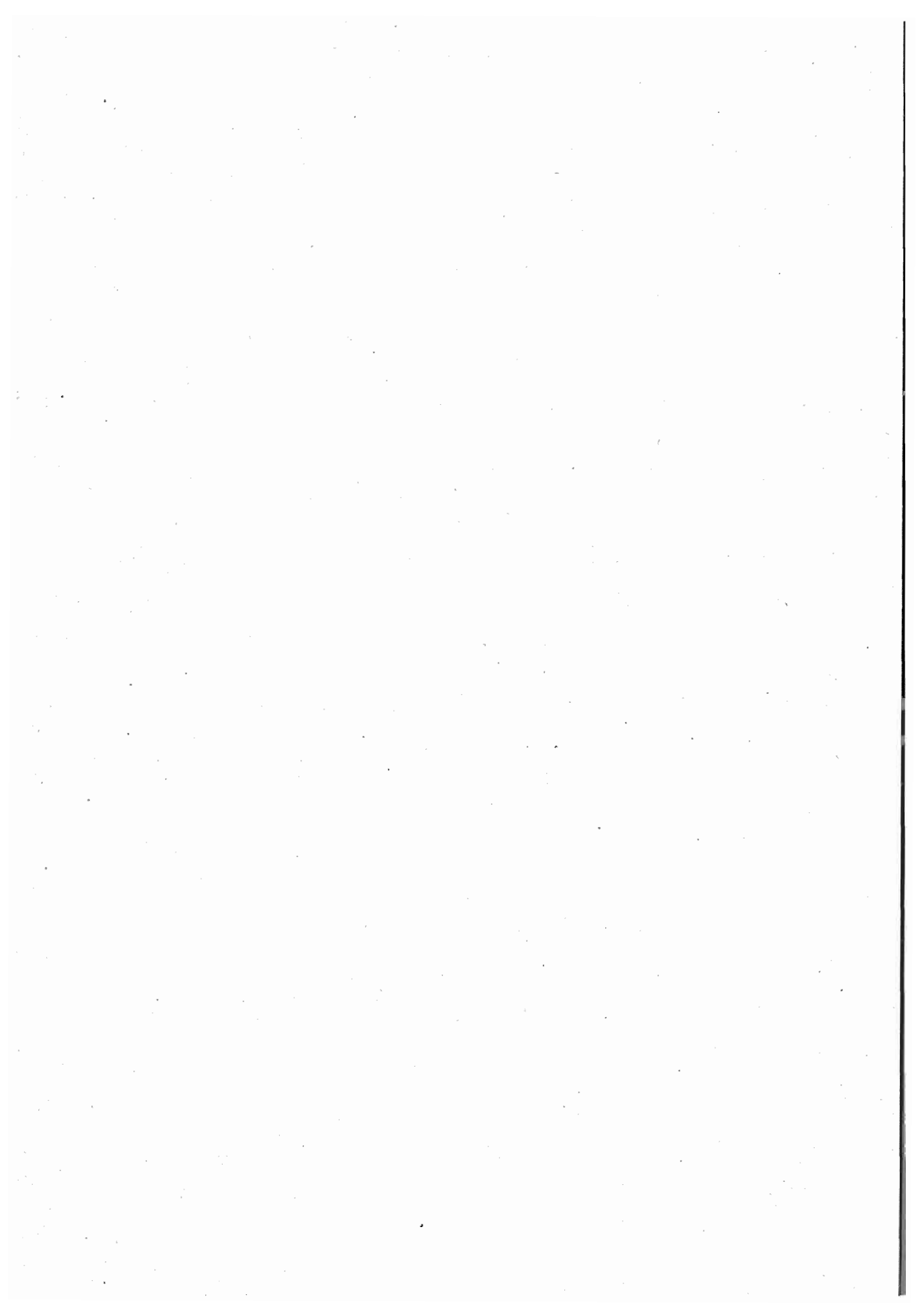
Comments on the Papers at Session 1

JAN KORDOS

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1. I would like to focus my attention on methods of data collection connected with labour market surveys and integration of data from different sources for statistical analysis of employment and unemployment. I will drop statistical investigations connected with labour market in planned economies and discuss only problems connected with transition to market economy.

2. Labour markets in the previously planned economies of the Central and Eastern European countries have been severely regulated. The sources and data collection methods for labour statistics have reflected this institutional structure, being typically based on compulsory labour force questionnaires sent to all enterprises, organizations and agricultural units in the country on a monthly, quarterly or annual basis. Concepts connected with employment statistics as well as measurement methods were similar in Hungary, Poland and other countries with planned economies.

   Differences existing between these countries are not so important to be discussed here. I would like to focus my attention on measurement of employment and unemployment in transition period.

2. Papers which are discussed here, i.e. French and Hungarian papers, are extremely important for the countries in transition.

   They focused on concept and measurement of unemployment in the context of employment statistics in international comparability.

3. First of all, it is necessary to answer the question of how best to collect data on the emerging labour market of Central and Eastern Europe, with particular focus on unemployment. The appropriate mode of data collection of course depends on the uses to which that information will be put. In the case of unemployment, government authorities, policy makers and researchers need to estabilish basic facts about the characteristics of the employed and unemployed, their distribution between activities, skills, regions, age, gender, as well as a picture of labour market dynamics between employed and unemployed status of economy as a whole and for particular categories of workers. The most important source of such information is a survey of households. Usually such data are collected from the Labour Force Surveys, but data collected from other household surveys, such as household budget surveys, living conditions surveys, income surveys, population censuses, may be efficiently used for labour market analysis.

   I agree completely with Mr. G. Fajth comments on differences in the concepts and measurement of employment between Central and Eastern European systems of compiling labour statistics and those recommended by ILO and OECD. My comments will be confined to Polish experiences with adjusting employment statistics in transition period to market economy. System of employment statistics is in transition period and some experiments have been started.

3. In Poland, we started preparation for a labour force survey in 1990, but simultaneously we added the block on unemployment for two surveys in 1990: household budget survey, and the large-scale living conditions survey conducted in the middle of 1990; in 1991 - to the permanent demographic survey carried out in March 1991.

4. Household budget survey. Starting from April 1990, we included information on persons receiving unemployment benefits for households participating in the household budget survey (HBS). For each month we have about 7,500 households participating in the survey. New sub-sample oh households enters the survey at the beginning of each quarter and participates for trhee consecutive months. We wanted to know what kind of households received unemployment benefits and their social and demographic characteristics. At the beginning the number of households receiving unemployment benefits in sample was small, but starting from January 1991 was about 400 households. For each month we compared percentage of unemployed receiving benefit obtained from unemployment register with relevant data obtained from household budget survey. Comparison is given below:

	Register	HBS
	(percentages)	

in 1991:

	Register	HBS
I	6.5	5.5
II	6.8	5.6
III	7.1	5.8
IV	7.3	7.2

We are going to process data for households receiving unemployment benefit, analyze different characteristics of these households connected with income, expenditure, housing, etc. First results for the first quarter of 1991 will be ready by the end of July 1991. We want to consider these data as supplementary to a labour force survey which is to be started in the third quarter of this year.

5. Large-scale living conditions survey. The survey was carried out in June 1990 and size of sample was about 120,000 households.
   It was cross-section survey, and among other characteristics included block on unemployment and persons receiving unemployment benefit. For that period (reference period was May 1990), the unemployment rate was 3.5%, of which about 68.77. received unemployment benefit (for the same month the registered rate of unemployment was 2.4%). We estimated reason for unemployment, method of looking for a job, type of households and other social and demographic characteristics. The result of the survey are to be published by the end of this year.

6. The permanent demographic survey. The survey was carried out in March 1991 in the frame of the integrated system of household surveys (size of sample: 24,000 households). Block of questions was connected with employment characteristics (one question was related to unemployment benefit). Data will be processed by the end of this year.

7. The Labour Force Survey. The Polish labour force survey, called as "Permanent Survey of Economic Activity of Population", prepared according to international standards, is to be started in the fourth quarter of this year. Size of sample is to be about 50,000 households selected in two stages. The questionnaires were pretested in April 1991, and are to be tested in July 1991. The survey is scheduled to provide quarterly information. Required data are to be collected in the middle of the second month for each quarter. Population under study is 15 years of age and above (it defines working one hour for employment per weeek as the lowest limit of employment; uses a references period of one week. The same period is used where availability for work is concerned, but is increased to 30 days where respondents are looking for jobs). Two questionnaires are to be used: the questionnaire for household, and the questionnaire for a person in the household aged 15 years and above (35 questions).

Unemployed persons must satisfy three criteria, namely:
   i/ Being without work.
   ii/ Being available to start work in the week in question.
   iii/ Seeking work, having either looked for work in the last week or waiting to start a job during 30 days.

8. **Integration of data from different sources.** Data on employment and unemployment are collected from different surveys and causes. To integrate these data unified concepts, definitions and classifications should be used. Such process has been started in Poland while establishing an integrated system of household surveys. Integration of statistical surveys is a long-term process and should be kept in mind while building new system of employment statistics.

9. **Small area statistics.** For all countries in transition period it is important to get data on employment and unemployment for small districts, regions, counties, etc., i.e. for small areas. Previously these countries used complete enumeration and it was no problems with small area statistics. Now, data on employment and unemployment are to be collected using sampling method. It is a problem how to get data for small areas. It is necessary to use data from different sources.
   In estimating unemployment for each small area, a powerful source of auxiliary information in Poland is provided by information on job applicants registered with the national employment agency. This information is not based on a sample survey but can be used, with other auxiliary information, to improve quarterly survey estimates of unemployment. Synthetic estimation methods or estimators based on regression can be used to improve these estimates. Dr. G. Fajth mentioned in his paper the problem of small area statistics, and I would like to stress again it's importance for unemployment statistics.

10. Quality of data. The labour force suverys are usually based on household surveys in which an interview is basic method of data collection. This method is connected with different kinds of non-sampling errors which impact final results. It is necessary to start different kind of research to study these errors, their sources and magnitudes. The Central and Eastern European countries have no experiences in this field.
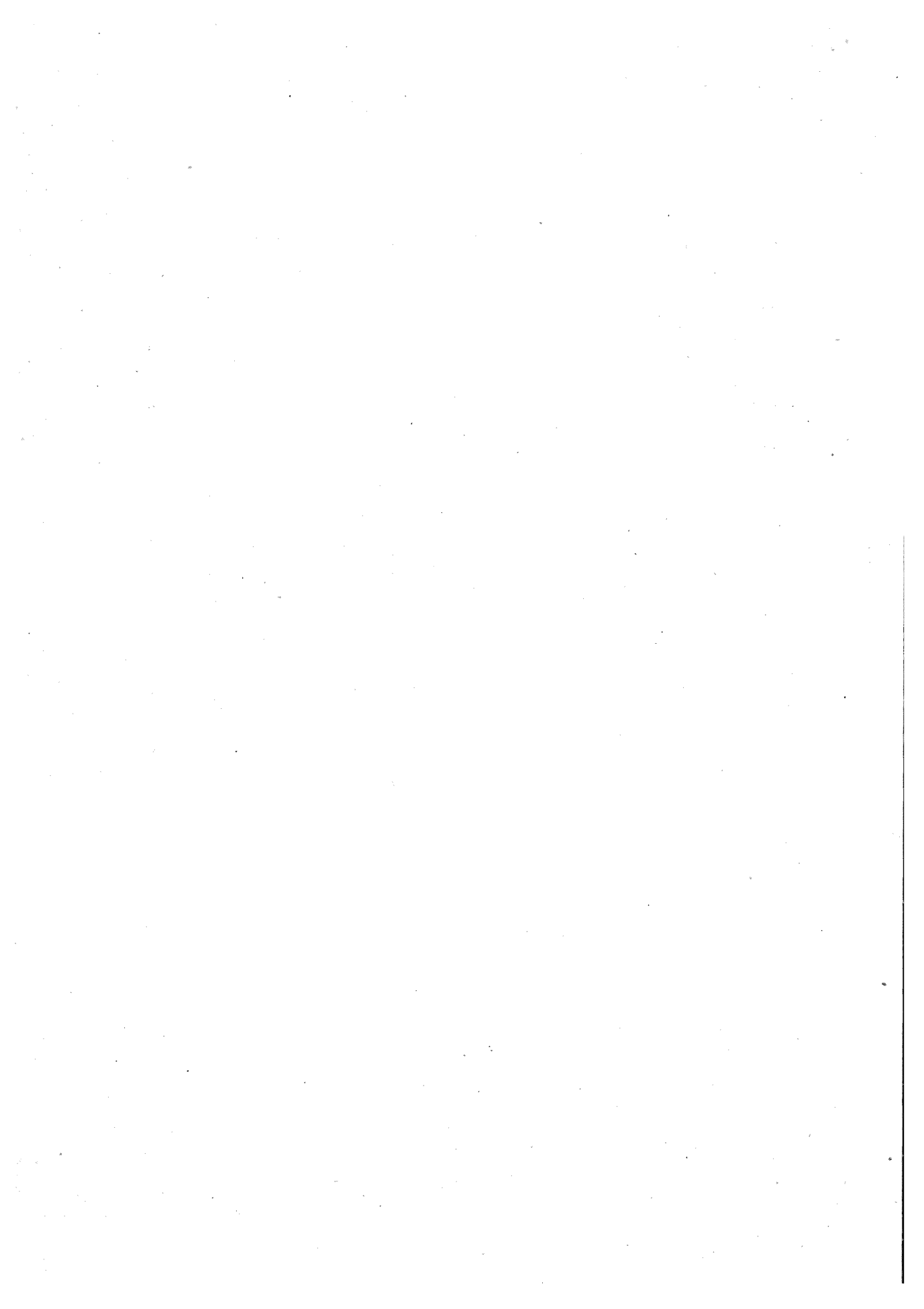
Comments on the Papers at Session 1

JAROSCLAV KUX

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1. While wishing to avoid repetition of the individual issues raised in both papers, I shall nevertheless list our main findings on the differences between the previous labour force statistics in central European countries and the planned system of economy and new needs during the transition period:

- The concept of employment was riduced mainly to that of wage and salary, without data on self-employed and own-account workers, especially in the case of the shadow economy;

- There was no employment statistical information system, despite some administrative data from regional labour offices;

- The main source of information on the labour force was based on enterprise or establishment surveys.

2. Both authors consider the labour force sample surveys (LFSS) based on household data the necessary main source of information on labour market development. I agree that we could accept this approach, as well as the respective international guidelines, definitions, classifications, etc. There are, however, certain necessary conditions for the organisms and implementation of this kind of survey:

- time required for preparation of the survey and survey design, testing of experimental surveys, etc;

- financial resources for interviewers, supervisors, software, data collection and processing, etc.;

- staff training;

- methodological help from countries with developed household survey systems (viz. help already provided, or promised, by the U.S.Bureau of Labor Statistics, the U.K. Department of Employment and Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, and INSEE France);

- close co-operation between data producers and users, (mainly ministries or departments of labour), for statistical and analytical purposes, as well as for policy-making.

3. At the same time, both papers call for a combination of data from various sources - statistical surveys, LFSS, and admnistrative data. This approach could be adopted, especially as concerns unemployment, for the following important reasons:

a) There is considerable need for monthly based data - in most countries, LFSS were conducted only every two years at first, although lately on an annual or quarterly basis, which, especially in the case of unemployment, is not sufficient for the transition countries.

b) There is a need for geographically detailed data by region, country, and even larger towns - which LFSS are unable to provide.

4. In his paper, Mr. Marchand draws our attention to the fact that the international recommendations in this area were accepted some time ago but that in the meantime new situations might appear, such as the problems of early-retirement, further training etc. in France, which calls for at least a new interpretation of existing international recommendations.

This idea could also be supported, altough important changes in the recommendations would not be advisable - statistical indicators and definitions having to be to a certain degree independent of administrative rules, which often change and usually differ among countries.

5. My final comment, is that while it is of course necessary for the transition countries to follow international recommendations on employment, unemployment and economic inactivity this is probably not sufficient. There are many bordeline cases within these three main concepts, and in order to correctly inform data users and policy - makers there is a need for additional data collection, processing and pubblication. We have, for example, the case of unemployed people registered by the bureau of labour, often drawing unemployment benefits, but at the same time working for part of the time, which may lead gorvenments to try to motivate people to actively look for a job, the case of discouraged workers, without a job, who are prepared to accept a job but are not actively seeking one. From the economic and social point of view, they are in fact unemployed and need help, although from the statistical point of view, there are employed in the former case or economically inactive in the latter. Data users are not always aware of all the details from the "statistical kitchen". It is necessary, therefore, for analytical purposes to indicate these bordeline cases separately. Some additional indicators should perhaps be calculated - for example, comprehensive indicators of unemployment which include discouraged workers and those working a few hours. In this way, some bridge between the statistical and administrative concept of unemployment may be built up.

Comments on the Papers at Session 1

UGO TRIVELLATO

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I like to begin the discussion by congratulating the authors for two informative and stimulating papers.

I would also point out from the beginning that I will not discuss the papers- systematically. Fajth and Marchand presented two very articulate contributions, partly dealing with features of labour market statistics peculiar to the Country they examined - Hungary and France respectively -. It will be too long, and perhaps it will lead us to too detailed considerations, to comment on the various aspects they treated.

Rather, I will focus on some selected issues, which seem to me of general relevance, particularly for Countries in transition. I will group my comments under five headings: (i) the trade-off between comparability and relevance; (ii) the role of Labour Force Surveys (LFSs), particularly in the transition phase; (iii) the need for a diversified set of indicators of unemployment; (iv) opportunities and problems in integrating LFS data and administrative data; (v) improved techniques and additional data collection procedures for accurate monitoring of the labour market and in-depth analysis of unemployment.

1. The first point I would like to rise has to do with *the trade-off between comparability - across Countries and over time - and relevance of statistical measures of unemployment (and, more generally, of labour force participation to a specific labour market situation and to policy concerns.*

For the sake of simplicity, I will distinguish this tension at two (somewhat arbitrarily defined) levels: (a) the overall socio-economic statistical system; (b) specific surveys on labour force participation.

From Fajth's paper, I have the feeling that difficulties are particularly severe at the first level. Fajth sets out very clearly some crucial differences between ILO concepts of economic activity and labour force participation and the concepts adopted by Hungary (and other COMECON Countries). Basically, while ILO takes an individual-based behavioural approach, Hungary has a statistical set-up with a demographic-computable basis and planning oriented ("dependent, active earners, inactive earners, and their demographic counterpart given by population "under working age, of working age, over working age").

It is unclear to me if this set-up is mainly the result of an ideological bias, or if it reflects the functioning of the economy and society. If the latter case is, at least partly, true (and this is indeed my impression), the process of transition of the statistical system must necessarily proceed along with the transition of the economy itself. Thus, it will be problematic, and perhaps unwise, to try to introduce too radical and quick changes in the statistical measures of labour force participation linked with the overall socio-economic statistical system.

2. For Countries in transition, particularly when the transition phase in characterized by frequent major changes in labour market regulations and policies, it is probably wise to rely heavily on a LFS for collecting reliable data on unemployment, without aiming at an immediate integration of these data within the overall socio-economic statistical system. At the level of a single household survey, it will be comparatively easy to introduce sound innovations in concepts and definitions.

At this level too, the aim of standardization and international comparability should be carefully evaluated against the (partly conflicting) aim of relevance to the specific conditions and policy concerns of the Country. This caveat applies-at least to two points:

a) the design of the survey, that has to fit within the existing data collection network on households;

b) the specific standards for measuring unemployment (definition of the target population; operational ways of implementing ILO criteria of availability for work and search for work; etc.). In this respect, it is worth remembering that the splitting is not simplistically between OECD Countries and Countries in transition: minor, but not negligible differences in measuring unemployment do exist within OECD Countries too (see, e.g., OECD, 1990).

3. I entirely agree with the focus of Marchand's paper on the need for a diversified set of indicators of unemployment, and for monitoring situations on the borderlines of economic inactivity, unemployment and employment. I will just add some few comments on the point.

A more articulate documentation of employment seems to be an accepted standard, at least as far as "visible underemployment" is concerned. A growing, common concern is apparent also for opposite phenomena, such as multiple-job-holding. Comparatively less attention is paid, however, for an articulate documentation of unemployment. In my opinion, this attitude is not fully justified.

I tend to be convinced that a more detailed picture of unemployment is essential, for its understanding and for policy implications. Apart from traditional breakdowns of the unemployed by demographics, previous labour force status and duration, it might be useful to consider the possibility of producing unemployment indicators referring to:

a) disguised unemployment, at the boundary between employment and unemployment (possible operational specifications of this admittedly vague concept include "visible underemployment" and "overemployment");

b) discouraged workers (a group whose relevance is still controversial, but possibly significant in transition phases, especially if identified accordingly to strict criteria);

c) unemployed with a different degree of attachment to the labour market (in terms of job search intensity and/or availability for any or selective jobs);

d) unemployed benefitting from schemes to promote employment.

It is also important to complement traditional 'snapshot' measures of unemployment with measures of gross flows into and out of unemployment, possibly by exploiting rotation plans of LFSs.

It is fair to add that there is nothing particularly new, in principle, in these suggestions. They go back to the well-kown article by Shiskin (1976) on the alternative of measuring "the doughnut [of employment] or the hole of unemployment]", and to his proposal of a set of seven unemployment measures, the so-called U1-U7 indicators, still currently adopted by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics. In the same spirit, but in a significantly different context, we should try to have a well-established set of indicators monitoring various aspects of the dimension, structure and dynamics of unemployment.

4. For such a purpose, it is clearly impossible to rely on just one data collection instrument, such as LFS. Leaving aside the possibilities provided by censuses, it is essential to exploit opportunities for integrating LFS survey data with administrative data.

Obviously, one should take into account that the information content of administrative data varies dramatically across Countries, depending on differences in labour market regulations, manpower and welfare policies, and administrative and statistical systems (see, e.g., Furst, 1988).

Anyhow, different observation instruments on unemployment should be used as far as possible, in an integrated way and for their specific merits:

a) LFSs provide an overall picture of labour force participation, accordingly to a consistent set of definitions; they allow us to analyze unemployment in relationship to personal and household characteristics; with a sound survey design, estimation of gross flows is also possible. However, because of sample size constraints, detailed breakdown by geographic area (and/or by industry, occupation, etc.) is usually impossible; moreover, this can be true for short-term monitoring of unemployment too, when the periodicity of the survey is low.

b) Despite their obvious limitations, administrative data can be exploited to usefully complement LFS data, particularly for detailed breakdowns of unemployment, for short-term indicators, for assessing the impact of manpower programmes.

French experience clearly demonstrates that projects to soundly link different data sources are rewarding, and should be given high priority.

5. As a final point, I will briefly refer to the importance of improved techniques and additional data collection procedures for accurate monitoring of the labour maret and in-depth analyses of unemployment.

Improvements in survey and data analysis techniques may have an important impact for better measuring labour force participation and unemployment. It is worth noting that the topic is given remarkable attention is the redesign of LFSs in various Countries (see, e.g., Butz and Plewes, 1989, and Dippo, 1989, for the 'Current Population Survey'). Potential improvements are envisaged in areas such as: questionnaire content and design; interview techniques and ways of estimating controlling nonsampling errors; small area estimation; linkage procedures for constructing longitudinal data files form rotating sample surveys; seasonal adjustment.

Additional opportunities for in-depth analyses of unemployment, relevant for policies too, rest on two further developments:

a) a policy of public use data files, from LFSs or administrative data sources (for potential uses of individual data from LFSs to analyze unemployment, see, e.g. for Italy, Rettore, Torelli and Trivellato, 1990);

b) the practice of carrying out ad hoc surveys - either supplementary surveys to the current LFS or entirely new (perhaps longitudinal) surveys -, for investigating special facets of unemployment, particularly in connection to schemes to promote employment.

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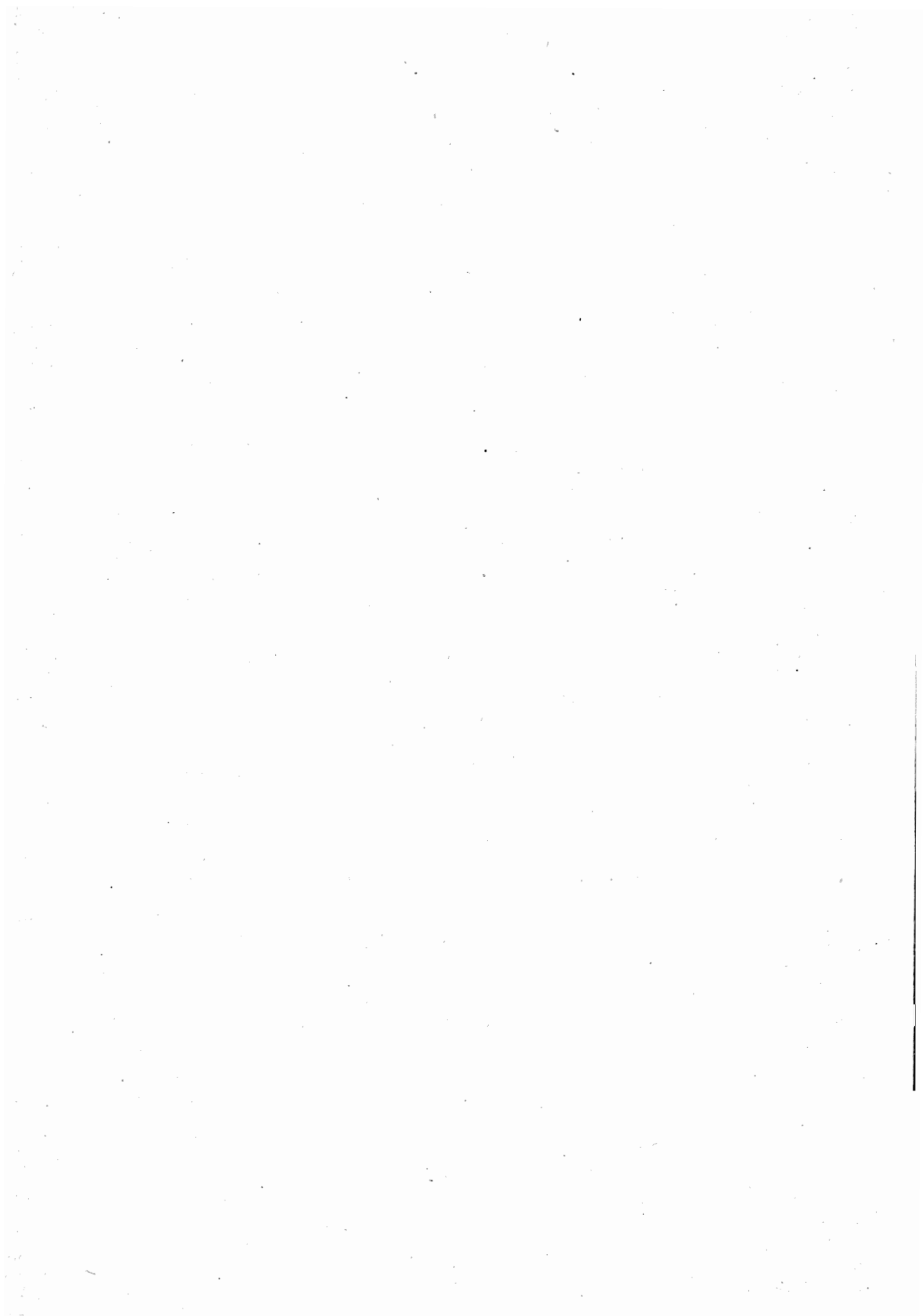
Comments on the Papers at Session 1

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Criticism of the "at least one hour" criterion for employement is misdirected. Answers are more reliable than they would be if a minimum of x hours were set, but a supplementary question about the number of hours worked can isolate occasional workers.

The international definitions clearly delimit Employed, Unemployed and Not in the labour force, and enable the sub-groups of involuntary unemployed and discouraged workers to be isolated within, respectively, the first and last of these three categories. All these concepts are defined (and questions can be formulated) in a manner entirely independent from institutional or legal reference. This is necessary to achieve international comparability, given the big differences between countries in laws and institutions. (It is true that proposed definitions of the self-employed would exclude everyone working for corporations, even sole-owners, but, as an exception, the legal institutions of corporate status and different tax treatment of corporations from individuals, are universal and result in separate treatment of corporate income in national accounts, thus requiring the segregation of all corporate employement in order to achieve consistency).

It is, of course, true that countries will wish to construct other sub-groups which do reflect national laws and institutions in order to follow the impact of national policies. But they should endeavour to provide supplementary definitions of such sub-groups in terms which do not refer to national legislation and transmit them to the ILO Bureau of Statistics, which will act as a clearing house, helping countries to achieve comparability of - or at least an understanding of the differences between - such sub-groups in different countries. An example might be the "Early retirement" sub-group of "not in the labour force". In addition, as hitherto, consultations with the ILO on borderline problems with the three main groups will prove mutually advantageous.

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The following points sum up the discussion of the first session:

1. Labour force surveys on international definitions are a key instrument for monitoring the labour market:

1. They need to be developed quickly and expertly. Several Central and Eastern European countries have already instituted surveys of this kind. Ideally, if resources allows, they should be quarterly, in order to provide timely data and allow an assessment of developments over the year.

2. For the sake of international comparisons, it would be useful if the labour force surveys contained a core set of questions very similar in specification to those in the labour force surveys in the European Community and North America. In this way international comparisons will be greatly facilitated. Even apparently small differences in the formulation of questions can lead to important differences in results. The questionnaires used in the Eastern European countries might be rather different from each other and from international practice unless there is strong co-ordination.

   When the basic survey has been developed consideration can be given to using it as a vehicle for "add-on" surveys to investigate the labour market in greater detail or to provide complementary information.

2. Labour force surveys need careful development

4. Western countries experienced many problems before they were able to set up an efficient system of labour force surveys - close collaboration should avoid many of these problems in the Central and Eastern European countries.

5. There will be special problems in the Eastern European countries, for at least two reasons. First, some of the terms used will be unfamiliar to ordinary people. Recent research in the West has shown how important it is for respondents to understand the questions. The answers will only be useful if the questions are understood and if people want to reply accurately. Second, and linked to this, there is the problem of the parallel economy - how to measure its size and how to minimise its effects on response. As soon as there are taxes on income, people will be reluctant to report undeclared economic activity to State surveys. Somehow they will need to be convinced that the survey is both worthwhile and truly confidential. It may take some time to gain that confidence. Some activity will remain unreported.

3. Labour force surveys are not enough on their own - a combination of instruments is needed

6. Administrative data, such as data on the number of unemployment benefit recipients, are of considerable importance in their own right. In addition they are a vital source of labour market data for smaller areas. No survey, even the larger-scale ones of North America, gives good data for small areas. Administrative data are capable of giving more timely information than even a well-run quarterly survey and are relatively cheap. This is an area where there has been less consultation with Western countries than in the case of labour force surveys. Further co-operative efforts here should be particularly useful.

7. When administrative systems are changing, it is more difficult to use the data they generate. However, it is vital to insist that the new administrative arrangements are able to generate good data as a by-product. At the same time it is important to be able to offer safeguards that arrangements useful for statistical purposes will not be misused, so that important statistical tools are not put in danger. All of this requires a major investment of time and energy. The results will often not be available immediately, but the transition process will itself be a long process. Statisticians and data users have to be patient.

8. Administrative data are very important for giving information on the dynamics of unemployment. While labour force surveys can indicate the duration of unemployment at a moment in time, administrative data can give much better information on completed durations, and inflows and outflows, including, often, the destination of those leaving unemployment.

9. Many Western countries have developed arrangements for using survey and administrative data in combination. In this way it is sometimes possible to combine the advantages of each source.

10. Longitudinal surveys of special groups, such as the long-term unemployed or those receiving welfare benefits are also very desirable. It is often useful to base them on samples drawn from administrative records.

4. The limitations of the international definitions need to be recognised

11. The international definitions are deliberately more economic than social in orientation. It is important not just to consider how many people are employed, in the sense of working at least one hour in the reference week, but also how many hours they work, how regularly they work and what they earn.

12. There are many borderline groups, which may be of considerable size and which need to have special attention. Examples are discouraged workers, involuntary part-time workers and those on government labour market programmes.
In this way, labour market analysts can be provided with data according to a range of different notions of unemployment.

13. It is also important to have information on the income situation of those badly placed in the labour market. This requires income surveys. Some of the Eastern European countries already have experience of income surveys. It may be best to keep the two types of surveys separate, maintaining both a good labour force survey and a good income survey. A common sub-sample, will permit cross-classifications.

5. Unemployment data need to be carefully eplained to users and to the general public

14. Careful definition is important even if there is only one data source, and all the more if several are used in combination. A continuous effort of education is needed since the statistical function involves the communication of information, not just numbers.

15. The meaning of each of the sources of data needs to be carefully delineated, to avoid misunderstanding - for example a series of the numbers of benefit claimants needs to be identified as such.

16. All countries should be able to produce data according to the interpretation of the international standards commonly used in OECD countries. They are not obliged to use them as the basis for their main national series, as they may not consider them the most appropriate definition for national purposes. However, there may be advantages in giving prominence to the international definition: its international status may render it more acceptable and defensible.

The following questions appeared to be left unresolved by the discussion:
A. What are the special features of the labour markets of the Eastern European countries during transition that are relevant for the compilation of unemployment statistics?
B. What special unemployment measurements are needed during the transition? Is it enough just to use the remnants of the past system and the first estimates from the new system? What is the role of "urgent" or "ad hoc surveys"?
C. How will statisticians ensure the closest possible links between their work and that of labour market policy-makers?

SESSION 2
CONCEPT AND MEASUREMENT
OF LABOUR HOARDING
(OVER - EMPLOYMENT)
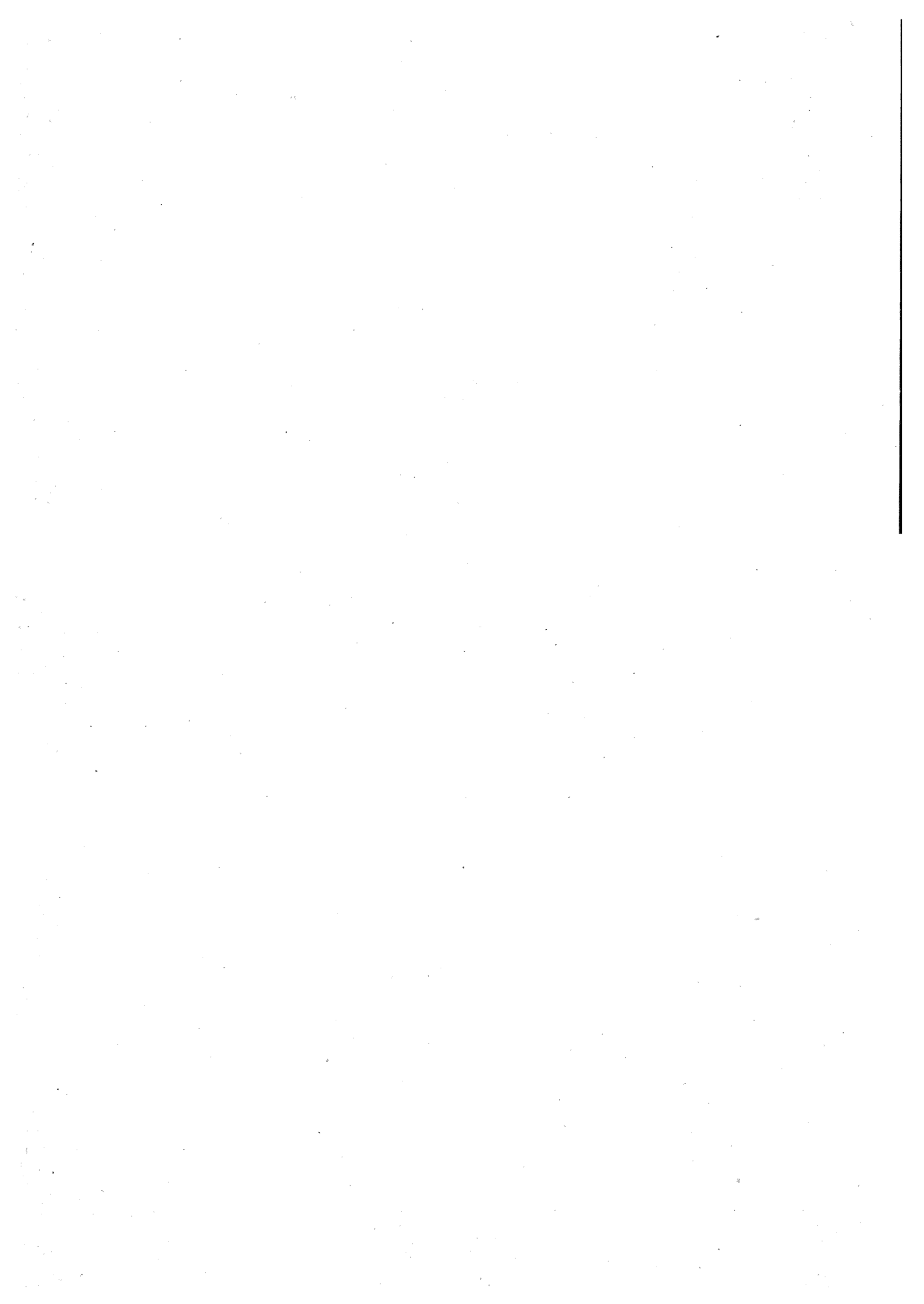
FROM CONCEALED OVEREMPLOYMENT TO DECLARED UNEMPLOYMENT

by

Zdenek KARPISEK
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(Report on the evaluation of the overemployment rate in a centrally planned economy, the elimination of this overemployment and the appearance of unemployment during the transition to a market economy, illustrated by the example of Czechoslovakia)

. Besides the changes on the political level, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have made fundamental changes in their economic system, starting along the path leading from a centrally planned economy to a market economy. This is a path that has not yet been tried: there is as yet no country in the world that ha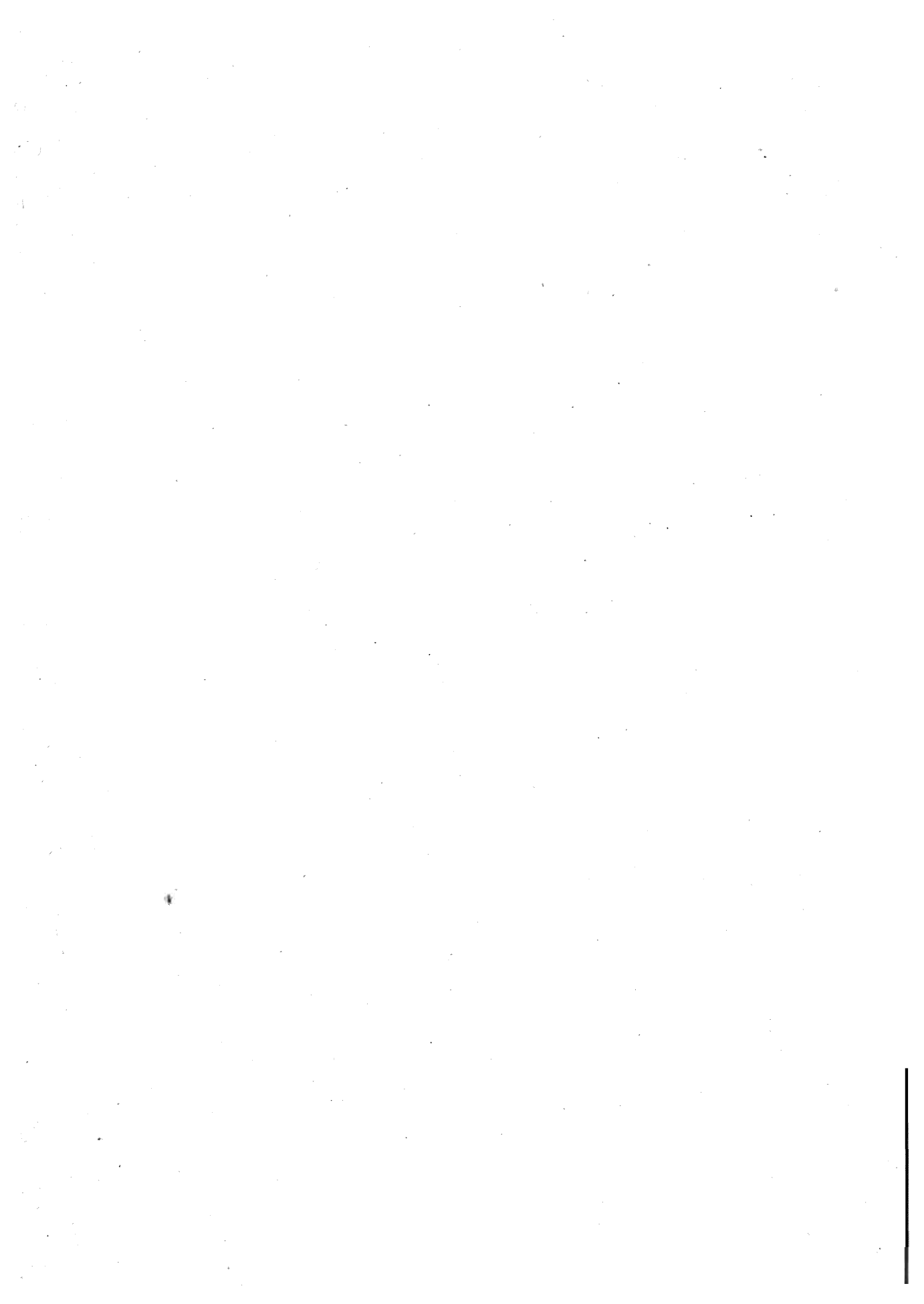s completed the process and could thus serve as a reference. All the former Socialist countries have started introducing these changes, but each from a different baseline situation because of their different traditions, and different political, social and economic conditions. They nevertheless share the common experience that their former system was not capable of achieving the same pace of technical and economic development as the market economy system and that the apparent over-concern with the social side of economic development leads in the final analysis not only to economic backwardness, but also to social backwardness. Czechoslovakia is an example of precisely this. Before and just after the Second World War, it was not far behind the most developed countries in Europe, whereas today it is in a middling position.

We believe that it will be very useful to exchange experiences concerning the transition to a market economy and that no doubt Czechoslovakia will be able to contribute to the study of this process and its realisation in other countries, even though we are conscious of the fact that for example Poland and Hungary have a richer and longer experience of this process in certain fields.

My intervention will be limited to expressing certain opinions concerning the concept of concealed overemployment, the estimation (quantification) of the overemployment rate in the former planned system, and a presentation of Czech experience with the gradual elimination of this overemployment and the appearance of unemployment during the transition towards a market economy.

Permit me first a few remarks to illustrate and give a better understanding of the extent and nature of overemployment in Czechoslovakia.

The data concern the situation in Czechoslovakia before the democratisation of the society began and before the decision to create a market economy with a labour market was taken (1).

In Czechoslovakia, as in the other countries formerly designated Socialist countries, a high utilisation rate for labour resources was a characteristic feature. The participation rate (understood here as persons of working age with at least one job plus those older than normal working age with a job as a percentage of the total population) was close to the maximum and exceeded 48 per cent. Only 2 per cent of the working age population (2) were without work and most of these were mothers with very young children or with large families. What is more, 7 per cent of the working population had a second job in addition to the main one. The female participation rate was (and still is) very high: women make up over 46 per cent of the total labour force and are for the most part in full-time jobs. This means that the participation rate was 5 to 8 percentage points higher than that of the Western European countries. The Scandinavian countries are an exception, as participation rates here are also high, though a much bigger proportion of the women work only part-time. At that time there was no unemployment in Czechoslovakia. The standard working week placed Czechoslovakia among the developed countries, but annual paid holidays were one to two weeks less than in the majority of developed countries (except for the United States and Japan). The relatively high annual total of hours worked was subject to substantial direct losses in the use of working time. These losses are fairly realistically estimated (and even slightly underestimated) at 15 per cent in industry and 20 per cent in construction, due to shortcomings in the management and organisation of work and in relations between suppliers and clients, a lack of discipline among employees and inadequate services.

