

Migration in New EU Member States (with special regard to Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary

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Based on:

- Mainly based on Synthesis report for Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic), edited by Drbohlav, D., Hárs, A., and I. Grabowska-Lusinska – worked out within the **IDEA project**:

„IDEA - Mediterranean and Eastern European Countries as new immigration destinations in the European Union - 6th Framework Programme, No. 44446“

see: <http://www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl/?strona=4>

Presentation outline

- 1) Introduction plus current situation
- 2) Historical experience
- 3) Migration patterns up to 1990s
- 4) Current immigration patterns
- 5) Determinants and factors of migration
- 6) Migration policies
- 7) Migration impacts
- 8) Conclusions, policy recommendations

SHORTCOMINGS:

1) STATISTICS

2) ...

3) ...

International Migration Patterns in NMS:

Estimate – Beginning of the 2000s

(Drbohlav, D.: The New Generations of Europeans, Demography and Families in the Enlarged EU. LUTZ, W., RICHTER, R., WILSON, CH. (Eds.), Londoan, EARTHSCAN, 2006

| Country | INTO | OUT | THR. |
|------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Czechia | +++++ | ++ | +++ |
| Estonia | + | + | + |
| Hungary | +++++ | ++ | +++ |
| Latvia | + | ++ | + |
| Lithuania | + | ++ | + |
| Poland | +++++ | +++++ | ++ |
| Slovakia | ++ | ++ | +++ |
| Slovenia | ++ | + | ++ |

Net migration – persons, source: EUROSTAT

| CEEC | 1997 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Poland | -11,796 | -12,878 | -36,134 | -20,485 | -14,865 |
| Czech R. | 12,075 | 36,229 | 34,720 | 83,945 | 71,790 |
| Hungary | 17,561 | 17,268 | 21,309 | 14,568 | 16,374 |
| Slovakia | 1,731 | 3,403 | 3,854 | 6,793 | 7,060 |
| Slovenia | -1,303 | 6,436 | 6,267 | 14,250 | 19,496 |
| Estonia | -6,927 | 140 | 164 | 160 | 127 |
| Latvia | -9,420 | -564 | -2,451 | -642 | -2,542 |
| Lithuania | -22,421 | -8,782 | -4,857 | -5,244 | -7,718 |
| Romania | -13,345 | -7,234 | -6,483 | 745 | 1,291 |
| Bulgaria | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1,397 | -876 |

Emigration

- **Estimates**
- - destination countries – mainly the UK, Ireland,
 - In 2007 – probably more than 2 mil. Poles stayed temporarily abroad
 - Probably some 0.5 mil. Romanians stayed in Spain etc.

| CEEC - NMS | Net Mig. 2008/Pop. x 1,000, 2007 (EUROSTAT data) |
|-------------------|---|
| Poland | -0,38979 |
| Czech R. | 6,858699 |
| Hungary | 1,63234 |
| Slovakia | 1,304508 |
| Slovenia | 9,594488 |
| Estonia | 0,094776 |
| Latvia | -1,12428 |
| Lithuania | -2,30388 |
| Romania | 0,060049 |
| Bulgaria | -0,11516 |
| EU 27 | 2,936291 |

Introduction

- Common heritage of about 40 years of socialist/communist ruling
- During the 1990s - deep systemic transition/transformation processes from centrally planned economy towards prosperous democratic systems based on free-market economies
- Incorporation into western political, economic and security institutional structures (namely to the OECD, NATO - 1999, and EU - 2004)
- Societal transformation accompanied by transformations of migratory patterns - from 'closed borders' regimes with minimal levels of international migration into diversified migration modes:
 - Czech Republic - the most attractive migration destination country within the CEE context
 - Hungary - also experiences positive net migration, although with a low intensity
 - Poland - high emigration of natives and rather low long-term immigration

Historical experience I

- Current Czech Republic and Hungary and a south-eastern part of present Poland belonged to the multiethnic Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.
- The remainder of present Poland was split between two empires – German and Russian
- Since 1918 the three countries have been restored as sovereign political entities – however, many ethnic Hungarians (more than 30 per cent) lived outside the borders of the newly formed Hungary (mainly in Romania, and Slovakia)
- Since then, Hungary has been an almost homogeneous ethnically country versus the Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia at that time) and Poland have become ethnically homogeneous only after ethnic cleansing in the aftermath of the WW II
- Poland embraced parts of present Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine but not its present northern and western lands (which belonged to Germany)

