

UNESCO

**UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL
ORGANIZATION**

Meeting of Experts

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND ECONOMIES IN TRANSITION AT THE THRESHOLD OF THE 21ST CENTURY

Moscow, Russian Federation, 8-10 September 1998

FINAL REPORT

The Central and Eastern European Network on Migration Research
(CEENOM)

*Centre for Demography and Human Ecology
Institute for Economic Forecasting
Russian Academy of Sciences*

MOST

MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Before the initiation of political and economic reform in the former USSR and other states of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), including the Baltic states and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), this region was typified by a low level of international mobility. With the beginning of reform and the disintegration of states such as the USSR and Yugoslavia, the situation has changed dramatically. The transition towards an 'open borders' policy created the conditions for integration of CEE into international systems of migration. The massive East-West migration which was feared by some at the beginning of the 1990s has not occurred, but international migration in, to and from CEE has increased considerably. At the same time many traditional internal migratory flows have been transformed by the formation of newly independent states into international flows.

As a result, international migration flows have become an integral part of economic, political and cultural life in CEE. New trends and patterns have emerged and new problems have been generated. Yet new policy on migration lags behind the reality of the contemporary situation. Migration is a pressing issue in CEE, which demands a joint effort by all countries concerned and by the international community at large. There is an urgent need for exchange of knowledge, reliable information and policy proposals based on research results.

*In the context of the need to provide policy responses based on empirical data to the new and diverse forms of migration which have emerged during the period of post-socialist transformation, the **Central and Eastern European Network on Migration Research (CEENOM)** was launched in a UNESCO-MOST meeting of experts held in Moscow (8-10 September 1998) organized in collaboration with the Centre for Demography and Human Ecology, Institute for Economic Forecasting of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS). Over 40 participants from 22 countries took part in the sub-regional meeting, including leading specialists on migration, representatives of the Russian Government, representatives of IOM, UNHCR, UNDP and many NGO representatives.*

This report summarises the discussions which took place during this meeting, focusing on recent trends in population mobility in economies in transition, including: business and labour migration; forced, transit and irregular migration; migration and gender issues; migration legislation and policy needs.

2. OPENING SESSION

2.1 Opening Statements

The participants of the meeting were welcomed by **Tatyana Regent**, Head of Russia's Federal Migration Service (FMS), who stressed the importance of co-ordinating efforts by researchers of countries affected by similar migration processes in the bid to formulate effective migration policy. In his welcoming address, **Vladimir Kudryatsev**, Vice-president of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), highlighted UNESCO's crucial initiative in seeking a deeper understanding of such vital processes as migration and in supporting research on these processes. Professor **Victor Ivanter**, Director of the RAS Institute for Economic Forecasting, described the great significance for Russia of studying migration processes and emphasised the importance of integrating such studies into a European framework. The Director of the Centre for Demography and Human Ecology, **Anatoly Vishnevsky**, noted that research into migration has revealed the scope of what is still to be done if we are properly to understand the underlying mechanisms of migration and learn how to forecast migratory movements. He expressed his hope that the meeting be conducive to the formulation by governments of an effective migration policy which would also take into account the diverse and frequently conflicting consequences of state-to-state migration.

2.2 Introductory Statement

Serim Timur, Head of UNESCO's Population and Migration Unit, in her introductory statement noted that it was timely and important to hold this meeting following the **UN Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development** which took place in The Hague, Netherlands, in July 1998. Recently, the UN General Assembly, in its resolution 52/189 concerning International migration and development, called upon all relevant organizations of the United Nations system to provide appropriate support for *inter-regional, regional and sub-regional processes and activities on international migration and development, taking into account various regional processes*, and to recommend ways and means to address the problems related to international migration and development.

In the context of important recent migration flows within CEE and the need to provide urgent policy responses, this UNESCO meeting of experts was convened to review recent migratory trends and to discuss the formation of a **Central and Eastern European network on migration research**.

UNESCO has a long-standing interest in the subject of international migration, dating back to the time of its creation in the aftermath of World War II and the post-war reconstruction period of the 1950s. During the last decade, the Organization has conducted seminal work on the causes and consequences of international migration, as well as on the impact of migration on both sending and

receiving countries. Migration and gender relations along with the specific social, cultural, educational and occupational conditions affecting women migrants have been – and continue to be – among UNESCO's major concerns. Other related activities include the establishment of UNESCO Chairs on migration and various educational programmes in support of refugees.

The present meeting was organized as part of the activities of the **Management of Social Transformations Programme (MOST)** of UNESCO's Sector of Social and Human Sciences. This programme was established in 1994 to promote policy-relevant research on social transformations and issues of global importance.

As international population mobility is a key factor in current social transformations throughout the world, UNESCO is undertaking important regional migration networking activities. These Networks will constitute « centres of expertise » to provide information, quality research and advisory services for policy makers on the role of migration and ethno-cultural diversity, in a large number of countries in major regions.

The **Asia Pacific Migration Research Network (APMRN)** was established in 1995 with the collaboration of experts and scholars from 11 countries of the region to produce research relevant to public policy and to advance education in migration and ethnicity issues.

The **Network on Migration Research in Africa (NOMRA)**, launched in June 1998, will focus on the complex causes of population movements and consequences of migration, especially those related to poverty and migration as a survival strategy in Africa.

A regional UNESCO-MOST meeting was scheduled for October 1998 (Santiago, Chile) to review recent trends and prospects in international migration and to discuss the formation of a migration studies network in **Latin America and the Caribbean**.

In conclusion, the existence and development of a regional migration studies network will contribute to building research capabilities and exchange of information in CEE as well as to facilitate the translation of findings into policy.

3. SUMMARY OF PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Emerging Trends in Migration in Central and Eastern Europe: Causes, Consequences and Prospects

The countries of CEE have undergone enormous structural, economic and political changes since 1989. From a closed centralised system characterised by low international population mobility, there has been a transition to a liberalised, if as yet ill-defined, 'open door' migration policy. In conjunction with the other extraordinary changes being experienced in the post-Soviet period, this has led to significant change in the migration processes of the region. This section seeks to demarcate and begin to explain these emerging trends and patterns in CEE, both at a general level and at a regional level.

3.1.1 The regional dimension of international migration in Central and Eastern Europe

Marek Okólski

Major migration trends which have emerged in CEE since the liberalisation of migration policies in the late 1980s and 1990s were highlighted, focusing in particular on the regional similarities of these trends. The four major developments since 1989 have been :

- a substantial increase in international population movements, both documented and irregular (official net migration from CEE to the West was estimated at 20 per 10,000 population for the period 1991–1993, compared with 9 per 10,000 for 1950–1988);
- an increase in the number of countries involved, both within the region, e.g. Albania and Ukraine, and elsewhere, e.g. East Asian countries;
- a shift towards short-term migration in many CEE countries;
- a diversification of international population movements, from a predominance of 'permanent emigration' to the West during the period 1950–1988 to include a new range of flows in the post-1989 era;

The most important new population movements in CEE are :

- transit migration to the West;
- flows of persons in need of protection;
- migration between the countries of the ex-USSR.