Czechoslovakia is among the countries with a fairly high level of education and culture, such as Switzerland, Canada, the United States, etc., with an average duration of schooling of 11 years (3). In general, a high proportion of the labour force has completed secondary education, but the proportion with higher education is relatively low (9 per cent). However, 15 per cent of the skilled workers and 9 per cent of the higher education graduates do not use the skills in which they have been trained. A serious problem here is the imbalance between the resources available and the structure of vocational skill requirements. In the machine tool industry for example, the manufacturers train 6 per cent of the workforce, while in the most advanced countries the corresponding figure is 20 per cent. There is obvious backwardness in the structure of employment by occupations and by sectors. The proportion of the labour force working in the primary and secondary sectors is relatively high, while that in the tertiary sector is low, 41 or 42 per cent, while in the most advanced countries it is 12 to 25 percentage points higher.

The structure of the industrial sector leads to a high consumption of raw material and energy

inputs and requires heavy investment: the specific primary energy consumption per unit of Gross National Product is two or three times greater and that of steel four times greater in Czechoslovakia than in the Western developed countries. The technological backwardness is reflected in the quality of our products: for example, the export price per kilogram of our engineering products is one third that of European Community products. The economic backwardness, a consequence of the old system, is also reflected in a delay in the renewal of plant and machinery. Industrial plant has reached an amortisation level of 56 per cent, and almost one quarter of the machinery and equipment is completely amortised. The machinery utilisation rate is only 72 per cent and the scrapping rate for obsolescent machinery and equipment only about 1.4 per cent of the purchase price. The proportion of labour on a second station was low (the coefficient of work stations per worker being 1.33 in industry).

Summarising the above remarks, we can say that by 1989 Czechoslovakia had arrived at a situation of very high employment, but with a generally low level of labour productivity and a low utilisation rate for the other inputs: raw materials, energy, machinery and equipment. From this standpoint, Czechoslovakia had arrived at a state of high absolute overemployment, accompanied by poor economic efficiency. On the basis of a whole series of international comparative analysis it was concluded that the general efficiency of labour, expressed as the national level of labour productivity in Czechoslovakia, was only half that achieved in the most advanced countries and that it was generally tending to fall.

It was in this situation that a fundamental change in policy was introduced and opened up the path leading to the creation of a market economy. We believe that only economic prosperity can guarantee social development, that it facilitates the mobilisation of domestic resources and automatically optimises the entire production process. We expect the labour market to reduce inefficient and useless employment (overemployment) and that it will lead to the geographical and occupational mobility of labour, more rational, and that it will help to develop the creativity and spirit of enterprise of our population.

We have begun the transformation to a market economy which will be characterised by the liberalisation of prices, the convertibility of the Czech crown, the liberalisation of external economic relations, the elimination of monopolies and the privatisation of the public sector.

One of the essential tasks of employment policy is precisely to gradually introduce a labour market, a process that requires a whole series of changes in the institutional and legal system.

When the old instruments of centralised planned management were eliminated, one stage in the liberalisation of employment was completed. The strict regulation of workforces and of the movement of labour had already been abandoned some years earlier. Certain other administrative management instruments had also been abolished, such as the requirement for state authorisation to hire labour, directives on the placement of young people in different vocational training institutions, regulation of the payroll as a function of different production and performance indices. Last year we rapidly installed the legal and institutional conditions and systems to permit the creation of a labour market. A basic network of employment services was set up (notably a network of employment offices). Among other things, Czech employment policy aims at providing people with a full-time, productive and freely chosen job. The right to work is interpreted as the right of the citizen to placement in an appropriate job and to redeployment training and material assistance in the case of unemployment. But this is obviously a right to a useful job. We are trying to pursue an active employment policy characterised by support to efficient enterprises, to production programmes and services that have a future, the creation of jobs that are useful to society and the redeployment of workers in accordance with the structural changes. Increasing prosperity and the implementation of structural changes will lead logically to the limitation and eventual elimination of useless activities and the release of many people, and we can scarcely expect them to be able to find a suitable new job immediately. This means that as the concealed overemployment gradually disappears, declared unemployment will be created. I shall return to the characteristics of these processes below.

The question arises of what point is there in considering the problems of concealed overemployment (or social employment) in a period we have already left behind us and what sense is there in defining and quantifying these concepts. I believe this is not just a matter of trying to know and understand the past better; on the contrary, shedding light on this problem is of immediate and practical use precisely for the transition stage towards a market economy. It is natural that a society passing from a control economy to a market economy has to eliminate the concealed overemployment in a short period of time. Even in the initial stage of economic reform in the former Socialist countries there must be first limitation then elimination of overemployment, with the inevitable parallel creation of unemployment, if a functional labour market is to be created. If we

quantify the absolute level of past overemployment, we at the same time quantify the potential underemployment (but not the unemployment rate).

In our literature, we find different concepts of overemployment. We speak of absolute and relative overemployment. Absolute overemployment means the superfluous use of human resources, including working hours. Relative overemployment means the superfluous consumption of labour in its totality, as a result of the low level of labour productivity, i.e. the reserve of potential labour productivity. Within this concept there are differences of definition, from the broad to the narrow. Simplifying:
-   According to the broad definition, the relative overemployment rate is interpreted as the difference between the actual employment rate and that which would suffice to produce the given volume of GNP in the most advanced countries. It is therefore the difference between the real level of national productivity and the best in the world;
-   According to the narrow definition, the relative overemployment rate is the superfluous quantity of present labour used for a given output, which is caused by a low level of performance according to the narrow definition, and by the insufficient or non-rational exploitation of working hours according to the narrowest definition.

From the standpoint of the productivity factors, the broad definition represents the result of all of them i.e. the structure of production, technical and technological influences and the human labour. The narrow definition covers solely the consequences of the superfluous consumption of present labour.

Eliminating the overemployment covered by the broad definition is a long-term operation. It requires a steady increase in the overall productivity of labour in the country, radical changes in structures and technological innovation. Eliminating the overemployment covered by the narrow definition is a relatively short-term, or at most medium-term operation. It requires the elimination of the unproductive use of human resources while retaining present structures and the given technical and technological level.

Recent analyses have shown that the falling behind of the former Socialist countries was caused by shortcomings in both inputs and outputs, but the main factor was the inadequacy of the outputs, i.e. sub-standard and poor quality products.

The rate of overemployment can be calculated by various methods. If overemployment is taken as being excess, unnecessary employment, one needs to know what rate of total employment would be taken as optimal. International comparisons at macroeconomic level could provide this. We think that one method that would be appropriate would be the comparison of labour inputs related to economic outputs in a country (and disaggregated by sector, region, and enterprise) with the levels attained in countries with demonstrably higher levels of development.

During the 80s, several international comparative studies of the level and dynamism of labour productivity were carried out in our country. It is obvious that the results of these comparisons - especially when comparing countries with different socio-economic systems - depend to some extent on the method used and the way in which the volume of production and the consumption of labour are expressed.

For example, the results of different calculations, based on GNP epressed in national currencies at stable prices using purchasing power indicators, led to the conclusion - already mentioned above - that labour productivity in Czechoslovakia in the mid 80s was scarcely half that in the leading countries (4).

Since the production sector in Czechoslovakia accounts for a greater share of GNP than in the other countries and the working week is longer, the upper limits of the ranges in the table in Footnote 4 are no doubt closer to reality.

Other studies (5) also lead to the conclusion that labour productivity in Czechoslovakia at the end of the 80s was only 45-50 per cent of that in the United States and a maximum of 55-65 per cent of the productivity achieved in the developed countries of Europe. Studies covering the early 80s arrived at similar results. According to these, labour productivity in the United States was roughly 2-2.5 times ours, so the level in Czechoslovakia was about 40 per cent of that in the United States. An analysis carried out according to different groups of factors gave the following results:
-   a good third of this difference (i.e. 16-20 per cent of the absolute level) is due to an inefficient production structure, i.e. a small proportion of leading-edge occupations and, conversely, a high proportion of declining occupations which for the most part were among the most demanding technically. This is a structural fault in the Czech economy;

- One fifth of this difference (i.e. 10-12 per cent of the absolute level) is due to backwardness in the field of standards, in the broad sense, for Czech products, i.e. the low level of compliance with technical parameters, quality, reliability, durability, after-sales service. This is known as a lack of innovation;
- Somewhat less than half this difference (i.e. 25-30 per cent of the absolute level) is due to the excessively high consumption of inputs (human resources, energy, raw materials, etc.) per unit of GNP: two thirds of this, or some 15-20 per cent of the absolute level, is due to the higher consumption of human resources (present labour).

In practice, these different factors do not act in isolated fashion, but the impact of one conditions the impact of the others. What is more, they say nothing about the real causes of the actual economic level. We find that this low economic level is caused above all by the limited possibilities of a dirigistic system and the lack of incentive for individuals and enterprises to aim at greater prosperity.

This comparison confirms the comments concerning the excessive consumption of inputs, including human resources, but it also shows the main factors causing the economic backwardness, i.e. the structure of production and the low standard of the products. It also enables us to draw some rough conclusions concerning the overemployment rate. Under the broad definition, this rate is equal to at least 50 per cent of total employment in Czechoslovakia. Under the narrow definition it can be estimated as at least 15-20 per cent of total employment.

We shall therefore call relative overemployment the proportion of labour uselessly consumed. It is characterised by inadequate labour productivity at the national level and, according to the narrow definition, by low performance, losses in the use of working hours and little effort at work. This results from the fact that the economic pressure exercised on the individual and the enterprise is insufficient. This is due to an approach to employment that is supposed to be social (but which actually has effects that are antisocial priority being given to the principle of full employment at the expense of efficiency. The relative overemployment is conditioned by the existence of the absolute unemployment discussed below.

The consequences of this obvious relative overemployment are economic on the one hand (inefficiency caused by the excessive consumption of working hours) and moral on the other (casual attitude to work, employees being in the habit of not putting a full day's work or using working hours for extra-professional activities).

It is no doubt impossible to eliminate relative overemployment (even in the narrow sense) immediately, right at the beginning of the transition to the market economy (partly because it is not possible to rapidly change long-established habit), but it can be done gradually and completed in the medium term.

Czech statistics cover the use of working time by employees and absenteeism by reason (absence through illness or accident, leave authorised by the enterprise, unauthorised absence, etc). They also cover the utilisation rates of what is called the total usable working time. A serious study based on a comparison of the results of past years estimates that this utilisation rate can be increased by about 1 per cent.

Much greater reserves exist in the utilisation of working time during the day, but the statistics do not cover either this utilisation rate, nor the causes of wasted time. Information of this subject has been gleaned from different studies, surveys, analyses of the working day, etc. A survey carried out among top management in enterprises in the second half of the 80s leads us to believe that wasted time during the working day averaged 15 per cent in industry and 20 per cent in construction. It should be noted that the managers' responses were often fairly optimistic and it could well be that the losses were even greater. These losses vary by branch of activity, occupation and type of production: the biggest (in industry) were noted in the fuel and energy sector (almost 20 per cent) and the lowest in the timber industry and agrofood (10-12 per cent). The losses were greater in ancillary activities (21 per cent) than in the basic activity (13 per cent). By type of production (according to studies by the people who fix the norms in enterprises) the biggest losses were in the manufacture of custom-built products (19.4 per cent), much less in small and medium batch production (10.6 per cent) and least of all in flow processes and mass production (6.6 per cent).

Various internal and external factors have an impact on the utilisation of working time. The greater part of the losses is caused by factors internal to the enterprise (about 60 per cent). The problems lie mainly in the organisation of production, management and staff discipline, and then there are frequently losses caused by an inadequate flow of production. As for the factors eternal to the enterprise, the most important are problems with the supply of raw materials and other inputs,

notably breakdowns in electricity supply. Various studies show that these losses cannot be eliminated completely, but we consider that they can be cut by half (i.e. an overall increase of almost 7 per cent in industry, 10 per cent in construction) provided, of course, that relations between supplier and client, discipline, management, work organisation and services are all improved. Thus if we consider the relative overemployment rate (narrow definition) as that part of the useless and superfluous consumption of labour that can be eliminated without reducing production, this rate can be estimated under Czech conditions to be at least 7-10 per cent.

We can consider as overemployment (at this level it is very difficult to define whether it is relative overemployment), for eample, all activities that turn out to be pointless in a functional market economy. This includes areas such as the inflated administrative apparatus, political party machines, ecessively large union organisations and associations and, in particular, the enormously large workforces of artificially created monopoly enterprises. We note that it is precisely this type of activity that is eliminated relatively quickly, in the first stage of the transition to a market economy.

Besides the term "relative overemployment" we also use the term *"absolute unemployment"*. This latter means the superfluous use of human resources and an excessive volume of hours of work. It is above all a matter of:
- a relatively high participation rate among person above normal working age;
- a relatively high proportion of women working full-time;
- a relatively high number of hours worked per year.

The causes of absolute overemployment are similar to those of relative overemployment: the lack in a dirigistic system of the economic pressure that would lead to efficiency, a mistaken approach to employment, excessively socially oriented, which, because of the low efficiency of production, leads to what appears from the outside to be a shortage of labour because virtually all citizens fit for work already have a job. In a situation of cheap labour, people try to achieve a reasonable family income through having a maximum number of family members at work.

There are both economic and social consequences. Besides the low efficiency, it results in limited scope for labour mobility, hence for restructuring (for we do not have a reserve of labour to be able to develop new sectors, occupations, professions; we lack the space to increase the skills of adults or to retrain them for new occupations).

The social consequences are seen in particular in the phenomenon of over-worked women who have to look after their families in addition to having a full-time job.

In Czechoslovakia, 24 per cent of people above normal working age have a job. Comparison with the developed countries indicate that this figure should be below 20 per cent. The annual average working hours are 15 per cent higher than those in the highly developed countries. The female participation rate is increasing in the developed countries and Czechoslovakia here is at a level that they consider appropriate, but only 6 per cent of our women are working part-time, whereas a more usual figure is in the order of 30-50 per cent. The absolute overemployment rate caused by these factors amounts to 15-20 per cent.

It is also possible to approach the problem of absolute overemployment from another angle, without these approaches excluding one another, but the rates determined by one method or the other cannot be added together.

Absolute overemployment can be analysed from the standpoint of the sectoral structure of the national economy (6). As a basis for discussion we can take a comparative study of the sectoral structure of the Czech economy and the economies of other countries with a per capita GNP of a similar level, the idea being to determine how many workers in a given sector does it take to provide a living for 1,000 inhabitants of the country concerned. Any such comparison gives rise to problems such as for example the proper estimation of per capita GNP, the fact that the way of counting workers in different sectors varies from one country to another (here the main problem is that certain Western countries count services in industry as part of the tertiary sector, whereas in our country these activities form part of the industry concerned). We have compared Czechoslovakia in 1988 with Austria in 1980 and Belgium in 1975, dates at which rough calculations indicate that per capita GNP was virtually equal. According to these comparisons, total (absolute) overemployment in Czechoslovakia was of the order of 22 per cent. This is overemployment in the broad sense however, because it includes not only the impact of ecessive per unit consumption of inputs, including labour, but also the structural and technical factors. However, the comparison is not made with respect to the leading world level, but with two countries at a time when they had achieved roughly the same economic level as Czechoslovakia

in 1988. It is interesting to consider overemployment by sector: 40 per cent in agriculture, 46 per cent in industry, 25 per cent in construction, while in the services sector it is negative, 22-28 per cent in commerce and 38-46 per cent in financial services.

We have shown some ways in which overemployment can be measured. It is, above all, by international comparisons when the different levels of labour productivity indicate that a less developed country has a rate of overemployment and when the analysis of production factors shows where the reserves of excess employment are located. The international comparison of the sectoral structure of employment in countries at about the same economic level, but with different rates of economic activity enables overemployment rates to be calculated. And the comparison of individual sectors with total employment shows those where overemployment is apparent. Other methods use labour statistics, especially statistics on the use of working time, which can show the amount of unnecessary working time as a reverse effect of overemployment. Other methods rely on other data, such as the estimates of overemployment and unnecessary use of labour made by management experts, or by establishing labour standards and work rationalisation. Recording time allocation to useless or wasted work is an example. In general it can be said that the rate of overemployment (in the relative sense) is given by the rate of the reserves of labour productivity. However if overemployment is understood in its narrow meaning, the rate of these reserves is related to low rates of output per worker, non-use of working time, poor use of the human factor.

Other methods could also possibly be discussed. At different times and in different sectors it happens that production volumes, for example, in services, diminish but that employment remains unchanged, or at least does not decrease proportionally. In other words, labour productivity declines. This means that the decrease of employment lags behind the decrease in production and the amount of excess, ineffective employment increases. That is the situation in some of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe where, as a consequence of restrictive policies and the disintegration of the markets in some of these countries, there is a dramatic fall in output which is not followed by a likewise decrease in employment.

One can also estimate overemployment by classifying various sorts of activity, some of which can be classified as unnecessary or useless. Some activities, such as the overdevelopment of administrative services, superfluous management posts, etc., are of limited use at the transition stage to a market economy. Workers could also be classified according to their own output. A category could be identified where their minimal effective output stems from their lack of motivation, or interest or discipline. These workers also constitute a stock of surplus labour diminishing overall economic efficiency.

I shall now turn to a brief *description of the process of the gradual elimination of overemployment* and the emergence and gradual rise of unemployment, as illustrated by the example of Czechoslovakia. A year and a half has passed since the revolution of November 1989. As we said at the beginning of this report, the institutional and legal conditions to permit the existence of a labour market are being introduced. 1990 was the year of preparation, 1991 is already seeing the launching of the transition towards a market economy.

In employment there has been above all a reduction in overemployment firstly for political reasons. The staff of the former Communist Party apparatus were dismissed, the staff of unions and many associations reduced by one third, chairs of Marxism-Leninism in higher education were abolished, many employees in different general management divisions in large enterprises were dismissed as a result of the emancipation of the plants and branches that formed part of these enterprises, other people lost their jobs as a result of the reorganisation of the central bodies of the state administration and the elimination of regional administrations.

As regards the production structure, there has been a substantial reduction in employment in the basic sectors, with employment being progressively reduced by over 10 per cent in industry, construction and agriculture. Government programmes aimed at trimming certain sectors have been introduced (for example the mining and processing of uranium ore has been limited, the extraction of fuels reduced, the armaments industry cut back).

According to the statistics, the participation rate of people above normal working age has decreased. While in 1989, almost 24 per cent of these people had a job, the present rate is 18 per cent (7) and other measures to limit the excessive economic activity of these people are in the pipeline. 76 per cent of the enterprises questioned in a survey of future employment trends replied that in the case of reorganisation or restructuring they would first release the retired people they employed. I would like to point out here that these are above all people who receive (or used to) a pension in addition to their wage, and have a fixed-term contract, generally one year, and frequently these contracts are not renewed.

The number of full-time housewives has increased because they can now take advantage of a

new law that extends the duration of allowances for the parents of young children to the age of three for each child. For the moment however the proportion of women working part-time remains low due to the fact that they do not want to reduce the family income at a time when the cost of living is increasing.

We can thus see that absolute overemployment has already diminished fairly considerably, whether from the standpoint of labour resources, the structure of production or the limitation of useless activities. We cannot say that absolute overemployment has been completely eliminated and we cannot see any significant reduction in relative overemployment. On the contrary, initially there is a tendency for productivity to fall, hence in fact an increase in relative overemployment. As yet the economic pressure has not been felt strongly enough to cause a productivity increase. It would appear that only the elimination of absolute overemployment can bring about the elimination of relative overemployment.

However, unemployment has appeared and this is an entirely new phenomenon in Czech society. While unemployment was still an unknown concept in 1989, on 30th April 1991 it had reached a level of 2.8 per cent, i.e. there were 223 000 registered job-seekers. For the moment (in the absence of any other reliable data) the unemployment rate is expressed as the number of job seekers as a percentage of the total employed population (people with at least one job) in the national economy, including women on maternity leave (and prolonged maternity leave), plus the number of unemployed. A job seeker is considered to be a citizen who is not employed or exercises no gainful activity and who has made an application for placement in the appropriate employment office. Thus people who may not have a job but who do not request placement through an employment office are for the present not considered to be unemployed in Czechoslovakia. Initially, the people most affected by unemployment were white-collar workers: while they represent only 31 per cent of total employment, in the second half of 1990 they made up over 50 per cent of the total unemployed. Unemployment is relatively high among young people and those without qualifications and affects women more than men. The unemployment rate is increasing every month and is higher in the east of the country than in the west (the highest unemployment rate is that of Eastern Slovakia)..

It is not the aim of this intervention to analyse unemployment: I simply wish to point out that within a relatively short space of time considerable changes have taken place in Czech society and in the Czech economy and that a process of gradually eliminating absolute overemployment in the narrow sense is under way. On the other hand, we have not yet noted any reduction in relative overemployment and in fact productivity is tending to fall. At the same time the new phenomenon of unemployment has appeared and is growing regularly and fairly rapidly. This unemployment is to some extent associated with the elimination of overemployment (people who occupied useless jobs and have now lost them cannot always find a new job immediately), it is also a phenomenon concomitant with the restrictive, anti-inflationary policy. There are also exceptional contributory factors such as the collapse of exports to certain markets (notably the former Eastern Bloc countries and the Soviet Union), but it is not yet the result of the elimination of relative overemployment or of major restructuring, nor of increased economic pressure leading to increased labour productivity.

FOOTNOTES

1. The data refer in fact to 1989.
2. Ecluding women on maternity leave, young people in training and people unfit for work.
3. See International Labour Review no. 5/1986.
4. Labour productivity in Czechoslovakia compared with that of the developed countries (Czechoslovakia = 100)

Austria	130-180
Belgium	160-230
Denmark	130-180
Holland	170-240
Sweden	160-220
Switzerland	160-230
Germany	160-220
Japan	120-260
United States	180-260

5. For example the study by the Forecasting Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences or the study by M. Pick: The policy of full employment in a reform oriented towards the market economy (Politicka ekonomie no. 4/1990), or that by M. Pick and his team: "Labour Productivity in Different Sectors of Czech Production with Respect to the World Level".
6. See Madame Nesporava: "The Problem of Overemployment in the Czech Economy and the Sources of Increased Labour Productivity".

Employment by sector per 1000 inhabitants

Sector	Czechoslov. 1988	Austria 1980	Belgium 1975
Agriculture, forestry	60	43	15
Industry	190	128	131
Construction	44	36	33
Transport, telecomm.	32	25	29
Commerce	55	69	76
Financial and bus. services	13	21	24
Other services	105	85	101
TOTAL	499	407	409

7. At the moment of writing, this is only a rough estimate.

LABOUR HOARDING IN INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES: CONCEPT AND MEASUREMENT

by

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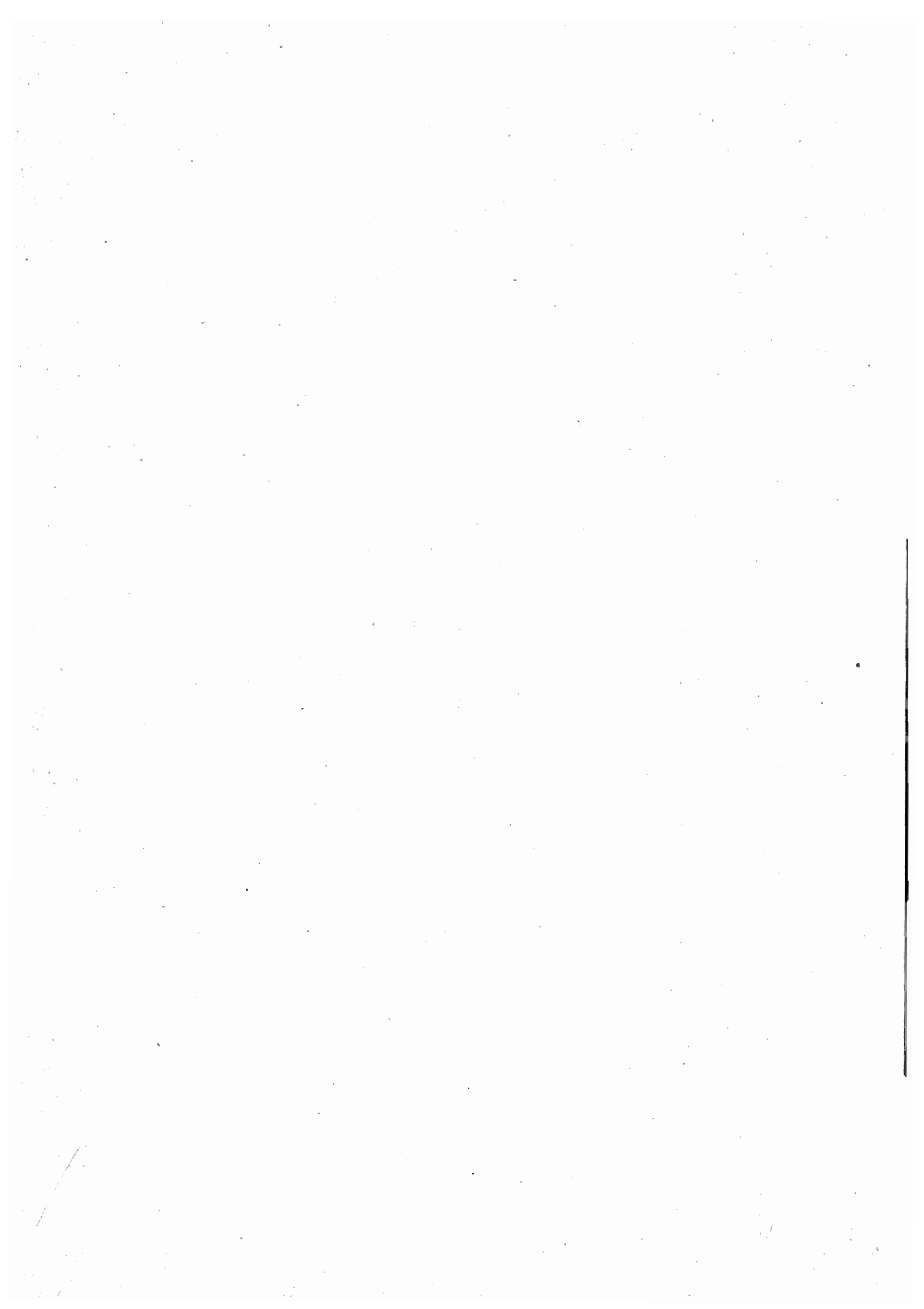
Introduction

Labour hoarding refers to a situation where an establishment is paying for more worker-hours than is necessary to produce current levels of output. The first and obvious question that arises in thinking about this issue is, why do firms do it? This question is not central to the current discussion but it is necessary to comment on it, because of its implications for the issues of interest. What is of interest here is more descriptive: first, what does the term "labour hoarding" mean, and second, how can it be measured? The statistical indicators needed for monitoring the problem are discussed, along with the main statistical methods for generating the necessary data.

The next section defines the concept and discusses the reasons that firms may find it worthwhile to hoard labour. Following this discussion two methods for measuring labour hoarding are evaluated, surveys done at the firm level and aggregate time series data. Finally, the usefulness of the concept in labour market analysis is briefly discussed and the data needs evaluated.

The discussion builds on the experience of Britain and the United States. It is likely to apply also to other mature industrial democracies, which experience some but not much government intervention.

The Concept of Labour Hoarding

Labour hoarding can be defined either in terms of hours of work or in terms of persons employed. In the discussion of the economics of the problem, it is best to think in terms of hours of work. It is not difficult, however, to imagine situations where the hoarding of persons, rather than that of working time, is of more relevance to policy. The issues that arise with regard to persons are similar to those discussed here, so in most of the discussion no explicit reference to persons needs to be made.

When a firm hoards labour it pays for more hours of work than strictly necessary to produce current levels of output, given the normal organization of production. The problem of labour hoarding in industrialized countries is intimately related to that of business fluctuations. Implicit in all discussions of labour hoarding is the view that labour hoarding does not take place when demand and production are high, and most likely also in normal times. But in recession firms do not reduce hours of work by as much as they can, given the fall in current sales.

Output normally falls with sales, so an implication of labour hoarding is that the productivity of labour in the downturn falls. This is a phenomenon that has traditionally been regarded as a puzzle. The received theory of production, built on the concept of the neoclassical production function, implies that labour productivity should increase in recession, or at least not fall. In terms of the aggregate production function, the productivity increase follows from the existence of diminishing returns to scale. At lower levels of output and employment, the marginal product of labour is higher. More intuitively, when firms experience a fall in demand, they first lay off their least productive workers. The skill composition of their workforce should therefore improve in the downturn, with a consequent rise in productivity, not a fall. If there are constant or near-constant returns, productivity should not depend on the state of the market, so it should neither fall nor rise in the downturn.

In reality productivity falls in recession and increases in the boom. This phenomenon, known as the productivity puzzle, has attracted a lot of attention since it was first noticed in the early 1960s. Labour hoarding is one of the explanations offered for the phenomenon. Indeed, the relation between labour hoarding and the productivity puzzle has become so close-knit that in a recent study of labour hoarding in British industry, by Bowers, Deaton and Turk (1982), a "prima facie case for labour hoarding" was "established" simply by demonstrating that at the industry level employment fluctuates less than output; i.e. that labour productivity is procyclical.

Although it is both correct and helpful to link labour hoarding to the productivity puzzle, it is less helpful to make the two one and the same thing. Of course, one could define labour hoarding in terms of productivity movements, along the lines pursued by Bowers at al. and others (discussed below). If this view were taken, the fact that firms "use" more labour to produce a unit of output when overall output is below trend is taken as evidence that labour is "hoarded". Procyclical productivity, however, could be due to a number of factors, some of which are unrelated to what is normally understood by the term "hoarding" - the holding of labour not currently needed for future use.

Consider first some of the explanations offered for the productivity puzzle, besides labour hoarding. A first explanation criticizes the assumption of diminishing returns at all levels of output. It claims that at low levels of output there are increasing returns because of indivisibilities - a minimal

amount of labour needed to start up production. The firm will never find it optimal to operate in a region of increasing returns, unless it is restricted by demand, so on average the production function should exhibit diminishing or constant returns. But in temporary downturns the firm may move down to the region of increasing returns and so be led to reduce the labour input by less than the drop in output. In this case, the smaller fluctuations in employment than in output are due to the technology of production.

A second explanation, offered by Lucas (1970), claims that in order to induce workers to work longer hours when there is more work to be done, the firm has to pay a higher wage, such as an overtime premium. Then, if the production function exhibits diminishing returns in the usual way, the firm will employ the extra hours only if the marginal product of labour is higher, since at the profit maximizing point the marginal wage must be equal to the marginal product of labour. The firm achieves this higher productivity by allocating a bigger fraction of its capital stock to the additional hours of work. Thus the variations in the capital-labour ratio during the working week, achieved through shiftwork, lead to a situation where increments in output are produced with less and less labour. In this case the smaller fluctuations in employment are due to the independent variations in wages over the business cycle.

Thirdly, as Fay and Medoff (1985) have pointed out, in each firm there are two kinds of jobs that need to be done, direct production and supporting activities, such as routine maintenance of equipment, cleaning, learning new skills and so on. Although the latter group of tasks contributes to productivity, their contribution is not directly measurable, it accrues over a longer period of time and the tasks can be postponed. Thus in the downswing, when demand for production goods is low, the firm transfers some of its labour from direct production to the second type of task. Measured output falls by more than recorded employment but the diverted labour still contributes to the overall production effort of the firm.

If labour hoarding were made synonymous to procyclical productivity, the three reasons above would be reasons for labour hoarding. I regard labour hoarding, however, as an alternative explanation for the productivity puzzle, and define it more narrowly as the amount by which working time can be reduced without effect on current output. The reason firms hoard labour on this narrow definition must be sought in the existence of obstacles in the firing and hiring of workers. Such obstacles can usefully be classified into two groups, legal constraints and adjustment costs.

Legal restrictions are not important in the United States and the United Kingdom, though they might be in some other industrial countries. Where the law protects the worker, protection usually takes the form of legal compensation that has to be paid by the firm. In this case legal restrictions add to the adjustment cost, with similar implications for labour hoarding as those discussed next.

Adjustment costs can take several different forms. First, there may be legal costs, such as redundancy payments to dismissed workers. Second, the dismissal of one worker may require the movement of other workers to different tasks within the firm, especially in cases where the firm's production is rigidly organized. Such movements are likely to cause some disruption to the production routine. Third, workers may have skills that are acquired on the job or through initial training, and the firm may prefer to hold on to those workers during a temporary fall in demand than risk losing them through layoff. Fourth, frequent dismissals and rehires may undermine morale and goodwill and so have longer-term implications for productivity. If a firm realizes that there will be times when it may have to rely on its workers' goodwill to meet tight deadlines, it may respond by letting the workers relax on the job when times are bad. Finally, a firm may be uncertain of demand conditions at the onset of recession and may simply retain its labour force until prospects become clearer.

When labour hoarding is the result of an adjustment cost, it is a rational reaction by the firm to its economic environment. The productivity of labour in the downturn falls, simply because to do otherwise would reduce profit. It should be emphasized, however, that this is the case when the fall in demand is expected to be temporary. If the demand for the firm's product were to fall permanently, there would be no point keeping labour not needed for production. It would be to the firm's advantage to bear the adjustment cost and reduce paid working time. The present-discounted value of the gain from the reduction in the wage bill is likely to outweigh the adjustment cost.

Measurement Problems: Firm-Level Data

Labour hoarding is necessarily a vague notion. The preceding section pointed out that there are disagreements even amongst theorists of what it should exactly mean. When the discussion turns to measurement, the difficulties mount. The measurement difficulties arise because what needs to

be measured is a hypothetical quantity: by how much could working time fall, without effect on current levels of output? If a company has never produced current levels of output with a different quantity of labour, it may not be in a position to give accurate information, even if it genuinely believed that it is over-employed. In some instances the answer may be easy, as for example when the firm pays workers to do nothing. But this will not generally be the case. The form labour hoarding usually takes is reduced work effort - taking longer to produce something because the workers "take it easy". For this reason, the way working time is reported in official statistics is not usually helpful in the measurement of labour hoarding.

The most common classification of working time is into paid hours of work and actual hours. As the terms imply, paid hours are the hours for which the firm offers compensation and actual hours are the hours that the employee spends at work, excluding rest periods and lunch breaks. This distinction is helpful to the extent that labour hoarding refers to too many paid hours, but its use in the measurement of labour hoarding is limited. During any period of time, say a quarter, paid hours will typically exceed actual hours, because of holidays, paid sick leave and so on. The difference by which paid time exceeds actual time is not labour hoarding, it is part of the normal organization of production. If labour hoarding manifests itself as paid time with enforced idleness measurement would be easy, because the firm would be reporting a greater fall in actual hours of work than in paid hours. But this is not a common form of labour hoarding.

The classification of working time into direct production activities and other supporting activities would be more helpful but it is not generally available. The other activities are usually a necessary part of the operations of the firm. The fact that they are postponable may induce the firm to concentrate them in recession. Detailed data on the proportion of working time allocated to each kind of activity over the cycle would shed some light on the productivity puzzle and by extension on the likely extent of labour hoarding.

What is more relevant for labour hoarding, however, is working time that could be dispensed with, without effect on output. There are no regular surveys that record that, nor any large officially-sponsored surveys that were designed to get ad hoc estimates. For this reason, there are no generally accepted criteria on how to design this kind of survey. Two surveys done at about the same time in the United Kingdom and the United States addressed this issue. In the United Kingdom the survey was done by the Industrial Relations Research Unit at the University of Warwick and in the United States by Jon Fay and James Medoff.

The Industrial Relations Research Unit conducted a Workplace Survey in 1977-78, designed mainly to get information on industrial relations, but which also asked manufacturing employers, "If there was a reduction in demand of 5 per cent for your main product here, by what proportion could your direct production workers technically be reduced? And what effect would 10 per cent and 20 per cent reduction have?" The time of the survey was a boom year in Britain, so the question required employers to predict the possible reduction in production workers, following a fall in sales from above trend. Also, the survey asked about workers, not working time. The total number of respondents was 791.

The answers given to this question are a little surprising. On average, the reduction of employment that was thought to be possible for a 5 per cent reduction in demand was only 1.5 per cent, rising to 4.8 and 13.6 per cent for a 10 and 20 per cent reduction. This gives a clear indication of falling productivity in recession. Indeed, when these responses were used to simulate the path of employment following the observed changes in manufacturing output before 1977-78, the fluctuations obtained were a little less than the observed fluctuations. The authors concluded that the higher fluctuations observed were due to plant closures, which were not covered by their survey, and so claimed to have explained the degree of "labour hoarding" by the technical inflexibility of production.

The survey's question can provide only indirect evidence on labour hoarding. If the answers to the question are taken as a reliable indication of the technically possible reduction in employment, the difference between the simulated employment series and the actual series would show the extent of labour hoarding. On this basis, labour hoarding in the 1960s and 1970s in British manufacturing was zero. The answers to the question, however, should be interpreted with caution, because of their hypothetical nature. The wording of the question is such that an employer could easily take this to be a question of what he or she intended to do if demand fell. Two questions such as, "what is the maximum reduction technically possible if orders declined by x per cent", followed by "what do you anticipate your own reduction in employment to be", would have given richer information on the employers' perception of the survey. Also, some of the employers surveyed may never have experienced temporary falls in demand of this magnitude, so an accurate answer to the question would be difficult.

The survey was about persons employed, not about working time. If there are costs to firing and hiring workers but not to changing hours of work, the firm may keep the same number of workers but reduce hours. Whether employees are compensated or not for the fall in hours is then crucial for understanding labour hoarding. Such issues could not be addressed by the survey.

In the United States the survey by Fay and Medoff was specifically designed to get information on labour hoarding, so it contained more questions and in greater detail than the Warwick survey. The survey was done in 1981-82 and its frame was blue - collar workers in manufacturing plants. Useable responses from 168 employers were received.

The survey asked detailed questions about the actual reduction in paid blue-collar hours in the most recent recession experienced by the company and also about the technically possible reduction, in the survey's words, "if the only consideration had been the technical requirements of your plant's production process... and such concerns as employee morale, union contract restrictions, company image, the possibility that skilled workers would not return from layoff, the protection of senior workers, uncertainty about future demand, and so on were not considered; necessary (but not additional) maintenance and training were considered; blue-collar employees had worked at the same level of effort as in normal times". The survey also asked detailed questions about the other tasks assigned to blue-collar employees in recession, such as maintenance, cleaning and training, and also questions about how much of this other work was worth less to the company than in normal times; i.e. how much of it was worthwhile and how much was invented to keep hoarded employees busy.

This kind of survey is undoubtedly the best way to get information on labour hoarding at a particular point in time. Fay and Medoff chose to concentrate on the most recent recession experienced by the company (telling the company exactly what they meant by recession), which removes some of the uncertainty about the hypothetical nature of the response. Also, by asking about the actual fall in working time compared with the maximum possible, they avoided the confusion between what employers would do and what they could do. This kind of survey can, however, be expensive and difficult to administer, and it is clearly not feasible as a regular survey, or as one that could cover a large sample. Fay and Medoff sent out 1498 questionnaires, twice to most sampled units not responding the first time, and received only 242 properly completed questionnaires (68 of which were from managers who had never experienced a downturn and 6 from managers who did not cut production).

The results of the survey were more plausible than those of the more vague British survey. Just over half of respondents assigned other tasks to their blue-collar employees during a downturn. For those employers, the percentage of hours shifted from production to other tasks was 11, 6 of which were considered worthwhile. The employers that did not assign other tasks felt that they could reduce working time by approximately 4 per cent and still produce the same output. This gives an overall figure for labour hoarding of 4 per cent when worthwhile other tasks are excluded and 8 per cent when they are included in hoarded hours. Finally, although the authors did not formally test whether their estimates can explain the productivity puzzle, their estimates suggest that if hoarded labour is excluded, labour productivity is not procyclical.

Measurement Problems: Aggregate Data

Getting reliable information from aggregate data about issues such as labour hoarding is a lot more difficult than it is to get it from a well designed survey. Good time series data exist only for some key variables, such as output, employment and earnings. Surveys contain far more detailed information than can ever be found in time series data. But a survey refers only to a single point in time, and what it can teach about the way that the labour market functions is necessarily limited by this fact. Although the results of time series analysis should always be regarded as approximate, to be confirmed by survey evidence where the two overlap, there are many problems for which aggregate data analysis is the only available method of analysis. The strength of time series data is that it provides information on change. I will argue later that knowing how labour hoarding changes over time is important, especially for economies in transition.

In time series analysis labour hoarding is measured under the assumption that the whole of the productivity drop in the downturn is due to labour hoarding. "Potential" productivity is obtained by linking up with straight lines the observed cyclical productivity peaks, which typically occur at the peak of the output cycle. The gap between potential and actual productivity is then attributed to labour hoarding. The underlying assumption about the production function is that it exhibits constant returns to scale in the short run, which, when combined with the assumption of fixed capital leads to

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a function with constant coefficients (linear in the labour input). Potential productivity is then used to calculate the maximum value that the coefficient of labour could take. If Q measures industry output and N the labour input, the short-run assumption is that Q=aN. At a cyclical peak a reaches a maximum, say a*. Then Q/a*=N* measures the minimum amount of labour needed to produce actual output Q. The amount of hoarded labour is measured by the difference N-N*.

This method clearly attributes too much of the productivity change to labour hoarding, since there are factors unrelated to labour hoarding that could cause procyclical productivity. It is also likely exaggerate potential productivity, by assuming that productivity at a cyclical peak is sustainable in normal times. Workers may just exert above-normal effort at the peak, when there is more work to do, in the knowledge that normal times will return and their employer will let them relax. It is doubtful, for example, whether workers would agree to work the same amount of overtime on a regular basis as they do for short periods of time when work piles up.

In view of this it is perhaps surprising that Fair's (1985) estimates for the United States economy are, if anything, below those obtained by Fay and Medoff for the same period of time. Fair's estimates of labour hoarding for the whole of the private sector rarely exceed 5 per cent. Unless labour hoarding is much higher in manufacturing (from where Fay and Medoff derived their sample) than in services, the similarity between the two estimates is, to quote Fair (1985, p. 239), "one of the few examples in macroeconomics where a hypothesis has been so strongly confirmed using detailed micro data".

The estimates obtained for the United Kingdom by using this method are higher. In the 1971 recession the lowest estimate was in the manufacture of food, drink and tobacco and in other manufacturing, amounting to 4.3 per cent, and the highest in metal manufacture and in timber and furniture, 17.3 per cent. These estimates are obviously at variance with the survey findings of Bowers et al. but not implausible, given Fay and Medoff's more careful estimates. The comparable estimate from the Fay and Medoff study is 8 per cent for the whole of manufacturing (since only direct production is measured by the potential productivity method). The UK estimates are a little higher but, as argued above, they include all reasons for the productivity shortfall in recession, not just those due to labour hoarding. Indeed, these findings point to the conclusion that most of the productivity shortfall in the downturn must be due to labour hoarding, in contrast to the Bowers et al. study, which attributed it all to technical inflexibility.

Monitoring Labour Hoarding

Labour hoarding is one of the less frequently used concepts in labour economics. Unlike unemployment, wages, productivity and even job vacancies, which consistently attract a lot of attention both in public debate and in academic research, labour hoarding has its short ups and long downs. Measurement problems are not the only reason. A more important reason is the fact that in normal times labour hoarding is not a "problem"; it is part of a firm's normal operations, presumably exercised because it reduces costs, and not too different from the firm's "productive" employment. There are, however, exceptions, when labour hoarding becomes interesting in its own right. It is because of those exceptions that measuring and monitoring labour hoarding becomes useful. The methods used for that monitoring should partly be dictated by the needs of policy.

The interest in labour hoarding stems from two factors. First and more important, labour hoarding reduces the productivity of labour, since hoarded labour is supposed to be labour paid to produce nothing. On this count labour hoarding is not too different from unemployment: it represents under-utilized resources. Second, labour hoarding stands for a reserve that may at any time be released and add to unemployment. The latter problem is important only for economies in transition or when a major policy change is implemented.

