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Migration in Balkan Countries as Social Phenomenon

Abstract

This article will try to define migration as one of the central topics that concern Balkan countries in the entire 20th century. We will try to classify it, and follow the history of “traditional” migrations in the Balkans. We will analyze migration in the context of significant social processes in the 20th century such as wars between Balkan countries, inequalities in the standard of living between particular countries and globalization.

Key words: Migration, Balkan, wars, economic inequalities

Introduction

Migrations are a significant global phenomenon, happening in absolutely every country, and they cover a series of relevant social issues from demographic to demographic. The Balkans hasn't been excluded from such global migration flows. On the contrary, it can be said that migrations represent a significant part of the Balkans' past, especially in the 20th century. Because of the historical circumstances followed by war conflicts, as to the consequences, they have caused after the economic development, the Balkans' people have often migrated forced by such war conflicts or because of their will to achieve their ambitions in peaceful and prosperous times.

The overview of migrations in the Balkans' near past, can open a perspective that will help to observe migrations in the future, especially in the view of the present wave of immigrants from Syria, who have transited through Balkan countries on their way to West European countries. Before we dedicate ourselves to Balkans' migrations, we will first try to define migrations, so we can further categorize them and review the corresponding types of migrations in the Balkans.

Definition of Migrations

Every author dealing with researching of migrations is trying to give his definition of this significant social phenomenon. From the variety of definitions for migrations circulating in social sciences, as most relevant we will take the one given by the United Nations. According to UN,

migrations are a term that represents moving of the population, no matter the reasons that cause such movement. Hence, migrations include refugees, displaced persons, as to economic migrations (International Organization for Migration 2004: 40). The terms migrations and a migrant have to be distinctively viewed. While migrations cover every movement of the population, no matter the reasons causing it, migrants, as according to Lemaire Georges (2005), have been defined by the UN as persons changing their habitat location, who have so decided individually, freely and without outside intervention.

Migrations are one of the most significant demographic occurrences and are dominantly defined by two dimensions: space and time (Poulain and Perrin 2001). Space is referred to as the place abandoned on one and the place of populating on the other hand. While time is referred to as the length of stay in the new habitat.

The right of migrating is internationally regulated with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN in 1948. In the second article of this declaration, it is said that any person has the right to abandon any country, including its home country. While departures in the democratic countries usually aren't controlled, there are strictly established procedures that need to be followed during the arriving and accepting of immigrants. Namely in the democratic countries data is gathered for the arriving persons, and their right of stay in a certain country is checked (Poulain and Perrin 2001). In most of the countries, the people who aren't citizens of the country have the right to enter and stay in it for a short time period (usually three months), based on reciprocal agreements among the countries that face the migration process. Some of the countries, being part of economic migrations, require the possession of a certain document, a visa, to enter their country. The visa enables the right to a short stay in a certain country, usually for three months. The right of stay can be prolonged, including the right of citizenship of the country in question (Lemaire Georges 2005:2).

Classification of migrations

Migrations can be categorized according to several dimensions as spatial, time and the reason causing them. Taking into consideration the spatial dimension of migrations we can talk about internal migrations in a country and international migrations when migrants move from one country to another. In this, the emigrants are those departing from a certain country. Immigrants are actually the people arriving in a certain country. Depending on if they have registered the departure from the country and the stay in another we can differentiate the legal status of migrants. So, if the migrant has registered his departure from one and his arrival in the other country, he won't be considered habitant of the country of departure anymore, but of the one where he has arrived. If he has only registered his stay in the country of arrival, but hasn't registered the departure from the country he left, he will be considered a habitant of both the country of departure and arrival. If he has only registered his departure from one country, but not his arrival in the other, he won't be considered a habitant of neither country. If he hasn't registered his departure or arrival, the migrant will be formally – legally considered as a habitant of the country of departure.

According to the time dimension, we can differentiate short and long-term migrations. Namely, according to the recommendations of UN, long term migrations are considered the ones that last for more than a year. Short term migrations are those that last between three months and a year, while every changing of habitat shorter than three months is considered a visit (Poulain and Perrin 2001).

The reasons that cause migrations can occasionally be categorized as political and economic. Political migrations are indications that politics as a regulation of relations among larger social groups is dysfunctional and isn't giving the desired results, and even results in conflicts and war conflicts between such large social groups (mostly ethnic, but occasionally, like in the civil war in Greece ideological). War conflicts by definition have caused mass migrations in regions and countries where they occur, during the lasting of the conflicts, because of the insecurity and exposing of the civil population to the war dangers. The war conflicts also cause migrations even after they have finished among the population situated "on the wrong side of the border" respectively that remained to leave in a country dominated by different ethnicity.

Serious factor also causing migrations is the disparity in the economic development and the living standard in countries. The trend is that people from economically less developed countries migrate to those that have higher living standard.

Serious difference between political and economic migrations is that political migrations are forced while the economic are voluntary. In this, with forced migrations there is the element of coercion, including threats to lives and the environment, caused by human factor. The forced migrants are temporary displaced persons and refugees (International Organization for Migration 2004:25). Voluntary migrations are based on individual decisions, in order to improve their living standard, profession, and their family's perspective.