However the new flows also include 'shuttle migrants' who repeatedly cross international boundaries to capitalise on the economic differentials between countries; temporary labour migrants; seasonal migrant workers, immigrant workers from developing countries; return migrants; and migrants motivated by

ethnic and blood ties (especially from the ex-USSR to Germany, Israel and the United States).

While the new patterns of migration in CEE are complex, certain general features can be identified:

- The region has become an independent system of international migration.
- New legislation lags behind the reality of the contemporary migration situation, so that irregularity of migration status is widespread.
- A majority of the population movements occurring since 1989 do not conform to standard definitions of migration. 'Incomplete migrants', for instance, retain a permanent place of residence and a flexible social status and/or occupational position in their home country, yet they also engage in many 'typical' migrant activities. This category includes 'shuttle migrants', who are increasingly significant in many CEE countries.

The diversification of political and economic developments has led to the emergence of clear sub-regional migration poles within CEE. There are substantial differences between countries with regard to the most important types of migration, the direction of the flows and the overall mobility of the population, as well as variation in government policy towards asylum seekers and refugees. There are at least three different 'models':

- countries with a very weak outflow of migrants but a moderately high inflow, for example the Czech Republic;
- countries with both a high inflow and a high outflow of migrants, such as Poland;
- countries with a high outflow of migrants and a very low inflow of immigrants, for instance Ukraine.

Thus in the 1990s, CEE has significantly contributed to the magnitude and diversity of global population movements, in sharp contrast to the pre-1989 period. Migration in CEE has a global reach and the intensity of international movement is high. While some types of migration flow may be numerically more substantial, migration as a whole is very diverse, so that although migration in CEE is regionally specific, intra-regional differences should also be noted.

3.1.2 New migration trends in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

Zhanna Zayonchkovskaya

The disintegration of the Soviet system generated critical change in the nature of migration throughout the former USSR. Forced migration flows have become predominant. At the same time, a new political and economic structure has begun to form on the basis of sovereign development of the former Soviet republics and the new national states have started to recognise a need for co-ordinated policy decisions on migration.

Five groups of factors determine current migrations in the post-Soviet space:

- Destabilisation of the social situation in the wake of the disintegration of the USSR led to outbreaks of nationalism, ethnic conflict and civil war. Non-titular populations have also been marginalised by the requirement of speaking the titular language, enacted by most of the former Soviet republics following the declaration of sovereignty.
- The early stages of economic reform led to an acute economic crisis, with high inflation, rising costs and falling standards of living, and unemployment.
- With the development of market-type relations, the labour market became more diversified, with new job opportunities emerging outside the government-controlled sector.
- The post-Soviet economic space is highly differentiated in structural terms, and the population is beginning to use this to its own advantage.
- The legal context of migration is also changing, with a transition to an 'open-door' policy as part of the general liberalisation of the former USSR.

New forms of migration have been one response to the socio-economic reality shaped by these factors. These include mass repatriation, particularly of the Russian-speaking population, and flows of refugees and internally displaced persons. Some forms of migration, new to the former USSR, have emerged as a means of survival in the post-Soviet economic crisis. For instance, short-term labour migrants and 'shuttle migrants' show the pioneering role migrants can play in the shift towards a market-based economy.

The analysis of migration processes revealed the extent of the transformations which have taken place during the disintegration of the Soviet Union and its transition to a new socio-economic system. New migration processes have been experienced throughout the post-Soviet space, demonstrating the interdependence of the national states. However, the specific nature of the migrations varies in form, intensity and duration, reflecting the complexity of the influencing factors and their interactions in the various CIS countries.

3.1.3 Discussion

It was noted that migration provides a dynamic reflection of changes, both positive and negative, currently underway in CEE as a result of the transformation of its socio-economic systems. Positive changes include the incorporation of CEE into the international system, a development of cultural exchanges and an enrichment of life experience. These have all been made possible by the 'open door' policy and the development of new types of population movement such as short-term labour migration (such movements have a long history elsewhere in the world but are new to CEE). Among the negative developments are flows of forced migrants, and irregular and criminal migrations.

The importance of researching the experience of different countries, so as to develop a more co-ordinated migration policy, was underlined. There is a significant disparity between the existing migration terminology and real processes, and an urgent need to develop a conceptual framework and forecasting system for migration was recognised. The necessity of consolidating the efforts of researchers from different countries in order to achieve these goals was emphasised.

3.2 Migration and the Economy: Labour Force Migration and Business Migration

Newly open borders and a transforming economy in the CEE have created new needs and opportunities for international labour migration. Contrary to doomsday predictions of mass permanent emigration to the West, much of this migration is short-term, and much takes place between CEE countries. 'Shuttle migration', in which migrants cross international borders on a very short-term basis to take advantage of market differentials through engaging in petty trading and small-scale commerce, is on the rise throughout CEE. Migration policies in many CEE countries are still ill-defined and the legislation which does exist is difficult to enforce. As a result, much of this new short-term labour migration takes place outside a clear policy framework and is irregular. Migrants may also participate in irregular activities in the informal economy of the host country. Migration can be seen to relieve stress for individual migrants and their households adversely affected by economic crisis, but it can also exacerbate problems of ethnic discrimination in the labour markets of the receiving countries, and migrants can also be exploited in the human smuggling networks which are developing in CEE. While specific details clearly vary between countries, similar positive and negative features of migration can be observed throughout CEE.

3.2.1 Labour migration in the Czech Republic

Dusan Drbohlav

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the Czech Republic has become a country of immigration and transit migration. This can be attributed to the transformation of the Czech Republic in opening up its society and re-orienting itself towards the West.

It has been estimated that the number of immigrants in the Czech Republic, as at the end of 1997, was some 400,000, including documented and irregular, permanent and temporary migrants. This represents approximately 4% of the total population of the Czech Republic and does not include transit migrants *en route* to other destinations, estimated at around 100,000.

Economic migration forms the basis of international migration to the Czech Republic. The overwhelming majority (81%) of migrants come from European countries, with 16% from Asia and less than 2% from the USA. The largest ethnic group of immigrants is that of Slovaks, followed by Ukrainians and then Vietnamese and Poles. The various ethnic communities differ in their behaviour in terms of the activities and strategies in which they engage. There is also a significant distinction between immigration flows from the East and the West. The former is composed mainly of young males with low educational and skill levels, the latter is a more heterogeneous flow, including women, children and the elderly, as well as highly educated people usually engaged in 'intellectual' work.

At the end of 1997, Ukrainian immigrants with a long-term residence permit (nearly 40,000) made up a quarter of all immigrants with such permits. In addition,

Ukrainians are believed to be the most numerous amongst those who stay and work irregularly. Many are engaged in 'shuttle migration'.

Migration flows to the Czech Republic are 'Westernised' in that they resemble similar flows in other regions of the world. As a result of these similarities, the transnational migrant framework, neo-classical economic theory, dual market theory, network theory, and institutional theory, while developed outside CEE, could all be useful in understanding the migration processes currently occurring in the Czech Republic. It should be pointed, however, that no single theory can reflect all the nuances of the migration process.