The first argument against labour hoarding is only partly true. Even when true, it is misleading to talk of labour hoarding as the cause of the productivity decline: both labour hoarding and the productivity decline are caused by other things. Labour hoarding is a firm's rational reaction to its environment. Its environment includes the policy parameters, its technology and the state of the labour market. If a firm hoards labour in recession because of its technology, for example because it uses a lot of specific skills and so wants to protect itself from the risk of losing its skilled labour, or because it wants to use some of its labour for necessary maintenance, training and so on, then labour hoarding does not reduce productivity. In the longer term it adds to productivity. It reduces direct productivity as we measure it, but this is a deficiency of our measurement techniques, not a problem with the underlying productivity of the firm. In the long run, a firm that was, say, forced not to hoard labour even though it faced this kind of technology would make less profit than one that

was left free to hoard labour. The same comments apply in situations where the labour hoarding is a response to the firm's market environment.

But if labour hoarding is the result of policy restrictions that are unrelated to the efficiency of the firm's operations, then it might justifiably be said to reduce productivity. Even in this case, however, labour hoarding is not the reason for the productivity fall, it is the means through which a policy adversely affects labour productivity. So attention needs to turn to the overall effects of the policy, not to labour hoarding as the primary cause of low productivity. The study of labour hoarding in this case is worthwhile only because it helps quantify the effects of the policy.

The second reason that labour hoarding often attracts attention is related to the last point made above: when it is realized that a policy causes labour hoarding and it is decided to reform it, in order to increase productivity, a likely outcome in the short run is an increase in unemployment. To use a phrase often used in Britain since Harold Wilson introduced it into the language in 1966, industry "shakes out" labour. A similar problem is particularly acute for economies in transition, when laws that protect labour, or even force enterprises to over-employ, are abandoned. The direct outcome of such a change is an immediate increase in unemployment. This increase, however, is not bad, at least from the economic point of view, since it reduces labour costs without a sizeable effect on total output.

Both reasons for the concern about labour hoarding are related to policy, especially the effects of policy change. Given that policy has been shown to have an effect on hoarding, it is important to be well informed about the extent of labour hoarding when a policy change is planned. The only way this information can be obtained is with a detailed survey of employers, say along the lines of the Fay-Medoff study, but adapted for the problem in hand. Thus, the first and main statistical need is for detailed ad hoc surveys that can reveal the extent of the problem at times when major policy changes are under way. For example, if Britain conducted such a survey in 1966, before the "shake out" policy was implemented, debates such as those started by Taylor (1972) would not have taken place. The need for such a survey is even more acute in the economies of eastern Europe, where policy-induced labour hoarding is likely to be a much worse problem than it ever was in the economies of the west.

Such surveys, however, are expensive and unlikely to yield much new and useful information if done on a regular basis. But once the extent of the problem has been established, with reliable ad hoc estimates from firm-level data, easier monitoring techniques can be applied. With knowledge of labour hoarding, potential labour productivity at the industry level can be computed. The monitoring of changes in labour hoarding can then be done with one of the less accurate time series methods that build on the concept of potential productivity. The accuracy of this monitoring can be improved by making use of investment data, which add to potential productivity, and by occasional smaller surveys of employers to check progress. But in the short term apparently reliable estimates of labour hoarding can be obtained by making simple assumptions about the production function and by even ignoring capital accumulation.

Conclusions

*The main conclusions of this study are:*

1. Labour hoarding is best defined narrowly, as the amount by which working time could fall without effect on output. It is intimately related to the "productivity puzzle" - labour productivity increases in the boom and decreases in the slump - but it is not the only explanation for it.

2. The best source of information about labour hoarding are firm-level surveys that ask employers about the technically possible reduction in employment, without effect on output, in specific situations. Such surveys are rare. A good survey of this kind was conducted in the United States by Jon Fay and James Medoff and revealed that manufacturing employers hoard about 4 per cent of labour (paid hours of work) in the slump.

3. Aggregate productivity data can also be used to calculate the extent of labour hoarding but the estimates are less reliable. Such estimates tend to attribute the whole of the productivity decline in the downturn to labour hoarding. They make use of the concept of potential productivity - observed at the peaks of the business cycle - and calculate the employment reduction needed to raise current productivity levels to potential. Calculations in the United States give about 5 per cent for the whole economy and in Britain about 10 per cent for manufacturing.

4. For normal situations without policy intervention labour hoarding should not be regarded as a "problem": it is the firm's rational response to its environment. But when policy interference alters the environment, labour hoarding becomes a key variable for monitoring the effects of policy change on productivity and unemployment. The best way to monitor labour hoarding is to conduct detailed ad hoc surveys at the firm level when the need to find out about the problem arises - such as times of transition from policy dictated employment to the free market - and follow up with potential productivity methods at the industry level.

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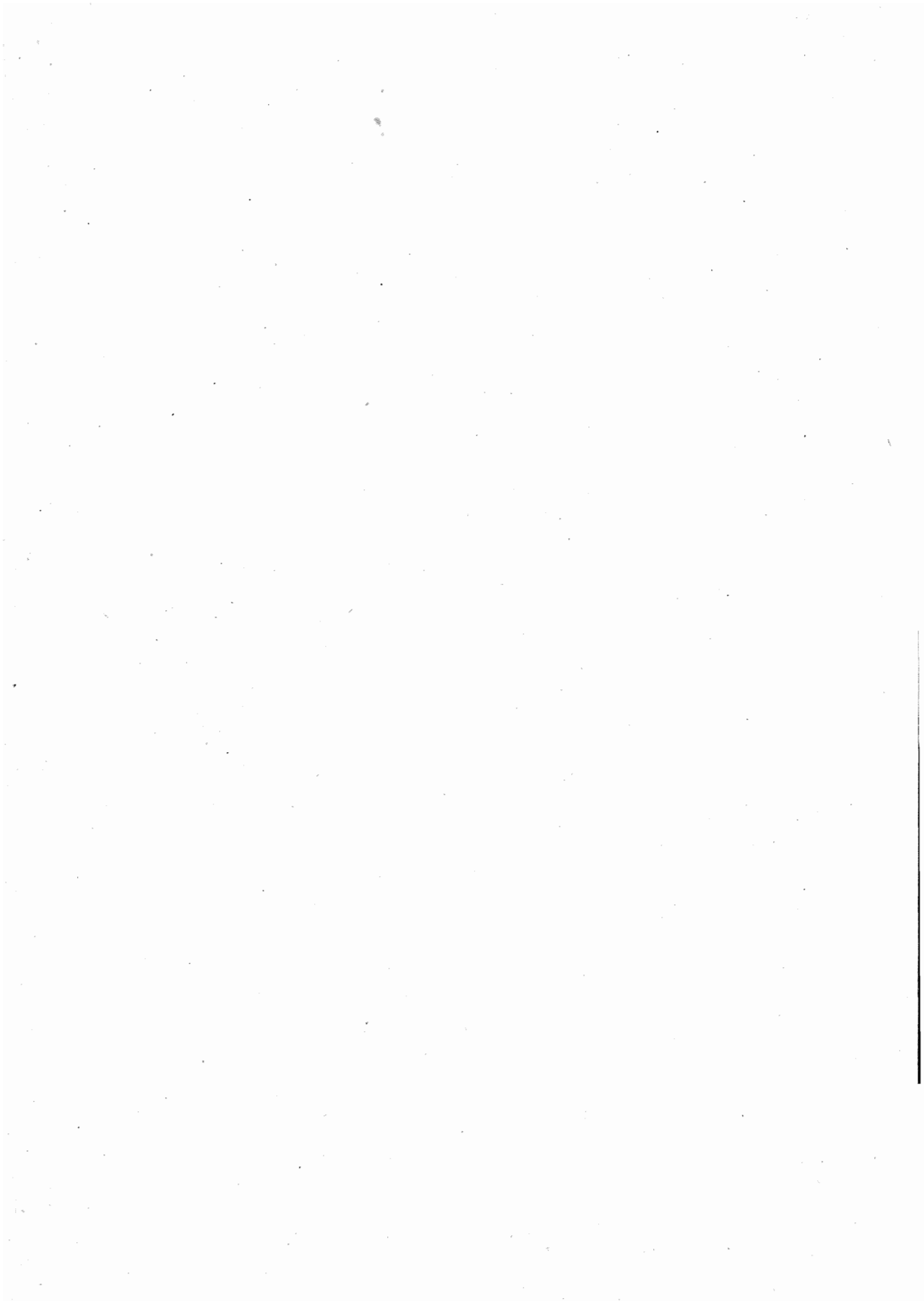
COMMENTS ON THE PAPERS
AT SESSION 2

CORRADO BARBERIS

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Comments Z. Karpisek

Dans les années 50, les économistes ruraux chargés de s'occuper des processus de développement en cours dans les pays tels que l'Italie et son Mezzogiorno, appelaient "chômage déguisé" la situation des paysans qui, tout en travaillant durement n'apportaient qu'une faible amélioration au budget de leurs familles et de leur Etat.

Mr. Karpisek vient de souligner que le modèle du "chômeur déguisé" est très fréquent dans les économies de l'Est, où les Ministères et les usines hébergent - pour ainsi dire - beaucoup de paysans honoraires.

Serait-il suffisant d'expluser les chômeurs déguisés pour augmenter la productivité du travail? Probablement, oui. Et l'histoire de l'Italie témoigne qu'on a pu en effet transférer d'énormes masses de l'agriculture vers l'industrie, sans diminuer la production du secteur primaire. Mais ce transfert n'a pas été un simple transfert économique d'une activité à l'autre, il s'est fait aussi sur le plan géographique et social, puisque les industries qui attendaient les chômeurs déguisés se situaient dans le Nord du pays, tandis que la main - d'oeuvre provenait du Sud.

En Tchécoslovaquie, il ne s'agit pas seulement de transférer les chômeurs déguisés d'une usine à l'autre, mais de passer du système étatique au système privé.

La question est maintenant la suivante: jusqu'à quel point le système qui doit être créé - peut il absorber les masses surnuméraires? L'exemple de l'Allemagne de l'Est, tout en prouvant que la naissance de chouches sociales de petit capitalisme est tout - à - fait possible, et même assez rapide, n'est pas sans susciter quelques préoccupations. D'après Wirtschaft und Statistik (mai 1991), l'emploi total a baissé de 9 858 000 unités entre 1989 et 1990, tandis que l'emploi indépendant a connu une augmentation de 183.000 à 319.000 unités. Ceci en moyennes annuelles. Entre le dernier trimestre de 1989 et le dernier trimestre de 1990, le mouvement a été encore plus intéressant.

L'emploi total est tombé de 9 754 000 à 8 193 000 unités, mais les travailleurs indipéndants sont passés de 184 à 418 000. En somme, le prix à payer est très lourd, mais la marchandise existe. Le capitalisme se vend.

Je pose cette question à M. Karpisek: quelle est, à cet égard, la situation de son pays?

Comments C.A. Pissarides

"Faire beaucoup de choses avec peu d'employés on peu de choses avec beaucoup d'employés"?

Posée par la génie de Balzac, dans son roman dédié aux bureaucrates, la question est relancée par l'humour britannique de la paradoxale loi de Parkinson. Le nombre des fonctionnaires augmente proportionnellement à la diminution de leurs tâches. Mutilé de l'Inde et d'autes territoires,

le Ministère des Colonies anglais comptait plus d'employés après qu'avant la Deuxième guerre mondiale. Et la pacifique Italie aujourd'hui engage plus de militaires que celle de Mussolini, qui avait la prétention d'être un Empire. Dans certains bureaux, la diminution de l'emploi peut s'avérer un excellent moyen d'augmenter, non seulment la productivité, mais la production, puisque les fainéants cesseront d'entraver les travailleurs de bonne volonté.

Typique de la fonction publique, une certaine surcharge en personnel peut aussi se manifester dans l'industrie, comme l'excellent rapport de M. Pissarides vient de le souligner. Il nous a montré que les facteurs humains entrent pour beaucoup dans ce phénomène, de sorte qu'il apparaît inéluctable, du moins jusq'à un certain point puisque la nature humaine n'est pas compressible à l'infini.

A mon tour, je voudrais insérer dans la mesure de ce phénomène certains aspects concernant la qualité des produits.

Je puiserai mes exemples dans l'agriculture italienne.

La moyenne des exploitations est de faible dimension et cela entraîne une perte d'efficacité économique. En 1982, la production d'une journée de travail n'atteignait pas 10 000 lires dans le *microfundia* pour une production vendable inférieure à un million de lires, mais elle dépassait 164 000 lires pour 50 millions de production vendable.

Si l'efficacité propre à ces exploitations cossues pouvait s'étendre aux plus petites, les journées de travail nécessaires pour réunir les 37 393 milliards de l'agriculture italienne en 1982 auraient été de 228 millions et non pas de 604.

Il faut pourtant faire attention. Pour obtenir un résultat si flatteur, l'agriculture italienne aurait dû adopter les standards du secteur zootechnique, qui est de loin le plus dynamique.

En voulant garder le même *mix,* qui caractérisait à l'époque l'agriculture italienne, le nombre des journées de travail se serait encore énormément réduit, pour atteindre un minimum de 312 millions. Et encore, nous est-il impossible d'évaluer la perte de qualité qui se produit dans le passage d'une agriculture de qualité, justement, moins soucieuse de donner un prix à chaque heure de travail, vers une agriculture industrielle de masse.

Ceci nous ramène à une autre question: quel serait l'entrepreneur qui aurait la force d'opter pour les secteurs ayant la rentabilité de travail la plus basse? Le choix est-il tout-à-fait aveugle ou, encore une fois, le cas n'est-il qu'une loi qui s'ignore?

A. BJÖRKLUND

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Needless to say, the two papers are very good and I have no specific critical comments on them. Instead I will provide a few comments with a rather pro-Swedish bias. I will suggest two statistical measures or indicators that we have in Sweden.

My first measure in based on a slightly different concept of labour hoarding than the traditional one that Pissarides presented in his paper. The traditional - or I should perhaps say - the definition of labour hoarding is: how much can labour input be reduced without reducing output. But it is also possible to move the question around and ask: how much can output be increased with the present labour input. Obviously, this is another concept, even though it is likely to be strongly correlated with the real measure of labour hoarding both over time in a time-series framework and between firms in a cross-section framework.

What are the advantages of this alternative measure? I think it is much more easy to compute. The reason is that the questions needed to compute labour hoarding are rather hypothetical in nature as Pissarides emphasized in his paper. The answers clearly depend on whether there are restrictions on whom to layoff and if the firm takes these restrictions into account when answering the questions. I also think that this alternative measure is better for judgments about demand managment and about stabilization policy. If the policy issue is: how much can demand for goods and services increase without any bottlenecks in production, then this is probably a better measure than the labour hoarding measure.

When asking firms about possibilities to raise production it is also natural to ask about obstacles to raise production. Is it demand that is too low, are capital and material supply bottlenecks and so on.

In Sweden we now have a time-series from 1980 of such data which probably will facilitate policy decisions in the future.

Now, it is likely that the most acute problems that the Eastern European countries are facing today are different. My impression from the paper on Czechoslovakia is that the most acute problem is that firms are laying off workers and in particular that they are expected to lay off more workers in the years to come. What then is needed are obviously indicators of the "shake-out-pressure" to borrow a term that Chris Pissarides borrowed from prime minister Wilson. My second Swedish measure is more directly related to this problem. What I have in mind are data on notified planned layoffs. Such data are actually a by-product of labour market policy legislation, so my suggestion on this point is also a suggestion about labour market government/parliament can then decide on more or less resources for labour market trainig and similar measures for labour market adjustment. The information has been particulary useful for the very quick implementation of temporary public relief works in cyclical downturns.

There is no doubt that the Swedish data on notified planned lay-offs have been very helpful in this respect. This is probably legislation of the type that we have in Sweden.

The labour market legislation that has created our data on notified planned layoffs consist basically of two rules:
a) Firms contemplating layoffs are obliged to notify the workers 2 to 6 months before the layoff is made effective.
b) The firm is also obliged to report the planned layoffs to the local public employment service.

In my view, these two rules are good *per se* because they give both workers and the local labour

market policy authorities time to plan and to solve the redundancy problem before unemployment takes place. This is also the main motivation for the legislation. It is an advance warning system for the agents involved. There is, however, also a quite useful by-product, namely statistical data on notified planned layoffs. By reporting such data on the aggregate national level, at the industry level and at the regional level, the national policy makers also get a good indicator of the development in the labour market. The government/parliament can then decide on more or less resources for labour market training and similar measures for labour market adjustment. The information has been particulary useful for the very quick implementation of temporary public relief works in cyclical downturns.

There is no doubt that the Swedish data on notified planned lay-offs have been very helpful in this respect. This is probably the most reliable and the quickest indicator of changes in the labour market situation in our country. And the data series is a by-product of labour market legislation that also is quite useful.

This second measure, which I have proposed, illustrates the close connection between policy and statistical data. I think it is important to have this in mind. Therefore it night be worthwhile to first consider the set of politically feasible policy instruments in a country and then address the issue: What statistical indicators are needed to monitor these specific policies?

Comments on the Papers at Session 2

JANOS TIMAR

University of Budapest.

It is evident that the double title of Section 2 producer two papers dealing with two different topics. Firstly, Mr. Pissarides presented four characteristic features of labour hoarding (LH):

1. LH is a special "tool" of adjustment used by firms during a recession.
2. LH has ultimately has positive effects because the period of "declining productivity" (or declinig rate of productivity) is generally followed by a faster growth rate.
3. LH is tipically a short-term phenomenon.
4. LH is related to productivity but is not synonymous with it: LH gives only a partial explanation for the change in productivity trends.

While accepting this definition of LH, I have doubts about the significance and reliability of the measurement of LH since it is a peculiarity on the micro-level, i.e. at the level of firms. It is useful to analyse LH at this level mainly through empirical research, i.e. by sociological methods. But this information cannot be integrated at the macro level, and consequently - from the point of view of statistics- I do not think that LH should and could be meausured at a national level and by statistical methods.

However, the more systematic micro-level research on LH could reveal interesting information for better explaining the change in productivity trends on the one hand, and for analysing the structural changes of the labour market on the other.

Secondly, Mr. Karpisek desribed very clearly what "over-employment" (OE) meas and how it is manifested in the high activity rates of the population. (These rates are higher than the officially published data if they are calculated by ILO/EC standards).

From the point of view of the Conference, it is important to know that OE is totally different from LH, namely:

1. OE is " the other side" of labour shortage, a typical phenomenon (and consequence) of the command economy. It has no relation with "normal" economic cycles.
2. OE is a permanent situation depending on the system itself.
3. OE has a negative short-term and long-term effect on productivity as well as on technical progress.

It follows that I agreed with the aswer to the question: What is OE? But I have doubts about the proposed measurement methods. International comparison is a very useful and necessary method, even for productivity analyses, but it cannot give reliable information about OE. It is evident that if country "A" has a much lower productivity than country "B", there may be OE in country "A" but there can also be under-employment. The economic terms "relative" or "absolute" could even be discussed in connection with OE.

I think that the measurement and analysis of OE would be more expedient if it included in the framework of international comparison activity rates by sex and age, as well as taking account of working hours. It would be very useful to analyse economic activity in the so-called "second economy" and also that in the household economy.

It is true that these analyses would and could not "measure" OE in the strict sense of the term, but they could provide very useful information for the employment policy of the Central and Eastern European countries, who should prepare themselves for growing unemployment during the "transition" period from a command economy to a market economy. This situation requires not only stimulating the creation of new jobs in the private sector but even "cooling" the supply side.

Comment on the Papers at Session 2

LESZEK ZIENKOWSKI

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Let me start with a few remarks concerning the concept of labour hoarding. If we talk at a rather high abstract level there seems to be no problems. It is easy to agree that labour hoarding refers to a situation where more labour input is used than is necessary to produce a given level of output.

Christopher Pissarides very rightly points out that the problem of definition is not so easy. He writes at page 2 that "what is normally understood by the term "hoarding" = the holding labour not currently needed for future use" (underlines LZ) and at page 3 "I regard labour hoarding..." as the amount by which working time can be reduced without effect on current output" (underline LZ). Still on page 10 he discusses the situation of two firms, the first did not reduce labour during recession but since it protected itself from losing skilled labour it made the, in the long run, more profit than second firm which diminised their labour during recession. The latter firm had higher labour productivity and higher profit during the recession but made less profit than the first one. Firstly on important question. How is "current output" defined? Is it a monthly output, quarterly output or a yearly output? Next; is one right to relate labour to current, short run output when defining the hoarding of labour or rather to longer term output and to restrict this concept to labuor not needed for future uses. Unnecessary labour in a given month or quarter would not be treated as hoarding if it was needed in a more long - term perspective. But then what is meant by "longer term" or "future uses"?

It is not clear for me what period is treated as "current" by C. Pissarides and in respective surveys of the UK and the US. Is it to be a permanent reduction in demand?

The concept of "current" of "longer run" should be clarified for operational purposes.

Both concepts are in my opinion meaningful. The results of calculations would answer two different questions.

First one, restricted to current situation, does not allow for a value judgment whether a firm's behaviour is a rational one or not. At least some part of labour hoarding defined in that way should be treated then as rational.

Second one, based on a "longer term concept", tells us about the irrational economic behaviour of firms. They may be forced by certain regulation or by other external factors to keep labour above the real needs or they may misjudge the situation. But with this approach the "normal" productivity falls in recession would not be automatically treated as the indication of labour hoarding, when aggregated data approach is followed.

For economics in transition ie. ex-communist countries, the problem of labour hoarding is of great importance. In that case a more specific approach is needed. In the market economy it may be assumed that enterprises behave in a rational manner and in the period of upswing they do not use excessive labour.

The situation in the centrally planned economies was different and has not changed automatically with entering into the period of transition. For those economies excessive use of resource, and in it of labour, was typical. There was no incentive to economies inputs. Thus there is not any such empirical situation of rational utilization of labour to which any other situation could be related. This is important both in the case of microsurvery and in the case of the use of aggregate data. The managers only have a vague idea how much labour is unnecessary in the period of recession and how such unnecessary labour can be foreseen under new market conditions.

The evaluation of the amount of labour hoarding is difficult since it should take under consideration the changing organization picture of the whole economy.With the progress now in transition more labour in a techinical sense should probably be treated as hoarded. In other words the phenomenon of labour hoarding relates both to the current situation and the long run situation in the past and the future.

To measure the phenomenon of labour hoarding in the economics in transition the special surveys should be used in which opinions of managers all collected. It should be realised that the managers cannot give precise answers and several additional questions should be included in the questionnaire. At the same time aggregate data could also be used to give a general idea of the amount of labour hoarding in the recession which is typical for the transition period. This would

relate only to a part of hoarded labour. I have in mind that part which could be estimated as hoarded currently under the assumpion of old technology and organisation. This however does not tell the whole story.

The Comments by Mr. Z. K. on labour hoarding give interesting examples of estimates which have been made in Czechoslovakia. However they relate mainly to estimates of an overemployment. This is a different concept from the concept of labour hoarding I shall explain with a simple example. In a centrally planned ecomomy a great number of persons may be working in the administration of an enterprise since there is excessive reporting for statistical and planning purposes. One can call it overemployment but not labour hoarding since an enterprise could not technically reduce the employment under existing condition. After the economic system is changed part of labour would probably no longer be necessary, some of the employees in the admistrative section would have simply nothing to do. If in such a situation the employment is not reduced then one could speak of labour hoarding.

Thus for me the interesting comparison of the level of productivity between Czechoslovakia and economy countries illustrate the problem of overemployment in a very general sense but not labour hoarding. Even here the theory behind the estimates of overemployment is lacking. For example I have doubts if one is right to estimate the relative underemployment in Czechoslovakia in financial services (page II) solely on the basis of comparisons of relative employment in this services in the planned economy of Czechoslovakia and market economies. The real need for such services is completely different in a centrally planned economy where in principle the financial sphere is to follow decisions undertaken in real sphere; on the other hans, a market economy with developed financial institutions with different tasks is to be performed by them from that of a planned economy.

The same relates to the results of enterprise surveys concerning the utilization of working time during the working day. From my understanding they were not directed in Czechoslovakia to get information on labour hoarding as it is traditionally defined. Only part of "wasted time" or "lost time" can be treated as labour hoarding and Mr. Karpisek realises it by writing that "various studies show that these losses can not be eliminated completely". He considers- it is not clear on what assumption - that those reported losses should be cut by half to show as he writes "useless consumption of labour that can be eliminated without reducing production". But he writes at the same time that such a cut is possible provided "that relation between supplier and client, discipline, management, work organization and service are all improved". It sems to me again that such assumptions are not compatible with the general definition of labour hoarding . This latter definition is based on the concept of technical possibility of the reduction of the workers under, actual conditions, it means present organisation, actual management abilities, actual discipline, employee morale etc. In summing up, the concept of overemployment should be probably more precisely defined but generally speaking it is different from labour hoarding.

Mr. Karpisek has show very interesting estimates in his paper but it seems to me that the problems of the measurement of labour hoarding and overemployment structure in the countries in transition still wait for a more general solution.

Report on Session 2

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The discussion revealed that the concept of labour hoarding is far from being unambiguous. This is partly due to the fact that commonly used measures of labour hoarding e. g., comparisons of employement levels at peaks and troughs of the cycle or managerial assessments of the amount of labour that is not needed to produce current output levels obtained in the context of enterprise surveys - depend crucially on the reference period used for measurement.

Bearing these definitional issues in mind, many interventions stressed the importance of labour hoarding in transition economies. It was acknowledged that the measurement of labour hoarding is considered as a major policy issue in these countries because it is useful to assess the likely extent of labour shedding involved in the restructuring process. In fact, several attempts have been made in recent years to measure the extent of labour hoarding in Central an Eastern Europe. The indicators adopted so far in empirical research are mainly based on international comparisons of labour productivity and are often in the use and quality of capital inputs, and in the organization of production.

Two alternative methods were proposed in the discussion for measuring labour hoarding in these countries. The first would use aggregate data to compare time-series data in labour productivity at peaks and troughs of the cycle. Although this method does not require additional data gathering efforts, the resulting estimates of labour hoarding could be misleading especially if used to predict the employment losses involved in economic restructuring. This would mean, in fact, attributing all labour productivity differentials to labour hoarding and assuming that such differentials will vanish as the transition proceeds.

The second method is based on information collected from enterprise surveys. Although it may potentially give more reliable estimates of labour hoarding than methods based on aggregate data, a main problem with this kind of surveys is that managers of firms might not be prepared to answer certain questions based on past experience. A possible way out of this "hypothetical bias" problem, which was suggested in the discussion is that rather than asking managers "how much can labour be reduced without reducing the current level of output?", one should ask them "by how much output can be increased (for given technologies) by fully using current labour inputs?", a question that might be easier to answer by managers.

It was also stressed that carryng out such kinds of enterprise surveys is costly and requires skills that are generally not available in transition countries. Some inteventions stressed that in the light of the challenging and already high demanding work programmes of statistical offices in Central and Eastern Europe, it might be worth to concentrate resources on other items on the agenda - such as the implementation of labour force surveys - rather than on the measurement of labour hoarding.

It was finally suggested that if the purpose of labour hoarding measures is to provide policy-makers with some indicators of the size of job losses to be expected in the future, then other indicators might be devised, which can be readily computed, based on information which is currently available in most of the CEECs. In particular, the example was given of Sweden, where rather good predictions on the future magnitude of dis-employement have been provided based on notification of planned group layoffs.

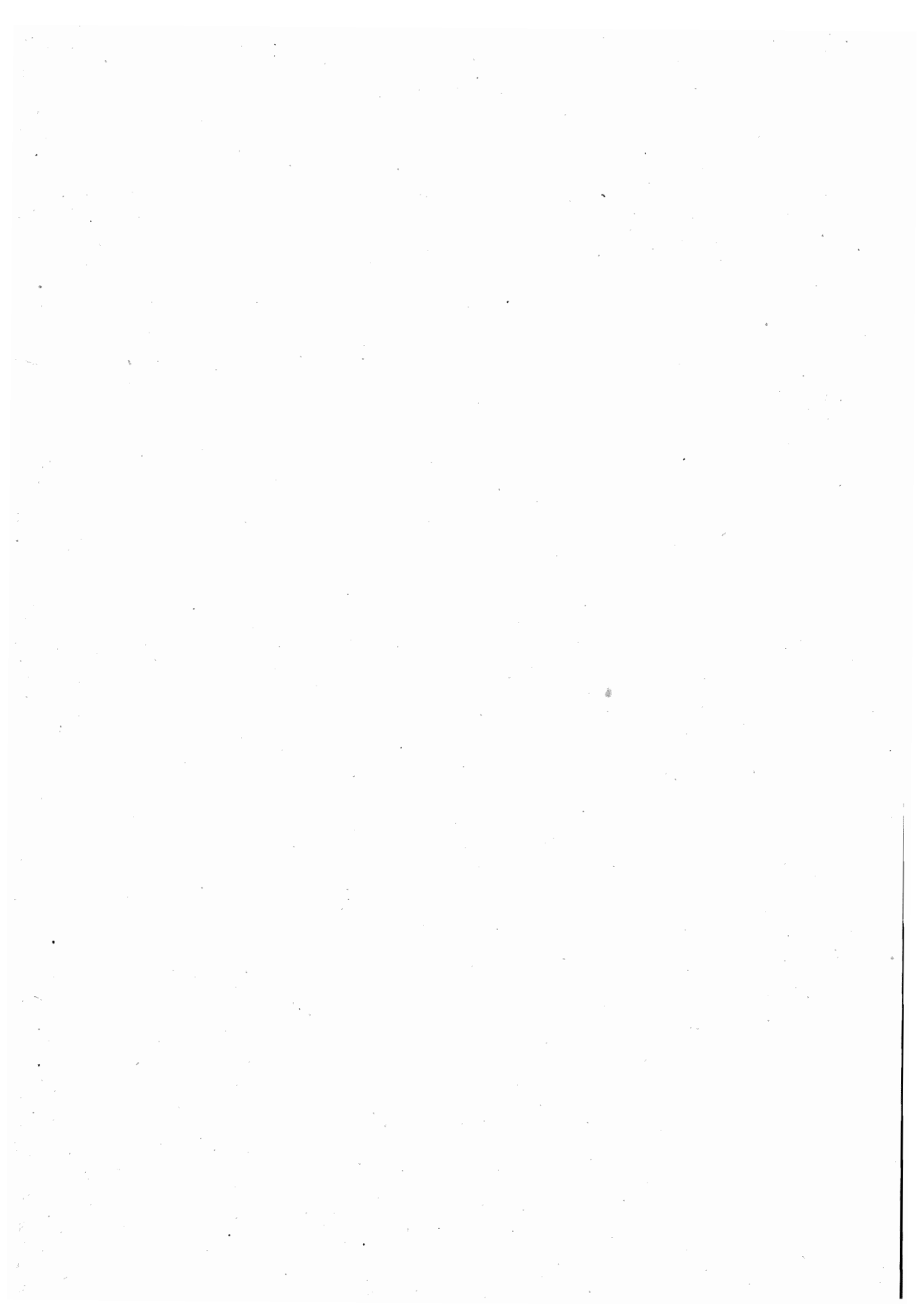# SESSION 3
EMPLOYMENT TRENDS, LABOUR
SHORTAGES AND SKILL GAPS:
THE POLICY INDICATORS

MEASURING EMPLOYMENT TRENDS, LABOUR SHORTAGES AND SKILL GAPS IN TRANSITION COUNTRIES

by

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Introduction

This paper will use the term 'transition countries' to designate those countries in Central and Eastern Europe which have embarked on a transition from centrally controlled to more open and market oriented economic, social and political systems. For this reason the first part of the paper (and annex I) will give a brief review of the information available in the ILO Bureau of Statistics on statistics which can be used to describe employment trends in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (CSFR), Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR. However, all countries which are open to outside influences through foreign trade and/or whose policy makers or managers initiate change can in some sense be said to be in 'transition'. Therefore the discussion in the second part may have some relevance beyond these countries.

It was almost immediately understood that the revolutionary changes in Central and Eastern Europe represented both a challenge and an opportunity for official statistics, in the meaning of supply of relevant and reliable data. A challenge because the institutional framework and reporting system which provided the basis for statistics was rapidly disappearing or undermined. An opportunity because this has made it necessary to re-examine the old data collection procedures and instruments (i.e. variables, definitions and classifications) for relevance and reliability, and in many cases replace or supplement them by new instruments which can be used to monitor the transition process and/or ensure reliable statistics in the future. In the second part of this paper the implications of this 'statistical revolution' with respect to methods for measuring employment trends, labour shortages and skill gaps will be reviewed, with a view to reach some practical conclusions as to the type of statistics which should be collected and how, if monitoring employment trends, labour shortages and skill gaps is a priority.

The title of this session refers to 'policy indicators', but those words have been omitted from the title of the paper. This is deliberate because 'policy indicators' are often seen as magic numbers which, if they move in specified directions or pass certain thresholds, will trigger specific government actions or, at least, a review of relevant, current policies with a view to changing them. They also are perceived as summarising complex situations or developments in a manner which is intuitively easy to understand. Preferably they should also be relevant for explicitly stated policy concerns and/or able to indicate the type of policies needed. The problem is, however, that very few such 'policy indicators' can be found in modern democratic market economy countries. The unemployment rate, the consumer price index, the surplus or deficit of the balance of payments, the growth in GNP, are examples of indicators which are keenly followed by policy makers in government and economic organisations as well as by the press and which may lead to re-evaluations of current policies, but no policies are determined by specific movements of a single or a small set of indicators, although the actual amount of money given from the central budget to regions may in some countries (and the European Community) be determined by e.g. their observed unemployment rates. (One possible exception: Some economy-wide collective pay agreements include clauses which trigger new negotiations or automatic wage adjustments once the consumer price index has passed a predetermined value. Policies designed to limit the effects of such clauses may therefore be considered as 'triggered' by the movement of the CPI.)

Another interpretation of 'policy indicators' is that they are statistical numbers which can be used to judge and plan the (required) scope of policies once these have been decided: 'How many persons will be affected?' 'How much money will be required?' With this perspective it is more relevant to talk about 'policy relevant statistics' than 'policy indicators', and to define the task of the statistician as that of developing statistics which will be relevant both for the description of developments of concern to the political and economic decision-makers and for the formulation and dosage of policies related to those concerns. Generally speaking 'policy relevant statistics' will describe distribution and levels, direction and speed of change as well as gainers and losers. This type of statistics on 'employment trends', 'labour shortages' and 'skill gaps', and how to get them, will be the focus of the rest of this paper, rather than the definition of specific 'policy indicators'.

The Starting Point for Employment and Related Statistics
Established Practices

All the transition countries have one state institution, the State Committee for Statistics or the Central Statistical Office, which is responsible for the collection, processing and publication of employment statistics covering the whole national economy. It maintains very close co-operation with the State Labour Committee or Ministry of Labour.

As there was practically no private economic activity, checking and fulfilment of state plans and ensuring information requirements for the Communist Party were the main tasks of the statistical services in the centrally planned economy. Therefore, almost to the very end of 1990, both the reporting system and the system of statistical indicators reflected the perceived needs of a centrally controlled economy, and the overwhelming majority of *employment statistics* (among others) were collected from *continuous full-scale establishment surveys* which covered all state enterprises, institutions and organisations as well as state and collective farms. This means that from about 85 percent (Poland) to 95 percent (USSR) of those employed were covered by these surveys.

In practice the surveys were executed in the following manner: Once or twice a year the central statistical office forwarded to the regional statistical offices several sets of questionnaires to be sent to all enterprises, organisations, institutions and agricultural units of that region. It was compulsory for these units to fill out and return these questionnaires to district statistical offices. The returns were processed regionally and sent to the Central Statistical Office in the form of aggregate totals. This system made it possible to have up-to-date information on employment by sex, occupation and sector within two weeks of the reference date at national level and within 5-10 days at regional level.

Data on self-employment in private agricultural and non-agricultural activities, unpaid family workers and temporary and seasonal workers have been taken from special annual or half yearly sample surveys and from micro-censuses of agricultural activities (usually every 3-5 years). Some data on employment were also available from social security registers and other types of social records, eg. on the number of free-lance intellectual workers (Hungary). Information on employment in the armed forces was provided by the Ministry of Defence, but not published.

In general the employment data for this group of countries can be considered to have been satisfactory, even if their quality and coverage would differ from country to country. Thus, the Bulgarian publications do not reveal employment by sex and age groups. Age group distribution seems to pose a problem for the USSR as well. These data are only available from special employment surveys and censuses which have been carried out infrequently.

According to the official sources of the transition countries, there was no unemployment until 1990. Consequently no data on unemployment were collected and, as a rule, the transition countries would not use the term "labour force" or "economically active population" in their official publications. However, official statistics referred to the "labour resources" which consist of "economically active population" (in the ILO understanding) plus "full-time students of working age" plus "persons engaged in housework" less "non-working invalids" less "persons on early retirement and receiving beneficiary pensions" (miners, workers and employees of the chemical industry, etc.).

The ILO Bureau of Statistics have studied the concepts and definitions used in the transition countries to count their labour force. Annex 1 gives a brief review of these concepts and definitions and the adjustments needed in order to arrive at the estimates which are comparable in terms of coverage. Such estimates are shown in Table A in the Annex. (For further information see [Chernyshev & Lawrence, 1990].)

Current Developments

The economic and political reforms in the transition countries have made it urgently necessary to introduce reforms also in their statistical practices with respect to their measurement of the labour force and its components:
a.   On the employment measurement side the transition to market economies has raised or will raise a number of challenges already recognised related to the closing of inefficient enterprises and, in particular, the creation (and deaths) of tens of thousands of co-operative and private firms and organisations.
b.   All transition countries became aware of unemployment and most of them started to collect corresponding data in the beginning of 1990 (except Bulgaria and the USSR). As a rule these statistics are derived from employment offices where people register for unemployment compensation. The employment offices which existed in the past are currently being totally restructured, their roles redefined and the number of offices dramatically increased. However, in many cases these offices are not yet equipped to analyse the structure of available jobs and the skills of job-seekers or to communicate available information to potential employers or to a national information bank. No (outside) statistical expertise has looked at the reporting systems to evaluate reports from these systems that there, in early 1991, were e.g. 224 thousand unemployed in CSFR (2.8 percent of the labour force) or 2 million in the USSR, or

statements about unemployment growth. (CSFR have had a visit from ILO's Bureau of Statistics in 1991.) In particular estimates of changes in unemployment should be treated with care until the scope and administrative procedures of these offices are well established.

From the information available in the ILO, it is quite evident that all transition countries have decided to introduce Labour Force Surveys as a major source of statistics on employment and unemployment. Existing national experience with surveys on social and demographic issues and on time-use, combined with available international guidelines on concepts and definitions and experience with effective questionnaire design, make it likely that relevant national competence is available to design the questionnaires, process the returns, and analyse and present the results. However, relevant experience of the practical and management problems (such as establishment of field organisation, etc.) for in-the-field sampling and data collection for surveys of the scale necessary for an LFS, are not readily available, in particular given the tight time schedules needed to get up-to-date statistics.

All transition countries have approached the ILO, EUROSTAT and national statistical organisations in Western Europe and North America for technical assistance in preparing and managing the LFS type of surveys.

Concerning the major classifications by which one will like to describe the labour force, the situation seems to be as follows:

a.   The classifications of education are generally considered to be satisfactory.
b.   The existing industrial classifications were based on the division of the economy into a 'productive' and a 'non-productive' economic sphere. This distinction is no longer considered to be relevant or useful. As all transition countries are introducing the SNA system of national accounts and have been able to provide employment data according to ISIC, rev.2 (1968), at least at a aggregate level, it should not represent a major difficulty to introduce revised industrial classifications based on ISIC, rev.3 (1990) also for employment statistics.
c.   The occupational classifications used were also based on a distinction between 'productive' and 'non-productive' jobs (or 'manual' and 'non-manual' labour), and had pay administration as their main purpose. The countries did not provide employment data according to any level in the ISCO-68 classification. The development of new occupational classifications based on ISCO-88 has been identified as an important challenge which many of the countries seem prepared to undertake. Work has started in CSFR. Poland and the USSR.

It should be noted that most of the transition countries will carry on with the current reporting systems for state and certain types of co-operative enterprises and farms. With modifications this instrument, which is already in place, is expected to permit the collection of reliable statistics on average employment and earnings from the establishments covered - to supplement the LFS results and provide the core of the establishment based employment statistics which may emerge as part of the statistical programmes to be built on the new business registers now under development. This will, however, take time: It has been mentioned, for example that in CSFR hundreds of new cooperatives and private businesses are registered daily, but that only 30 percent of these become operational.

Future Statistics on Employment Trends and Skill Shortages
Monitoring Employment Trends

As we have seen, the measurement of employment trends in transition countries was based on regular reporting by a limited and very stable set of establishments and organisations. That certain components of total employment were not covered or only covered in a rudimentary fashion did not matter very much as long as they could be assumed to constitute small and stable proportions of the total. These assumptions could be made with some confidence about most of the groups. (In some countries data for the 'armed forces' were included, and hidden, in the totals and in others they were excluded and only available to the proper authorities.) The transition processes are undermining the basis for these statistics in two ways: (i) an increasing part of economic activity is carried out outside the establishments subject to the established reporting systems; and (ii) the authority of the government, i.e. the statistical authorities, to demand (correct and) detailed statistical reports on employment and other aspects of operations is eroded as and when the establishments have to operate independently of government control and support. Neither during the transition process nor afterwards it is realistic to assume that the measurement of employment trends can be reliably based on establishment surveys, given the expected increasing importance

of small and medium-sized establishments and their expected chaotic 'demography'. Since the transition countries by definition and in practice do not have a stable administrative basis for employment statistics, the only stable basis for monitoring employment, and unemployment, will be household based labour force sample surveys (LFSs), and concrete steps to start such surveys in 1991 or 1992 have been taken in CSFR, Hungary, Poland and the USSR.

The strength and weaknesses of LFS data (relative to establishment and administratively based employment statistics, where they are realistic alternatives) are well known. One important advantage of LFSs for the transition countries is that the conceptual and methodological problems in using them for measuring employment and unemployment levels and changes are well understood and that many different countries have relevant experience from which transition countries can learn, cf. [Hussmanns et. al., 1990] and [ILO, 1990]. An LFS is in many ways as close to a 'off-the-shelf' survey instrument as you can find in official statistics, and preparations can concentrate on the organisational and financial problems involved in launching the surveys. One important consideration is the frequency of observation and release of results. Given the expected limited capacity to carry out interviews, the advantages of continuous operations, the need for a certain amount of regional breakdowns and for current data, interviewing representative samples every month for publication of quarterly averages as in Norway) seems to be a sensible solution, which will make it possible to develop certain aggregate indicators on a monthly basis as the time-series become longer and their behaviour better understood.

To get estimates of the number of employed persons will not be sufficient. There will be demand for information about the type of activities people are employed in and the type of persons who are employed and unemployed. This means that classifications of industry, occupation and education/training will be needed as well as coding indexes and guidelines on how to use these classifications effectively in household surveys. The work to modify existing classification systems, whether national ones or international models such as ISIC, rev.3, ISC0-88 and ISCED, and to develop the tools needed to use them effectively, is probably as difficult and resource demanding as the preparations for the LFS itself, but also as necessary. Such tools are not documented in detail in sources which are easily accessible, but cf. Chapter 9 in [Hussmanns et.al., 1990].

What about the existing infrastructure and procedures for measuring employment? Should they be abandoned because they'll cover a decreasing proportion of total employment, at least until adequate business registers have been established? Probably not, unless there is a straight trade-off in terms of resources for labour force statistics. There will still be great interest in data on the development of employment in the former centrally controlled enterprises, whether they remain in the state sector or are taken over by national or foreign private owners. The development of new instruments for collecting establishment based employment and wage statistics, which can also give a basis for analysing ex post the impact of the transition process, will also be one of the many challenges faced by the national statistical authorities. Not only the content and scope of the enterprise based labour statistics may change as a consequence, but also the quality of the reported data. The direction of this quality-change is difficult to predict, as the presumed negative impact on 'willingness' to report of having greater operational freedom may be off-set by less need to appear to satisfy, at least on paper, centrally formulated plans and regulations.

Measuring Labour Shortages and Skill Gaps

Current and future "skill shortages" are frequently expressed concerns of employers and educational planners in many countries and have, at least according to the anecdotal evidence which has found its way into Western news media, been identified as one of the major bottlenecks to the transition process. Therefore it is certainly legitimate to request that statistics on such shortages should be developed and published regularly. "Shortage of skill X" is commonly understood to mean that there is unsatisfied demand at prevailing wages and working conditions for workers who have the capacity to carry out the tasks and duties of type X or of occupation X, or who have received training of type X. Thus one needs to be able to define and measure both "unsatisfied demand" and a relevant concept of "type X worker"."

