

Emigration Processes in the Selected New Members of the EU

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to examine the interdependence between integration and migratory processes as well as the general factors that conditioned the inflows of CEE citizens into the old Member States. What is more, the impact is put on the evaluation of the influence of immigration policy on tendencies and the changing profile of migrants both: at European and national level.

International migration is the absentee in the current wave of globalization and European integration, particularly in Europe. Helped by falling communication and transportation costs and by reduction in policy barriers to commodity and capital flows, trade flows and foreign direct investment have increased in last 25 years at a faster rate than world production. Migration flows, on the other hand, have shown little change during the same period except for the temporary surge following the collapse of the socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and enhancing processes of European integration within the EU.

Introduction

With the beginning of transition in the post communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe started the process of integration of these countries with the European Union. For more than a century the CEE countries were the sending countries and provided labor for Western Europe. From the beginning of the 1990s most of these countries are shifting from sending into countries of net-immigration and transit migration. The accession of CEE countries to the EU

in May 2004 is likely to foster the changes in the migratory processes that have been observed in this period.

The aim of the paper is to examine the interdependence between integration and migratory processes as well as the general factors that conditioned the inflows of CEE citizens into the old Member States. What is more, the impact is put on the evaluation of the influence of immigration policy on tendencies and the changing profile of migrants both: at European and national level.

The first part of the paper provides a theoretical framework in which various aspects of migration are presented. Firstly, the focus is put on factors that influence the emigration decisions. A vast typology of factors is presented with special reference to new migration factors that have constructed a new profile of migrant. Secondly, costs and benefits of migrations for individuals, country of destination and country of origin are taken into consideration. Finally, the common immigration regulations in the European Union and the selected immigration policies are presented in the paper. In addition their impact on inflows of migrants from CEE countries is searched in the process of integration.

In the second part, the changing pattern of emigration from CEE is examined in the case of Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic. First of all, the changes in time make subject of comparison between CEE countries in terms of relative volumes. The patterns of emigration from CEE to EU-15 are investigated as well as differences in emigrants choices in their decision as for the destination country.

The last part is devoted to the evolution of the migration processes that took place in CEE countries during the transition and integration period. The shift from sending countries to countries of net-migration can be observed. While the traditional factors (push in CEE and pull in EU-15) seem to play a less important role in emigration decision, the new factors tend to enforce it.

International migration is the absentee in the current wave of globalization, particularly in Europe (Faini R., Melo J., Zimmerman K.F., 1999, p.1). Helped by falling communication and transportation costs and by reduction in policy barriers to commodity and capital flows, trade flows and foreign direct investment have increased in last 25 years at a faster rate than world production. Migration flows, on the other hand, have shown little change during the same period except for the temporary surge following the collapse of the socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe. The changing stance towards migration policies goes a long way in explaining these trends. At the turn of the century, the attitude toward immigration used to be quite liberal. Similarly in the 1960s governments in receiving countries often took an active role in encouraging

migration. Nowadays, the policy imperative has become to limit or even stop any further immigration (Faini R., Melo J., Zimmerman K.F., 1999, p. 1).

1. Theoretical aspects of migration

Migration is a very complex problem that is addressed most prominently by demographers, economists, sociologists and political scientists. Migration process have evaluated in recent decades and is still facing serious changes. The most spectacular are the changes in factors that causes migration as well as in its conditions. In this point a theoretical aspect of migration is presented.

A definition recommended by UN 1998: Long term migrant is a person who moves to a country other than of that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year.

1.1. Different theoretical perspectives of the international migration

International migratory movements can be variously classified as temporary or permanent movements, movements of individuals and families or movements of whole nations or tribes, movements of citizens or aliens, voluntary or forced movements, peaceful or nonpeaceful movements, movements of civilians or military personnel, and movements for work, study or other purposes. More permanent movements are generally made as a result of racial, ethnic, religious, political, or economic pressures, or a combination of these, in the area of emigration, and corresponding attractive influences in the area of immigration (Edmonston B., Michalowski M., 2004, p. 458).

Demographic Theory

Demography has not produced a coherent and convincing theory of international migration. However, its argument may partly explain some migratory movements.

Rapid natural increase in regions or countries with population already large relative to available resources impel some residents to seek better opportunities elsewhere, with roughly a two-decade lag. Some believe that the low fertility rates that now generally characterize industrialized countries lead, over time, to rising demand among employers for imported workers (Teitelbaum M.S., 2001, p. 21).

Economic Theory

As in demography, there is no single coherent economic theory capable of providing a convincing explanations of trends and patterns of international migration (Teitelbaum M.S., 2001, p. 22).

Neoclassical Macroeconomic: labor market differentials are seen as the primary forces that initiate international migration movements. Government policies affect such movements only by affecting the underlying labor market.