3.2.2 Economic aspects of contemporary international migration in Lithuania

Audra Sipavièienė

Official statistics on migration tend to look mainly at permanent emigration, while temporary or 'incomplete' migration may be just as important in some countries. Temporary migration (including very short-term trips for reasons other than recreation) is a very widespread phenomenon in Lithuania, as indicated by a UN/EC/PAU survey conducted in 1994–1996. At the same time, longer-term migration continues, and the shift in Lithuania's geopolitical orientation is evident in these flows through the growing importance of Western destinations such as Poland, Germany, Scandinavia and the USA. The total number of migrations is increasing, and while male migrants are in the majority, there are signs that women are increasingly becoming involved.

The primary motivation for migration is economic, with many of the temporary migrants being 'shuttle migrants', holding down a permanent job in Lithuania while using migration for trade and petty commerce to raise household income levels. Most of the migrants are highly educated, and therefore this may be seen as a temporary 'brain drain'. This is typical behaviour in a crisis situation. There is a widespread perception on the part of labour migrants that foreign employers prefer irregular labour because then they are not liable for their work-force and do not have to pay taxes. Hence it seems that irregular labour migration in Lithuania is likely to continue and to increase in the future.

Migration can thus be seen as a response to the worsening economic situation in Lithuania, and also as a release valve for the social consequences of economic crisis. Most strategies are temporary, and seem unlikely to shift into permanent emigration, despite the existence of well-developed networks and support mechanisms in the host countries.

3.2.3 The informal economy and migration in contemporary Hungary

Endre Sik

The opening of the borders, together with the economic and political crises, and a series of negative after-effects of the post-socialist reforms in Hungary have

created a favourable environment for a flourishing 'shadow' or informal economy and corresponding forms of migrant activity, such as irregular seasonal labour migration, migration related to the trafficking of people and 'trader tourism'.

Irregular trade and markets in the informal economy span a spectrum from subsistence 'peddling', through small-scale marketing, to internationally organised irregular trading. As a result of its geographical location, its lax border controls and the political and economic changes in the neighbouring countries, Hungary has found itself at a cross-roads of the smuggling of would-be migrants to the West. For international migrants, Hungary is only a partial cross-roads, since those transit migrants to the West who are unable to obtain permits remain in Hungary, either setting themselves up in business or joining the ranks of the unemployed. At the same time, unemployment has encouraged irregular subsistence trading of the type to be found throughout the developing world.

From an institutional perspective, the current condition of the Hungarian economy is determined largely by the previous socialist model rather than by free-market factors. Two institutions representing the informal economy, with a strong immigrant presence, are the 'comecon' and 'cheap labour' market places. In the former mainly unlicensed traders sell cheap and low quality mass-produced goods while in the latter casual labourers offer themselves for hire. While the proportion of foreign traders in the comecon markets has fallen since 1995, two ethnic groups (the Chinese and the Romanians) have become dominant. The number of irregular foreign workers overall has also declined, but there has been no significant change in the proportions of the ethnic groups involved (mainly Romanians, Russians, Yugoslavs and ethnic Hungarians from outside Hungary). As the economic structure of Hungary changes, it is likely that the nature of the informal economy and the involvement of migrants with it, will also alter.

3.2.4 Discussion

The following issues were highlighted:

- Rapid growth of labour migration, particularly short-term migration and 'shuttle migration', is a common feature of most countries in CEE.
- Labour migration plays a stabilising role in the transition period by providing an additional source of income for a large section of the population.
- Most states of CEE have only an emergent migration policy, which does not match the complexity and significance of the phenomenon. It combines the vestiges of the former political system with the aspirations of the new.
- Labour migration fosters ethnic interaction on the one hand, and xenophobia on the other. More work on these issues is needed.

3.3 Forced Migration: Political and Environmental Factors

One of the new migration flows in CEE, and one of great concern, is that comprising refugees and forced migrants. While internal displacement has always occurred, for example following environmental disasters, international flows of

forced migrants represent a new problem for most CEE governments. This region has seen large numbers of refugees in the wake of political and ethnic conflicts, significantly in the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo and Chechnya. The governments urgently need to formulate a policy response to this phenomenon, and they must also ensure that any new legislation is both possible to implement and in line with international conventions.

3.3.1 Problems of forced migration in Georgia

Irina Badurashvili and Tamaz Gogoshvili

The category of forced migrants, including refugees, return migrants or 'repatriates', internally displaced persons, and ecological migrants, numbers approximately 400,000 in Georgia. Temporary labour migrants, who have been forced to leave Georgia to search for employment, make a further 400,000. The main reasons behind forced migration in Georgia are:

- ethno-political conflicts;
- a sharp decline in socio-economic development;
- changing legislation in the newly independent states with respect to citizenship rights;
- ecological catastrophes.

The interaction of these factors determines the scale, the direction and the problems associated with forced migration at any particular time and place. Not all forced migrants are international migrants and some of the biggest problems which Georgia faces are a result of internal forced migration. The main one is that of providing adequate housing for internally displaced persons, and despite the efforts of the Georgian government and international organisations, the present situation of many forced migrants is far from satisfactory.

In looking for a solution to the general problem of forced migration, the following specific goals can be identified:

- further research into the causes of forced migration;
- international dialogue to agree a common approach to migration;
- development of new international legislation on migration;
- development of a humane approach for tackling the issue of irregular migration.

3.3.2 Migration processes caused by the disintegration of Yugoslavia

Mirjana Domini

According to UNHCR data of 1994, almost four million people were displaced by the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, and this does not include a further 200,000 said to be in need of humanitarian assistance. In Bosnia and Herzegovina 60% of the population (Bosnians, Croats and Serbs) was displaced. In 1992 the number of refugees, exiles and displaced persons in Croatia was more than

800,000, over 15% of Croatia's total population. This was largely due to the deterioration of the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the rise of Croatia as a zone of transit to third countries after Western European governments permitted Bosnian–Herzegovinian refugees temporary refuge on their territory. According to the Office for Displaced Persons and Refugees of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, 400,000–450,000 refugees passed through Croatia *en route* to Western Europe.

By the end of 1995 the signature of the Dayton Agreement had increased the safety of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a mass return of refugees began. Data suggest that most Croatian exiles and Croatian refugees in third countries want to return to their home. Yet the problems of reintegration are enormous. The devastation of the economies and the infrastructure of the affected areas means that there are insufficient jobs and housing for all potential returnees.

Despite the desire of many refugees and displaced persons to return to their homeland, many others talk of a 'new homeland' and do not want to repatriate; others are unable, for a variety of reasons, to return to their former homes. The presence of over a million refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina in their countries of refuge (including Croatia) and the former Yugoslavia, despite the efforts of the international community to repatriate them, bears testament to this. To this figure must be added those internally displaced persons who fled to other regions of their own country and who now do not wish to, or who cannot, return to their places of origin. Therefore the most important thing, now, is to look at ways in which refugees can be integrated in their host societies, without giving up their cultural and national heritage.

