

TECHNICAL COOPERATION CENTRE FOR
EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA

**MIGRATION POTENTIAL
IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**



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and is based on surveys conducted in 11 countries by the
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary	11
Introduction	13
Chapter One	
General comparison of all countries	18
Which countries do they want to go to?	23
Preparations for migration	25
Reasons for leaving	26
Reasons for staying	27
The household dimension	28
Explanations for migration potential	29
General conclusions	30
Likely implications for EU enlargement eastwards	31
Chapter Two	
Central European countries	33
Slovakia	33
Hungary	38
Czech Republic	42
Poland	46
Slovenia	50
Chapter Three	
Southern European countries	54
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)	54
Croatia	60
Bulgaria	65
Romania	69
Chapter Four	
CIS countries	73
Belarus	73
Ukraine	77
Annex 1	
Questionnaire	81
Annex 2	
Methodological-Technical Report	83

LIST OF CHARTS AND TABLES

GENERAL COMPARISON OF ALL COUNTRIES

Chart 1. GDP per Capita 1997 (USD)	18
Chart 2. Unemployment rate in 1997 (%)	19
Chart 3. Would like to work abroad for a few weeks	20
Chart 4. Would like to work abroad for a few months	20
Chart 5. Would like to work abroad for a few years	21
Chart 6. Would like to go abroad for the rest of my life	21
Chart 7. Friends or relatives abroad who could help with migration	23
Table 1. Target countries for migration to work and to emigrate	24
Table 2. Preparations for going abroad	25
Table 3. Reasons for migrating	26
Table 4. Reasons for not migrating	28

COUNTRY REPORTS

SLOVAKIA

Table 5. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	33
Table 6. Target countries for work	34
Table 7. Target countries for emigration	34
Table 8. Rank order of reasons for leaving Slovakia	35
Table 9. Rank order of reasons to stay in Slovakia	35
Table 10. Social characteristics of people who would like to go abroad for a few weeks to work	36
Table 11. Social characteristics of people who would like to emigrate	37

HUNGARY

Table 12. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	38
Table 13. Target countries for work	39
Table 14. Target countries for emigration	39
Table 15. Rank order of reasons for leaving Hungary	40
Table 16. Rank order of reasons to stay in Hungary	40

CZECH REPUBLIC

Table 17. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	42
-------------------------------------------------------	----

Table 18. Target countries for work	43
Table 19. Target countries for emigration	43
Table 20. Rank order of reasons for leaving the Czech Republic	44
Table 21. Rank order of reasons to stay in the Czech Republic	44
POLAND	
Table 22. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	46
Table 23. Target countries for work	47
Table 24. Target countries for emigration	47
Table 25. Rank order of reasons for leaving Poland	48
Table 26. Rank order of reasons to stay in Poland	48
SLOVENIA	
Table 27. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	50
Table 28. Target countries for work	51
Table 29. Target countries for emigration	51
Table 30. Rank order of reasons for leaving Slovenia	52
Table 31. Rank order of reasons to stay in Slovenia	53
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (FRY)	
Table 32. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	55
Table 33. Target countries for work	55
Table 34. Target countries for emigration	56
Table 35. Rank order of reasons for leaving FRY	56
Table 36. Rank order of reasons to stay in FRY	57
Table 37. Social characteristics of people who would like to go abroad for a few weeks to work	58
Table 38. Social characteristics of people who would like to emigrate	59
CROATIA	
Table 39. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	60
Table 40. Target countries for work	61
Table 41. Target countries for emigration	61
Table 42. Rank order of reasons for leaving Croatia	62
Table 43. Rank order of reasons to stay in Croatia	62
Table 44. Social characteristics of people who would like to go abroad for a few weeks to work	63
Table 45. Social characteristics of people who would like to emigrate	64
BULGARIA	
Table 46. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	65
Table 47. Target countries for work	66
Table 48. Target countries for emigration	66
Table 49. Rank order of reasons for leaving Bulgaria	67

Table 50. Rank order of reasons to stay in Bulgaria	67
ROMANIA	
Table 51. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	69
Table 52. Target countries for work	70
Table 53. Target countries for emigration	70
Table 54. Rank order of reasons for leaving Romania	71
Table 55. Rank order of reasons to stay in Romania	71
BELARUS	
Table 56. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	73
Table 57. Target countries for work	74
Table 58. Target countries for emigration	74
Table 59. Rank order of reasons for leaving Belarus	75
Table 60. Rank order of reasons to stay in Belarus	76
UKRAINE	
Table 61. Rank order of preparations for going abroad	77
Table 62. Target countries for work	78
Table 63. Target countries for emigration	78
Table 64. Rank order of reasons for leaving Ukraine	79
Table 65. Rank order of reasons to stay in Ukraine	79

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This survey of 11 countries carried out in 1998 represents the most comprehensive comparative survey of potential migration in Central and Eastern Europe to have been carried out so far. It makes important advances on previous research. It gives indications of the volume of migration potential although it should not be taken as predicting exact figures. It is intended that the survey will be replicated each year in order to chart how migration potential in the Central and Eastern European and the CIS region changes over time.

It is important to recognize that there are several kinds of migration potential in Central and Eastern Europe and these can account for different motivations for migration and different characteristics of potential migrants. First, there is *emigration*. Very few people in Central and Eastern Europe wished to emigrate permanently (between 7% and 26%) and if they did, they preferred mostly to go to the “New World” (USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand).

Second, there is *long term temporary labour migration* for longer periods as “guest workers” for a few years (between 18% and 57%). A relatively high number of Central and Eastern Europeans would like to undertake this kind of migration, especially those living in Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), Romania and Ukraine.

Third, there is *short-term labour migration*, (between 13% and 68%) including cross-border commuting, seasonal and casual work. Very high numbers of people would like to do this. It is the most popular form of migration. The main sending countries are Croatia, FRY, and the Czech and Slovak Republics. Short-term labour migrants keep their houses, families, pensions, health insurance and so on in their own countries. They may even keep their jobs there as well. Therefore, we could conclude that there is unlikely to be a flood of immigrants from Eastern to Western Europe, but there is likely to be a large number of people seeking work on a temporary basis.

The countries of Eastern and Central Europe fall into several groups. In the first group are the countries with very *high migration potential*, both permanent and temporary. These countries are FRY and Croatia - countries from which some two thirds of the people expressed an interest in leaving - and Romania. Each of these countries have in common the fact that they suffer from ethnic tensions and have suffered a fall in living standards in recent years. Their citizens are very dissatisfied with the situation at home. All sexes and age groups under 50 would like to leave from FRY and Croatia, but young people especially see no future for themselves there.

The second group of countries includes the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland. In these countries there is a strong preference for *short-term labour migration* and this is not because people are discontented with their situation at home, as in the first group, but rather because they are attracted by higher wages they could earn in Germany and Austria or elsewhere. Ukraine also has a strong propensity for short-term labour migration and Ukrainians are prepared to work in a wide range of countries. In

practice, however, large numbers of Ukrainians work across the border in the Central European post-communist countries.

In the third group are the countries with very *low migration potential* - Belarus, Bulgaria and Slovenia. The reasons are very different. Slovenia is among the most prosperous of the post-communist countries whilst Bulgaria and Belarus are among the least prosperous. In Belarus, the relative isolation of the country could also be responsible.

There is no single explanation for migration potential in the region, but rather different explanations for different groups of countries. In some cases the *proximity* to the EU countries of Austria and Germany are important for “pulling” migrants across the border in search of work - this is the case with the Czech and Slovak Republics. Another explanation is the *relative poverty* of the citizens of the various countries. This could explain why Ukrainians and Romanians would like to work abroad.

Another explanation is the extent of previously existing *networks* outside of the country, which would explain why people from Yugoslavia and Croatia are likely to go abroad. A further explanation could be *the traditions of migration*. There was already an established tradition of working abroad from the countries of the former Yugoslavia, which would explain why very many people from Yugoslavia and Croatia saw this as an option. A very consistent finding in this survey, however, was an association between the perception of *ethnic problems* in the country and the desire to go abroad. This was the case in all the countries with the largest migration potential.

FUTURE TRENDS

We could predict that the continuation of ethnic hostilities and civil war is the factor most likely to lead to a wave of migration from certain countries - most notably from FRY. However, we could also identify a post-war disillusionment, which is responsible for many people wanting to leave Croatia and FRY. These factors lead to strong discontent with the home country, especially when they are combined with economic problems.

The accession of certain countries to the European Union - the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia - is unlikely to lead to a wave of migrants in the long term as many people fear. This is because most of the people in those countries only want to work abroad temporarily in order to earn more income. They seldom want to move altogether. We would therefore expect a continuing trend of cross-border commuting in the medium term by younger people, men and the better qualified who leave their homes and families behind them and return at weekends or periodically. They are likely to continue to own property and to claim their pensions and social security in their country of origin. This is likely to be for a few years, until wages and living conditions between these countries and the EU come more into line. There is already a tendency for their numbers to decrease.

Once these labour migrants have ceased to find it profitable to go to the West for jobs, they might be replaced by migrant workers from further East. Here Romanians and Ukrainians are already standing in the wings with a strong potential to look for temporary jobs abroad. As the gap between the EU countries and Central Europe narrows, so the gap between the Central European countries and these other countries to the East and South is likely to widen providing further incentives to migrate. However, we would predict

that in most cases (so long as there is no civil war or escalation of ethnic tensions) this would take the form of temporary short-term labour migration.

INTRODUCTION

There has been much fear in Western Europe of a flood of Eastern Europeans coming across the borders, fleeing economic and political breakdown and imposing further burdens on the Western European welfare states. These fears were further fed by the fact that large numbers of refugees did leave the former Yugoslavia during the civil war there. There has also been a steady stream of both legal and illegal cross-border labour migrants who have joined parts of the labour market especially in Germany and Austria¹.

This fear of an uncontrollable migration flood was further fuelled by various public opinion surveys carried out in the newly opened post-communist countries of Eastern Europe of dubious methodological validity, which asked people if they wanted to move. These surveys found a migration potential between a few hundred thousand and several millions of people. Such predictions were also based upon traditional migration models, which considered income and demographic differentials between Eastern and Western Europe. Thus, in Eastern Europe there is a youthful population and low incomes whilst in Western Europe there is an ageing population and high incomes: ergo, people would move from one region to another. However, this did not happen as predicted. This is because there are problems with such models, which our survey conducted in 1998 seeks to correct.

More recently there have been more scientifically accurate measures of migration potential carried out. One of the main surveys to have been carried out on a systematic comparative basis was that by Heinz Fassmann and his colleagues at the Academy of Sciences in Vienna. This involved a representative sample of 4,392 individuals in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary contacted in July 1996². Fassmann and colleagues distinguished between “general migration potential” (that is those who expressed a general willingness to leave the country) “probable migration potential” (those who had obtained information about the target country) and “real migration potential” (those who had applied for a work permit, looked for somewhere to live or begun looking for a job). There was a wide variation between the three groups with general migration potential being as high as 30%, probable migration potential being between 6% and 18%, and real migration potential being only between 1% and 2% of the population. They found younger people, highly qualified and males to be the main people likely to migrate, which is consistent with other studies. Most people wanted to go to Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

However, there are some important limitations to this study. Fassmann and his colleagues do not distinguish between temporary labour migration and emigration. For them, it is all one category and indeed they call this a study of emigration. In fact, the IOM 1998 survey to be described in this report found important differences between these two patterns of migration, with different target countries and different sending countries involved. Secondly, the survey by Fassmann and colleagues concentrated only upon individuals as mobile units and failed to take into account their household/family situation. In fact people seldom migrate only as individuals but usually represent some part of a family strategy with one person being

¹ Fullerton et al. 1995, Münz and Fassmann 1995.

² Fassmann and Hintermann 1997.

abroad and the others still at home³. Many aspects of migration behaviour make sense only if we take this into account. Thus, for example the finding which they consider surprising, is that married people are more likely to migrate. This is not unexpected if we consider that one pressure towards sending a family member abroad might be the maintenance of the household. Some families for example have strategies whereby they rotate the members who are abroad. Since each individual can go on a tourist visa to the European Union for up to three months but then cannot return for a period, households send one member abroad for this period or even a shorter time and then the next member for the following three months and so on. In this way, there is no need for them to relinquish their regular jobs in their home country through which health insurance, pensions and social security are paid⁴.

A second recent study by Endre Sik⁵ examined migration potential in Hungary using Household Panel Survey data, which is even more reliable than the cross-sectional sample survey data used by Fassmann, because it can show both the household dimension of migration and also longitudinal patterns over time. In other words, it can show not just if someone expressed an interest in migration but if they really did leave later on. Unfortunately, the only household panel study to be carried out in Eastern Europe was done in Hungary and this has now been discontinued. Furthermore, household panel studies have never been used to look at the impact of migration although they would potentially be the most accurate and fruitful source of data. Sik considers the impact of EU enlargement on migration patterns and concludes that migration potential is very low in Hungary and is generally limited to cross-border temporary labour migration in border regions of Austria. He predicts that once borders have been dissolved altogether by EU enlargement to the East, these areas will form organic micro-regions in terms of labour markets and commuting behaviour. Endre Sik also indicates on the basis of his data that one of the most important factors in migration potential will be the existence of social networks in enabling the kinds of “weak ties” which are necessary for migrants to find homes and find jobs elsewhere.⁶

From the above review, we can see that using the term “migration” is too general and can lead to misleading conclusions. Migration in the region we consider here covers several types of movement⁷. We can distinguish three main kinds. In the first place there is traditional *emigration*. This was the normal pattern from Central and Eastern Europe over the last century when many people emigrated first to settle in the New World but also, since the imposition of communist regimes during this century, many people left their homes as refugees and were welcomed as such in Western Europe and North America, although not any longer.⁸ In the second place there is *temporary labour migration*, mainly from Eastern to Western Europe. This has also been a tradition over the last century and was continued in the last fifty years by many Western European countries (especially Germany, Austria and Switzerland) making up the shortfalls in their workforce by importing “guest workers” from Southern Europe and from Yugoslavia. These guest workers were recruited on special contracts and were not made citizens of the countries concerned even if they stayed for many years or even generations. The aim of these contracts was to have a flexible workforce who could be sent home when their labour was no longer needed - indeed some at least were encouraged to go “home” during the various recessions since the 1970s. Usually however, these guest

³ Stark 1991, Wallace 1998.

⁴ Wallace 1998.

⁵ Sik 1988.

⁶ Portes 1995, Granovetter 1973.

⁷ Wallace et al. 1996, Münz and Ulrich 1997.

