

POPULATION MIGRATIONS IN CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE AFTER 1990

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Abstract: The paper presents the questions concerning the international migrations of population in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, taking place after the collapse of the communism. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and of Yugoslavia entailed dramatic relocations of population, related to ethnic conflicts. The peak of migrations in Central and Eastern Europe occurred at the beginning of 1990s, with stabilisation following. A new phenomenon of immigration from Asia appeared this flow regarding Central and Eastern Europe as a transit stage on the way to the countries of European Union. A serious problem is constituted by the increasing number of refugees from the areas of conflict in the region.

Key words: balance of migrations, immigration flows, single - nation countries

The flows of international migrations in Central and Eastern Europe had been very limited in the communist period, because the respective authorities allowed emigration very rarely and were generally opposed to it. Those who emigrated were mostly Germans and Jews, having had inhabited the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, who would, respectively, migrate to Germany and Israel. The downfall of communism in the years 1989/91 in the region entailed the opening of the state boundaries, which contributed to an intensification of migratory movements. These movements were conditioned both by political events and by the economic situation of the region. The disintegration of the two multinational states, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, into dozen or so statehoods, caused massive population relocations, being oftentimes deportations. The newly established states tended to get rid of the national minorities in order to become the single-nation countries. That is why many people belonging to the national minorities would migrate to their motherland countries. On the other hand, the economic situation of many countries forced their citizens to look for jobs outside of the boundaries of their own countries, primarily in the countries of the European Union. A new phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe was constituted by immigration from

the Asian countries, this immigration regarding largely the region in question as the intermediate stage on the way to the countries of the European Union. A part of those immigrants, however, would select the Central and Eastern Europe as the endpoint of their migration. Another significant group of immigrants - as of now quite limited - would be constituted by the investors and businessmen from Western Europe, North America and Japan.

It is difficult to precisely define the magnitude of the migratory flows, since the statistical data, originating from various countries, differ significantly. In general, the countries of origin of migratory flows provide the lower numbers, while the receiving countries - the higher numbers. The numbers given in the national yearbooks differ from those given in the international ones. Lack of more precise data on illegal migrations makes it difficult to establish their magnitude. According to the national data, to the international ones, and to "Sopemi", it might be estimated that migrations in Central and Eastern Europe accounted altogether for a dozen million people, and, if the illegal migrations are also accounted for - even for tens of millions.

The greatest population relocations took place on the area of the (former) Soviet Union, and especially of Russia. In the years 1990/96 there were 6 075 thousand persons who migrated to Russia and 3 526 thousand persons who migrated out of Russia. Thus, the positive net balance of migrations amounted to 2 549 thousand persons. The immigrants were primarily Russians from the (other) former Soviet republics, in particular from Central Asia, Belarus', Ukraine, Moldova. the Transcaucasian republics, as well as the Baltic republics, accompanied by other national groups from the areas ravaged by the civil wars. According to the official data in the years 1994/97 there were 3 272 thousand refugees in Russia from the areas of the former USSR encompassed by wars and prosecutions.

In the years 1993/95 there were 2 084 thousand Russian immigrants, of whom 1 274 thousand had come from Central Asia, 1 274 thousand from Ukraine, Belarus' and Moldova, 405 thousand from the Transcaucasian republics, and 208 thousand from the Baltic countries. The immigration flows would constantly increase since 1991 reaching maximum in 1994, namely 1 147 thousand persons in a year. These flows were linked with the Caucasian conflicts (in Osetia, Abkhazia, Chechnya), as well as the ones in Tajikistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. By 1996, immigration dwindled down to 632 thousand, while the number of refugees increased from 448 thousand in 1994 to 1 147 thousand in 1997. Initially, the refugees from Tajikistan, Georgia, Azerbaijan and the autonomous republics of Russia itself (mainly Chechnya) dominated, while in 1997 this flow was already mainly composed by the refugees from Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and the autonomous republics of Russia.