3.3.3 What will happen to forced migrants in Russia? Legislation and practice

Vladimir Mukomel

A system of federal legislation is in place in Russia, which regulates the status and rights of refugees and other forced migrants. However, members of the Russian Federation have the right to enact their own laws on issues coming under their jurisdiction. The constitutions and statutes of Russian republics may sometimes contradict federal legislation, and restrictions of the right to freedom of movement and choice of place of residence may exist, such as:

- substituting the residence registration procedure, which should only require reporting to the relevant authority, with a requirement to obtain a residence permit;
- limitation of eligibility for registration;
- prohibition of permanent residence and registration for foreign citizens and stateless persons;
- confinement of forced migrants to residence in certain specified areas;
- discrimination based on national or ethnic origin;
- violation of the non-extradition principle;

- levying of additional taxes on refugees and forced migrants;
- violation of civil rights, for instance mandatory HIV testing.

Furthermore, there are also problems with current federal legislation which is ambiguous on certain points and which does not sufficiently correspond to today's fast changing reality.

Refugee status is granted to a declining number of people, so that many forced migrants, who may in fact be refugees, are instead applying for temporary asylum, with its correspondingly lower level of rights. There is a move towards increased protection of the human rights of 'national minorities', but federal legislation does not define 'national minority', leaving this to the interpretation of individual federal states.

3.3.4 Discussion

Concern was expressed about the scale of the problem of forced migration in the CIS countries and the former Yugoslavia. Further research in the following areas was said to be urgently needed:

- the integration of forced migrants, particularly in different ethno-cultural environments;
- repatriation ;
- future trends of forced migration;
- legislation regarding forced migration.

Attention was called to the inflexibility of procedures for granting protected status and for delivering aid, and to the high incidence of violation of the rights of forced migrants. Women and child refugees were discussed, and the consensus was that this issue requires special attention. Recommendations were made concerning the need for new methodological approaches to research on forced migration.

3.4 Transit and Irregular Migration

The opening up of international borders in CEE has inevitably led to the emergence and growth of transit and irregular migration. As a result of its geographical location, CEE provides a convenient through-route to Western Europe for migrants from many parts of the developing world affected by war, ethnic conflict and poverty. In addition, CEE itself may be the final intended destination for many migrants. While the existence of irregular migration cannot be denied, it is also true that many transit and irregular migrants are in fact genuine refugees in need of protection. At least part of the reason for irregular migration is the lack of comprehensive legislation in CEE for the registration of asylum applications.

3.4.1 Transit and irregular migration in Romania

Dorel Gheorgiu

Like many countries of CEE, Romania has become a receiving country for immigrants, and also a country of transit migration. The latter generally takes the form of irregular migration, as intended short transits become unintended longer-term stays. The main 'pull' factors of transit and irregular migration to Romania are:

- its geographical location on the route from East to West, particularly with the temporary closure of access through the former Yugoslavia;
- an absence of visa requirements resulting in virtually open borders between Romania and its eastern neighbours, and the easy accessibility of the Russian Federation;
- the existence of loop-holes for the irregular entry, residence and employment of transit migrants, created by administrative and legislative restructuring;
- a social climate with a general lack of xenophobia or anti-immigrant sentiment.

Legal entry can be used for irregular stays or to gain access through routes to which the migrant is not officially entitled. A transit or tourist visa is one of the most common ways of obtaining legal entry for short-term stays; it may then be used as a conduit to unofficial longer-term residence – migrants who follow this path are sometimes known as 'false tourists'. Local businesses may offer employment visas to essential foreign workers, and businesses run by migrants may become bridgeheads for further migration from the same country. Applicants with unfounded claims for protected status can also use the asylum seeker and refugee procedure to gain access to Romania at least for the time during which their claim is processed.

While in the early 1990s irregular border crossings into Romania were mainly undertaken by individuals in transit, more recently such crossings have become much more organised, with the increasing involvement of intermediaries in the trafficking of groups of people, often under the guise of a travel agency. It has been estimated that around 80% of irregular transit migrants enter Romania through the Republic of Moldova, from Russia and Ukraine. This route is primarily used by citizens of Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan and Iraq. Other routes reflect the varied origins of immigrants.

The consequences of transit and irregular migration may include:

- a distortion of the labour market;
- a growth of the informal or 'shadow' economy;
- a drain of capital from the country.

The Romanian authorities have thus introduced a series of measures aimed at reducing irregular migration. These include:

- making the irregular crossing of the national border a criminal offence;
- introducing sanctions on employers hiring irregular migrants;
- increasing the minimum capital investment necessary for a company to be able to employ foreign workers;

- increasing the fines levied on foreigners found to be staying irregularly in Romania;
- introducing stricter criteria for obtaining entry and transit visas;
- signing readmission agreements with countries from which migrants originate, to facilitate the voluntary return or expulsion of irregular migrants.

3.4.2 Irregular transit migration to the Russian Federation through the Republics of the former USSR

Tatyana Ivanova

Immigration to the Russian Federation is a relatively new phenomenon, brought about by a combination of conditions both within the country (the 'open door' policy following the post-socialist reforms, the adoption in 1992 of the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol on refugee status) and outside it (the toughening of immigration policy in the West, and increasing flows of refugees from countries affected by war and ethnic and political conflict). It is an attractive destination for irregular migrants, first, because its previous lack of experience of immigration means it has had insufficient time to develop legislation to regulate it, and second, because agreements on state borders and visa control between Russia and the CIS countries (except the Baltic states) are non-existent.

Irregular 'transit migrants' come to the Russian Federation without documents via one or more other transit countries because of the relative ease of access. According to the Federal Migration Service, more than 700,000 people from 52 different countries were in Russia irregularly in 1998. And despite popular opinion that irregular migrants are criminals, many of these were genuine refugees and/or highly skilled people capable of making a substantial contribution to Russian economy and society. Common origins of these irregular migrants were Afghanistan, Africa (mainly Angola, Burundi, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Somalia), Asian countries other than Afghanistan, and the Middle East. Migrant origin influences the specific transit route taken through the former Soviet republics. For instance, a majority of Afghans travel through the Central Asian republics while Africans are more likely to journey through Ukraine and Belarus. Many migrants enter these republics legally, for instance with a tourist visa, but then enter the Russian Federation without an entrance visa.

Despite the enactment of federal legislation aimed at regularising the status of irregular immigrants, the means for implementation are not yet well established and a mechanism for the granting of temporary asylum has not been fully developed. Moreover, many local authorities are reluctant to follow federal legislation on the reception, settlement and employment of immigrants and refugees. This is clearly a policy area that deserves further attention.

3.4.3 Discussion

The most salient issues were identified as:

- The countries of CEE are yet to develop effective measures for controlling irregular immigration.
- Research is focused on the countries of immigration in CEE, while in contrast, little attention is paid to the situation of emigrants from CEE who have left irregularly for the West.
- Many 'irregular' immigrants are in fact refugees and are legally entitled to better treatment than that which they are currently receiving.
- Related to the previous point, a more detailed classification of 'irregular' immigrants is required.
- Any resolution of the issue of irregular immigration will require a comprehensive international effort.