⁸ Castles and Miller 1993.

workers stayed for a number of years and were later allowed to bring their families with them. Although they were intended as “temporary” workers, their contracts were usually for some years and in practise, they often remained for generations. We could call this therefore, *long-term temporary labour migration*.

This has been augmented since the fall of communism in 1989 by increasing temporary labour migration from Central European post-communist countries which the German and Austrian authorities have tried to control through imposing quotas, agreements and so on for some workers to come legally on a temporary basis⁹. However, others also come illegally. The propinquity of these countries with low wages and well-trained workers to countries with high wages and an apparently high labour demand means that new forms of migration are possible (and even imposed by the regulations). Here we can distinguish a third form of migration, which is *short-term labour migration*, which could include seasonal work, casual work or even commuting. That is workers who come for the day, the week or on a seasonal basis for temporary periods of time to work either legally on contracts or illegally as “tourists”. Unlike the guest workers, they come only for very short periods of time and often relatively short distances – many of them work just across the border in neighbouring Germany and Austria.¹⁰ Both the opening of borders and improved communications networks (telephone, motorways, buses, airplanes) have encouraged this kind of movement.

For many experts these latter two categories do not count as migration at all because these people have no intention of settling abroad. However, we should pay attention to this form of movement because in terms of a pattern of mobility in Europe it has become more important than emigration in terms of reasons to move. For the countries of the European Union, looking at these patterns provides a better indication of the likely influx of people and their impact on the labour markets and welfare states of Western Europe. For these reasons it is better to talk about *mobility* rather than migration in the traditional sense and this has been one of the foci of this survey.

This survey makes a number of improvements on previous studies carried out. First, it distinguishes between the different kinds of migration and mobility described above. Secondly, it considers a wider cross-section of countries on a comparative basis than has been attempted in any other survey. In this way we can look at differences in migration potential between a wide variety of countries. In each country there is a representative sample survey of at least one thousand respondents, which makes scientific analysis according to methodologically accurate principles possible. However, in a cross-sectional survey of individuals we are still missing a longitudinal perspective and household dimension. For this reason, the survey conducted in 1998 needs to be also balanced with other sources of data to give a full picture¹¹.

⁹ Hönekopp 1997 identifies several different kinds of short-term labour migrants in Germany according to the different kinds of contracts they hold: project tied workers, seasonal workers, border commuters, new guest workers (for young people to learn skills), nurses. There are 260,125 altogether. Their numbers have declined as unemployment in Germany has risen.

¹⁰ Sik 1998, Horakova 1993.

¹¹ A study being carried out by Wallace, Sik and others at the moment funded by the European Union INTAS scheme and the Austrian National Bank uses a qualitative panel study of families and households to look at the impact of migration upon the family generally. Another possibility used in Poland by Marek Okolski is the “ethnosurvey” which combines qualitative and quantitative research.

It was in this context that we conducted a survey of 11 Central and Eastern European countries in order to inquire about people's propensity to migrate and patterns associated with it. A representative sample survey of about 1000 people in each of the following countries was conducted during the spring and early summer of 1998: Poland, Hungary, Czech and Slovak Republics, Slovenia, Croatia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Belarus and Ukraine. This was carried out by the Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft, Vienna, which has several partner organizations in each country and has carried out such surveys in these countries on a regular basis since 1991 (for technical report see Annex 2).

The countries covered in the questionnaire are those which surround the European Union's Eastern border, including the accession countries of Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovenia. These, along with Slovakia, have previously been identified as forming a Central European "buffer zone" in terms of migration: they both send migrants into Western Europe and receive migrants from further East.¹² However, the survey also includes a second ring of countries: Ukraine, Belarus, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia (excluding Kosovo) and Montenegro). The reason for including these countries is that they are some of the sending countries for the "buffer zone" as well as potential sending countries for the European Union, even if they have no direct border. The former Yugoslavia is important for having the largest migration potential of all. These are the countries which form the regular base of a survey carried out since 1991, the New Democracies Barometer, under the umbrella of which, this questionnaire was fielded. The New Democracies Barometer, organised by the Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft in Vienna, is administered through partner organisations in each country with proven methodological accuracy.

However, some important countries are left out: Macedonia, Albania, Moldova and Bosnia are obvious omissions. This is not because they are unimportant, but rather because until now there was no reliable survey contact in these countries established by the Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft.

The questionnaire (see Annex 1) asked about whether people wanted to migrate, for what period of time, what reasons they had and where they wanted to go. In this way we were able to look at the relative importance of "push" and "pull" factors in different countries, and compare these factors in the EU Associated States, CIS countries and former Yugoslavia. In this survey we were also able to consider target countries for short term and long term migration and this was very important in terms of predicting likely patterns of mobility in the European Union. Finally, we were able to assess the strength of migration intentions in the way recommended by Fassmann. By asking a series of questions we could distinguish between a general expressed interest and more serious plans which may involve obtaining work permits and looking for somewhere to live or selling property at home. Furthermore, we were able to obtain some idea of whether networks are likely to increase migration potential in the way predicted by Sik for Hungary.

Before beginning the data analysis, we should sound a note of caution about the interpretation of "migration potential" from questionnaire data. Although the survey was carried out according to standard methodological principles, we cannot assume that everyone who expresses an interest in migration will actually migrate. We cannot simply multiply the responses to the survey by the population, to obtain a figure for likely migrants. The responses to the questionnaire represent only an approximation of interest in migration. It is best to read the data comparatively: if we compare the different countries we can see which

¹² Wallace et al. 1996.

countries are most likely to send migrants and for what reasons. These relative comparisons of responses can give us a likely indication of the volume of migration potential, but no absolutely accurate figure. By looking at the characteristics of respondents we can obtain some picture of the sorts of people likely to migrate but not a definitive profile of the real migrants.

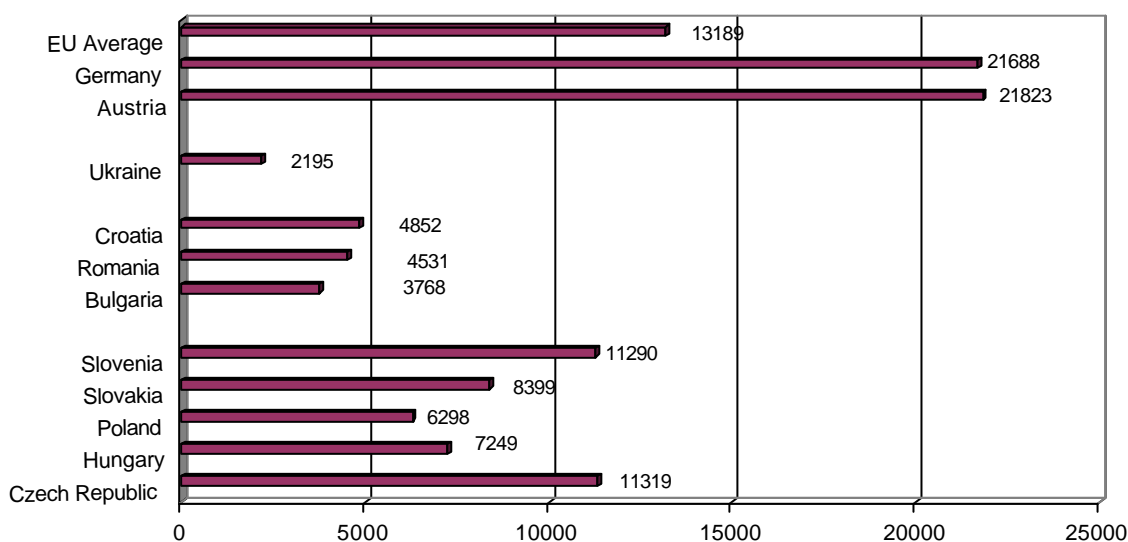
The Report is divided into two main parts. The first part is a general overview comparing the differences between countries, and the second part is a country-by-country report showing the results for each country in more detail. Further information is included for Croatia, FRY and Slovakia, because these are the countries with the greatest migration potential.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL COMPARISON OF ALL COUNTRIES

There are variations in the speed and pace of reform in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe leading to regional inequalities, which could encourage migration¹³. If we look at general macro-economic indicators set out in Chart 1 we can see that there are wide variations in the wealth of the citizens of the reform countries as measured by GDP per capita¹⁴. The Central European group of countries which form part of the EU enlargement plans plus Slovakia have the highest incomes of all the reform countries. This is followed by the Southern group of countries, Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania (there are no data for FRY and Belarus). Finally, Ukraine is well behind all the others in terms of wealth per capita (there are no data for Belarus). However, all the reform countries are still lagging behind the European Union average and especially Austria and Germany, which are some of the wealthiest EU countries. It is not too surprising therefore that Central and Southern Europeans might seek to augment their incomes by working in Germany and Austria, whilst Ukrainians would also find Central European post-communist countries attractive for the same reason. We would expect the gap between the Central European countries and the European Union to narrow with accession, but this may increase the gap between these countries and the rest, leaving incentives for labour migration from those in the further ring of countries to the East and South.

CHART 1: GDP PER CAPITA 1997 (USD)

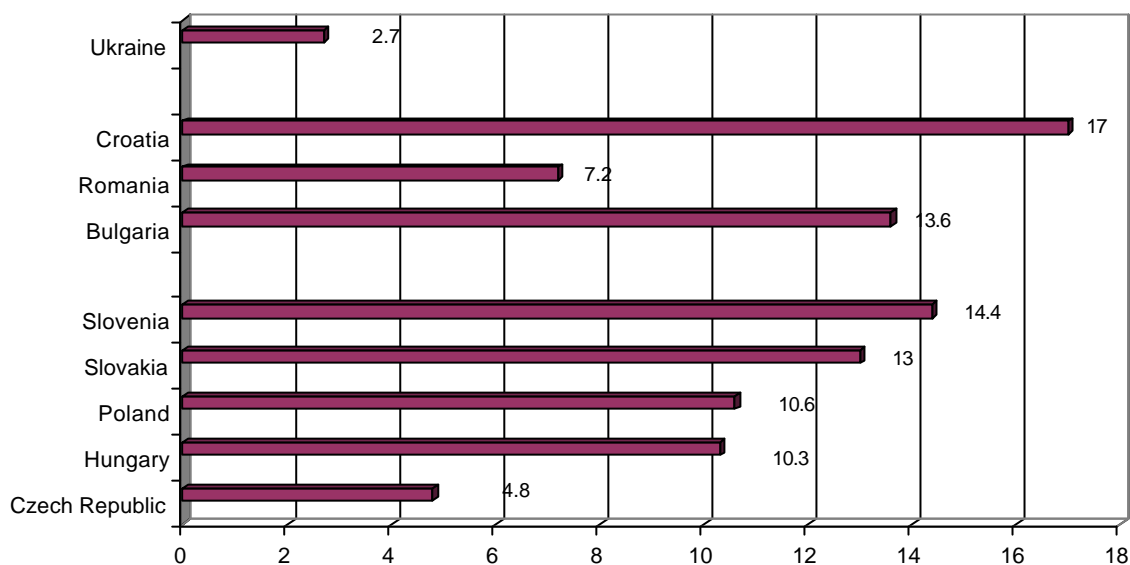


¹³ Wallace and Haerpfer 1998.

¹⁴ These are the purchasing power parity measures as estimated by the Wiener Institut für Internationalen Wirtschaftsvergleich.

Chart 2¹⁵ shows unemployment rates in the region. On this indicator, Ukraine has the lowest unemployment rate, but we need to bear in mind that although people may have jobs in Ukraine, many have wage arrears of many months which forces them to look for other sources of income. The Southern European group of reform countries have the highest unemployment, especially Croatia, from which there is very high migration potential (there are no data for FRY and Belarus). However, some of the Central European reform countries also have very high rates of unemployment.

CHART 2: UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN 1997 (%)



We can see from Charts 3 and 4 that by far the largest numbers of people wanting to work abroad as *short term temporary workers* (for a few weeks or a few months) came from Croatia, followed by FRY, where about two thirds of the respondents would like to work abroad. These countries were followed by Slovakia, Czech Republic and Romania, where around half of the respondents wanted to work abroad for a short time. Slovenia and Bulgaria had the least potential for exporting short-term workers. The former Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Belarus were somewhere in the middle. For the Czech and Slovak Republics it is perhaps their propinquity to the European Union, which is important, although this may not be the explanation for the other countries. The “transaction costs” of looking for work in the European Union are low for Czechs and Slovaks who have only a short distance to travel and can do so relatively easily with their ordinary passports. However, it is evident that for Czechs and Slovaks, their enthusiasm for working abroad declines with the length of time they are likely to be away from home. The numbers sink from 49% to 44% in the case of Czechs and from 56% to 47% in the case of Slovaks when we move from working a few weeks abroad to working a few months. For those from Romania, Yugoslavia and Croatia on the other hand there is little difference between these two time periods, since their “transaction costs” involving travel, obtaining visas etc. are higher.

¹⁵ Wiener Institut für Internationalen Wirtschaftvergleich, 1998.