Neoclassical Microeconomic: this framework views migration as driven by decisions made by rational utility-maximizing individuals who perceive positive net returns from international movement, taking into account both its benefits and its costs.

The "New Economics of Migration": here the decision making unit is broader, the social group or family unit rather than the individual, which (again in the rational utility-maximizing format) decides whether or not one or more of its members should migrate internationally in the service of the economic interest of the group.

"Dual Labor Market" (recruitment) theories: in this framework the critical factor initiating international migration is the international recruitment of low-wage workers by employers and governments in higher-wage economies.

"World Systems" theories: as in Dual Labor Market theories, international migration is an inherent element of economic structures, but in this case the focus is less on national economies and more on world markets. The driving forces are those embodied in the penetration by "capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies", driven by multinational firms, neocolonialism, and the actions of national elites in peripheral societies.

Other Theoretical Perspectives (Teitelbaum M.S., 2001, p. 24)

Network Theories: the transnational social networks which develop between migrants and their kin and neighbors in the origin country serve the "social infrastructure" of international migration that make the further international movements less risky and lower in cost.

Institutional Theories: These theories point the roles played by intermediaries that typically develop to serve the needs of migrants and would-be migrants.

In the literature we can also find a new typology of factors of international migration that is not contradictory to the previous. There are three major groups of factors influencing migration (Orłowska R., 2006, p. 131):

- 1) **Global factors** that influence migration in general.

- 2) **Push factors** – the factors laying in the sending country that influence the decision to emigrate.
- 3) **Pull factors** – the factors laying in the destination country that influence the decision to immigrate into the country.

Ad. 1. Among the global factors there are: technological, socio-economical and psychological factors. Technological factors are mostly due to communication revolution that enables easy displacement at relatively low price. These factors are not explanatory them selves. However they are necessary for nowadays movement of people. Socio-economic factors are existing disproportion between countries in levels of development and standard of living. Psychological factors are due to the possibility of comparison in development and standard of living in different countries that media and education provide.

Ad. 2. Among the push factors there are: legal (passport and visas amenities), economic (level of unemployment, lack of perspectives), demographic (high birth-rate, overpopulation) and socio-political (discrimination, ethnic conflicts, lack of tolerance) factors.

Ad.3. Among the pull factors that attract immigrants there are: legal, economic, socio-political and historical factors. Legal factors are passport and visas amenities, bilateral agreements, immigration policy. In the majority of western countries these factors are being more and more restrictive. Economic factors are low unemployment rate in receiving country, possibility of employment in multinational companies, higher salary for the same work. Socio-political factors such as general attitude towards foreigners, xenophobia, nationalism play also an important role in migratory movements. Historical factors are the existence of immigrant networks that facilitate further international movements.

1.2. Costs and benefits of migration. Barriers to the migration

Barriers of migration (Orłowska R., 2006, p. 139):

- Geographical barriers: natural barriers like climate, mountains, earthquakes that implement the high cost of movement;
- Language barriers;
- Cultural barriers;
- Psychological barriers - the fear of unknown;
- Legal and administrative barriers put in order to provide employment among national workers.

Consequences of migration

Migratory processes have an impact on individuals sending and receiving countries. That is why it is difficult to evaluate its consequences.

The costs from the perspective of the sending countries are as follow: losses in labor, troubles in the structure of population, losses in education expenditure, brain-drain as well as losses of labor in certain sectors leading to disequilibria. The benefits for the sending country are: the reduction of disequilibria on the labor market, the reduction of the expenses of social funds for the unemployed, transfer of the capital from emigrants (Kryńska E., 2001, p. 21).

Individual costs involve: costs of moving to another country, being far from family, difficulties in adaptation to new conditions,

Individual benefits involve: higher income, exploring a different country, culture and customs. Apart from this living in a different country and the experience gained can help a migrant to gain a better status in the country of origin (Kryńska E., 2001, p. 22).

Receiving countries can also benefit from the inflow of immigrants. First, immigration creates demand for goods and services produced by the host population with favorable consequences for labor demand. Second, immigrants, especially in the EU, tend to serve as a flexible labor reserve and in part compensate for the low geographical or functional mobility of the native born population. Immigration may hence speed up adjustment to changing conditions and thereby help soften the cost of structural change on the native population (Coppel J. Dumont J.C., Visco I., 2001, p. 16). Apart from this migration can solve the problem of aging western societies. The question of the net contribution of the immigrants to the budget is ambiguous.