Historical experience II

- Three distinctive periods within migration development: A) up to 1939; B) after WWII to 1989; C) since 1990 (with distinctive sub-periods)
- In the first two periods the CEE countries were predominately emigration areas
- Since 1990s a change to transit and destination countries of international migration

Migration patterns up to 1990s

A) Up to 1939

- Mostly emigration to Northern America, Western Europe (France, Germany), other parts of the monarchy (Vienna)

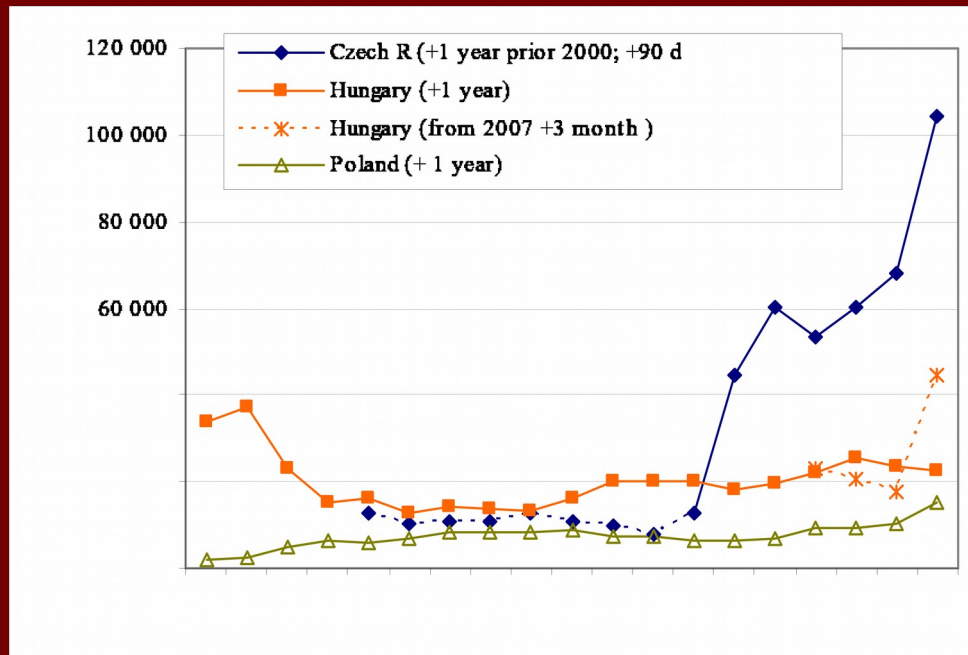
B) After WW II to 1989

- Large movements of people in the aftermath of the WW II (e.g. expulsion of Germans, exchange of population between Hungary and Slovakia, Poland and the USSR)
- Very restrictive migration regime – isolation, closed borders, massive political emigration in waves
- Immigration of refugees (from Greece) and trainees, students and workers (from other socialist countries mainly to Czechoslovakia)

Current immigration patterns

- Poor quality of migration flow data (namely emigration data)
- Differences in volumes – high levels of net migration in the Czech Republic, whilst Poland remains a net emigration country
- Apparent growth after 2004 (EU accession)

Migration inflows to the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, 1989-2007

