

**Plenary session:  
Circular and Temporary Migration**

**Circular and temporary mobility in  
Central and Eastern Europe**

**Paweł Kaczmarczyk**

**Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw  
Advisory Board to the Prime Minister of Poland**

**METROPOLIS Conference**  
Bonn, October, 29th-31st 2008

# Outline

- ❑ Context: mobility in the pre-transition period
- ❑ Migration from the CEE in the transition period
  - ❑ Main mobility patterns
  - ❑ Discussion of causal factors
- ❑ Post-2004 mobility – continuity or change?
- ❑ Conclusions

# Introductory remarks

- ❑ **Central and Eastern Europe** – what does it mean?
  - ❑ An universal definition of CEE does not exist
  - ❑ Flexible approach: EU8 or EU10 (including Bulgaria and Romania)
  
- ❑ **Migration** – what does it mean?
  - ❑ Permanent, long term and short term mobility, including circulation, documented and undocumented flows
  - ❑ Specific situation of the CEE countries → incomplete migration
  
- ❑ **Data on migration and its limitations**
  - ❑ Official data on migration from the EU8 countries: Czech Rep. – 1,000 annually (2001-2004); Slovakia – 2,000 annually (1998-2005); Lithuania – 400 annually (1995-2000); Poland – 20,000-25,000 annually (1995-2005)
  
  - ❑ But: Census data: Lithuania - 22,000 annually; Poland – 60,000 annually

# Scale and trends in migration from CEE

## Migration in the pre-transition period (1):

- ❑ Emigration – rather exceptional but sizeable → majority of long-term population movements directed to the West
  - ❑ politically motivated (until 1961 from ex-GDR; 1956/57 from Hungary; 1968/69 from ex-Czechoslovakia; 1968, 1980/81 from Poland)
  - ❑ ethnically motivated (e.g. „ethnic Germans” from Poland (since mid 1950s) and Romania (since 1970s))

# Scale and trends in migration from CEE

## Migration in the pre-transition period (2):

- ❑ Labour movements – limited, with a few exceptions:
  - ❑ westward migration of ex-Yugoslavs from mid-1960s (within guest-worker system - bilateral agreements, recruitment)
  - ❑ intraregional migration in the 1970 and 1980s (Poland and Romania as major source countries)
  - ❑ project-tied employment in non-European countries
- ❑ Circular movements of false tourists:
  - ❑ state-organised and controlled excursions (mainly intraregional) → origins of mass-scale petty trade
  - ❑ individual flows, mostly from Poland → **incomplete migration**

# Scale and trends in migration from CEE

## Migration in the transition period (1):

- ❑ **New trends in migratory behaviour**
  - ❑ Movements between successor states of the ex-USSR
  - ❑ Regular (temporary) labour movements - based on bilateral agreements, based on unilateral quota system, other (intracompany transfers, individual recruitment, admission for students, etc.)
  - ❑ Inflow – towards net immigration area