1.3. Insight into European Union regulations concerning long term immigrants from third countries.

The immigration policy is only to some extent regulated at the European level. Common regulations concern mostly short-term immigrants (up to 3 months). A long stay visas are issued and their amount is regulated by the Member States. A long stay visa will be issued for those third country nationals only if it can be shown that the job cannot be filled in the short term by a citizen of the European Union or a third-country national who already has access to the national labor market concerned. To this end, the job vacancy must have been advertised for at least four weeks by the employment services of several Member States (EURES, for example). The competent authorities will be able

to check, when they examine the application, that the advertised job vacancies contain requirements that are realistic, reasonable and proportionate to the job being offered (Free Movement of Persons, Asylum and Immigration). The national of 10 new Member States that joined EU in 2004 had privileged access to the jobs' offers before other third countries nationals and still have in those countries that did not opened their labor market yet.

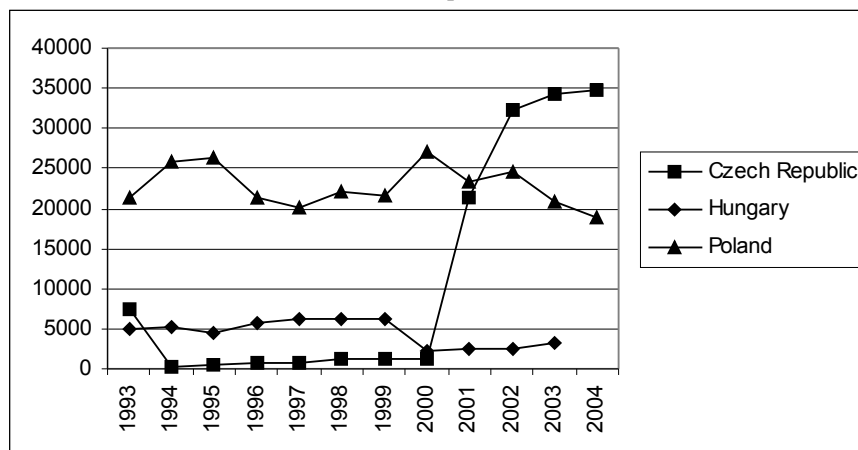
2. Emigration trends from selected CEE countries in the process of European integration

Emigration, both politically and economically determined, has always been a phenomenon firmly present in the history as well as in the consciousness of the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians. Throughout the history migration flows were initiated either by political factors (dissidents fleeing political repressions at the hands of the occupants or the communist regime) or economic ones (peasants of the overpopulated countryside leaving 'in search of bread'). Despite the scale and significance assumed by migration, accessible statistical data do not allow for an accurate estimation of the flows to and from Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary. Measurement of foreign migration is based first and foremost on registration and deregistration, rather than on people's real movements. Data from various sources are not compatible, and frequently even conflict with one another (Koryś I., 2003, p. 5). The deficiency of the official data is visible very well while comparing Polish, Czech and Hungarian statistics on emigration and data on immigration of the receiving countries. Serious under-estimations occur in Polish, Czech and Hungarian sources (Iglicka K., 2000, p. 5).

2.1. General trends of emigration from selected CEE countries in transition period

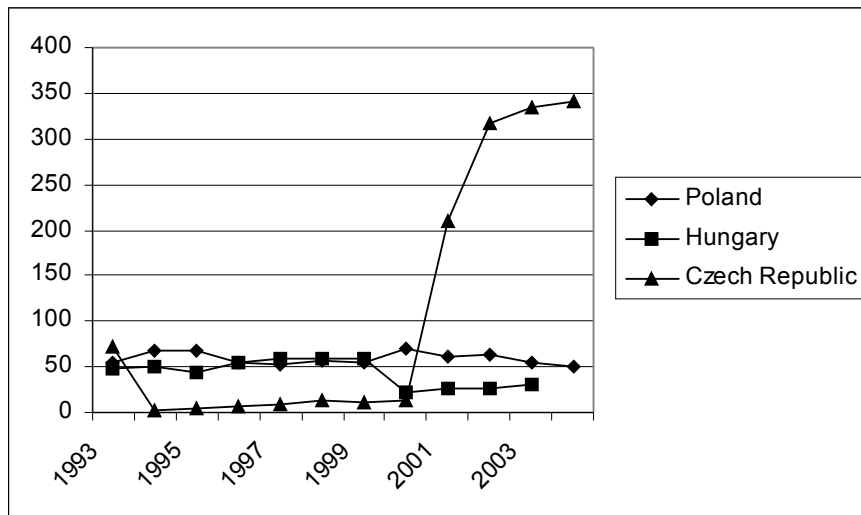
Analyzing the emigration from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland in the period of transition one can notice that the levels of emigration remained at the constant level. There were no particularly high levels of emigration as it was expected in some Western European countries. In the case of Hungary and Poland the recent tendency is even towards a decline. The sudden change in the level of emigration from Czech Republic from 2001 might be partly explained by the introduction of new data collection system (Drbohlav D., 2003, p.14).

Graph 1. Evolution of emigration from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland in the period 1993-2004



Source: own calculations based on data of ILO, Eurostat and CSO <http://www.abetech.org/ilm/english/ilmstat/stat01.asp>, http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572595&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL, <http://www.stat.gov.pl/demografia/index.html>.