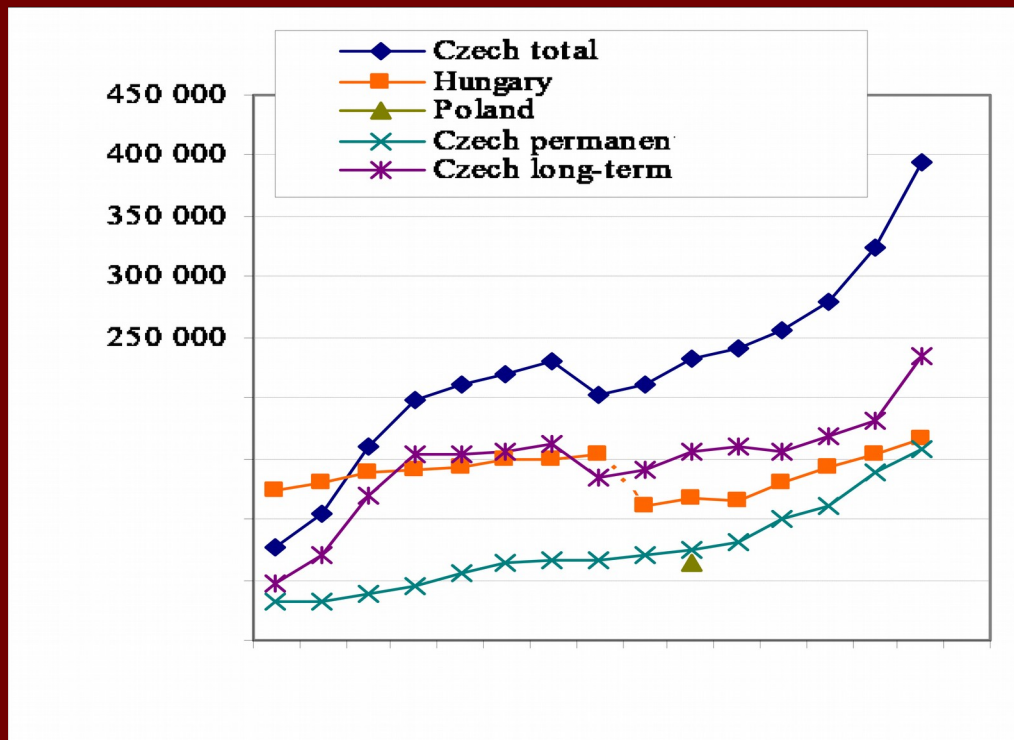


Migrant stock

- The Czech Republic leads the group in terms of the size of registered migrant population whilst Poland significantly lacks behind

Migrant stock in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, 1993-2007

In relative terms: About 3.8% in the Czech Republic in 2007, About 1.7% in Hungary, About 0.2% in Poland

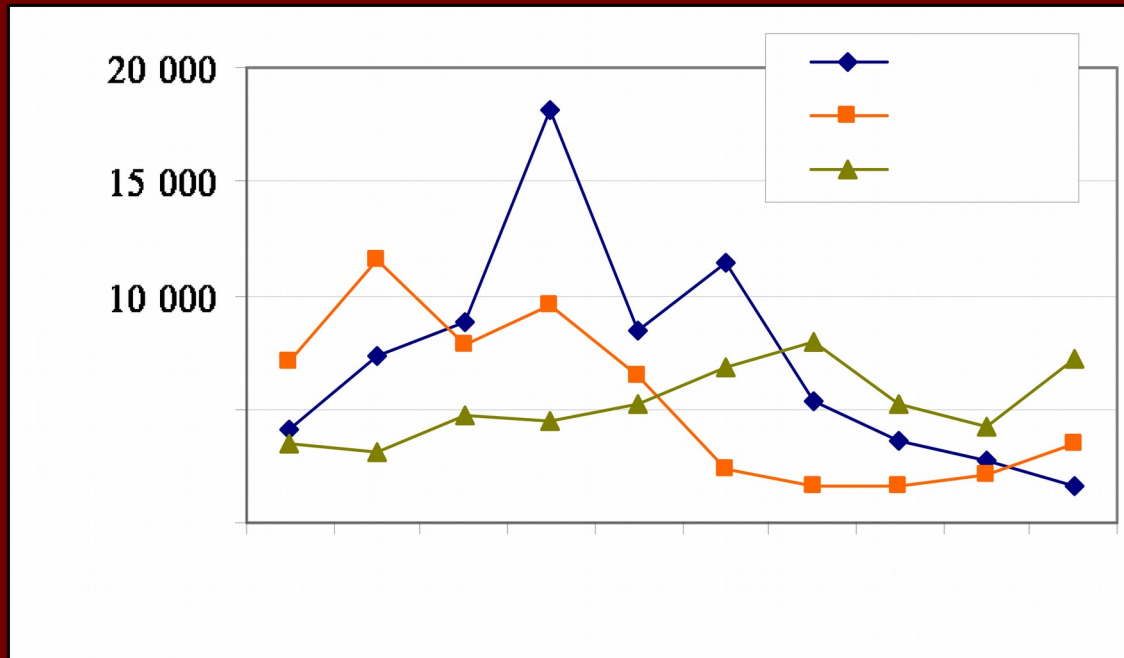


Asylum seekers

Current inflow of asylum seekers is rather small

A strong connection between asylum seeking and irregular labour migration

Asylum applications in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, 1998-2007



