

EUROPEANISATION AND POLISH LABOUR MARKET POLICIES

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IQ Symposium

International Metropolis Conference

19 September 2017, Den Haag

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Agnieszka Weiner has a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Warsaw, where she also was a research fellow (Centre for Migration Research) and Assistant Professor (American Studies Center). Before joining the Observatory of Migration East of Europe (CARIM-EAST) she was a Visiting Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre of Advanced Studies in Florence and a Visiting Researcher at the University of Kent Brussels School of International Relations. In 2007-2010 she worked at the European Commission DG HOME (JLS) as a policy officer responsible for external dimension of EU migration policy. Her research has focused on international dimension of migration policy and more specifically on Europeanization of migration policies in the context of enlargement.

Her current research interests address external aspects of EU migration policy and include questions of Europeanization in the EU neighbourhood, global human capital flows, labour migration to the EU, emigration from the EU, return migration, as well as migration and development agenda. Its geographic covers Central European EU Member States, Eastern European EU neighbourhood, Western Balkans, South Caucasus and Russian Federation, but also the US, Canada and Australia.

What is Europeanisation?

TWO-WAY STREET

“**processes** of

- (a) construction,
- (b) diffusion, and
- (c) institutionalisation of

formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, “ways of doing things” and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures and public policies’ (Radaelli 2003: 30).

Europeanisation and enlargement

ONE-WAY STREET

- Enlargement: a process of 'Europeanization' and the 'return to Europe'.
- Before formal accession process: **aspiration (Poland 1989-1995)**
- Europeanization: an **obligation** regarding public policies (Ágh 1999; Pridham 2000; Grabbe 2001, Sedelmeier 2017).

Europeanisation of labour market policies?

- Political conditionality vs. acquis conditionality
- Employment and labour market are not EU competence
- Labour laws on the EU level related to the functioning of the internal market

Yet possible spill-overs from other public policy areas:

- Economic development model
- Freedom of movement (including posted-workers)
- Immigration policy

Economic development model

- EDC in Western Europe => national versions of capitalism
- EDC in Central and Eastern Europe =>
 - before mid-1990s transnational division of labour: light industries
 - after 1995: FDI and heavy industries; transnational value chains (Bohlee 2014, [Medve-Balint 2014](#))
- **Dependent market economy** (Nölke and Vliegthart, 2009)
- Transformation was equated with Europeanisation (modernisation)
- Strong business, weak labour in CEE (Greskovits, 1997).

Europeanisation? How? What?

- Role of the EU (Sedelmeier 2005, Medve-Balint 2014, Bohlee 2014)
 - “external governance”: conditionality on market rules and rule of law; no social dimension
 - [EU-driven FDI agenda](#)
 - Lowering risk: EU rules assured foreign investors
 - Enhancing attractiveness: EU financially supported capacity building of CEE state bodies on FDI.
- European legal framework on employment and social protection transposed (Leiber, 2007).
- European social model has not been replicated, no convergence (Draxler and Van Vliet 2010)
- Political discourse and middle-income trap

Freedom of movement

• Posted workers

- Temporary/circular migration of the 1990s (Germany-Poland agreement)
- Post-accession migration from Poland:
 - No clear-cut impact on the labour market
 - Unemployment: from 19.1% in 2004 to 7.1% in 2008 (but also increase in FDIs, structural funds...)
 - Statistically irrelevant impact on the labour market (Kaczmarczyk, 2014)
 - Return migration: a problematic issue (Kaczmarczyk et al 2014)

Europeanisation? How? What?

- EU-level rules for the mobility of EU citizens
- EU-level rules for social security accumulation (April 2010)
- Bologna Process for recognition of academic qualifications
- EU framework directive on recognition of professional qualifications
- SOLVIT

Immigration policy

- Until 2014 no widespread need for foreign workers in Poland (0,02% foreigners in 2011)
 - Temporary work for three Eastern neighbours since July 2007 (and other three later on)
- Since 2014 growing needs for skilled foreign workers: over 30% of employers announce shortages
- Unemployment rate 4.8% (June 2017)
- Demographic concerns:
 - Lowest low fertility: 1.32 in 2015, lowest than China
 - Forecasts of -7 mln Poles by 2050 (Okólski and Kaczmarczyk 2013)
 - Workforce decline started in 2010
 - Answer: 500+ and some immigration policy solutions

Europeanisation of what? How?

- EU-level directives do not constitute an immigration policy
- Wide-spread EU-level negative approach to immigration policy
- Polish concerns with the „Western Europe integration problem” (Weinar 2006, Weinar 2011, Weinar 2017)
 - Mobility Partnerships with MD, GE and AR included the open labour market option
 - Repatriation: German model
 - Polish Card
 - Ukraine only

Conclusions

- Mixed impact of the EU in Poland (and CEE more generally)
 - Positive impact on employment => more investment
 - Negative impact on social security => no social policy
 - Positive impact on employment and social security => low-risk freedom of movement
 - Negative impact: Europeanisation of beliefs on negative aspects of immigration
 - Positive impact: repatriation models