For the purpose of comparison between countries of different population size emigration rate per 100,000 of inhabitants is useful as it takes into consideration both size of the population and changes in time in its size. As the graph 2 shows the levels of emigration from Hungary and Poland were similar (50-100 people per 100,000 inhabitants) in investigated period. However, the emigration from Hungary tend to decline in recent years. The emigration from the Czech Republic in the period between 1993-2000 was at the much lower level than from Poland and Hungary and changed rapidly from 2001 to the much higher level. As it was mentioned above, this sudden change can be explained more by the change in data collection than by the change in the real movements.

Graph 2. Emigration rate per 100000 of inhabitants

Source: own calculation based on ILO, Eurostat and CSO data <http://www.abetech.org/ilm/english/ilmstat/stat01.asp> , http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572595&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL , <http://www.stat.gov.pl/demografia/index.html>.

2.2. Main destination countries of emigrants from Czech Republic and Poland

More than a half of the emigrants from Poland chose for a country of destination Germany (according to the data of ILO). At the second position in the whole period was USA (with the emigration of about 2500 emigrants per year) than Canada (about 1000 emigrants a year) and Austria (about 500 emigrants a year).

Slovakia and Germany are the most attractive destination countries among the emigrants from Czech Republic, followed by Austria, Switzerland, the USA. However, the numbers are rather marginal and one can only deduce that those who emigrated from the Czech Republic without de-registering themselves probably fit the regional pattern. Data for 2003 reveal a different tendency in emigration from the Czech Republic. Apart from emigration to the Slovak Republic a significant emigration was recorded towards a non EU-15 members: Ukraine, Poland and Russian Federation.

Table 1. Important outflows - five most popular countries of destination. Czech Republic and Poland 1993-2003

	Czech Republic					Poland				
1993	Slovakia 7232	Germany 79	Austria 26	USA 12	Canada 9	Germany 15333	USA 2592	Canada 1373	Austria 323	Sweden 280
1994	Germany 108	Slovakia 56	Austria 16	Italy 14	Canada 10	Germany 18876	USA 2767	Canada 1457	Sweden 518	Austria 441
1995	Germany 195	Slovakia 140	Austria 41	Switzerland 36	USA 21	Germany 18161	USA 3181	Canada 1677	Austria 620	Sweden 570
1996	Slovakia 213	Germany 207	Austria 57	Switzerland 54	Canada 37	Germany 14800	USA 2490	Canada 1348	Austria 531	Sweden 364
1997	Slovakia 260	Germany 237	Austria 59	Switzerland 49	USA 40	Germany 14202	USA 2229	Canada 1336	Sweden 631	Austria 288
1998	Slovakia 356	Germany 345	Austria 137	USA 57	Canada 49	Germany 16128	USA 2217	Canada 1076	Austria 761	Australia 277
1999	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Germany 15346	USA 2538	Canada 1113	Austria 581	France 263
2000	Slovak Republic 413	Germany 379	Austria 93	Switzerland 69	USA 57	Germany 20472	USA 2572	Canada 1206	Austria 532	France 309
2001	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Germany 16900	USA 2485	Canada 1037	Austria 640	Italy 307
2002	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Germany 17806	USA 2676	Canada 1016	Austria 525	France 339
2003	Slovak Republic 18262	Ukraine 5441	Poland 1040	Russian Federation 1011	Germany 950	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

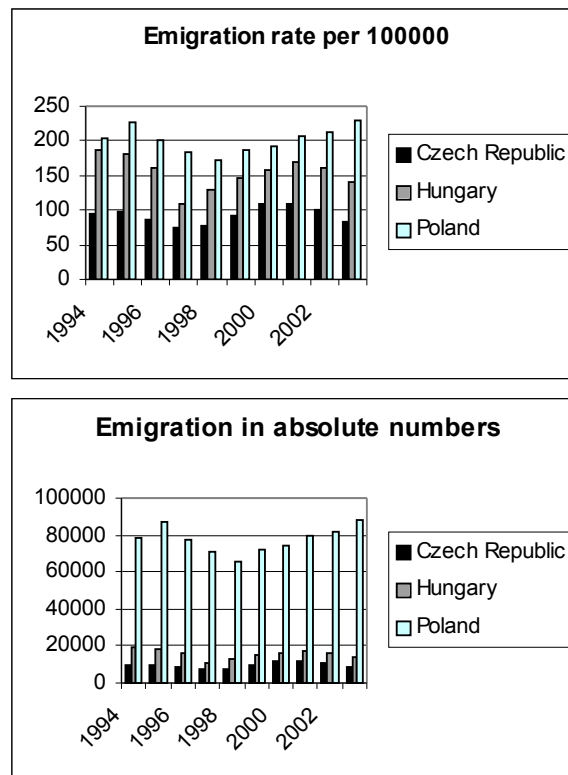
Source: ILO data <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/ilmdb/ilmdb.htm>.