In [Hoffmann, 1991] it is suggested that
"Shortage of skill X" in a particular geographically defined labour market can be defined to exist when "vacancies" above a predetermined threshold have been observed for workers of type X for more than N reference periods";

where this 'predetermined threshold' has been determined for the particular labour market by

analysing the 'normal' or 'balanced' situation, given the data collection instruments used and the particular features of that labour market. Obviously such thresholds would have to be re-established from time to time as the functioning of the markets or the measurement instruments change.

If this definition is acceptable one crucial element in any effort to measure current labour shortages will be the definition and measurement of "vacancies". From the discussion in [Hoffmann, 1991] it seems clear that to obtain measurements of 'vacancies' which conceptually and methodologically are parallel to 'unemployment' as measured in LFSs will be complicated because of the need to cover the whole universe of possible demanders of labour services. Particularly relevant to the situation in the transition countries is the need to have good business registers as (part of the total) sampling frame, given that these registers are very much under development at the moment.

A further complication is the need to find relevant topologies for "type X worker". The common variables used to indicate workers' skills are 'occupation' and 'education/training/qualification' (different terms are used in different countries), and for both we have both national classifications and international models which can be used as basis for revision of the existing ones if necessary. However, the anecdotal evidence on the concerns expressed concerning 'skill shortages' in transition countries indicates that neither variable will adequately reflect these concerns. Two problems are involved, namely (a) that the classifications will reflect those types of skills which are (or have been) present in the country, while the shortages mainly are related to skills for which there has been very little or no demand in the past ('professional accountants' are frequently mentioned as an example); and (b) that while the type of skill may be represented in the classifications, the shortage is related to particular types of experience, for example related to the functioning of enterprises in a market economy, for which no appropriate typology has been developed and tested - neither in the transition countries nor elsewhere.

What are the options if 'something', however flawed relative to the ideal in terms of coverage, group identification and conceptual adequacy, is better than 'nothing'? Looking at the demand side it is convenient to distinguish between (i) direct observation of (outcomes of) search activities; and (ii) inquiries to (potential) 'employers' about search activities and their outcomes. Features of both approaches will be outlined after a brief discussion of *relative wages* as an indicator of the presence of 'labour shortages':

Development of relative wages: According to standard economic theory, one of the expected outcomes of persistent excess demand for (shortage of) a particular type of labour would be that the relative price of this type would increase. In principle we should therefore be able to draw conclusions about the existence of excess demand for particular groups of workers by observing changes in relative remuneration between groups of workers with different skills or qualifications, as indicated by the following statement about the situation in Britain (from the *Economist* April 13, 1991, p. 36): "Skill shortages are easing too, so that companies do not need to pay more to recruit and retain staff". However, (i) at least during the transition period the market economy is not yet in place; (ii) in practice relative wages have proved to be quite 'sticky' and actual wage rates are determined by a range of different factors and can vary quite significantly between individuals even when they belong to the same narrowly defined 'skill' or occupational group and have the same formal qualifications; (iii) wages only represent a proportion, which varies over time and between groups, of total compensation received (i.e. of the total 'price' for labour). To some extent problems (ii) and (iii) may be less important if one can focus on the relative wage rates of newly hired persons. However, we do not know of any examples of official statistics which use this approach to indicate short or medium run labour shortages. On the other hand, changes in the balance between supply and demand of different types of labour market groups have been used to explain longer term shifts in the relative incomes of these groups.

Observing Search Activities

Vacancies reported to public employment agencies give the most common basis for vacancy statistics in the countries which have developed systems of public employment services. Statistics on such 'vacancies' are often used to monitor the state and development of the labour market, alone or in conjunction with data based on the registration of job seekers, in particular unemployed persons, at the same offices. Most of the coverage problems discussed in [Hoffmann, 1991] will be even more important in transition countries where the employment services are only now being developed. In addition, this development process does in itself represent a problem for the validity of statistical time-series, as they can be expected to reflect the development of the services as

much as the underlying labour market developments.

Job offers advertised in newspapers and journals are also used as basis for monitoring labour market developments and business cycles in some countries. The methods used vary from very simple measurement of column lengths in one or a few papers and journals at weekly or monthly intervals, with no or very limited classification by type of work or employer, to highly developed 'clipping operations' where industry, occupation and qualification required are coded for all job advertisements appearing during a reference period and efforts are made to eliminate duplicates. This source can only give statistics relating to new or re-advertised job-offerings, but the fact that most examples of this type of statistics have been developed by private organisations for sale to customers may indicate that they have been found useful. Again these statistics, even from the most sophisticated operation, will only cover the type of job offerings for which newspaper or journal advertising is an important channel for recruitment, and in the transition countries we may expect that measured changes will tend to reflect changes in the means used by employers to find workers, and in the services offered by newspapers etc., as much as real changes in the demand for labour.

A possible third source of indicative statistics on certain types of 'skill shortages' can be found in the *work permits given to foreigners*, if these are allocated on the basis of applications submitted by, or with the support of, employers. If the relevant authorities can be persuaded to formulate questions about type of work to be performed and the type of qualification which the permit seeker has in a way which will give adequate information for coding, then this may provide interesting statistics on the need to supplement the national pool of labour. However, it is an unfortunate paradox with this source that honest answers can only be expected if they do not influence whether or not a work permit will be granted - in which case the immigration authorities will have no interest in whether or not this part of the application form has been completed adequately.

Statistical Surveys of Employers

The only approach which can lead to measurement of vacancies or skill shortages which will not be 'contaminated' by the institutional changes of the transition process, is to survey units who may be looking for labour services, asking about possible search activities. This represents the parallel to the measurement of unemployment through household labour force surveys. As observed above the scope of the vacancy definition is such that the sampling frame for this type of survey in principle should include all economic units, i.e. households as well as al public and private establishments. (In practice such surveys have only covered (sub-sets) of public and private establishments, although it would be interesting to carry out experiments asking about labour demand in household surveys. Questions to households could cover both the household's own demand for labour services and what household members know about demand at their place of work, i.e. by their employers or themselves as self-employed persons. In fact, household surveys may be the only way of covering the vacancies in small and informal sector establishments, which may represent a higher proportion of total vacancies than they do of total employment, not only for specific worker categories but also overall, as the rate of turnover of employment in such establishments may be significantly higher than in larger ones.)

A possible design of a full scale 'vacancy survey' is outlined in [Hoffmann, 1991]. However, a simpler approach may be more realistic in the context of transition countries - namely (a variant of) the approach used in the Swedish Labour Market Tendency Surveys, cf. [Statistics Sweden, 1990]. Similar to the Swedish approach the selected employers would be asked (I) whether they have been looking for new workers during a recent period ('Yes/No' and how many); (2) whether they have actually hired new workers during the period ('Yes/No' and how many); (3) whether those hired had the qualifications most wanted ('Yes/No'); (4) would have to be given extra training by the employer ('Yes/No'); (5) how the employer sees the supply of workers with and without relevant experience ('Good/ Balanced/Poor'); (6) whether recruitment has been easier or more difficult than previously; (7) whether additional recruitment is expected during the forthcoming period ('Yes/No') and (8) by how many? The Swedes can draw probability samples of employers of workers who have particular types of education/training (by linking their person and business registers) and can therefore formulate the questions as pertaining to particular qualifications. Transition countries do not have this possibility, but must select employers in general from whatever registers they have. The questions outlined above therefore have to be about workers in general, but should be supplemented with questions designed to ascertain (a) the types of job (tasks) for which the employer has been recruiting, and (b) the type of qualifications he/she would like the new workers

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to have. These questions should be asked before question (3), and would have to be open for later coding of occupation, experience and qualification.

Concluding Remarks

The focus of this paper has been on instruments for describing the current situation with respect to employment trends, labour shortages and skill gaps. It can be argued that government policies which can lead to improvements in these areas must be based on information referring to longer term prospects, as these policies can only be expected to have significant effects over the longer term - in particular if one is talking about policies for the training and re-training of a significant number of persons in the labour force, and that the proper focus of the paper therefore should have been on indicators which have such longer term perspectives. This view may have some merit, but the following observations seem relevant:

a. Relevant medium and longer term time-series which in the future can be used as a basis for constructing medium to longer term indicators and projections will (have to be) built from observations of current situations;

b. Questions such as "Will this country have enough engineers to ensure economic growth after year 2000, or enough nurses to meet the demand for health services resulting from the increase in the number of old age persons?" are being answered by the use of quite sophisticated demographic and economic projection models which try to link demographic, economic and educational developments. Not only do such models have to be based on data about current and past developments, these data also have to reflect structural features of the society which are common to both the observation and projection period. In transition countries such structural features are likely to be limited to the demographic aspects of the models, almost by definition.

Political concerns and priorities change over time because the circumstances and institutions as well as the external environments of a country are changing. (Some of the changes in policies or priorities are temporary, and may even seem misguided with hindsight, while others are lasting and reflect new perspectives on the society or new insights into the way in which it functions.) As a consequence it is not possible to identify stable sets of statistical 'policy indicators' related to employment trends, labour shortage and skill gaps. However, the experiences of other countries demonstrate that, although no single statistical instrument will satisfy all requirements, the existence of a (quarterly) labour force survey supplemented with establishment based employment information in selected areas, will provide a very good basis for the formulation and implementation of policies requiring employment trends data. For the formulation and implementation of policies for which one would like to have statistics on 'labour shortages and skill gaps' it is much less easy to be confident that the instruments outlined in this paper will be appropriate and adequate, because the phenomenon itself is more complex, and because there is less international experience in developing, testing and using the concepts and tools.

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Table A: ILO comparable estimates of labour force, employment and unemployment by sex
Annual averages (thousands)

Country sex years	Population	Labour force			Employment		Unemployment	
		Total	Cmiles	Population rate (%)	Total	Cmiles	Total	Unemployment rate (%)
Bulgaria								
Total								
1981	-	-	-	-	-	4302	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	-	4315	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	-	4313	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	-	4292	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	-	4286	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	-	4261	-	-
1987	-	-	-	-	-	4288	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	-	4277	-	-
1989	-	-	-	-	-	4302	-	-
Czechoslovakia								
Total								
1981	-	-	-	-	8181	7815	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	8184	7822	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	8200	7837	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	8251	7887	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	8317	7953	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	8379	8011	-	-
1987	-	-	-	-	8409	8039	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	8449	8078	-	-
1989	-	-	-	-	8431	8061	-	-
Males								
1981	-	-	-	-	4395	4074	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	4387	4069	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	4388	4068	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	4408	4087	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	4426	4105	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	4450	4125	-	-
1987	-	-	-	-	4448	4122	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	4464	4137	-	-
1989	-	-	-	-	4440	4114	-	-
Females								
1981	-	-	-	-	3786	3741	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	3797	3753	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	3812	3769	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	3843	3800	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	3891	3848	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	3929	3886	-	-
1987	-	-	-	-	3961	3917	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	3985	3941	-	-
1989	-	-	-	-	3991	3947	-	-
Hungary								
Total								
1981	10713	-	-	-	5256	-	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	5223	-	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	5184	-	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	5147	-	-	-
1985	10658	-	-	-	5121	-	-	-
1986	10640	-	-	-	5111	-	-	-
1987	10621	-	-	-	5093	-	-	-
1988	10604	-	-	-	5070	-	-	-
1989	10589	-	-	-	5057	-	-	-

Table A: ILO comparable estimates of labour force, employment and unemployment by sex Annual averages (thousands)

Country sex years	Population	Labour force			Employment		Unemployment	
		Total	Cmiles	Population rate (%)	Total	Cmiles	Total	Unemployment rate (%)
Hungary								
Males								
1981	5188	-	-	-	2758	-	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	2741	-	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	2710	-	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	2680	-	-	-
1985	5150	-	-	-	2653	-	-	-
1986	5138	-	-	-	2639	-	-	-
1987	5127	-	-	-	2632	-	-	-
1988	5116	-	-	-	2617	-	-	-
Females								
1981	5525	-	-	-	2498	-	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	2483	-	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	2473	-	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	2467	-	-	-
1985	5508	-	-	-	2468	-	-	-
1986	5502	-	-	-	2472	-	-	-
1987	5495	-	-	-	2461	-	-	-
1988	5488	-	-	-	2453	-	-	-
Poland								
Total								
1981	-	-	-	-	-	18006	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	-	18209	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	-	18375	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	-	18384	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	-	18531	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	-	18595	-	-
1987	-	-	-	-	-	18596	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	-	18474	-	-
Males								
1981	-	-	-	-	-	9769	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	-	9555	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	-	9587	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	-	9565	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	-	9560	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	-	9737	-	-
1987	-	-	-	-	-	9716	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	-	9806	-	-
Females								
1981	-	-	-	-	-	8737	-	-
1982	-	-	-	-	-	8653	-	-
1983	-	-	-	-	-	8787	-	-
1984	-	-	-	-	-	8819	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-	-	8972	-	-
1986	-	-	-	-	-	8858	-	-
1987	-	-	-	-	-	8783	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	-	8669	-	-
Ussr								
Total								
1987	-	-	-	-	150777	146277	-	-
1988	-	-	-	-	151553	147053	-	-
1989	-	-	-	-	151800	147800	-	-
1990	-	-	-	-	150900	146900	-	-

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COUNTRY NOTES

Introduction

For each country below, the information presented indicates:

Source: The source of the employment and unemployment statistics used most widely in the national context, which is the basis for obtaining data for the comparable estimates, as well as the type of national data published;

Population covered: The age coverage and type of population included by the selected source;

National data: Type of data published by country: as of point-in-time or averages;

Differences: Differences between the national employment and unemployment concepts and definitions used and the ILO international standards where "total employment" refers to the civilian labour force employed plus career and conscript members of the armed forces and the "total labour force" represents "total employment" plus "unemployment";

Adjustments: The specific adjustments made to harmonise the national figures with the international standards, and/or the cases where no adjustments were considered necessary due to the insignificance of the numbers;

Averaging: The method used to compute the annual average data where national data refer to point-in-time estimates.

The following terminology has been adopted:

- *Excluded:* means excluded from the national concepts and definitions; should be included according to the ILO international standards and is referred to under 'Adjustments';
- *Included:* means included in the national concepts and definitions; should be excluded according to the ILO international standards and is referred to under 'Adjustments'.

.BULGARIA

Source: Compulsory regular labour statistics reporting system, special surveys and population censuses. This covers all establishments, enterprises and organisations in the State and Co-operative sectors engaged in material and non-material production.

Population covered: All persons aged 16 years and over plus those 15-year-olds engaged in socialised production and foreigners working in the country under special intergovernmental agreements. Armed Forces are excluded.

National data: Annual averages

Differences:

    Employment:
    Excluded: (a) Armed Forces
                (b) Others, i.e. persons employed in individual subsidiary farming, persons engaged in religious organisations,

individual services, catering activities, private craftsmen, priests of all religions, other self-employed

Unemployment: Concepts, definitions and data collection methods are currently being developed

Adjustments: For reasons of confidentiality,
(a) cannot be included at present,
(b) have been included with no adjustments.

Averaging: National data are annual averages.

.CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Source: Statistical employment reports, compulsory for all State and Co-operative enterprises, farms and organisations, all types of educational establishments, special surveys and population censuses

Population covered: All persons aged 15 years and over who are engaged in the national economy. Persons performing their military service are excluded

National data: 31st December of each year

Differences:

Employment:

Excluded: (a) Armed Forces
(b) Persons on maternity leave, with a formal job attachment
(c) Persons temporarily engaged in housework, with a formal job attachment
(d) Paid apprentices and trainees

Unemployment: Concepts, definitions and data collection methods are currently being developed

Adjustments: (a) (including civil employees and students in military schools)
(b) (c) and (d) have been included

Averaging: Method IL0-2 for estimating annual average, cf. [Chernyshev & Lawrence, 1990].

.HUNGARY

Source: The Compulsory Annual Survey conducted within the uniform labour statistics data collection system; monthly and quarterly statistical labour reports prepared by sectorial departments of the Central Statistical Office; special surveys conducted by the Social Insurance Service and National Association for Small-Scale Industries and Retail Traders; Population Censuses and Microcensuses

Population covered: All persons aged 15 years and over and 14-year-olds who are engaged in socialised production

National data: End of the year

Differences:
Employment:
Excluded: (a) Mothers receiving child-care allowance, even though they

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maintain a formal job attachment
(b) Unpaid family workers, temporary and seasonal workers in agriculture, working less than three months in the year
(c) Rentiers

Unemployment: The concepts and definitions are currently being finalised.

Adjustments: (a) have been included. Among the unpaid family workers employed in agriculture
(b) those who correspond to the criterion "active wage earner" (in both the socialised and private sectors) are included in the comparable data.

.POLAND

Source: Compulsory monthly reports from industrial, construction, transport, communications, internal and foreign trade units, quarterly and annual reports on all sectors of the national economy (material and non-material production), Population Census and Microcensus for the rural population involved in private agriculture

Population covered: All persons aged 18 years and over as well as persons aged 14 to 17 who are engaged in the national economy

National data: Annual averages

Differences:

Employment:

Excluded: (a) Armed Forces
(b) Paid apprentices and trainees
(c) Mothers on child-care leave, maintaining a formal job attachment
(d) Persons living on income from rents

Unemployment: Concepts and definitions are currently being finalised

Adjustments: For reasons of confidentiality, data on
(a) cannot currently be included
(b) and (c) have been included
The number of (d) is insignificant and does not influence the national employment figure

Averaging: National data are annual averages.

.USSR

Source: Compulsory Statistical Labour Reports from all State enterprises, cooperatives, organisations and institutions, secondary and higher educational establishments; special sample surveys and Population Censuses

Population covered: All persons aged 16 years and over plus 15-year-olds who are engaged in the national economy. The Armed Forces are excluded

National data: Annual averages

Differences:

Employment:

Excluded: (a) Armed Forces
(b) Mothers receiving child-care allowance, who have a strong job attachment
(c) Family members of wage earners and salaried employees engaged in individual subsidiary farming

Unemployment: Concepts, definitions and data collection methods are currently being developed

Adjustments: (a) have been included beginning 1987; previously only civilian employment was available
(b) and (c) have been included

Averaging: National data are annual averages.

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DYNAMICS OF USERS' NEEDS, INFORMATION SOURCES, SURVEY FRAMES AND QUALITY OF DATA IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS OF OFFICIAL STATISTICS

by

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Summary

Transition in statistics is caused by changes in users' needs, information sources, information technologies, and methods used in statistics and information systems. Their effects on the quality of statistical data during the transition of Poland's official labour statistics form the basis of this paper's discussion.

The following features of transition are examined:

1) Inaccurate and unclear definitions of end-users' needs;
2) Rapid changes in official users' needs, and in the contents and reliability of information sources;
3) Incoherent changes in the methodologies of statistical surveys;
4) A strong, indiscriminating propensity to replace existing national standards with international ones.

These features strongly influence the quality and integrity of statistical data, particularly in the area of labour statistics.

The urgent re-construction of existing survey frames is a prerequisite of statistical adjustment in the face of constantly changing requirements. Special attention must be paid to the "re-structuring" of the business survey frame (business register), the new role of household surveys, and the non-conventional use of administrative records. An active role by statistical agencies in determining information standards for other information systems during transition is also discussed.

Contents

1. TRANSITION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND ITS IMPACT ON OFFICIAL STATISTICS

1.1. Development vs. Transition.

A national economy is a constantly changing and developing dynamic system. Information systems make up its integral part, creating a country's information infrastructure. Within this infrastructure, two classes of information systems are distinguished:

(i) Class A - internal information systems, necessary for the existence and activity of social and economic units or organisations, (e.g. information management systems, business data processing systems, administrative records etc.).

(ii) Class B - external information systems, which describe other systems within the national economy (e.g. statistical information systems, scientific and technical information systems etc.).

Class A systems are Class B's sources of information. Changes within Class A systems are strictly related to the activities and functions of businesses or other units, and to the laws regulating the national economy, e.g. the taxation system, custom regulations and civil law rules. Thus changes in the sources of statistical information are independent of statistics and statisticians; statistical methods and surveys must be adapted to encompass such change.

Some statisticians, particularly in transition countries, propose not to introduce new methodologies and statistical organisation, suggesting instead to wait for the "transparency" and "stabilisation" of the national economy. Such an approach seems rooted in wishful thinking: changes caused by economic development should be the eminent feature of statistical methodology.

The difference between the terms "development" and "transition" can be explained from the viewpoint of information systems. A general comparative study of the information systems in developed market economies and in the economies in transition in Middle and Eastern Europe concludes that:

1) The main goal of transition is to replace administrative methods of control in the national economy with market-oriented mechanisms. This does not imply the elimination of administrative intervention, but rather a qualitative change in its role regarding both the level of micro-economic units and the national economy. On the contrary, development means changes within the same economic systems.

2) Transition means introducing qualitative changes in the national economy by administrative methods, replacing existing administrative methods of control with more or less free-market regulators. It requires that the state administration limit its own power.

3) Economic development is a more or less "natural" process within existing systems of social and economic regulators, while transition implies the destruction of the existing system of social and economic regulators in a centrally planned economy, and the implementation of market-oriented regulators. The initiative for transition must come from administrative bodies, and depends on their professionalism.

4) The prerequisites of transition are changes in a country's state-enforced laws, institutions and organisation. These are only prerequisites, however, and cannot be interpreted as transition in itself.

1.2. Transition of Information Infrastructure

The transition of a national economy requires information, much of which did not exist in the previous information infrastructure. Existing information systems developed by and for centrally planned economies should supply state administrative bodies with the data necessary to elaborate, control and evaluate transition processes.

Important changes in an information infrastructure come about as economic institutions and rules are introduced or developed. The most important are:

- New tax systems based on general income tax, their administrative records available for

statistical purposes;
- The implementation of international standards for bookkeeping in enterprises and establishments also accessible for statistical purposes;
- The implementation of international standards for customs and transport, including the UN/EDIFACT standard for SAD;
- The development of accessible administrative records of social security systems;
- The implementation of unified principles in identifying basic economic and social units, i.e. businesses, territorial units, individuals etc.
- The implementation of new security and privacy rules, limiting access to non-aggregated data and opening up access to aggregated data, thus endorsing the right not to respond to administrative or statistics-based interrogation.

The implementation of modern information technologies is another feature of new information infrastructures which could both facilitate and render difficult the transition.

The time-lag between transition of the real economy and transition of the related information infrastructure could prove dangerous, particularly when disregarded by decision-makers, e.g. decisions concerning the privatisation and price-estimation of state enterprises must be made on the basis of previous primary records; and when indicators for the re-evaluation of employees' salaries are based on incomplete data from a decreasing socialised sector of four main productive branches of the economy.

It is crucial that changes to a country's information infrastructure outstrip transition in real economic terms, offering a solid information basis to the state administration responsible for decisions concerning transition, and thus ensuring the reliability of the transition process. Otherwise, the transition process itself would have to lead the way.

1.3. Transition of Official Statistics

The Transition of official statistics involves coherent changes to the objectives, functions, methods, organisation, and technologies of official statistical information systems and official statistical agencies.

Transition requires major changes in the content of statistical information, the role of official statistical agencies in designing the information infrastructure, and in the organisation of statistical production processes.

1.4. Role of Official Statistics in Transition Processes

The traditional role of official statistics is to reflect and describe social and economic life. It is the passive role of the intelligent observer. In transition, this it is not enough.

An active, creative role by official statistics during transition and the responsibility of official statistical agencies are essential. This differs from the role of statistical agencies in both developed market economies and centrally planned economies, and will probably disappear when the transition processes are over.

Good statistical information is the most reliable basis for defining transition policies, because statistics, as the external information system. can be developed relatively independently of internal systems. Internal information systems cannot outstrip changes to the economy, while official statistical systems, external both in theory and practice, can and should be reconstructed to outstrip and support the transition.

The main feature of statistics' active role is the creation of an information infrastructure for other systems, mainly to develop and maintain information standards for other social and economic information systems, particularly internal ones. Selected aspects of this are discussed below.

2. DYNAMICS OF USERS' NEEDS

2.1. New Users

In centrally planned economies, statistics supply data to the central economic administration, the main purpose being to evaluate the processes involved in realising a central plan. In the area of economic statistics, the methodology of central planning has thus determined, to a large extent, the methodology of statistical surveys. Definitions of statistical units, basic terms and concepts, and procedures for computing derived indicators had to be coherent with those used by the central economic administration for central planning. However such planning methods were unstable, depending more on the skill and habits of employees than on a general methodology.

This situation strongly influenced the variability of statistical methodology. Some statistical agencies - Poland's CSO seems to be one of them - adopted a strategy to solve this "dialectic contradiction". Under this scheme, some data were collected and processed independently and on planners incidental requirements "for statistical needs only", while other surveys or data were collected according to the requirements and using methodology compatible with central planning.

Transition has changed the position of central plans and central planning, and statistics systems have been liberated from the pressure of central planning methodology. However in some statistical areas, this newfound liberty has unveiled methodological and information gaps.

Some classes of "passive users", previously not allowed to formulate requirements to official statistical agencies, have, as a result of transition, started to articulate their needs directly. These groups include trade unions, political parties, social organisations, and scientists.

The requirements of these users are institutionalised by the forum of the Council of Social and Economic Information Systems by the CSO, which acts according to the Law on Official Statistics, updated in June 1989. Before adoption, statistical survey programmes are evaluated and approved by this Council. They are also evaluated by the Statistical Scientific Council, which represents scientists who are either statisticians or users. This Council acts as an advisory board.

Quite a number of responsible positions in central administrative bodies in transition countries are filled by former scientists, university teachers and journalists, who transfer scientific methods and respective needs for statistical data from research institutes and schools to public administration. For statistics, this means that the typical requirements of scientists gain priority among official governmental needs.

2.2. User Needs

2.2.1. Aspects of Analysis

The following aspects of changes in user needs should be analysed:
- Topics of surveys;
- Statistical units;
- Definitions of concepts and indicators;
- Frequency of surveys;
- Timeliness; and
- Data integrity.

I will try to exemplify trends in the changes of users' needs during transition on the basis of labour and employment statistics.

Definitions of the new needs are incoherent. Users, both institutional and individual, are beginning to define their duties, rights and responsibilities in the new economic and legal environment. On this basis they try to formulate their requirements for statistical information using their own professional language. Staff changes in central economic administrations are also important in defining precise user requirements. So far, such requirements have been defined more in terms of wishes and areas of interest, etc. than in lists of data produced on the basis of algorithms of economic analyses.

2.2.2. Topics of Statistical Surveys: Statistical Units

Relatively small changes in users' needs can be identified in the area of survey topics. The reduction in statistical surveys and questionnaires - from over 300 in 1889 to 141 questionnaires for 1991 - was initiated by politicians and accepted by management in statistical agencies. After such a long period of so many statistical questionnaires and surveys covering the universe of economic units to provide data for central planning bodies, the demand for a drastic reduction in statistical burdens was natural and understandable.

Poland's labour statistics survey topics are currently included in the chapter "Conditions of Economic Activity", under the Program of Statistical Surveys of the Polish CSO for 1991. If a sample survey is not specified, the survey is based on census-like full or partial questionnaires. They include:
- Employees in the national economy - the number of employees by MPS branch classification of the national economy, by regions, and by forms of employment, (yearly);
- Polish citizens employed abroad via official Polish state-owned companies. (yearly)
- Average employment and wages in state-owned companies and their dynamics, by branches, regions, formal elements of wages, and "social classes" of employees, (monthly, quarterly, yearly);
- Distribution of state-sector employees' wages - sample survey by branches, and by "social classes", (yearly);
- Wages of public administration employees, including central and regional administration and classes of positions, (yearly);
- Salaries of daily paid workers on private farms - sample carried out three times a year by regions and kinds of work;
- Use of working time in state-owned companies - MPS "productive sphere except agriculture only" - by branches and by regions, (half-yearly);
- Shifting - selected state-owned companies in manufacturing and construction, by branches and regions, (yearly);
- Strikes - by branches, regions, and kinds of strike, (monthly);
- Working conditions (yearly); work accidents (quarterly) and their consequences in the state sector, by branches, regions, classes of threats and accidents, and causes of accidents.
- Unemployment - monthly regional reports on unemployment registration offices, the number of registered persons, unemployment funds paid, offered and accepted positions of work;
- Employment and unemployment on the basis of sample household surveys. A new survey will be introduced for August and November, 1991.

The above list covers the most important problems of labour statistics. The dominating statistical units are still state-owned enterprises and establishments. Data from the private sector are often based on estimations or on small non-random samples. Some private-sector statistics are inaccessible, and must be analysed using methods applied for estimating the "shadow economy".

2.2.3. Definitions of Concepts and Indicators

A comparison of data collected from labour statistics in centrally planned economies (GUS, Poland), and in developed market economies (BLS, INSEE), reveals a wider scope of more detailed information in the latter case. However centrally planned economies were shown to collect detailed data specifying the financial sources of particular elements of state employees wages and salaries. They do not enrich our knowledge on labour, but are useful for the budgeting by supervisory bodies of centralised administrations.

In developed market economies the goal of labour statistics is to collect data for the formulation of social policy by the government and other organisations or institutions representing political, social and economic groups. In centrally planned economies, however, labour statistics have been - and to some extent still are - one of several productive labour force factors, equivalent to fixed assets, energy, or raw materials.

This "labour force approach" is evident when analysing respective definitions and classifications used in employment and wages statistics. For example, in defining an employee, formal aspects of employment are strongly emphasised, which are strictly dependent on the legal forms of employment in the state sector. The financial source of wages and salaries also influences the

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definition of an employee. Some categories are difficult to translate, because they do not exist in English; there are no centrally planned economies among English speaking countries.

The adoption of concepts and definitions to international labour statistics standards is an important methodological task, already relatively advanced in Poland. However its implementation requires greater changes in the organisation of statistical surveys. Firstly, statistical units cannot be limited to state-owned companies. Special methods of refining and editing data should be elaborated to ensure the quality of the respective information from the private sector.

2.2.4. Frequency of Surveys: Timeliness of Data

Although the frequency of surveys in transition countries generally corresponds with or is greater than in developed market economies, all users of statistical data in transition countries express an urgent need for more frequent surveying. In transition countries, "economic time" passes quickly. Institutional and structural changes run so deep and rapid that the frequency typical in stabilised economies produces insufficient timeliness of data. Special "urgent" surveys of those issues critical to transition would therefore seem necessary during this period, and could be based on access to administrative files or on very small samples.

This approach was adopted in Poland in 1989 for retail price statistics, when hyperinflation started. Within three months, a new survey system had been fully designed and implemented, including methodology, the organisation of over 300 data registration points equipped with micros, training, and the development of software, electronic mail etc.. The system worked with decade frequency and enabled the government to observe and later control the processes of hyperinflation.

A similar urgency approach will probably be necessary for the analysis of unemployment. Existing information based on reports from unemployment offices seems to be inadequate for the analyses and evaluation of unemployment processes. Transition countries suffer from "explosions" of unemployment, caused by individual bankruptcies or the restructuring of huge state-owned enterprises. One such event in a given region or branch of the national economy represents a real threat of destabilisation. Statistics should therefore support simulation analyses by supplying respective data collected through the urgency surveys. Official statistical agencies must be used for such support, although in some cases it may not correspond with pure statistics.

2.2.5. Data Integrity

During transition, there is a rapidly growing need for a high level of data integrity. Statistical data are needed to make practical, basic economic decisions concerning the restructuring of the national economy. Disintegrity of data could have serious social or economic consequences. Statistical indicators, previously used only for analytical or propagandist purposes, can become very sensitive economic factors. In the area of labour statistics, such a role is played by "the coefficient of growth of average wages in state-owned enterprises of four basic branches of the sphere of material production of the national economy"

This indicator is used to determine wage and salary increase rates among all government-funded units, which in transition countries encompass a large part of the economy, i.e. education, health, public administration, police and army, communications, science etc. over-sophisticated definitions of these sensitive statistical indicators, which can suddenly start to play the role of leading economic regulators, paves the way for discussion and quarrels among the government, trade unions, and political parties. Statisticians should not forget that statistics could become a political issue, and should protect its neutralism and independence by law.

3. DYNAMICS OF DATA SOURCES

3.1. Transition of Data Sources

In centrally planned economies, the dominant data sources for economic - and thus labour - statistics are state-owned enterprises, establishments and other governmental or state-controlled units. Consequently, in such economies, labour is a factor of economic "re-production", involving a "labour force" and not human beings.

Governments in transition countries will play a dominant role in the economy for a long time. However during transition, the role of state-owned units as a source of statistical data will change:
- State-owned units are losing their monopolistic and dominating position as a source of economic data. The speed at which these changes occur differs across branches of the economy. For example in Poland, the state sector never dominated in agriculture, and it is losing fast its monopolistic role in those branches not requiring huge capital, e.g. the retail trade, some types of services, and the wholesale trade. However, one single decision to privatise a huge monopolistic enterprise could also represent the privatisation of the national economy.
- State-owned businesses can refuse to answer statistical questionnaires - obvious in market economies, but perhaps a surprise for statisticians in young transition countries.
- State units cover the universe of a statistical population, typical for many branches in centrally planned economies.
- Statistics must access private units for data; to many such units the request for data by a statistical agency comes as a surprise. and the quality and reliability of such data is doubtful. For example, in an incomes survey in 1989 among small private businesses based on a direct statistical questionnaire, the results showed that the income per one small business is much lower than the average salary in the budget sector, a conclusion which is evidently false.
- Increases in the scale and economic importance of the shadow economy necessitates special, indirect methods of estimation of the sector.
- Access to administrative records may fill the gaps caused by losses in other sources of data, e.g. tax and customs records. However during transition, these data should be interpreted very carefully; a simple interpretation may be misleading from a statistical point of view (e.g. the estimation of incomes of very small businesses on the basis of tax declarations would probably lead to a considerable undervaluation of the real incomes of such businesses).

3.2. Reliability of Data Sources

Transition processes generally decrease the reliability of data sources. However the statistical units filling in the questionnaires should not be blamed. Poor reliability of data sources is often the result of many methodological changes introduced in statistical surveys to meet the requirements of new end-users. New methodologies may not correspond with the administrative records of responding units. Explanatory notes by respondents to new, non-tested methods are difficult for both statistical units and statisticians. The experience of Poland's CSO in implementing some elements of SNA methodology in the "MPS environment" has allowed for these problems to be observed and the most important difficulties to be identified.

The reliability of some "traditional" data sources decreases over time, and statistical agencies should look for new and better sources of the equivalent data. For example, information on the number of unemployed persons obtained from employment office registers seems an unreliable source; more trustworthy results could probably be obtained from household surveys.

As transition continues, the reliability of data sources changes. Some sources may be less reliable at the beginning of the transition period, and become more reliable later on. For example, when the employment offices in regional administrative units began registering unemployment, their records were unreliable because many people registered just to get free social security allowances. Many had never worked nor did they intend looking for jobs. After some time and improvements to the unemployment law, the reliability of such records increased. Statisticians also elaborated better methods to correct and refine rough data. Statistical agencies in transition countries should systematically observe and evaluate the reliability and adequacy of various information sources. They should also develop methods and algorithms to refine data from unreliable sources.

3.3. Use of Administrative Records

In centrally planned economies, administrative records were seldom used for statistical purposes. Rather, it was the rule to use statistical micro-data for non-statistical purposes than accessing administrative records for statistical use. One of the first rules established by official statistical agencies in transition concerned the privacy and confidentiality of statistical data. Such laws prohibiting the dissemination of statistical micro-data and allowing the use of administrative records for statistical purposes now exist, or are being developed, in almost all transition countries.

The long-standing distance between administrative records and statistics - statistical questionnaires acting as go-betweens - has resulted in incoherence. It seems their integration should be a top-priority task in the transition of statistics. Common rules of identification and the classification of objects or events observed both by statistical and administrative records could help achieve this. The labour market is one of the most important areas requiring such integration and coherence.

The Reseach and Development Centre of Statistics in Poland carried out detailed analyses and feasibility studies on the use of administrative records for statistical purposes. Special attention was paid to tax administrative records, population registers, and social security agencies. For labour statistics, these last two sources were of particular interest - statistics in both files deduced similar, if not identical, information; however their representation, coding, identification and classification, rules of control, and updating systems differed greatly. There were no serious obstacles to the common rules of data representation and the search for coherence between the conceptual bases of the systems. The results of this research were published in "Systemy Informatyczne" 1/2/1990, Warsaw, OBRS, in Polish.

The elaboration and introduction of common information standards for statistics and administrative records should be considered essential to transition. Official statistical agencies should play an active role in this.

The adoption of administrative records for statistical needs improves the timeliness of statistics and accelerates the production of output data. but only if administrative records are coherent and computerised. These prerequisites must be implemented as soon as possible to take advantage of the simultaneous transition of social security services, tax systems, custom systems etc., and their primary records.

3.4. Traced Data

As mentioned, statistics in transition countries must observe and describe economic processes of very high dynamics. There is no time to carry out well-prepared statistical surveys with long time series and structurally integrated with other statistical data. Statistics are often expected to inform on processes for which no primary data exist and where the process itself cannot be described using statistical questionnaires. Some important economic processes can only be described on the basis of "traces" i.e. information on other related processes or events. For example, it is important for Poland to know about the flow of hard currency outside the channels of the official banking system. Hundreds of thousands of Germans come with hard currency to shop along the western Polish border every week, while the same number of Soviets visit Poland for the same but contradictory purposes. What is the influence of these movements on employment in the shadow retail trade? What is the turnover of that trade and its share in the economy?

These processes cannot be observed directly by statistics. The only possible approach is to identify traced data, i.e. the data on processes which can be observed and quantified, and for which a relationship between the traces and the actual process can be identified. In this example, statistics on tourism over one to two days could be used to estimate foreign currency flows. Auxiliary indicators based on a very small statistics sample could also be used.

Similar traces could be used to determine the number of people working in Poland's shadow economy, the real incomes of small family farms or of persons involved in private business, which, according to existing laws, do not need to keep full business records.

The theory and methodology of traced data should form an integral part of statistical systems in all countries.

4. SURVEY FRAMES IN TRANSITION

4.1. The Impact of Dynamics of Information Sources on Statistical Survey Frames

Changes in the contents and quality of statistical data sources require respective reconstruction of statistical survey frames and the implementation of information standards. These new standards should outstrip other statistical transitions. The most important standards for labour statistics are the following:
- ISIC-based classification of activities;
- BEC-based classification of economic categories;
- SNA-compatible classification of institutional sectors;
- SNA-compatible classification of the purposes of private, non-profit bodies;
- ISCO-based classification of occupations;
- ISCSE-based classification of employment status;
- ISCED-compatible classification of education;
- ICD-based classification of diseases, injuries and causes of death;
- WHO-compatible classification of impairments, disabilities and handicaps;
- Classifications of households compatible with those recommended by the UN, i.e.:
  - classification of households by head;
  - classification of households by type;
  - classification of age-groups;
  - marital status;
  - economically active population;
  - not economically active population;

Standard area and country codes, languages, and other ISO-established information standards relevant for statistical purposes should also be implemented using transition as an opportunity for the complex humanisation of statistical information systems.

All basic statistical survey frames in transition countries must be re-constructed. This refers to all basic statistical registers used as survey frames:
(a) Business registers;
(b) Population registers;
(c) Household registers;
(d) Territorial registers.

The elaboration of correspondence tables between "old" (MPS-based) and "new" (SNA-based) standards could present a problem in the implementation of new standards, and some could perhaps be better completed through international co-operation.

4.2. The Business Register

The development of new business registers is an essential task for effective transition. "Old" registers of units in transition countries were previously limited, more or less, to state-owned or state-controlled sectors. Now statisticians are responsible not only for developing the business register used as a survey frame, but also as a register of economic units for other governmental bodies and institutes, e.g. social security, tax, customs, and public administration. During transition, statistical agencies are the most - and often the only - stable structures within the country's information infrastructure. Statistical agencies should therefore not hesitate to take responsibility for developing and maintaining registers, to be used not only for statistical purposes but also for other non-statistical uses. This would help to carry out surveys and support the transition processes of the country's entire information infrastructure.

Problems with the transition of business registers have been discussed on various international fora. Future business registers should obviously be developed following the recommendations of international statistical institutions (UN, EUROSTAT). The Polish CSO follows such recommendations, adapting registers to national specificities. The assistance of EUROSTAT, INSEE, BLS and other statistical agencies, as well as UN seminars and conferences are very

helpful in this respect.

The following experiences in developing new business registers seem to be specific to the transition process.

(1) The functions of a business register in the transition process cannot be limited to the framework of a statistical survey. Rather, they should be designed to meet the need to identify economic and social units by social security agencies and tax and public administrations responsible for licensing or registering economic units.

(2) Business registers should cover all businesses.

(3) If, because of legal, technical or financial reasons it is not possible to register all units, the criteria in defining priorities in the registering of particular classes of units should be qualitative, never quantitative. For example, one could postpone the registering of private family farms or individuals involved in businesses. However general rules of identification and classification should be introduced for all social and economic units.

(4) Even in its early stages, the business register is, within certain topics, the only reliable and source of information. The business register REGON, in development in Poland, is used as a main source of information on structural changes in the Polish economy, supplying current data on the numbers of different classes of units, and on progress in privatisation and the development of the private sector. Information from business registers is valuable in analysing business cycles - the creation of new companies, bankruptcies, changes in activities etc. Data are available on demand. Full business registers should be used by statisticians as the basis for "economic demography", of particular value during transition.

(5) The transition period provides the only opportunity for statistics in transition countries to develop business registers strictly integrated with administrative records. It is also a chance for statistical agencies to establish stable co-operation regarding maintenance and use of business registers between tax administrations, local public administrations and social security agencies. The advantage of this would be the direct use of administrative records by those institutions for statistical purposes. When the transition is over, this chance will not return.

4.3. The Population Register

Population registers are maintained in almost all transition countries. In some countries they are conducted by the ministries of the interior; in others they are inherited from central planning. A computerised population register in Poland (PESEL), stores records of all citizens, including identification data, date of birth, marital status, education, profession, address, and place of work. There has been an interest in using the population register to assist or substitute for demographic surveys. However, critical opinion advises against this.

During transition, the need for urgent data which could potentially be derived from PESEL files, should encourage statisticians to use the population register. However it should be used mainly as a survey frame for sample surveys on employment, migration etc., as well as for other social surveys. Population registers are rather attractive as survey frames. They are continually updated, and their quality will probably improve as the use of records by local administration grows. It therefore seems recommendable to adopt the methodology of surveys for which a statistical unit is an individual person, to the requirements and possibilities of a population register as a survey frame. This frame would be ready to use, cost less, and speed up the survey process.

4.4. The Household Register

In transition countries househlold surveys are limited to the analyses of family budgets, living conditions of some groups of families etc. Up to now they were not used as a unit in economic statistics equiponderant to enterprises, local units, and establishments. The first and only exception in Polish statistics is the employment and unemployment survey based on households, planned to be conducted for the first time in August 1991 (see 2.2.2.).

Households as statistical units should be used more actively in the transition period as an alternative source of statistical data, particularly for analysing employment, unemployment and incomes. Because of the development of the shadow economy in transition countries, some information cannot be collected from officially registered businesses. This is also true for other countries, because some forms of economic activity is difficult to register (e.g. Mediterranean

countries with developed tourism). Therefore well-prepared sample surveys based on households, designed to collect simple answers to simple questionnaires on employment, unemployment and income, could be more reliable than data collected via tax offices, social security service or business questionnaires. The necessary quality of data would, of course, depend on the honesty of respondents.

The basis for these surveys should be the household register. Not a general household register, however, but a statistical survey frame, used for extracting samples for particular surveys. The concept of the UDB (universal data base) of the BLS seems to be a good example of such a register. Population registers might be used for the preliminary selection of candidates for household survey frames.

4.5. The Territorial Register

Territorial identification of statistical data in centrally planned economies has been of secondary importance. Main flows of data and criteria of aggregation were "vertical" by ministries and branches of the national economy. Regional analyses were the domain of scientific research rather than the goal of official statistical production. Statistical data were presented on rather high levels of territorial aggregates, as a rule limited to the basic administrative division of the country (in Poland these are called "voivodships"; Poland is divided into 49 voivodships). Regional criteria are used as the auxiliary criteria in the sampling of household surveys.