3.5 Migration and Gender: The Position of Migrant Women and Refugees

The recognition of gender as an important aspect of any social process has influenced the field of migration research, and the migration of women and its effect on women's status is now an accepted although as yet under-researched field of study. It is clear however that women are increasingly participating in migration flows. The focus in research on female migrants often leans towards the negative aspects, such as their vulnerability to economic and sexual exploitation as irregular migrants, and their participation in refugee flows. Such issues are clearly critical, and deserving of further attention, both from researchers and from policy makers. However neither should the positive outcomes of women's migration, such as personal empowerment and increased economic and political independence, be overlooked.

3.5.1 The decision to emigrate and the intentions of emigrants

Valentina Zlatanova

The analysis of a survey conducted in Bulgaria in 1998 as part of the UN Population Department's international study of family and fertility in Europe and North America, can be used to reveal new trends in female emigration from Bulgaria. Of the 2725 women involved in the survey, 20% had been abroad in the previous five years. Almost half of these gave tourism as the reason for their journeys. The rise of international tourism is in itself a new phenomenon in Bulgaria, stemming from the 'open door' policy in place after 1989. Tourism can also serve as a mechanism of migration, in offering an opportunity to see alternative ways of life, thereby sowing the seeds of future migration, and in acting as a screen for migrants to gain entry to a country as 'false tourists'.

Women have been a growing part of the emigration flow from Bulgaria in the last three to four years. Most women migrate for marriage or family reasons, but this

does not mean that they do not also have other reasons for wanting to migrate. In other words, they may use their family situation to fulfil an independent goal, such as better education opportunities. About a third of the women interviewed in the survey expressed a wish to live abroad for at least a year. The overwhelming reason for this was said to be to escape the material problems of Bulgaria – the economic crisis, unemployment, the slow progression towards privatisation and reform – and to obtain a better standard of living elsewhere. Other motivations given included the desire to gain new qualifications and work experience, and to see new places and cultures. Younger women seemed more determined to emigrate than older women, as did higher educated women compared with women of a lower educational level. Married women with children were much less likely than single, divorced or separated women to have strong intentions to migrate.

It seems likely that women will continue to become an increasingly important part of the migration flow from Bulgaria, and while their family connections may partially explain why they do or do not migrate, they can also be seen to have independent ambitions and motivations. Female migrants thus cannot be treated simply as adjuncts of male migrants, and require specific research and policy attention.

3.5.2 International migration and family formation processes among the migrant population of Estonia

Luule Sakkeus

Estonia's migration flows over the last 50 years can be characterised by mass immigration into Estonia from the republics of the former Soviet Union, although because of the geo-political situation of the time, this was seen as internal migration. As a result, Estonia has one of the highest proportions of immigrants in its population in Europe – around a quarter of its total population is foreign-born. Taking into account second generation 'immigrants', this figure rises to over a third.

On the whole, the 'immigrant' population is much younger than the native-born population. According to the 1989 census, the highest concentrations of 'immigrants' (including second generation 'immigrants') can be observed in the age-groups 25–39 and 50–64, representing second generation and first generation 'immigrants' respectively. In these cohorts, immigrants account for almost half the total population. The children of immigrants (second-generation 'immigrants') were counted as part of the 'immigrant' population because there is often a blurring of the problems stemming from immigration and those stemming from ethnic diversity.

Since Estonia's independence, immigration flows, largely comprising relatively young people, have fallen, and the largest group of immigrants, which settled in Estonia in the 1940s and 1950s, is approaching old age. Thus it appears that the 'immigrant' population will age substantially in the near future. There may also be other demographic differences between the 'native' and the 'immigrant' popula-

tions. For instance, the incidence of consensual unions as opposed to marriage seems to be higher for the 'native' population. However 'immigrant' women can also be seen to be following similar trends, so that behavioural differences currently observable between 'native' and 'immigrant' women may disappear in the longer term.

3.5.3 Discussion

The discussion focused on the effects the migration of women has on demographic processes and family formation. Since it is mainly young women who migrate, these issues are particularly pertinent. Relatively little is known about the distinctive features of women's migration, or of women's motivations for migration, so the consensus was that more research is required.

It was suggested that concern about how children will fare in a new ethnic environment has a strong influence on the migration of women, and, somewhat controversially, that women find it more difficult to adapt after migration.

3.6 Migration Policies

Since international migration did not officially exist in most of CEE until the early 1990s, it is not surprising that existing legislation in CEE states is unable to cope with contemporary migration flows. The difficulty stems not just from the sudden emergence of migration as a policy concern in the region, but also from the diversity of migration. Thus refugee flows, transit migration, 'shuttle migration' and irregular migration all demand specific policy responses. Although different countries of CEE are affected by different forms of migration and to different degrees, there is a general consensus that a regionally co-ordinated approach to migration policy, which also draws on the experience of governments outside the region, would be productive.

3.6.1 Contemporary migration policy in Ukraine

Olexander Piskun

The rise of new migration flows since the emergence of the new independent state of Ukraine has been dramatic; in the 1980s, net immigration averaged about 15,000 per year, whereas at its peak in 1992, it reached 282,000. The majority of this influx can be explained by the repatriation of ethnic Ukrainians and of Ukrainian citizens. With worsening socio-economic problems, immigration began to decline from 1993, and in 1994 net emigration was registered for the first time.

The first legislative act adopted by the independent Ukraine was the law 'On Ukrainian Citizenship' on 8 October 1991. In accordance with this Law, everyone who resided in Ukraine at the time of its enactment, and who did not express any objection, was granted Ukrainian citizenship. In July 1992 the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine adopted the law 'On Ethnic Minorities in Ukraine', which provides state assistance for the integration of national minorities. On 4 February 1994 the law

'On the Legal Status of Foreigners' came into being, making a distinction between the categories of 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee'. The law 'On Refugees', enacted on 24 December, 1994 was the first law aimed specifically at controlling migration and refugee flows. A new Ukrainian Constitution was adopted on 28 July 1996 and this greatly increased the potential for regulating migration through developing new legislation. In line with international norms, the Constitution guarantees freedom of movement, choice of place of residence, the right to leave Ukraine, and the right of Ukrainian citizens to return. It does not permit the loss of citizenship or the expulsion or deportation of Ukrainian citizens.

However the new legislation leaves some gaps. A new law 'On Immigration' has not yet been ratified by Parliament, and there is still no separate law on the granting of asylum. The complex issue of regulating the status of Crimean Tartars (repatriates who had previously been deported from Ukrainian territory) also lacks legal support. Further work needs to be done towards the ratification by Ukraine of the UN Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951) and of the Protocol (1967). Labour migration is a further area with which no specific legislation is equipped to deal, and new administrative structures for the management of migration are needed.

3.6.2 Migration policy in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

Anne de Tinguy

In the CIS, four specific ethnic population movements can be discerned:

- Russians moving to the Russian Federation;
- *Aussiedler* emigrating to Germany;
- former Soviet citizens of Polish, Finnish, Greek or Latvian origin moving to these countries;
- Jews emigrating to Israel.