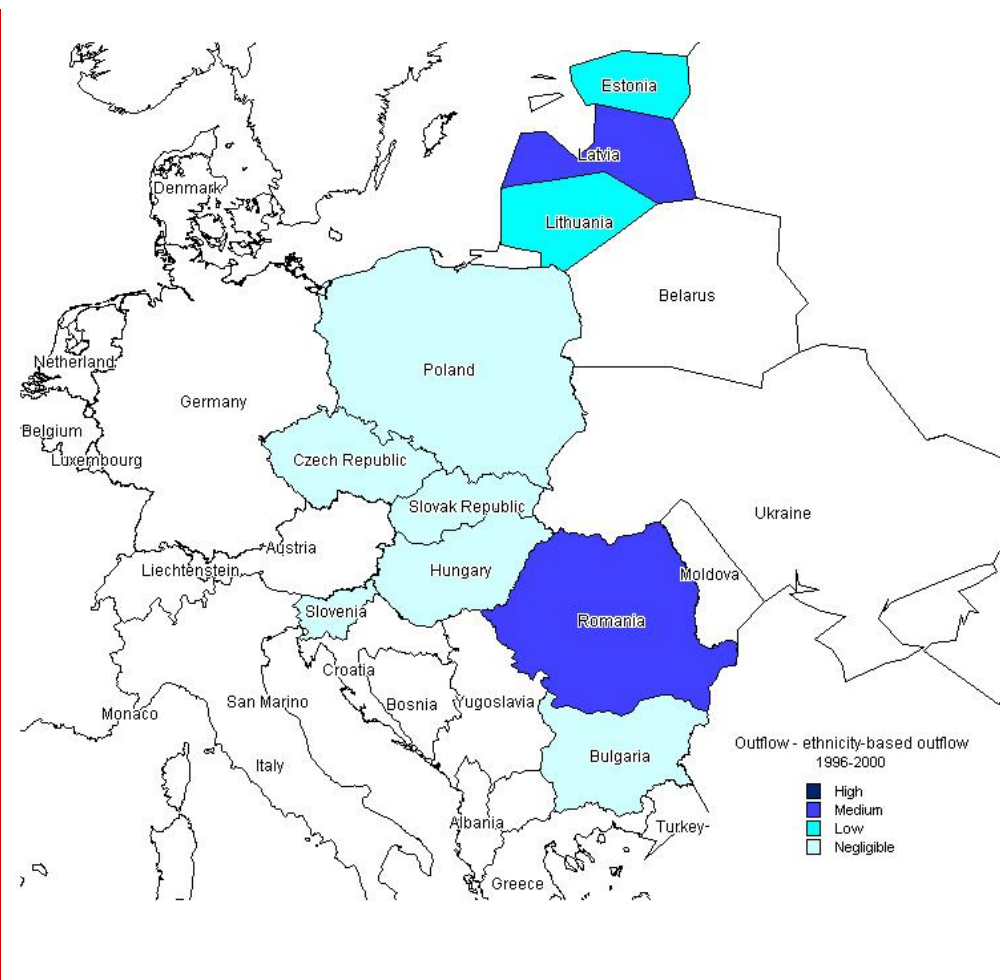
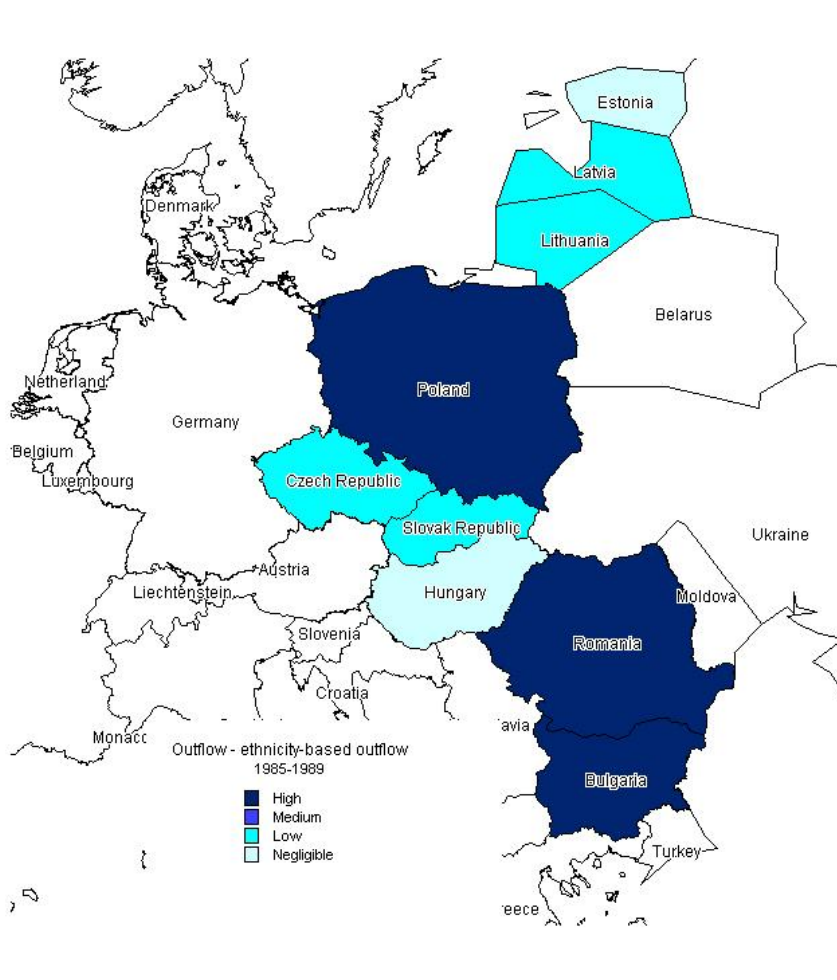
# Scale and trends in migration from CEE