Migration out of Russia has been significantly lower. In 1992, it amounted to 729 thousand persons, to then decrease by 1996 to 288 thousand. The largest flows went to Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Outmigration to Israel decreased from 61 thousand in 1990 to 14 thousand in 1996. Then, in 1996 there were 20 thousand Russians who emigrated to the United States, and 13 thousand of those who went to Germany. There have been 5 to 6 thousand Russians emigrating a year to the (other) countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Altogether, in the years 1993/95 some 334 thousand persons left Russia,

including 221 thousand Germans, 55 thousand Jews, as well as 58 thousand Pont Greeks, who migrated primarily to, respectively, Germany, Israel, and Greece.

Similarly in Ukraine - the biggest migrations took place after the independence had been gained. Thus, in 1992, immigration amounted to 1 482 thousand persons, primarily Ukrainians from the other republics of the Soviet Union, while outmigration amounted to 1 140 thousand persons, mainly Russians. In 1992, there was an inflow of 250 thousand Crimean Tartars, who had been deported under Stalin to Central Asia. In the following years - 1993/95 - immigration amounted to 742 thousand, while outmigration - to 930 thousand, with the dominant shares taken by Russians and Ukrainians. The emigratory flows were directed primarily towards the countries of Central and Eastern Europe - Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary, as well as to the United States. In 1995 migration from Ukraine to the United States amounted to 17 thousand persons, while in 1996 - to 21 thousand.

In the years 1990/95 the immigration to Belarus' was at 443 thousand, composed primarily of Belarusians from the other republics of the Soviet Union, Russians and Ukrainians, while outmigration was at 427 thousand - primarily Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians. The peak of immigration occurred in 1992: 112 thousand persons in a year, while of outmigration - in 1990: 140 thousand in a year (including 73 thousand persons who left for Russia and 33 thousand who went to Israel). Belarusians migrate illegally to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, mainly to Poland. In the years 1996/97 immigration dropped down to 30 thousand, similarly as outmigration did.

Migrations that are more significant took place in Moldova, where in the years 1990/1995 migratory inflow amounted to 630 thousand, while emigration - to 698 thousand. The maximum of migratory flows occurred in 1990, with 156 thousand persons having come to Moldova and 163 thousand having left the country. Since that time both immigration and emigration have been steadily decreasing. Both immigration and emigration respectively originated in and went to the former republics of the Soviet Union, first of all Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan. There was an emigration of Russians after the 1991/1992 conflict in the so-called Dnester Republic. In 1991, some 50 thousand persons emigrated to Ukraine. The outflow to countries other than the former Soviet republics went to Israel (in 1990 - 15 thousand, but by 1995 it decreased to the mere 2 thousand persons).

The Baltic republics have been characterised after the regaining of independence in 1990 by the negative migratory balance. This was brought about by the emigration of Russians, Belarusians and Ukrainians, who had lived in the Baltic republics under the communism. In the years 1991/97 immigration to Lithuania totalled 31 thousand persons, while emigration from Lithuania - 80 thousand persons. The immigrants were first of all Lithuanians from the (other) former republics of the Soviet Union, as well as from the United States and Germany, while the outflow was primarily composed of Russians and Belarusians. The maximum of emigration took place in 1991/92, when 49 thousand persons emigrated, while the peak of immigration occurred in 1991, when 12 thousand persons came. In the subsequent years both immigration and emigration clearly decreased, to reach the level of 2.5 thousand persons in 1997, with the net balance equal 0. Migrations were much bigger in case of Latvia. In the years 1991/97 there were 37

thousand persons who moved in, while 165 thousand emigrated. The inflow was composed mainly of Latvians from Russia, while the outflow - of ethnic Russians moving to Russia and Belarusians moving to Belarus'. Both immigration and emigration decreased significantly by 1997, when 3 thousand persons came to Latvia and 10 thousand left the country. The situation was generally similar in Estonia. In the years 1991/97 some 26 thousand persons came, mainly Estonians from Russia and Finland, while 109 thousand emigrated - primarily Russians and Ukrainians. The maximum intensity of emigration took place in 1992, when 37 thousand persons left, including 26 thousand Russians. By 1997 the two flows dropped down to 4 thousand persons for emigration and 2 thousand for immigration.