2.3. Emigration from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to selected EU-15 countries. Data according to statistics of receiving countries. Emigration rate per 10000 and absolute numbers

As it was mentioned above, the national statistics on migration movements from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland suffer from some underestimations. In order to avoid further incompatibility between the national data, the comparison of the migratory movements is based on the data of selected receiving countries of UE-15.

Germany is a country of destination most popular among the emigrants from the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. Every year almost 10000 of Czechs, 15000 of Hungarians and 80000 Poles decide to emigrate to Germany (see graph 3). The emigration from Poland is especially important both in absolute and in relative terms.

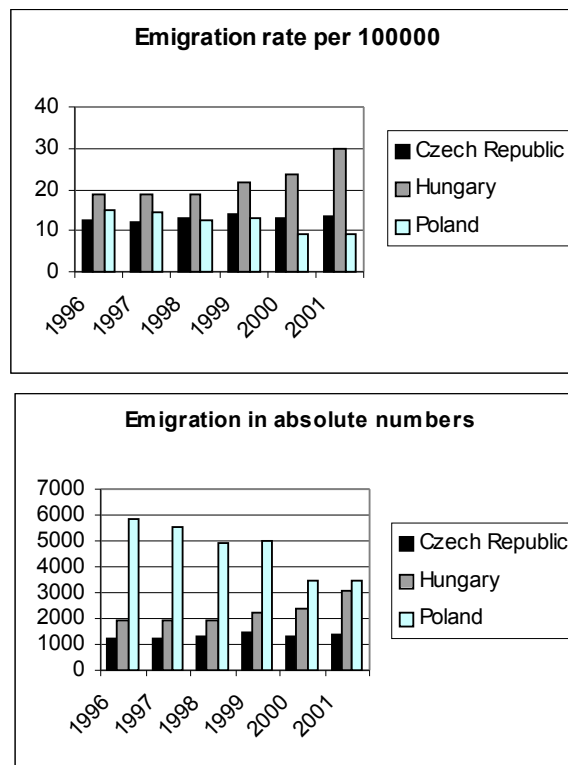
Graph 3. Emigration rate per 100000 and emigration in absolute value from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to Germany in 1994-2003



Source: own calculations based on the data: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>.

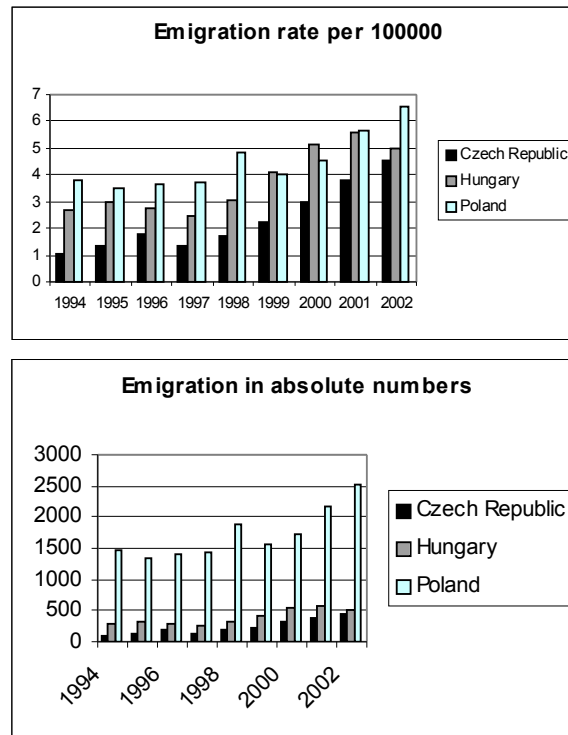
As for the other receiving countries of UE-15 the emigration from CEE countries is much less important than the emigration to Germany. It can be noticed that the emigration of Czechs and Hungarians is much less important than that of Poles in terms of absolute numbers which is understandable when we take into consideration the much bigger population of Poland. In terms of relative value, Czechs choose more often United Kingdom as a country of destination (see graph 6), whereas Hungarians are particularly present in Austria (graph 4). Poles are relatively numerous among emigrants to France (see graph 5).

Graph 4. Emigration rate per 100000 inhabitants from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to Austria 1996-2001



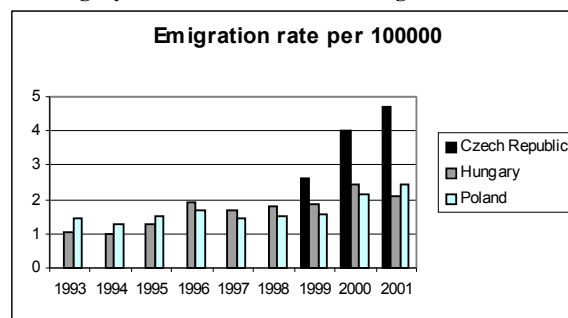
Source: own calculations based on the data: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>.