Characteristics of migrant population

- Labour migration represents the dominant form (of circular, short-term and long-term type)
- Source countries are: CEE countries, Post-Soviet countries, Vietnam, China
- Important differences:
 - In terms of length of stay - significant numbers of migrants who stay for a long-time (several months) or permanently in the Czech Republic and Hungary, whereas in Poland short-term stays (accompanied by so called petty trade activities) dominate
 - Ethnic migration characteristic of Hungarian migration patterns (ethnic Hungarians from Romania)

HISTORY

- THE FOLLOWING HISTORICAL MIGRATORY LINKS OF THE NMS HAVE PARTICULARLY BEEN DEVELOPED AND ESTABLISHED:
 - **The Baltic states:** *Russia, ... Finland, Germany*
 - **The Czech Republic:** *Slovakia, Germany, USA*
 - **Hungary:** *Romania, former Yugoslavia, Slovakia*
 - **Poland:** *the former Soviet Union, Germany, France, USA*
 - **Slovakia:** *the Czech Republic, USA, Hungary*
 - **Slovenia:** *the former Yugoslavia, Germany, Austria, Italy*

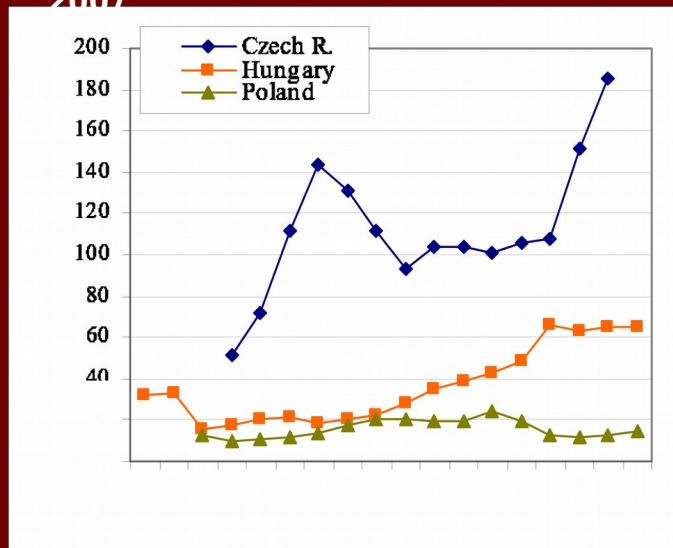
FOREIGN LABOUR FORCE

For Hungary and the Czech Republic - registered migrant labour force involved in sectors of high labour shortages – construction, services, manufacturing and agriculture (not in the Czech Republic, however)

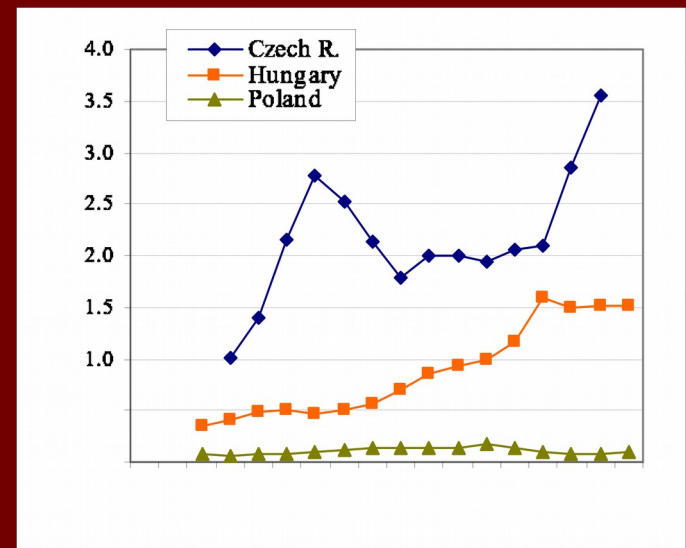
Also there is a rather small but important number of labour migrants - professionals coming from other developed countries (mainly EU15) - who work in intellectually demanding jobs