CHART 3: WOULD LIKE TO WORK ABROAD FOR A FEW WEEKS

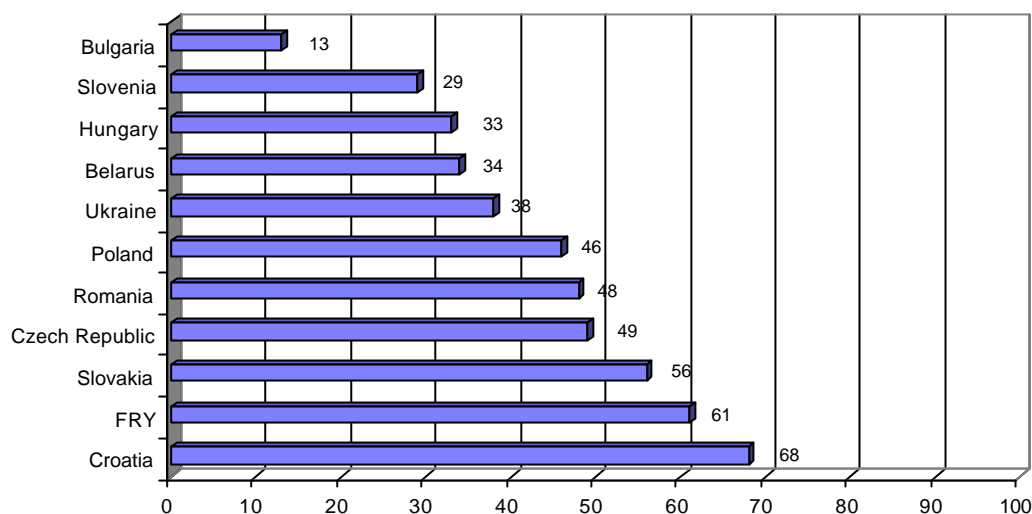


CHART 4: WOULD LIKE TO WORK ABROAD FOR A FEW MONTHS

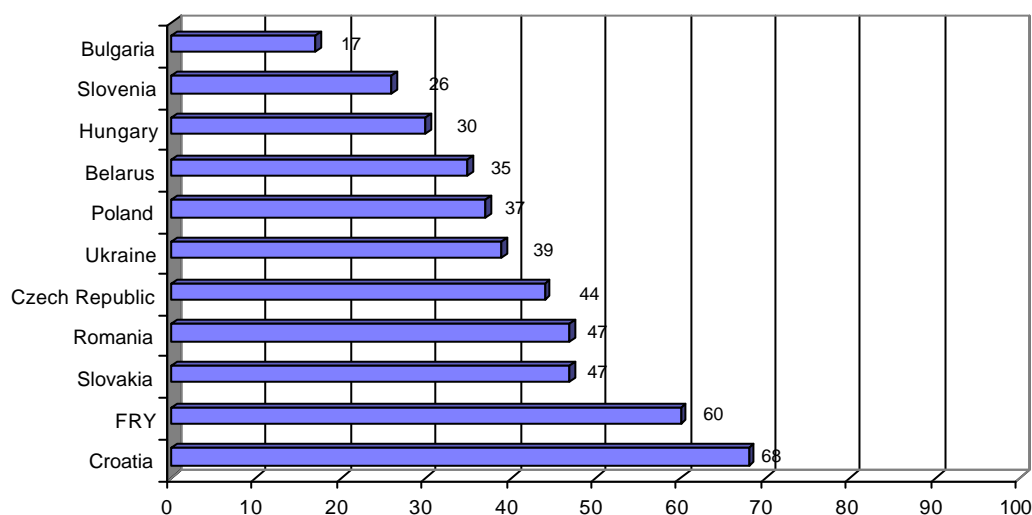
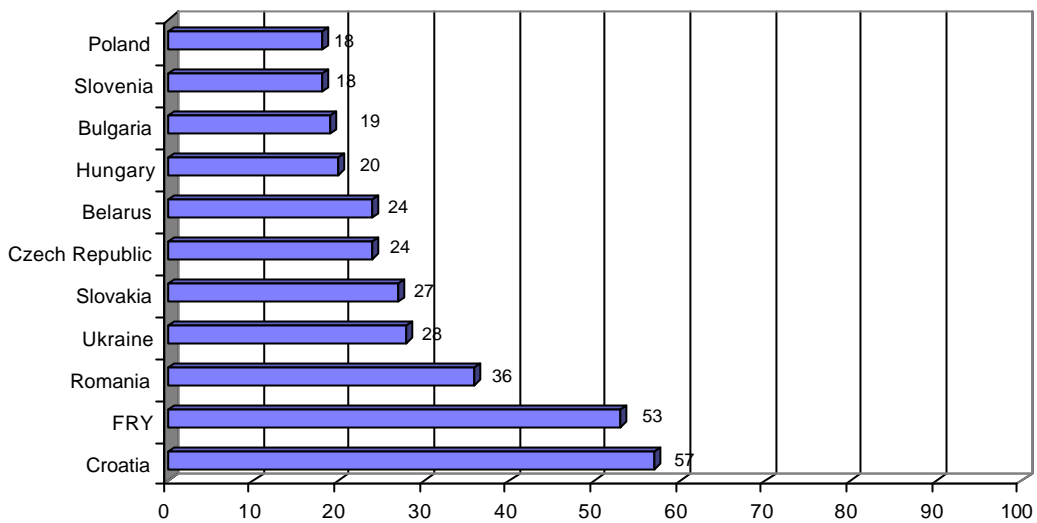


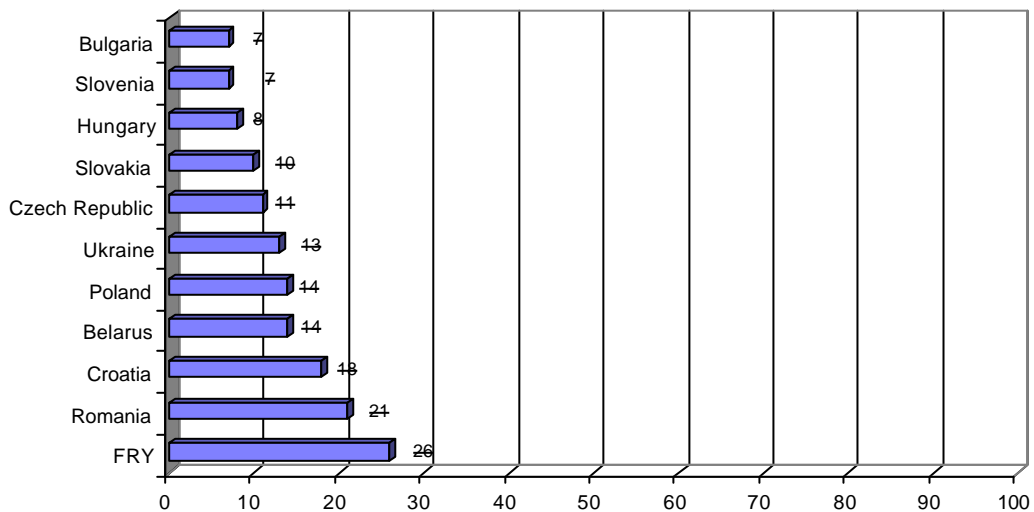
Chart 5 illustrates *long-term temporary labour migration*, the more traditional “guest worker” model. In Croatia, the FRY and Romania, the numbers wanting to stay abroad for longer periods – a few years – are still very high. Croatia and FRY were in fact traditional regions for sending guest workers, so this may be the model, which many hold. However, as we shall see later, it is also the case that people from these countries simply want to leave in every way, reflecting their disillusionment with the process of reform in their countries. In the Central European countries the numbers wanting to work abroad for longer periods sinks dramatically, compared to the short term labour migration, reflecting the fact that it is easier for the people in those countries to come and go into the European Union for short periods of time. This is also illustrative of the fact that the people in the Central European countries do not want to migrate really, but to supplement their incomes at home.

CHART 5: WOULD LIKE TO WORK ABROAD FOR A FEW YEARS



For *permanent migration*, however, we see a different pattern, with the FRY still in the lead, with around one quarter wanting to leave, but now followed by Romania and then Croatia with about one fifth. Belarus and Ukraine lie in the middle with around 13% to 14% and at the end come the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary and Bulgaria each with around 10% of the people expressing an interest in emigrating (see Chart 6).

CHART 6: WOULD LIKE TO GO ABROAD FOR THE REST OF MY LIFE



It seems that the FRY, Croatia and to a lesser extent, Romania are in the lead for all kinds of migration – long-term, short-term and permanent. The people of these countries do not distinguish between long-term and short-term labour migration. However, the Central European countries bordering the European Union - Poland, Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary have people who are more likely to want to work temporarily abroad than to emigrate and for the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland, there is also a

difference between short-term and long-term labour migration. Slovenes and Bulgarians are the least likely to either commute or to emigrate. We could see this in terms of the relative prosperity of Slovenia, with the highest per capita income of all the post-communist countries. However, it is more difficult to explain why Bulgarians neither want to leave to work nor to emigrate, especially since we know that a high number of people did already leave.

Among Ukrainians 38% to 39% would like to work for short periods abroad but only 28% would go abroad for longer periods. Among Belarussians there is a similar pattern, but about 10% lower numbers. Ukrainians have established a pattern of temporary migrant work for up to a few months at a time in the Central European “buffer zone” countries, especially the Czech Republic.

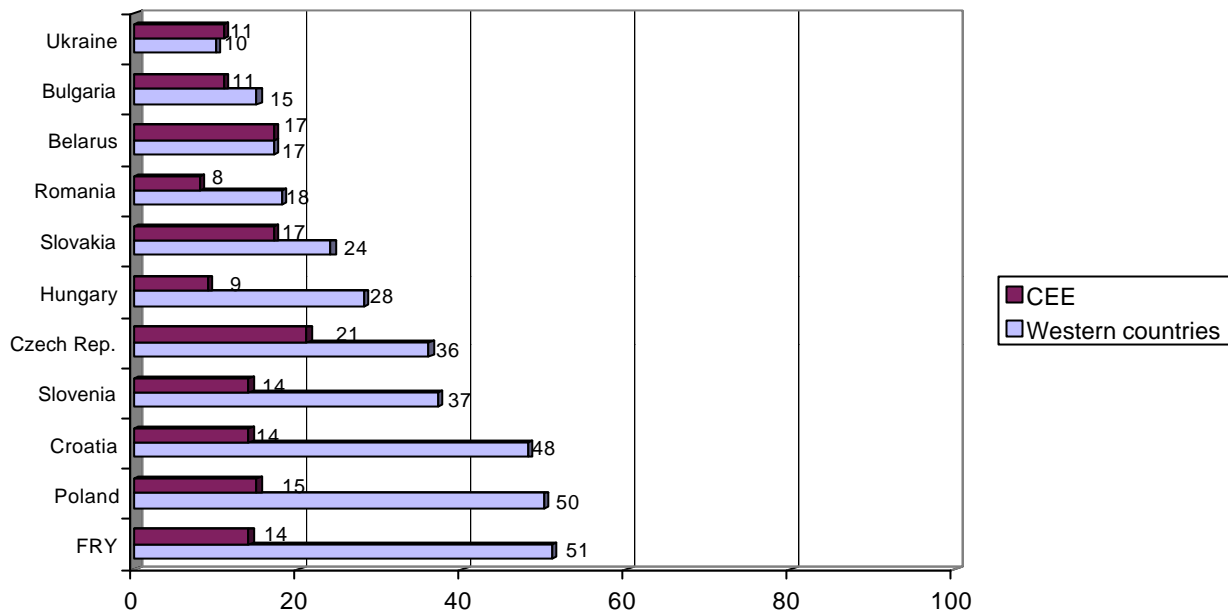
We should note however, that in general, whilst high numbers would like to work abroad, especially for a short time, the numbers wanting to emigrate were actually much lower. These scores were even exaggerated by our method of coding which put together “likely” and “very likely” answers from the five-point scale in order to construct these graphs and tables. We would therefore expect a great deal of short term labour migration from Central and Eastern Europe, a certain amount of longer term labour migration (especially from certain countries) but very little permanent migration. However, many people in Croatia, FRY and Romania are keen to move for any period at all, so we would expect an influx of people from these countries, especially from the young people who see no future for themselves in their home country.¹⁶

By having networks abroad, people increase their supply of information about other countries and also improve their chances of finding jobs and accommodation there¹⁷. One explanation as to why some of these countries had such a high migration potential in relation to others, is suggested by Chart 7. Here we can see that some of the countries which have the highest number of people wanting to migrate also have potential migrants with the highest number of contacts abroad, and this reflects previous patterns of migration or guest-working. The FRY, Croatia and Poland have the respondents with the highest number of contacts in the West followed by the Czech and Slovak Republics and Hungary. People from the Former Yugoslavia have very large Diaspora in many parts of the world and especially in Germany. Although Slovenes have many contacts abroad, their migration potential is low, so they do not fit this explanation. Conversely Romanians do not have many contacts abroad, yet their migration potential is rather high. Therefore this is an explanation in some cases, but not all countries.

¹⁶ Haerpfer 1998 Report of NDB survey.

¹⁷ Sik 1998, Granovetter 1974.

CHART 7: FRIENDS OR RELATIVES ABROAD WHO COULD HELP WITH MIGRATION



WHICH COUNTRIES DO THEY WANT TO GO TO?

Table 1 shows the target countries for each of the nations in our survey. The first figure represents the percentage wanting to work there and the second figure in brackets in each column represents the numbers of people who would like to emigrate to that country. We see also from this table that there are big differences between countries in their propensity to want to work or move abroad. Ukraine and the Czech Republic are countries where many would like to work abroad, although not so much to emigrate, and they were interested in going to almost all countries. Whilst Croatia had a large migration potential, it was almost entirely focused upon Germany and Austria.

In terms of which countries were targeted, the overwhelming favourite is Germany followed by the USA for working. Other countries do not feature very strongly except that Austria is important for the neighbouring countries of Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia and Croatia (Croatia is not a neighbouring country but formed part of the former Austro-Hungarian empire and therefore has some historical cultural links).

It is interesting that although many people from FRY would like to migrate, very few of them name a destination country. Only 9% of the people from FRY as against 43% of Croats see Germany as a place to go and none want to settle there, although one quarter of Croats do. Most popular for people from FRY is the USA but only 6% want to work there and 8% want to settle there. It seems that people from FRY do not feel welcomed anywhere - in contrast to Croats who target the German speaking countries. They want to leave but they don't know where to go.

TABLE 1
 TARGET COUNTRIES FOR MIGRATION TO WORK AND TO EMIGRATE
 (PERCENTAGES OF WHOLE SAMPLE)

Country	Target countries											
	Germany		Austria		France		Britain		Scandinavia		Other EU c.	
Poland	36	(15)*	4	(3)	5	(5)	6	(7)	5	(5)	4	(5)
Czech Republic	38	(5)	26	(6)	17	(6)	24	(5)	17	(10)	4	(5)
Slovakia	17	(0)	8	(1)	2	(1)	4	(0)	1	(1)	3	(1)
Hungary	25	(10)	13	(6)	2	(2)	3	(2)	2	(2)	1	(1)
Slovenia**	1	(0)	4	(0)	1	(0)	2	(0)	1	(0)	1	(0)
Croatia	43	(26)	9	(6)	3	(2)	4	(2)	6	(7)	6	(6)
FRY	9	(0)	2	(0)	3	(4)	3	(1)	4	(2)	4	(2)
Romania	12	(5)	1	(1)	2	(2)	1	(1)	1	(1)	2	(1)
Bulgaria	15	(5)	2	(1)	2	(1)	1	(1)	1	(1)	5	(2)
Ukraine	32	(3)	19	(4)	18	(6)	20	(3)	19	(5)	18	(2)
Belarus	24	(5)	1	(1)	3	(3)	2	(1)	2	(2)	1	(1)

Country	Target countries											
	USA		Poland		Czech Rep.		Slovakia		Hungary		Slovenia	
Poland	10	(20)	-	-	1	(0)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Czech Republic	30	(14)	2	(0)	-	-	1	(1)	2	(1)	-	-
Slovakia	6	(10)	1	(0)	5	(2)	-	-	1	(1)	-	-
Hungary	5	(7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	(0)
Slovenia**	2	(0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Croatia	12	(19)	2	(2)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FRY	6	(8)	-	-	-	-	-	-	(0)	(1)	-	-
Romania	6	(6)	-	-	-	-	1	(1)	-	-	1	(1)
Bulgaria	4	(4)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	(1)
Ukraine	20	(7)	21	(2)	20	(1)	18	(1)	18	(1)	16	(1)
Belarus	7	(7)	4	(2)	1	(1)	-	-	1	(0)	-	-

* The figures in brackets indicate the percentages of people who want to emigrate, whereas the figures without brackets indicate the percentages of people who want to work abroad temporarily.