Graph 5. Emigration rate per 100000 inhabitants from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to France 1994-2002

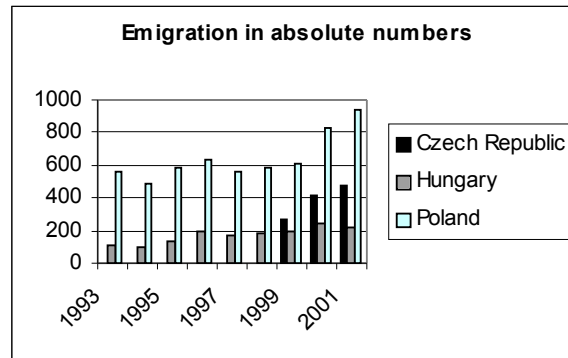


Source: own calculations based on: Statistiques des flux d'immigrations en France, INED
 respective years <http://www.ined.fr/population-en-chiffres/france/fluxmigration/introXT.htm>.

Graph 6. Emigration rate per 100000 inhabitants from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to United Kingdom 1993-2001



Graph 6. Emigration rate per 100000 inhabitants from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to United Kingdom 1993-2001 – continuation



Source: own calculations based on the data: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm>.

Since the political reasons that pushed members of the political opposition to leave the country have disappeared, current emigration from Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland is mainly of an economic character. There are several distinguishable types of such migration, like migration of the unskilled labor force to the secondary labor market; migration of the unskilled labor force on the basis of bilateral contracts and agreements, and migration of skilled workers and highly-qualified professionals (Koryś I., 2003, p. 27).

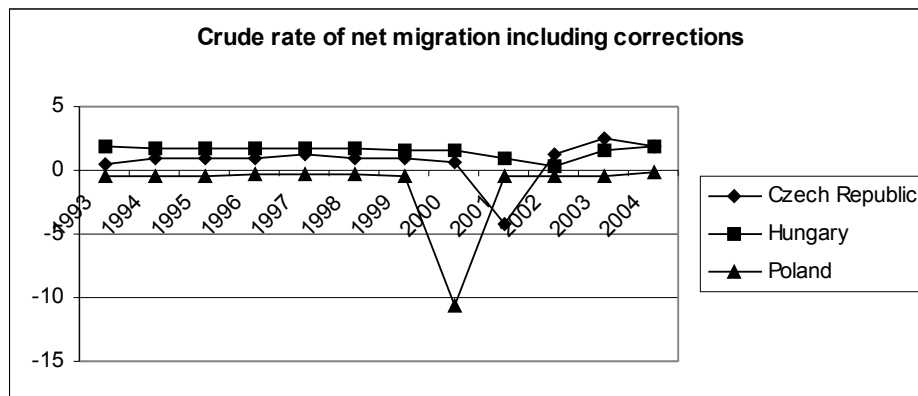
The emigration from Czech Republic and Hungary is negligible in absolute terms. The reason is that Western European countries have introduced more restrictive measures (mainly because of high unemployment rates in their countries and a growing xenophobic atmosphere among their populations). But more importantly, working in Western Europe for Czechs and Hungarians became less attractive than earlier. Further, the Czechs and Hungarians went relatively successfully through transformation and their living standard has improved (Drbohlav D., 2003, p. 15). Today, there are no strong political or economic "push" factors that would prompt large numbers of Czech or Hungarian citizens to seek a better life elsewhere (Drbohlav D., 2005). The current unemployment rate is on par with other EU Member States. Although living standards lag those in Western European countries, the difference is not tremendous and has been diminishing over time. However, the emigration from Poland is at much larger scale. The crucial push factor that contributes to a permanent substantial outflow for short and long-term migration stems from the current shape of the Polish economy. The most visible aspects are the high unemployment rate and limited supply of attractive job offers, especially in

peripheral and underdeveloped regions and relatively low income in comparison with EU member states. The main pull factors regarding Poles emigrating to the EU are as follows: demand for a cheap and flexible migrant labor force, broad social networks, geographical and/or cultural proximity, the demand for special services and wage differences (Koryś I., 2003, p. 30).

3. Migration in transition. From sending into transit and receiving countries

As has been noted, CEE countries for years have been the countries of emigration. However, from the beginning of transformation they have been shifting towards transit and immigration countries. Czech Republic and Hungary achieved a positive migration balance very rapidly. In case of Poland this process has not been accomplished yet, but the difference between the inflows and outflows of migrants is narrowing.