By contrast, legal labour migrants in Poland are mostly concentrated just in this high-profile sector

Stock of foreign labour, 1990-2007



Share of foreign labour
(in % of total employment),
1992-2007



Irregular migrant stock

- There is sizeable irregular migration of foreigners based on labour motivation in CEE countries
- However, they represent only a small segment of the total irregular labour force of the countries in question
- For Hungary and the Czech Republic – probably similar patterns visible between legal and irregular labour migrants (spatial distribution, countries of origin, involvement in the economy)
- In Poland, irregular labour migrants are also employed in construction, (domestic) services, manufacturing and agriculture, but on the other hand this type of migration is often accompanied by irregular petty trade activities (these have been decreasing over time)
- The estimated numbers of irregular migrant population vary significantly:
 - Czech Republic – from 17,000 to more than 300,000 of irregular immigrants
 - Hungary - around 100,000
 - Poland - from 80,000 to 200,000

Determinants and factors of migration

- So-called „migration drivers“
- Selection based on the analysis of „old immigration“ countries
 - A) Structural factors – economic, demographic, geopolitical
 - B) Contextual factors – historical experience, migrant social networks, migration policies, attitudes of the public towards immigrants
- Factors - interdependent and interacting

Economic factors

- Crucial role of economic transition for triggering immigration flows
- Current immigration stimulated mostly by pull factors - namely mismatches between demand and supply of domestic labour, low motivation to work of natives, high labour costs, low internal spatial mobility and, importantly, tolerated practices of undeclared work
- Only in the Czech case the demand side matched with the foreign supply side, which is the precondition for robust immigration
- In Poland, this „harmony“ occurred only very recently and to some extent it could be attributed to continuous intensive emigration of Poles abroad (which has increased demand for foreign labour force)
- In Hungary, due to specific economic structure the demand for labour has been rather low (the growth of economy in Hungary can be characterized as a jobless growth)
- Shadow economy is an important migration factor in the CEE countries as such, but also the social acceptance of irregularity seems to be decisive
- It seems that foreign labour is complementary rather than competitive vis-à-vis domestic workers in all three countries

Demographic factors

- CEE countries face low fertility levels together with growing life expectancy leading to population ageing
- Immigration only as an alternative to reducing negative effects of population ageing, not a solution
- Only in the Czech Republic migration policy really started reacting to demographic problems of the country via launching recruitment programs
- Importance of demographic factors as determinants of migration will grow in the future

Geopolitical factors

- Two important geopolitical events
 - 1) Breakdown of the communist bloc
 - 2) Accession to the EU in 2004
- Within the existing migration patterns one can find unique geopolitical interests being exhibited (e.g., Poles' special ties to neighbouring former Post-Soviet countries, Hungarian ties to ethnic Hungarians in Romania, or specific Czech-Slovak relations)

Contextual factors I

- **Historical experience** – very important determinant of current flows in CEE
- **Migrant social networks**
 - Due to heavily controlled migration movements during communism previously established migration networks and family or community-specific chains were disrupted
 - Some trainees, workers and students who came during the socialist era became „embryos“ of further immigrant inflows in the transformation era (mainly the case of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic)
 - In Hungary, ethnic ties were the key factor behind Hungarian immigration patterns

Contextual factors II

- **Attitudes of the public towards immigrants** – it has not been proved (there are no sufficient analyses) that attitudes of the majority population towards foreigners/migrants serve as an important migration determinant
- **Migration policies**
 - Important role in shaping migration patterns – especially the „non-policies“ of the 1990s are thought to cause large migration inflows
 - Gaps in migration policies served as a pull factor flexibly used by migrants (e.g., „masked“ asylum seekers, fake marriages, „hidden employment“)