** For Slovenia there is no accurate information because the question was asked "to work or to emigrate in..." rather than separating work and emigration.

In terms of countries to which to migrate permanently, Germany is much less popular. The popular countries for emigration are the New World countries, especially the USA. Ukrainians did not want to emigrate to the Central European countries either, although they did want to work there. On these indicators the biggest difference between wanting to go somewhere to work and go somewhere to live permanently was exhibited by Ukrainians, very many of whom wanted to work abroad in every country, but very few of whom wanted to stay.

Austria is not as an important target country as Germany except for her neighbouring populations in the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Hungary, indicating some kind of propensity perhaps towards cross-border commuting. Most other European countries were of very minor significance as target countries for post-communist citizens.

The Central European “buffer zone” countries are also not very significant as target countries except for people from Belarus and Ukraine on the eastern borders. For Ukrainians, the Central European countries were just as popular as the Western European countries (again perhaps because of cross-border commuting and accessibility in terms of regulations). Indeed there is a large Ukrainian population working in these countries, particularly in the Czech Republic¹⁸. However, Poland is the country mentioned by most people in Central Europe as a target for migration, perhaps because it is the largest country with many borders to other post-communist countries and with a language, which is understandable for many in Belarus and Ukraine. Many families in fact straddle this eastern border of Poland. Poland is perhaps seen as a country, which accepts guest workers and we can guess that many work there illegally.

Thus we can see that there are different target countries for short-term labour migration and for permanent emigration with perhaps different sets of explanations for each.

PREPARATIONS FOR MIGRATION

TABLE 2
PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(ALL COUNTRIES, PERCENTAGES)

	PL	CR	SK	HU	SLO	CRO	FRY	BUL	ROM	UKR	BEL
Learn foreign language	39	24	17	13	14	16	19	10	13	16	9
Obtain qualifications	21	17	9	10	13	12	11	7	9	12	4
Sell property	11	1	2	0	2	3	2	0	2	3	2
Obtain information	38	13	14	8	9	12	20	15	14	17	8
Applied for jobs	28	5	5	4	2	4	3	6	4	13	5
Somewhere to live	23	5	4	2	2	4	9	3	1	7	0.2
Applied for permit	24	3	3	3	2	3	4	5	2	6	1
Contacted people	16	3	2	6	2	5	9	7	4	8	1
Other	12	4	2	2	3	7	6	2	4	2	0

(Countries: PL...Poland, CR...Czech Republic, SK...Slovakia, HU...Hungary, SLO...Slovenia, CRO...Croatia, FRY...Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, BUL...Bulgaria, ROM...Romania, UKR...Ukraine, BEL

¹⁸ Wallace 1998, Drbohlav 1996.

Table 2 shows the actual steps taken by Central and Eastern Europeans in realising migration goals. Rather few people in each country had made any concrete steps to leave, but the ones who had taken the most steps were the people from Poland. This may be because of the possibilities which many Poles had for acquiring German citizenship. In the past this was an important reason for migration, although now it is much harder to achieve and even some Poles who have acquired German citizenship prefer to remain in Poland. The people in Czech Republic, FRY, Croatia, Romania and Ukraine had also taken more concrete steps, reflecting the migration potential in those countries although as we have seen, in some cases this was preparation for short-term labour migration, in some cases longer term labour migration and in some cases emigration. The fact that some people in the Czech Republic and Poland had learned a language and obtained qualifications in preparation for going abroad seems to imply that they hoped to obtain better quality jobs in the European Union. However, we should notice that the steps they had taken towards migration are mostly consistent with temporary labour migration or cross-border commuting. Very few had sold any property except in the case of Poland. The kinds of preparations mostly made - obtaining information, learning languages and improving their qualifications - all imply some rather vague, long-term objective. The latter two measures would also improve their chances on their home labour markets. However, the numbers who had taken more concrete steps towards a more immediate migration goal - applying for a work permit, finding a job, looking for somewhere to live - were negligible in all countries apart from Poland.

REASONS FOR LEAVING

There were quite wide variations between countries in terms of reasons for leaving and these are shown in Table 3. In terms of the “push” factors, ethnic problems were very important in FRY, Croatia, Slovakia, and to a lesser extent, Romania. The people in these countries were also more likely to feel that they had greater personal and political freedom abroad. These factors were of little importance in other countries. Economic problems were also of great importance in FRY, Slovakia, Croatia, Romania and Poland. Some of these countries have very high unemployment rates. We could argue therefore, that a combination of ethnic, political and economic problems were important in propelling people to leave, since these were some of the very countries with the highest migration potential.

TABLE 3
REASONS FOR MIGRATING
(ALL COUNTRIES, PERCENTAGES)

	PL	CR	SK	HU	SLO	CRO	FRY	BUL	ROM	UKR	BEL
PULL FACTORS											
Living conditions	83	73	81	66	51	92	88	46	39	64	67
Wages	75	67	78	58	45	95	82	47	97	58	58
Other people's experiences	71	55	75	45	33	83	82	38	85	46	49
Good employment	73	42	55	45	41	69	35	29	83	37	38
More freedom	42	36	65	36	21	69	84	25	68	41	44
PUSH FACTORS											
Ethnic problems	29	25	56	34	14	61	71	12	41	17	23

Economic conditions	61	48	64	45	32	64	69	33	70	43	48
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(Countries: PL...Poland, CR...Czech Republic, SK...Slovakia, HU...Hungary, SLO...Slovenia, CRO...Croatia, epublic of Yugoslavia, BUL...Bulgaria, ROM...Romania, UKR...Ukraine, BEL

In terms of “pull” factors, by far the most important was the fact that living conditions were thought to be better abroad along with wages. This was mentioned most frequently in the countries which had the highest migration potential, as was the experience of other people. It seems that for those countries where many people would like to work or to live abroad, everything looks more attractive there and they are more critical of everything at home. However, for the Central European countries of Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary, which had very high potentials for temporary labour migration, better wages and living conditions were the main factors attracting them to go abroad. As we have seen in Chart 1, the people of Eastern and Central Europe can earn two or three times higher wages by working in the European Union. Rather surprisingly, wages and living conditions abroad were not thought to be very important "pull factors" in Bulgaria.

People from Romania, Poland and Croatia were rather confident that they would find good employment prospects abroad, whilst people from Bulgaria, Belarus, Ukraine and FRY were not.

Thus we could say that in the countries with the highest long-term and permanent migration potential, both push factors and pull factors were very important. In those countries with potential for short-term labour migration, pull factors (mainly better wages and living conditions) were important but push factors were not.

REASONS FOR STAYING

As we can see in Table 4, by far the most important reason for staying in the country was the importance of family and community ties. Even in those countries with very high migration potential, such as Croatia and the FRY, more than 90% of the respondents mentioned that this was important to them. The next most important reason for staying was the risk associated with going abroad and this was mentioned especially in Ukraine, Croatia and the FRY. Those countries where the people had good jobs were also some of those with high migration potentials. Therefore, having a good job and community of friends and relatives did not prevent people from indicating an intention to migrate. It is simply perhaps indicative of the sorts of sacrifices people might make in going abroad. However, if our assumption in this report is right, that many citizens of Eastern and Central Europe are not actually planning to leave their jobs or their families but are rather thinking in terms of being short- or long-term labour migrants, then having a good job and close community relations would be perfectly consistent with migration and may even favour this kind of migration.

TABLE 4
REASONS FOR NOT MIGRATING
(ALL COUNTRIES, PERCENTAGES)

	PL	CR	SK	HU	SLO	CRO	FRY	BUL	ROM	UKR	BEL
TIES TO HOME											
Family and Community	86	89	87	91	88	77	91	73	87	91	91
Good job	72	51	54	53	72	57	54	35	48	47	64
Awaiting improvements	62	42	54	65	69	64	63	40	48	54	48
BARRIERS TO LEAVING											
Risks of migration	73	71	70	71	79	83	85	61	71	78	75
Legal problems	60	31	53	58	68	77	89	58	82	77	54
No respect for me	63	42	51	52	45	41	82	49	73	41	45
Bad treatment of foreigners	64	37	52	55	58	59	83	47	68	59	46
Bad experiences of others	46	16	23	34	43	28	46	18	25	28	25

(Countries: PL...Poland, CR...Czech Republic, SK...Slovakia, HU...Hungary, SLO...Slovenia, CRO...Croatia, FRY...Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, BUL...Bulgaria, ROM...Romania, UKR...Ukraine, BEL

Poles seem to be the most aware of the risks of migrating but as we have seen previously, they have taken the most concrete steps to prepare for more migration.

Romanians, Poles and people from FRY were particularly concerned about the lack of respect for people from their country abroad and the same people along with Ukrainians and Poles were most worried about bad treatment and legal problems. People from Poland, Slovenia and FRY were concerned about the bad experiences of other people abroad. It seems that some of those with the highest migration potentials were also aware of many of the problems of going abroad and this did not necessarily deter them from migrating.

THE HOUSEHOLD DIMENSION

It has already been hinted that the migration strategies of individuals also need to take into account the situation of the households and families in which they are situated. The decision to migrate is seldom simply an individual one and many aspects of migration make sense only when we take this into account¹⁹. This was not asked about directly in this survey, which was a survey of individuals, but it can be inferred from these and other data. For example why was short-term labour migration so important but not emigration? One factor could be that one member of the household might migrate for short periods of time and particularly from countries bordering the European Union, as it is relatively easy to cross the border and to look for work. However, if the wages earned abroad are also spent abroad on accommodation and so on, the overall profit from the trip gained is much lower. People who are able to work abroad but return home frequently can take advantage of the lower cost of living back home and the increased purchasing power which their wages earned abroad have there. Furthermore, many Central and Eastern Europeans have

¹⁹ Stark 1991.

properties in their own countries which they may be reluctant to relinquish, and indeed may use their earnings abroad to buy and improve these properties. Many can still enjoy the relatively generous welfare provisions in their own countries (from which they may be excluded if they migrate permanently) including health, education, pensions and social security. Furthermore, many do not even need to give up their jobs in their own countries, for which the wages may be low but which may offer at least some security and access to pensions, social security and other benefits. In these countries, unpaid leave and periodic lay-offs are often a solution to economic problems so that working abroad can be compatible with also working at home (or with claiming social security at home).

For the children, parents and families of these migrant workers, there are clear benefits to staying in their own country and to not moving abroad. Working abroad can also form part of a family strategy, as we found among Ukrainian workers so that members of the family were rotating in their periods abroad in order to circumvent immigration restrictions. The same job abroad would be held by the father, the son and the brother in succession, but not at the same time. At the same time, the mother and grandparents were taking care of the house and growing vegetables for family consumption. Research into the survival strategies of post-communist families shows that they tend to use a combination of resources for getting by as households rather than as individuals²⁰.

EXPLANATIONS FOR MIGRATION POTENTIAL

In considering the data presented here, we could say that there is no single explanation for migration potential but rather a combination of explanations, which depend upon the country under consideration and the kinds of migration to which they are inclined (i.e. short-term temporary migration, long-term temporary migration, or emigration).

Proximity

One explanation could be the proximity to wealthier countries. The wage differentials between the Czech Republic/Slovakia/Poland alongside Germany and Austria are considerable as we saw in Chart 1. This would explain why many Czechs and Slovaks would like to work temporarily in Germany and Austria. However, this does not explain why Slovenes, with a similar income to Czechs do not want to leave for any reason. The proximity of Ukraine to the higher income countries of Central Europe might also explain the high migration potential from there. People who only have to cross one border to find better paid employment have lower transaction costs but this also depends upon the regulations imposed at the border.

Relative poverty

Another explanation as to why migration potential might be high in some countries is that the people there are very poor in relation to other countries. This is certainly the case in Romania and Ukraine and would explain the migration potential from there. It would also explain the attraction for Czechs and Slovaks to work in Germany. However, it does not explain why Bulgarians and Belarussians, with very low incomes, do not want to migrate. The simple economic explanation usually put forward is not sufficient in itself.

²⁰ Piirainen 1997.

Networks

Another explanation for migration potential might be the fact that citizens of some countries have wider networks abroad which could help them with finding jobs, accommodation and provide information about migration opportunities. This would fit the classic pattern of chain migration and settlement. It would certainly explain the propensity of the people from FRY and Croatia to migrate, but why in that case not Slovenes who have many networks too? Moreover, Romanians, with relatively few networks also seem to want to migrate in large numbers.

Traditions of migration

A further explanation might be that some countries have a certain migration tradition. People from FRY and Croatia have been migrating for many years as guest workers to Germany and would like to continue to do so. However, Romanians and Czechs and Slovaks have no such traditions. The tradition of Ukrainian labour migration is rather a recent one, indicating how quickly these things can happen.

Ethnic and political problems

One factor which emerged rather consistently, in the countries which had the highest migration potential (especially for long-term and permanent migration), was their perception of ethnic and political problems (political problems meaning here lack of freedom). When this was combined with a perception of economic problems, it created a powerful set of incentives to migrate. If this is the case, then the continuation of civil war and repressive and authoritarian regimes are likely to pose the biggest migration threat to Western Europe.

All these reasons can therefore create necessary but not necessarily sufficient conditions for explaining migration potential. We need to look at them in combination.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

We could say therefore that there is a different pattern of migration for different Central and Eastern European countries. Clear differences are emerging between these countries and some explanations can be applied to some countries, and some to others. In the Central European belt of countries which border the European Union (termed by some the “middle” or “buffer zone”²¹) the main reason to migrate is in order to work temporarily in the European Union countries for higher wages. These countries are: Poland, Hungary, Czech and Slovak Republics. Few people in these countries would like to go abroad for longer and very few want to emigrate. The people in these countries, also have many friends and relatives in western countries and there has developed a pattern of cross-border commuting in recent years. A group of people in these countries have taken quite concrete steps towards this pattern of mobility and some are looking for better quality jobs abroad. The living and working conditions in these countries are actually relatively good and the respondents were not particularly critical of their own countries in this respect - for them it was just more profitable to work abroad for short periods of time.

