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A. INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of 1990s countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)[1] experience

migration data problems, figures I and II were attached. Figure I presents migrant stocks as per cent of total population according to United Nations data. Figure II shows data on foreign population as per cent of total population according to OECD. In case of a few countries, mainly former Soviet Union countries,

functioning within host countries. It is estimated that a total of over 4.2 million residents departed from Poland between 1971 and 1980. The total number of long-term emigrants from Poland in the 1980s is estimated to be between 1.1 and 1.3 million people (3 per cent of the population). The more than one million people who spent between more than three but fewer than twelve months outside of Poland should also be taken into account (Kaczmarczyk and Okólski, 2002).

Additionally, a very important component of population movements in a few countries of the region was ethnically determined migration (see table 1). Migration of the so-called ethnic Germans, i.e. people of German descent who after the Second World War lived outside the German territory played the most important role. In the case of Poland, the number of people who left the country on that basis is estimated to be over 1.4 million in years 1950-2002 (Kaczmarczyk, 2005). Hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans moved to Germany from Soviet Union and Romania. Additionally, after 1989 a migration of about 370 thousand of Bulgarian Turks to Turkey was recorded. Strong population inflow for ethnic reasons faced also the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). This process altered dramatically the ethnic structure of the Baltic States and had a significant impact on other migration flows (Bijak and others, 2004).

Present migration throughout Europe is, at least to some extent, historically determined. Modern history offers clues for many similarities and contrasts between countries and regions. For instance, many differences in current population movements in Europe are due to differing times of initiation and courses of modernisation; migration trends found in former colonial powers are affected by past political and economic links to their colonies and dependencies and considerably differ from trends observed in European countries with either no colonial history or only brief colonial episodes. By the same token, it is no wonder that current migration in CEE is influenced by a more recent history of political isolation and forcibly repressed spatial mobility.

Distinct migration trends in CEE are attributable less to political developments of the second half of the 20th century than to historical factors, of which the following four seem to be prominent (Okólski, 2004b):

- relative economic and institutional backwardness (compared to the West);
- a relative abundance of labour;
- relative instability of state boundaries;
- relative instability of a (comparatively diverse) ethnic mix in the population.
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In the case of CEE rural-to-urban migration was both greatly delayed and generally low, at least (with the distinct exception of the Czech Republic) until the post-Second World War period. The outflow to the overseas started much later than the respective outflow from western or northern Europe and did not reach the pace of the latter. In contrast to most western European countries, in the early decades of modernisation a large part of the superfluous rural population emigrated to or sought seasonal employment in other European countries (mainly Germany). Finally, the notion of a shift from net emigration to net immigration (pertaining to almost all non-CEE European countries in recent decades) is inapplicable to a majority of CEE countries because the latter were closed to international movements of people for nearly half of the 20th century. When freedom of movement was restored around 1990, some countries instantly experienced strong outflow (and weak inflow), some others went through moderate inflow (and weak outflow), and still other countries saw moderate outflows and inflows. Having this in mind we will present current migration trends within

1. Continuation of pre-transition trends

CEE countries used to be perceived as net emigration countries with "permanent emigration" to the West as most typical characteristics. As it was already mentioned those movements were practically the only form that counted in the past migration statistics in the region (i.e. 1950-1988). Moreover their volume appeared to be considerably elevated in the early 1990s (see figure III).

becoming less and less significant, and it is being slowly replaced by temporary migration, in this case to an increasing degree irregular (Garson, Redor and Lemaitre, 1997).