The second region of mass migrations, side by side with the Soviet Union, is the area of the former Yugoslavia, having been already for a longer time a source of emigration, providing labour force to the countries of the European Union, and especially Germany. The respective bilateral agreements made it possible for many Yugoslavians to undertake work abroad. Therefore, in 1995, Yugoslavians constituted as much as 20% of the foreign workforce in Germany. The disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 and the wars of Serbs with Croats and Bosnians caused enormous population relocations. They were also brought about by the ethnic purges in the individual countries emerging from the disintegrating Yugoslavia. Thus, in 1991 there were 0.5 million emigrants, mainly from Croatia, in 1992 - 2.6 million, in 1993 - 3.6 million, and in 1994 - 3 720 thousand of the refugees from the former Yugoslavia, of whom 30 thousand left Slovenia, 350 thousand left Croatia, 2 724 thousand left Bosnia and Herzegovina, 405 thousand left Serbia, 44 thousand - Montenegro, 15 thousand - Macedonia, and 122 thousand came from the undefined territories. These people were admitted in Germany (310 thousand), Austria (55 thousand), The Netherlands (42 thousand), Italy (34 thousand), France (34 thousand), Switzerland (32 thousand), Sweden (26 thousand), Denmark (20 thousand), Norway (19 thousand), Turkey (16 thousand), Hungary (9 thousand), United Kingdom (8 thousand). In 1996, the emigrants from the former Yugoslavia took the first rank among the immigrants to such countries as Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, The Netherlands, Italy, Austria and Australia. In 1992, Germany received 220 thousand emigrants from the former Yugoslavia, Sweden - 74 thousand, Austria - 73 thousand, Switzerland - 70 thousand, Hungary 40 thousand. The abolition of the autonomy of Kosovo and Voivodina contributed to further migrations. The civil war in Kosovo resulted in the emigration of the ethnic Albanians to Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro during 1998, then their return in 1999, followed by the emigration of Serbs. We do not dispose of more precise statistical data, but one should estimate that the movements mentioned encompassed approximately 1 million persons.

The situation in the various countries emerging from the disintegration of Yugoslavia differed in terms of migrations. In Slovenia in the years 1990/98 immigration amounted to 13 thousand persons, mainly coming from Bosnia, while 9 thousand persons emigrated, first of all to Bosnia and to the new Yugoslavia. The population movements were bigger in Croatia. In the years 1992/96 immigration totalled 226 thousand, primarily coming from Bosnia, with outmigration amounting to 54

thousand, going primarily towards the new Yugoslavia. The maximum of immigration, which occurred in 1993, reached 45 thousand in a year, and was linked with the war conducted in Bosnia. The immigrants were primarily Croats coming from Bosnia, the new Yugoslavia and Germany, while the emigrants were mainly Serbs, leaving primarily for Yugoslavia, as well Croats who would go to Germany. Obviously, the highest emigration occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina, reaching in 1993 as many as 2.3 million persons, who would mainly go to the countries of the European Union, to Serbia and Croatia. Macedonia featured in the years 1992/93 low migrations, with outmigration amounting to 4 thousand persons, and immigration - to 5 thousand. In the years 1998/99, though, Macedonia took an important flow of refugee Albanians from Kosovo, who thereafter started to return to their homeland. The new Yugoslavia, formed out of Serbia and Montenegro had in the years 1992/96 a positive migratory balance, since 89 thousand persons came from the other republics of the former Yugoslavia, while 15 thousand persons left. The inflow was mainly caused by the immigration of Serbs from Bosnia and Croatia. In the years 1991/95 some thousand Serb refugees were settled in Kosovo.

