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TRENDS IN MIGRATION FLOWS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

**SEMINAR ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MIGRATION AND THE LABOUR
MARKET IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE CONTEXT OF
THE EU ENLARGEMENT**

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SUMMARY

This report describes the recent trends in migration movements in a number of Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs). In the first section, the emphasis is placed on East-West migration flows. It is noted that whilst permanent emigration to OECD Member countries is declining markedly temporary labour migration from this region has recently attained considerable importance. The distribution of immigrants originating from the CEECs in OECD Member countries is then outlined, bringing out their concentration in Germany, Austria, the United States, Canada and Australia. In the second section, intra-regional movements in Central and Eastern Europe are examined. The report highlights the reduction in permanent emigration flows within the region, in return movements and likewise in those of members of ethnic minorities. By contrast, transit migration persists and temporary labour migration is increasing. It appears that the CEECs are acting as a "buffer zone" between the European Union on the one side and the countries on their Eastern and Southern borders on the other. It would also appear that although the CEECs do not at present constitute a real migration pole, a willingness to control and better regulate the flows is developing. Undocumented migration persists however.

TRENDS IN MIGRATION FLOWS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

1. The political and economic changes as well as the manifestation of social and ethnic tensions which followed the opening of the borders in Central and Eastern Europe led to sizeable migration movements and to concerns regarding the possibility of large-scale population transfers. These concerns have not been realised. Although the emigration flows continue, notably towards Western Europe, it would appear that the migration flows within and from the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) are much more complex than a straightforward westward flow towards the European Union and North America. Other countries, such as Italy and Spain have undergone similar experiences: formerly emigration countries they have progressively become destination countries for foreigners. Such an evolution has been accompanied by numerous modifications to their legislation with the aim of clarifying the criteria for the entry, residence and employment of foreign migrants and has recently given rise to a number of regularisation programmes for those who had entered clandestinely and had installed themselves prior to the date specified by the enabling legislation.

2. Ten years after the opening of the borders, the return movements of persons with family links in their new host country persist in certain regions of the CEECs. To these are added the movements of those who seek to enter Western Europe but who, faced with the severely restrictive frontier controls, are often constrained to consider returning to their country of origin or, more often, reside clandestinely and in a more or less permanent manner in the country to which they have been readmitted. Moreover, whether it be in the heart of the zone or vis-à-vis the States which formerly comprised the Soviet Union, significant economic disequilibria give rise to movements of workers, legal or otherwise. Pendular, cross-border and temporary movements are just some of the forms that labour migration can take. Finally, we are witnessing the emergence of the stable settlement of foreigners though their proportion of the total population remains small in the countries examined here. Are the CEECs acting as a buffer zone between the European Union and the countries on their Eastern and Southern borders or do they constitute a real migration pole?

3. A panorama of migration trends in Central and Eastern Europe allows one to illustrate each of these aspects. A more dynamic view would leave no doubt as to the emergence of permanent immigration in some countries. Indeed, for some years now net migration has been positive in some countries of the region and the origin countries of the immigrants have been diversifying. The economic disequilibria at the heart of the CEECs and the countries on their Eastern borders explain the recent migration trends in the region and will no doubt be a determining factor in the future. In the first section, the development of East-West migration flows towards Western Europe and North America is examined; in the second section, an attempt is made at drawing up an inventory of the intra-regional flows as well as those originating from the countries lying to the East and South of the area.

1. Development of migration flows towards the European member countries of the OECD, the United States and Canada

East-West flows prior to the opening of the borders

4. The various changes to the frontiers as well as successive economic crises have given rise, since the end of the 19th century, to population movements towards Western Europe and North America. After the Second World War, emigration flows persisted (illegally) despite the very restrictive border controls. The 1980s were marked by a mass exodus of Poles (between 1980 and 1989, 300 000 obtained authorisation to emigrate), of whom almost 60% settled in Germany and 10% in the United States. In addition to this documented emigration, almost 500 000 are understood to have left the country clandestinely. A significant proportion of these were *Aussiedler* who sought recognition of their ethnic origin in Germany; another group claimed exile.

5. According to estimates by the Ministry of the Interior, 300 000 Romanians emigrated during the 1980s. Their destinations were less focussed on Germany than the Poles. In addition to Germany, the principal destinations were the United States, Hungary, Israel, Canada, Austria, Australia and France.

6. The Poles, followed by the Romanians, constitute the largest CEEC communities in Western Europe and North America. Germany and the United States are the principal host countries for communities originating from Central and Eastern Europe. The possibility of accessing social networks formed by pre-established emigrant communities explain in part the direction, nature and size of the post-1989 East-West flows.

Intensification of the flows towards Western Europe following the opening of the borders

7. Shortly after the opening of the borders, East-West migration flows motivated by economic, political or ethnic reasons intensified. Flows of people belonging to minority ethnic groups towards Western Europe were extremely large during the period 1989-1990. These flows were directed to a small number of countries (mainly Germany, Turkey and Finland) and declined rapidly. In 1989 and 1990, Germany took in a total of approximately 620 000 *Aussiedler*, who originated for the most part from Poland and Romania but also from the former Soviet Union (see Table 1). This huge flow was encouraged by the legal guarantees regarding ethnic Germans contained within the German constitution. To a lesser extent, other countries have also accepted immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe: Finland has experienced return movements of persons of Finnish origin from the former Soviet Union and the Baltic States. In 1989, over 300 000 Bulgarians of Turkish origin emigrated, for the most part to Turkey.