²¹ Wallace et al. 1996, Stola 1997.

The FRY and Croatia had the highest migration potential of all both for temporary work abroad and for emigration. The residents of these countries were not only attracted by better prospects abroad (as was the case for the Central Europeans) but they were also highly critical of all that is happening in their own countries. Their main target countries for both temporary and longer term migration is the European Union, especially Germany, and they also have many contacts in these countries, reflecting longer term patterns of commuting established even before the civil war. Romania in many ways exhibits similar patterns to these two countries with very high permanent and temporary migration potential although for different reasons – there was no war in Romania and it is a much poorer country. Furthermore, Romanians have very few contacts abroad and no tradition of labour migration until very recently.

The CIS countries - Belarus and Ukraine - have no borders with the European Union. The migration potential from Belarus is very low, but Ukrainian workers have established a tradition in recent years of temporary labour migration and the propensity towards this can be seen in our survey too. Ukrainians are prepared to work in other post-communist countries (to which they have better access) as well as Western Europe and the New World: they are prepared to go anywhere. But they do not want to emigrate permanently.

Slovenia and Bulgaria have the lowest migration potential. It is difficult to explain why they have such low potential. Slovenia is among the richest of the post-communist countries (in terms of per capita income) and Bulgaria is among the poorest. Why Slovenia is so different to the other Central European countries is unclear, as is why Bulgaria should be so different from other Southern European neighbours such as Romania.

The main destination country for temporary work is Germany. Large numbers of Eastern and Central Europeans plan to head for Germany. The main destination country for emigration is the USA and the New World. It is difficult to explain why Germany holds such a prominent role when Scandinavian countries and Austria also have a tradition of guest working. Perhaps Germany is just better known in this respect and has the largest and most dynamic economy in the region.

LIKELY IMPLICATIONS OF EU ACCESSION

Some of the countries considered in our IOM 1998 survey of migration potential are expected to be among the first candidates for EU accession. These are the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. Many people are worried that there will be an influx of people from these countries when they join the EU and this was reflected in a recent Danish election campaign poster warning of the imminent arrival of 40 million Poles ! It is clear that even if we take the numbers in our survey literally, nothing like so many Poles are likely to leave and they generally do not want to go to Denmark. The likely pattern of migration in the medium term from these countries is short-term labour migration into the European Union in order to supplement household earnings at home. Whilst there is a clear income disparity between neighbouring countries this is likely to continue, although the numbers of labour migrants seem to be actually declining rather than rising as living standards rise at home.²²

²² Sik 1998.

However, the Central European country with the greatest migration potential is Slovakia and this is not among the first group of Associated countries which is likely to join the EU. We might therefore expect a growing divergence between Slovakia and the rest of the Central European countries in the medium term, which may result in a continuing tendency for Slovaks to seek work abroad.

The countries with by far the largest migration potential, Croatia and Serbia, are not part of the EU negotiations at all, but they are likely to provide the largest numbers of migrants in both the medium and long term.

The countries on the outer rim of our survey – Belarus, Ukraine and Romania – already provide migrant workers for the countries on the inner rim: Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia. When some of these countries join the European Union, we might expect the differences between these countries and the outer rim to widen, so that the new guest workers and temporary labour migrants will come from Ukraine, Romania and Belarus. The respondents in Ukraine and Romania in the 1998 IOM survey exhibited a strong tendency to migrate.

In the following country reports, the countries have been clustered accordingly:

- The Central European countries associated to the EU, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.
- The Southern European countries including the FRY, Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania
- The CIS countries Belarus and Ukraine

CHAPTER TWO

CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

SLOVAKIA

Migration Potential in Slovakia

Migration potential from Slovakia was quite high, but by far the majority of respondents wanted to go abroad only for a few weeks (56%) or for a few months (48%). Only 10% were interested in emigrating and only 28% wanted to go abroad for a few years. About one fifth had prepared themselves by learning a foreign language and 15% had obtained information, but other forms of preparation were below 10%.

Respondents in Slovakia had a relatively high number of contacts in western countries - 24% said that they had such contacts. Their number of contacts in Eastern European countries was lower at 17% but this is still the highest in our survey so far. It is likely that most of these contacts were in the Czech Republic, which was formerly part of the same country as Slovakia.

TABLE 5
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Learn a foreign language	21
Obtain information	15
Obtain qualifications	9
Applied for jobs	4
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	4
Applied for permit	3
Contacted people	2
Sold property	2
Other preparations	2

Target countries for Slovaks

The main target countries for Slovak respondents for working were Germany and Austria and the Czech Republic was also a relatively important destination. Slovaks put New World countries also relatively high on their list. We might assume that even if Slovakia is not among the first group of associated countries to

join the EU it will continue to send migrants to Germany, Austria and the neighbouring Central European countries. Indeed migration to the latter countries in particular may well increase.

TABLE 6
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	8
Britain	4
France	2
Germany	17
Other EU countries	3
Scandinavian countries	1
New World	6
Czech Republic	5
Hungary	1
Poland	1
Slovenia	1
Other countries	1

TABLE 7
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	1.0
Britain	0
France	1.0
Germany	0.4
Other EU countries	1.0
Scandinavian countries	1.0
New World	10.0
Czech Republic	2.0
Hungary	1.0
Slovenia	0
Other countries	1.0

The numbers of potential long-term emigrants from among the respondents in the Slovak Republic were extremely low. Among those who wished to emigrate, the New World was the main preferred destination, followed by the Czech Republic. It seems that Slovaks like to work across the border in neighbouring Germany and Austria, but they do not want to move there permanently. They have a particularly strong affinity with the Czech Republic, having been part of the same country for most of this century.

Reasons for leaving Slovakia

64% of Slovak respondents mentioned that economic conditions may make them want to leave, but nearly as many - 56% - mentioned ethnic problems. This high rating of ethnic problems puts Slovakia in one of the highest groups in our survey, for perceptions of these kinds of problems. Therefore for Slovaks, both economic and ethnic problems were important “push” factors.

In terms of “pull” factors, the living conditions and wage levels were the main reasons, which might draw Slovaks out of Slovakia to go abroad. High unemployment and relatively low wages along with low transaction costs (it costs only \$1 US to take the bus 50 kilometers to Vienna) mean that Slovakia is likely to continue to be a sending country for short-term and longer term labour migrants.

TABLE 8
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING SLOVAKIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	58
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	51
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	77
People can earn more money abroad	73
The experience of other people has been good	65
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	56
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	49

Reasons for staying in Slovakia

As in all other countries, family and community ties were strong in Slovakia (although slightly less strong than elsewhere). This was followed by fear of risk. It is significant that 54% of Slovaks felt that their situation in Slovakia was relatively good and the situation might also improve there. However, this would depend upon the political future of the country, which is uncertain.

TABLE 9
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN SLOVAKIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	87
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	70

Living conditions will improve here	54
I have a good job, financial security	54
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	53
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	52
People from my country are not respected abroad	51
Other people have had bad experiences	23

Social characteristics of potential migrants in Slovakia

Slovakia fits the conventional model of potential migrants in terms of their social characteristics. More males than females would go abroad to work temporarily (65% to 47%), more younger than older (82% in 18 - 19 age range falling to 31% among the over 60s) and more educated than non-educated, with a 20% difference between the lowest and the highest educated.

TABLE 10
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE
TO GO ABROAD FOR A FEW WEEKS TO WORK

Characteristics	%	
	Very likely	Somewhat likely
Gender		
Male	34	31
Female	22	25
Age		
18-19	52	30
20-29	41	32
30-39	25	35
40-49	27	32
50-59	22	20
60+	14	17
Education		
Elementary	23	19
Vocational	26	38
Secondary	31	26
University	35	29

TABLE 11
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO EMIGRATE

Characteristics	%	
	Very likely	Somewhat likely
Gender		
Male	3	8
Female	3	6
Age		
18-19	11	4
20-29	6	13
30-39	1	8
40-49	2	6
50-59	1	5
60+	2	0
Education		
Elementary	3	4
Vocational	2	7
Secondary	3	8
University	4	11

If we turn to the case of the potential emigrants, some of the social characteristics disappear. There are almost the same numbers of males and females in Slovakia who would like to emigrate and although younger people would prefer to emigrate compared to older people, their numbers are still very small. Nevertheless, 15% of those aged 18 - 19 and 19% of those aged 20 - 29 expressed this preference. The University educated were also most likely to be interested in emigrating, with 15% expressing an interest in this as against only 7% of those with Elementary education.

Conclusions: Slovakia

The migration potential from Slovakia is high in terms of people wanting to go abroad for a short period of time to work. However, in terms of long-term emigration it is low. Slovaks thought of going to the neighbouring countries - Austria, Germany and the Czech Republic to work rather than going further afield.

Many have relatives and friends in the Czech Republic. They felt threatened by ethnic problems as well as believing that they would be economically better off if they worked abroad. Although Slovakia has not made a slow transition to democracy, it has had quite successful economic growth. We might expect more Slovaks to go to Hungary and the Czech Republic in future as guest workers if these countries join the European Union. People most likely to go abroad as temporary labour migrants are younger males who are well-educated.

HUNGARY

Migration Potential in Hungary

Only 8% of Hungarians stated that they wished to move abroad for the rest of their lives, although about one third would like to work abroad for a few weeks or a few months. The likelihood of moving abroad therefore seems to be only for a short period of time in order to earn money. Those who wanted to go abroad for a few years dropped to 20%. Therefore, there is a high potential for temporary commuting for work from Hungary.

For Hungarians, preparations included learning a language and obtaining qualifications. This would seem to indicate that about 10% are looking for skilled or qualified jobs abroad. Contacting people and obtaining information was important, since Hungarians had ethnic networks abroad. Selling property was not necessary since most Hungarians only wished to work temporarily abroad in neighbouring countries.

TABLE 12
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Learn a foreign language	13
Obtain qualifications	10
Obtain information	8
Contact people	6
Applied for jobs	4
Applied for permit	3
Other preparations	2
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	2
Sold property	0

Target countries for Hungarians

Germany is an important target country for Hungarians with one quarter of Hungarians stating a desire to work in Germany. After Germany, Austria was the most important target country with 13% of Hungarians wanting to work in Austria. Others mentioned other EU and New World countries, but the Central and Eastern European countries hardly figured at all as destination countries for Hungarians.

TABLE 13
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	13.0
Britain	3.0
Germany	25.0
Other EU countries	1.0
Scandinavian countries	2.0
USA	5.0
Canada	3.0
Australia/New Zealand	3.0
Czech Republic	0
Poland	0.1
Slovakia	0.1
Slovenia	0
Other countries	5.0

TABLE 14
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	6.0
Britain	2.0
France	2.0
Germany	10.0
Other EU countries	1.0
Scandinavian countries	2.0
USA	7.0
Canada	4.0
Australia/New Zealand	4.0
Czech Republic	0
Poland	0.1
Slovakia	0
Slovenia	0
Other countries	6.0

For Hungarians, Germany was not only the favoured country for working, but also the favoured country for emigration and Austria was not far behind. The Hungarians wish to emigrate therefore to their immediate European Union neighbouring countries. The New World countries were also important, the leading one being the USA.

Hungarians also had many friends and relatives in other countries who could facilitate their migration. Altogether, 28% of them knew people in western countries and 9% in other Central and Eastern European countries who could help them migrate.

Reasons for leaving Hungary

For Hungarians, “pull” factors were more important than “push” factors, reflecting the relatively favourable economic conditions in Hungary. Despite this, nearly half of the Hungarians thought that conditions may get worse in Hungary. Living conditions abroad were a big attraction for Hungarians, with two thirds of the sample mentioning this, and the attraction of higher wages was another important “pull” factor. Nearly half (45%) thought that they had good employment prospects abroad.

TABLE 15
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING HUNGARY
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	45
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	34
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	66
People can earn more money abroad	58
The experience of other people has been good	45
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	45
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	36

Reasons for staying in Hungary

In Hungary, as in every other country, family and community ties were the most important factors keeping people in Hungary. Hungarians were also reasonably optimistic about the improvement of conditions at home. The risk of going abroad tended to put them off, but they were not as concerned about bad treatment of guest workers or of legal problems as were other people in this sample.

TABLE 16
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN HUNGARY
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	91
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	71
Living conditions will improve here	65
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	58
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	55
People from my country are not respected abroad	52

Conclusions: Hungary

Not many Hungarians would like to emigrate. The main migration potential from Hungary is in terms of people who wish to work abroad for short periods. The main countries they would head for are Germany and Austria and the main reasons are the better wages they can earn and the better living conditions abroad. Hungarians have strong networks both in Central and Eastern European countries (although they have no interest in moving there) but also in western countries, reflecting a tradition of emigration from Hungary. Hungarians are reasonably optimistic about conditions in their own country and this would be a factor discouraging them from going abroad. For them the “pull” effect of higher wages and better living conditions were more important than any discontent with their own country.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Migration Potential in Czech Republic

The migration potential from the Czech Republic is high, with 49% wanting to work abroad for a few weeks, 44% for a few months and 24% for a few years. However, only 11% thought of emigrating for the rest of their lives, so the potential from the Czech Republic is more in terms of people who wish to work abroad for a temporary period (roughly half of the sample).

TABLE 17
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Learn a foreign language	24
Obtain qualifications	17
Obtain information	13
Applied for jobs	5
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	5
Other preparations	4
Applied for permit	3
Contacted people	3
Sold property	1

For those in the Czech Republic, the most important requirement for going abroad was to learn a foreign language and to obtain qualifications, indicating that about one fifth of them were seeking better skilled jobs abroad. Five per cent had also applied for jobs or looked for somewhere to live abroad, implying that they were rather serious about finding some work elsewhere. Selling property was not important because most wanted to work as short-term temporary labour migrants abroad.

Target countries for Czechs

Important target countries for Czechs were the neighbouring EU countries of Germany and Austria, where in fact many Czechs are working as guest workers already. However, the Czechs also target the English speaking countries of Great Britain, USA, Canada and Australia/New Zealand to a much greater extent than the other respondents in our sample. This may be because of the large American community in the Czech Republic who are teaching English and they may have encouraged a tendency for going abroad²³. However, there is also a tradition of emigration by Czechs to New World countries which this may reflect. A small number of Czechs are also interested in working in other Central and Eastern European countries.

²³ See Wallace, Chmouliar and Sidorenko 1996, Horakova 1993.