Social and economic situations in transition countries require more detailed territorial identification of data, e.g. official unemployment in Poland is now about 1.4 million. Because of the housing situation, labour mobility is almost zero. Therefore in some regions there are still labour shortages and in others dramatic unemployment is having accelerating effects. For the formulation of proper social and employment policy, it is necessary to identify data on unemployment, working places, and expectations for new jobs, based across the geographic space of the country, and on the level of sites, transportation lines, and commuting.

To meet these requirements statisticians should add new functions to the existing static territorial identification systems, used as a rule for population censuses and related surveys. These functions consist of:
(a) A locality - a town or village as an economic settlement unit, is the basic unit to be identified, classified and registered. It is independent of the formal administrative division of the country, but correspondence with this division is represented in the register.
(b) Localities are identified in the geographic space of the country.
(c) Correspondence exists between related territorial systems - geodesic, administrative, postal, etc.
(d) The register contains data which render it usable as a survey frame.
(e) The system should be used for the territorial identification of businesses, households and other surveys for which deeper territorial identification is necessary.
(f) Special use of a territorial register as a statistical survey frame is related to the use of administrative records by local administration. These records contain primary data on population, households, housing, employment and other forms of economic and social activity or non-activity. Extensive computerisation of administration will facilitate access to these records, making it necessary to initiate a coherent territorial identification of such records.

5. QUALITY OF STATISTICAL DATA

5.1. Aspects of the Quality of Data

Only those problems with the quality of data specific to the transition process are chosen here for discussion. This does not mean they exist in no other statistical system. However, they are of strategic importance during the transition of the economy and of statistic, and include pertinence, completeness, integrity, and timeliness.

5.2. Pertinence

In transition countries we often observe that data collected and produced by statistics are neither relevant nor pertinent to user needs. For example, users need information on unemployment and receive data on the numbers receiving unemployment allowances. Users need information on average salaries among given groups of employees and may, in turn, receive data on the salaries of formally employed persons across branches of the national economy to which state-owned enterprises are qualified, and so on.

Statistical units and statistical categories thus need to be defined in a coherent way in the same language as the end-user's original request.

5.3. Completeness

The transition of some statistical surveys occurs faster than others, sometimes rendering incomplete the data for complex statistical analyses. It is impossible to achieve the necessary level of data completeness by adding information. Therefore specific methods of imputation, traced data, and estimations must be used. Statistical agencies in transition countries should also resist the temptation to reduce collected data to meet the Populist slogans to fight "former bureaucracy".

5.4. Integrity

Transition may lead to a temporary breakdown of integrity of statistical data in the following areas:
- Definitions of concepts;
- Definition of statistical units;
- Integrity of Classifications, nomenclatures and codes;
- Continuity of time series;
- Reliability of computing procedures.

This is why any proposal for methodological change should be analysed within the "statistical environment" of other data and surveys. It is quite possible that the loss caused by an unreliable or invalid time series will be greater than the gain achieved through the implementation of some international standard.

Because of numerous threats to the integrity of statistical data, statistics users must be well informed on survey methods and warned of possible misuse or misinterpretation of data.

6. CLOSING REMARKS

6.1. It would seem useful for statistical agencies in transition to design a "map of statistical transition", identifying probable steps, actions, dangers and tools.

6.2. Middle management in statistical agencies should be trained in specifying and solving integrity-related statistical problems. They should understand all mutual relations of individual and groups of surveys.

6.3. Information technologies and computing techniques are indispensable for efficient transition. The development of special computing assistance tools for solving specific transition problems, co-ordinating statistics in the process of transition, and informatics assistance to protect end-users against the misuse of data, could be topics of joint work among the European statistical community.

COMMENTS ON THE PAPERS
AT SESSION 3
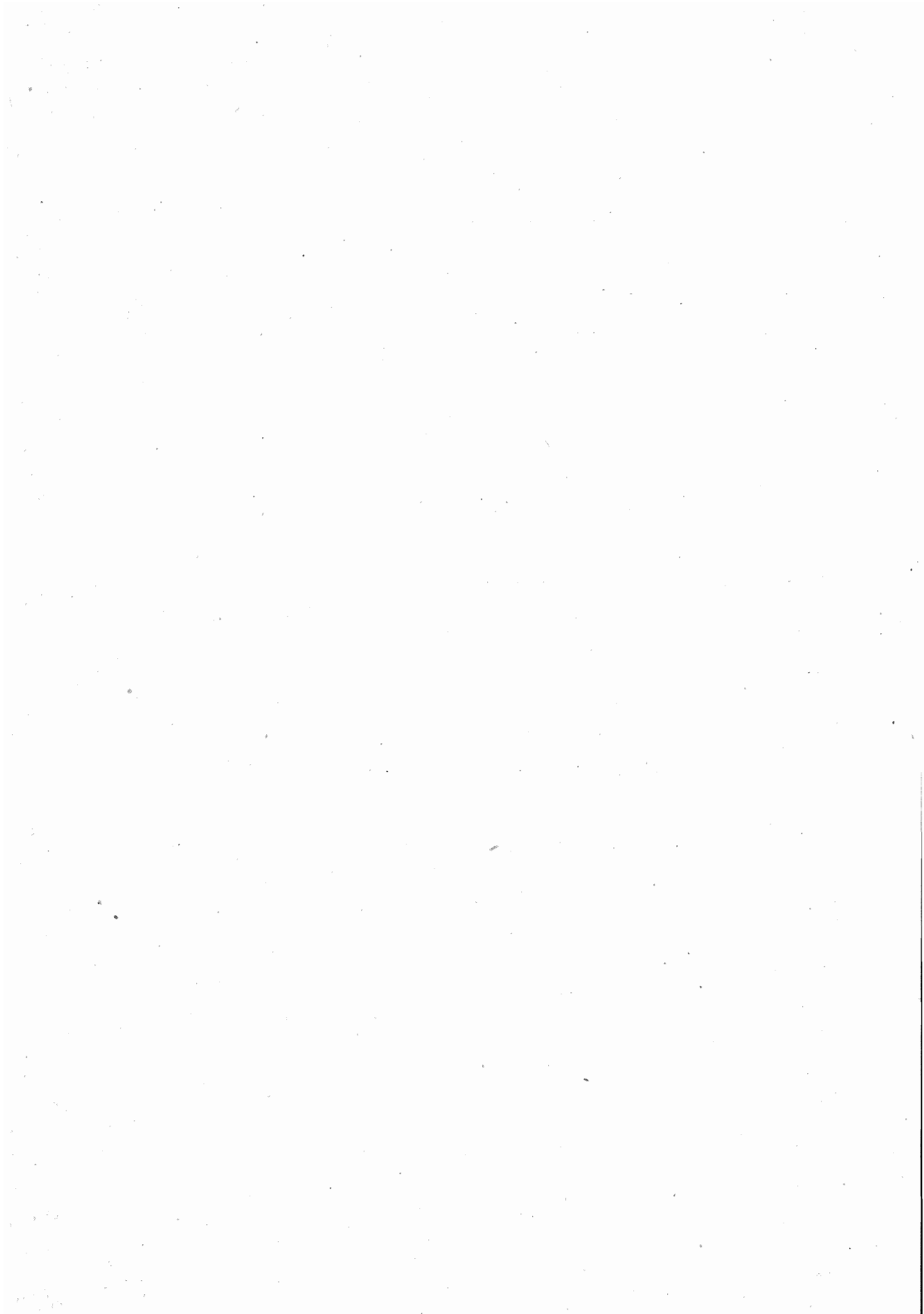
Comments on the Papers at Session 3

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I would like to comment on the general problems raised by the two papers just presented, rather than examine them one after the other, in this way the different aspects to be considered can be highlighted in a more effective way. Obviously, I will make a few remarks on the specific papers which I consider very interesting and complete. But, before looking at the statistical aspects, I would like to mention the economic issues involved, because the need for change and adaptation stems directly from the transformation of both economic system and society.

The importance of the changes currently under way in Eastern Europe cannot be overestimated; in order to offer some quantitative elements I have compared the size of the state sector in Eastern European and in some western countries (table 1). The extent of the difference is extremely large, although most Eastern European countries have begun to close the gap vis-a-vis the Western European economies. I have chosen to select the ownership issue in order to highlight the difference in the economic structure, because I think it is one of the most important differences and one of the most difficult problems to solve in the transition process towards a market economy. Without entering into the discussion now of what should come first in the transition process, privatisation has already been accompanied by other fundamental changes: the liberalization of prices (lato sensu), the breaking up of monopolies, the redirection of foreign trade and exposure to foreign competition, the establishment of monetary and financial markets. All this implies a substantial process of decentralization, the consequences of which are extremely important for the collection of statistics which, once easily done on the basis of the information provided by a few national firms, will have now to be gradually redirected in order to meet with the new reality. All this is a clear break with the previous experience and culture. A further difficulty is that for a number of years the old and the new systems will have to be used at the same time, given the still important role that the old public enterprises are going to maintain.

Therefore the task of Eastern European statistical offices will be on the one hand to continue to follow the old system but, on the other hand, to try to keep track of the new system being currently created. Their task is extremely important because in order to evaluate the effectiveness of alternative policies, it is absolutely necessary to know what the results and the consequences of the various policy actions are going to be. Theory, in the transition process can, in fact, offer only little guidance and a lot has to be learned by the observation of the real world. In this sense most of the available statistics are fundamental and, even if they should not be used in a mechanicistic way, as the paper of Hoffman and Chernyshev has pointed out, a rather extended statistical set can provide assistance to policy-makers concerning the effects of certain decisions. Statistics, furhermore, can help to understand whether other policy measures are needed to assist the transition process. I think that if these statistics are to be of some help for the guidance of the process, they should possess characteristics such as the following:
- timeliness, essential in general and in particular in the situations that now characterize Eastern European countries;
- simplicity and data based on surveys in order to provide a smooth management and distribution of the data themselves.

On the other hand, little effort should be devoted to construct long historical time series because, given the radical changes currently under way, their usefulness is rather limited.

After these general remarks, we can now move on to consider what the specific problems, difficulties and merits are of being provided with statistics on employment trends, labour shortages and skill gaps. First of all we should realize that, although important for the reasons I will express shortly, in general terms all these data are a rather weak point in the statistical system of many Western countries. We usually have a labour force sample survey in most, if not all countries; we have surveys conducted among enterprises on employment, wages, and hours worked. Yet, at the

same time, there are but few countries for which we have data on vacancies, on skills and education characteristics. For example in Italy, the only source of data on vacancies consists in an advertisement index, with all the problems connected to this rather rudimentary measure of the phenomenon. It is, indeed, a very difficult task to try to collect statistics on this aspect. On the other hand, it is crucial to have information on the matching process between workers and jobs. Mismatch influences the determination of wages and unemployment, and in several Western European countries it is a fundamental variable. In Italy, for instance, there is a very large regional mismatch, with a situation close to full employment in the Centre-North and very high unemployment in the South. All this leads to a wage dynamics that cannot be explained by the aggregate national series (1). Another country where regional mismatch played a large role at least in the past, was the United Kingdom, and precisely between the South East and the other parts of the country. Another type of mismatch may be represented by differences in skills, i.e. a difference between the characteristics of the job-profile requested by firms and the one available on the market. Obviously the two concepts, separated from a theoretical point of view, may be strictly connected. If we consider the huge restructuring process already in progress in Eastern European countries, which will accelerate in the future, the importance for them of having indicators on these aspects can be easily understood. Some of these indicators will show an increase in regional disparity, due to the different level in the infrastructure in the various areas of the countries; to the location of the most important consumer markets; to the regional industrial specialization. Perhaps these types of phenomena and problems are already occurring in some countries, e.g. Bohemia versus Slovakia. As a consequence, it is of great importance to keep this aspect under strict control.

Difficulties in doing this have already been noted for industialized countries and can only be bigger for countries going through a transition. The biggest problem I see is that while it is relatively easy to take into account the restructuring process of big firms, it is extremely difficult to do so with new and growing enterprises, which may perhaps endure only a short time. Important efforts should be devoted to the creation and keeping up to date of an adequate register of firms. However, knowing the difficulties that the market economies themselves encounter in doing that, we can well imagine the efforts required in a turbulent and dynamic environment. The danger of overestimating the destruction of jobs, connected to the old structure, and of underestimating the creation of jobs connected to the new firms is therefore plausible.

I am skeptical that it will be possible in the short term to have reliable information on employment, on its structure and composition on the basis of a business firm register. At least before the economic and social situation is stabilized, the solution to the important requirements outlined may be achieved, as has been suggested by both papers, using a labour force sample survey.

Of course the degree of detail and the amount of information that can be derived in such a way is reduced in comparison with a survey conducted among firms. Nevertheless, basic information on employment status, sex, the type of work (permanent, short time, fixed time, etc.), and regional aspects, can be rather easily accomodated in this way. For what concerns vacancies, use can be made of the administrative information which should be collected in the employment centres, because for a number of reasons it seems difficult to derive useful information on this aspect directly from workers.

Another aspect which I would like to emphasize is the importance of collecting flow-data for both employment and unemployment and for firms. Given the turbulence of the transition, it would be very useful to have information on changes, for example to know whether, when and how a worker displaced from a public firm can find another job, in which geographical area, and so on. This information is of particular value in evaluating the impact of change and therefore the need to modify government policies, or to implement new policy options. The same type of analysis, mutatis mutandis, should be applied to firm-demography when assessing the most promising sectors for the creation of new real jobs, and evaluating what type of aid the goverment should provide, etc. This is particularly significant when we consider that a large part of the transformation process, if successful, will have to be played by small and medium size firms, characterized by a higher rate of natality and mortality.

To summarize my intervention, I emphasize the importance of statistics in assisting the transition process of Eastern European countries. Employment, labour shortages and skill data are extremely useful in this respect, given the high turbulence which economies in transition are experiencing. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to obtain such data during this phase simply by relying on traditional business firm registers. For a few years, at least, the ability of any business firms register to record actual developments will be relatively low, notwithstanding all the efforts by the different statistical offices. The labour force sample survey should be used therefore, in an

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extensive way to close this gap. Moreover, it is crucial that surveys are used not only to collect stock data, but also to provide information on flow processes, both for firms and workers. The collection of transitional matrices will give information of paticular value in assessing the effect of change and on the need to revise policies or implement new actions.

(1) In a recent book it has been shown that wage dynamics in the Italian industrial sector is affected by unemployment conditions in the Centre-North, with no relevance of unemployment in southern regions. See Bodo-Sestito (1991), Le vie dello sviluppo, Il Mulino, Bologna.
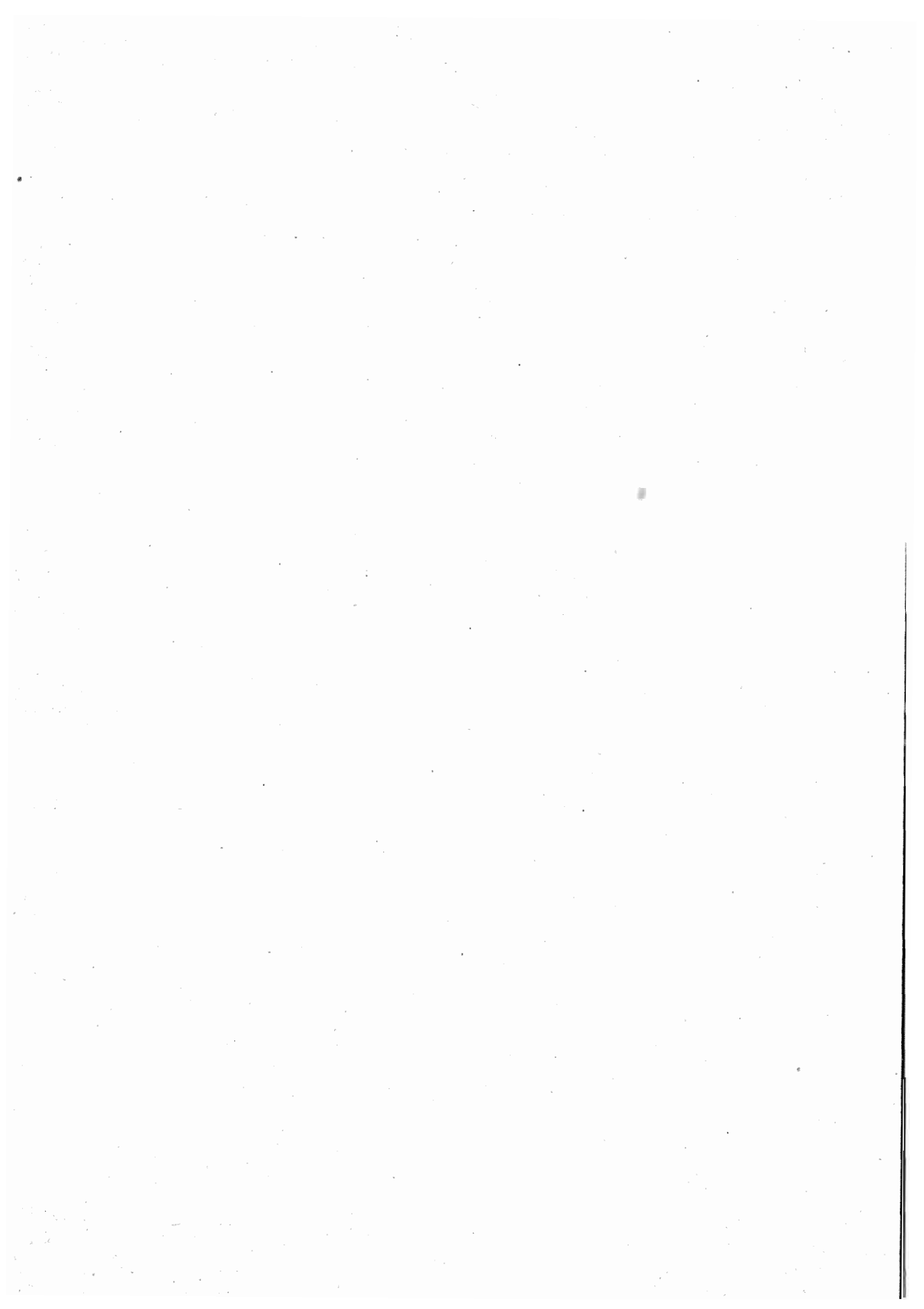
TABLE 1

THE SIZE OF THE STATE SECTOR - 1990

state entreprise in GDP	Number of SOEs*	%
Bulgaria	2,000	91.1
Czechoslovakia	3,000	96.9
Hungary	2,000	85.4
Poland	7,000	85.3
Romania	2,500	97.5
Yugoslavia	25,000	72.0
USSR	122,000	98.5

*State-owned entreprise

Source: OECD, BUSINESS INTERNATIONAL.

Comments on the Papers at Session 3

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In their paper the authors, after reviewing the present situation concerning labour statistics and major classifications (educational,- industrial, occupational) in transition countries deal basically with two issues:
- monitoring of employment trends and
- how to measure labour shortages and skill gaps.

As to the first topic they stress the importance of a regular, well organized Labour Force Survey (LFS) for transition countries to be able to measure employment trends and characteristics of the unemployment. Realizing the necessity of such a survey and stimulated also by a World Bank project on human resources the Hungarian Statistical Office - after studying experiences in such surveys in several OECD countries - made preparations for its own LFS already last year. As a result in January of this year a pilot survey was carried out with the aim of testing the questionnaire and interviewer's manual. In the second quarter of the year this was followed by an experimental survey using questionnaires redesigned on the basis of experiences gained in the pilot survey. This experimental survey is based on a random sample covering about 28 thousand households and we expect that, beside testing the whole survey procedure, its result will supplement the information on registered unemployment obtained from public employment agencies.

Although the data of this experimental survey are still under processing, two important inferences can already be drawn. The one is rather favorable: the unit "nonresponse" is very low. It seems that in the present situation of growing unemployment, people are willing to co-operate in surveys like the LFS.

The other experience is less favorable and is connected with the widespread underground economic activities in Hungary: interviewers reported of quite a number of cases when they had well known the sampled household (in small villages the interviewers generally know almost everybody) and thus had known that certain person of the household was on the unemployment register receiving unemployment benefit and had worked in the reference week in the shadow economy, but they were not willing to admit it. Thus from the reported data they will appear as unemployed, although according to the definition of the ILO they belong to the employed population, since they had some paid work in the reference week. This, if occuring frequently, will lead a considerable overestimation of the rate of unemployment questioning thus the reliability of the most important indicator calculated from survey data. I think that this may not be a typical Hungarian phenomenon and may consequently represent a real problem of the LFS-s.

Disregarding the non-sampling errors of the type just mentioned the success and usefulness of a LFS depend largely on two factors:
- the use of adequate concepts, questionnaires and timely processing, and
- the representativity of the sample.

As to the concepts to be applied in our planned LFS Mr. Fajth's paper presented yesterday gives ample information. Now I would like to deal briefly with some technical questions of the survey. We plan that from January 1992 on the survey will be a continuous quarterly survey covering roughly 30 thousand households distributed evenly among the months of the quarter. Though not yet finally decided very probably in each quarter one fifth of the households will be rotated, i.e. co-operating households will remain in the sample for five consecutive quarters of a year. This procedure allows good estimation of both yearly cross-section data as well as quarterly and yearly changes. The survey will be carried out within the frame of the so called Unified System of Household surveys (USHS) established in the Hungarian CSO in 1976. One of its essential features is a master sample consisting of a number of settlements and within them census enumeration districts and used as sampling frame for all households surveys conducted by the Hungarian CSO in a period of ten years, i.e. between two censuses. As our last census was carried out in 1990, this year a new master sample is being selected on the basis of the recent census data

so as to meet first of all the requirements of the LFS.

Since employment trends and growing unemployment rates show already marked regional differences in Hungary, it is an important requirement against the sample that it should be representative not only at national level but for major regions, too. In other words that means that within the limits of available financial recources the sample should comprise as many settlements as possible. This called for a non-proportionate sample considering that more that one fifth of the Hungarian households live in the capital and another nearly one fifth in 20 large cities. Therefore selection probabilities are made smaller in larger towns and cities than in smaller villages using such sampling proportions that by doubling a given portion of the records all actual samples can simply be made proportionate.

As a result the sample of the LFS will cover almost 670 settlements, about 22 percent of all municipalities in the country. All setllements with more than 15 thousand inhabitants are included in the sample, while in the case of smaller settlements the master sample is selected in two stages: first settlements, then census districts are selected. From among the latter the sample covers 10 thousand and in the average these contain 48 addresses. Before selection settlements were classified into six size categories and districts into four strata according to enviromental characteristics. As selection of settlements was carried out by countries, this implies a further stratification. Both settlements and districts are selected with probabilities proportional to size. Accordingly, within a stratum from each selected settlement an equal number of districts and from each district an equal number of addresses - three in the case of the LFS - will be selected the latters with equal probability.

We hope that the size and the structure of the sample will secure that reliable inferences concerning employment trends can be drawn from the data of our planned LFS both for the country as a whole and for major regions, too.

As mentioned earlier the paper under discussion deals also with the problem how to measure labour shortages and skill gaps as counterparts of employment trends. This is justified by the fact that even in a period of high unemployment rate there may be shortages in some occupations requiring special education or skill. This is true especially for transition countries where just due this transition to market economy demand for occupations not or rarely practised before arises. This second aspect of the paper raises more problems than measuring employment trends through LFS. My first problem is a conceptual one: namely job offers - at least for the time being in Hungary-are mainly not for the unemployed, but rather for those being employed and having specific skill, training or qualification. That means that a parallel observation of vacancies and unemployment will not result in a balance, but very probably occupational or regional disparities in the demand and supply sides of labour will show. This asymmetry, though from a different aspect, is also mentioned in another paper by Mr. Hoffmann.

But my greater problem concerns the procedure the authors seem to propose for measuring labour shortages and skill gaps. This procedure is, to my opinion, hardly feasible momentarily in Hungary. They suggest, namely, to select an appropriate sample of business enterprises and inquire the managers or proprietors whether they recently hired or want to hire new employees and if yes what type of work they require. This procedure has first of all coverage shortcomings. Even if we had a perfect register of all business establishments those unemployed who still only plan to begin a self-employed profession - and authorities stimulate this type of solution even by considerable bank loans - would not be covered by the register. The procedure presupposes, furthermore, that a reliable and up-to-date register of enterprises - including the small ones, too - is available to serve as sampling frame for the selection. Such a register is still under construction in Hungary and I think it will take some time till it could be considered reliable and even then its continuous updating remains to be solved. A third and also great problem might be that to estimate within reasonable limits of errors the frequency or total number of events occurring very infrequently - and job-offerings for traditional type of workers are rather infrequent nowadays in Hungary - requires a rather large sample and consequently high input in cost and efforts which will be probably not justified by the output. Thus, instead of inquiring a large sample of employers on their possible demand for manpower, it seems a more feasible procedure - also mentioned in the paper under discussion - to ask household members in the LFS about their knowledge of demand for labour services at their place of work or about their own demand if he/she happens to be a self-employed person. The information thus obtained may be supplemented or combined with statistics from searching job offers advertised in newspapers and journals.

In contrast with the LFS which we are rather well prepared to carry out as a continuous household survey from the beginning of 1992, we have still to discuss, decide upon and test how to measure labour shortages and skill gaps.

Comments on the Papers at Session 3

MICHAIL SKALIOTIS

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The paper of Chenyshev and Hoffmann starts with a very informative review and a sharp assessment of the established practices and recent developments in the area of labour market statistics in transition countries. Having these background considerations in mind and drawing from the experience of several countries, the authors examine realistic ways of developing statistical tools needed for the analysis of employment trends, labour shortages and skill gaps.

Professor Olenski puts more emphasis on the implications which the transition process may have for labour market statistics. Drawing from the Polish experience he clearly illustrates the underlying dynamic aspects of the whole 'problematique'. In this context, he correctly addresses the key question of *what statistical instruments should be used during the transition period.*

Both papers end up with a number of conclusions and recommendations, and - to some extent - they complement one the other. My intervention will focus on some operational issues which are linked to the proposals made in these papers.

1. Looking first at the paper of Dr. Olenski we see that the author distinguishes clearly the concepts of transition and development. He underlines the importance and need for establishing the transition of information infrastructure and statistical infrastructure before the real economic transition takes place. I agree that this would be the ideal situation. In practice however we know that many of the decisions are taken on purely political grounds. It is very likely that the priorities of countries in transition are such so as to require rapid advancement in economic terms even in cases where the information and statistical infrastructures are not complete.

   Investment in statistical infrastructure is done with view of a longer term perspective. In this sense, there has to be a trade-off between building a statistical system which - on the one hand - can prepare and support the transition process and - on the other hand - will meet the policy requirements for the after the transition period.

2. New users, new needs - constantly changing and not well defined - make the life of statisticians difficult. However I am not sure whether the situation is any better in market economies. Very often, statistical instruments should be flexible enough to cope with vaguely defined or changing user needs. Regular meetings with the main users of official statistics is the best approach that could be recommended in this context. Forums with the wider user community can be held at longer intervals.

3. Dr. Olenski places very well the issues of frequency of surveys, timeliness of data, role of administrative records, the use of traced data, etc. under the dynamics of the transition process.

His proposal for carrying out small scale ad hoc surveys to tackle various critical transition issues is very realistic and cost-effective. We should pay attention, however, in case of household surveys, not to overload the response burden to individuals; there is always a risk of creating a general negative predisposition of respondents towards any survey.

As far as the administrative records are concerned, we can use them efficiently to draw preliminary and quick responses to a number of urgent inquiries. In many cases they can be used in connection to sample surveys. For example, in order to understand and analyse the relationships between registered unemployment and the ILO concept of unemployment, one can draw a small sample from the unemployment register and carry out specific interviewing about job search and availability for work.

The author explains the reasons for which data from private businesses will be of doubtful quality and poor reliability in transition countries. I believe that the role of official statisticians is very crucial in this respect. Firstly, there must be an efficient coordination of all major business surveys so as to avoid duplication and overloading. Secondly, businesses themselves should be involved - at an early stage - in the discussions on the content and design of these surveys. Finally, employers

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should be persuaded of the need and usefulness of a business survey.

4. Turning now the page to the chapter of monitoring employment trends, in the paper of Hoffmann and Chernyshev, we immediately recognise that there is no way to escape from what they propose: A labour force ample survey is the best statistical tool in this respect. Not only do I agree with the necessity of a LFS but I am also supporting the proposal for a continuous survey. International experience in this field is so large that transition countries can almost immediately implement the most appropriate survey technology.

5. Skills shortages represent a major and complex policy issue which is relevant not only to transition countries but to all market economies as well. I strongly support the thesis of the authors that '...statistics on such shortages should be developed and published regularly . The conceptual framework presented in the paper is more than complete and reflects professionalism and good knowledge of the issue. The operational aspects of the phenomenon, however, require - in my opinion - further clarifications and a wider range of actions which can be extended beyond the narrow statistical interventions.

I do not believe that we can enhance our knowledge and understanding of the demand side of skills shortages through experiments in household surveys. The effort of measurement should be focused on business surveys of the type proposed in the paper. Once more, an extra burden is going to be put on employers. In return, are we able to provide them with useful results and guidance with a view to increasing their competitiveness? There
is no obvious answer. What seems certain however is that if we are not in a position to persuade businesses - and in particular the small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) - of the benefits of this operation, then the outcome of the survey will be of limited value.

I would therefore repeat the suggestion which I made earlier, i.e. that professional associations from industry and services are actively engaged in the preparation and organisation of this kind of surveys.

The main role of the State should consist in encouraging and assisting companies to develop human resources strategies and to include continuous vocational training as an integral component of it. It is almost certain that SMEs will form the majority of companies in transition countries. By definition, it is very difficult for management in such companies to establish serious medium and long-term training needs analysis and manpower requirements forecasts. It is therefore important to help enterprises in this direction by developing standard tools and approaches for better prediction of skill needs.

The Understanding of skills requirements and their interaction with - and implications for - education and training is a prerequisite for finding potential solutions to the problem. At the European Commission level it is recognised that in many sectors of the economy there is a lack of adequate awareness of the importance of education and training as a strategic element of competitiveness. It is therefore suggested that '... a major study should be undertaken of the cost of non-investment in education, so that policy makers, entreprises and individuals realise the challenge which is in front of them'.

M. Skaliotis

EMPLOYMENT TRENDS, LABOUR SHORTAGES AND SKILL GAPS:

THE POLICY INDICATORS
GEORGE FISCHER
OGCD
and
DAVID STANTON
Employment Department, U.K.

We have tried to follow Paolo Garonna's injunction to link the conclusions on labour market indicators to policy needs by using the following framework:

i) List the recommentations
ii) Give the rationale for the conclusions
iii) Explain how the se relate to labour market policies within countries in transition.

Recommendations

- Labour Force Surveys (household based sample surveys) should form the statistical basis for measuring employment trends.

- Many thought that statistics on skill shortages and gaps needed but no agreement on how. It is difficult to see how the Labour Force Surveys can be used but there was agreement that employer based surveys are impossible because of the lack of business registers. There are also difficulties in using past data to projet future needs given major structural changes.

- Some strong appeals for using administrative based data were made, not least because of speed and flexibility, but others argued against this because the social and economic revolution would afect the institutionale framework and therefore distort the data. It would also fail to pick up the shadow economy although labour force surveys would not be much better. Other less traditional methods of measuring the shadow economy were discussed whit examples from ISTAT. There was also a strong plea not to forget the social security registers as a source of information and/or a base on which to add further information.

The need to have information on wages was mentioned particularly in the context of skill shortages. There was little discussion of how best to collect this information; for example whether the labour force suverys could be used in the absence of enterprise base statistics.

Rationale

All the countries in transition have had full and detailed enterprise based statistics, but mainly for state - owned enterprises and therefore no or limited measures of employment in small private enterprises or in self - employment. It will be impossible to create business registers to allow proper sampling. But it was not clear if enterprise - based employment data would be better in an ideal world were a business register was feasible.

Although there was some argument for data or skill shortages, doubts were graphically illustrated by the experience of projecting future skill needs in Poland.

Relation to policy

The main problem is the absence of clear long - term requests from policy - makers. There is usually a strong request of wage growth and price indices and frequent ad hooc requests for

immediate data relating to today's problem. There was a strong recommendation for fostering better links by:

1 Regular meetings between statisticians and policy - makers
2 Creation of a Statistics Commission

It was also noted that in transition, small ad hoc surveys and administrative data sources allow for flexibility and the possibility of closer links with policy and should therefore be used.
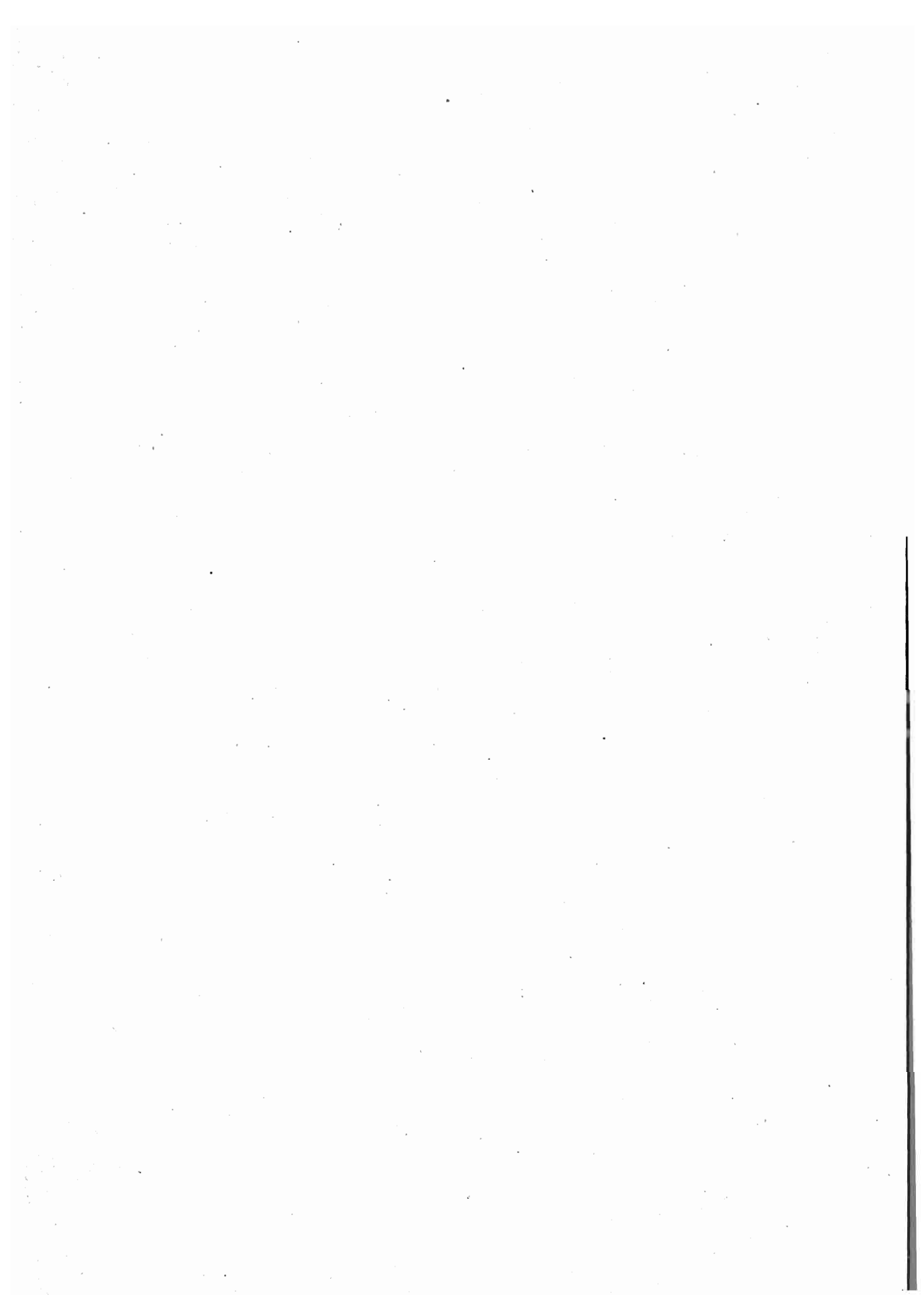
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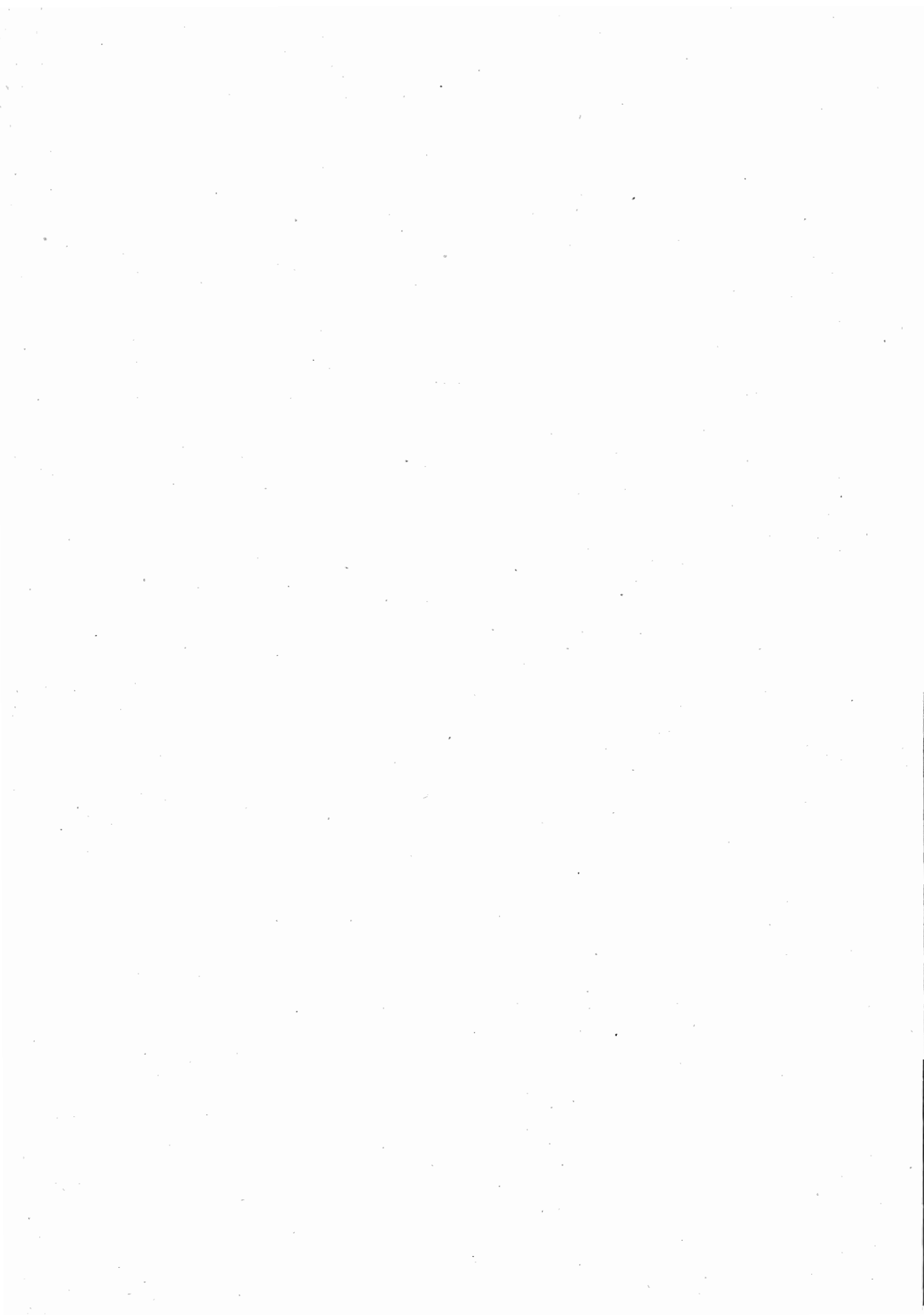
LES STATISTIQUES SUR LES MIGRATIONS INTERNATIONALES DANS LES PAYS DE L'OCDE: LES DONNÉES DISPONIBLES ET LEUR COMPARABILITÉ

par

Jean - Pierre GARSON
Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques

Introduction

1. La migration est un phénomène démographique complexe, difficile à observer et à mesurer. Les statistiques disponibles sur les migrations internationales dans les pays de l'OCDE sont établies à partir des définitions du phénomène migratoire propres à chaque pays et la collecte des données s'effectue sur la base des outils statistiques nationaux. Par ailleurs, dans chaque pays, l'histoire de l'immigration et la législation en la matière exercent un impact considérable sur les méthodes statistiques de mesure du phénomène ainsi que sur la nature et la qualité des données disponibles. A côté des recensements de population, des enquêtes sur la population active et des statistiques globales sur les mouvements migratoires, il est possible aussi de recueillir, à travers certaines enquêtes ou certains fichiers de l'administration et d'autres organismes socio-économiques, des informations intéressantes sur l'insertion sociale et le comportement économique des immigrés dans les pays d'accueil.

2. L'analyse comparative des phénomènes migratoires nécessite au préalable une analyse fine des données brutes nationales et un souci de bien préciser le degré de comparabilité des données de façon à rendre aussi rigoureuse que possible l'interprétation des tendances dégagées. Des efforts en matière de définition et de mesure des phénomènes migratoires sont nécessaires si l'on souhaite intégrer les statistiques sur les migrations internationales dans des bases de données plus larges sur la population et le marché du travail.

La migration: un phénomène complexe, difficile à observer et à mesurer

3. Parmi les phénomènes démographiques, la migration est sans doute l'un des plus difficiles à observer et à mesurer. Evénement renouvelable et processus réversible - toute émigration pouvant être suivie d'un retour au lieu d'origine - la migration est définie, en outre, par rapport à un espace de référence (essentiellement le lieu de résidence). La prise en compte de cet espace permet de distinguer la migration internationale des autres formes de déplacements (migration interne et tourisme, par exemple). Il faut par ailleurs différencier les migrations temporaires des migrations définitives.

4. La plupart des statistiques officielles sur les migrations internationales enregistrent plutôt des migrants (c'est à dire des individus) que des migrations (c'est à dire des événements). Par ailleurs, certains pays, notamment en Europe, rassemblent et publient des données plus spécialement sur les étrangers. Or on peut être étranger sans avoir été migrant. D'autres pays, qualifiés de pays d'installation (Australie, Canada, Etats-Unis), s'intéressent plus aux personnes nées à l'étranger ("foreign born"); dans ce cas il s'agit bien de migrants, mais ces derniers ne sont pas nécessairement des étrangers.

5. Dans les anciens pays d'immigration, la succession de vagues migratoires importantes, l'allongement de la durée de séjour des migrants, leur installation définitive dans le pays d'accueil et parfois l'acquisition de la nationalité contribuent, au fil du temps, à la constitution ou à l'émergence de minorités ethniques. Ces dernières correspondent à une réalité, souvent au coeur des débats actuels sur l'immigration; elles demeurent cependant difficilement repérables statistiquement et débordent largement le champ d'analyse des migrations internationales proprement dites. De manière plus générale, la dimension sociologique des mouvements migratoires est mal appréciée par les statistiques actuellement disponibles. A cet égard, seules des enquêtes à partir d'un échantillon représentatif de la population immigrée, étrangère ou d'origine étrangère permettraient de mieux saisir la nature des comportements communautaires.

6. La plupart des statistiques disponibles sur les migrations internationales sont établies à partir des définitions et des pratiques nationales de collecte des données, ce qui rend d'autant plus difficile les comparaisons internationales. En effet, les définitions du phénomène migratoire et les pratiques statistiques varient parfois considérablement d'un pays à l'autre. En outre, la grande diversité des trajectoires individuelles et des statuts des migrants ne facilite pas sur le plan national, le suivi statistique du phénomène migratoire et de son évolution. Par exemple, dans les débats récents en Europe sur l'intégration des migrants dans les pays d'accueil, les indicateurs statistiques qui concernent le cadre de vie (éducation, santé, logement...) des immigrés sont inégalement développés suivant les pays considérés.