8. Compared with the flow of persons able to provide proof of family links with a Western European country, the other East-West documented migration flows have been relatively small and, once again, have been centred on Germany. The flows of asylum seekers have not been insignificant however. Between 1989 and 1998, in Germany, France and Spain Romanian citizens made approximately 272 000, 32 000 and 10 000 asylum applications respectively (see Table 2). During the same period, Germany and the Czech Republic recorded 81 000 and 5 000 applications respectively from Bulgarian citizens. Applications for asylum from citizens of the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia have also been numerous; these applications have been spread across a wide range of countries.

9. Except in Germany, the employment of CEEC nationals in OECD Member countries did not increase significantly. However, it should be noted that large numbers of immigrants attempted to illegally cross the borders with the aim of reaching Western Europe. This applies in particular to Romanians and to Balkan Gypsies, most of whom sought to reach Germany and Sweden, as well as to Turkish refugees who

tried to enter Germany via the former Czechoslovakia. Poland and the former Czechoslovakia have had to accept the responsibility for readmitting those apprehended attempting to clandestinely cross their borders, principally those with Germany.

Development of temporary labour emigration

10. We have observed that the East-West migration flows which followed the opening of the CEECs' borders were focussed largely on Germany and began to decline from the beginning of the 1990s. Very rapidly, due largely to the restrictive policies implemented in the principal host countries, the emigration of CEEC nationals took on a temporary nature. Certainly, westward emigration flows, particularly those to Germany, are far from being negligible but they have diminished considerably since 1993. They are mostly of temporary workers. Their circulation is facilitated by the fact that the majority of OECD Member countries do not require an entry visa for the citizens of certain CEECs who wish to stay for less than three months.

11. As a proportion of total inflows, entries of Polish immigrants have decreased since 1991 in Denmark, France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Sweden. In Germany, since 1993 the net migration flow of Romanian nationals has been very low, indeed occasionally negative (see Table 3). The emigration to Turkey of Bulgarians of Turkish origin has displayed a similar downward trend since 1993. More generally, the movements of Bulgarian citizens towards Western Europe continue to diminish, with the exception of emigration to Austria which remains one of Bulgaria's most important economic and trading partners. It appears that the nature of emigration flows has altered, being characterised now principally by short and frequent movements.

12. The number of refugees and asylum seekers originating from the CEECs has also declined. Indeed, the OECD Member countries now consider all of the CEECs as "safe" countries, the citizens of which are not eligible, in principle, to lodge asylum requests. Moreover, the introduction in several European OECD countries from 1992 onwards of visa regimes for the citizens of the former Yugoslavia led to a reduction in the number of people obtaining refugee status originating from that region. It should be noted, however, that this reduction was offset to some extent by an increase in the number of those granted temporary resident status on humanitarian grounds, notably from Kosovo in 1997 and 1998.

13. Whereas permanent emigration to OECD countries is declining, the temporary migration of workers is developing both from East to West and between the CEECs themselves. On the providers' side, the Poles are the most involved, working principally in Germany and Austria, but also in France, the Czech Republic and Sweden. In Germany, in 1998, the majority of Poles in temporary employment did so under inter-governmental agreements for seasonal work and subcontracted employment (see Tables 4 and 5). In Austria, in the same year, nationals of the former Czech and Slovak Federal Republic were the most numerous of the holders of short term or limited duration (two year) permits, followed by Poles, Romanians and Hungarians. CEEC nationals there account for approximately one in five of the foreign nationals in possession of a short-term work permit, but barely one in ten of those with a permanent permit.

14. In other terms, the East-West migration flows correspond now to a process of regional integration limited to border regions and regulated by bilateral agreements (principally between Germany and Poland, as well as those that Austria has signed with Hungary and the Slovak Republic).

Presence of CEEC nationals in the member countries of the OECD

15. Today, the majority of the OECD Member countries have in their population a significant number of immigrants from the CEECs and the countries to their South and East. In Australia, Canada and

the United States the statistics concern those born abroad. In Australia, citizens of the former Yugoslavia followed by those from Poland are the most numerous. In the United States, the Poles are just outnumbered by citizens of the former Soviet Union; in Canada, by contrast, the latter outnumber the former by almost two to one (see Table 6).

16. Of the European member countries of the OECD, Germany is the principal host country for citizens of the CEECs and the former Soviet Union. Austria is host primarily to Romanians and Poles as well as smaller numbers of people originating from the former Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and Hungary. That said, in the case of Germany and likewise that of Austria, as a result of more recent large-scale migration flows, citizens of the former Yugoslavia are much more numerous than CEEC citizens both in their contribution to the total foreign population and to the labour force. Citizens of the former Yugoslavia are the most numerous in Germany which is followed, with much smaller numbers, by Switzerland and Austria.

17. In France, of the foreign residents originally from Eastern Europe those from the former Yugoslavia and Poland (respectively 53 000 and 47 000 according to the 1990 Census) are the most numerous. In Italy, Albanians predominate followed by nationals of the former Yugoslavia, Romanians and Poles. In Sweden and the Netherlands, after nationals of the former Yugoslavia it is the Poles. In Finland, where nationals of the former Soviet Union predominate, the numbers of those originating from the CEECs and the former Yugoslavia are very low. Excepting those in the United States, the largest Polish and Romanian expatriate communities are located in Germany (283 000 and 100 000 persons respectively).

2. Intra-regional movements in Central and Eastern Europe since the opening of the borders

18. Due to the heterogeneity of their situations and the lack of reliable data, it is at present difficult to provide an overall view of the intra-regional migration flows or those involving the countries of the former Soviet Union and the former Yugoslavia. Indeed, whilst the pre-1989 situation was relatively homogeneous and was essentially characterised by a virtual absence of movement within the area, the picture today is altogether more complex. In certain countries both emigration and immigration flows are of a considerable scale. In others (most notably the Czech Republic), the emigration flow is much reduced and immigration flows are significant. Finally, some are still essentially emigration countries.