The people involved in such movements are not strictly 'emigrants' or 'immigrants' because of the blood tie they have with the receiving country. Instead they are considered as 'repatriates' or 'forced migrants' and specific reception and integration policies, distinct from immigration policies, are set up in most countries to help them.

Most of the policies in place are dominated by the idea of a special responsibility to these 'blood brothers', and by a moral obligation to receive people who wish to 'return' to their historic homeland. There is also a recognition that in many cases, although to varying extents, these 'return' movements may have positive demographic, economic and political effects in the receiving country. A second component of most state policies is support for their 'blood brothers' in their countries of residence.

Among the major difficulties encountered by states in pursuing these policies are:

- a lack of material resources;
- the problem of regulating the magnitude of 'return' flows;
- the language barrier, which is a serious obstacle to integration (except in Russia, since the official language of all former republics of the Soviet Union was Russian);
- the problem of integrating 'return migrants' into the labour market.

In most states, it is the last of these which is the most difficult problem to overcome. Factors contributing to this difficulty are generally high levels of unemployment in the 'countries of origin', a lack on the part of the migrants not so much of qualifications as of appropriate skills, and discrimination against the migrants as 'Russians'. Thus, in spite of the fact that these migrants are treated as privileged 'blood brothers', they face serious problems in integrating after their 'return' to their country of 'origin'. They may be seen and treated as 'Russian' despite having been treated in the former Soviet Union as a minority, so that many people suffer psychologically from identity crises.

'Repatriation' policies are based on the notion that a particular bond exists between the 'repatriate' and the receiving country, defined in fact as the 'country of origin'. A repatriate is thus not an immigrant. While theoretically simple, this concept in reality is a very complex one. In principle, the main motivations for 'repatriates' are essentially identity-related – in other words their migration is prompted by a desire to reassert ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic links. Identity thus legitimises 'repatriation', yet in practice factors pertaining to identity may be linked with or replaced by other reasons for moving, such as the desire for economic improvement or the search for security and safety. Where feelings of national identity and belonging are not paramount, 'return' is closely related to immigration, and the two types of movement cannot be so clearly separated.

3.6.3 Discussion

The issue of developing migration policy tenets and corresponding legislation in political and economic systems in transition drew much attention. Refugees, the 'brain drain' and transit migration were all discussed. It was agreed that CIS researchers should join forces and exchange information in order to help their respective countries develop effective instruments for managing migration. A number of difficult issues emerged, including returning of previously deported peoples, and the complex relations between different ethnic groups, the indigenous populations of countries of immigration and newly-arrived migrants.

4. COUNTRY MIGRATION REPORTS

During the expert meeting, the participants summarised the prevailing migration trends in and problems facing their respective countries. It emerged that the countries of CEE had much in common in the arena of migration. Since 1989, the launch of the 'open door' policy and the economic, political and social crises experienced in many CEE states have combined to produce a major transition in population movements over the last decade. Some of the most prevalent features identified in the country reports are listed below.

- Refugee flows are a new and worrying phenomenon in this region of the world. The former Yugoslavia has seen some of the most tragic and dramatic upheavals. In just one month, December 1992, nearly 700,000 refugees, exiles and displaced persons were registered in Croatia, and 15,000 ethnic Albanians fled from Kosovo to Albania in the wake of ethnic violations. Afghanistan and Iraq are also sources of large numbers of refugees. Internally displaced persons are also a top priority in some states. The number of IDPs in the CIS countries were estimated at around 1,1 million persons, including Armenians (72,000), Azerbaijanis (549,000), Georgians (261,000), Moldovians (51,000) and Chechnyans (149,000). Ecological disasters (Chernobyl, the Aral Sea basin, Semipalatinsk) also generated large numbers of displaced persons.
- 'Repatriation' flows to 'countries of origin' with which people have ethnic and cultural ties are common, For instance ethnic Russians moving from the republics of the former Soviet Union to the Russian Federation (2.4 million ethnic Russians repatriated from the CIS and Baltic states during the period 1991–1997). Over the period 1990–1997, more than 200,000 Belarussians have repatriated from the CIS and Baltic states, accounting for 40–50% of all registered immigrants in Belarus and since 1995, 70,000 ethnic Hungarians from Romania have 'returned' to Hungary. In Latvia and Estonia, the emigration and repatriation of Soviet military forces and their families after the disintegration of the Soviet state created an emigration peak in 1992. Between 1989 and 1996, 180,000 Crimean Tatars returned to Crimea. Since 1992, 850,000 Volga Germans have emigrated to Germany.
- Mass economic migration affects most CEE countries in some way. Irregular migration may receive the most attention from policy makers, the media and the public, but legal migration also has a significant role to play. Although flows of emigrants from CEE to the West are not as large as many had predicted, they do occur, with Germany and the USA being amongst the most popular destinations. Official net migration from CEE to the West was estimated at 20 per 10,000 population for the period 1991–1993, compared with 9 per 10,000 from 1950 to 1988. In 1997, 220,000 Polish workers were employed abroad on the basis of international agreements, with around 185,000 of these being

seasonal workers in Germany. Over 100,000 Albanians and 60,000 Bulgarians were said to have emigrated legally to the West during 1997.

- International migration in the CEE is not limited to movement to the West; but it occurs mostly between the individual countries of the CEE. A large part of this flow is composed of economically motivated labour migrants and their families. For example in Bulgaria and Belarus, the main sources of immigrants are the CIS and Baltic states, with Russia, Ukraine and Moldova in particular sending large numbers of migrants to both countries. About half of Georgia's substantial outward migration flow is directed towards the Russian Federation. Hungary receives 20,000 work permit holders annually, and this flow is dominated by Romanians.
- Irregular emigration is widespread, for example a rough estimate is that there are approximately 400,000 Albanians irregularly in Greece, and as many as 300,000–400,000 Polish citizens may be working abroad irregularly. Generally however, the measurement of this type of flow has not been a priority of migration research in CEE.
- Irregular immigration is a growing concern of many CEE governments, with irregular migrants arriving from a wide range of countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Many of these migrants regard CEE as a transit route to the West. Russian estimates put the number of irregular immigrants in its territory (including transit migrants) as high as one million. Again, movement occurs within CEE. For instance, it is currently estimated that there are 100,000–200,000 irregular migrants in the Czech Republic, and most of these are believed to be from Ukraine. Polish Central Statistical Office data for 1998 estimate that there are in the region of 150,000 foreign workers with an irregular legal status in Poland.
- Temporary 'shuttle migration', mostly of an irregular nature, is a significant new type of flow. For instance, one estimate suggested that as many as 800,000 Ukrainians were engaged in some form of irregular employment in Poland during the period 1995–1996. Russian 'shuttle migrants' travel mainly to Turkey, China and Eastern Europe. Since stays are very short-term, and the main base for the migrant typically remains their original home, this form of movement may not be 'migration' according to strict definitions, but it does seem to be a significant phenomenon in CEE.