Another category of flows which, if only for their absolute quantity, would deserve a consideration here is labour migration to the West. If, however, the analysis is restricted to the definition-wise labour migration, i.e. regular and involving sufficiently long (e.g. at least three-month) stay in the country of destination, its magnitude would be indeed very small. Only two countries sent large number of migrant workers. In the late 1990s around 300,000 persons from Poland were employed abroad annually of whom 230,000 as seasonal workers in Germany. Another important labour sending area is Ukraine (around 150,000 persons employed abroad in 2000). Ukraine is becoming also a major foreign labour supplier for the most highly developed countries of the region: the Czech Republic (37,200 workers), Hungary (3,700) and Poland (3,200) (Okólski, 2004b). It is worth mentioning that the numbers given in parentheses reflect only regular flows. According to different estimates the overall number of workers from Ukraine employed in above mentioned countries .9891 -1.1522 0.9((a.0206(r2413.1(n)1.7(rs .989522 0.9((741tr5t(a8(f ann)9.8043 rather popular in all countries of the region. Moreover, all three categoess rather nw

year tens of thousand persons were believed to be transiting through Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and the Slovak Republic (Frejka, 1996b). It appears that a large majority of transit migration, and, at the same time, major "routes", lead through the ex-USSR. For instance, it was suggested that in the middle of 1996 an average stock of transit migrants in Belarus alone exceeded 300 thousand (Sipaviciene, 1996), and at any given time many more migrants of this kind might be in Ukraine and Russia: one example illustrating "a tremendous build-up of South Asian transit migrants in Russia" is an estimated 200 thousand illegal foreigners (at any one time) from that region in Moscow alone (IOM, 1997).

Last but not least, a mention should be made of two other categories which after 1989 became a novelty in most of CEECs: settlement immigration and the inflow of migrant workers. The importance of this phenomenon was more in its contrast to the pre-1990 period when the immigration was hardly to record. Officially, even in Hungary, a clear leader as far as the number of immigrants is concerned, it never involved more than 37 thousand persons per annum (in 1990); recently (1995-1996) each of the three countries where the inflow is relatively significant, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, register only 5-7 thousand immigrants annually (Maresova, 1996; Okólski, 1996; Juhasz, 1996). Certain CEE countries have become an area of a large inflow of persons entitled to long-term residence or irregular immigrants. For example, in 1995 the population of foreign residents in the Czech Republic included as many as 159 persons in regular situation and 150-200 thousand persons in irregular situation (Maresova, 1996). In the case of former Soviet Union republics number of immigrant in irregular situation is much higher than officially registered migrants: the number of irregular immigrants in Russia is estimated to over 1.500.000 and in the case of Ukraine to about 1.600.000 (IOM, 2002).

In turn, CEE itself has simultaneously developed into a migrant-receiving area. The Czech Republic, a regional leader, in 2002 hosted as many as 150.000 migrant workers or foreign entrepreneurs, majority of whom came from Slovakia, Ukraine and Vietnam. Apart from that country also Hungary and Slovenia (and to lesser extent Poland and Russia) rank among migration poles in the region. Nearly all countries recorded large inflows of asylum seekers; e.g. between 1996 and 2003 the Czech Republic 63.000, Hungary 45.000, Poland 35.000 and Slovakia 33.000 (Okólski, 2004b).

Recently in some agglomerations of CEE the proportion of foreign residents (of whom a majority is in irregular situation) do not depart from what is generally observed in the West. It is estimated e.g. that in 1995 the foreign nationals accounted for between 9 and 11 per cent of the Prague population and between 4 and 6 per cent of the Budapest population, with a large contribution of immigrants from Asia (especially China and Vietnam) (UN/ECE, 1996). Certain parts of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland already witness a setting up of "strongholds" of the future communities of various foreign populations (e.g. Drbohlav, 1998; Lukowski,uke.g Ny.3(i)-4r9(l)-4998; .3(i)-7

as well as scale of illegal transit movements. Last but not least, migration between CEE countries intensified with Romania, Ukraine and Bulgaria as the main sending countries and the Czech Republic and Hungary as important migrant magnets.