19. Certain trends seem to be common across the whole of the area: in particular, they are all experiencing the phenomenon of transit migration towards the countries of Western Europe and the accompanying clandestine employment which is frequently the means by which these migrants survive. This phenomenon is increasingly obliging the CEECs to implement policies designed to control these flows, most commonly within the framework of regional co-operation, including with OECD Member countries. The population movements resulting from the dissolution of the Soviet Bloc and the conflicts in the Balkans as well as the flows of ethnic minorities are also common concerns of all of these countries.

20. The CEECs are experiencing other types of flow to varying extents. These flows principally concern documented workers, most commonly employed temporarily. Indeed, short-distance inter-regional movements, facilitated by the fact that visas are typically not required for CEEC nationals, appear to be a key component of labour migration flows. Further, the whole of the region appears to be experiencing to varying degrees the development of permanent immigration.

Reduction in permanent emigration flows

21. Permanent emigration flows, largely underestimated in the data sets derived from population registers and insufficiently accounted for in records of cross-border movements, are tending to decline in

most of the emigration areas. The principal departure areas in the region are the former Soviet Union (notably Ukraine and Belarus), Romania, Poland and Bulgaria to which should be added the former Yugoslavia (the number of refugees from the former Yugoslavia, notably Bosnians and Kosovars, present in the CEECs is relatively high) and the Baltic States.

22. Bulgaria has not experienced any new wave of emigration since the massive outflow of the years 1989-90. Since 1995, emigration, as measured by recorded border crossings has continually declined due in particular to the reduction in flows to Romania. On the other hand, flows to the Czech Republic and Hungary have increased slightly. Emigration to Turkey has become somewhat dependent on Turkish migration policy. Recently, the Turkish Parliament decided to prolong the validity of temporary passports for foreign citizens of Turkish origin; this could improve the status of a large number of migrants from Bulgaria.

23. In Poland, emigration flows, motivated according to the period by economic or political factors, have always been high. Political repression and the economic difficulties of the 1980s led to huge emigration flows which were clearly not fully accounted for in the official estimates derived from population registers. The opening of the borders in 1990 did not lead to migration flows any greater than before. From 1991 to 1995, 112 600 officially left the country permanently as compared with approximately 150 000 during the period 1986-1990. Since 1996, the annual permanent emigration flow has stabilised at around 20 000, a level comparable with that at the beginning of the 1990s. In a context of continual decline in the rate of the population's natural increase, the persistence of permanent emigration deserves to be highlighted.

24. Finally, the total number of "permanent" Romanian emigrants has continually declined over recent years. The figure for 1998 was 17 500, that is to say less than one fifth of the 1990 figure.

Reduction in return migration and in the migration flows of ethnic minorities

25. As in the case of East-West migration flows, those within the CEECs induced by the opening of the borders were initially essentially comprised of persons with family links with the host country as well as members of ethnic minorities, largely Hungarian (originating from Romania and the Slovak Republic), Polish (from Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Siberia) and Bulgarian (from the former Soviet Union).

26. In the Czech Republic, the opening of the borders led at the beginning of the 1990s to a sizeable flow of immigrants returning from Western Europe able to prove their Czech origin. The division of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic then led to immigration flows from the new Slovak Republic. Some of the people who moved have since taken Czech nationality; dual nationality is not recognised.

27. Return migration, which is encouraged by the Romanian authorities, has increased significantly, involving 11 000 people in 1998. It is noteworthy that the proportions of those aged between 18 and 40 and those originating from the Republic of Moldova have increased markedly. Further, the number of people of Romanian origin expelled in 1998 amounted to 21 600. Almost one third were expelled from Hungary (this proportion has been increasing continually since 1993) and over a quarter from Germany.

28. There are sizeable numbers of gypsies in a large number of the CEECs, in particular in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic. Migration flows of gypsies to the countries of Western Europe and within the CEECs have declined considerably. Many have settled down and a number of countries are undertaking active economic and social integration policies in their regard. Despite the implementation of assimilationist policies, sometimes undertaken in an authoritarian manner in certain of the CEECs, the gypsies are very often marginalised and their living conditions are frequently deplorable. In Bulgaria, for example, the numerous gypsy communities which are spread across the whole

of the country are often located on the edges of towns and villages with wholly unsatisfactory sanitation. In Hungary, the gypsies are concentrated in the centre and the East of the country and account for approximately 4% of the total population. They comprise the second largest minority in Romania, after the ethnic Hungarians. Although there are sizeable communities around Bucharest, they are otherwise widely spread across the whole of the country forming very diversified communities, occasionally well integrated in rural areas. In the Czech Republic, the gypsies are mostly concentrated in urban areas under precarious conditions. In the Slovak Republic, they live mostly in the East of the country.

29. In the majority of cases, the gypsies have on average a level of education much lower than that of the rest of the population and are more vulnerable to unemployment. Moreover, a degree of rejection by the rest of the population and the problems of delinquency render the success of active policies targeted towards this group much more difficult. A report pointing to the difficulties encountered by gypsies and proposing appropriate solutions was submitted to the Czech government in October 1997. This report highlighted the need to implement urgently education and labour market integration policies for the gypsy minority. Classes will be organised and supplementary resources will be allocated to gypsy children who are having difficulty at school. Measures are to be taken to prevent employers from discriminating against workers of gypsy origin.