Development of migration policies

- No experience with migration policies
- Migration policy formation since 1989 had three distinctive stages:
 - 1)1989 – early 1990s – institutionalization – birth of the legal system
 - 2)Late 1990s – 2004 – stabilization and harmonization to EU standards
 - 3)Since 2004 – consolidation of the migration regime

Migration policies

– distinctive country features

- However, distinctive patterns of migration policy making system have been created:
- **The Czech Republic** is the most „mature“ case in migration policy development
 - more systematic and more goal-oriented approaches (specifically in the field of integration policy and admitting foreigners into the labour market)
 - supporting long-term and permanent immigration and immigrants inclusion into society
 - internal impulses for migration policy making
- **Hungary and Poland**
 - rather oriented towards short-term immigrants from neighboring countries
 - supporting co-ethnics above all
 - both have applied small-scale regularization programs towards selected groups of irregular migrants
 - migration policy developed as a response to external pressures (EU harmonization)

Migration policies – similar characteristics

- Significant influence of the EU – europeanisation of migration policies (except naturalisation and repatriation policies)
- „power of discretion“
- Institutional structures – highly centralized with the key role of the Ministry of the Interior with some attempts to share responsibilities via establishing interministerial bodies, but a marginal role of regional and community levels of administration, as well as of NGOs (with the exception of the Czech Republic)
- Recently, the case of active encouragement of foreign workforce has become an issue of debate (in the Czech case some measures have already been applied)
- Low politization of the migration topic with prevailing „bureaucratic“ attitudes

Migration impacts I

- Economic impacts are the most important and most crystallized
- Migrant population characteristic of high economic activity rates together with low unemployment
- Migrants take low-paid and unattractive jobs – they are a supplement rather than substitution to native workforce
- Impact of Polish emigration – a possible pull factor for further labour immigration of foreigners to Poland

Migration impacts II

- Other migration impacts have not yet become too visible because of circular/short-term character of labor migration and because only a short time has elapsed since the crucial change of migration patterns
- Accordingly,
 - Integration of migrants seems to be in an infancy stage
 - No major separated or segregated immigrant communities have been established
 - The dominant role of capital cities as immigration hubs
 - Not so many immigrants have been naturalised – with the exception of ethnic Hungarians in Hungary

General recommendations

- Create a clear migration policy vision/doctrine
- Stimulate migration debate among stakeholders
- Enhance mutual co-operation between various governmental bodies
- Link migration policy with other relevant policies (integration, social, economic)
- Take more into consideration specificities of various regions when creating common EU policy

General recommendations

- There is a **strong need for the development of a more complex and long-term migration policy**
- Countries in the CEE region require **more pro-active migration policies.**
- **Integration policy should be more advanced and more multidimensional**
- **A targeted information campaign and educational programmes** are a precondition of social cohesion in countries of increasing immigration levels
- **Tackling irregular migration in a multifaceted way** is a priority that requires a more complex approach in order to deal with the origins of this phenomenon.

Conclusions

- During the 1990s all three countries have undergone deep transition/transformation processes
- Consequently, an evolution of migratory patterns from 'closed borders' regimes with minimal levels of international movements into diversified (im)migration modes took place
- **The Czech Republic** is by far the most attractive migration destination country within the CEE context with high immigration and low emigration of natives.
- **Hungary** experiences positive net migration, although with a low intensity and low ethnic diversification

Conclusions

- **Poland** represents an important exception, having high emigration of natives and rather low long-term immigration
- This brings us to the crucial conclusion that although all three countries are in early stages of the 'migration cycle', they differ significantly ...
- **Poland** and **Hungary** seem to be in a preliminary stage (though in different substages - an embryonic preliminary as is the case of Poland, and a proper preliminary as is the the case of Hungary)
- The **Czech Republic** has probably already entered so called take-off stage of the migration cycle

What are the crucial factors that caused the different positioning of CEE countries within the migration cycle concept?

- 1) To some extent different level of socio-economic development at the beginning of transition/transformation period
- 2) Structure of the whole economy (namely sectoral and educational structure) and a mode of its „developmental trajectory“
- 3) Outcomes of the transition/transformation process
- 4) Historical patterns