## Migration in the transition period (2):

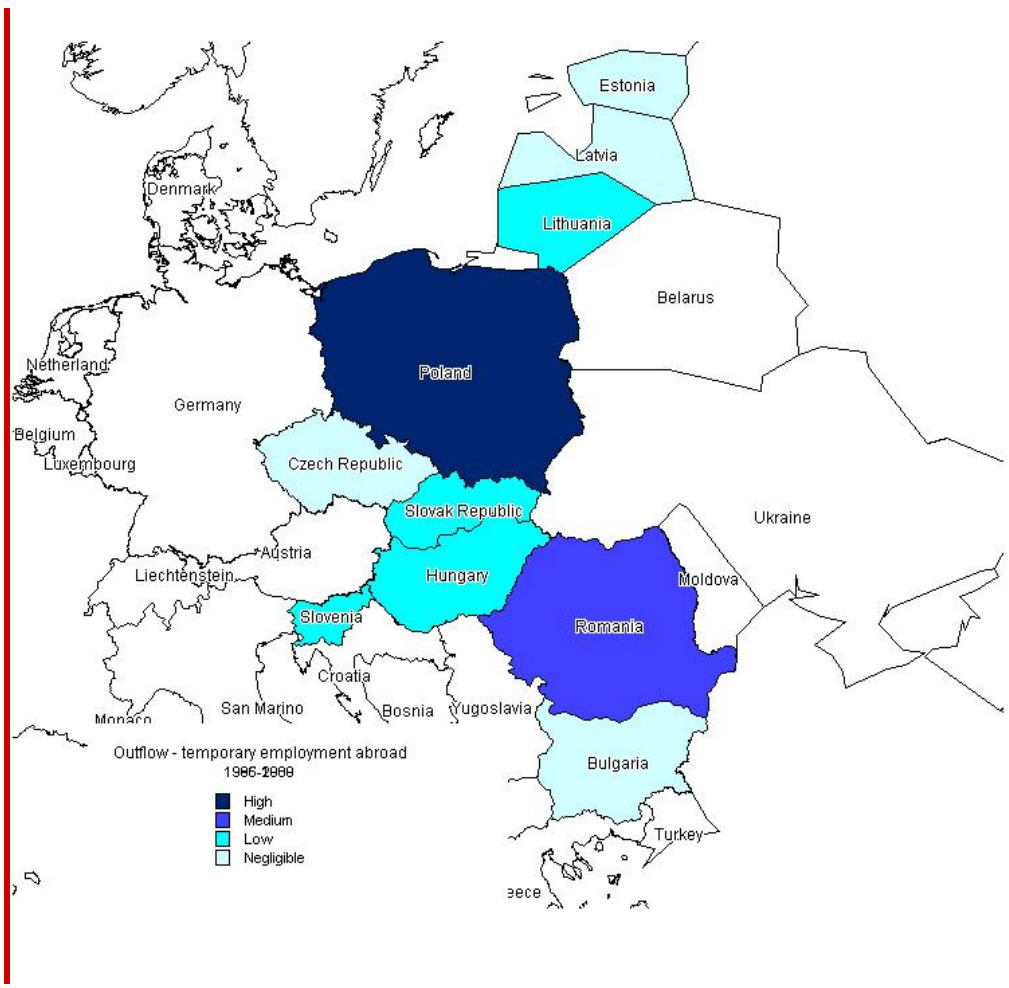
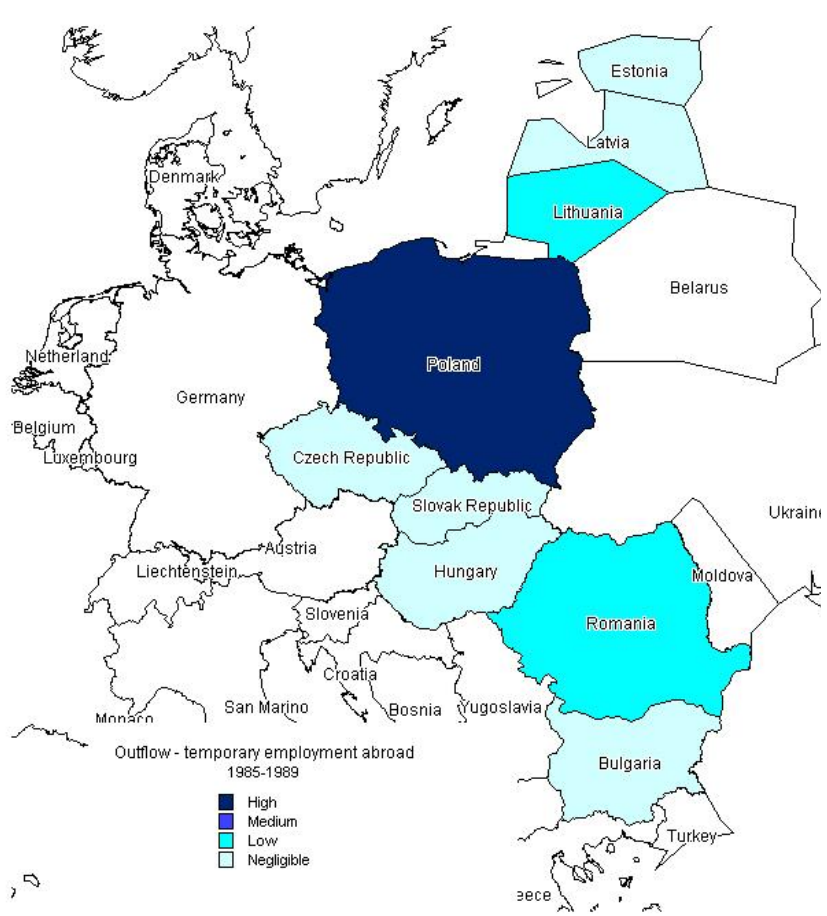
### ❑ Long-term vs. short-term mobility

- ❑ Emigration to the West, incl. the USA (ethnically or politically motivated, family reunion) – on decline since mid 1990s
- ❑ Temporary employment in Western Europe → more or less irregular, short term or circular in nature → on increase (Bulgaria, Poland, Romania) → short-term migration strategies

# Ethnicity-based outflow from selected CEECs



# Outflow – temporary employment abroad



Source: Fihel, Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2006

# Features of migration from the CEE countries in the transition period

- ❑ The outflow much lower and less diversified than in the previous decades
  - ❑ The number of net emigration countries decreased → shift to net immigration countries (Hungary, Czech Rep.)
  - ❑ Poland as the only country sending considerable quantities of people abroad
  - ❑ **Temporary flows as dominant migration type:**
    - ❑ regional cross-border commuter-type movements → Czech Rep. – Germany (30,000-50,000 in the 1990s)
    - ❑ migration of people for undocumented work (i.e. under the guise of tourism)
    - ❑ flows resulting from seasonal demand for labor in the agriculture and construction sector in western countries
- **example:** seasonal workers in Germany (330,000 in 2004; over 85% from Poland)

# Long-term vs. short-term migration strategies

## Institutional and political factors

- ❑ Liberalisation of migration policies within CEE – abolition of exit visas, ratification of international conventions, etc.  
→ freedom of exit – freedom of return
- ❑ Ethnic related mobility → German policy towards „ethnic Germans“
- ❑ „Fortress Europe“ → tightening of admission rules in the West, asylum policy in the EU countries

# Long-term vs. short-term migration strategies

## **Economic factors:**

- ❑ Change in migration-related cost-benefit ratio (wages, exchange rates, living costs)
- ❑ Family / household context of migration:
  - ❑ Migration as a risk diversification activity
  - ❑ Migration as a response to relative deprivation
  - ❑ Migration as a livelihood strategy