Persistence of transit migration

30. For many migrants seeking to illegally enter Western Europe or North America, the CEECs constitute a stage on their journey. Most of these migrants are documented, having entered as tourists or as businessmen or students. Others prolong their stay beyond the duration of their visa. Due to their common border with Germany, the countries most affected by this are Poland and the Czech Republic. Bulgaria and Hungary are also transit countries, in their cases for migrants seeking to enter Greece and Austria respectively. However, since the strengthening of the border controls between Austria and Hungary, transit migrants passing through Hungary are tending now to pass through the more permeable Slovak Republic border in the hope of reaching Germany. Transit migration also concerns the Baltic States. Nationals of the former Soviet Union (the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus) as well as Middle eastern countries pass through these countries with the aim of reaching the Nordic countries, in particular Sweden.

31. In 1998, the number of persons apprehended at the borders of the Czech Republic increased considerably, due largely to the ethnic conflict in Kosovo. As in the past, most of the apprehensions took place on the border with Germany. The increasing number of apprehensions at the Slovak Republic's borders point to a recent upturn in clandestine transit migration. The majority of the migrants caught attempting to enter the country are apprehended at the borders with Hungary and Ukraine. Those attempting to leave are mostly caught at the borders with the Czech Republic, Austria and Poland. This imbalance allows one to trace the East-West journey of transit migrants seeking to reach Western Europe.

32. Transit migration is favouring the development of illegal immigration and undocumented employment in many of the CEECs. The migrants come from neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Albania or the former Yugoslavia but also from Bangladesh, India and Iran. The undocumented employment of immigrants in an irregular situation tends to be the most prevalent in those countries with an already flourishing informal economy.

33. Only a fraction of the transit migrants succeed in reaching the West (principally Germany, Austria, the Nordic countries and, to a lesser extent, Switzerland and Italy); others remain in the transit country or return to their country of origin. This circular migration, as well as contributing to the development of irregular migration and to undocumented employment, also gives rise to commercial activity and to regional trade. The CEECs, confronted with immigration in all its forms are increasingly

seeking to adopt policies designed to better control the flows and are progressively instituting restrictive visa policies with regard to certain emigration countries. Various forms of co-operation have been implemented with OECD Member countries in order to elaborate such policies; the CEECs are also beginning to co-operate between themselves in order to frame the rules governing the movement of persons within an enlarged European migration area.

Temporary labour migration

Trends in labour migration flows

34. The existence of free-trade areas has an important effect on emigration. The data available show a slight increase in labour migration due to the implementation in the Member States of the Central European Free Trade Area (CEFTA¹), since economic co-operation between countries in transition favours such migration.

35. Given the importance of employment in the informal sector, which involves not only foreigners but also the wider population, it is difficult to discern the precise extent and nature of foreigners' employment. That said, the available information points to a significant increase in the temporary employment of foreign labour.

36. In Hungary, after the fall recorded in 1996 (which was largely due to a change in the regulations) the number of newly issued work permits has continued to rise: from 14 000 in 1996 to 19 700 in 1997 and to 22 500 in 1998. Approximately 9 000 residence permits were granted for practising gainful activities for which a work permit is not required. The number of settled immigrants and refugees who can take employment without further permission was 61 000 in 1998. On the basis of these figures, the number of registered foreigners legally present on the Hungarian labour market can be estimated at 90-95 000. In Poland, the increase in the number of work permits issued has been significant though it is in part explicable by the abolition of business visas which in certain cases substituted for work permits. Between 1997 and 1998 the number of permits issued passed from 17 500 to 20 800.

37. In the Czech Republic, after peaking in 1995-1996, the temporary immigration of foreign workers has declined continually due to the deterioration in the labour market situation. The number of work permit holders diminished therefore by 25% between 1996 and 1998. This decline has largely affected Ukrainian workers, who comprise the largest group of foreign workers and who are mainly employed in low skilled jobs in the construction sector and in manufacturing. There is, moreover, the possibility that restrictions will be imposed on Slovak workers who, under an agreement concluded in 1992 between the Czech and Slovak Republics, are allowed free access to the Czech labour market. Immigration by Slovak workers is long-established and is largely motivated by economic factors (wage and unemployment rate disparities). Slovak manpower, which is distributed throughout the economy, sometimes meets a need for special skills not to be found in the Czech Republic.

Origins of foreign labour

38. The available statistics on the numbers of foreign workers show that in the Czech Republic, in addition to the Slovak workers who are permitted free access to the labour market, there are sizeable numbers of Ukrainians and Poles (in 1997 approximately 70 000 Slovaks had a job and a further 61 000 foreigners held a work permit). In Hungary, work permits are generally granted for those sectors experiencing labour shortages or to persons with particular expertise or specific experience. The breakdown by nationality of the foreign workers possessing work permits has changed little over the last

three years. Almost half (47%) are Romanian, 13% come from the States which formerly comprised the Soviet Union (in particular Ukraine); Poland, the former Yugoslavia, China and Mongolia each account for approximately 4-5%. Almost 16% of the permit holders come from the more economically developed countries of Europe and overseas. A rather large group of foreigners working in Hungary is comprised of senior managers of foreign companies, who, in virtue of the current legislation are not required to apply for a work permit.

39. In Poland, work permit holders are of diverse origins and occupy for the most part skilled posts. Approximately 40% of new work permit holders are employed in retailing and catering (this proportion has been increasing due to the withdrawal of business visas), one fifth are employed in the transport sector and one tenth in education. Ukrainians hold almost 15% of all the permits; Vietnamese 12%; Belarussian, British, Russian and German nationals each account for between 6 and 8%. Over half reside in the Warsaw region. Certain national groups predominate in some sectors: Chinese and Vietnamese in retailing; British, Ukrainians and Germans in education: by contrast, the breakdown by nationality is widely spread in industry and the transport sector.

Irregular employment and employment regulations

40. The political and economic reforms undertaken in Poland and in other CEECs have had the effect of changing the nature of Polish labour emigration. In particular, numerous bilateral agreements have been signed with nearby countries including Germany (the principal host country for Polish workers), the Czech and Slovak Republics, Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Lithuania as well as with France, Switzerland and Belgium. These agreements define the conditions under which workers can be accepted. Germany, for example, restricts labour immigration to contracts of fixed duration which are frequently subject to a labour market test.