L'histoire des migrations et le système statistique de mesure et de suivi du phénomène migratoire

7. Dans les pays d'immigration de l'OCDE les modes d'enregistrement statistique des phénomènes migratoires résultent en grande partie du rôle que chaque pays accordait à l'immigration au moment de la mise en place du système de mesure et de suivi du phénomène. Les pays d'installation, dans lesquels la migration a toujours représenté une composante importante de la population totale, publient généralement des statistiques de flux d'entrées des immigrés, qui mêlent les travailleurs immigrés et les membres de leur famille. Dans le même ordre d'idée, le retour des migrants dans leur pays d'origine ne retient pas nécessairement l'attention des autorités administratives, qui ne cherchent pas à mesurer avec précision ce phénomène, étape pourtant toujours possible du processus migratoire. Enfin, du fait que le migrant qui s'installe peut assez facilement obtenir la nationalité du pays d'accueil, il s'avère plus utile de publier des statistiques sur les immigrés (personnes nées à l'étranger "foreign born") que sur les étrangers, concept fondé sur la nationalité et retenu par les pays européens de l'OCDE.

8. Dans certains pays européens de l'OCDE, où la migration a joué un rôle de peuplement parallèlement à l'apport fondamental en main-d'oeuvre, il existe des données statistiques assez détaillées sur la migration des membres des familles, données distinctes de celles des flux d'entrées de travailleurs. C'est le cas notamment en France ou en Suisse (entrées de personnes sans activité lucrative). D'un autre côté, l'Allemagne, qui a plutôt considéré la migration comme un phénomène temporaire, concernant essentiellement la force de travail, dispose de données très fines sur les travailleurs étrangers mais d'informations encore peu élaborées sur les membres des familles. Cependant ce pays publie des statistiques plus précises, par exemple, que celles de la France sur les sorties d'étrangers.

La législation sur l'immigration: son impact sur la mesure et la comparabilité des données.

9. La législation sur l'immigration et le cadre institutionnel dans lequel elle s'applique jouent de toute évidence un rôle important sur l'enregistrement et la mesure du phénomène migratoire et réduisent la comparabilité des données brutes au niveau international. La définition du lieu de résidence peut déjà poser problème: c'est le cas des travailleurs frontaliers, des mariniers et des populations nomades. Il en va de même pour la durée de séjour. Certains pays considèrent qu'un séjour supérieur à trois mois relève de l'immigration, d'autres ne retiennent que les durées de séjour supérieures à une année. On rencontre les mêmes obstacles dans la définition de la migration saisonnière ou temporaire. L'analyse comparative effectuée à partir des statistiques sur les documents administratifs délivrés aux immigrés se heurte aussi à de nombreuses difficultés d'interprétation. Par exemple certains pays délivrent des titres uniques valables pour le séjour et le travail, d'autres établissent la distinction entre les permis de séjour et les permis de travail.

10. La régularisation des immigrés en situation irrégulière constitue aussi un exemple de l'impact du cadre législatif sur la mesure des migrations. En effet, les pays qui acceptent plus ou moins périodiquement de régulariser la situation de migrants en situation irrégulière (voir récemment les Etats-Unis, la France, l'Italie et l'Espagne) enregistrent avec un décalage dans le temps le phénomène migratoire. Donc toute régularisation effectuée au cours d'une année a tout d'abord un impact direct sur l'augmentation des effectifs de la population étrangère ou de la population immigrée de cette même année, mais cette régularisation exerce aussi à court ou moyen terme un impact indirect sur ces deux indicateurs en raison, notamment, des flux de regroupement familial induits.

11. Le cadre institutionnel et législatif peut conduire aussi à ce que le même phénomène démographique lié en grande partie à la migration exerce un impact différent sur l'évaluation des effectifs de population autochtone et étrangère. En effet, dans les pays européens de l'OCDE les modes d'acquisition de la nationalité du pays d'accueil sont plus ou moins aisés selon les pays. En France et en Belgique, par exemple, où les étrangers peuvent obtenir assez facilement la nationalité, une grande partie de la dynamique endogène des populations immigrées (accroissement naturel) contribue à une augmentation non négligeable de la population autochtone, abstraction faite des nouveaux flux migratoires. En Allemagne et en Suisse, au contraire, pays où la naturalisation est plus difficile à obtenir, cette même dynamique exerce un impact relativement important sur l'augmentation des effectifs de la population étrangère.

Méthodes statistiques de mesure des phénomènes migratoires et degré de comparabilité des données

12. Les méthodes statistiques utilisées pour enregistrer et mesurer les phénomènes migratoires diffèrent selon les pays et les indicateurs concernés. L'évaluation des effectifs de population étrangère dans certains pays européens de l'OCDE s'effectue à partir des registres de population. Un individu doit déclarer son installation dans la commune d'arrivée et, lorsqu'il la quitte, il est tenu de signaler son départ et d'indiquer la commune de destination. Bien que performant, dès lors que la période d'observation n'est pas trop longue, ce système comporte aussi des limites, les départs et les arrivées étant parfois sous-évalués (Tableau A).

13. Une mesure de l'évolution du nombre des immigrés ou des étrangers peut se faire également à partir des recensements de la population, à condition de connaître la localisation des individus antérieurement au recensement considéré (indiquée le plus souvent par le fait qu'ils étaient présents ou non dans le pays considéré lors du précédent recensement). Cette estimation, effectuée sur l'ensemble de la période, ne permet pas de calculer la migration annuelle. Cependant, certains pays utilisent la méthode du bilan migratoire intercensitaire pour évaluer globalement entre deux recensements, le solde migratoire (immigration - émigration). Ils en tiennent compte dans l'estimation du solde migratoire annuel.

14. Les flux migratoires, eux-aussi, ne sont pas saisis de la même façon par les pays d'immigration. Ils peuvent faire l'objet d'une mesure directe, par exemple à travers les fiches de renseignements que certains pays font remplir aux personnes entrant ou sortant du territoire. Dans la pratique cette méthode d'enregistrement des flux s'avère difficilement exploitable en raison, notamment, de la croissance rapide des mouvements qui ne relèvent pas des migrations internationales (par exemple le tourisme) et de la difficulté de distinguer lors du franchissement des frontières (surtout pour les pays qui n'exigent pas systématiquement un visa d'entrée) les traits caractéristiques de l'immigration par rapport aux autres formes de déplacement. Souvent, la confrontation des données relatives aux flux d'entrées fournies par les pays d'arrivée de l'immigration ne coïncide pas avec celles relatives aux sorties publiées par les pays de départ. Généralement, les entrées sont plus facilement repérables que les sorties et en conséquence, on retient les estimations officielles des pays d'accueil (Tableau B). Une estimation des émigrés installés pour une durée plus ou moins longue à l'étranger est parfois effectuée par les pays d'origine à partir des statistiques établies par les Consulats implantés dans les pays d'accueil.

15. L'évaluation annuelle des flux d'immigration peut s'effectuer aussi par le biais des documents requis (cartes ou titres de séjour et/ou cartes ou permis de travail) délivrés par les autorités administratives aux primo-migrants; c'est le cas, notamment, dans la plupart des pays européens d'immigration. Toutefois quelques catégories de personne ne sont pas toujours tenues de détenir de tels documents, par exemple les inactifs ou les nationaux originaires de certains pays. Dans le cas particulier de la délivrance des nouvelles cartes ou permis de travail, certains pays ne distinguent pas les primo-migrants proprement dits des immigrés ou des étrangers déjà présents sur le territoire et accédant pour la première fois au marché du travail (Tableau B).

16. La comptabilisation des flux de réfugiés et de demandeurs d'asile diffère aussi selon les pays et les méthodes d'enregistrement utilisées. Parfois les réfugiés et les demandeurs d'asile (Tableau B) sont inclus dans le total des entrées annuelles par nationalité (Allemagne, Pays-Bas, Norvège et Suède). Il est possible aussi de disposer de données statistiques qui permettent de distinguer les entrées au titre de l'immigration de celles découlant de procédures à caractère humanitaire (par exemple, Australie, Canada, Etats-Unis). Par ailleurs on ne connaît pas avec précision les chiffres relatifs aux sorties des demandeurs d'asile, qui n'ont pas pu obtenir le statut de réfugié.

17. La distinction classique entre immigrés ("foreign born") et étrangers qui sépare les pays d'installation (Australie, Canada et Etats-Unis) des autres pays d'immigration de l'OCDE s'applique aussi à l'analyse de la population active (Tableau C). Dans le premier groupe de pays, il est possible à l'aide des recensements d'étudier la structure des actifs immigrés et leur situation sur le marché du travail. Entre deux recensements, les données officielles publiées sur les flux d'entrées de nouveaux migrants ne permettent pas toujours de mesurer avec précision l'apport des nouveaux travailleurs immigrés à la population active puisque la plupart d'entre eux sont comptabilisés globalement avec les membres de leur famille. Il existe cependant, à l'exemple de l'Australie, des enquêtes sur l'emploi mais le recensement reste la source principale d'information sur la population active immigrée.

18. Dans le second groupe de pays, on trouve aussi des données détaillées sur les actifs étrangers, extraites des différents recensements, mais pour la plupart de ces pays et notamment ceux de la CEE, l'évaluation annuelle du stock de population active étrangère provient des résultats des Enquêtes Emploi (Labour force surveys) ou, pour d'autres pays, comme l'Autriche ou la Suisse, des statistiques administratives établies à partir des permis de travail détenus par les actifs étrangers. Au-delà des limites qui tiennent aux méthodes de mesure utilisées et au cadre institutionnel dans lequel elles sont effectuées. il n'est pas toujours aisé d'obtenir des données précises sur les actifs occupés et plus particulièrement sur le sous-ensemble des non salariés (par exemple aux Pays-Bas. en Autriche, en Suède, en Finlande et en Norvège). Parfois les statistiques sur le chômage des étrangers sont peu détaillées (c'est le cas notamment au Royaume-Uni et en Suède). Au total, la comparabilité des données européennes sur les actifs étrangers occupés (salariés ou non salariés) et sur les chômeurs concerne un nombre réduit de pays (Tableau C).

19. Dans l'ensemble des pays d'immigration de l'OCDE, il s'avère difficile de mesurer l'impact réel sur le marché du travail des actifs étrangers ou immigrés occupés temporairement, mais aussi des travailleurs immigrés saisonniers ou frontaliers, et enfin des immigrés ou étrangers en situation irrégulière qui occupent un emploi non déclaré. Dans certains pays comme l'Australie ou le Canada, l'apport des travailleurs immigrés temporaires est numériquement important et tend à s'accroître dans les dernières années. Dans les pays européens de l'OCDE, les chiffres officiels sont faibles mais la dépendance sectorielle est élevée en raison de la concentration de ces immigrés dans un nombre très limité d'activités économiques. Il en va de même pour les saisonniers en grande partie employés dans l'agriculture et les services touristiques. A l'exception de la Suisse et du Luxembourg, les données relatives aux travailleurs frontaliers, ne permettent pas de se faire une idée précise du rôle de ces travailleurs sur le marché du travail des pays d'accueil, alors même que les enjeux semblent importants. La question fondamentale est de savoir comment peut-on prendre en compte ces effectifs de travailleurs temporaires, saisonniers ou frontaliers dans le concept global de population active.

Les autres sources statistiques

20. A côté des données statistiques globales sur les phénomènes migratoires. il est parfois possible d'accéder à des informations stockées dans des fichiers administratifs ou appartenant à des institutions socio-économiques ou socio-professionnelles. On peut citer notamment les données des organismes de sécurité sociale, des caisses de retraite et des compagnies d'assurance. Bien que limitées à des catégories particulières de travailleurs (par exemple uniquement les salariés ou les actifs employés dans les secteurs d'activité bien précis) ces données comportent parfois des informations détaillées sur la durée de séjour des immigrés, leur itinéraire professionnel, l'évolution de leur situation familiale etc. Une exploitation plus systématique de ces données, il est vrai parfois difficilement accessibles, permettrait non seulement de mener des analyses longitudinales sur la population immigrée mais aussi de comprendre l'évolution et la place des immigrés dans telle ou telle activité économique.

21. Les enquêtes générales sur les familles, le comportement économique des ménages, la qualification et la formation professionnelles des travailleurs, la mobilité géographique et professionnelle sont souvent peu exploitées. Parfois le questionnaire omet de faire référence à la nationalité ou au pays de naissance de l'enquêté. Une modification très limitée de ce questionnaire permettrait de recueillir des informations détaillées sur les conditions de vie et l'insertion sociale et économique des immigrés dans les pays d'accueil.

TABLEAU A: POPULATION TOTALE IMMIGREE OU ETRANGERE

Mode de collecte des données et nature des informations disponibles	Pays concernés	Remarques et Sources
Registres municipaux et centraux - Sexe et nationalité - Groupe d'âge - Répartition géographique	- Autriche	Moyenne annuelle. Données disponibles uniquement sur le nombre d'étrangers en Autriche sans aucun autre critère d'identification. Source: Osterreichisches Statisches Zentralamt.
	- Belgique	Données au 1er janvier. Recensement au 1er mars 1981. Source: Institut National de Statistiques.
	- Allemagne	Données au 30 septembre ou au 31 décembre. Source: Statistiches Bundesamt.
	- Pays-Bas	Données au 1er janvier. Source: CBS. Maandstatistiek Bevolking.
	- Norvège	Données au 1er janvier. uniquement disponibles par sexe et nationalité Source: Statistisk Sentrallyra.
	- Suède	Données au 31 décembre uniquement disponibles par sexe et nationalité Source: Statistiska Centralbyran.
	- Suisse	Données au 31 décembre également disponibles par catégorie de séjour, canton et nationalité, âge et nationalité, âge et sexe. Source: Office Fédéral des Etrangers.
	- Luxembourg	Données au 1er janvier. Source: Service Central de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques
Recensement de la population - Sexe et nationalité - Groupe d'âge - Répartition géographique	- France	Recensement au 4 mars 1982 et estimation de l'INED au 1er janvier 1986 Le recencement de 1990 est en cours d'exploitation.
	- Royaume-Uni	Recensement de 1981.
	- Australie et Canada	Recensements de 1981 et 1986.
	- Etats-Unis	Recensement de 1980. Le recensement de 1990 est en cours d'exploitation

CONCLUSION

22. Avant même de discuter de la fiabilité et de la comparabilité de données statistiques sur les migrations internationales, il importe de souligner que certains pays ne disposent pas pour l'instant d'outils statistiques élaborés pour mesurer les phénomènes migratoires ou viennent de les mettre en place récemment (c'est le cas, par exemple, de l'Italie, de l'Espagne et du Portugal). Les lacunes ne tiennent donc pas seulement aux difficultés rencontrées pour enregistrer le phénomène mais aussi à la place qu'occupe la migration dans l'histoire de chaque pays Membre et à l'intérêt que représente pour chaque pays considéré la création d'outils statistiques appropriés ou leur amélioration lorsqu'ils existent.

23. En dépit des différences dans la définition et la mesure du phénomène migratoire et de la diversité des cadres législatifs, les données publiées, restent comparables. Il importe cependant de préciser les sources et les concepts utilisés et de procéder, le cas échéant, à des regroupements statistiques afin de rendre plus cohérentes les séries statistiques présentées. Par ailleurs la mention des lacunes statistiques lors de la présentation des informations, comme le refus d'intégrer dans les tableaux comparatifs des données imprécises sont utiles si l'on souhaite améliorer la qualité et la comparabilité des informations diffusées. Parfois les lacunes statistiques ou la carence des données ne sont pas spécifiques aux immigrés ou aux étrangers, mais à l'ensemble de la population, c'est le cas par exemple des données sur les travailleurs indépendants, moins développées que celles qui concernent les salariés. Enfin, il importe de souligner qu'à l'intérieur de certaines zones géographiques, la libre circulation des personnes rend plus difficile la collecte d'informations sur les mouvements migratoires des ressortissants des pays Membres de chaque zone.

24. Si l'on envisageait d'intégrer de manière systématique les statistiques sur les migrations internationales dans des bases de données plus larges, il conviendrait de surmonter les principales difficultés liées à la définition et à la mesure des phénomènes migratoires. Par exemple, sur le plan des définitions, le concept d'immigré est différent de celui d'étranger. Dans certains pays une distinction plus nette entre les catégories "étrangers" et "nationaux", permettrait par exemple de comptabiliser avec plus de précision les naissances étrangères et les naturalisations. Sur le plan de la mesure des migrations, un enregistrement plus précis des flux de sorties contribuerait à une meilleure évaluation de l'apport net de la population immigrée à la population totale. On pourrait aussi faire coincider la date de repérage des flux ou des stocks de population étrangère avec celle retenue pour la population autochtone.

TABLEAU B: ENTREES ET SORTIES D'IMMIGRES OU D'ETRANGERS

I. ENTREES DE PERSONNES ENTRANGERES AU TITRE DE L'IMMIGRATION PERMANENTE (non compris les réfugiés et/ou les demandeurs d'asile)

Type de données collectées	Pays concernés	Remarques et Sources
A. Entrées totales non ventilées selon la nature des flux		
	-Belgique	Ministère de l'Emploi et du Travail et Institut National de Statistiques.
- - Etrangers nouvellement comptabilisés dans les Registres municipaux et centraux par:		
Sexe et nationalité (a)	-Allemagne	Bundersanstalt für Arbeit et Statistiches Bundesamt.
	-Pays - Bas	CBS, Maandstatistiek Bevolking.
	-Norvége	Statistiska Sentrallyra.
	-Suéde	Statistiska Centralbyran.
	-Suisse	Office Fédéral des Etrangers.
- Entrées de migrants permanents par:		
Sexe et nationalité	- France	Office des Migrations Internationales
Pays d'origine et catégories d'admission		
	-Australie	Australian Bureau of Statistics.
	-Canada	Emploi et Immigration, Canada.
	-Etats - Unis	U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Données par pays de naissance.
	-Royaume - Uni	Home Office, Statistical Bulletin.

a. **Pour certains, les entrées totales de personnes étrangères ventilées par nationalité incluent les demandeurs d'asile (Allemagne, Pays - Bas, Norvége, Suède) ou les réfugiés (Australie, Canada, Etats - Unis).**

B. ENTRÉES TOTALES VENTILÉES SELON LA NATURE DES FLUX

-*Entrées de travailleurs* (nouveaux travailleurs avec immigration, accédant pour la première fois au marché du travail).

Nouveaux permis de travail délivrés par:	-Autriche	Données uniquement disponibles par nationalité. Les données par sexe et répartition géographique incluent les premiers permis délivrés aux étrangers déjà résidents. *Source:* Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales.
- Sexe et nationalité - Activité économique - Répartition géographique	-Belgique	Les citoyens de la CE à l'exception de l'Espagne et du Portugal ne sont pas inclus. Données disponibles sur le nombre de cartes professionnelles délivrées aux non - salariés par nationalité, sexe et activité exercée. *Source:* Institut National de Statistiques et Ministère de l'Emploi et du Travail.
	-France	Données également disponibles sur le nombre de travailleurs saisonniers. *Source:* Office des Migrations Internationales.
	-Allemagne	Nombre de permis de travail émis par l'Institut Fédéral pour l'Emploi. Y compris ceux attribués aux demandeurs d'asile. Les citoyens de la CE à l'exception de l'Espagne et du Portugal ne sont pas inclus. Données uniquement disponibles par nationalité et par sexe. *Source:* Bundesanstalt für Arbeit.
	-Suisse	Nombre d'étrangers qui sont entrés en Suisse en vue d'y exercer une activité lucrative et qui ont obtenu une autorisation de séjour à l'année (y compris les stagiaires). Sont également pris en compte le titulaires d'une autorisation d'établissement rentrés en Suisse après un séjour temporaire à l'étranger. Les entrées de travailleurs étrangers sont également disponibles par nationalité et activité économique mais non par canton. Il existe aussi des données sur le nombre de travailleurs saisonniers et frontaliers. *Source:* Office Fédéral des Etrangers.
	-Royaume - Uni	Nombre d'étrangers assujettis au contrôle de l'immigration. Il existe trois catégories principales de permis de travail, à long terme, à court terme et ceux délivrés aux stagiaires. Non compris les citoyens de la CE. *Source:* Département de l'Emploi, Division de la Main - d'Oeuvre d'Outre - Mer.

B. ENTRÉES TOTALES VENTILÉES SELON LA NATURE DES FLUX

- *Entrées des membres des familles par sexe et nationalité*

- Belgique
  Mouvements enregistrés dans le registre central de la population étrangère. Y compris les citoyens de la CE.
  Souce: Institut National de Statistiques

- France
  Etrangers entrés au titre du regroupement familial. Non compris les citoyens de la CE. Données uniquement disponibles par nationalité.
  Source: Office des Migrations Internationales

- Allemagne
  Mouvements enregistrés dans le registre central de la population étrangère. *Source:* Statistiches Bundesamt

- Suisse
  Entrées de personnes étrangères sans activité lucrative.
  Source: Office Fédéral des Etrangers

II. CAS PARTICULIER DES REFUGIES ET/OU DES DEMANDEURS D'ASILE

A. Réfugiés

B. Demandeurs d'asile

III. ENTREES DE PERSONNES ETRANGERES AU TITRE DE L'IMMIGRATION SAISONNIERE OU TEMPORAIRE

A Saisonniers
Pays concernés: France et Suisse

B. Temporaires
Pays concernés: France, UK, Australie, Canada, Etats - Unis

IV. SORTIES DE PERSONNES ETRANGERS

Type de données collectées	Pays concernés	Remarques et Sources
- Etrangers comptabilisés dans des Registres municipaux et centraux par sexe et nationalité	- Belgique - Allemagne	Estimations de l'Institut National de Statiques. Les sorties de demandeurs d'asile qui se sont vu refuser le statut de réfugié politique sont incluses. Statistiches Bundesamt.
	- Pays-Bas - Norvège - Suède - Suisse	CBS. Maandstatistiek Bevolking. Statistisk Sentrallyra. Statistiska Centralbyran. Sorties de personnes avec ou sans activité lucrative. Office Fédéral des Etrangers.
- Estimations d'après les Recensements par sexe et nationalité	- France	Recensement de 1982. Le recensement de 1990 est en cours d'exploitation.
	- Royaume-Uni - Australie et Canada - Etats-Unis	Recensement de 1981. Recensements de 1981 et 1986. Recensement de 1980. Le recensement de 1990 est en cours d'exploitation.

TABLEAU C: POPULATION ACTIVE ETRANGERE

Mode de collecte des données et nature des informations disponibles	Pays concernés	Remarques et sources
1. Permis de travail détenus par:	- Autriche	Pas de données sur les non-salariés et sur la structure d'âge des chômeurs. Données disponibles sur le nombre d'apprentis par nationalité et par région. *Source: Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales.*
Actifs occupés par: - Sexe et nationalité - Activité economique dont: Salariés dont: Salariés	- Suisse	Données au 31 décembre. Population active résidante permanente titulaire d'une autorisation de séjour à l'année ou d'une autorisation d'établissement (permis permanent). Données également disponibles par cantons, catégorie de séjour, état civil. Les données sur les travailleurs saisonniers et frontaliers au 31 août, croisées par nationalité, sexe, activité économique sont aussi disponibles. Non Salariés Chômeurs par: *Source:* Office Fédéral des Etrangers, Registre Central.
- Sexe et nationalité - Age	- Espagne	Données également disponibles par Province, par profession, par activité économique et nationalité, par activité économique et Province. Source: Direction Général de l'IEE.
2. Enquête Emploi	- Belgique	Données également disponibles selon le statut professionnel (salariés, non salariés) et la nationalité pour la totalité des actifs occupés, Source: Enquête des Forces de Travail. Donnés disponibles sur les travailleurs frontaliers par nationalité, Source: Institut National Maladie - Invalidité.
- Sexe et nationalité - Activité économique dont: Salariés Non Salariés	- France	Population active au sens du BIT, Source: INSEE, Enquête Emploi. Données également disponibles sur les chômeurs par qualification, par ancien secteur d'activité et selon la durée du chômage. Source: MTEFP - ANPE.
Chômeurs -Sexe et nationalité - Age	-Allemagne	Données au 30 septembre ou au 30 juin. Les données sur les actifs - occupés sont également disponibles par région. Il existe une série annuelle sur la population active totale (actifs occupés, chômeurs, et frontaliers). Pas de données sur la structure par *Source:* Bundesanstalt für Arbeit.

-Pays - Bas

Les données sur les actifs occupés sont au 31 mars. Elles ne concernent que les salariés, y compris les travailleurs frontaliers.
Source: CBS, Buitenlandse Werknemers. Les données sur le chômage chômage sont également disponibles (en juin ou en décembre) respectivement par nationalité, sexe et niveau d'étude, par nationalité, âge et sexe et, selon la durée du chômage.
Source: CBS and Ministry of Social Affairs.

-Suède

Pas de données sur le nombre de chômeurs mais sur les taux de chômage des étrangers par nationalité et sexe, et par âge.
Source: Commission suédoise sur la recherche en matière d'immigration et SCB AKU Armsmedeltal.

MIGRATION AND SKILLED LABOUR MOBILITY

by

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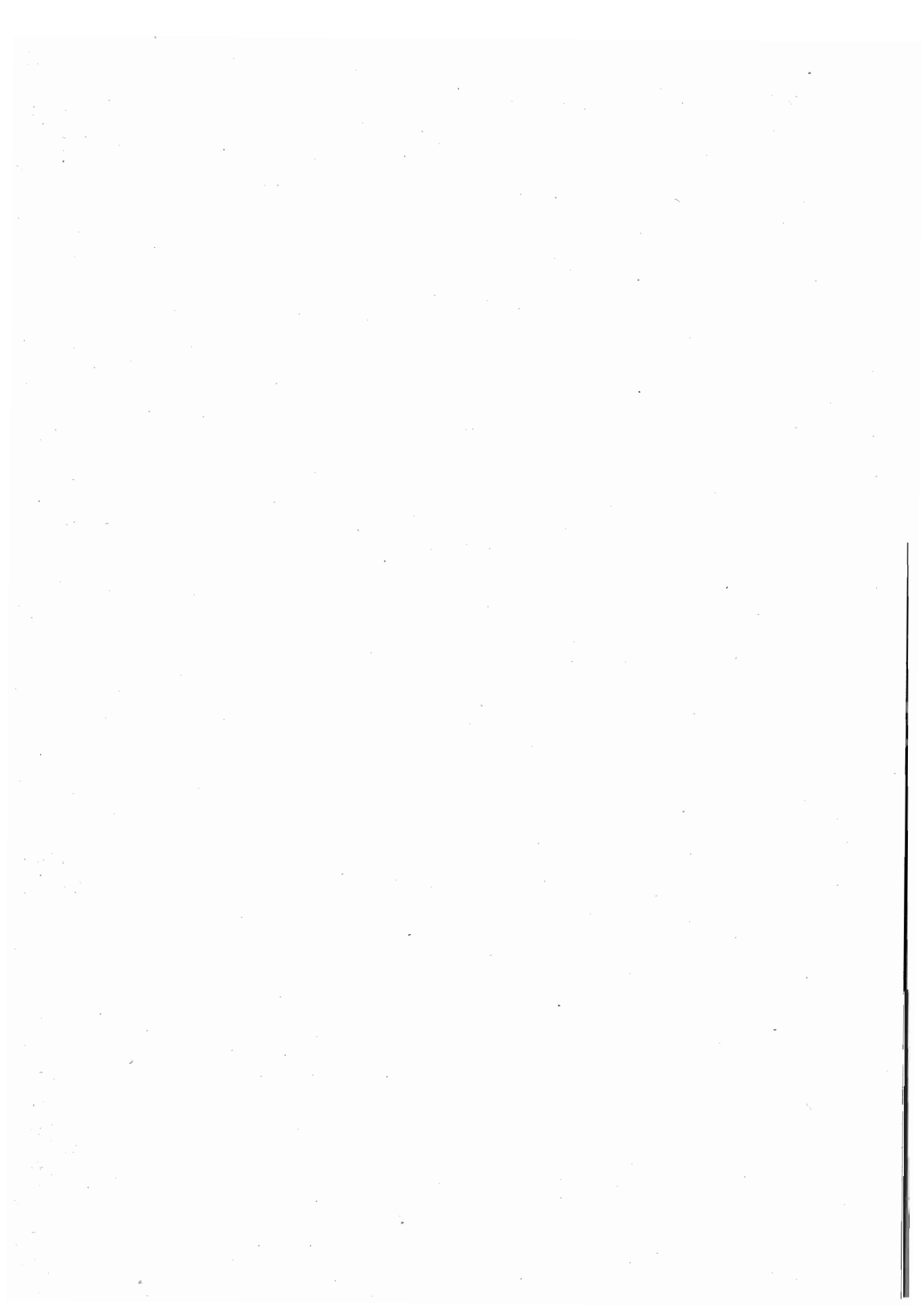
1. Knowledge About Recent International Migration

1.1. Introduction

The aims of this paper are the following: (1) to present the problem of international migration in the countries of Central Eastern Europe (in brief: Eastern Europe) with an emphasis on its current complexity and the most likely developments in the near future, and (2) to suggest the key statistical indicators required for monitoring and policy analysis of the migration related issues, as well as the major statistical methods for generating the underlying information (data sources) in view of what might be available and feasible now or in the near future.

As a necessity the both aims will be fulfilled by means of inadequate inputs (insufficient information, unreliable empirical data, not-too-many examples to follow). Hence, the conclusions will rather be of speculative nature and will have to be regarded as tentative guidelines for the expert discussion.

For purposes of the paper Eastern Europe include the following countries: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

An attempt to identify the current issues related to international migration and skilled labour mobility in the Eastern European countries instantly reveals the misery of existing statistics and the scale of what needs to be done. Few recently undertaken studies, however, in particular those prepared for the Council of Europe conference on the movements of persons coming from Central and Eastern European countries (Vienna, 24-25 January 1991), make it possible to describe. at least in a cursory manner and the vague terms, the basic characteristics of these processes (e.g. Chesnais, 1991: Honekopp, 1991; Okolski, 1991a).

What seriously hampers a statistical analysis of the past and present international migration in Eastern Europe is an unusual diversity of the forms of inflows and outflows of which a large part avoids registration. Such a diversity stems not only from inconsistencies and instability of the definitions of population movements (which could also be found in some other regions) but above all in the East European people's great propensity to migrate, and their ingenuity in finding loopholes in existing regulations and taking an advantage of various opportunities to emigrate or immigrate. The primary cause, however, is a large number and severity of travel restrictions imposed in the past (and gradually removed) on would-be migrants by East European governments and, in much lesser extent, countries of immigration.

As recently immigration and reemigration to Eastern Europe (especially from other regions) constituted a marginal share in population movements of the region (except, probably, Yugoslavia), the predominant forms were those related to an outflow.

Among the latter the most important place is occupied by emigration under a general label of "minority groups". Next comes regular emigration due to family reunification (heading to the countries with the established centers of old emigration) or mixed marriage and emigration within quotas fixed by the traditional (overseas) countries of immigration. Finally, some emigration is due to an authorized employment (e.g. the project-tied one). In turn, within irregular emigration, which at times became a major kind of outflow from some countries of the East, at least three significant categories can be distinguished: (i) asylum seekers; (ii) overstaying tourists among whom a specific group of people, i.e. those applying for an Aussiedler status in the FRG, constituted a large part, and (iii) false tourists not extending their stay but engaged in unauthorized economic activity. One might also add a number of less frequent forms, like involuntary deportation of East European nationals from their countries of origin or illegal border crossings. Surprisingly, a genuine tourism played a relatively minor role in eastern people movements, particularly those to the countries outside the region.

It seems that tourist movements of East European populations call for a special attention here, in spite of the fact that as a rule they are not a subject of migration study. As the experience of the 1980s massive traveling of Polish tourists to the West suggests, it tends to develop into a multistage process of emigration (e.g. Morokvasic, 1991). A great over-valuation of western currencies in black markets of East European countries prompts many travellers from those countries to buying and resaling practices or looking for short time employment in the West. Gradually, more and more people enter shadow sector of the economy (in particular irregular labour market) there, and ultimately try to regularize their stay. Consequently, the more successful

immigrants form the East strive to reunite with their relatives or encourage friends to follow in their footsteps. Many facts indicate that a similar pattern of emigration/immigration may shortly emerge within Eastern Europe itself.

1.2. The scope and reliability of migration statistics

Not even one East European country compiles at present satisfactory statistics reflecting international movements of population.

While most eastern countries continuously record border crossings and emigration and immigration, some of them additionally collect diversified data concerning each foreign trip of passport holders. In fact, three independent sources existed in some countries (e.g. Poland until 1989). This being so, why the relevant statistics are thought to be so deficient?

First of all, in reality only exits and entries connected with the change of permanent residence are considered to be emigration and immigration, respectively. As far as emigration is concerned, the registers of persons reporting their own departure to a local administrative unit and declaring an intention to emigrate serve as a source of the relevant information. It is worth to be mentioned that in most of East European countries in order to get a permission to emigrate one usually has (or, in some of those countries, had - until quite recently) to undergo a cumbersome, time consuming and often humiliating application procedure. No wonder then that many people (if not most of emigrants) preferred to emigrate unofficially and thus avoid registration. The resultant serious and systematic bias inherent in emigration statistics in many countries of Eastern Europe was just one of a number of obstacles to a migration study.

The next reason was that only two governments (Czechoslovakia and Poland) allowed regular publication of their migration statistics. Moreover, the respective publications (in Poland until 1988) were limited to basic figures (total numbers by sex and a country of destination or origin).

An access to border crossing statistics was also limited though to a lesser degree. Four countries (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia) periodically published the data on entries and exits. Anyhow, the border statistics could not be of great value for the study of emigration as they totally ignored the purpose and duration of foreign trips.

A breakthrough in disseminating of the information, concerning international migration took place in Poland where in 1989 the detailed statistics (until that time confidential) based on the passport office (the police) records were made widely available. A unique set of data concerning non-migrants (in official meaning) who traveled outside Eastern Europe after January 1, 1981 and failed to return before December 6, 1988 became the subject of an analysis by the State Population Commission IRKL, 1989. The respective source of information though, ceased to be meaningful once (in 1989) everybody was granted a right to hold a passport and deposit it at home. In fact, the passport office statistics concerning individual trips abroad were almost instantly discontinued in Poland.

Finally, it might be noted that two countries, Yugoslavia and (recently, in 1988) Poland included a special topic related to foreign residence by the nationals in their population censuses. The value of the relevant data published is believed to be rather low, especially in Poland, where apparently many cases of extended visits to foreign countries were not reported (see section 1.4).

Therefore, the immigration statistics compiled in some western countries served as an invaluable (though far from being a satisfactory one) means of supplementing and verification of the East European data on emigration. This particularly refers to the immigration of discriminated groups among eastern populations (repatriated persons, asylum seekers, etc.) which was given a special attention (including intergovernment agreements or specific regulations) in some western countries and, eventually, international support (e.g. UNHCR). Undoubtedly, the most important in this respect were the FRG statistics on the Aussiedler immigration.

What undermines the reliability of the western statistics is that apart from not being internationally consistent (definitions!) and complete (some countries do not publish the data, the others face large illegal immigration which they are unable to cover), they often involve a considerable multiple count. On the other hand, population census statistics in western countries prove to be of little value in assessing immigration from Eastern Europe (e.g. due to naturalization or farther emigration of immigrants in intercensal periods).

The scarcity of directly compiled statistics on international immigration in Eastern Europe can hardly be compensated by indirect data either. By subtracting consecutive population census counts and adjusting the results for aggregate (intercensal) natural increase one does not seem to arrive at any sound figures (Chesnais, 1991; p. 3-4).

1.3. Statistics concerning labour movements

During the recent two decades or so few East European countries (most notably Czechoslovakia) played as host for a small number of foreign workers (slightly more than 100,000 in the 1980s). Majority of them were recruited on the basis of collective contracts of which a large part resulted from intergovernment agreements (Maresova, 1991). No regular publications containing the related data are available.

Employment of the citizens of East European countries outside the region was much more widespread, especially that of Poles and Yugoslavs. However, statistical information remained scarce. In Poland quite detailed data were published annually on project-tied employment or workers employed abroad through the Polish manpower agencies, and other persons employed on the basis of intergovernment agreements with Czechoslovakia and the GDR (GUS, various years). Relatively accurate information pertaining to the regular employment of Yugoslav citizens could be found in appropriate publications of individual countries of the EEC (e.g. OECD, 1990).

1.4. Knowledge about the relationship between changes in labour markets and international migrations

No specific statistical inquiries on this question have been carried out so far. A number of related issues, however, were included in a survey conducted in Poland in 1985 on a sample of Polish citizens returning after an extended tourist visit to the West (Latuch, 1990). In addition, an effect of official and unofficial (overstaying tourists) emigration of Polish people at the age of economic activity was established on the change in the total size of domestic labour force in 1981-88 (RKL, 1989).

The problem of "brain drain" due to intensive emigration in the 1980s was undertaken in a couple of studies recently carried out in Poland (RKL, 1989; Latuch, 1990; Okolski, 1991a) That problem also focused attention of researchers and policy makers in some other countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Rumania, the USSR) (Dempsey, 1991) but no specific results can be referred to here.

1.5. The magnitude of population movements in the 1980s: fiction and reality

Eastern Europe has for a long time been a region of relatively strong net emigration. In fact, except for unusual events (and for reemigration), immigration to that region has been negligible.

It is a well known fact that after completion of the postwar displacements of population, the intensity of emigration had stabilized at a very low level. In spite of the East European governments efforts to minimize all kinds of people's movements, however, the number of foreign trips (including those to the West) has gradually been increasing.

In 1980 around 40 million border crossings (exits) were registered in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia by the nationals (around 6 million 1965); in 1989 the respective figure exceeded 50 million. The former year, however, saw approximately 15 million (37 per cent of all) and the latter around 28 million (56 per cent) westward oriented crossings. While the overall increase in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland was 40 per cent, the increase in case of trips to the West was even seven fold (!).

For the reasons just explained, the official emigration statistics (available in Czechoslovakia and Poland) cannot be used for estimating the actual emigration. According to those statistics, in the period 1980-89, 28 thousand people emigrated from Czechoslovakia and 271 thousand from Poland. Incidentally, they suggest that in the both countries a policy of more or less fixed annual emigration quota was followed (in Czechoslovakia 2-3.5 thousand while in Poland 20-35 thousand). An hypothesis that such a policy might have been pursued in many East European countries seems to be confirmed by the Treibici estimate of semi-official emigration from Rumania where each year around 20 thousand people were allowed to leave in the 1980s (Treibici, 1990).

The reliability of the East European emigration statistics can instantly be refuted by comparing the official data concerning the period 1981-87 which were published on the one hand in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and on the other hand in five countries of Western Europe (Austria, France, the FRG, Sweden and the United Kingdom). Total emigration figures were claimed to be, respectively 21 thousand and 185 thousand while the numbers of (net!) immigrants officially admitted to these five countries only amounted to 34 thousand and 341 thousand (Okolski, 1991a). In fact, recently the government sources in Czechoslovakia presented an informal estimate of around 55 thousand persons who emigrated in the 1980s (almost twice the official figure)

(Maresova, 1991; p. 4), while the "true" Polish figure (official emigrants and "tourists" who failed to come back) seems to be close to one million (almost four times more than the official estimate) (RKL, 1989). It might be aptly argued, therefore, that the national statistics on emigration are highly unreliable, at least as far as regards the 1980s. The problem has already been extensively discussed in the literature (e.g. Kedelski, 1990).

It might be mentioned that the 1988 population census in Poland revealed 507.9 thousand people residing abroad (for longer than two months, as on December 6, 1988). According to the passport office statistics, however, 667 thousand persons who after 1980 had left as (officially!) non-emigrants, have stayed in the West on the day of the 1988 census (RKL, 1990, p. 141). If around 100 thousand of those who have been absent for more than two months due to temporary employment in East European countries are added to that figure, one arrives at the total census underestimation of the Polish population residing abroad of no less than 250 thousand (ca. 30 per cent).

Nonetheless, by combining various sources (quoted in Chesnais, 1991 and Okolski, 1991a) it is possible to obtain a plausible estimate of the total number of emigrants from Eastern Europe in 1980-89. The relevant figure seems to be close to 1,900 thousand.

If the USSR is included then between January 1,1981 and June 30,1990 the total outflow from the region was around 2,650 thousand. The respective data (by sending country) are as follows (Okolski 1991d):

Country	Total (in thousand)	of which regular immigration to the FRG	Emigration to other important destination
Poland	1,000 - 1,100	815	120 (N. America)
USSR	600 - 700	230	265 (Israel)
Bulgaria	ca.450	3	440 (Turkey)
Rumania	270 - 300	240	27 (Austria)
Yugoslavia	100 - 110	60	(a)
Czechoslovakia	50 - 70	30	20 (Austria)
Hungary	40 - 60	15	16 (Austria)

(a) no clearly dominating other destination

It might be mentioned that in the 1980s, even after a substantial liberalization of the administrative regulations in some East European countries, the emigration has continued to take a very peculiar form. For instance, the predominant group of immigrants from that region (around 70 per cent) consisted of the members of minority groups: the repatriated persons of German ethnicity, i.e. Aussiedler (39 per cent), Bulgarian population of Turkish descendency (17 per cent) and Jews (11 per cent). The additional 15 per cent was composed of political refugees. Those who above all were motivated by a search for better employment opportunities (or their family members) constituted a tiny minority among all eastern immigrants to the West although at present times this category seems to be the most common one in western migration.

1.6. Selectivity of emigration

International migration is highly selective and this problem ranks among the most important in any migration analysis. However, due to the scarcity of some basic data and a large bias inherent in the available statistics, the recent East European patterns of emigration selectivity remain almost totally obscured.

In order to vindicate the importance of that issue in future migration inquiries it seems reasonable to present some observations based mostly on the Polish statistics (RKL, 1989), apparently being the only ones which permit a more extensive description.

Destination. In the period 1981-88 almost all persons who emigrated officially (222 thousand) went to other countries than those of Eastern Europe. The major countries of destinations were the FRG (58 per cent) and the US (10 per cent) where the concentrations of older emigration from Poland are the largest. The next two countries, Austria and Italy (9 per cent altogether), at that time

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served as the most popular refugee centres for East European people. Those four countries, together with France, accounted for more than 80 per cent of total outflow from Poland.

A large majority of tourists who left for the West between April 30, 1981 and December 31, 1988 and failed to return before November 23, 1989 (533 thousands) headed for the FRG (50.2 per cent) and the United States (14.4 per cent). The next four countries of first destination were as follows: Italy (5.7 per cent), Austria (4.6 per cent), France (4.4 per cent) and Greece (3.7 per cent).

Sex and age. Despite an enormous excess of female emigrants recorded by official migration statistics in 1981-88 (159 females per 100 males), almost ideal sex parity (102) took actually place. This was due to a clear predominance of males (85) in unofficial emigration. The major differences in the sex ratio between official and unofficial emigration were observed in the age groups 25-34 (174 and 76, respectively) and 35-44 (277 and 61, respectively). This may suggest that in many cases overstaying by a man who belongs to the younger brackets of working age constitutes a primary emigration which is followed by a secondary (and official) emigration of his wife (often accompanied by their children; the share of persons below the age of 25 who emigrated officially was almost twice as high as those who left unofficially).

The largest age category among the official emigrants were children and adolescent persons; they were substantially overrepresented relative to resident population; the opposite, however, is true as far as young unofficial emigrants are concerned. Among male official emigrants all other age groups (except 18-24 years) were seriously underrepresented. It is not so evident with regard to females; in fact, the share of those aged 25-44 greatly exceeded the respective share observed in resident population.

Persons aged 25-34 strongly dominated among unofficial emigrants and they were by far overrepresented. The age group 35-44 although less numerous among emigrating persons was even more overrepresented. In turn, young (below 25) and older (55 or more) persons were seriously underrepresented. Those tendencies could be observed more clearly among males than females.

The 1988 FRG data concerning immigration from Eastern Europe (Aussiedler exclusive) throw some more light on the problem of age selectivity of current migration in that region, and suggest that distinctly different patterns in this respect may exist among the East European countries (Honekopp, 1991, p. 41):

Age group	Bulgaria	Czechoslovakia	Hungary	Poland	Rumania	Yugoslavia
%	%	%	%	%	%	
-24	17.8	23.6	30.0	30.0	25.9	56.2
25-49	56.0	42.1	54.5	51.5	37.8	37.9
50+	26.2	34.3	15.2	18.5	36.3	5.9
TOTAL 100	100	100	100	100	100	

Yugoslavia seemed to be a country deeply involved in the process of family reunification (a very large share of young immigrants apparently joining their older relatives who settled in the FRG earlier); Czechoslovakia and Rumania represented a pattern characterized by the strong state control over emigration (relatively easy exit for older people only) while the immigration from Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland followed a rather typical course characterized by a great prevalence of people at relatively young working age.