In the remaining countries of Central and Eastern Europe population movements were smaller. Poland, being traditionally a country of emigration, lost in the 1980s approximately 1 million citizens, of whom a part returned after the downfall of communism. In the years 1990/95 some 161 thousand persons left Poland, while 35 thousand moved in. Poles would primarily leave for Germany, United States and Canada, while the immigrants were primarily Poles coming from Germany and Kazakhstan, as well as Russians and Ukrainians. In 1997 immigration amounted to 8 thousand, while outmigration - to 20 thousand, similarly as in 1996, when the respective flows were at 8 thousand and 21 thousand. In the years 1994/97 the admission to reside in Poland was granted in Poland to 12.5 thousand persons, mainly to Ukrainians, Russians, Poles from Kazakhstan, Belarusians, Vietnamese, and Germans. Approximately 70 thousand foreigners, mainly coming from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus' and Vietnam take up seasonal employment in Poland. In 1996, some 70 thousand Poles were seasonally employed in Germany. According to the estimates of the Central Statistical Office (GUS) some 150 thousand foreigners (mainly from Vietnam, Armenia, Belarus', Bulgaria, Romania, Russia and Ukraine) work illegally in Poland. Starting with 1994 the problem of asylum seekers appeared in Poland as well. In 1997, there were 3.5 thousand such persons, from Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Armenia and Pakistan.

Migrations in the former Czecho-Slovakia were smaller than in Poland. After the country got divided in 1993, migrations between the two newly established states dominated. In the period 1993/96 immigration to the Czech Republic was at 44.5 thousand, while outmigration - at 14 thousand. In the first period Slovaks dominated, to be then replaced by Ukrainians. Ethnic Czechs emigrated first of all to Germany and Austria. The residence permits were granted in 1992 to 25.5 thousand persons, while in 1995 - to 40 thousand persons. These persons were mainly Slovaks, Ukrainians, Poles and Vietnamese.

Slovak immigration in the years 1993/96 amounted to 21 thousand persons, with emigration at 19 thousand. The residence permits were given in 1995 to 13 thousand

persons, and in 1996 - to 18 thousand, mainly Czechs, Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, and the refugees from the former Yugoslavia. There were 72.5 thousand Slovaks employed in Czechia. In 1996 Slovakia had a negative migration balance.

Hungary is characterised by a relatively high inward migration. In the years 1990/97 some 97 thousand immigrants came to Hungary, mostly Hungarians from Romania, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and the European Union. The numbers of immigrants had been increasing until 1996. In 1996, the inflow was at 14 thousand persons, to then decrease in 1997 down to 9 thousand. In the period 1992/97 immigrants from China, Syria and Vietnam appeared. In 1992 Hungary admitted 35 thousand refugees from Yugoslavia, and by 1995 their number increased to 50 thousand. In 1997, the number of foreigners reached 148 thousand, of whom 62 thousand were from Romania, 17 thousand from Ukraine, 16 thousand from Yugoslavia. Work permits were issued in 1993 to 19.5 thousand persons and in 1996 to 14.5 thousand persons, primarily from Romania. A limited emigration of Hungarians aimed mainly at Germany and Austria. This, however, was predominantly a seasonal migration.

Romania features a negative migration balance. In the years 1990/95 emigration amounted to 217 thousand persons who went primarily to Germany, Hungary, Israel and the United States. The maximum of migratory outflow (97 thousand) took place in 1990. Ethnic Germans (60 thousand) therein constituted the largest group. This outflow diminished afterwards and the leading role was taken over by Romanians. In 1995, emigration amounted to 26 thousand, including 19 thousand Romanians. The inward migrations were quite limited in Romania, and so in the period of 1990/95 only 8 thousand persons came, mainly from Moldova, Greece, Turkey, China and Syria. There were 3.5 thousand persons who were granted work permits in the years 1990/94.

Similarly, Bulgaria also has had a constantly negative migration balance. In the period of 1989/96 emigration totalled 645 thousand persons, out of whom 300 thousand were Turks. Thus, in 1990 alone, emigration amounted to 85 thousand persons, in 1991 - to 45 thousand, and in the years 1992/96 - between 54 and 65 thousand persons would emigrate. The maximum emigration of 1990 went primarily to Germany, United States, Canada, Greece and Turkey. In the following years this outflow diminished and it would mainly go to Romania, Greece, Turkey and Germany. Yet, some 100 thousand Turks returned to Bulgaria during the 1990s. Notwithstanding this, immigration was generally small, composed largely of Greeks, Russians, Syrians, Turks and Lebanese - in 1997 some 22 thousand, mainly illegal immigrants at that. In 1993, there were 33 thousand foreigners in Bulgaria, of whom a definite majority were born within the former Soviet Union.