41. The Czech Republic has signed similar agreements with Germany, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Vietnam, Ukraine and Russia. Negotiations with Mongolia, Belarus, Bulgaria and Austria are on-going. Moreover, an agreement concerning trainees was concluded with Switzerland in 1997 and more recently with Hungary and Lithuania.

42. In the Czech Republic, tighter requirements governing labour market access by foreigners have had to be combined with tougher penalties for employers illegally recruiting foreigners. Inspections by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior have revealed an upsurge in the employment of foreigners without residence and/or work permits. This would indicate that the lower official figures do not necessarily signify a replacement of migrant labour by natives or permanent residents.

43. The informal sector in Hungary accounts, according to some estimates, for approximately 30% of GDP; the participation of foreigners in this sector is understood to be important. The majority of the undocumented workers enter as tourists and regularly or occasionally undertake a variety of jobs. Their residence is made "legal" by leaving the country once a month to have an exit stamp put into their passports because the visa free agreement allows them to stay only under such conditions. Many of these "tourists" from the neighbouring countries work in construction and agriculture doing occasional or seasonal work. Participation of foreigners in retail activities and market/street trading carried out without a valid permit is also commonplace, although its incidence has decreased. Households are often employers; they offer many kinds of work but usually only for short periods, maybe a couple of hours per week or month.

44. The majority of undocumented labour migrants are from the neighbouring countries, mainly from Romania, but also from Ukraine and the former Yugoslavia. Many are ethnic Hungarians who speak the language and have relatives or other contacts in the country. Migration from neighbouring countries into Hungary is fundamentally of a temporary nature. Those involved try to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the open borders, but do not wish to settle permanently. Even if the phenomenon is less visible, irregular employment also exists among westerners. Most are young, they typically work for foreign companies in media and internet activities or as language teachers.

45. According to broad estimates made by the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, each year approximately 100 000 to 150 000 undocumented foreigners take up employment in Poland. Some take up undocumented employment in order to finance their westward journey (this is the case for the majority African and Asian nationals of whom a certain number are regularly readmitted to Poland after having been apprehended at the border, notably that with Germany); for others, Poland is a destination country where contraband activities are often well organised. According to the results of a survey carried out in both Poland and Ukraine, though Ukrainians often undertake various forms of short-term work in the informal sector, their principal activity whilst in Poland consists in buying goods which are then sold in Ukraine.

The beginning of permanent immigration

46. A number of factors have facilitated the entry and settlement of new immigrants in the CEECs. Following the liberalisation of the movement of persons which changed considerably the conditions under which foreigners could travel within the region, the CEECs modified their nationality laws, in particular to allow expatriates who had been deprived of their citizenship to recover it. A second set of changes has concerned the introduction of short and long-term residence permits for foreigners; the ratification of the Geneva Convention on refugees; the abolition of visa requirements for the nationals of most OECD countries; and, the establishment of programmes to encourage temporary labour migration to Western countries with the object of developing participants' professional experience and language skills.

47. Immigration flows are increasing. In some of the CEECs and likewise in the Russian Federation, immigration flows probably exceed those of emigration. It is necessary however to differentiate between the various situations. On the basis of partial information concerning the entries of permanent residents², it would appear that Hungary was host in 1997 to more than 13 000 foreigners. In the Czech Republic and in Poland, entries (including those of returning nationals) numbered in 1998 approximately 10 800 and 8 900 respectively. In Hungary and the Czech Republic, countries where detailed statistics on permanent and long-term foreign residents are available, the number of persons entering under these categories has increased over the last four years, reaching 144 000 in Hungary and 220 000 in the Czech Republic at the most recently available year (see Table 7). In Bulgaria, just over 51 000 people possessed a long-term residence permit in 1998 (an increase of almost 15% on the previous year) and nearly 40 000 people possessed a permanent residence permit. Together they accounted for less than 1% of the total population.

48. Romanians in Hungary, Czechs in the Slovak Republic, Ukrainians in Poland or in Bulgaria, foreigners who choose to settle in Central and Eastern Europe originate in the majority from neighbouring countries. Other communities, such as the Vietnamese and the Chinese are present in a number of countries. United States and Western European citizens (principally from Germany) are also present, most commonly in highly qualified employment, notably managing the subsidiaries of their companies set up in Central and Eastern Europe. One observes greater diversity in the nationalities of those holding long-term residence permits. The majority of them entered in order to take up employment whereas permanent residents obtained their permit for family or humanitarian reasons.

49. The example of the Czech Republic illustrates very well the phenomenon of intensifying immigration flows (as measured by the issuance of long-term and permanent residence permits) and the diversification in the range of origin countries. In terms of stocks, the number of people holding these types of permits grew rapidly during the period 1993-1996 and more slowly thereafter. In addition to the flows originating from the traditional origin countries, the Slovak Republic and Poland, flows originating from the former Soviet Union (principally Ukraine and Russia) and from Asia (almost exclusively from Vietnam) which were insignificant in 1990 have increased considerably since. In 1997, they accounted for over 40% of newly registered permanent immigrants. Moreover, flows originating from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, although still very small, are increasing. These flows originating from countries further away and more diversified than at the beginning of the 1990s are still composed for the most part of people entering for employment-related reasons (the proportion of working-age men is increasing as is the average level of education).

50. The example of Poland points to the same trends albeit to a less pronounced extent. Until 1992, inflows were largely composed of returning Poles. More recently however, it appears that immigration flows have included greater numbers of foreigners. Indeed, net migration with a number of countries which do not feature among the traditional origin countries is positive. Among these new origin countries are Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Russia, Vietnam and Belarus.