5. DISCUSSION ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN NETWORK ON MIGRATION RESEARCH (CEENOM)

The final day of the expert meeting was devoted to the discussion of matters relating to the establishment of a research network for the study of migration in the countries of CEE.

Dr Timur outlined the second goal of the meeting which was to discuss the modalities for setting up a Central and Eastern European migration research network, its structure and its activities. She then identified the objectives of this network:

- to carry out comparative research projects on various aspects of migration patterns and ethno-cultural diversity;
- to develop research capacities in the sub-region and enhance theoretical and methodological knowledge of migration through international seminars and training courses for researchers;
- to provide research and advisory services for policy-makers at the national and international levels;
- to assist in the design of high quality research projects and in raising the quality of international migration data collection and analysis.

Following a lively discussion, the idea of establishing a research network in CEE was endorsed by the participants and its name, the **Central and Eastern European Network in Migration Research (CEENOM)**, was approved.

After discussing the rationale, modality and tentative organizational structure of the network the participants identified the following six major themes around which to focus future research:

- Recent trends in migration in CEE: consequences and prospects;
- Migration and economy in CEE: new patterns of business and labour force migration;
- Issues relating to adaptation, integration and multicultural interaction;
- Migration and gender;
- Migration legislation and human rights;
- The impact of migration on the family and demographic processes.

It was agreed that a follow-up meeting should take place in May 1999 in Prague, to be organized in collaboration with Charles University, to finalize the research project proposals on priority themes and the CEENOM Workplan including plans for publication of the papers of the Moscow meeting.

APPENDIX ONE

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

UNESCO–MOST Management of Social Transformations Program

Russian Academy of Sciences Institute for Economic Forecasting

Centre for Demography and Human Ecology

MEETING OF EXPERTS

International Migration and Economies in Transition
at the Threshold of the 21st Century: New Trends and Emerging Issues

Moscow (Russian Federation)
8–10 September 1998

AGENDA

8 September 1998

9.00 - 9.30

Registration

9.30 - 10.00

Opening Session

Chair: Victor IVANTER

Tatiana REGENT, Head of the Federal Migration
Service of Russia

Vladimir KUDRIAVTSEV, Vice-President of the
Russian Academy of Sciences

Anatoly VISHNEVSKY, Director of the Centre for
Demography and Human Ecology

Serim TIMUR, Head of the Population and Migration
Unit, UNESCO

- 10.00 - 11.30 **Country Migration Reports**
Chairs: Igor DANILOV, Anatoly VISHNEVSKY
- 11.30 - 12.00 Coffee
- 12.00 - 13.30 **Country Migration Reports (continued)**
- 13.30 - 14.30 Lunch
- 14.30 - 16.00 **Emerging Trends in Migration in Central and Eastern Europe: Causes, Consequences and Prospects**
Chairs: Ludmila ARUTYUNYAN, Osod ATAMIRZOEV
 Marek OKÓLSKI (Poland)
The Regional Dimension of International Migration in Central and Eastern Europe
 Zhanna ZAYONCHKOVSKAYA (Russia)
New Migration Trends in the CIS
- 16.00 - 16.30 Coffee
- 16.30 - 18.00 **Migration and the Economy: Labour Force and Business Migration**
Chairs: Mirjana DOMINI, Olexander PISKUN
 Dusan DRBOHLAV (Czech Republic)
Labour Migration in the Czech Republic
 Audra SIPAVIËIENË (Lithuania)
Economic Aspects of Contemporary International Migration in Lithuania
 Endre SIK (Hungary)
The Informal Economy and Migration in Contemporary Hungary
- 9 September 1998**
- 9.30 - 11.30 **Forced Migration: Political and Environmental Factors**
Chairs: Zhanna ZAYONCHKOVSKAYA, Marek OKÓLSKI

Irina BADURASHVILI (Georgia)
Problems of Forced Migration in Georgia

Mirjana DOMINI (Croatia)
Migration Processes Caused by the Disintegration of Yugoslavia

Vladimir MUKOMEL (Russia)
What Will Happen to Forced Migrants in Russia? Legislation and Practice

11.30 - 12.00

Coffee

12.00 - 13.30

Transit and Irregular Migration

Chairs: Luule SUKKEUS, Dusan DRBOHLAV

Dorel GHEORGIU (Romania)
Transit and Irregular Migration in Romania

Tatyana IVANOVA (Russia)
Irregular transit immigration to the Russian Federation through the republics of the former USSR

13.30 - 14.30

Lunch

14.30 - 16.00

Migration and Gender: The Position of Migrant Women and Refugees

Chairs: Peteris ZVIDRINS, Lyudmila SHAKHOTKO

Valentina ZLATANOVA (Bulgaria)
The Decision to Emigrate and the Intentions of Emigrants

Luule SUKKEUS (Estonia)
International Migration and Family Formation Processes among the Migrant Population in Estonia

16.00 - 16.30

Coffee

16.30 - 18.00

Migration Policies

Chairs: Irina BADURASHVILI, Endre SIK

Alexander PISKUN (Ukraine)
Contemporary Migration Policy in Ukraine

Anne de TINGUY (France)
Migration Policy in the CIS

10 September 1998

- 9.30 - 11.30 **Discussion on the Establishment of a Migration Research Network in Central and Eastern Europe**
Chairs: Anatoly VISHNEVSKY, Serim TIMUR
- 11.30 - 12.00 *Coffee*
- 12.00 - 13.00 **Discussion on the Establishment of a Migration Research Network in Central and Eastern Europe**
(continued)
- 13.00 - 14.00 *Lunch*
- 14.00 - 15.00 **Closing Remarks**
Chairs: Zhanna ZAYONCHKOVSKAYA, Igor DANILOV

APPENDIX TWO

MEETING OF EXPERTS

International Migration and Economies in Transition
at the Threshold of the 21st Century: New Trends and Emerging Issues

Moscow (Russian Federation), 8–10 September 1998

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Albania

Tabaku, Afrim

Professor, Head of the Environmental Epidemiology Unit, Department of Environment and Health, Public Health Institute, Tirana

Fax: (355) 427 0058

E-mail: iphealth@icc.al.eu.org

Armenia

Arutiunyan, Liudmila

Professor, Head of Department of Sociology, Erevan University, Erevan

Tel: (8852) 525 830, 550 385

Azerbaijan

Yunusov, Arif

Dr., Head of Department of Conflict Studies and Migration, Institute of Peace and Democracy, Baku

Tel/Fax: (8922) 983 173

E-mail: root@ipd.baku.az

Belarus

Shakhotko, Liudmila

Dr., Head of Department of Demography, Research Institute of Statistics of the Republic of Belarus, Minsk

Tel: (017) 249 5409, 249 5206,
235 5207

Fax: (017) 235 5207

Bulgaria

Zlatanova, Valentina

Dr., Head of Department, Institute of Sociology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia

Tel: (3592) 980 9086 x113,
980 9489 x113

Fax: (3592) 980 5895

E-mail: zlatan@obzor.bio21.bas.bg

Croatia*Domini, Mirjana*

M.A., Head of Research Team,
Institute for Migration and Ethnic
Studies, Zagreb

Tel: (3851) 539 777. 539 988

Fax: (3851) 611 9680

Czech Republic*Drbohlav, Dusan*

Dr., Assistant Professor, Department
of Social Geography and Regional
Development, Faculty of Science,
Charles University, Prague

Tel: (04202) 219 52197

Fax: (04202) 296 025

E-mail: drbohlav@natur.cuni.cz

Estonia*Sakkeus, Luule*

Dr., Researcher, Estonian Interuni-
versity Population Research Centre,
Tallinn

Tel: (0372) 640 9451, 433 773

Fax: (0372) 640 9453

E-mail: puur@tpu.ee,

luule@ekdk.estnet.ee

France*de Tinguy, Anne*

Senior Research Fellow, Centre
d'Études et de Recherches Interna-
tionales (CERI), Paris

Tel: (33 1) 441 08473

Fax: (33 1) 441 08450

E-mail:

anne.detinguy@ceri.sciences-po.fr

Georgia*Badurashvili, Irina*

Dr., President of the Georgian Centre
of Population Research, Tbilisi

Tel: (99532) 661 206

Fax: (99532) 231 944

E-mail: drugmonc@access.sanet.ge,

eccpg@nilc.org.ge

Hungary*Sik, Endre*

Professor, Director of the Centre for
Refugee and Migration Studies,
Budapest

Tel: (0360) 273 2443 (Office),

335 5689 (Home)

Fax: (0360) 331 6332

E-mail: sik@tarki.hu

Kazakhstan*Masanov, Nurbulat*

Professor, Kazakhstan University,
Almaty

Tel: (3272) 699 494

Latvia*Zvidrins, Peteris*

Professor, Director of the Centre of
Demography, University of Latvia,
Riga

Tel: (3717) 226 368 (Office),

767 305 (Home)

Fax: (3717) 225 039

E-mail: zvidrins@lanet.lv

Moldova

Moshnyaga, Valery

Dr., Chair of the Department of
Political Science, Kishinev University,
Kishinev

Tel: (0422) 224 697

E-mail: moshnyag@usm.md

Poland

Okólski, Marek

Professor, Director of the Centre of
Migration Research, Institute for
Social Studies, Warsaw University,
Warsaw

Tel: (4822) 831 5153

Fax: (4822) 831 4933

E-mail: issinfo@samba.iss.uw.edu.pl

Romania

Gheorgiu, Dorel

Dr., Director of the Population Divi-
sion, National Commission for Statis-
tics, Bucharest

Tel: (40 1) 410 3711

Fax: (40 1) 312 4873

E-mail: munteanu@cns.kappa.ro

Russia

Mukomel, Vladimir

Dr., Deputy Director, Centre for
Ethno-Political and Regional Studies,
Moscow

Tel: (095) 206 1753, 206 3549
(Office), 425 4982 (Home)

Fax: (095) 206 2131, 206 6439

E-mail: mukomel@alnet.gov.ru

Zayonchkovskaya, Zhanna

Dr., Director of the Centre on Forced
Migration in the CIS; Head of the
Laboratory of Migration of the Insti-
tute of Economic Forecasting of
RAS, Moscow

Tel: (095) 332 4459 (Office),
312 8758 (Home)

Fax: (095) 310 7071

E-mail: migr@mail.ecfor.rssi.ru

Ukraine

Piskun, Olexander

Dr., Editor-in-Chief of *Migration
Issues*; Chairman of Supervisory
Migration Problems Research Cen-
tre, Kiev

Fax: (38044) 416 3052

E-mail: oleks@irf.kiev.ua

Pribytkova, Irina

Dr., Director of the Population Stud-
ies Centre of National University,
Kyiy-Mohyla Academy, Kiev

Tel: (80 44) 269 1693

Uzbekistan

AtaMirzoev, Ozod

Dr., Professor, Head of Tashkent University; Vice-Director of the Social Centre of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent

Tel: (3712) 139 8429
Fax: (3712) 671 781, 460 869, 464 307

Host Country Representatives

Federal Migration Service

Regent, Tatyana

Minister, Moscow

Tel: (095) 924 7323
Fax: (095) 923 8945

Russian Academy of Sciences

Kudryavtsev, Vladimir

Vice-President, Moscow

Tel: (095) 237 6808

Organizers

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

Timur, Serim

Dr., Head of the Population and Migration Unit, UNESCO, Paris

Tel: (33 1) 456 83737
Fax: (33 1) 456 85726, 456 85728
E-mail: s.timur@unesco.org

Reuther, Wolfgang

Director
UNESCO Moscow Office

Tel: (7095) 52029097
Fax: (7095) 2020568
E-mail: UHMOS

Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS)

Centre for Demography and Human Ecology of the Institute for Economic Forecasting of RAS

Vishnevsky, Anatoly

Director

Tel: (095) 129 1722, 332 4692
(Office), 316 3414 (Home)
Fax: (095) 310 7071
E-mail: vishne@mail.ecfor.rssi.ru

Zayonchkovskaya, Zhanna

Dr., Head of the Laboratory of Migration

Tel: (095) 332 4459 (Office), 312 8758 (Home)
Fax: (095) 310 7071
E-mail: migr@mail.ecfor.rssi.ru

Badyshtova, Irina

Dr., Senior Research Fellow, Laboratory of Migration

Tel: (095) 332 4459
Fax: (095) 310 7071

Ivanova, Elena
Dr., Senior Research Fellow, Laboratory for Population Analysis and Forecasting
Tel: (095) 332 4397
Fax: (095) 310 7071
E-mail: eivan@unix.ecfor.rssi.ru

Kirillova, Elena
Researcher, Laboratory of Migration
Tel: (095) 332 4459 (Office)
Fax: (095) 310 7071

Nilov, Nikolay
Scholar, Laboratory of Migration
Tel: (095) 332 4459 (Office)
Fax: (095) 310 7071

Observers

UNDP

Cruz, Martha
Deputy Representative, Moscow
Tel: (095) 956 4968
Fax: (095) 232 2037

IOM

McClain, Edwin
Director of Moscow Bureau
Tel: (095) 948 8300
Fax: (095) 490 7087

McArthur Foundation

Ustinova, Galina
Director of Social Programmes,
Moscow
Tel: (095) 290 5088
Fax: (095) 956 6358

Ford Foundation

Stewart-Hill, Ann
Programme Officer, Moscow
Tel: (095) 935 7051
Fax: (095) 935 7052

UNHCR

Andreev, Victor
Senior Policy Advisor of Moscow
Regional Office
Tel: (095) 232 3015
Fax: (095) 232 3011

Moscow Centre of Carnegie

Endowment
Vitkovskaya, Galina
Director of the Programme 'Problems
of Migration and Citizenship'
Tel: (095) 935 8904 (Office),
936 4811 (Home)
Fax: (095) 935 8906
E-mail: galina@carnegie.ru

Imprimé en France – JOUVE
Dépôt légal : Octobre 1999