Education. In 1988 the emigrants from Poland were generally much better educated than resident population (44 and 33 per cent with completed secondary education, respectively, among all people aged 18 or more). In turn, among emigrants the level of education of overstaying tourists was on average higher than that of those who left officially.

Education selectivity of emigration from the East resulted in a considerable "brain drain"; e.g. the number of emigrants from Poland in 1983-87 who had completed post-secondary education was almost identical to the average annual number of university graduates in the 1980s (Okolski; 1991 a p. 18).

1.7. The year 1990 and what's new?

The radical acceleration in migratory movements in Eastern Europe occurred in 1989, and it was even reinforced in 1990. During 18-month period between January 1, 1989 and June 30, 1990 approximately 1,200 thousand people emigrated from Eastern Europe (including the USSR), the figure comparable with 1,450 thousand estimated for the preceding 9-year period (1981-1988) (Okolski 1991d). It was recently argued that up to 2 million East Europeans might have emigrated to the West during 1990 (*The Economist,* 1991).

It should be mentioned, however, that the major contribution to that remarkable increase was made by the USSR, a country which remains beyond the present considerations. At the same time one should not ignore the possible impact of the USSR migratory potential on Eastern Europe. In 1990 alone, in the wake of the announcement of passport liberalization, as many as 1,112 thousand Soviet citizens applied for an exit visa (Aron, 1991).

According to the Soviet Minister of Labour, between 1.5 and 2 million people from the Soviet Union might consider emigration each year for the next couple of years (Dempsey, 1991). It is estimated on the other hand, that the size of those minorities who seem presently eligible for emigration amounts to 9 million (3.5 million Armenias, 2.0 million Germans, 2.0 Koreans and 1.5 million Jews) (Chesnais, 1991 and Kortunov, 1991).

It would be premature at the moment to attempt an assessment of the impact that the recent political change in Eastern Europe and, particularly, the liberalization of foreign traveling have had on migration in countries of the region. Nonetheless, an increase in people's mobility has by all means been striking.

In 1990 22 million foreign trips by the Polish citizens were recorded what by far exceeded the 1988 figure (10 million) and even the 1989 one (19 million). Still more spectacular developments took place in Poland with regard to foreigners entering the country. Between 1988 and 1989 the number of visits paid the persons coming from the other East European countries rose from 5.1 million to 6.6 million (of which from the Soviet Union - from 1.7 million to 2.9 million), but in 1990 as many as 15.8 million visits were recorded (of which 9.1 million from the former GDR and 4.3 million from the USSR). The citizens of some countries (Bulgaria and Rumania) only then started to move more freely; for instance, the number of trips made by Rumanians multiplied to 324 thousand (from fairly stable over time 20 thousand). In contrast to the past years, the visitors from Eastern Europe by and large consisted of individual false tourists involved in small scale commercial activity. Parallel to that, the number of entries made by citizens from the western countries went up by 42 per cent in 1989 and 50 per cent in 1990 to reach 2.4 million (MSW, 1991). Similar changes were recorded in other countries of the region. An important novelty in Eastern Europe is gradually increasing immigration. This has been specially noticeable in 1990 in Hungary where (apart from relatively high albeit unspecified number of irregular immigrants) around 100 thousand refugees from Rumania and Ukraina were admitted (Okolski, 1991c). In Poland immigration has mainly taken a form of (largely unauthorized) short-term (from few weeks to few months) visits of Soviet citizens related to work in the regions close to the Polish-Soviet border. It is estimated that 30 thousand irregular guest workers were employed in Poland at the beginning of 1991 (Okolski, 1991c) but some sources predict that during the summer up to several hundred thousand workers from the USSR may seek a job within the Polish shadow economy (MSW, 1991). Since the beginning of 1990, a sudden rise in the incidence of immigration has also been recorded in Czechoslovakia (Maresova, 1991). Three East European countries: Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland corrently face an intensifying inflow of irregular foreign workers. These three countries have recently become a point of arrival of refugees who generally intend to settle in one of the western countries. For instance, by March 14,1991 1,234 asylum seekers were registered in Czechoslovakia (Maresova, 1991 while in Poland around 1,000 applications for a refugee status were submitted during 1990 by the citizens of various African and Asian countries and 800 by those coming from other countries of Eastern Europe. Many immigrants in East European countries avoid registration, and their number cannot, even vaguely, be estimated (most of them come from other East European countries and do not need entry visa). For instance, it might aptly be argued that quite considerable number of irregular immigrants who enter Poland as "tourists" attempt an illegal escape to the West; in 1990 alone some 300 foreigners were prevented from crossing the Polish border without a valid German visa (Okolski, 1991c). Needless to say, the newly observed features of migration in Eastern Europe are bound to have a tremendous influence on all spheres of social activity. The effects will hardly be known, however, unless more information, and of good quality at that, are available and presented in an accurate form. It seems unimaginable not to undertake a careful monitoring and analyzing of migratory movements. Indeed, it has to be done very soon.

2. The Determinants of Migration in the Near Future

2.1. Traditional factors

Large differences have existed between Eastern and Western Europe for at least several tens of years. Generally speaking, the societies belonging to the former region have been relatively less modern while those belonging to the latter more modern. Greater maturity of democratic institutions, better functioning of markets and much more advanced "civil society" in the West usually induced stronger economic expansion, and offered more jobs, better living conditions and wider opportunities for careers. At times those premises stimulated migration from the eastern to western part of Europe, and they are likely to continue to do so, at least in the near future. Precisely speaking, they will tend to reinforce particular push or pull factors specific to an individual or a group of people living in Eastern Europe and considering emigration.

2.2. Demographic factors

It does not seem that the demographic factor will play an important role in encouraging people living in Eastern Europe to emigrate. Aging of population and labour force in particular will be further advanced. The overall increase in the size of the population of working age will be very moderate (Rumania and Yugoslavia) or almost none (Bulgaria and Hungary); however, even relatively stronger, the 8 per cent growth expected for Czechoslovakia over 10-year period (1991-2000) and 9 per cent for Poland should not significantly bear on the labour markets in those countries. At the same time a further decline in the rates of economic activity (among the older part of working age population) would be expected (mostly due to deteriorating health), which would contribute to a weakening in the pressure of manpower on local labour markets. With just one exception (Rumania), the number of people aged 25-34 (the age at which the incidence of emigration is relatively high) will either decrease (Poland and Yugoslavia) or increase by a small margin (maximum 5 per cent) between 1990 and 2000 (Okolski, 1991a).

2.3. Political factors

With further political liberalization and a progress in the creation of a tolerant and pluralistic "open society" East European countries are likely to play a host for refugees from other regions rather than to generate new waves of politically motivated emigrants.

On the other hand, the collapse of the monopolistic communist rule in Eastern Europe, quite paradoxically, gave rise to a recent, hopefully short-lived, rise of national resentments and chauvinism. In some countries of the region (e.g. Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia) emerging internal conflicts became linked with the problems of national minorities. That phenomenon might, inter alia, be conceived as a delayed response to the past policies toward some ethnic minorities pursued by particular communist governments. Stalinism pretended to solve by decree the disharmony between the nations and ethnic groups of Eastern Europe, especially within the multinational states. Apparently, however, old problems were not solved but remained concealed and thus aggravated (Van Zon, 1991, p. 30). It will be difficult to fully contain the present ethnic conflicts (particularly those observed in Yugoslavia) within state boundaries.

2.4. Social factors

A huge outmovement of the Yugoslav workers to the West between 1965 and 1973, and the Polish refugees (or to a lesser extent the other East European nationals) in the 1980s has brought the new emigration centres in many western countries to existence. This is particularly true with the FRG. At present, many of those emigrants stay alone, either because they are single or due to a separation (forced or voluntary). A magnitude of the related phenomenon is by no means negligible. Some ILO experts estimate that the theoretical (maximum) number of Yugoslav immigrants in all EEC countries eligible for family reunification in 1985 amounted to 50 thousand. In the FRG this eligibility requirement applied to 22 per cent legally employed male migrants from Yugoslavia (Böhning and Werquin, 1990, p. 17-25 and 43).

It seems more likely, however, that the separated emigrants will tend to reunite with their family members in a country of immigration rather than reemigrate. Also a considerable number of single emigrants may seek a would-be spouse in their country of origin. This may result in a large wave of secondary emigration from some East European countries, especially when amnesty programmes for irregular immigrants are eventually introduced in the western countries concerned. If, meanwhile, instead of amnesty, a policy stimulating migrants to return is launched, the outflow of family members striving to join a regular (regularized) immigrant will possibly be offset by the inflow of irregular emigrants coming home to reunite with their families.

2.5. Economic factors

Economic factors of population movements between countries operate mostly through the differentials in employment opportunities, wage levels and working conditions. From this point of view, in the near future (if not for much longer) the West will be much more attractive to foreign labour than the East. Therefore, the situation in western countries will ultimately determine the kind of skills required from East European labour and the intensity of worker's transfers.

The opinions on the perspectives of the single European labour market (after 1992) are split (ILO; 1989). However, the view that due to labour shortages "the demand for foreign labour will grow to a certain extent" (Werner, 1991, p. 3) seems to prevail at present. At the same time it might be expected that competition for jobs among workers from outside the European Community (e.g. those coming from Eastern Europe and third world) will substantially increase, and compared with the past there will probably be far less employment opportunities for low skilled workers (Werner, 1991).

On the other hand, it seems that the existence of second economy in western countries offers wide opportunities for irregular workers from third countries. In fact, according to some inquiries, unauthorized immigration attracts more and more capital from the formal to the informal sector (dell'Aringa and Neri, 1987, p. 311). This on the whole may even further increase the demand for irregular workers. So far, the response of East European labour has been quite sound. It is estimated e.g. that in 1987/88 375 workers were in irregular situation per 1,000 Yugoslavs employed in Italy (Böhning and Werquin, 1990). The Polish sources, in turn, suggest that in the 1980s around 45 per cent of overstaying "tourists" from Poland took up unauthorized employment in western countries (Okolski 1991a, p. 16). While very large but unidentified numbers of Poles work illegally on short-time basis (few weeks up to few months), often during their annual leave (Morokvasic, 1991), it is believed that in 1989 around 100 thousand persons were continuously employed in an informal sector in the West (Okolski 1991c). Also the FRG statistics confirm a hypothesis that the participation of East European immigrants in irregular employment might not only be high but also increasing. Between 1980 and 1989 the number of East European citizens officially residing in Western Germany rose by 200 thousands while the number of those covered by the compulsory social security system by mere 20 thousand. The number of residents per one employee (precisely, a person covered by social security) increased from 3.5 in 1980 to 5.9 in 1989. In other words, the incremental ratio of total number of (net) immigrants to that of those with their own means of subsistence was 10 to 1 what seems rather unlikely (Hönekopp, 1991, p. 45). Those figures indicate that irregular workers might also be recruited from among the authorized immigrants.

Obviously, the major "pull" factor in case of East European migrants entering informal economy in the West is not so much wage differentials (in fact, the jobs in that sector are not only relatively low paid but also unsafe and unstable) as the "real" value of their earnings (savings) converted into a local East European currency (through the free market exchange rate). However, the attractiveness of illegal jobs in the West for eastern workers may quickly diminish. For instance, during 15 months from January 1, 1990, after the introduction of convertibility (for internal transactions) of the Polish zloty, the US currency equivalent of an average monthly salary in Poland increased from around 20 to around 160 dollar (by the end of 1990 it reached around 300 dollar in Yugoslavia). As a result, gains from illegal work in the West confronted with the cost of traveling abroad, extra charges related to housing, a risk of being expelled and a prospect of loosing a job in the home country have become discouragingly low.

A new category of labour force which might soon be particularly ready to accept outrageous conditions of work in informal sector seem persons made redundant in the aftermath of deep economic reforms in East European countries.

Instead of spontaneous reaction of individual, presumably unemployed, workers from the East

eventually considering the status of illegal immigrant, the problem of responding by East European manpower to demand revealed in the labour markets of western countries might be resolved by means of collaboration of the interested governments.

The collaboration between Poland and the FRG which has begun in 1990 might be mentioned as an illustration (MPiPS, 1991a). Four forms of employment of Polish workers in the FRG have finally been agreed upon:

i)   a project-tied employment, in a large part related to construction works; duration limit: up to two months; annual quota: 35 170;

ii) on the job training, designed for young workers (18-34 years) with appropriate educational background who wish to improve their skills; duration: between 12 and 18 months; annual quota: 2 ,000;

iii) seasonal work; duration limit: up to two or three months; no specific industrial branches nor occupations are indicated but receiving a work permit is subject to investigation of the current situation in labour market (Poland gives a preference to candidates coming from regions struck by high unemployment); annual quota: around 50,000;

iv) employment of commuting frontier workers; restricted to those living within 50km. distance from the Polish-German border, work permits are subject to investigation of the situation in local labour markets in the FRG but not limited by a fixed quota.

In addition, employment of Polish students during the summer holidays has been allowed.

The relevant agreements (concluded on January 31, 1990, June 7, 1990 and December 8, 1990) have been accompanied by the respective executive regulations issued in conformity with the internal (the Polish and German) and international laws. The local or regional Polish and German labour offices have been made responsible for the execution of those agreements.

It is worth to mention that the recent comprehensive programme of employment of Polish workers in Germany is neither designed to promote emigration from Poland nor is it expected to be a major anti-unemployment measure. The approach adopted by Poland and the FRG in their collaboration concerning worker movements (to a degree followed in other bilateral negotiations carried on by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, and their western partners) may, however, substantially diminish uncontrolled labour outflow from the East, and contribute to a significant improvement in the state of knowledge about international migration in Europe.

A new, potentially powerful, migration "push" factor has recently emerged in Eastern Europe. It is growing unemployment. Its importance, however, seems overestimated, at least for the time being. Above all, those of employees who in normal labour market conditions (e.g. with no labour hoarding) would have been inactive (i.e. many females, and a number of low skilled and low paid males) were first to be made redundant. A large number of them were attracted by a relatively high social security benefits and went on voluntary unemployment. It seems that a part of those jobless persons may engage in a short-term irregular employment in the West or small scale commercial activity related to "pendular" traveling to western countries.

In Poland workers having a second job (mostly related to a small, privately owned piece of land) became the other significant category of persons who lost their job. Finally, some of those registered as unemployed were the people who have deliberately never taken up employment. On the other hand, young persons aged 18-24 (i.a. school graduates) constituted a very large part of the unemployed (e.g. in Poland in March 1991 - 30 per cent of all unemployed vis-à-vis 15 per cent of all economically active).

It seems that in the near future (one to two years) a more or less significant numbers of candidates for emigration might only be recruited from within that category of jobless people. Paradoxically, due to an acute shortage of housing in all East European countries. international mobility in search for employment might be more feasible for those young persons that moving between various regions within their home country.

In a few eastern countries (e.g. Hungary and Poland) a striking phenomenon have been divergent employment trends in private vis-à-vis non private sector (Sziraczki, 1990; Socha and Sztanderska. 1991). In Poland, for instance, non-agricultural employment in private sector rose by 520 thousand (29 per cent) in 1990 while the number of employees in non-private sector declined by 1,970 thousand (17 per cent) of which in industry by merely 323 thousand (8 per cent) (CUP, 1991, p. 24,27). It might be assumed that the private sector absorbed a large share of more dynamic and better qualified workers who lost their jobs in the non-private sector.

The situation in labour markets in East European countries may, however, dramatically

deteriorate when structural changes in industry and modernization of agriculture get momentum. Some countries in the region might additionally suffer due to a radically decreasing Soviet demand and the collapse of large industrial complexes or virtually entire branches which were designed to produce exclusively for the Soviet (or CMEA) market (van Zon, 1991).

Even though the changes in the labour markets in East European countries can generally be perceived as nothing but a transition from hidden to open unemployment, the magnitude and pace of that process might generate various social tensions. Consequently, one of the outcomes of the emerging "new-form-unemployment" might be an increased pressure on the external labour markets. On the other hand, as the Yugoslav experience of the period 1965-75 indicates, a massive labour outmovement does not guarantee full employment: it even seems doubtful whether it can alleviate domestic labour market crisis at all (Okolski, 1991a, p. 161).

2.6. Mental factors

One of the strong factors in emigration from Eastern Europe in the late 1980s was a peculiar mental condition of many people related to the rejection of unbearable reality. People realized that the East and West moved in opposing directions, and "the more demoralized East Europeans became, the more attractive seemed the new-found confidence of Western Europe" (Dahrendorf, 1990, p. 22). Although the propensity to emigrate must have increased, only a small fraction of those willing to move out were allowed to do so. It might be therefore assumed that over the period of few years there accumulated a huge "migratory overhang", i.e. a difference between the number of those who wanted to emigrate and the number of those who actually did so.

In spite of a radical change of political relations which occurred in 1989 and 1990, many East Europeans who considered emigration before 1990 may still wish to leave their home country and settle down in the West. Needless to say, a liberalization of the relevant regulations (e.g. related to freedom of movement) would facilitate that task. This particularly refers to the relatively young people among whom not only a sense of hopelessness and the lack of perspectives continues to be widespread, but who are the most drastically affected by recently growing unemployment (MPiPS, 1991b).

2.7. Basic differences between the countries of Eastern Europe

It should be stressed that East European countries strongly differ among themselves in regard to the factors of international population movements. This is of a great relevance as far as future migration monitoring and policies are concerned. The major differences seem to be as follows.

1. In some countries tradition to emigrate is of a very long standing (e.g. Poland) while in some other it hardly exists (e.g. Czechoslovakia).
2. Until recently, before the transition was initiated, the shortages of labour in Czechoslovakia and Hungary were much stronger than, for instance, in Poland and Rumania; at the same time hidden unemployment was less acute in the former countries than in the latter (e.g. in Poland 25 per cent redundant industrial employment in 1989!). It might be argued, however, that despite large differences between East European countries in that respect, all of them currently face surpluses rather than shortages of labour.
3. Since 1990 an access to the West has become significantly differentiated among the citizens of various East European countries, with only Czechoslovaks, Hungarians and Yugoslavs (to some extent also Poles) having widely open borders of many western countries.
4. Due to the existence in the West of numerous centres of older emigration from Poland and Yugoslavia, the Polish and Yugoslav would-be emigrants might expect warmer reception, and more familiar and favorable conditions related to adaptation, finding a job and participation in social activities in a foreign place of residence than those coming from other eastern countries.
5. Some groups of potential emigrants ("minority groups") enjoy a preferential treatment from some western countries (the FRG in particular); e.g. this concerns ethnic German people who live in large numbers outside the FRG (e.g. in Rumania). Those groups are believed to be generally better educated than the respective national average and to occupy positions requiring higher skills.
6. There exist large differences in the level of living, and even in the availability of basic

consumer goods. Czechoslovakia and Hungary seem to be in a relatively better situation than the other countries, especially Bulgaria and Rumania. Consequently, the distance in terms of the level of living between the West and Eastern countries being in a relatively better situation is less conducive to emigration than that in case of the remaining countries of Eastern Europe.

7. At the moment a certain differentiating role in respect to emigration stimuli seems also to be played by the international (relative) price and wage differences vis-à-vis overvaluation of western currencies in eastern currency free (black) markets. From that point of view Poland and Yugoslavia are in much more favorable situation than e.g. Bulgaria and Rumania. This may not only stimulate mobility of irregular workers and petty merchants between the East and West but also between various countries of Eastern Europe.

8. Finally, one might mention the differences among East European countries in the transition process itself. Those currently more advanced (e.g. Hungary and Poland) are likely to achieve economic "normalization" earlier, what would also bring about a faster recovery of the related labour markets.

The above overview of possible causes of population movements in Eastern Europe in the near future seems to provide one with an overwhelming impression that, on the one hand, migration in Eastern Europe is bound to further intensify, and, on the other hand, being a very complex and internationally diversified problem, it requires particularly careful monitoring and comprehensive studies. This in turn calls for a radical improvement in the national statistical systems.

3. Some Initial Premises for a Comprehensive Migration Study

It has been pointed out in chapter 1 that statistics concerning international migration in Eastern Europe, especially labour movements, are scarce and deficient to such extent as to make it impossible to compile coherent and internationally comparable time series or to throw light on particular topical aspects of the problem.

It goes without saying that statistical system which would suit the purpose of monitoring population movements and supporting the analysis of related policy issues characteristic for the transitory phase has to be set up right from the start. Many preliminary steps have to be taken in the area of definitions, legislation, organization, material support and personnel.

3.1. Definitions

The definitions of various categories of migrants and the corresponding movements have to be devised and, preferably, agreed upon between the countries concerned. It seems appropriate for some time to follow two definitions: the "administrative" one, existing so far in many East European countries, and the "functional" one which is recommended by some international organizations (e.g. United Nations), and at the same time strive to abandon the former one as soon as possible.

The administrative definition recognizes only one category of migrants, i.e. those coming to a country (or leaving it) who are granted a permission to register their arrival in connection with permanent residence (or to report their departure for the purpose of permanent emigration). That definition e.g. does not include nationals whose stay in a foreign country extends for several months (or even years) but is never intended to be "permanent" (or foreigners who come to a given country in other capacity than tourist but do not stay "permanently"). In view of the arduousness of administrative procedure related to an "official" migration many people in Eastern Europe (especially - would-be emigrants) preferred to stay or leave "unofficially" (i.e. as tourists). They have never been included in migration statistics.

One of the factors which might, even in the future, discourage would-be emigrants form the registration seems to be a rigidity of East European housing markets, i.e. a difficulty of selling or ceding freely (or transferring to relatives or friends) an apartment which was bought or leased on preferential terms from the state (i.e. a respective municipal organ) or within a cooperative scheme.

It is advisable in this connection to give up a formula of reporting one's permanent emigration related departure with practically no right to return to a given address. Much more realistic and flexible, and indeed acceptable in actual housing situation in East European countries, would be reporting an intended duration of absence.

Therefore for some (rather shorter than longer) transitory period there might exist, for statistical purposes, four categories of emigrants:
i)   emigrants, i.e. those who report (register) their permanent emigration;
ii)   long-term emigrants, i.e. those whose intended duration of absence would exceed 12 months;
iii)   short-term emigrants, i.e. those whose intended duration of absence would be between 2 and 12 months;
iv)   returning immigrants.
Obviously, all four categories would be subject to obligatory registration.

Ultimately, only the last three categories: (ii), (iii) and (iv) would be in use. Their full definitions should be formulated in accordance with the UN recommendations (UN, 1981).

The analogous solution would be adopted in case of immigration. Moreover, an approach applied to "flow" (migration) statistics should be followed in "stock" statistics, i.e. concerning nationals residing and/or abroad and foreigners residing and/or employed in a given country.

As mentioned, the present situation in Eastern Europe is characterized by a very high economy rooted propensity to move across national borders; a high rate of turnover, i.e. temporary (short-term) migration is a striking phenomenon in that region. Other forms of movement, however, including long term migration, are also frequent. The degree of complexity of that phenomenon seems enormous.

Referring to the experience of the Polish population recently moving abroad (other than genuine tourists), the following categories might be distinguished:
1)   employed on "project-tied" basis;

2) employed by foreign employer within the quota or under concession established by the government of a foreign country; (i) regular employees; (ii) on the job trainees; (iii) seasonal workers; (iv) frontier (commuting) workers; (v) students employed during the holidays period;

3) other legally employed by foreign employer but not covered by inter-government agreements (emigrants or "tourists");

4) employed by international organization or within a framework of scientific or cultural exchange;

5) employed by a diplomatic, scientific or cultural center of a given country (i.e. Poland);

6) irregularly employed (emigrants or "tourists");

7) non-emigrants continuously or occasionally engaged in commercial activity related to "pendular" movements (false tourists);

8) persons traveling in official business;

9) Polish citizens who in addition recently acquired the FRG citizenship (as Aussiedler), have a residence in Poland and Germany, and are engaged in economic activity (legal or illegal) in the both countries (or only one of them);

10) accompanying family members of those included in other categories.

It seems that almost all above categories of population are important from the view-point of the situation in a national labour market. Only few of them, however, can be systematically and fully registered. It has to be decided to what extent, how often and by means of what technique the categories which presently escape registration should be studied.

Apart from the categories of regular migrants, migrant workers, alien residents or nationals residing abroad, some other specific categories of people crossing national boundaries should also be taken into account and defined. These may include, e.g. a "refugee", a "naturalized person" or a "regularized illegal immigrant".

3.2. National legislations

This basic act required is a "passport law" granting every national a freedom of unrestricted crossing of the national border. At the same time a broad "alien law" is necessary which would regulate conditions of entry of foreign citizens as well as their rights and obligations on the territory of a given country. Legal grounds should be established for fast, elastic and efficient reaction of the state administration to internal and international changes. Some East European countries are still lacking such general codes.

In particular, there is a need for comprehensive and consistent regulations concerning work permit, disputes related to employment contract, social security (pension, unemployment, family allowance), health insurance, training (education), etc. of nationals seeking employment abroad and foreigners who wish to work in a given country. Those requirements should be internationally coordinated on bilateral or multilateral scale (see e.g. Skulimowska, 1990).

The respective legislations should clearly determine the events subject to control and compulsory registration (including the characteristics of persons to be recorded) (MSW, 1991).

3.3. International agreements and conventions

The governments of all East European countries should strive to conclude agreements with individual (or groups of) potential western recipients of employment migratory flows. The principal purpose of these agreements would be to ensure legal protection for migrant workers and their families.

Wherever applicable, international conventions concerning basic human rights and, particularly, freedom of movement should be signed and ratified. National legislations have to be made consistent with agreements concluded with other countries and international conventions.

3.4. Regularization of irregular emigrants and immigrants

One can hardly imagine proper statistics of migration and alien population residing on a given country territory (or nationals residing abroad) without breaking with the fiction of irregular (i.e. not recorded) migrants. The related amnesty (regularization) programmes, preferably time coordinated on international scale, are a matter of urgency. It seems reasonable, however, to precede the

respective programmes by a sound policy stimulating return migration.

It would also be useful to recognize the "tourists" who continue their extended stay abroad as emigrants, and thus reclassify and reconstruct the respective past statistical series on emigration.

3.5. Introduction and execution of appropriate registration

The law should provide for a centralized registration which on the one hand would make it possible to monitor and analyze the migration related problems, and on the other hand would be technically feasible and ethically acceptable. An obligation to register each case of emigration or immigration might be "anchored" in the existing personal income tax or health insurance and social security systems.

It seems that as a minimum all foreign travels for the period exceeding two months should be reported (registered) by traveling nationals (prior to leaving a country) or aliens (within a fixed period after an entry) to a local (municipal or communal) administrative organ. An obligatory registration would also cover all facts of extended stay (including those whose initial duration was shorter than two months). Furthermore, facts related to granting work permit, taking up employment, change of employer. receiving unemployment benefit and other social security benefits with regard to foreign citizens (or nationals applying for a job abroad within intergovernment agreement) should be registered by local labour offices, according to the centrally devised principles. Finally, a central register of residents of foreign nationality should be established. This, however, does not seem to be a matter of first priority.

On the other hand, due to the side activities undertaken by a large part of "tourists" coming from (or to) East European countries, it might also be useful to introduce, for a transitory period, a computerized border check point registry covering all entries and exits of nationals and foreigners. As such a control system has recently been abolished in some East European countries (e.g. Poland), it might prove socially unacceptable to be reinstalled in the near future.

Apart from an appropriate legislation, an introduction of a universal and comprehensive migration related records requires setting up of a specialized administrative unit (e.g. alien or immigration police, or a separate division within municipal or communal organs) and a corresponding statistical unit. This calls for technical support, i.e. designing registration (application) forms, acquiring office facilities, computer hardware and software, personnel training, etc. Since in pursuing those tasks most of East European countries have no experience at all (or "bad" experience related to the police surveillance rather than social policy oriented monitoring), it seems highly desirable for those countries to follow some western countries practices (e.g. the FRG or Switzerland). and take advantage of the experience of western experts.

Regulations which would help to enforce an obligation to register the migration related facts should be issued in order to enable the governments to execute that principle in an efficient way (see e.g. MSW, 1991).

3.6. A need for a comprehensive social policy

Designing of migration related registration system would seem difficult (if reasonable at all) without an explicit reference to a government migration policy. A migration policy should in turn be closely linked to an employment policy. An employment policy, however, would need to be integrated into a context of broadly conceived social policy. In other words, the goals of social policy would ultimately determine the coverage, scope and even. to some extent, type and frequency of statistical investigations concerning international migration and labour migration in particular. An outline of a migration policy integrated into an employment policy might be found in one of the reports recently published in Poland (MPiPS, 1991b).

4. The Principal Statistical Indicators of Migration in the Transitory Period

4.1 The most immediate requirements

Due to the urgency and complexity of setting up or adjusting of a statistical system concerning migration, it would not be feasible in the initial phase to monitor and analyze all the issues that seem relevant and important in the period of transition to a market economy. As a matter of necessity, some problems have to be for some time left aside. Nevertheless, they need to be kept in mind by statisticians and policy markets, and undertaken as soon as possible once the basic statistics are established.

The basic migration related statistics would obviously include the indicators concerning migrant (nationals and foreigners) flows and the stock of foreign population. However, since one of the most dramatic challenges of transitory period stems from the labour market change, the focus with regard to the set of basic statistics should be on outflows of migrants for work, entries of foreigners for work and their departures, family reunion of migrant workers, development of the foreign active population (desegregated i.e. by sex, age, marital status, industrial branch, occupation and geographical location), etc.

Three groups of the statistical sources of migration data seem of foremost importance for monitoring and policy analysis in the near future:
i)   a count of all aliens residing in a partiular country of Eastern Europe, and certain groups of nationals temporarily residing abroad;
ii) a current record of emigrants and immigrants (with a special reference to return emigrants);
iii) a current record of new foreign entrants to and aliens leaving the labour market of a given eastern country, as well as a current record of the respective movements of nationals "officially" working abroad (i.e. employed through a local labour office in an Eastern European country on the basis of an intergovernment agreement).

In addition, at least in some countries of the East and rather for a short time only, a current registration of all border crossings (exits and entries) by foreigners and nationals might be introduced (or widely used, wherever it exists). That registration would consist of a small quantity of basic characteristics (sex, age, nationality, purpose, duration of current stay, date of previous trip, destination or origin, permanent address and occupation).

The data obtained from that source would be of special analytical value in the period when, as might be expected, a large part of "tourists" (short time visitors) will engage in diversified (usually escaping registration) economic activities.

Ad. 1. A survey of all citizens of alien countries residing in a given eastern country might be carried out in two parts. The first would be based on a questionnaire sent to the duly registered persons (according to information collected by the appropriate administrative units). The second would be related to an amnesty (regularization) programme; in such case the regularized immigrants would have to fill in the same questionnaire as the official (registered) immigrants. The survey would cover only actual immigrants (irrespective whether short or long term) as opposed to short-time visitors (tourists).

A similar survey would be executed in case of a particular group of nationals residing abroad. This might cover those absent (for a certain period, e.g. more than two months) in a place of permanent residence but not registered as emigrated and known to be staying abroad. The necessary information would be collected either by means of a population census (micro-census) or a questionnaire sent to a person living at the same address (or, in case of the lack of response, to appropriate local, i.e. municipal or communal, administrative unit. Due to a delicacy of the matter (e.g. unclear housing property rights) the both procedures would require a careful examination of the results, including a follow-up survey.

A proper count of foreign residents and absent nationals will serve as the point of departure for a continuous monitoring of the stock of foreign population, and, on the other hand, for assessment of the actual loss of domestic labour force due to non-registered ("unofficial") emigration and, hopefully, an estimation of the future potential of return migration. This points to an urgency and unusual importance of the related investigations.

Suggested statistical indicators which should be provided by the above described surveys are presented in Table 1.

Ad. 2 The both records (emigrants and immigrants) should be dealt with by the local (municipal or communal) administrative organs (possibly by different units). As mentioned, the prerequisites for initiating the relevant information series are: (a) introduction of well-conceived (the "functional" ones) definitions of emigration and immigration, (b) devising proper registration forms, (c) providing the respective administrative organs with a logistic support (facilities, computer, personnel), (d) providing by law for a quick and efficient execution of every national and foreigner involved obligation to register his/her migration.

It perhaps does need to be stressed that the reliability of the current migration statistics will be greatly diminished if a procedure of application for an "exit visa" (a passport subject to no restrictions) by a national or for an "immigration visa" by a foreigner encounter administrative hindrances.

The importance of current emigration and immigration statistics is obvious. They provide the basic (if not the only one) information on foreigner's inflows and national's outflows, and they serve as continuous input (in addition to an initial record) for compiling regular statistics on the stock of foreign population. Table 2 contains a set of recommended statistical information to be extracted from emigration and immigration records.

Ad. 3. The information on foreign migrant worker inflow and outflow seem to be much more reliable and complete that those on the respective movements of nationals. Two sources may supplement each other in this respect: (a) statistics concerning new work permits issued (compiled by local labour offices) and (b) statistics on new foreign workers covered by the compulsory social security system and those in case of whom social security expired (compiled by insurance companies).

The preconditions for setting up a sound system of migrant workers statistics in some countries of Eastern Europe are: (a) adopting a uniform definition of an employee (consistent with the ILO recommendations), and (b) the introduction of legislation which would be internally coherent and at the same time consistent with international conventions concerning the rights of migrant workers and accompanying family members.

It seems worth to be stressed that the information on outflows of migrants for work, irrespective of how incomplete and defective, should be given particular attention and studied regularly and carefully. The reason for this is that one of the possible most detrimental effects of a change related to transition to a market economy in the labour market in Eastern Europe might be a "brain drain", especially a loss of highly qualified industrial workers.

The proposed indicators derived from the relevant statistics collected by labour offices and insurance companies are contained in Table 3.

4.2. The second priority indicators

Statistical information proposed in Tables 1-3 do not necessarily exhaust all urgent problems which may arise with regard to labour (population) movements. It is possible that in some East European countries some other issues will also be considered as the first priority ones. One of them might be the statistical description of inflows of asylum seekers (refugees) and their settlement in a host country or their outflows (emigration or deportation).

The more in-depth and specialized inquiries concerning the settlement of foreigners (immigrants), although highly desirable, require longer gestation time due to the nature of their subject. Therefore such problems as education and training of immigrants and their children, the economic an social conditions of migrant families (cultural activities, housing, income or health), linguistic and ethnic conflicts related to emigration, family reunification, etc. might be considered as the second priority ones from the view-point of development of statistical system in the transitory period.

The other important but at the same time second priority problems in Eastern Europe seem also to be: mixed marriages, naturalisation and natural increase (e.g. fertility) of migrants.

A separate group of statistical indicators which do not seem possible (or necessary) to be achieved in the first instance is a set of information on incomes received and taxes paid by foreigners in the host country, and remittances sent to or received from abroad. To begin with, in order to fulfill this task one needs a comprehensive regularization of foreign citizens employment (not to mention a well developed banking system).

A number of topics related to the relationship between situation in the labour market and migration requires rather sophisticated sample surveys. Those include i.a. participation of foreigners

in clandestine employment, irregular economic activities of unemployed nationals traveling abroad, employment and social conditions of nationals residing abroad, the impact of regular or irregular employment in other countries on the household level of living and consumption pattern, economic "performance" of return migrants, influence of foreign employees on labour competition and productivity, etc.

Only a few of those problems might, in a relatively short time, be included into the contents of on-going surveys (e.g. household survey), while still few others may happen to be studied spontaneously by various research groups (e.g. in Poland a study on returning emigrants recently designed by the Main School of Economics, Warsaw or on non-reported incomes earned from irregular trade or employment during short-term visits abroad, conducted by a research center in Rzeszow) (see Latuch, 1990 and Sowa, 1990). Generally, there is a need for a coordination by one authority (e.g. Ministry of Labour) and collaboration of all interested institutions (Ministry of Labour Central Statistical Office, local taxation offices, Social Security Fund, organizations of employers, trade unions and research institutes).

In place of conclusion, a handful of remarks seem useful on some auxiliary problems related to migration oriented statistical system to be developed in East European countries.

1. A least one statistical source of migration related data should remain independent of other sources in order to be used (from time to time) as a "reference statistics". This might prove indispensable as far as checking on data completeness, consistency and accuracy are concerned. Such a role might be played by population census. In intercensal periods sample survey on various aspects of migration and foreign population covered by "regular" administrative statistics should also be carried out for testing and data adjustment.

2. A collaboration between national statistical institutions in East European countries and those in major migration recipient countries from outside the region seems also advisable. The immigration and foreign population statistics compiled by some western countries may serve as an additional source of information and a means of checking on the accuracy of data in any eastern country of emigration.

3. Migration related statistics which would be in accordance with the recommendations presented in chapters 3 and 4 need a central register to be set up. Such register would combine the data regularly compiled by all municipal or communal registers. Due to the difficulty of recording all inflow and outflow events, the quality of data would be highly dependent on skills, reliability and diligence of the staff of respective municipal or communal units. This, however, would require a great deal of effort from the central staff (the central register) which would involve continuous support, supervision and verification of the work of lower level offices.

4. Migration related Statistics should be made compatible with other population statistics (e.g. on natural increase), as well as those dealing with employment, unemployment, education, social security, etc. In addition, in some countries (e.g. Poland) the past fertility and mortality statistical series (e.g. for the period 1980-89) might be adjusted for overrepresented resident population (in Poland due to non-reported emigration of several thousand false tourists).

5. Developing an appropriate migration related statistical system seems a time consuming and costly endeavour because it involves a substantial increase in the size of personnel, personnel training, larger office facilities, and extensive use of computers, peripheral equipment and materials. In turn, efficient use of statistics generated by that system would require well developed techniques of data processing and proper forms and frequency of their publication. In order to avoid resource wastage and delays in fine tuning of the system due to an unavoidable trial-and-error approach (let only achieve its tasks), the East European countries should be provided as soon as possible with a comprehensive assistance by international organisations (e.g. UN, ILO, OECD, IOM). An assistance rendered by individual western countries may also prove useful and, indeed, invaluable.

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Table 1. Recommended characteristics of foreign population having a current residence in a given (East European) country and nationals of that country having a current residence abroad

Characteristic	Foreign population		Nationals residing abroad	
	more important	*less important*	*more important*	*less important*
1. Sex	X		X	
2. Age	X		X	
3. Nationality (citizenship)	X			
4. Country of permanent residence	X			X
5. Country of present residence			X	
6. Country of last residence		X		
7. Length of stay	X		X	
8. Original reason for arrival		X		X
9. Type of current permit	X		X	
10. When granted that type of permit for the first time				X
11. Present geographical location	X			X
12. Marital status	X		X	
13. Total number of living children		X		X
14. Accompanying family members				
14a. A spouse		X		X
14b. Children (number)		X		X
15. Educational attainment	X			X
16. Economic activity (a)	X	X		
17. Length of interrupted employment in a country of present residence			X	X
18. Occupation	X		X	
19. Religion		X		

a) e.g. six categories can be considered: (i) presently employed; (ii) jobless; (iii) retired; (iv) having other independent source of subsitence; (v) attending a school; (vi) other non-active.

TABLE 2. RECOMMENDED CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION PARTICIPATING IN INFLOWS AND OUTFLOWS

Inflows

Characteristic	Immigration of foreign population short /long	short/ term	reemigrating nationals	tourists (a)	refugees	Emigration of nationals/non-nationals	departure nationals short / long term	/ term	tourists (a) of foreign population	nationals	non-nationals
1. Sex	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
2. Age	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
3. Nationality (citizenship)	x	x	x		x	x			x		x
4. Country of permanent residence	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x
5. Country of last residence	x	x	x	x							
6. Date of emigration			x								
7. Reason for emigration			x								
8. Date of immigration									x		
9. Reason of immigration									x		
10. Present geographical location	x	x	x			x	x		x		
11. Marital status	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		
12. Total number of living children	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		
13. Accompanying family members	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		
14. Educational attainment	x	x	x	x		x	x		x		
15. Occupation	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
16. Religion	x	x	x						x		

(a) **wherever socially acceptable (for transitory period only).**

TABLE 3. RECOMMENDED CHARACTERISTICS OF ARRIVING AND DEPARTING FOREIGN MIGRANT WORKERS

Characteristic	Arrivals of new foreign workers	Departure of foreign workers
1. Sex	x	x
2. Age	x	x
3. Nationality (citizenship)	x	x
4. Country of permanent residence	x	x
5. Length of stay		x
6. Original reason for arrival		x
7. Geographical location	x	x
8. Marital status	x	x
9. Total number of living children	x	x
10. Accompanying family members	x	x
11. Educational attainment	x	x
12. Economic activity (a)		x
13. Occupation	x	x
14. Characteristics of work permit	x	x
14a. Type (b)		
14b. Branch		
14c. Duration		
15. Employer	x	x
15a. Type of ownership (legal status)		
15b. Branch		
15c. Size (number of employees)		
16. Job description	x	x
17. Social (and other) benefits used		x
18. Educational institutions attended by a worker or his/her family members		x

a)   recently employed or recently jobless.
b)   e.g. five categories can be considered: regular project-tied employment; other regular employment within intergovernment agreement (or quota); other regular employment; frontier workers; seasonal workers.

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COMMENTS ON THE PAPERS
AT SESSION 4
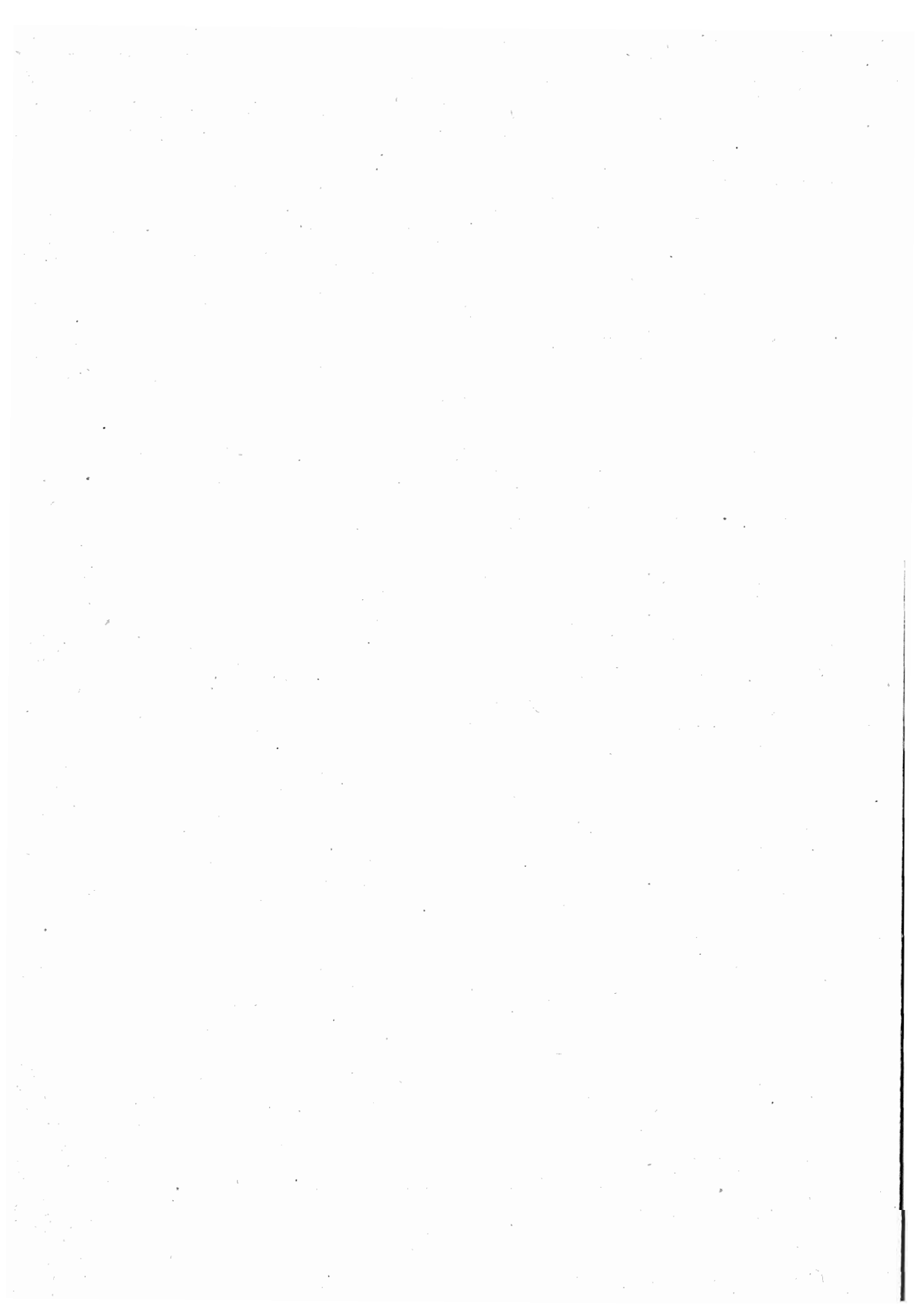
Comments on the Papers at Session 4

Giuseppe Callovi, EEC

Le papier de Mark Okolski dans sa problématique et dans les questions qu'il soulève est une illustration des incertitudes qui planent à l'égard des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale dans leur passage de la planification centrale à l'économie du marché; mais aussi à l'égard des répercussions sur les économies occidentales. Et parler d'économie signifie penser également en termes de force de travail et de mobilité.