51. In Hungary, immigration flows increased continually from the mid-1980s through to 1990. In addition to the neighbouring countries' abolition of exit restrictions, the political and economic situation as well as the ethnic conflicts that these countries experienced were important underlying factors behind large population movements. In 1990, almost 40 000 people entered the country legally with the intention of settling or of staying for at least one year. Inflows declined rapidly thereafter; the 1992 figure was half that of 1990. Figures for the last four years underline the stabilisation of long-term resident inflows at a level between 13 000 and 14 000 and an increase in the number of undocumented entrants and residents.

52. By contrast there are few signs of the emergence of stable and durable immigration in Bulgaria, Romania and the Slovak Republic. In Romania, the number of foreigners holding a permanent residence permit is very low and continues to decline (1 400 in 1998); this is due to the fact that there has not existed an institution charged with granting this status since 1990. Further, the legislation governing entry into the country, in particular the fact that tourists do not require a visa, renders otiose any attempt at evaluating the number of foreigners staying temporarily. The Slovak Republic's immigration flows are of a small extent (of the order of 2 000 entries per year) and are composed in the majority of citizens of neighbouring countries (the Czech Republic and Ukraine).

Conclusion

53. At the end of this overview of migration flows in Central and Eastern Europe, a number of trends emerge. First of all, East-West migration flows persist but at a much lower level than those recorded between 1989 and 1992; certain nationalities predominate and certain host countries are relatively more important than others. The changes which have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe have led to an intensification of migration flows between the CEECs, but above all between the CEECs and their neighbours to the East and South (the CIS and the former Yugoslavia). There are also significant but numerically low level West-East migration flows of managers and highly skilled workers. Overall, migration flows towards the CEECs have increased and, in the cases of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, have diversified.

54. The proposition that migration within this area is becoming globalised is, however, subject to some qualification. It is the Czech Republic, where reforms have been undertaken to grant a legal status to

foreigners, which most clearly appears to becoming a new host country for foreigners, above all for citizens of neighbouring countries but also for those originating from more distant regions. In Hungary, significant immigration flows began in the mid-1980s and culminated in 1990. Restrictive measures were swiftly implemented in order to check this trend; one observes today a stabilisation of documented flows and increasing undocumented flows. In Poland, a new system for recording flows has just been implemented and should extend the statistical coverage to stays of limited duration. Poland, traditionally an emigration country, is not one where foreigners tend to settle. On the other hand, the phenomenon of short and frequent visits for the purpose of trade is very important.

55. More generally, in order to give a relatively complete delineation of the Central and Eastern European migration flows taking into account the countries' roles as places of destination, transit and origin, one cannot limit the study to one of permanent and long-term movements: first, because the definitions of these categories are still, in some countries, vestiges of the Soviet statistical system and second because this group of countries is defined less as an area of settlement than as an area of trade and economic activity. The lack of a rigorous regulatory framework (such as that operated in Germany) has the effect that movements of people linked to trading activity and other forms of work are not well captured, especially given that these short-term movements of real and fake tourists do not always require the possession of a visa. It would appear that this phenomenon of very short-term, indeed "pendular", migration is very common in a number of countries. The marked economic disparities within the region or the proximity of a capital or area of relatively high labour demand doubtless explain the frequency of short-term movements in certain frontier regions. The existence of historic and cultural links render "natural" short-term cross-border movements.

NOTES

1. Founded in 1992 by the Visegrad countries, the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) comprised, at the middle of 1999, the founding members (Hungary, Poland, The Czech and Sloval Republics) joined by Bulgaria, Romania and Slovenia.
2. The present state of the CEECs' migration statistics is such that they adequately cover neither migration movements, the number of foreigners in the population nor the number of foreign workers.

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Table 1. **Inflows of ethnic Germans by country of origin to Germany, 1950-1998**

	Total	<i>of which:</i>				Others
		former USSR	Romania	Poland	former CSFR	
1950 - 1965	551 634	18 900	15 410	356 659	31 085	129 580
1966 - 1980	516 041	66 790	91 522	275 491	59 517	22 721
1981 - 1989	932 016	169 611	135 394	606 166	10 994	9 851
1990 - 1995	1 509 010	1 120 816	178 419	201 291	3 386	5 098
1996	177 751	172 181	4 284	1 175	11	100
1997	134 419	131 895	1 777	687	10	50
1998	103 080	101 550	1 005	488	16	21
Cumulated total	3 923 951	1 781 743	427 811	1 441 957	105 019	167 421

Source: Ministry of the Interior.

Table 2. Inflows of asylum seekers from Central and Eastern Europe in some OECD countries, 1989-1998