C. CAUSAL FACTORS OF CURRENT M

in the city and commuted on daily or weekly basis. As a consequence of this “underurbanization” process, in the case of many CEECs we still observe a large proportion of populations living in rural areas. Moreover, this phenomenon led to the emergence of masses of unemployed, "loosely employed" or "rootless" people finding no obstacles to travelling. In the transition period, mainly due to changes in socio-economic situation and liberalization of entry policies in receiving countries this potential could be transformed into international labour mobility (Okólski, 1998b). This specific kind mobility is called incomplete migration and will be a subject of analysis in the next part of the paper.

2. Economic factors

Economic factors are usually perceived as basic motives for emigration. The voluntary migrants are above all driven by a desire to improve their standard of living. Such motivation could be particularly strong in peripheral countries (as for example CEECs) where relative economic deprivation is much stronger than in more developed economies. Before we go into details it seems necessary to sketch the economic situation in the region.

Until the late 1980s CEE economies had a lot in common, including overwhelming predominance of

that recently absorbed relatively large quantities of western capital and those that enjoyed a relatively small influx of capital;

4) liberalisation of the former centrally planned economies of CEE has revealed comparative advantages and other economic differences among the respective countries, particularly with respect to three areas: the development on labour markets, the structure of international trade, and the quantity and forms of capital inflow, all of which might foster intra-regional labour migration.

The analysis on the macro level alone can not answer the question of factors causing migratory behavior. On the macro-level i.e. structural level we can observe the so-called migratory potential. Such factors like income gap, difference in wages or unemployment rates are very important for potential migrants but do not determine their decisions. There are many examples of countries differing with respect to above mentioned factors and not experiencing massive migration flows (e.g. Puerto Rico and

modification of nationality laws, abolition of entry visas (and, generally, where applicable, softening of non-visa barriers) for citizens of almost all European (and a number of non-European) countries, introduction of a legal basis for the contract employment of foreigners, ratification of the Geneva Convention on refugees and setting up of a framework for labour migration to the West (Garson, Redor

From the picture of basic migration trends observed in the region in the 1990s, and presented in part A, it follows that this characteristic has been altered radically. A variety of political and socio-economic factors depicted in part B contributed to a deep intra-regional diversification and a mosaic of migratory trends in CEE became more and more complex. In general, the CEE countries are characterized by relatively very high overall mobility but there are also countries with moderate (Estonia and Latvia) or even very weak migration intensity (the Czech Republic, Hungary and the Slovak Republic). With respect to (long-term) migration balance with the West, probably in only one country (the Czech Republic)it is significantly positive, whereas in two or three other (Hungary, the Slovak Republic and maybe Lithuania) its value seems negligible. The rest of CEE has a considerable negative balance, and the CIS countries take the lead here. Poland and Albania, and to much lesser degree Romania seem to be the countries sending significant numbers of migrant workers to the West. The Czech Republic and Russia in turn might be the only countries with a positive (albeit rather tiny) balance (see Knabe, 1996). For other countries, the flows of labour to and from western countries seem to be more or less even (Hungary) and very small at that (the remaining countries). From the view-point of migratory links with Western countries at least three distinct and almost fully detached qualities/sub-regions, characterised by different trends, can be distinguished. First of those qualities comprises countries with very weak outflow but

2. Migration characteristics – irregularity

The second feature of current migration within CEE is that a large proportion of migrants arriving in all countries of CEE are, at least at certain point of their migration, in irregular situation. Sources of this phenomenon relate mainly to the political conditions. The region is rather tolerant with regard to visiting/living foreigners, the governments seem reluctant to go ahead with legislation and administrative measures which would cope with the new migratory reality. Last but not least a transitional nature of the legal environment is generally conducive to irregular behaviours.

Around the year 2000, the intensity and volume of regular migration flows in CEE were surprisingly low. A few countries in the region became net immigration areas, in no country did immigration reach a high level. For instance, in 1999 the Czech Republic and Hungary, recorded only 9,900 and 15,000 immigrants, of whom the largest national groups were Slovaks in the Czech Republic (33 %) and ethnic Hungarians, mainly from Romania, in Hungary (51 %). Although emigration was generally higher than immigration in CEE, the outflow from the principal sending countries (Poland and Romania followed by Lithuania) barely exceeded 20,000 (Okólski, 2004b).