TABLE 18
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	26
Britain	24
France	17
Germany	38
Other EU countries	14
Scandinavian countries	17
USA	30
Canada	24
Australia/New Zealand	21
Hungary	2
Poland	2
Slovakia	1
Slovenia	2
Other countries	8

TABLE 19
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	6.0
Britain	5.0
France	6.0
Germany	5.0
Other EU countries	5.0
Scandinavian countries	10.0
USA	14.0
Canada	14.0
Australia/New Zealand	12.0
Hungary	1.0
Poland	0.3
Slovakia	1.0
Slovenia	1.0
Other countries	2.0

Czechs would prefer to emigrate to the New World. Their preferred countries of emigration are not at all similar to the ones where they would like to work. Few Czechs would like to live in Germany or Austria, or indeed in other European Union countries, although many of them would like to work in these countries temporarily. The Czechs also had many contacts abroad. Altogether 36% of them had friends or relatives

in Western countries who could help them to migrate and 21% had friends or relatives in Central and Eastern European countries. This latter figure is very high compared with other countries in our survey and we can assume that this is because many Czechs have relatives and friends in Slovakia, which until 1992 formed part of the same country. However, few wanted to move to or to work in Slovakia.

Reasons for leaving the Czech Republic

The “pull” factors are much more important than the “push” factors for leaving the Czech Republic. About half of Czechs think that things will improve in the Czech Republic in future and only one quarter were concerned about ethnic problems. The living conditions abroad and the better wages they could earn there were the main attractions for going abroad and this is reflected also in the desire of Czechs for temporary short-term forms of migration.

TABLE 20
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING THE CZECH REPUBLIC
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	48
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	25
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	73
People can earn more money abroad	67
The experience of other people has been good	55
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	42
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	36

Reasons for staying in the Czech Republic

TABLE 21
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	89
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	71
People from my country are not respected abroad	42
Living conditions will improve here	42
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	37
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	31

After family and community ties, the main reason for staying in the Czech Republic is that going abroad would be risky.

Conclusions: Czech Republic

There was a very high migration potential from the Czech Republic - along with Slovakia, it was the highest of all the Central European countries. However, whilst about half of Czechs wanted to go abroad, the vast majority of them wanted to go only for temporary periods of work rather than to emigrate. The Czechs were most likely to go to work (but not to emigrate) in the neighbouring EU countries of Germany and Austria reflecting a recent trend in temporary short-term labour migration. However, they were unusual in our sample in targeting also English-speaking countries for temporary migration and here not just Great Britain, but also the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were important. The living conditions and better wages were the main incentives for attracting them abroad, but many Czechs also had networks of friends and relatives who could help them, both in western countries and in Central and Eastern European countries.

POLAND

Migration Potential in Poland

Poland lies around the middle of our group of 11 countries in terms of temporary commuting migration potential. Altogether 46% of Poles would work abroad for a few weeks and 37% for a few months. However, Poland has the lowest number of people who would work abroad for a few years - only 18% would be prepared to do this. Only 14% of Poles would be prepared to go to live abroad permanently. This result is rather surprising because in fact Poland is a major sending country for temporary migrant workers and there is a very large Polish Diaspora. There are temporary migrant workers from Poland in many European Union countries, but especially in Germany and Austria. There was even a tradition of Polish migration to the former Czechoslovakia.

However, if we look at the preparations which they have actually made to go abroad, the Poles have made more concrete preparations than the respondents in any other country. Large numbers (39%) have learned a foreign language and 38% have obtained information. A further 28% have actually applied for jobs and 23% looked for somewhere to live. Another 24% even applied for a work permit. An astonishing 11% had sold property in anticipation of leaving. Therefore although the Poles did not have the highest number of people wanting to leave, they were in practise the best prepared. This may be partly on account of the fact that many Poles were able to apply for German citizenship in the past.

TABLE 22
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Learn a foreign language	39
Obtain information	38
Applied for jobs	28
Applied for permit	24
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	23
Obtain qualifications	21
Contacted people	16
Other preparations	12
Sold property	11

Target countries

Germany is by far the most important target country for Poles, with 36% wanting to work there, followed by USA with 10%. Other countries are not so important, but for Poles some of the other Central and Eastern European countries are possible destinations, reflecting a tradition of temporary labour migration to these countries in the past.

Altogether 15% of Poles would also like to emigrate to Germany, but this is not as many as would like to emigrate to the USA (20%). The other New World countries make up the most popular countries of emigration in the ranking. This reflects patterns of emigration from the past.

There is a large Polish Diaspora throughout the world and this is reflected in the fact that 50% of Poles had friends or relatives in the West who could help them migrate. A total of 15% also had friends and relatives in other Eastern and Central European countries.

TABLE 23
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	4.0
Britain	6.0
France	5.0
Germany	36.0
Other EU countries	4.0
Scandinavian countries	5.0
USA	10.0
Canada	3.0
Australia/New Zealand	2.0
Czech Republic	1.0
Hungary	0.3
Slovakia	0.1
Slovenia	0
Other countries	3.0

TABLE 24
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	3.0
Britain	7.0
France	5.0
Germany	15.0
Other EU countries	5.0
Scandinavian countries	5.0
USA	20.0
Canada	7.0
Australia/New Zealand	7.0
Czech Republic	0.3
Hungary	0.2
Slovakia	0.1
Slovenia	0

Other countries	4.0
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Reasons for leaving Poland

One “push” factor was pessimism about economic conditions in Poland and a further 29% were concerned about ethnic tensions. However, more important were the “pull” factors from other countries. A large number (83%) thought that living conditions were better abroad and 75% were attracted by higher wages. Furthermore, three quarters (73%) thought that their employment prospects abroad were good and 71% were able to draw upon the experience of others working abroad for a positive impression. The “pull” factors for Poles were especially strong, which was typical for the Central European band of countries.

TABLE 25
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING POLAND
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	61
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	29
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	83
People can earn more money abroad	75
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	73
The experience of other people has been good	71
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	42

Reasons for staying in Poland

As in other countries, family and employment ties were important for preventing people from leaving Poland. In this table, a large number (62%) were also waiting for conditions to improve in Poland and others were put off by the risks and the bad treatment of guest workers abroad. Poles seemed to be particularly aware of the bad conditions faced by guest workers and people of their nationality abroad as well as the legal problems that they could expect.

TABLE 26
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN POLAND
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	86
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	73
I have a good job here	72
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	64
People from my country are not respected abroad	63

Living conditions will improve here	62
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	60
Other people have had bad experiences	46

Conclusions: Poland

Poland does not have the largest migration potential of all of the countries of the survey, but it has the largest number of people who have taken serious steps towards migrating by taking steps to obtain qualifications, apply for jobs and so on. Most Poles would want to work in the European Union countries, mainly Germany, and this reflects a tradition of cross-border commuting amongst Poles. Most Poles would like to go abroad temporarily, and relatively few want to go for longer periods or to emigrate. Potential migrants are attracted by the better living and working conditions on the other side of the Polish-German border, despite their awareness of bad treatment abroad.

SLOVENIA

Migration Potential in Slovenia

1998 survey results for Slovenia suggest that the Slovenes seem some of the least likely people to express an interest in any form of migration. They are generally in the lowest rank among those wanting to go abroad for any period of time (along with Bulgarians). Only 29% of Slovenes wanted to work abroad for a few weeks, 26% for a few months and 18% for a few years. The numbers wanting to emigrate permanently are similarly low - in Slovenia only 7% wanted to go abroad for the rest of their life. One explanation for this might be that Slovenia is one of the wealthiest post-communist countries in terms of per capita income and her citizens are some of the most positive about economic and political reform.²⁴

TABLE 27
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Learn a foreign language	14
Obtain qualifications	13
Obtain information	9
Other preparations	3
Applied for jobs	2
Applied for permit	2
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	2
Contacted people	2
Sold property	2

We can see from Table 27 that if Slovenes were preparing to go abroad, they did so by learning a language and obtaining qualifications. This implies that if they migrated, they were perhaps looking for better qualified jobs abroad.

Target countries for Slovenes

Slovenes are the only nationals who did not put Germany in first place as the destination country for working abroad. Only very few Slovenes answered these questions in any case, but they put Austria in first place, reflecting the fact that many Slovenes already work in Austria often by means of cross-border commuting. However, the answers to this question are not strictly comparable with the other countries because the question was asked in a slightly different way. Instead of asking separately a question about working and a question about emigration, in Slovenia there was one question: "Would you prefer to work or emigrate or both in..." Also in Slovenia, USA was put together in one category with other New World countries.

²⁴ Haerpfer 1998.

TABLE 28
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	4
Britain	2
France	1
Germany	1
Other EU countries	1
Scandinavian countries	1
USA/Canada/Australia	2

TABLE 29
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	0
Britain	0
France	0
Germany	0
Other EU countries	0
Scandinavian countries	0
USA/Canada/Australia	1
Other countries	0

The only countries to which Slovenes were at all interested in emigrating were the New World countries. It would seem that Slovenes are really not willing to emigrate at all. However, Slovenes did have many networks and contacts abroad. Altogether 37% of them had friends and relatives in western countries and a further 14% had friends and relatives in Central and Eastern European countries. In the case of Slovenes, it was not lack of contacts which prevented them from migrating, as might be the case in some other post-communist countries.

Reasons for leaving Slovenia

TABLE 30
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING SLOVENIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	32
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	14
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	51
People can earn more money abroad	45
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	41
The experience of other people has been good	33
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	21

Slovenes are less concerned about economic and ethnic problems than are the citizens of any other Eastern and Central European country. The push factors therefore do not feature strongly in Slovenia. The pull factors also score much lower for Slovenes than for the people of any other country. Although Slovenes could earn more abroad and have better living conditions, they seem to be generally rather happy with their conditions in Slovenia.

Reasons for staying in Slovenia

Slovenes had close family and community contacts, like everyone else in the survey, but they were also most likely of all respondents to say that they had a good job in Slovenia. They were also likely to think that things will improve still more at home. The score of 43% who reported that they "believe other people who have gone abroad have had bad experiences" was rather high in Slovenia, so their perception of living and working conditions for migrants in western countries was rather negative. For Slovenes there was therefore a combination of a happy situation at home and the knowledge of the bad experience of guest workers abroad, which encouraged them to stay where they were and not to think about migrating.

TABLE 31
 RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN SLOVENIA
 (% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	88
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	79
I have a good job here	72
Living conditions will improve here	69
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	68
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	58
People from my country are not respected abroad	45
Other people have had bad experiences	43

Conclusions: Slovenia

Slovenia was one of the countries (along with Bulgaria) with the least migration potential. In the case of Slovenia it is easier to explain why there is so little migration potential. The general standard of living is high and many Slovenes say that they have good jobs. Slovenes are not worried about having not enough freedom or about ethnic tensions, since theirs is a rather successful transition country, and this is reflected in their satisfaction with conditions in Slovenia. Slovenes neither wish to work abroad nor to emigrate to any significant extent, but if they work anywhere, it would most likely be in Austria and in this respect they were also unusual amongst our sample, which mostly preferred Germany. Slovenes have many contacts - friends and relatives - abroad, presumably because of the tradition of working as guest workers in Germany and elsewhere, but these contacts seem to have deterred them from migrating.

CHAPTER THREE

SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (FRY) (SERBIA (EXCLUDING KOSOVO) AND MONTENEGRO)

Migration Potential in the FRY

A very large number of Serbs and Montenegrins showed a willingness to migrate. Nearly two thirds (61%) would work in another country for a few weeks and almost the same proportion for a few months (60%). This may reflect the long tradition of guest working amongst people from this region. However, this fell to 53% prepared to work in another country for a few years and one quarter - 26% - would move abroad permanently which was still among the highest for all our countries. For respondents from FRY therefore, temporary labour migration was preferable to permanent migration but very large numbers simply wanted to leave for any period.

Relatively high numbers had also taken steps to emigrate. We can see from Table 32 that 20% had obtained information about going abroad and 19% had learned a foreign language, whilst 11% had obtained educational or professional qualifications. A relatively large number - 9% - had looked for somewhere to live or contacted people abroad, which means that they were among the more earnest, and 4% had even applied for a permit. 2% had sold property.

People from FRY were quite well informed about the possibilities existing in other countries because 51% of them had friends and relatives in western countries, whilst 14% of them had friends and relatives in CEE countries. The numbers of those who had friends in western countries was the highest of all our countries and we might assume that this is due to the tradition of guest workers from this region working in the European Union countries. In addition to the traditional guest workers, there have been many refugees and young men trying to escape from military service living in Western Europe. They would also form part of the network for Serbs and Montenegrins.

TABLE 32
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Obtain information	20
Learn a foreign language	19
Obtain qualifications	11
Contacted people	9
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	9
Other preparations	6
Applied for permit	4
Applied for jobs	3
Sold property	2

Target countries for the people of FRY

In the FRY, the ranking of target countries for temporary labour migration shows Germany as being the most popular, followed by New World countries and then Scandinavian countries.

TABLE 33
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	2.0
Britain	3.0
France	3.0
Germany	9.0
Other EU countries	4.0
Scandinavian countries	4.0
USA/Canada/Australia/New Zealand	5.0
Czech Republic	0.1
Hungary	0.2
Poland	0.1
Slovakia	0.2
Slovenia	1.0
Other countries	3.0

TABLE 34
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	0.3
Britain	1.0
France	4.0
Germany	0.4
Other EU countries	2.0
Scandinavian countries	2.0
USA/Canada/Australia/New Zealand	8.0
Czech Republic	0.4
Hungary	0.5
Poland	0.1
Slovakia	0.2
Slovenia	1.0
Other countries	5.0

For emigration, Germany and Austria are very low on the list of target countries, but the New World countries are the most popular, followed by France and Scandinavian countries. The Central and East European countries have relatively high scores for people from FRY, but Slovenia scores the highest, perhaps because it is a neighbouring country with a similar language and culture. However, it is noticeable that although large numbers of respondents wanted to leave FRY, not many named specific destination countries. It seems that people from FRY did not feel particularly welcome anywhere, but they nevertheless had a strong desire to leave their country.

Reasons for leaving FRY

TABLE 35
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING FRY
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	71
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	69
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	88
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	84
People can earn more money abroad	82
The experience of other people has been good	82

For the people from FRY, the most important push factor encouraging them to leave their country, is ethnic problems - 71 % stated this as being the main reason. However, the poor economic conditions were a close second with 69%, presumably because of the difficulties caused by the international embargo which was imposed against Yugoslavia and from the expenditure on war. This survey went into the field just around the time that there was an uprising of Albanians in Kosovo, so perhaps people in FRY were anticipating another civil war.

A very large number felt that living conditions were better abroad, but this was closely followed by the number of people who felt that personal and political freedom was greater abroad. Other materialistic reasons - better money and the good experience of other people abroad were very important factors too, but not many had so much confidence that they would find good jobs.