Graph 7. Crude rate of net migration including corrections¹



Source: Eurostat: http://epp.eurostat.ec.eu.int/portal/page?_pageid=0,1136184,0_45572595&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL.

¹ Net migration: the difference between immigration into and emigration from the area during the year. Since most countries either do not have accurate figures on immigration and emigration or have no figures at all, net migration is generally estimated on the basis of the difference between population change and natural increase between two dates. Crude Rate of Net Migration: the ratio of the net migration during the year to the average population in that year. The value is expressed per 1000 inhabitants. The crude rate of net migration is equal to the difference between the crude rate of increase and the crude rate of natural increase (Eurostat)

The general balance for permanent emigration is unfavorable for Poland (see graph 7). More people are still leaving than entering Poland, but the gap is narrowing. The trend started in the early 1990s (Iglicka K., 2005). Formally, within the investigated period, almost 274,000 people have left Poland, while only 92,000 came in to settle. At the same time the migration balance was positive both in the Czech Republic and in Hungary. In the Czech Republic some 140,000 have left the country, while more than 260,000 have entered (that numbers involve the movements between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic that accounted for about a half of the movements). In the period 1993-2002 almost 154,000 of immigrants came to Hungary and only 4,600 have left the country.

The majority of the immigrants coming into the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland are from European countries. The profile of the migrant is easily classified according to geographical and cultural conditioning. The citizens of former USSR countries constitute the most important group of immigrants. Most of them are in manual, unskilled, and underpaid jobs. Immigrants coming from Western countries are mostly highly skilled professionals often of the origin of the receiving country. The third group constitute Asian immigrants more present at the beginning of transformation, working in cheap fast foods restaurants. In more general terms the current migratory reality in the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland might, to some extent, be explained by well-known migration theories, namely: the neoclassical economic theory, the world system theory, the dual labor market theory, the network theory, and the institutional theory (Drbohlav D., 2003, p. 4).

Table 2. Important inflows - foreigners with permanent residence permits by individual source countries, the Czech Republic, 1997-2001

	1997	1998	1999	2000
Slovakia	3088	2887	3235	2826
Ukraine	1524	1595	1676	1213
Germany	859	688	560	537
Russia	759	593	701	433
USA	388	255	265	395
Vietnam	1707	1204	808	312
Canada	234	187	144	141
Bulgaria	236	247	171	140

Source: Drbohlav D., 2003, p. 19.

Two source countries dominate among those that supply the Czech Republic with permanent immigrants and are closely linked with family reunion processes (flows a year) - Slovakia and Ukraine (see table 2). Unlike those from Ukraine, in 2000, out of 2,826 immigrants from Slovakia 65% were citizens of the Czech Republic. A relatively high percentage of citizens of the Czech Republic were also among those who immigrated from western developed democracies. However, such figures probably represented former Czech emigrants who had emigrated during the communist era and are, in absolute terms, rather marginal. Thus, the whole picture of source countries is relatively stable. Nevertheless, one can point out the important decrease of immigrants coming from Vietnam over time (1,707 in 1997 versus 312 in 2000 – see table 2).

Table 3. Important inflows – long-term immigrants by country of origin. Poland 1997-2001

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total	8426	8916	7525	7331	6625
Germany	2098	2341	2491	2494	2177
USA	1197	1274	1333	1185	1008
Ukraine	758	661	235	291	486
Canada	415	415	448	331	282
Kazakhstan	324	385	159	408	265
Italy	212	198	226	254	251
United Kingdom	233	245	274	256	246
France	315	399	345	269	226
Austria	193	229	195	202	157
Belarus	243	198	77	77	125
Russia	304	304	143	129	125
Sweden	126	133	103	78	74

Source: Koryś I., 2003, p. 72.

Among migrants who meet all the requirements that entitle them to a permanent residence permit in Poland, there is a prevalence of immigrants from European countries (especially Germany) and the US (see table 3). Immigrants from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus do not account for more than 15 % of the overall number of immigrants settling in Poland, though the statistics for foreigners registered for a temporary stay of over two months reveal that citizens of Ukraine constituted as many as 47% of all registered foreigners in 2001. Such a discrepancy could support the thesis stating that - for the immigrants coming from the ex-USSR - Poland is not an attractive country for

settlement migration, but is definitely an interesting destination for short-term economic migrations (Koryś I., 2003, p. 31).

The simplest criterion upon which to classify the groups of migrants present in Poland is that of geographical and cultural conditioning. On the basis of it is possible to identify the following groups of migrants: (Koryś I., 2003, p. 30).

Immigrants from countries of the former USSR (above all Ukraine, but also Belarus and the Russian Federation).