Irregularity is quite common feature in the case of transit migrants but within CEE irregularity is also widespread among short-term migrants, particularly migrant workers who as a rule are employed in the shadow economy. Arguably everywhere in the region irregular labour overwhelms regular labour (Salt, 1996). Paradoxically, certain traditionally labour-sending CEECs (e.g. Poland), while continuing to do so, seem to receive about as many foreign workers as the number of exported nationals (Okólski, 1994). However, what might be illustrated by means of the Polish case, in the 1990's a majority of nationals employed abroad, as opposed to foreigners in Poland, are believed to be in regular situation (Kepinska, 2004). This specific situation is a consequence of a fact that in the case of Poland many irregular workers employed in the 1980s in the West have recently been channelled to the regular employment (especially in Germany, according to bilateral agreement concluded in 1990).

Long-term migrants are not an exception to above described tendency. Surveys conducted in certain CEECs (e.g. the Czech Republic and Poland) revealed the existence of communities of recently settled foreign citizens (which include full families) whose nearly all memebers have not only failed to regularise their stay but their prospects for accomplishing that in near future are rather bleak (Drbohlav, 1997; Lukowski, 1997). This situation did not change even despite regularizations undertaken in last few years[2].

3. Migration categories – "incomplete migration"

The most striking feature of population movements observed within CEE after 1989 is that a majority of those movements does not only escape registration (which follows from the preceding feature), but also their substantial proportion does not conform to the definition of migration. This is because a new migratory quality, hardly captured by the definitions and typologies in use, has emerged and become ubiquitous in the CEECs (Morokvasic, 1996; Diminescu, 2004; Potot, 2004; Michalon, 2004). Due to its inconsistecy with those definitions and typologies, it might be termed incomplete migration as it was proposed by Okólski (2001a, 2001b).

The virtue of incomplete migration is its quasi-migratory character. People involved in mobility of this kind do not strictly or hardly at all fulfil preconditions which are generally set for a migrant but, in fact, they do realise to a high degree economic function of migration, and they might spend a considerable portion of time (e.g. measured on annual scale) outside of the home country.

The following three features seem to aptly depict a migrant of this kind:

1) "loose" social status and/or flexible occupational position in the country of origin,

2) irregularity of stay or work (income raising activity) in the host country,
3)

incomplete migration who formally remain in employment in their home countries but, due to the economic slump, their factories are not producing, and no wages (or only a small fraction of the wage) are paid them. For such people migration is often a matter of survival. More sophisticated forms of incomplete migration, including the monopolising of certain seasonal jobs in certain markets, the rotation of migrants from the same household or community to continue irregular employment with the same employers, etc. involve mainly migrants from Poland who travel to the West taking advantage of the experience gathered by other Poles during their pioneering migrations in the 1980s (Frejka, Okólski and Sword, 1998).

Summing up, in its motivational sphere, incomplete migration to a large degree reflects the effects of economic factors, which, with a distinct exception of a part of the movements undertaken by Polish migrants, started operating in the post-1989 period (Polish pendular migrants were predecessors of persons involved in the current incomplete migration in CEE – see Morokvasic, 1992). While the adaptive strategies and related migratory behaviours of the person involved might be deemed perfectly normal, a general economic environment which gave rise to incomplete migration seems not. Various structural imbalances, imperfections of market and loopholes in legislation in which the transition period abound - that is what creates a favorable ground for this kind of international mobility of people.

E. Future Trends in Migration in CEE

What follows from the above presented analysis is that important migration flows in the 1990s originated mainly from the political developments of the region but their roots lay in very complex set of factors. That makes it very difficult to estimate the stability and possible future developments of mobility within CEE. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to discuss shortly potential changes in few important flow categories, namely ethnic motivated flows between the ex-Soviet republics, transit migrations and incomplete migration.