Reasons for staying in FRY

TABLE 36

RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN FRY

(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	94
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	89
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	83
People from my country are not respected abroad	82
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	75
Living conditions will improve here	63
I have a good job, financial security	54
Other people have had bad experiences	46

Family, friends and community ties were by far the biggest factor preventing people from leaving, FRY - 94% of people mentioned this as a factor. This was followed by 89% who were aware of the legal difficulties of going abroad, perhaps on account of their experiences in western countries. People from FRY were also very conscious about prejudice and the bad treatment of foreigners in western countries - perhaps this explains their reluctance to live permanently in Germany, where people from this region have traditionally been guest workers. Despite their awareness of the difficulties of migrating, the "push" effect apparent in their desire to leave Yugoslavia was overwhelming their misgivings about living in another country.

Social Characteristics of potential migrants in FRY

Table 37 indicates some of the social characteristics of potential migrants in the FRY. In terms of gender, there is very little difference between males and females in their willingness to move. Migration potential for both was very high and this is rather unusual in comparison with other studies (for example those of Fassmann and Sik) which found that males had the greatest propensity to move.

In terms of age, it was overwhelmingly the young people who wanted to move - more than 80% of those under 30 wanted to leave. However, we could say that the migration potential was also very high for the 30 - 50 age group of whom between 59% and 75% also wanted to move. Migration potential was therefore high for all age groups under 50. It seems to be unusual that not only younger people but also middle aged people are interested in going abroad.

The most educated were most likely to want to move and there was a linear relationship between the increase in education and the increase in the willingness to go abroad. Nearly three quarters of University educated people wanted to migrate temporarily along with more than two thirds of people educated up to Secondary level. Amongst the vocationally educated this dropped to half and among those with the lowest education only 29%. Education was therefore a very strong predictor of their likelihood of wanting to go abroad for a few weeks.

TABLE 37
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE
TO GO ABROAD FOR A FEW WEEKS TO WORK

Characteristics	%	
	Very likely	Somewhat likely
Gender		
Male	32	29
Female	34	27
Age		
18-19	55	28
20-29	55	29
30-39	42	33
40-49	23	36
50-59	17	24
60+	7	11
Education		
Elementary	11	18
Vocational	25	27
Secondary	39	30
University	40	32

TABLE 38
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO EMIGRATE

Characteristics	%	
	Very likely	Somewhat likely
Gender		
Male	10	18
Female	10	13
Age		
18-19	21	34
20-29	23	25
30-39	11	18
40-49	4	15
50-59	2	7
60+	1	4
Education		
Elementary	3	3
Vocational	6	20
Secondary	14	17
University	9	19

There is very little difference according to gender among people from FRY who want to emigrate. Younger people are more likely to want to emigrate than older people, but even up to age 50, more than half of the population would like to emigrate. Only very old people are not interested in emigrating. Emigration is strongly associated with education, however, with 72% of those with University education stating a strong wish to leave Yugoslavia.

Conclusions: FRY

There seems to be a very large migration potential from the FRY, mainly on account of ethnic problems, but also due to economic problems. People had not only expressed a willingness to go abroad, but many had taken active steps to do so. However, whilst they had a strong desire to go abroad, they did not have strong preferences for any particular countries. Respondents in Yugoslavia were well informed about conditions abroad - many had contacts especially in western countries. However, they were concerned about the bad treatment of foreigners abroad and their problems with being legally accepted.

Young people from FRY of both sexes were more likely to be interested in migrating, but even middle aged people were interested in going both temporarily or permanently. The strongest association was with education where the more educated are the most likely to want to leave FRY. It would seem that the combination of problems in FRY - war plus economic collapse - may drive out the young people, especially the well educated.

CROATIA

Migration Potential in Croatia

Altogether 18% of Croats would like to emigrate permanently, but a much larger percentage would like to work abroad on a temporary basis. This reflects the tradition of “guest workers” from Croatia in Germany and other countries. Two thirds said that they would like to work in another country for a few months or few weeks and 57% were even prepared to do so for a few years - this was a very large number in comparison with other countries.

A relatively large number had even made preparations in terms of learning another language or obtaining information and qualifications. A large minority of Croats were making active pre-parations.

TABLE 39
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Learn a foreign language	16
Obtain information	12
Obtain qualifications	12
Other preparations	7
Contacted people	5
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	4
Applied for permit	3
Sold property	3

Target countries for Croats

Germany is by far the most important target country for Croats, with as many as 42% saying that they would go there. The New World countries, Scandinavia and Austria are also popular target countries. Apart from Poland, the other Eastern and Central European countries are not important target countries for Croats.

TABLE 40
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	9.0
Britain	4.0
France	3.0
Germany	42.0
Other EU countries	6.0
Scandinavian countries	6.0
USA	12.0
Canada	4.0
Australia/New Zealand	10.0
Czech Republic	0.1
Hungary	0.1
Poland	2.0
Slovakia	0
Slovenia	0
Other countries	2.0

TABLE 41
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	6.0
Britain	2.0
France	2.0
Germany	26.0
Other EU countries	6.0
Scandinavian countries	7.0
USA	19.0
Canada	8.0
Australia/New Zealand	19.0
Czech Republic	0.3
Hungary	0.2
Poland	2.0
Slovakia	0.4
Slovenia	0
Other countries	3.0

The target country for emigration is also Germany in the case of Croatia, followed by the New World countries. The Central and Eastern European countries attract hardly anyone from Croatia, but once again, Poland is the most popular target country.

A very large percentage of Croats - 48% - had friends or relatives in Western countries and 14% had friends or relatives in other Eastern and Central European countries - one of the highest counts in this survey. This reflects the large number of persons who sought refuge abroad from Croatia in the 1990s and the tradition of guest working from Croatia. This network of family and friends abroad would seem to be a very important factor affecting migration potential in Croatia.

Reasons for leaving Croatia

Respondents in Croatia are more influenced by pull factors than by push factors. They rate the living and working conditions abroad very highly, but they are also concerned about economic conditions in their own country and about the ethnic problems there. This is the country, along with the FRY and Slovakia, where people are most concerned about ethnic problems.

TABLE 42
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING CROATIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	64
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	61
PULL FACTORS	
People can earn more money abroad	95
Living conditions are better abroad	92
The experience of other people has been good	83
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	69
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	69

Reasons for staying in Croatia

TABLE 43
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN CROATIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	91
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	83

It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	77
Living conditions will improve here	64
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	59
I have a good job, financial security	57
People from my country are not respected abroad	41
Other people have had bad experiences	28

As in other countries, the ties of family and community are the most important for Croats. However, Croats were also aware of the risks involved in going to another country, especially western countries. They also know that guest workers are often badly treated abroad.

Social characteristics of potential migrants in Croatia

In terms of gender we do see a small difference between the males and females in Croatia, with males being slightly more likely to be willing to migrate.

In terms of age groups, although the groups most likely to migrate are aged between 18 and 39, there was little difference between these age groups, and even among those under 60, more than half would like to go abroad temporarily. We could say therefore that although there was an association with age on this variable, it was not an extremely strong one. In general, all age groups wanted to work abroad.

With education, we see a rise in the numbers wanting to work abroad along with education. These two variables are positively associated. However, as with age, we can see that in fact high numbers in all educational groups would like to go and work abroad.

TABLE 44
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE
TO GO ABROAD FOR A FEW WEEKS TO WORK

Characteristics	%	
	Very likely	Somewhat likely
Gender		
Male	41	30
Female	35	29
Age		
18-19	54	21
20-29	57	27
30-39	36	39
40-49	40	29
50-59	25	31
60+	19	27
Education		
Elementary	34	28

Vocational	44	29
Secondary	43	34
University	47	35

TABLE 45
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEOPLE WHO WOULD LIKE TO EMIGRATE

Characteristics	%	
	Very likely	Somewhat likely
Gender		
Male	11	10
Female	9	7
Age		
18-19	23	17
20-29	18	14
30-39	9	11
40-49	6	4
50-59	4	4
60+	5	4
Education		
Elementary	11	7
Vocational	13	9
Secondary	7	11
University	0	16

In Croatia, there was a gender difference in the numbers wishing to emigrate, but this was not particularly strong. Far fewer people wanted to emigrate anyway. There was a strong age difference, with the youngest wanting to emigrate the most, but in education the differences between the most educated and the least educated disappeared: there was not much difference in educational groups in terms of propensity to emigrate.

Conclusions: Croatia

The migration potential from Croatia was very high. Croats are most likely to see Germany as the target country for temporary employment abroad and to a lesser extent for emigration, although of all our countries so far, Croats are most likely to express a wish to emigrate to Germany. This reflects the fact that Croats have very many friends and family in other western countries and have a tradition of working as guest workers in Germany and elsewhere.

The educated, the young and men are most likely to express an intention to go abroad to work, in Croatia, but indeed we see a high propensity to go abroad to work in all age and educational groups.

BULGARIA

Migration Potential in Bulgaria

Most people from Bulgaria did not think of going abroad. Only 13% were interested in working abroad for a few weeks, 17% for a few months and 19% for a few years. Only 7% considered leaving Bulgaria permanently. From this information it would seem that the migration potential from Bulgaria for either living or working abroad was very low indeed. In Table 46 we can see that the extent to which Bulgarians had made any preparations for going abroad included mainly just obtaining information. Few had taken any concrete steps to prepare for migration.

TABLE 46
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Obtain information	15
Learn a foreign language	10
Obtain qualifications	7
Contacted people	7
Applied for jobs	6
Applied for permit	5
Other preparations	2
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	3
Sold property	0

Target countries for Bulgarians

As for other countries in this survey, Germany is the main target country for those wanting to work abroad followed by the USA, which is a rather different pattern to that of other countries. The other country which also rates probably quite highly (though not asked about specifically) is Greece. No other countries appear to be very attractive for Bulgarians as places to work.

TABLE 47
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	2.0
Britain	1.0
France	2.0
Germany	15.0
Other EU countries	5.0
Scandinavian countries	1.0
USA	4.0
Canada	1.0
Australia/New Zealand	1.0
Czech Republic	0
Hungary	0
Poland	0
Slovakia	0
Slovenia	0

TABLE 48
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	1.0
Britain	1.0
France	1.0
Germany	5.0
Other EU countries	2.0
Scandinavian countries	1.0
USA	2.0
Canada	1.0
Australia/New Zealand	4.0
Czech Republic	0
Hungary	0
Poland	0
Slovakia	0
Slovenia	0
Other countries	0

Bulgarians were not very keen to emigrate and the country they most targeted was Germany, followed by the New World countries. This is surprising, because emigration is often discussed as being a problem for Bulgaria, but in this survey, very few people wanted to emigrate.

Few Bulgarians had any friends or relatives abroad - only 15% in Western countries and 11% in Central and East European countries, so this may account for why so few thought of going abroad.

Reasons for leaving Bulgaria

The “push” factors for leaving Bulgaria are not very strong, despite the severe economic crisis there over the last few years. Economic conditions were the strongest factor, and ethnic problems did not feature very strongly. However, most important were the “pull” factors, with nearly half thinking they could be better off financially in another country.

TABLE 49
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING BULGARIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	33
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	12
PULL FACTORS	
People can earn more money abroad	47
Living conditions are better abroad	46
The experience of other people has been good	38
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	29
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	25

Reasons for staying in Bulgaria

For Bulgarians, the main reason to stay in Bulgaria was their family and community ties. However, they also felt that they had good jobs and that the legal problems associated with going abroad were very high. What kept them in Bulgaria was linked more to do their security in Bulgaria than with their fear of the situation abroad.

TABLE 50
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN BULGARIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	73
I have a good job, financial security	64
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	61
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	58
People from my country are not respected abroad	49
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	47
Living conditions will improve here	40

Other people have had bad experiences	18
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Conclusions: Bulgaria

The migration potential from Bulgaria was very low, despite the considerable economic problems experienced there and despite the fact that migration from the country is perceived there as a problem (IOM, 1997). It is rather difficult to explain why the emigration potential from Bulgaria is so low in comparison with neighbouring Southern European countries such as Romania, FRY and Croatia. Ethnic problems are not thought to be important, as was the case in neighbouring countries, and Bulgarians, surprisingly, seem quite pleased with the situation in their country. It could be that the recent stabilisation of the economy after the chaos of the last few years has raised their hopes. Bulgaria does have a border with the European Union - with Greece, but Bulgarians expressed less interest in working across the border than Central Europeans such as Czechs and Slovaks.

ROMANIA

Migration Potential in Romania

There is a large migration potential from Romania, with 48% wanting to go to another country for a few weeks, 47% for a few months, 36% for a few years and 21% wanting to go permanently. Only Croatia and the FRY scored higher in terms of migration potential.

However, in terms of taking concrete action, the Romanians did not score so highly. Only 2% had applied for a permit or sold property and 4% had applied for jobs.

TABLE 51
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Obtain information	14
Learn a foreign language	13
Obtain qualifications	9
Applied for jobs	4
Contacted people	4
Other preparations	4
Applied for permit	2
Sold property	2
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	1

Target countries for Romanians

Germany is an important target country for Romanians, followed by the New World countries. However, Hungary, surprisingly, is not mentioned as a country for Romanians to work - probably because most of the many guest workers from Romania in Hungary are ethnic Hungarians. Romanians would also like to emigrate to Germany and the USA, if they want to emigrate at all, so there is some consistency in their target countries for emigration and work.

Romanians did not have an extensive network of family and friends abroad. Only 18% had friends or relatives in western countries and only 8% had friends or relatives in Eastern and Central European countries. This was perhaps due to the isolation suffered by Romanians for so many years under communism.

TABLE 52
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	1
Britain	1
France	2
Germany	12
Scandinavian countries	1
USA	6
Canada	3
Australia/New Zealand	2
Czech Republic	0
Hungary	0
Poland	0
Slovakia	1
Slovenia	2
Other countries	0

TABLE 53
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	1
Britain	1
France	2
Germany	5
Other EU countries	1
Scandinavian countries	1
USA	6
Czech Republic	0
Hungary	0
Poland	0
Slovakia	1
Slovenia	1
Other countries	0

Reasons for leaving Romania

TABLE 54
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING ROMANIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
There are too many problems with ethnic groups in this country	70
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	41
PULL FACTORS	
People can earn more money abroad	97
The experience of other people has been good	85
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	83
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	68
Living conditions are better abroad	39

For Romanians, the most important push factor was the ethnic problems in their country mentioned by 70%, although 41% were also concerned about economic problems. The "pull" factors were much more important, with nearly everyone believing that it was possible to earn better money abroad and also that employment possibilities were good. Personal freedom and the good experience of others were also strong pull factors. In Romania, the pull factors were especially strong.