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Czech Republic										
Romania	..	1 195	532	78	61	58	491	693	156	27
Bulgaria	..	214	538	81	1 125	512	330	837	724	138
former Yugoslavia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	68	722	550
Mentioned countries as a % of total	..	78.6	54.1	18.1	54.1	48.0	58.1	69.2	41.9	4.0
France										
Romania	1 198	3 312	2 394	2 206	2 709	4 023	4 005	4 035	5 140	3 027
Poland	1 205	678	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
former Yugoslavia	..	363	866	2 354	2 487	1 882	1 368	933	1 021	1 675
former USSR	..	250	421	431	184	149	372	576	1 021	1 024
Mentioned countries as a % of total	..	8.4	7.8	17.3	19.5	23.3	28.1	31.9	33.5	25.6
Germany										
Bulgaria	429	8 341	12 056	31 540	22 547	3 367	1 152	940	761	..
Romania	3 121	35 345	40 504	103 787	73 717	9 581	3 522	1 395	794	..
Poland	26 092	9 155	..	4 212	1 670	..	..	137	151	..
former Yugoslavia	19 423	22 114	74 854	128 863	95 331	37 701	31 159	21 595	16 457	..
former USSR	..	2 337	5 690	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mentioned countries as a % of total	40.4	40.0	52.0	61.3	59.9	39.8	28.0	20.7	17.4	..
Netherlands										
Romania	2 762	378	130	75	59	..	..	..	..	..
former Yugoslavia	..	580	2 733	5 621	10 189	13 438	6 149	1 974	3 788	8 329
former USSR	..	224	1 013	627	1 599	4 525	1 887	1 678	1 958	2 714
Mentioned countries as a % of total	..	5.6	17.9	31.1	33.5	34.2	27.5	16.0	16.7	24.4
Norway										
Romania	..	207	54	59	74	-	-	-	19	76
Bulgaria	..	151	79	-	-	-	-	-	9	13
Poland	419	82	120	-	-	72	-	209	19	2
former Yugoslavia	905	743	1 334	2 838	4 147	1 562	147	76	343	1 623
former USSR	-	81	71	84	99	159	151	50	39	241
Mentioned countries as a % of total	29.9	31.9	36.3	56.9	33.6	53.1	20.4	18.8	18.9	25.2
Spain										
Romania	221	344	813	891	1 478	1 453	1 251	869	1 515	1 066
Poland	1 723	3 279	972	1 190	602	201	..	..	..	..
Mentioned countries as a % of total	47.7	41.9	21.9	17.8	16.5	13.8	22.0	18.4	30.5	15.8
Sweden										
Romania	..	2 721	454	514	333	252	84	54	37	..
former Yugoslavia	..	2 276	13 226	69 400	29 000	10 600	2 400	1 050	3 012	..
former USSR	..	..	..	..	274	259	326	203	231	..
Mentioned countries as a % of total	..	17.0	50.0	83.2	78.8	59.6	31.1	22.5	34.1	..
Switzerland										
former Yugoslavia	1 365	5 645	14 205	..	12 118	7 467	9 025	7 497	6 913	..
Mentioned countries as a % of total	5.6	15.8	34.1	..	49.0	46.3	53.0	41.6	28.8	..
United Kingdom										
former Yugoslavia	-	-	320	5 635	1 830	1 385	1 565	1 030	2 260	7 980
former USSR	-	100	245	270	385	595	795	1 400	2 015	2 820
Mentioned countries as a % of total	..	..	1.3	24.0	9.9	6.0	5.4	8.2	13.2	23.5

Source: Trends in International Migration, OECD, forthcoming.

Table 3. Net migration of foreigners from Central and Eastern Europe in Germany, 1989, 1992-1998

	Thousands							
	1989	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Russian Federation	..	18.4	21.7	21.1	19.5	19.3	13.6	17.4
Hungary	..	6.8	-0.8	-2.7	-	-0.4	-3.9	7.1
Poland	117.8	22.2	-26.6	12.9	16.5	5.7	1.0	5.5
Romania	10.7	58.0	-20.2	-12.6	-0.3	0.4	0.7	3.5
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	..	..	68.1	1.0	13.8	8.6	-13.3	3.4
former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	..	..	..	-1.9	-1.5	-1.0	-	0.7
Bulgaria	..	20.6	-7.6	-7.5	-2.3	-0.7	0.1	0.4
Slovenia	..	1.2	0.7	-0.3	-	-0.3	-0.5	-0.1
Croatia	..	10.1	1.0	-11.8	-7.1	-5.0	-8.9	-6.6
Bosnia Herzegovina	..	..	96.7	51.8	39.4	-16.1	-77.0	-98.3
former CSFR	..	11.7	-1.2	-0.5	-0.2	-0.1	-0.3	-
Total of the 11 countries mentioned above	128.5	148.9	131.6	49.5	77.7	10.7	-88.4	-67.0
Total (all foreigners)	332.5	592.9	276.6	152.5	227.2	148.9	-21.8	-33.5

Source: Population Register, Statistisches Bundesamt.

Table 4. Contract workers employed in Germany by nationality, 1993-1998

	Thousands					
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Poland	19.8	13.8	24.5	24.4	21.1	16.9
Hungary	14.4	8.9	9.2	9.0	5.8	5.0
Croatia	4.8	5.3	4.5	4.4	3.6	2.8
Romania	13.5	2.2	0.3	0.0	1.0	2.6
Turkey	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.1
Czech Republic	..	1.7	2.2	1.9	1.4	1.1
Slovak Republic	..	1.4	2.0	1.3	1.2	0.9
Bulgaria	3.8	2.4	1.9	1.0	1.2	0.7
Bosnia Herzegovina	1.3	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.7
Slovenia	1.8	1.4	1.2	1.0	0.7	0.7
former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.2
Latvia	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2
former CSFR	4.5	..	..	..	..	..
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	2.7	..	..	..	..	..
Others	1.4	0.6	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
Total	70.1	41.2	49.4	45.8	38.5	33.0

Source: Ministry of the Interior.

Table 5. Seasonal workers employed in Germany by nationality, 1992-1998

	Thousands						
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Poland	136.9	143.9	136.7	170.6	196.3	202.2	182.0
Romania	2.9	3.9	2.3	3.9	5.0	5.0	5.6
Slovak Republic	-	7.8	3.9	5.4	6.3	6.4	4.9
Croatia	37.4	7.0	5.8	5.6	5.7	5.8	3.9
Hungary	7.2	5.3	2.5	2.8	3.5	3.6	2.8
Czech Republic	28.0	12.0	3.5	3.7	3.4	2.3	1.8
Slovenia	-	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3
Bulgaria	-	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2
Total	212.4	181.7	155.8	192.8	220.9	226.0	201.6

Source: Bundesanstalt für Arbeit.