In the last decade a transformation in the trend of ethnicity related migration within the ex-USSR was observed. Until 1994 a rising trend was recorded but after that the number of ethnic migrants decreased. This situation appears to be relatively stable due to the fact that those movements already reached such a point where the number of potential migrants can only shrink.

As far as transit migration is concerned the trend seems to be rather stable (paradoxically, in spite of the fact that the numbers and composition of transit migrants is changeable in last years). It is a consequence of the specific position of a number of CEECs. When they have become the only land neighbour to the European Union directly accessible form the South automatically they have assumed a role of *cordonne sanitaire* for the “fortress of Europe”. As a consequence they are and will be a temporary target for migrants from less developed parts of the world (mainly Asia and Africa) heading for countries of “old” European Union. Having in mind the growing migratory potential of developing countries we can expect a rise in the scale of transit migration in CEE.

The incomplete migration stems, at least to a high degree, from unstable socio-economic conditions in countries under transition. As a consequence the future trends according to this category of movement

Two historical events were of crucial importance for shaping of new migration trends in Central and

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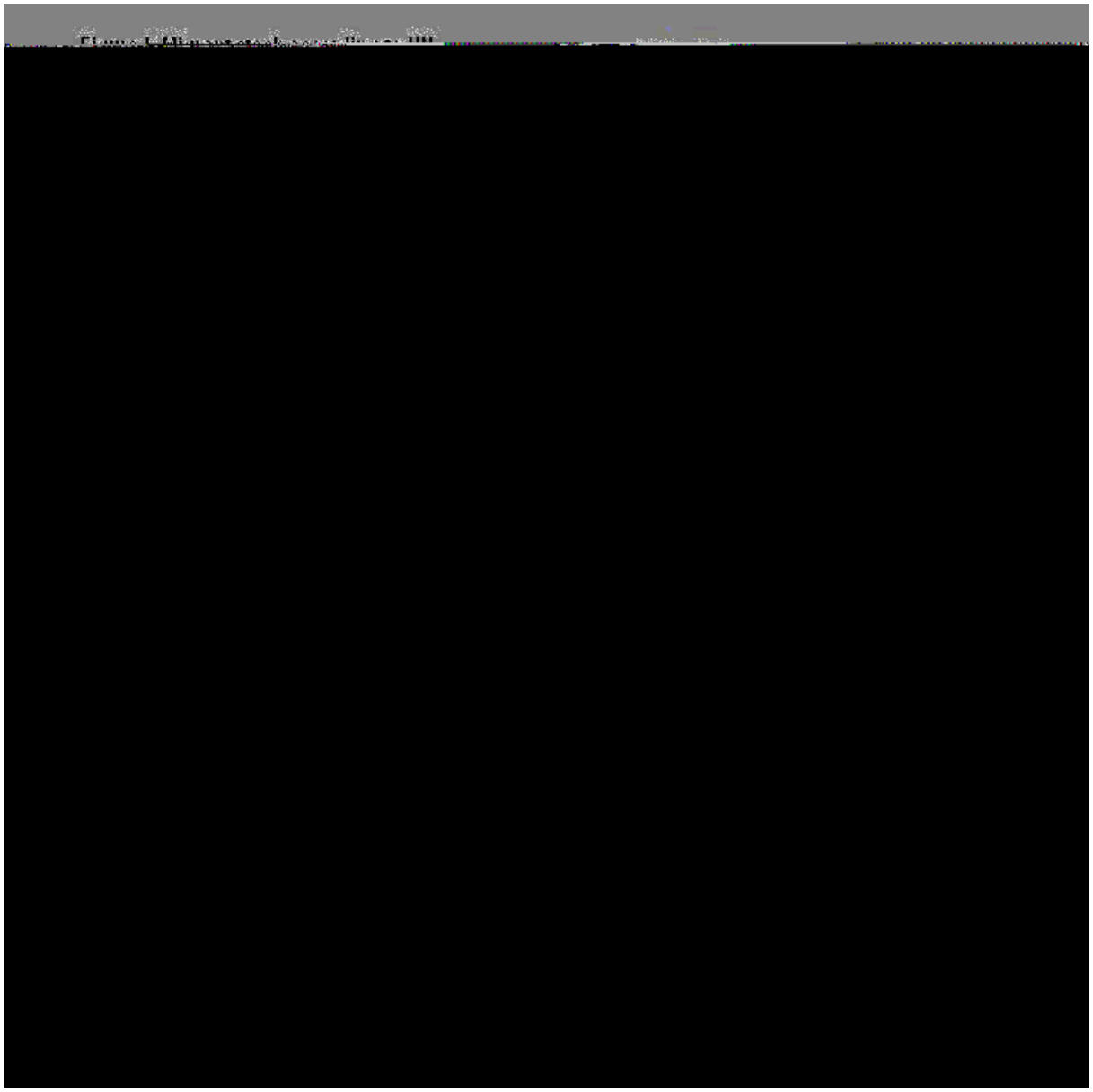
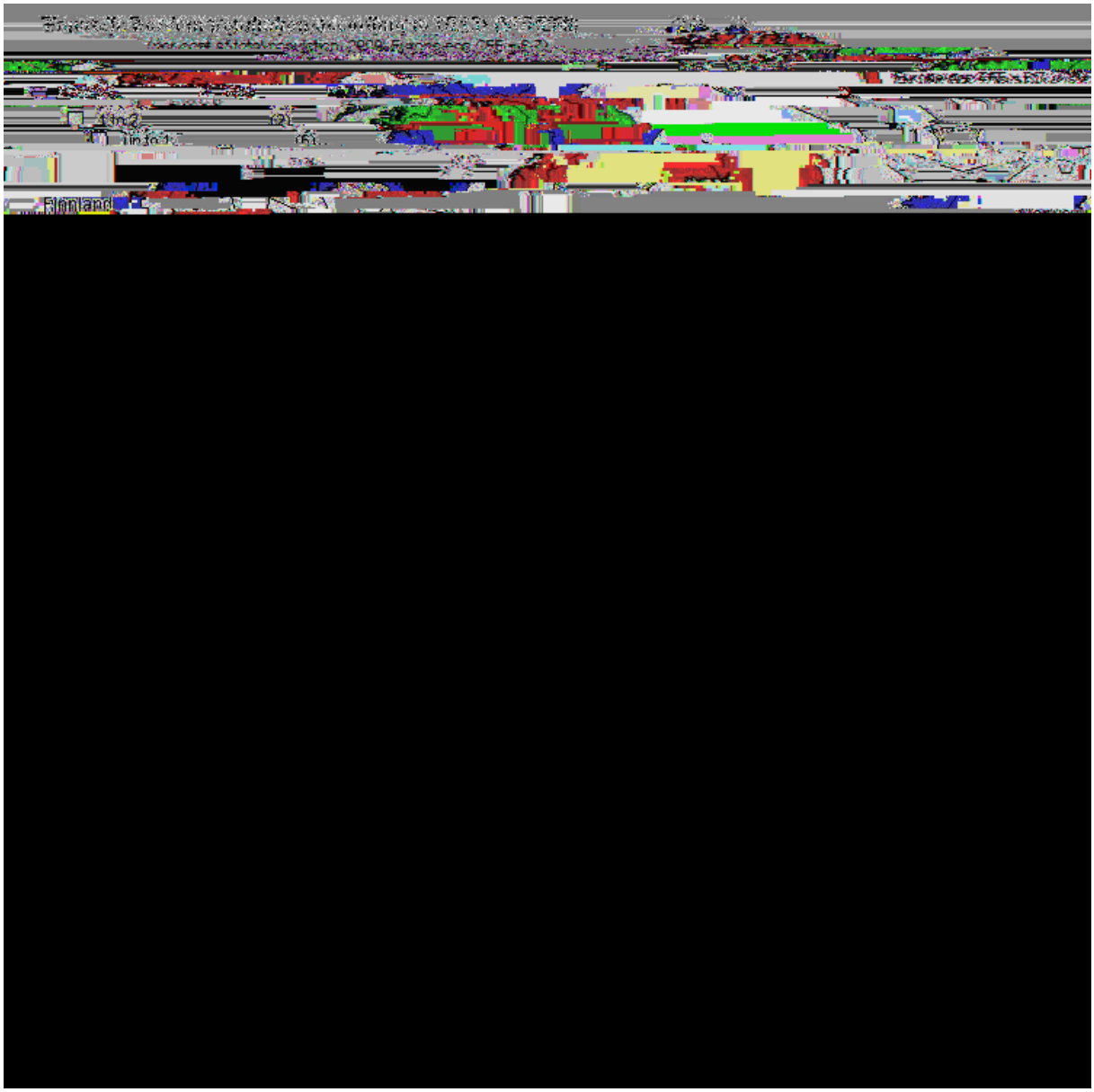
TABLE 1. International migration in selected Central and Eastern European (a) countries before the onset of the transition and 10 years afterward – categories and levels (b) of flows