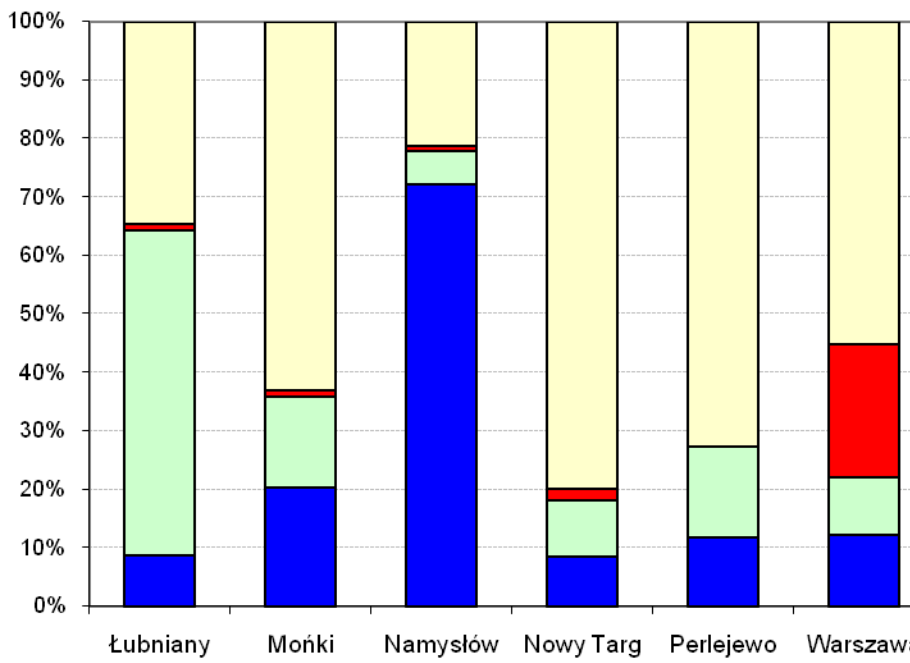
# Meta interpretation

## „Incomplete migration“

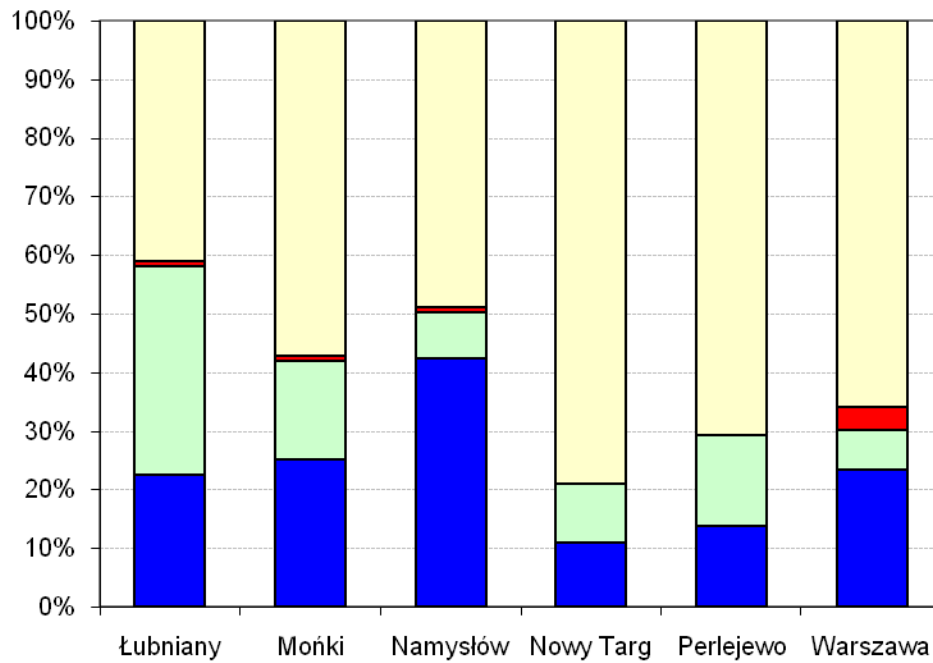
- ❑ Mobility hardly captured by definitions and typologies → traditional concepts vs. new forms of mobility
- ❑ Features of incomplete migration:
  - ❑ quasi-migratory character (temporary or circular mobility),
  - ❑ "loose" social status and/or flexible occupational position in the country of origin,
  - ❑ irregularity of stay or work in the host country,
  - ❑ maintaining close and steady contacts with migrant's household.
- ❑ Migrants – usually poorly skilled, living in the countryside and small towns, often coming from marginalised groups, frequently not having a regular employment
- ❑ Structural causes → „underurbanisation“ → massive commuting from rural areas (1960s and 1970s) → patterns of temporary international migration.