Besides the geographical proximity and sustained demand for a migrant labor force, some further factors favoring migrations to Poland are: cultural proximity, and especially the similarity of languages, attitudes towards work and mentality (especially in the borderlands, within the reach of Polish mass media and where the trans-border family ties are still present a well-developed migratory network which provides a feeling of security; the relative ease of personal contacts with Poles (a specialized group of Poles providing services to the citizens of the ex-USSR, e.g. inexpensive housing, has emerged); the limited risk of deportation from Poland (there is basically no control over the legality of employment); and the insignificant impact of possible administrative consequences plus the neutral and tolerant attitude of Polish society.

Immigrants from Asian countries (above all Vietnam)

The marked development of the Vietnamese Diaspora (concentrating in Warsaw and the vicinity above all) was possible thanks to the large group of migratory chain pioneers, who used to study in Poland before 1989, as well as a correct identification of the economic niches (cheap fast foods, inexpensive textiles of low quality) which attracted high demand especially in the beginning of transformation.

Immigrants from the highly-developed countries: the EU, USA and Canada (highly-skilled professionals)

The coming of expatriates to Poland was a natural consequence of the re-inclusion of the Polish economy within the world economy. Many specialists and qualified managers came to Poland to work in the Polish branches of their companies. Acquaintanceship with the country or region can of course facilitate such a delegation, as can Polish origins. There have thus emerged a group of re-emigrants or descendants of emigrants coming back to Poland for the sake of the companies they represent.

Table 4. Important inflows: five most important source countries. Hungary 1997-2002

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Total	12200	12300	15000	20184	21233	17558
1	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania
	3400	4100	6000	8894	10091	8992
2	China	Ukraine	Former Yugoslavia	Ukraine	Ukraine	Ukraine
	1700	1300	1700	2427	2439	1813
3	Ukraine	China	Ukraine	Former Yugoslavia	Former Yugoslavia	Slovak Republic
	1200	1000	1600	1777	1021	489
4	Former Yugoslavia	Former Yugoslavia	China	China	Germany	Serbia and Montenegro
	800	800	1000	1066	729	395
5	Germany	Germany	Germany	Slovak Republic	Slovak Republic	USA
	600	600	700	1066	511	363

Source: ILO data <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/migrant/ilmdb/ilmdb.htm>.

Most immigrants arrive to Hungary from neighboring countries and are of Hungarian ethnicity (Juhasz J. 2003). Eighty percent of those who entered in 1989-1990 were Romanian citizens, mostly of Hungarian ancestry. In the following years their proportion declined, reaching less than 40 percent between 1994-2002. A common explanation for this decline is that by 2002, those who had the inclination and means had already settled and naturalized in Hungary.

4. Conclusion

The CEE countries had to face important changes in the transition period. This changes are visible also in migratory processes that took place in transition and integration period. One cannot ignore the manner in which CEE migratory patterns (especially those of the Czech Republic and Hungary) resemble those characteristic of the contemporary situation in the EU. The outflows of permanent migrants from CEE countries rest stable or even declined while a new tendency has appeared. For the first time CEE countries experienced important inflows of immigrants. This new situation causes some legal problems. Although there is no common immigration policy in EU that concerns long term immigrants several directives and regulations on immigration make subject of legal adaptation in CEE countries. The immigration policy on long term

immigrants is regulated at the national level (at least for a time being as the negotiation at the European level make attempt to introduce a common immigration policy). Taking into consideration the fact that the further economic development in CEE countries is likely to foster immigration in the future, as it was in the case of Spain and Portugal after their accession, the CEE countries will be obliged to develop more complex immigration policy in order to regulate the inflows and the integration of immigrants.

Despite the appearance of the new factors fostering emigration the outflows of CEE citizens did not increase in the transition and integration period. There are two main reasons for that. First of all the UE-15 countries tend to limit the immigration inflows in recent years and they introduce the legal barriers for immigration. The other reason for that is that working in Western European countries became less attractive for CEE citizens than it used to be during communist era. The standard of living in CEE countries has improved significantly. However, the very high unemployment rate (about 18%) in Poland rest an important push factor among the low skilled workers from rural areas as well as among highly skilled unemployed among university graduates (the unemployment in this group is very high about 35%). This reason above all pushed the majority of EU-15 countries to introduce transitional period for citizens of 10 new Member States in the access to their labor market. Only three countries opened their labor markets to new Member States from 1 may 2004 that is United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden. The rest of the countries decided to apply a 2+3+2 years formula before opening their labor markets.

The relationship between the globalization and the migratory movement between CEE countries and EU-15 is not obvious at the first glance. The spectacular increase in migratory movements is not observed. However, it cannot be denied that part of the movements would not be able if it had not been for the growing openness of the markets. First of all, the migration of the key personnel related to the foreign direct investments in CEE countries. Secondly, the geographical diversification of the immigrants would not be possible without the disappear of technical and economical barriers because the intensive technological progress. Finally, the multicultural dimension of societies and its growing openness make the process of adaptation to the new conditions of leaving much easier.

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