Albania had been in the communist period a closed-down country. No migrations were reported. After the communism was abolished in 1991 some 5 thousand Albanians left for Greece, and 20 thousand for Italy. In 1992, the residence permit in Italy was granted to 29 thousand Albanians, while in 1996 there were 18 thousand Albanians who worked in Italy. The residence permits in Greece were issued in 1996 to 3.5 thousand Albanians. War in Kosovo in 1998/99 brought about an enormous inflow of migrants from this area. A part of them left afterwards, when the NATO troops entered Kosovo.

Summing up, one must conclude that it is difficult to establish in a precise manner the number of migrants. One can only speak of the scale of the problem. The highest intensity of migratory flows within the Central and Eastern Europe took place at the beginning of the 1990s, when the communist rule was abolished. In the subsequent years, in the second half of the 1990s, these flows would usually decrease significantly. Exceptions are constituted only by the areas of the former states of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Then, however, we deal primarily with the refugees, and with the persons seeking political asylum. The largest relocations of population, related to the emigration of Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians from the (other) former republics of the Soviet Union, clearly decreased. Similarly, the nations deported during the Stalin's rule had at least partly returned to their previous territories yet at the beginning of the 1990s. In many countries their ethnic structures changed. In the majority of countries the magnitude of inward migrations increased, while the magnitude of emigration decreased, thus bearing witness to an enhanced political stability. There has been a clear drop of the overseas migrations, while the migratory flows from the poorer to the richer countries within the continent increased. The illegal mass migration, primarily of Asian origin, treating the countries of the Central and Eastern Europe as the transit stage on the way to the western countries, has been clearly intensifying. A new phenomenon is also constituted by the persons immigrating to the countries of the Central and Eastern Europe from the well developed western countries, mainly Germany, United States, United Kingdom and Japan, these persons taking up jobs in various companies founded by foreign capital. It should be expected that in the future migrations connected with ethnic cleansing will disappear, while the new ones, linked with the economic activity and investments, as well as the international collaboration, and especially with the processes of integration with the European Union, will intensify.

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Resume

Migracje ludności w Europie środkowo-wschodniej po 1990 roku

Upadek komunizmu w Europie środkowo-wschodniej w latach 1989/91 spowodował otwarcie granic państwowych, co przyczyniło się do wzrostu migracji. Było to

uwarunkowane zarówno wydarzeniami politycznymi, jak i sytuację gospodarczą. Rozpad dwóch wielonarodowych krajów - Związku Radzieckiego i Jugosławii - na kilkanaście państw spowodował duże przemieszczenia ludności. Nowo powstałe państwa dążyły do stania się państwami narodowymi, poprzez pozbycie się mniejszości narodowych. Dlatego wiele osób należących do mniejszości emigrowało, wiele było deportowanych. Z drugiej strony trudna sytuacja gospodarcza w jakiej znalazły się kraje postkomunistyczne zmuszała ich obywateli do szukania pracy poza granicami, głównie w krajach Unii Europejskiej. Największe nasilenie migracji miało miejsce w początku lat dziewięćdziesiątych, a następnie zmalało. Wyjątek stanowią kraje powstałe z rozpadu Związku Radzieckiego i Jugosławii, gdzie konflikty etniczne i polityczne powodują nadal duże wymuszone migracje. Nowym zjawiskiem jest pojawienie się imigracji pochodzącej z krajów azjatyckich, która traktuje kraje Europy środkowo-wschodniej jako tranzytowe w drodze do Unii Europejskiej. Wyraźnie wzrasta liczba nielegalnych migracji, głównie z krajów biedniejszych do bogatszych.