Type of migration (c)	**1985-1989 (d)**				**1996-2000**			
	High	**Medium**	**Low**	**Negligible**	**High**	**Medium**	**Low**	**Negligible**
Outflow 1. Emigration	E, LA, LI, P, R		B, C	H	B, LI, P	LA, R	C, E	H, SK, SL
2. Temporary employment abroad (e)	P		R, LI	B,C, E, H, LA	P	R	H, LI, SL	B, C, E, LA, SK
3. Ethnicity-based outflow	B, P, R		C, LA, LI	E, H		R, LA	E, LI	B, C, H, P, SK, SL
4. Outflow of refugees and/or asylum seekers	P	C, H, R	B	E, LA, LI		B, R	C, LI, SK	E, H, LA, P, SL
5. Outflow of false tourists (f)	P		H	B, C, E, LA, LI, R	B, LI, P, R	C	E, H, LA, SK, SL	
Inflow 1. Immigration		H		B, C, E, LA, LI, P, R		C, H, R, P, SL	B, E, LA, LI,	SK
2. Employment of foreigners (e)		C	H	B, E, LA, LI, P, R	C	H	P, LI, SK	B, E, LA, R SL
3. Ethnicity-based inflow	E, LA, LI	H		B, C, P, R		R	E, H, LA, LI, P	B, C, SK, SL
4. Inflow of refugees and/or asylum seekers				All	H	C, P, SK, SL	B, R	E, LA, LI
5. Inflow of false tourists and/or illegal migrants (f) 5a/ for transit to the West				All		C, H	B, LI, P, R SK, SL	E, LA
5b/ for work				All	P	C, H	SK	B, E, LA, LI, R, SL
5c/ for petty trade		H	C	B, E, LA, LI, P, R	P	C, H, SK		B, E, LA, LI, R, SL

(a) 10 countries (**B**ulgaria, the **C**zech Republic, **E**stonia, **H**ungary, **LA**tvia, **LI**thuania, **P**oland, **R**omania, **S**lova**k**ia, **Sl**ovenia)
(b) intensity of migration measured in absolute terms – for the criteria used to estimate a given flow see Okólski 2004b
(c) types from 1 to 5 comprise flows (in the case of type no. 2 – stocks) recognised as regular (legal) ones in the respective host countries
(d) in 1985-89: C denotes the former Czechoslovakia; data for Slovenia not available; migration in the Baltic States includes inter-republic flows within the former USSR
(e) average annual stock
(f) guesstimates based on police or research reports rather than estimates based on statistical sources
Source: Okólski 2004a: 46-47.



Source: Own elaboration based on UN data.



Source: Own elaboration based on OECD (SOPEMI) data.