# Migrant categories in the pre- and transition period, ethnosurvey data for selected Polish communities

Prior to 1989



After 1989



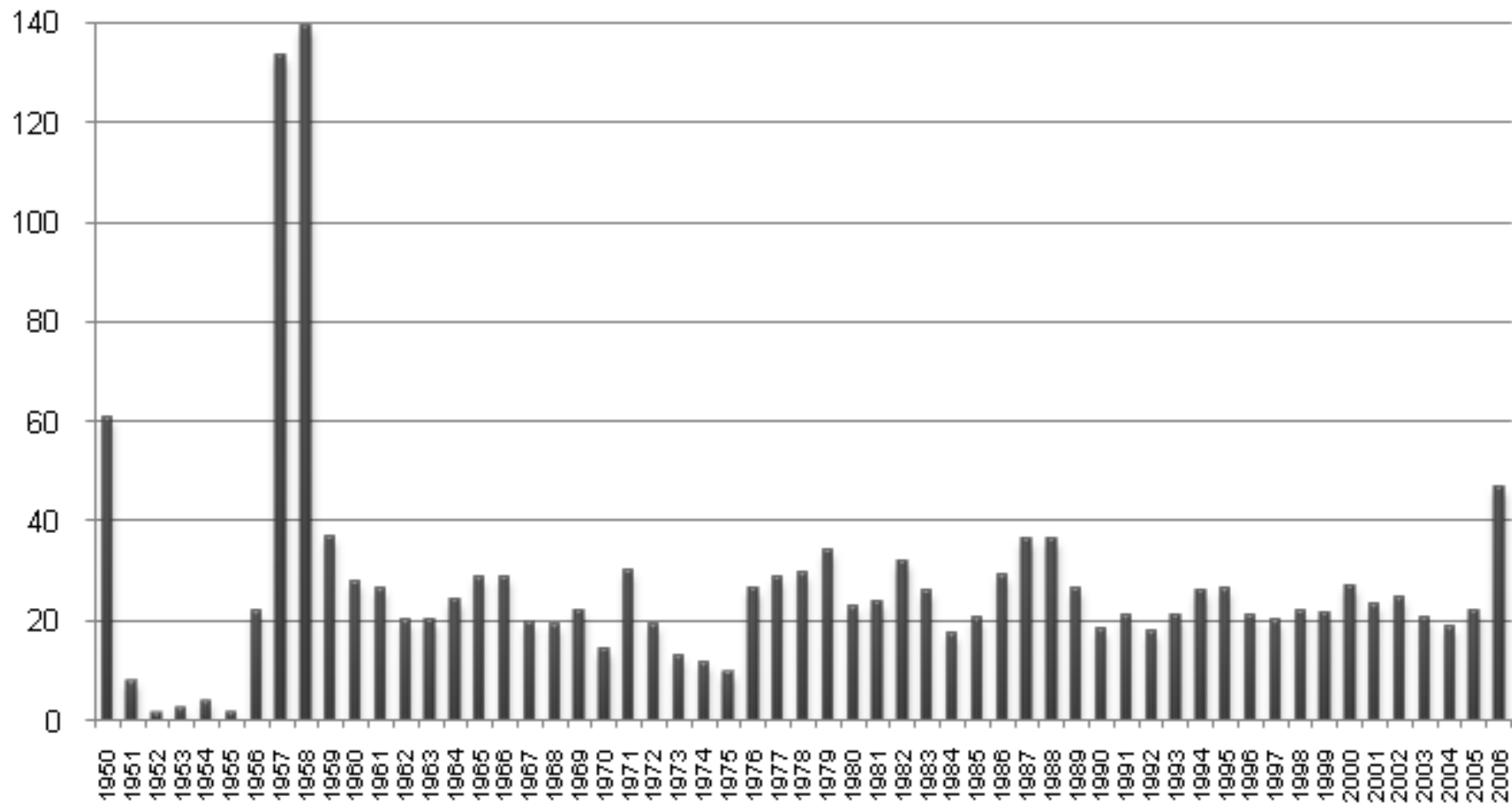
Incomplete migrants  
 Permanent migrants  
 Contract workers  
 Petty traders

Incomplete migrants  
 Permanent migrants  
 Contract workers  
 Petty traders

# Post-accession from Poland – continuity or change?

- ❑ Scale and dynamics
- ❑ Short-term / long-term / settlement mobility?
- ❑ Structural features

# Registered migration from Poland, 1950-2006 (in thous.)



# Recent migration from Poland: Scale and dynamics of the outflow

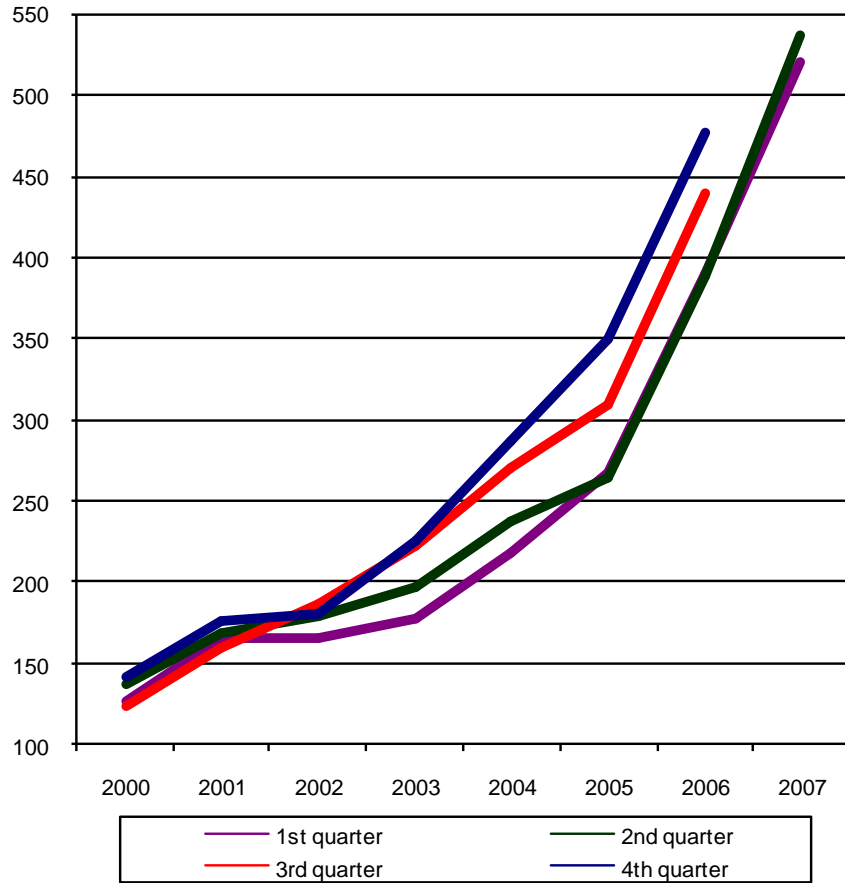
- **CSO estimate (end of 2007):** 2,270 thous. persons staying temporarily abroad (5.9% of the total population)