Table 6.
A. Foreign residents who are nationals of central and eastern European countries in selected European OECD countries,
latest available year

Thousands						
	Austria	Belgium	Czech Republic	Denmark	Finland	France
	1991	1998	1998	1997	1998	1990
Bulgaria	3.6	0.8	6.0	..	..	0.8
Former CSFR	11.3	0.8	49.6	..	..	2.0
Hungary	10.6	1.0	..	..	0.5	2.9
Poland	18.3	6.3	22.2	5.5	0.7	46.3
Romania	18.5	2.1	2.7	1.1	..	5.7
Former USSR	2.1	2.2	66.557	3.0	20.5	4.3
Former Yugoslavia	197.9	6.0	6.0	33.9	4.4	52.5
Total foreigners	517.7	892.0	219.8	249.6	85.1	3 596.6
Countries mentioned above (as a % of total foreigners)	50.7	2.2	69.6	17.4	30.7	3.2
	Germany	Hungary	Italy	Netherlands	Sweden	Switzerland
	1998	1997	1998	1997	1997	1998
Bulgaria	31.6	1.7	..	0.5	..	..
Former CSFR	24.5	3.7	..	0.5	..	4.5
Hungary	51.9	-	..	1.3	2.9	3.4
Poland	283.6	4.5	28.2	5.7	15.8	4.0
Romania	89.8	57.4	37.1	1.1	3.2	..
Former USSR	50.4	17.0	3.7	5.2	..	..
Former Yugoslavia	719.5	16.0	85.9	28.4	33.6	321.1
Total foreigners	7 319.6	143.8	1 250.2	678.1	522.0	1 347.9
Countries mentioned above (as a % of total foreigners)	17.1	69.7	12.4	6.3	10.6	24.7

B. Immigrants born in central and eastern European countries residing in selected OECD countries, latest available year

Thousands						
	Australia	Canada	Denmark	Netherlands	Sweden	United States
	1996	1996	1996	1997	1997	1990
Former CSFR	..	41.2	..	3.9	..	87.0
Hungary	..	54.2	1.4	4.9	14.5	110.3
Poland	65.1	193.4	9.8	13.6	39.6	388.3
Romania	..	..	1.4	3.1	..	91.1
Former USSR	49.8	106.4	3.6	8.4	..	389.9
Former Yugoslavia	118.5	122.0	27.6	46.7	119.2	141.5
Total of foreign-born	3 908.3	4 971.1	259.2	1 549.0	954.2	19 767.3
Countries mentioned above (as a % of total foreign-born)	6.0	10.4	16.9	5.2	18.2	6.1

1. This refers to the citizens of the Slovak Republic for the Czech Republic and Hungary.

2. Including Baltic States for Australia.

Sources: Census for Austria, France, Australia, Canada and the United States, residence permits for Italy and population registers for the other countries.

Table 7. **Foreigners' main countries of origin in some Central and Eastern European countries, latest available year**

Thousands								
Bulgaria			Czech Republic				Hungary	
1998			1998				1997	
Thousands		%	Thousands		%	Thousands		%
former USSR	35.1	38.6	Ukraine	52.7	24.0	Romania	57.4	39.9
EU	15.5	17.0	Slovak Republic	49.6	22.6	former Yugoslavia	16.0	11.1
CEEC	2.7	2.9	Vietnam	22.9	10.4	Ukraine	12.2	8.5
Europe (others)	8.5	9.4	Poland	22.2	10.1	Germany	8.4	5.9
Middle East	8.1	8.9	Russian Federation	10.0	4.6	China	7.9	5.5
Asia	4.5	4.9	Germany	6.2	2.8	Russian Federation	5.4	3.8
			Bulgaria	6.0	2.7	Poland	4.5	3.1
			China	4.2	1.9	Slovak Republic	3.7	2.6
			Fed. Rep of Yugoslavia	3.9	1.8	Greece	2.0	1.4
			United States	3.9	1.8	Vietnam	1.8	1.3
Others	16.6	18.3	Others	38.2	17.4	Others	24.4	17.0
Total	91.0	100.0	Total	219.8	100.0	Total	143.8	100.0
<i>% of total population</i>		<i>1.1</i>	<i>% of total population</i>		<i>2.0</i>	<i>% of total population</i>		<i>1.4</i>
Poland			Romania				Slovak Republic	
1998			1998				1997	
Thousands		%	Thousands		%	Thousands		%
former USSR	13.7	42.0	Moldova	6.0	10.9	Czech Republic	5.8	23.3
Germany	3.5	10.8	Greece	5.3	9.6	Ukraine	3.5	14.1
Bulgaria	1.0	3.1	China	5.2	9.5	Poland	2.8	11.3
Greece	1.0	3.1	Turkey	4.2	7.7	former Yugoslavia	2.0	8.2
Vietnam	1.0	3.1	Italy	3.6	6.4			
			Syria	3.3	6.0			
			Germany	2.5	4.6			
			Iraq	2.2	4.0			
			Iran	2.1	3.8			
			United States	2.0	3.5			
Others	12.4	38.0	Others	18.8	33.9	Others	10.7	43.1
Total	32.5	100.0	Total	55.3	100.0	Total	24.8	100.0
<i>% of total population</i>		<i>0.1</i>	<i>% of total population</i>		<i>0.2</i>	<i>% of total population</i>		<i>0.5</i>

Note: Data for Poland is estimates on the basis of the Ministry of the Interior's Registers; figures for Romania correspond to the number of persons who hold a temporary residence visa (valid for at least 120 days). For the other countries, data is issued from population registers and is the number of foreigners who hold a permanent or a long term residence permit.