De l'analyse de l'auteur on peut résumer quelques points forts :

- l'Europe de l'Est ne forme pas un bloc homogène et le postulat d'un développement à vitesse différente conjugué à la question des minorités conduirait à des migrations entre ces mêmes pays (certains mouvements sont déjà repérables);

- la liberté de circulation des personnes dans le sens de la Charte de Paris (CSCE) facilitera l'emploi temporaire illégal à la fois à l'Est et à l'Ouest;

- des poches de pénuries de main-d'oeuvre dans certains secteurs peuvent intensifier les flux;

- le risque de "brain-drain" serait considérable;

- parmi les facteurs aptes à solliciter des migrations le facteur économique prime sur les autres (la question démographique étant négligeable dans la région considérée) notamment chômage sous-emploi et différentiel salarial;

  - au niveau des pays récepteurs (surtout à l'Ouest) se posent deux freins incontournables l'un de nature politique et l'autre sociale;

- pour répondre aux divers problèmes il est suggéré que les mouvements de travailleurs aient lieu dans un cadre négocié au moins bilatéralement sélectif et temporaire;

- pour ce faire il faudrait disposer de bons instruments de-mesure à savoir un appareil statistique fonctionnel comparable.
  (M. Okolski fournit des tableaux comportant les données minimales dont les Etats devraient pouvoir disposer et dans une première phase au moins celles concernant les travailleurs; l'auteur suggère pour un bon démarrage une régularisation générale de ceux qui se trouvent à l'étranger en situation irrégulière.)

Dans mon commentaire je ferai référence à quelques thèmes mentionnés par l'auteur (migration et clandestinité, la mobilité du personnel qualifié, le nouveau cadre politico-décisionnel communautaire en gestation et la prise en compte d'autres pôles de migration que les Etats de l'Est) qui ne sont pas neutres à l'égard de la collecte des données (flux et stock).

Il s'agit de ne pas isoler la question Est-Ouest mais d'essayer de la fondre dans l'ensemble de la problématique migratoire et de tirer profit de l'enseignement du passé. On pourrait peut être dégager de manière plus réaliste certaines voies à parcourir.

Quelques prémisses simples :

- Je partage avec l'auteur l'idée qu'il ne faut pas offrir une vision mécaniciste de la mobilité où l'élément pression serait le facteur déterminant des migrations. En fait la seule existence de candidats potentiels à l'émigration ne paraît pas être une cause suffisante pour qu'ils passent en nombre à l'acte. - D'un autre côté les seules mesures de contrôle tout étant nécessaires et complémentaires ne suffisent pas à contenir une éventuelle poussée migratoire (les règles pourront toujours être partiellement détournées). - Et même une émigration régulière et organisée ne peut à elle seule répondre aux besoins ou souhaits exprimés par des millions de personnes. - La question de l'insertion dans une société qui marginalise parce qu'elle se sent agressée est en outre un élément essentiel pour déterminer quantitativement des immigrations nouvelles. - Finalement une émigration temporaire qui pourrait en retour favoriser à long terme une diffusion d'expériences acquises à l'étranger reste dans l'état actuel des choses en partie à démontrer.

De ces prémisses on pourrait tirer quelques enseignements :

1. Les motivations des migrants potentiels sont hétérogènes de même que leur composition est hétérogène. En conséquence leur objectifs sont fortement diversifiés. Et la formulation d'une politique transnationale à leur égard devrait tenir compte de cette palette. Par exemple la pratique d'un travail saisonnier à l'étranger (légal ou illégal) n'a pas la même nature que des contrats pour prestations de services ou la recherche d'emplois permanents de personnes hautement qualifiées ou bien l'arrivée (probablement définitive) de personnes admises au titre d'appartenance ethnique de regroupement familial ou de réfugiés sous Convention de Genève.

2. Dans le contexte d'une politique transnationale la spécificité de la Communauté Européenne doit être prise en compte. En effet, la capacité juridique de conclure des accords sur la base de l'article 238 du Traité, les répercussions des migrations gérées nationalement sur l'ensemble d'un marché commun de l'emploi, le respect d'engagements antérieurs avec d'autres pôles d'émigration (surtout dans le pourtour méditerranéen) les implications futures liées aux accords avec les pays AELE concernant un Espace Economique Européen une politique commune de gestion des frontières extérieures et les effets des Accords Européens en négociation avec trois Etats de l'Est sont tous des éléments à prendre en compte quand on examine les courants potentiels de migrations et leur saisie statistique. Une gestion active des migrations dépend d'un signe clair d'espoir de la part des Etats CEE/EFTA; ce signe existe dans le cadre de l'action G24 (notamment l'opération Phare): mais en ce qui concerne les migrations, apparaissent plus les craintes que le dessin d'une politique active coordonnée. Il est opportun enfin de constater l'évolution rapide qui a eu lieu sur cette question en rappelant qu'au dernier Conseil Européen des 28 et 29 juin 1991 les Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement ont marqué leur accord sur une proposition allemande tendant à l'harmonisation formelle et matérielle pour la fin de 1993 de la politique en matière d'asile d'immigration et à l'égard des étrangers.

3. La liberté de circulation a créé inévitablement un marché noir du travail saisonnier ou de travail temporaire pour des activités non saisonnières. La stratégie individuelle de l'immigré qui tente de maximaliser son séjour (presque toujours temporaire au début) ne peut le faire que s'il trouve une réponse d'insertion économique du côté du pays récepteur. C'est pourquoi la politique la plus restrictive d'immigration présentera toujours des fissures aussi longtemps que le marché du travail offrira des possibilités.
L'économie submergée occupe souvent des travailleurs en situation irrégulière. En saisir ces contours c'est aussi mieux connaître les tendances de l'immigration illégale. Mais ces illégaux nécessitent d'être définis car sous cette notion on retrouve des personnes avec des statuts divers.

On peut avoir le travailleur régulier à l'égard du séjour mais pas du travail, le travailleur engagé régulièrement mais sans droit de séjour, le saisonnier agricole qui passe d'un secteur à un autre, le temporaire qui travaille avec un visa touristique le temporaire régulier qui reste après l'exécution du contrat, l'étudiant régulier qui travaille sans permis, le travailleur en situation régulière ayant à charge des familiers illégaux, le demandeur d'asile qui fait un travail irrégulier pendant le traitement de son dossier, le demandeur d'asile auquel on a refusé le statut de réfugié mais qui est toléré sur le territoire, des personnes tolérées qui se déclarent en transit en attendant le visa pour d'autres pays...

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Il va de soi qu'une saisie statistique de ces personnes ne pourra qu'offrir des indications de tendance.

Incidemment je voudrais rappeler que quelques pays pour pallier aux mouvements erratiques ont signé des accords bilatéraux de recrutement. Mais un système de recrutement contractuel pour des travaux saisonniers n'est pas à confondre avec un recrutement comportant des contrats temporaires (1/2/3 ans) - système de rotation -, car dans le premier cas l'emploi est saisonnier alors que dans le deuxième cas, l'emploi est permanent, mais le travailleur est temporaire. Cette deuxième figure qui parait attrayante présente des problèmes majeurs entre autres : si la rotation n'est pas sévèrement policée (est-ce possible ?) le travailleur finira par rester légalement ou illégalement en raison des attaches qu'il va créer; le regroupement familial peut-il être exclu sur une période allant au delà de l'année; le traitement économique du travailleur sera-t-il aligné sur les contrats collectifs (à moins de transiter par une pseudoprestation de service); quel temps sera-t-il réservé à la formation (car la formation des travailleurs qui devraient rentrer à la fin du contrat est une forme de coopération et de contribution au développement économique); la déclaration des Etats d'origine de vouloir récupérer leurs travailleurs est de nature politique, encore faut-il que le travailleur le souhaite (voir par le passé les déclarations de la Yougoslavie et d'autres Etats du Sud de la Méditerranée qui n'ont pas été suivies par les faits).

Peut-être que l'élaboration d'une Convention multilatérale de "réadmission" (ex. les Etats Schengen entre eux et récemment avec la Pologne) pourrait répondre aux craintes et résoudre certains problèmes propres aux situations irrégulières du travailleur.

4. Une certaine fuite des cerveaux mentionnée par l'auteur est une question à retenir mais également à nuancer.

L'expérience indique que dans une économie de marché les mouvements ont souvent lieu dans les deux sens (ex. Europe - U.S.A.) bien que de façon déséquilibrée selon les époques (entre 1982 et 1985, 6 800 chercheurs européens avaient émigré aux U.S.A.) mais actuellement par ex. en Grande Bretagne les principaux immigrés sont des qualifiés américains, japonais etc. Pour A.M. Findlay (Université de Glasgow) le temps des émigrants de haut niveau est arrivé; l'échange de matière grise est un signe et le résultat d'intégration des économies. Il faut certainement lire cette affirmation en perspective car cela ne s'est pas encore totalement vérifié même pas au niveau communautaire (par ex. si on additionne les vétérinaires, les infirmières, les sages-femmes, les dentistes et les médecins autorisés à exercer en vertu de Directives entre 1980 et 1988 seulement 5 200 professionnels en ont fait usage). Par contre au niveau des firmes multinationales une enquête indique que la mobilité internationale des cadres est déjà intégrée dans la stratégie des groupes par dessus les frontières communautaires mais on ne peut parler dans ce cas de fuite de cerveaux. La crainte de la fuite des cerveaux dans l'Est mérite d'être approfondie nuancée et examinée surtout après que les premiers sursauts dûs aux possibilités de quitter librement le pays se transformeront en une pratique naturelle et donc l'intensité due à une première adaptation pourrait changer de nature. A titre d'exemple on pourrait rappeler que les autorités roumaines indiquent que pour 1990 environ 130 000 personnes ont été autorisées à quitter le pays dont 60 000 travailleurs qualifiés et techniciens. Mais la ventilation indique qu'il s'agit des minorités allemandes juive et hongroise sauf 18 000 roumains. Il s'agirait donc à l'état actuel des choses, d'un brain-drain de nature particulière qui ne permet pas de tirer des conclusions généralisées.

D'autre part on pourrait rencontrer et même renforcer un brain-drain de retour. Mutatis mutandis on pourrait tenir compte de l'expérience tentée avec quelques Etats africains (CEE - OMI) : le financement des retours accompagné par la mise à disposition des équipements et des services indispensables à ces spécialistes. Ce programme a coûté +/- 13 000 écus par rapatrié ce qui est très rentable par rapport au coût de l'assistance technique étrangère (100 000 écus par homme/année) et la formation (+/- 50 000 écus pour une formation en Europe jusqu'au niveau universitaire).

Finalement le développement de migrations fines peut très bien s'organiser autour d'une mobilité courte et individuelle et dans certains cas dans une relative proximité géographique (par ex. la "pentagonale") mais également en fonction d'une prestation de services avec détachement de cadres ou du personnel hautement qualifiée qui peut trouver la base d'un

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échange appelé à s'étendre.

A titre d'information je voudrais encore signaler le séminaire des 14-15 juin 1991 à Vienne concernant "Brain-drain / East West Migration" dans le cadre du Programme COST et de la recherche en sciences sociales; les résultats pourront ultérieurement être intégrés à nos réflexions.

5. Au sujet de la collecte des données on ne peut que partager le souci de M. Okolski et la problématique soulevée par le papier de J.-P. Garson.

Pour ma part j'essayerai de contribuer en présentant l'état de travaux CEE.

Une étude en profondeur de la durée de deux ans a permis de prendre acte de la variété des sources de collecte des informations et surtout de la non comparabilité directe des données (une note de synthèse est disponible).

L'objectif est celui d'être en mesure d'obtenir des données assez fiables pour les utilisateurs à trois niveaux : le stock, les flux et des Indicateurs d'intégraton.

(I) Pour les Indicateurs d'intégration peu de travail a été effectué (partiellement il s'agit d'approcher quantitativement le qualitatif). Il y aurait ici espace pour de nouvelles initiatives (le Haut Conseil à l'Intégration en France a suggéré 23 Indicateurs statistiques dans son dernier rapport) car politiquement la question d'une intégration harmonieuse est devenue un sujet prioritaire.

(II) A l'état actuel le développement le plus substantiel concerne les effectifs.

La population par nationalité et par sexe (en milliers et en pourcentage de la population totale) est celle fournie par les instituts nationaux de statistiques et publiés dans l'annuaire de Statistiques Démographiques d'Eurostat.

Les salariés par nationalité et par sexe (en milliers et en pourcentage de la population totale) sont des données fournies par les Etats membres en application du règlement CEE 311/76 sur les statistiques de travailleurs étrangers.
Ces données sont disponibles à Eurostat avec un croisement par activité économique et par régions.

La population totale et active par âge par grands regroupements de nationalité et par sexe (en %) sont des statistiques tirées de l'enquête communautaire sur les forces de travail. Des données plus détaillées par groupe d'âge quinquennaux sont disponibles pour la R.F. d'Allemagne, la France et le Royaume-Uni.

L'emploi par secteur d'activité sexe et grands regroupements de nationalités (en %) est également tiré de l'enquête communautaire sur les forces de travail.

Il est à signaler que cette enquête est une source importante mais dans les limites imposées par la taille de l'échantillon; en outre elle n'est pas menée auprès des "ménages collectifs" et donc une partie des étrangers échappent à l'enquête.

Les recencements généraux de la population sont une autre source potentielle importante. La nouvelle campagne en cours pourra fournir des données récentes et détaillées au moment ou l'exploitation sera réalisée (1992/1994 suivant les Etats membres).

(III) En ce qui concerne les flux (données annuelles ou "flux consolidés") la dernière réunion d'avril 1991 a permis d'adopter des tableaux communs qui devraient être produits de façon longitudinale à partir de 1985 (ils concernent à la fois les flux et les stocks) pour le premier exercice et puis annuellement. Evidemment la question de la source de l'information et des definitions n'a pas encore trouvé une issue satisfaisante. Néanmoins tous les Etats membres ont pris ou sont sur le point de prendre des mesures dans le sens d'un rapprochement et d'une meilleure solidité.

Les Etats EFTA suivent de près les travaux d'Eurostat et y contribuent. J'estime dès lors qu'avant de procéder à la mise en place de "nouveaux" indicateurs dans les Pays de l'Est l'expérience d'EUROSTAT (12 + 7) devrait être examinée de près.

Je rappelerai enfin qu'est en cours également une initiative concernant les flux à très court terme (3/6 mois) qui échappent le plus souvent aux services statistiques nationaux et donc à EUROSTAT mais dont l'utilité n'est pas négligeable au niveau de l'élaboration de réponses coordonnées à des situations d'urgence ou dans le cadre d'une redéfinition de politiques nationales qui peuvent comporter des répercussions sur les autres Etats membres.

La partie statistique (sources administratives) devrait comporter des tableaux communs notamment sur les flux pour raisons d'emploi, regroupement familial, demande d'asile, études, retraite; à son tour l'entrée pour emploi sera ventilée par indépendant, salarié, et type de contrat (temporaire saisonnier etc.); d'autres données encore concerneront l'octroi du statut de réfugié les visas et les expulsions avec un certain nombre de ventilations. Il va de soi que seulement une partie de ces flux sera retrouvée dans la collecte des "flux consolidés" annuels prévus par EUROSTAT.
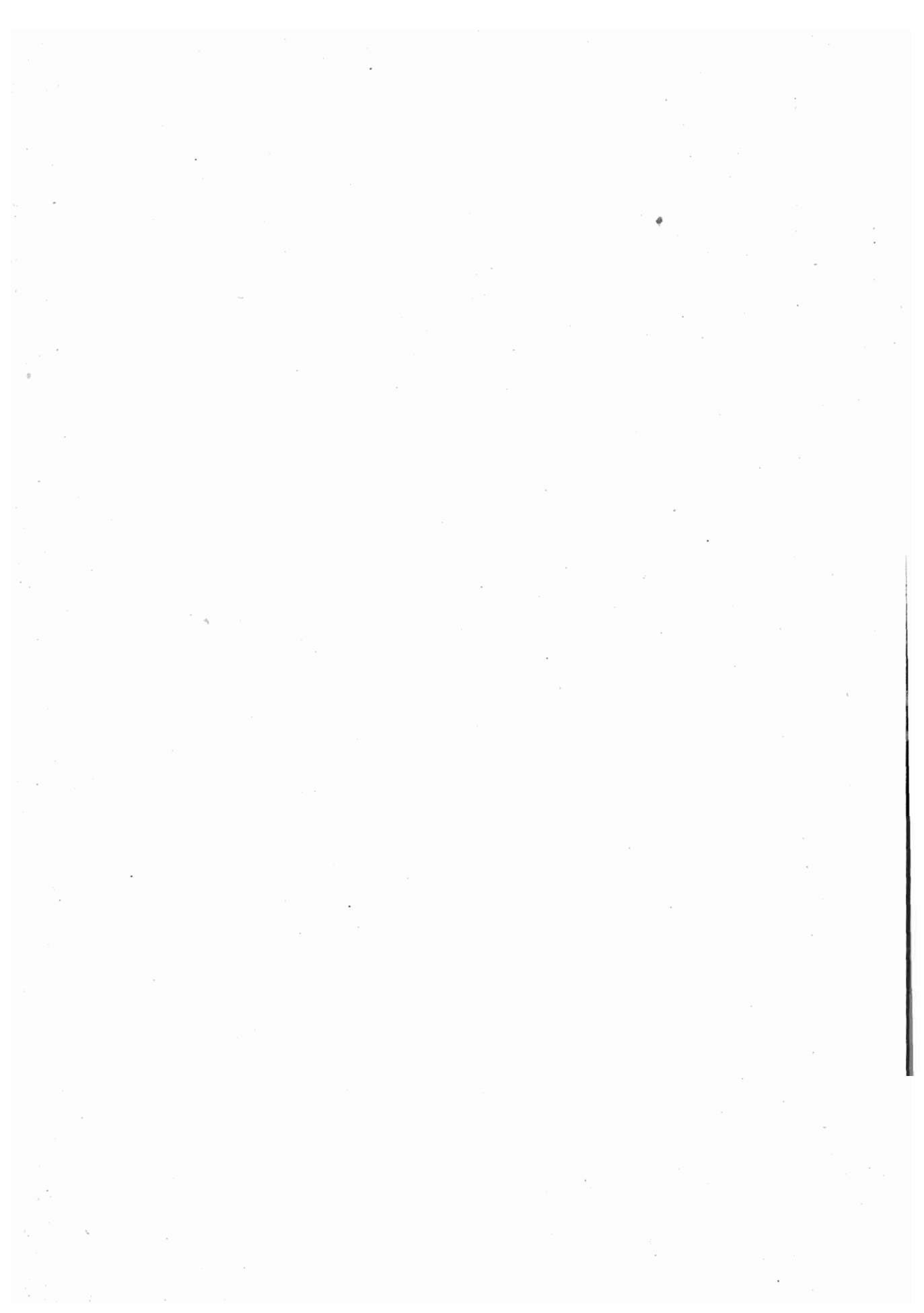
Comments on the Paper at Session 4

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Migration trends in present conditions assume multidimensional character. The new dimensions, created as a result of great changes in the world, especially in Europe, are expressed through new quality and new quantity of migration trends. As regards Europe, the new East-West directions of migration trends are established instead of the previous North-South ones.

The key factor of the migrations is no longer the demographical factor but the attained level of economic development in the emigration and migration countries. Due to that, on the basis of foregoing discussions on migration problems, the efforts, measures and actions of the developed countries of the West are directed towards an intensive economic and techinical aid to countries of emigration in order to reduce the gap in developmental level between the countries of emigration and migration. However, a certain paradox can be observed in migrations of the last several decades. Emigration trends remain almost unreduced despite the fact that the developing countries have surpassed the threshold of development.

Restructuring of the impoverished economies of east and central European countries will, at least in the first phase, undoubtedly cause dramatic unemployment, therefore, the very complex problem of migrations, combined with unexpected dramatic political changes in these countries, can transform into a major problem of massive exoduses.

Considering such conditions, migration trends must be regulated, and first of all legalized, because migrations, especially the illegal ones, can cause great difficulties in the labour market of Western countries.

Due to that, migrations trends become the subject of control, and both migration and emigration countries are interested in the issue.

Different forms of bilateral cooperation are no longer sufficient enough to solve migration problems. On the contrary, all the countries of the European continent should take part in it, and particulary the institutions that have significant experiences in defining migration policies.

Cooperation is primarily needed in the field of monitoring migration trends and the analysis of this complex international problem.

The absence of statistical data on migrations in central and east European countries should not be considered merely as a problem of statistical system of these countries. Due to the complexity of monitoring the phenomenon, this is increasingly becoming the problem of all European countries which requires joint work and actions on finding the ways of its solution. Besides the mutual work on compilation of the methodologies for keeping track of migrations, the central and east European countries will need other forms of aid (in establishing legislation, material aid and personnel).

Following the break up with the centrally planned economy (in 1950), Yugoslavia, has opened its frontiers and become a country with significant emigration. The main characteristic of the Yugoslav emigration is that it is emigration for employment, therefore, it is economic emigration. An intensive emigration started in mid sixties and reached its peak in mid seventies, when, according to estimates, some 1,1 million of Yugoslav citizens worked abroad, out of which some 900 thousand worked in West European countries. Economic emigration appeared as a specific form of a very intension transition of agricultural and non-agricultural population. By the way, the share of agricultural population in the population as a whole was reduced from 67% in 1948 to 20% in 1981.

Although the number of emigrants represents a relatively small portion of population (in 1981 it was 3,9% of total population or 6,7% of all active population), the social and economic relevance of emigration is very significant. Population working abroad supports existentially about 800 thousand supported family members (250 thousand residing with them and 500 thousand who live in the country and are supported by their remittances). Majority of the population supported from abroad

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belong to undeveloped areas of Yugoslavia, remittances sent to Yugoslavia by its workers from abroad are particulary important. In the period from 1973 to 1990, remittances in some years amounted to 25 and 45% of export value. Besides, emigration reduced the pressure for employment in the country as majority of the emigrant worker is composed of population in working age (over 93%).

Prohibitions, that is, restrictions which the recipient countries have introduced in the employment of foreigners in 1973 and 1974, which have remained until present day, have reduced significantly the emigration of Yugoslav citizens. At the same time, sharing the destiny of emigrants from other countries, especially those not belonging to European integrations, a great number of Yugoslav citizens kept coming back to the country in the first years following the introduction of restrictions. It has been estimated that in 1985 the number of workers in west European countries was reduced to less than 600 thousand, however, the number of supported family members was increased to more than 400 thousand, due to the process of advanced family reunification. This means that in 1985 over one million of Yugoslav citizens worked abroad or had prolonged stays abroad. The first result of 1991 Census of population confirmed the estimates on number of workers (595 thousand), but they indicated a smaller number of supported family members (about 260 thousand). It is certain that the number of supported family members has been increased, due to the changed structure of emigrants. The number of children and youth born abroad has been increased.

The main source of data on foreign migrations in Yugoslav statistics are population censuses. The first census of Yugoslav population working abroad was carried out within 1971 population census, followed by 1981 and 1991. According to 1981 census, 625,1 thousand workers were employed abroad in European countries. However, according to estimations from the Federal Employment Office based mainly on recipient countries data on emigrants, 676,8 thousand workers, which is 51,7 thousand or 8,3% more than obtained by the Census.

The causes of the incomplete census of emigrant population are different. Despite the legally regulated of the citizens concerning the census, it is a normal phenomenon in all the countries, including Yugoslavia, that, due to various reasons, a number of citizens is not covered by the census. This particulary refers to the population living abroad, as they are physically absent at the time of the census in the country. Data on these citizens are obtained by the members of their household in the country. Data on completely emigrated families are collected through consulates and Yugoslav citizens' clubs abroad. The completed enumeration lists are sent to the enumeration boards in the country. The reason for the reduced coverage is 1981 census methodology was due to the fact that the citizens were residing temporarily abroad which did not require data on citizens living abroad. The citizens were residing temporarily abroad. Due to that the 1981 census covered only those citizens who were considered by the respondents (migrant, relatives, neighbours) and the enumerators as temporarily absent abroad, and it did not cover those citizens who were considered by the respondents and enumerators as permanently absent from Yugoslavia. According to 1981 census, among the Yugoslav workers in foreign countries around 50% have spent 8-12 years working abroad, and 34% 11 years and more. The number of citizens determined to stay permanently abroad is growing.

Censuses of population in Yugoslavia are one of the important sources of data for the assessment of foreign migrations. As censuses are carried out decennially data for the years between the censuses are not available, and estimates based on census data are impossible.

According to Yugoslav experience, it is practically impossible to establish migration statistics in the countries of migration. Emigration is not a phenomenon controlled by the state, but it is the result of spontaneous individual processes. Yugoslav citizens left the country to work abroad without any administrative procedures. The right to emigration was identified with the right to travel. Liberalization has enabled each and every citizen to obtain a passport and travel to any foreign country provided that he had foreign currency. The existence of very favourable conditions have also stimulated emigrations. At that time the immigration countries required labour force to a great extent.

The access to immigration countries was very easy as well (by train, plane, private car) due to their vicinity to Yugoslavia. On the basis of bilateral agreement between the countries, Yugoslav citizens could enter almost any of the European countries without a visa. Over 20 million visits of Yugoslav citizens to foreign countries is registered annually.

All this contributed to the fact that the phenomenon of emigration becomes statistically unmeasurable from the point of view of Yugoslav statistics.

The existing experiences and difficulties in organizing migration statistics point to direction of further development of these statistics.

Census of population should remain the basic referal statistics. This source has been used in the past four decades. The methods of data collection on migrations within censuses of population should further be improved. As regards current data on emigrants and returnees the statistics of the immigrant countries should be upon, as practice has shown that the statistics one more easily organized in these immigrants, issuing of work permits, registration for social insurance, and registration of returns to emigrant countries. Statistics of the immigration countries, which has been used until present time for various estimates and verification of data on emigrations from the censuses of population, will remain a priceless source of data for the countries of emigration, and especially for the countries not covering migrations by their previous censuses. Due to that migration statistics in the recipient countries and should be standardized. A minimum of priority data presented in table 1 of Mr. Okoiski's paper would satisfy the countries of emigration. Would be able to compile data on emigrants from their countries using the data provided by various recipient countries only if they are presented according to same definitions, classification and characteristics. Data standardization should be defined on joint meetings of the European countries, which should be organized by international organizations.

On the other hand, countries of emigration should also develop their statistical data base on migrations. The establishment of a central register for foreigners was proposed in order to register all entrances and exits on the national border, with all characteristics necessary for migration statistics. Besides the existing forms of migration, the countries will increasingly be faced in future with the problems of migration of skilled labour. These migrations will go in two directions.

Citizens from the underdeveloped countries will go to developed countries as trainees, fellowship recipients, entrepreneurs and contract experts or as detached persons. Citizens from the developed countries will go to underdeveloped countries as managers and technical staff by contracts as well as the staff of the multinational companies. Statistical monitoring of the international circulation of skilled labour becomes necessary. The methods proposed by Mr. Okolski's paper will be a significant contribution in solving this complex problem.
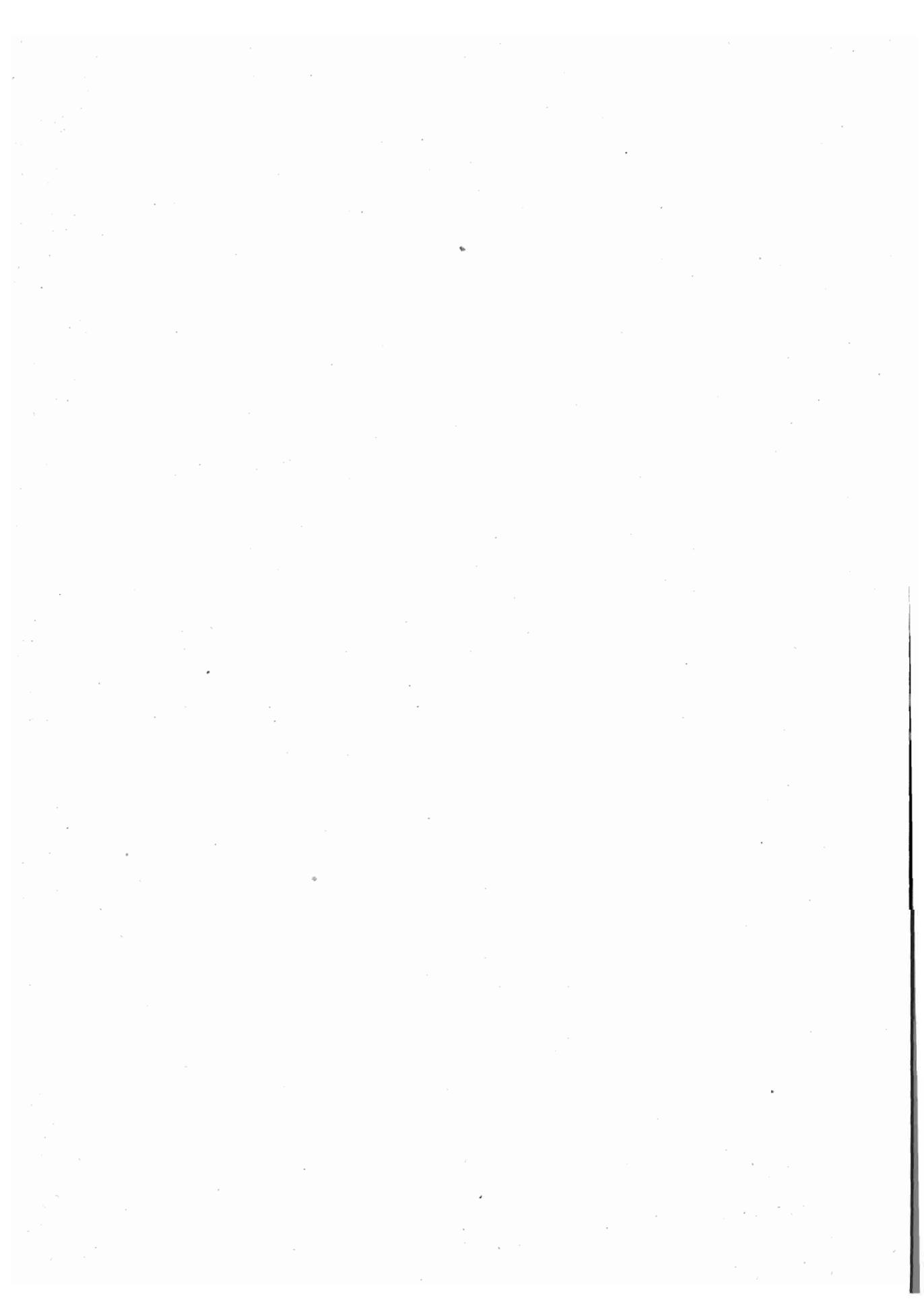
Comments the Papers at Session 4

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En fonction de mon rôle d'animateur, je vais exposer des considérations personnelles qui me sont suggérées par les relations très intéressantes des professeurs Okolski et Garson et par de précédentes communications (par exemple celles de MM. Borjias, Chesnais, Hönekopp et Frey) qui traitent le même sujet, exposées déjà à Rome cette année dans le cadre de la Conférence Internationale sur les Migrations au mois de mars et de la Conférence sur la "Grande Europe de la Culture" au mois d'avril.

Je suis parfaitement d'accord avec les rapporteurs au regard de l'extrême difficulté de définition et de mesure des nombreaux types de migrations légales et illégales et je félicite les auteurs pour la très utile tentative de classification et de coordination ainsi que pour les intéressants tableaux qui ont été présentés.

Pour cette raison, je pense plus utile de fixer mon attention sur un point important, traité peut-être avec moins de détails: "la mobilità spécialisée".

On sait bien que dans les emigrations provoquées par le marché du travail, la différence des revenus, de prospérité et de développement entre les pays d'origine et celui d'accueil joue un rôle important. Dans cette réalité, un élément capital de différenciation parmi les immigrés, reste celui de la qualification professionelle au point que les entrées sont liées aux besoins et donc au type de travail, c'est-à-dire - la qualification professionnelle.

Naturellement, cet élément doit être considéré surtout dans le cadre des profondes transformations économiques et sociales intervenues récemment dans les pays de l'Est. Il en est résulté un très fort développement de la mobilité interne et vers l'étranger et surtout des émigrations de groupes minoritaires en provenance de l'Est, en particulier de la Russie. En faisant abstraction des mouvements réguliers, il ne faut pas négliger la tentative d'introduction de contingents n'appartenant pas à ces minorités ou aux groupes relevant de l'asile politique, mais qui sont des mouvements motivés exclusivement par des raisons économiques.

Il reste en outre à mieux cerner le rôle de la qualification professionnelle et l'effet de l'émigration de main - d'oeuvre qualifiée soit dans les pays d'origine, soit dans les pays de destination.

Dans le premièr cas (pays d'origine) il y a ceux qui craignent une possibile et nuisible fuite des cerveaux (il faut réfléchir à la situation dominante des allemands dans le secteur de l'artisanat et de l'entreprise en Roumanie et même en Russie: et il faut encore considérer le rôle important joué par les Arméniens dans le commerce, et par l'immigration juive dans le secteur de la culture).

Dans le deuxième cas (pays d'origine) les positions sont davantage différenciées et nuancées. L'opinion la plus acceptée, et peut-être la plus valable, est celle qui définit comme privilégiée la situation de la main - d'oeuvre qualifiée et qui voit dans l'émigration de l'Est le danger d'une augmentation trop brutale de certaines catégories de travailleurs (voir le récent excès de médecins en Israël, causé par l'immigration en provenance de Russie).

On peut aussi ajouter que l'immigration de l'Est vers l'Allemagne et vers d'autres zones traditionnelles d'accueil pourraient se substituer à celle en provenance du Sud soit en raison de la plus forte qualification soit pour affinités politiques et religieuses.

Dans cette situation générale, l'impact des immigrés sur les possibilités d'emploi des autochtones prend une importance particulière. Ainsi, au sujet du travail qualifié, l'opinion répandue selon laquelle "Quand un immigré entre dans le marché du travail, un autochtone en sort "ne s'avère vraie que si plusieurs conditions sont réunies, ce qui est rare:
a) que le nombre des places dans une marché donné soit fixe;
b) qu'il y ait une possibilité de total remplacement entre immigré et autochtone;
c) que les imigrés soient disposés à travailler à bas pris en augmentant ainsi les bénèfices des entrepreneurs.

Si ces conditions étaient toutes remplies, on aboutirait à une concurrence parmi les autochtones et les immigrés et à une réduction des salaires qui finalement pourrait pousser les entreprises à augmenter l'offre d'emploi pour des autochtones comme pour des immigrés. En réalité, c'est difficile de faire un discours unitaire parce que les situations sont différentes et complexes.

Dans un tel sens, un exemple typique peùt être donné exactement par l'Italie qui est caractérisée par l'extrême multiplicité et variabilité des groupes ethniques présents, ainsi que par la dualité du marché.

Dans ces conditions, on assiste à une permanence de l'immigration clandestine en raison de la disponibilité des extracommunitaires à accepter n'importe quel travail.

A ce propos, une opinion diffuse mais qui ne manque pas de supporteurs est que l'emploi des immigrés non qualifiés pourrait être utile car elle permettrait comme en agriculture, la continuation des productions moins rentables mais aussi parce qu'elle encouragerait les autochtones à chercher une spécialisation afin d'améliorer leur niveau général de vie, les emplois peu qualifiés n'étant plus disponibles.

Enfin, on ne peut pas sous-estimer, en général, l'importance des dispositions normatives, récemment établies en Italie, qui devraient être analysées dans les différents pays à modèles centalisés et décentralisés en tenant compte d'une demande liée réellement à des secteurs de besoin.

La disponibilité de statistiques détaillées sur la main-d'oeuvre étrangère spécialisée (comme la qualification, la précédente expérience du travail, la distribution selon le sexe et l'âge) est essentielle à toute analyse mais pour le moment, elles ne sont disponibles que pour quelques groupes en Allemagne.

Je voudrais enfin signaler à Mr. Garson que l'Italie a récemment amélioré les sources statistiques pour la mesure de la présence étrangère et prochainement on devrait acquérir, à travers le prochain recensement, l'expérience des traditionnels pays d'accueil, expérience que nous avons étudiée et que nous étudierons soigneusement.

Peter Schwanse, OECD

The discussion revealed that the state of migration statistics is equally unsatisfactory in the East and the West. In the Central and Eastern European Countries, so far, migration statistics have been mainly based on visa issuance and police records of people leaving and entering the country. With liberalisation and free movement policies the source base of these statistics has disappeared and few reliable administrative procedures to register flows remain. In the OECD countries the situation is only marginally better. In particular, there is little international harmonisation and great variety in the quantity and quality of available data. In most countries migration statistics are derived from administrative procedures. They tend to be more reliable when population registers at municipality level are avaiable or when annual intakes of settlers are determined as a matter of national policy (in the non European OECD countries).

Efforts of international organizations such as the UN, the ECE and the EEC have not succeeded in making major advances towards harmonisation. The OECD system, SOPEMI, takes this diversity as given and simply attempts to use available national data to depict main trends - having due regard to the limitations of the data for international comparisons. In order to use the available data with the necessary care and caution SOPEMI follows closely the evolution of the statistical definitions and concepts used by Member countries.

The statistical coverage of stock data is, in most OECD countries, even in those which do not have population registers, somewhat better than that of flow data. The stock of migrant workers, for instance, and their behaviour in the labour market is sometimes depicted from labour force surveys. This is done in the United States through a special enquiry of the Current Population Survey and to some extent in the EEC Labour Force Survey. In the case of the latter several shortcomings remain which are mostly related to the under-representation of migrants in the sample and ambiguity about the definition of a "migrant worker" (nationality, length of stay, being foreign born). More important is the fact that the policy issues flowing from international migration go well beyond the labour market and require a broader statistical system covering all migrants not only those in the labour force.

The general Population Censuses are therefore the most important instrument to assess migrant populations in receiving countries. However, so far not all countries have included questions on migrant status. Moreover, information only becomes available over major time intervals which does not correspond to short-term policy needs.

From a policy perspective the regular monitoring of migratory flows is of particular importance and it is in this area that statistical improvements are most urgent needed. While the statistical coverage of immigration flows entering OECD countries is unsatisfactory the situation is even more desperate with regard to the registration of emigration flows. This is of particular relevance to the CEE_s who are likely to experience significant emigration (although immigration is by no means unimportant either). With regard to emigration statistics the experience of Yugoslavia is relevant because the country, while still under Communist rule, opened the frontiers for its citizens several decades ago and profited from the European migration boom in the 60's and early 70's. Yet in spite of significant outflows of Yugoslav workers to neighbouring countries and many efforts to register them the statistical authorities have come to the conclusion that it is virtually impossible to register emigration. The situation is similar in the other former emigration countries of Southern Europe. Major discrepancies between outflows registered in their own countries and inflows of their citizens in receiving countries have been the rule.

On reflection this experience is not surprising and should be a guide to the future development of migration statistics in the CEECs. It has to be realised that according to a well-known proposition "emigration in democratic societies is a right but immigration has become a privilege". Thus only inflows are administratively controlled and registerd. Outflows, on the other hand, are not and cannot be controlled because democratic Governments normally do not impose restrictions on the free movement of their own citizens. Even traditional migration countries like Canada and the

United Stated know little about remigration of settlers and emigration of nationals although point-in-time estimates have shown that these flows are probably considerable. (The noteworthy exception is Australia which has the advantage of being able to control passenger movements into and out of the country due to its particular geographic situation).

The CEEC$_s$ would therefore be best advised to concentrate their efforts and resources on meausuring inflows by way of administrative procedures. Such procedures will become more and more necessary because migration flows between CEECs and from third world countries are on the rise. This trend is likely to continue in spite of the depressed economic situation in the CEECs because the frontiers of the more affluent economies are becoming more and more hermetic while the migration pressures from poorer areas are increasing. There is a tendency already manifest throughout Europe for countries originally regarded as transition countries to become destination countries because of the tightening up of controls by the richer and more industrialised countries.

If all countries succeeded in registering inflows accurately emigration would be measured automatically at the receiving end, International cooperation such as in SOPEMI could provide the means to co-ordinate the ambiguities in definitions and concepts. This work would be undertaken from a user's perspective. Other international organizations would have to play their role in advancing the actual production and dissemination of internationally comparable migration statistics.

With regard to stock data the most appropriate would be to include questions relating to migrant status in labour force and household surveys. Pending the development of such surveys in the CEECs an immediate step would be to include such questions in general population censuses. In fact, the Conference considered UN the Statistical Commission usefully recommend the inclusion of the main migration categories in the standard tables to be produced by all population census.

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STATISTICHE DELL'ISTRUZIONE - n. 40 - Anno scolastico 1986-87
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Quadro statistico completo ed aggiornato della situazione scolastica del Paese, attraverso dati sui vari rami
d'insegnamento esaminati sotto i più interessanti aspetti dell'ordinamento degli studi e dei risultati conseguiti dagli
iscritti.

STATISTICHE DELLA SCUOLA MEDIA INFERIORE - n. 1 - Anno scolastico 1987-88 - L. 13.000
Contiene i principali dati relativi alle unità scolastiche, alle aule utilizzate, alle classi, agli alunni iscritti e ripetenti per
sesso e anno di corso, nonché al personale insegnante.

STATISTICHE DELLE SCUOLE SECONDARIE SUPERIORI - n. 1 - Anno scolastico 1989-90 - L. 31.000
Riporta, oltre a cenni sommari sull'ordinamento scolastico italiano, i principali dati relativi alle Scuole Secondarie
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STATISTICHE CULTURALI - n. 32 - Anno 1990 - L. 18.000 *(in corso di stampa)*
Documentazione ufficiale completa sulle principali attività culturali concernenti, tra l'altro, la produzione libraria, la
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STATISTICHE GIUDIZIARIE - n. 37 - Anno 1989 - L. 44.000
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campo della criminalità e degli Istituti di prevenzione e pena.

STATISTICHE DELL'AGRICOLTURA, ZOOTECNIA E MEZZI DI PRODUZIONE - n. 38 - Anno 1990 - L. 50.000 *(in
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STATISTICHE FORESTALI - n. 42 - Anno 1989 - L. 17.000
Fornisce un quadro completo sulla struttura delle foreste italiane e delle relative utilizzazioni legnose, unitamente ad alcuni aspetti economici.

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Raccoglie i dati relativi alle temperature, piovosità e altri fattori climatici rilevati da una rete di stazioni ed osservatori distribuiti nel territorio nazionale.

STATISTICHE DELLA CACCIA E DELLA PESCA - n. 6 - Anno 1990 - L. 14.000 *(in corso di stampa)*
Raccoglie i dati sull'attività della pesca e sulla consistenza del relativo naviglio, nonché su alcuni aspetti del settore venatorio.

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Fornisce i risultati del settore dell'attività edilizia relativamente ai fabbricati residenziali e non residenziali.

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