Destination	May 2002	2005 <sup>†</sup>	2007 <sup>†</sup>	2008 <sup>†</sup>
Total	786	1000	1950	2270
European Union	451	750	1550	1860
Austria	11	15	34	39
Belgium	14	13	28	31
France	21	30	49	55
Germany	294	385	450	490
Ireland	2	15	120	200
Italy	39	59	85	87
Netherlands	10	23	55	98
Spain	14	26	44	80
Sweden	6	11	25	27
United Kingdom	24	150	580	690

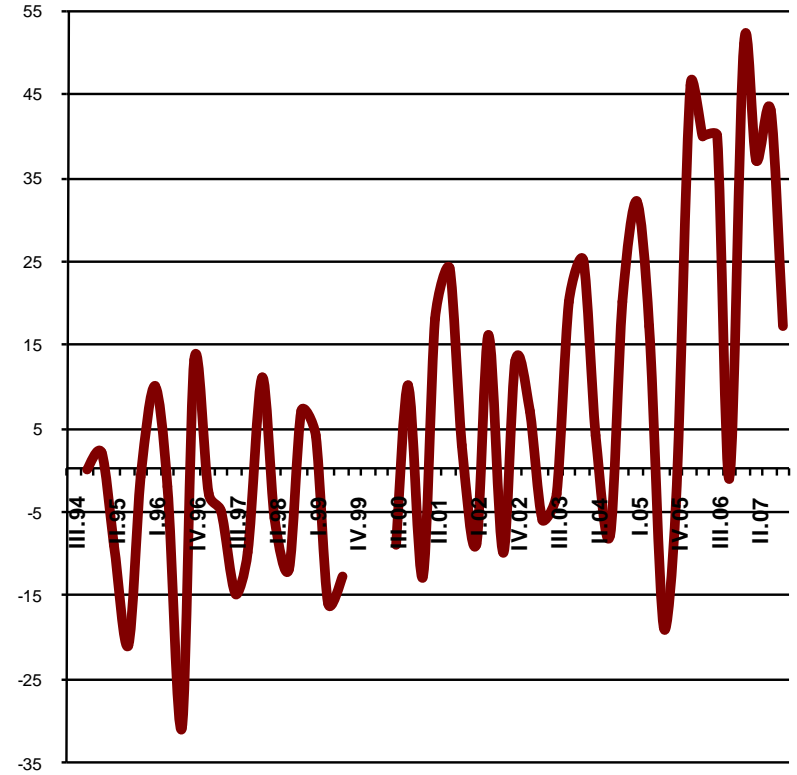
<sup>†</sup> as of January 1<sup>st</sup>