Reasons for staying in Romania

TABLE 55
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN ROMANIA
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	87
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	82
People from my country are not respected abroad	73
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	71
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	68
I have a good job, financial security	48
Living conditions will improve here	48
Other people have had bad experiences	25

Romanians were put off going to western countries by the legal problems and also felt that they were not respected abroad. The negative aspects of migration are stressed by Romanians and they are also not very positive about their own country, so they have a double reason for leaving - the attractions of the other country and discontent with their own.

Conclusions: Romania

There is a high migration potential from Romania. Although there is no tradition of guest working (except in Hungary) and although they have few networks abroad, Romanians are keen to migrate because of their discontent with conditions at home and their image of the very good conditions they could achieve abroad. This positive image of life abroad, may be something of an illusion for them.

CHAPTER FOUR

CIS COUNTRIES

BELARUS

Migration Potential in Belarus

Only 14% of Belarussians would like to emigrate permanently and much smaller numbers have taken any steps to actually migrate temporarily or permanently (i.e. they answered “likely” or “very likely” to the question about working abroad for a few weeks, a few months, a few years or permanently). We can see from Table 56 that only 8% had obtained information about a foreign country and only 1 % had applied for a permit.

However, Belarussians were much more inclined to go abroad for short periods of time. One third expressed an interest in working for a few weeks in another country and 35% would be prepared to work for a few months. This dropped to 24% who would like to work for a few years in another country.

TABLE 56
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Learn a foreign language	9.0
Obtain information	8.0
Applied for jobs	5.0
Obtain qualifications	4.0
Applied for permit	1.0
Contacted people	1.0
Other preparations	0.4
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	0.2
Sold property	0.2

Target countries for Belarussians

We ranked the target countries where Belarussians would go to work or to emigrate. By far the most target country for work is Germany (24%) and this was followed by the USA (7%) and perhaps more surprisingly, Poland (4%). Poland is the most westerly neighbouring country and draws in a large number

of guest workers from CIS countries. However, the official numbers of guest workers is rather low²⁵. But many Belarussians working in Poland might be working there illegally. Belarussians may also have relatives or contacts in Poland where there is a Belarussian minority. Some of the other Central and Eastern European countries seem to be likely target countries for work abroad for Belarussians, besides Poland.

TABLE 57
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	1.0
Britain	2.0
France	3.0
Germany	24.0
Other EU countries	1.0
Scandinavian countries	2.0
USA	7.0
Canada/Australia/New Zealand	5.0
Czech Republic	1.0
Hungary	1.0
Poland	4.0
Slovakia	0.4
Slovenia	0.2
Other countries	2.0

TABLE 58
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	1.0
Britain	1.0
France	3.0
Germany	5.0
Other EU countries	1.0
Scandinavian countries	2.0
USA	7.0
Canada	3.0
Australia/New Zealand	2.0
Czech Republic	1.0
Hungary	0.1
Poland	2.0
Slovakia	0
Slovenia	0

²⁵ See Wallace et al. 1998

Other countries	1.0
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The target countries for emigration show a different pattern to those for work. Belarussians would most like to emigrate to USA and Canada. However, 5% would also like to emigrate to Germany - far fewer than the 24% who wanted to work there. By contrast, 3% wanted to work in France and 3% also wanted to emigrate there. Poland is popular as a country for emigration among the Central-East European block, with 2% wanting to emigrate there - the highest of the Central European countries. Similarities in language and culture between Belarus and Poland and the fact that many Belarussians have worked in Poland may make that country attractive to them as a place to live.

Belarussians did not have many contacts abroad. Only 17% had friends or relatives in western countries and the same number in Central and Eastern European countries. This may account for their relative reluctance to seek work abroad. The continued isolation of Belarus may also contribute to this trend.

Reasons for leaving Belarus

Belarussians are more influenced by the “pull factors” than by the “push” factors in motivations to leave. Ethnic problems at home were not very important to them. Other surveys have shown indeed that Belarussians do not regard their country as having very significant ethnic problems.²⁶ Economic conditions, although poor, were mentioned by only 48% of Belarussians as a reason for leaving their country. For Belarussians, pull factors were far more important. Among these, the living conditions abroad were the most important consideration, followed by the higher wages they would receive. This was followed by the experience of other people who had gone abroad and the greater personal and political freedom there. It should be mentioned that there has been considerable political repression in Belarus in recent years, including imprisonment of those opposing the regime and censorship of the media.

TABLE 59
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING BELARUS
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	48
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	23
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	67
People can earn more money abroad	58
The experience of other people has been good	49
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	44
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	38

²⁶ Christian Haerpfer and Claire Wallace “Attitudes to Migrants and Minorities in Central and Eastern Europe” Institute for Advanced Studies, Vienna.

Reasons for staying in Belarus

Of the reasons for staying in Belarus, by far the most important was the ties of family and community which people had there and which they seemed to hold as being very important (91%). This was followed by the fear of the risks involved in going abroad (75%) and concern that it was difficult to go to western countries legally (54%).

Altogether, 64% said that they had a good job and financial security in Belarus and around half also mentioned other factors keeping them in Belarus - that they thought conditions might improve.

Some were put off by the bad treatment of guest workers abroad, by bad experiences of others or by the lack of respect accorded to people from their country, but this was the least important of the list of reasons for not going abroad.

It would seem therefore that for Belarussians, their social and family ties were the most important things keeping them in the country followed by fear of the risks involved in going abroad.

TABLE 60
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN BELARUS
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED "MUCH MORE LIKELY" OR "SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY")

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	91
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	75
I have a good job, financial security	64
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	54
Living conditions will improve here	48
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	46
People from my country are not respected abroad	45
Other people have had bad experiences	25

Conclusions: Belarus

Very few people in Belarus were interested in emigrating and few had taken any steps to do so, although they did express some interest in working temporarily abroad in Germany or Poland. Expectations for emigration followed traditional patterns, the USA and the New World were the main target countries and their main reasons for thinking of leaving were economic - they thought their lives would be materially better abroad. However, their strong links to their local communities coupled with fear of the risks involved in going abroad tended to put them off. Most Belarussians did not know anyone in a western country or even in an Eastern European country. Although there have been economic problems in Belarus, the isolationism of the regime there which has also been cut off from diplomatic contact with many countries, means it is difficult for Belarussians to leave.

UKRAINE

Migration Potential in Ukraine

The migration potential from Ukraine is higher than in Belarus. Altogether, 37% would go abroad for a few weeks, 36% for a few months, 25% for a few years and 12% would emigrate. It appears therefore that Ukrainians prefer temporary mobility, especially for up to a few months, to permanent or long-term migration. This is consistent with the pattern of Ukrainian labour migration to countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland, where they comprise an important element of the casual workforce²⁷.

A number of respondents in Ukraine had also taken active steps towards going abroad, the preferred method in this country being to obtain information. 13% had also applied for jobs, a larger number than in other countries, confirming the Ukrainian preference for temporary migration abroad in order to work.

TABLE 61
RANK ORDER OF PREPARATIONS FOR GOING ABROAD
(% OF TOTAL SAMPLE)

Reason	%
Obtain information	17
Learn a foreign language	16
Applied for jobs	13
Obtain qualifications	12
Contacted people	8
Looked for somewhere to live abroad	7
Applied for permit	6
Sold property	3
Other preparations	2

Target countries for Ukrainians

For Ukrainians, Germany, USA and Canada are the main target countries for working. Canada scores particularly high for Ukrainians because there is a large Ukrainian Diaspora there with which at least some people keep in touch. However, in fourth place comes Poland followed by a range of European Union countries. A relatively high number would also consider going to other Central European countries. For Ukrainians, the New World and Europe were equally attractive and they targeted both Central European and European Union countries. Indeed, it seems that Ukrainians were prepared to go to a wide range of countries to work because there was a relatively high score for all countries inside and outside of Europe.

²⁷ See Wallace, Claire in association with Vasil Bedzir, Oxana Chmouliar and Elena Sidorenko (1998) "Some Characteristics of Labour Migration in the Central European Buffer Zone" Institute for Advanced Studies, Sociology Series No. 25, Vienna.

TABLE 62
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR WORK

Target countries	%
Austria	19
Britain	20
France	18
Germany	32
Other EU countries	18
Scandinavian countries	19
USA	20
Canada	20
Czech Republic	20
Hungary	18
Poland	19
Slovakia	18
Slovenia	16
Other countries	17

TABLE 63
TARGET COUNTRIES FOR EMIGRATION

Target countries	%
Austria	4
Britain	3
France	6
Germany	3
Other EU countries	2
Scandinavian countries	5
USA	7
Czech Republic	1
Hungary	1
Poland	2
Slovakia	1
Slovenia	1
Other countries	2

The target countries for emigration were slightly different to those for work. Compared to the numbers wanting to work abroad, the numbers actually wanting to emigrate were very low. The Ukrainians preferred both long-term labour migration and short-term labour migration.

Ukrainians did not have many contacts abroad. Only 10% knew people in western countries and only 11% knew people in Central and Eastern European countries. Like the Belarussians, they were relatively isolated.

Reasons for leaving Ukraine

Ukrainians were not worried about ethnic problems, but they were concerned about economic conditions at home. Economic conditions were undoubtedly the strongest “push” factor encouraging them to think of leaving Ukraine. All the “pull” factors were important to Ukrainians, although the economic pull factors seemed to be the most important, with respondents feeling that living conditions and wages were better abroad than at home.

TABLE 64
RANK ORDER OF REASONS FOR LEAVING UKRAINE
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

PUSH AND PULL FACTORS	%
PUSH FACTORS	
Economic conditions here look as though they will continue as they are or get worse	43
There are too many problems between ethnic groups in this country	17
PULL FACTORS	
Living conditions are better abroad	65
People can earn more money abroad	58
The experience of other people has been good	46
There is greater personal and political freedom abroad	41
There are good employment opportunities for people like you	38

Reasons for staying in Ukraine

As in all the other countries, the overwhelming reason for staying were the ties to family, friends and community in Ukraine. This accounted for over 90% of responses. However, this was followed by uncertainty due to the risk of going abroad and the treatment of guest workers in foreign countries. Relatively low on the list was the proportion of people reporting that they had a good job and financial security at home, reflecting perhaps the severe economic troubles suffered by the Ukrainian population since 1992.

TABLE 65
RANK ORDER OF REASONS TO STAY IN UKRAINE
(% OF THOSE WHO ANSWERED “MUCH MORE LIKELY” OR “SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY”)

Reason	%
My ties to family, friends and community are important	91
Going to another country is a very uncertain undertaking	77
Guest workers are badly treated abroad	61
It is very hard to go to Western countries legally	60
People from my country are not respected abroad	57

Living conditions will improve here	54
I have a good job, financial security	47
Other people have had bad experiences	36

Conclusions: Ukraine

A relatively large number of Ukrainians were thinking about going abroad or had taken steps to prepare themselves for going abroad. The main reason for leaving was the poor economic conditions at home. However, most Ukrainians wanted to go abroad only temporarily - they preferred labour migration for short periods rather than emigration. For emigration Ukrainians targeted the New World - especially Canada - just as much as European countries. However, for work abroad, Central European countries were as important as European Union countries. Ukrainians were willing to go almost anywhere to work, targeting the New World just as they targeted both Eastern and Western Europe.

Questionnaire

1. People sometimes move from one country to another for various reasons. I am going to read you some of the options for going to another country and I would like you to tell me whether you would be very likely, likely, somewhat likely or very unlikely to do each of the following.
 - a. Go abroad for a few weeks to work
 - b. Go abroad for a few months to work
 - c. Go abroad for a few years to work
 - d. Go abroad for the rest of your life

2.
 - a. To which country are you most likely to go to look for work?
 - b. To which country are you most likely to emigrate?

3. Have you taken any of the following steps to prepare for migration over the last years?
 - a. Learn a language
 - b. Improve qualifications
 - c. Sell property
 - d. Obtain information
 - e. Apply for jobs
 - f. Look for somewhere to live
 - g. Apply for work permit
 - h. Obtain information
 - i. Other preparations

4. Do you have any friends or relatives living in other countries who could help you, if you wanted to migrate abroad?
 - a. In western countries
 - b. In Central and Eastern European countries

5. How important do you personally find each of the following reasons to consider going abroad? Would each make you more likely, somewhat more likely, less likely or not at all likely to go abroad?
 - a. Better living standards abroad
 - b. Earn lots of money
 - c. Good experience of others
 - d. Good employment prospects for people like me

- e. Greater personal and political freedom
- f. Ethnic problems at home
- g. No economic improvement at home

6. How important is each of the following reasons for staying in this country? Does each make you more likely, somewhat more likely, not very likely or not at all likely to stay in this country?

- a. Good job
- b. Uncertainty
- c. No respect for my nationality
- d. Immigrants treated badly
- e. Hard to emigrate legally
- f. Strong ties to family and community
- g. Conditions will improve here
- h. Bad experience of others

*Methodological-Technical Report on
“New Democracies Barometer V”*

Each of the 11 countries used an identical, fully structured questionnaire. Translation was executed in each respective country, checking of translation was done by Paul Lazarsfeld-Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung. The sampling was nationally representative in each country for the population from 15 years and older. All interviews were carried out face-to-face.

Country	Institute	Number of interviews = N	Duration of fieldwork	Sampling
Belarus	SOCIUM Public Opinion, Minsk	1000	04.02.-25.02.98	3-stage random route sample
Bulgaria	BBSS-Gallup, Sofia	1000	11.05.-27.05.98	Double-clustered random address sample
Croatia	MITROPA, Zagreb	1000	17.03.-31.03.98	3-stage random address sample
Czech Republic	Mareco Praha, Prague	1000	10.06.-30.06.98	Double-clustered random address sample
Hungary	Mareco Kft, Budapest	1000	15.06.-02.07.98	Double-clustered random address sample
Poland	Mareco Polska, Warsawa	1000	18.06.-02.07.98	Double-clustered random address sample
Romania	CSOP-Bucharest	1000	07.04.-28.04.98	3-stage random route sample
Slovakia	KMG, Bratislava	1000	23.03.-06.04.98	Area and size of community stratified quota-sample
Slovenia	pr+pm, Maribor	1000	07.04.-30.04.98	Area sampling, random address sample
Ukraine	Socis Gallup, Kiev	1200	30.03.-08.04.98	5-stage stratified quota-sample
FRY	Argument, Belgrade	1000	07.03.-19.03.98	5-stage random route sample

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