# Recent migration from Poland - dynamics

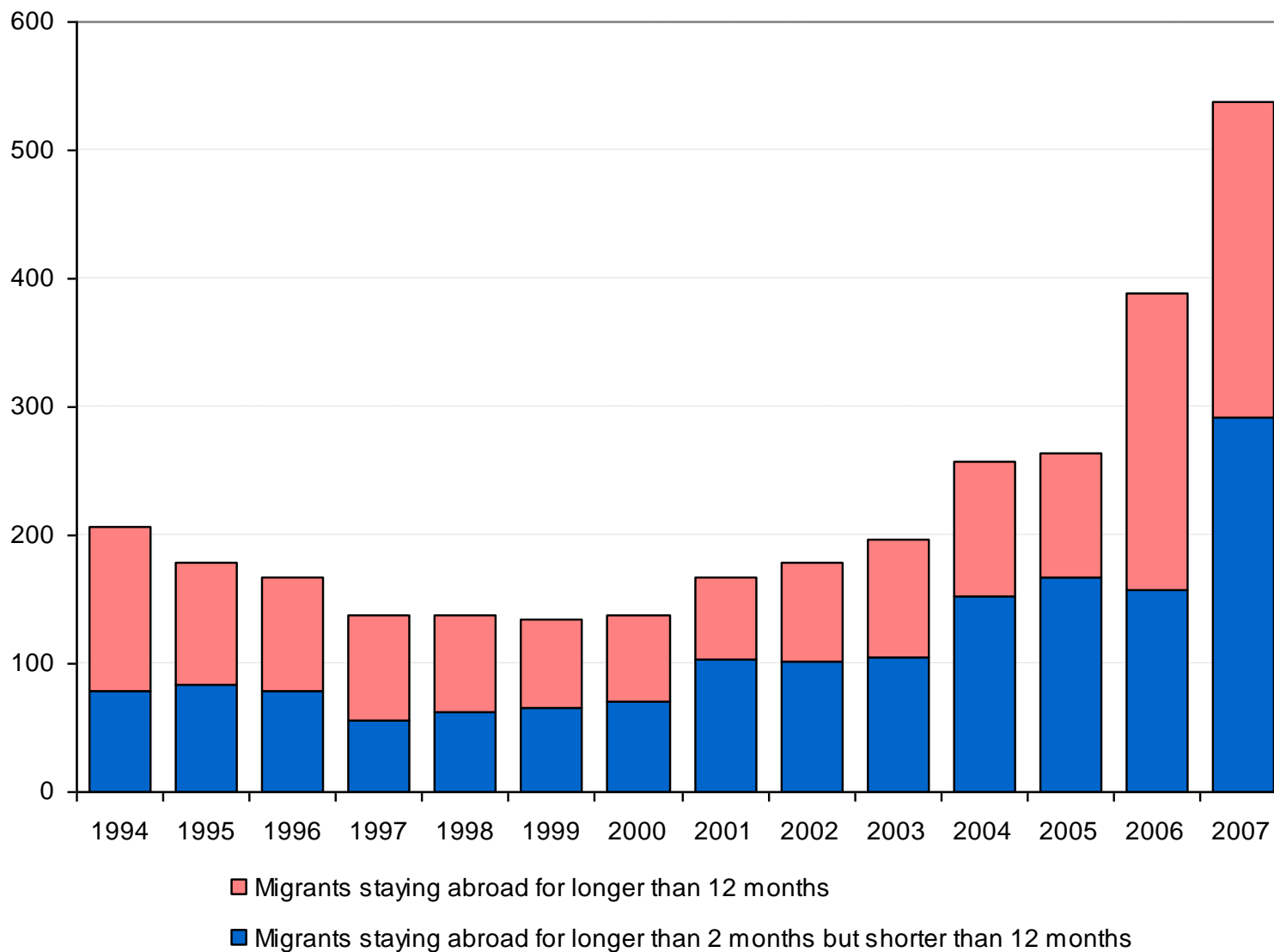
Stock of temporary thousand (in thous.)



Net changes in the stock of temporary migrants (in thous.)

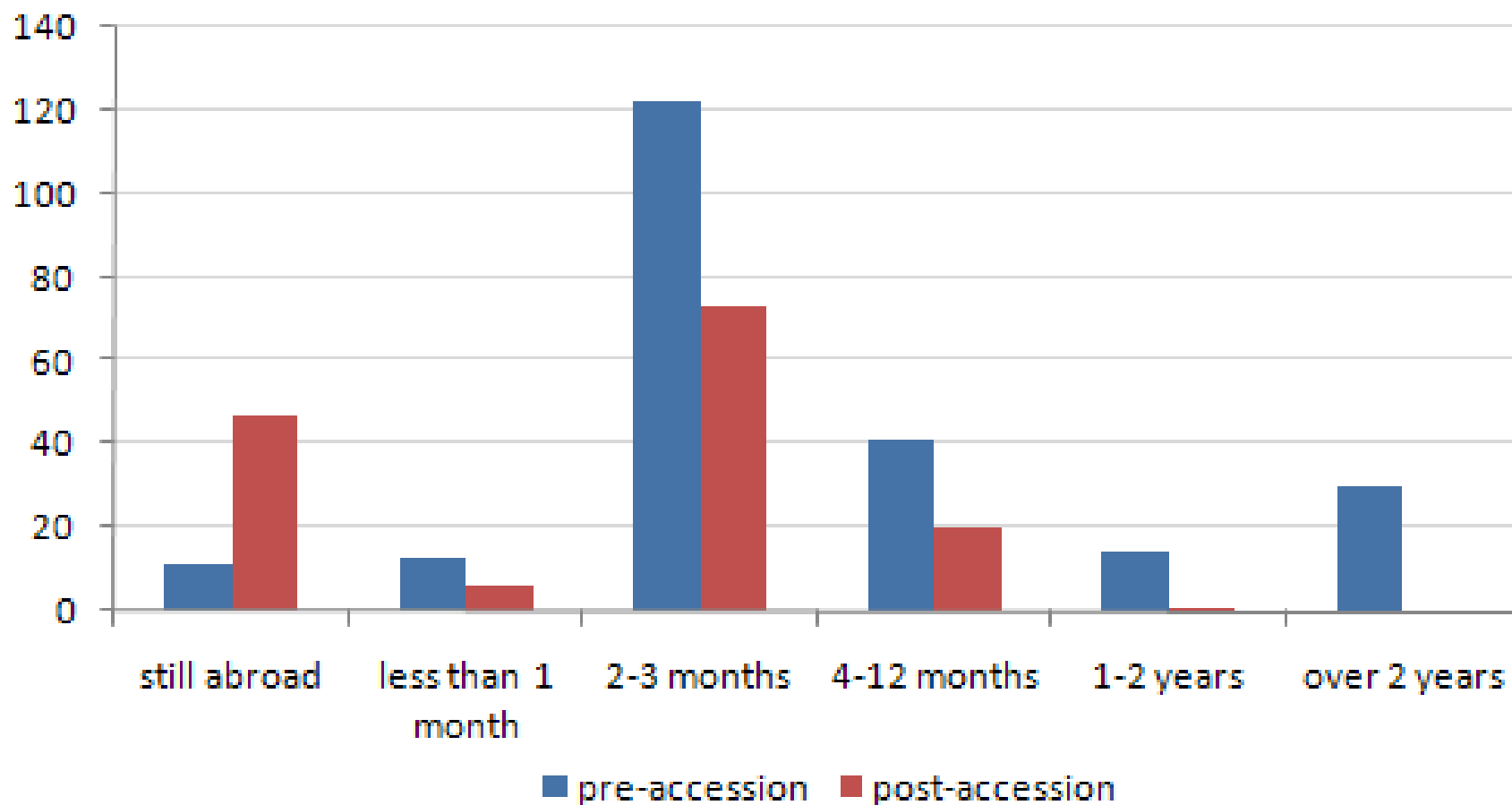


# Short-term vs. long-term migration according to LFS data: Polish migrants by length of their stay abroad, 1994-2007 (2nd quarter, in thous.)

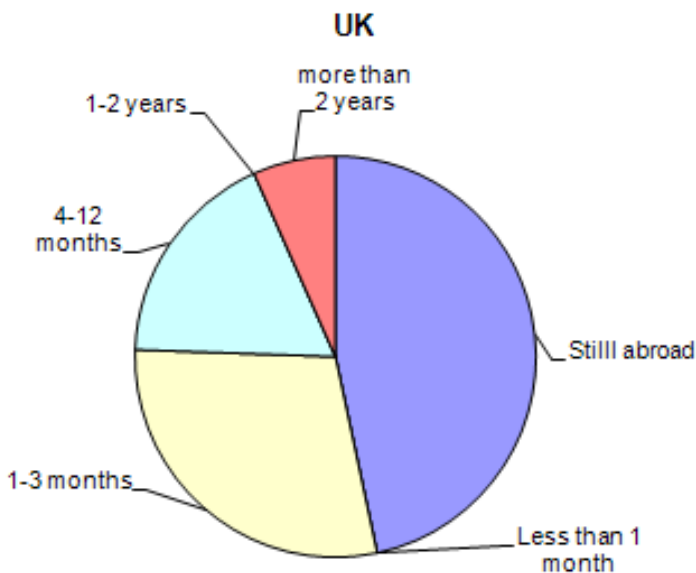
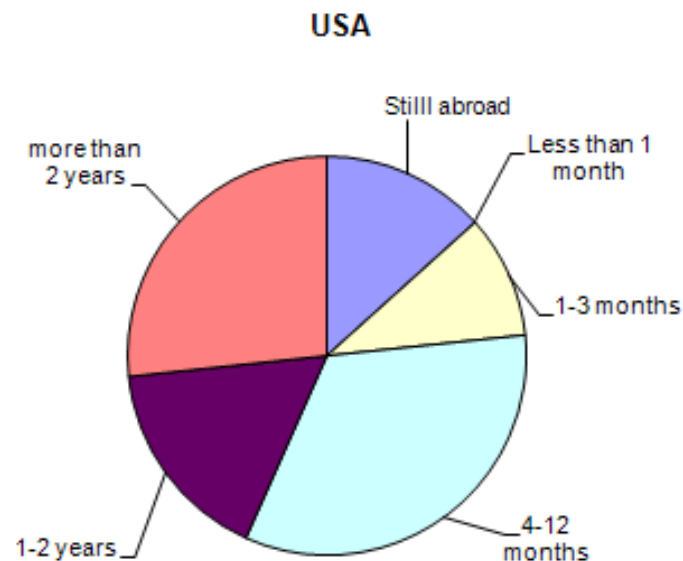
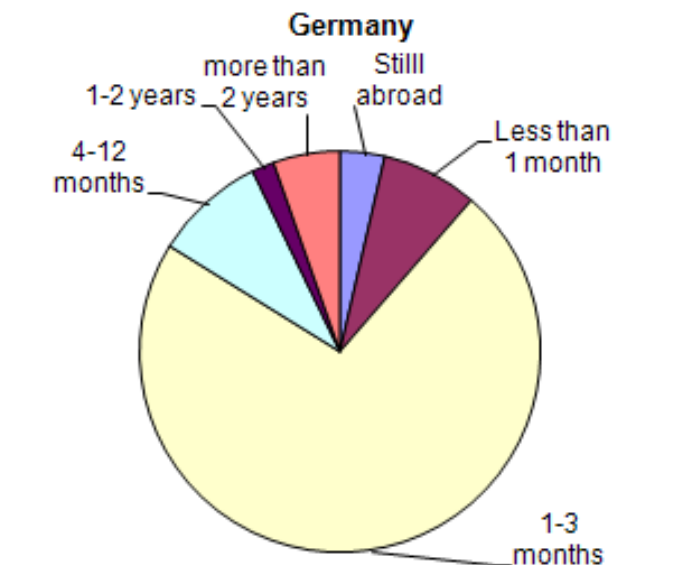


Source: Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2008

# Duration of migration in pre- and post-accession period – according to ethnosurvey data for 4 Polish communities



# Duration of migration – according to ethnosurvey data for 4 Polish communities, by major destinations



# Conclusions

## ❑ **Post-accession migration:**

- ❑ more regular or legal than irregular or clandestine
- ❑ more 'masculine' than 'feminine'
- ❑ migrants are younger, better educated
- ❑ more 'individualistic' than related to household strategies
- ❑ more of a long-term duration than circular → recent migration from Poland - temporary or permanent?

## ❑ **Incomplete migration?**

- ❑ Duration / forms of mobility
- ❑ Strategies („*to earn abroad, to spend in Poland*“)
- ❑ Roots → structural but different than in previous decades

## ❑ **Impacts – migration as a threat or a chance?**

## ❑ **Return migration - perspectives?**