Political Migrations in Balkan in 20th century

Not rarely was the term "barrel of gun powder" used on the Balkans as a metaphor for potential and also factual quite frequent bloody war conflicts among small, but ambitious new formed Balkan national countries. In the 20th century in the Balkans, there was a war conflict in almost every ten years, beginning with the two Balkan wars from 1913th, then the first and Second World War, the Greek-Turk war (1919-22), the civil war in Greece (1946-49), right after the ending of World War II, and finally the wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo that accompanied the dissolution of former Yugoslavia. All these wars created refugees as a consequence. Internally displaced people and migrants. As a consequence of the Balkan wars many Turks throughout 20th century have left the newly formed Balkan countries and habituated Turkey. As a consequence of World War II, many Germans, Italians, Hungarians have migrated from the Balkan's to their home countries. As a consequence of the civil war in Greece many Macedonians have migrated from there in Macedonia, Bulgaria and other European countries. As a consequence of the wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, many citizens of these countries have migrated to surrounding countries. As a consequence of the war in Croatia, Serbians have also migrated to their home country Serbia, same happened with the case of Kosovo, where Serbians also migrated to Serbia. After the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Croatians have migrated to their home country Croatia, while many Bosnians have migrated to West European countries and surrounding Balkan countries.

After the end of the Balkan wars around 440 000 Turks left Trakia and Macedonia. Also, after the Second Balkan War on the 29th of September, a peace treaty was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Bulgarian kingdom that had also contained the exchange of population. Larger migrations of the population already occurred during the wars, so this treaty was relevant for relatively small population number. So with the agreement on the 29th of September 1913, 47 000 Bulgarians from Trakia have moved to Bulgaria, and 49 000 Turks from Bulgaria have moved to Turkey (Icduygy A and Sert D 2006:88). Also according to the report of Carnegie's commission, after the Second

Balkan War 50 000 people from Macedonia have migrated to Bulgaria while in the first three decades of the 20th century around 100 000 people from Macedonia have moved to Bulgaria (Chepreganov Todor 2008:221). According to some other sources after the signing of the Convention for voluntary emigration among Greece and Bulgaria, in November 1919, around 100 000 people from Greece, dominantly from Aegean Macedonia, have moved to Bulgaria (Pejov 1968:96).

The next wave of migrations in the Balkans occurred after the Greek – Turk war 1919-23. After the end of this War an agreement for the exchange of population was signed between the two countries that caused 1 500 000 Greeks to leave Turkey and move to Greece and around 500 000 Turks left Greece and moved to Turkey (Bruce 2006). Totally from the end of the 18th century until 1923, when the modern country of Turkey was formed, around 5 million people have moved there, mostly Turks, but also Cherkezi, Albanian, Bosnian (Akgunduz 2008:9).

Migrations on an ethnical basis have also occurred in periods without war conflicts. So the statistics say that in the period between 1923 and 1949 from Yugoslavia have moved officially 5 894 Turks, accepted by Turkey and around 111 381 Turks have moved voluntarily, without certainty of their accommodation in Turkey (Icduygu and Sert 2006:94).

After the end of World War II, 360 000 Germans have migrated from Yugoslavia in Germany and Austria. A significant part of Hungarians from Vojvodina and Romania have moved to Hungary, around 200 000 Italians have left Yugoslavia. From 1954 until 1990 a significant number of Turks have left Yugoslavia and moved to Turkey. In the period between 1954 and 1960 moved around 160 000, in the period between 1960 and 1970 around 30 000 and in the period between 1970 and 1990 around 4 000 Turks have migrated from Yugoslavia to Turkey (Bonifazi and Mainolo 2004:520, Icduygu and Sert 2006:96).

The ethnic migrations from Romania, in other countries, haven't finished right after the end of World War II. On the contrary, they still happened until the 1990-ties. So for example, according to the bilateral agreement between Romania and Germany, between 1970 and 1989 around 230 000 Germans have left Romania and moved to Germany. Also between 1960 and 1992, Jews from Romania have migrated to Israel and USA. After 1987, around 60 000 Hungarians left Romania and moved to Hungary (Bonifazi and Mainolo 2004:520).

As for Bulgaria, in the period between 1948 and 1949, 32 106 Jews moved from Bulgaria to Israel. In the period 1945-1951, around 8 000 Armenian have moved to Armenia, supported by the Soviet Governments (Markova 2010:2). In the period 1950-53, around 250 000 Turks, have been granted permission to leave Bulgaria and moved to Turkey. In 1968 based on the bilateral agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey for completion of family of people already migrated to Turkey, 95 000 Turks gained the right to migrate to Turkey (Bonifazi and Mainolo 2004:520; Icduygu and Sert 2006:94). Also, in the period 1976-1979, the migrations from Bulgaria in Turkey were quite intense. So, in 1978, 33 000 people have moved from Bulgaria to Turkey (Markova 2010:3). According to the census from 1992, in the period between 1989 and 1992, 344 849 citizens have moved from Bulgaria to Turkey (Markova 2010:13).

Economic Migrations in Balkan in 20th century

Economic migrations i.e. migrations of labor are one of the major contemporary global trends. Economic migrations cover the largest part of the total international migration. The reason for

such migrations is usually the disparity in the standard of living in different countries and prospects for the professional realization that they offer to individuals. Such migrations cover labor i.e. the economically active population and their families. Just for illustration of the number of people covered by economic migration in the world, the expectations for 2010 were that 214 million people will be part of the international migrations of which 90% was expected to be international economic migrants. Expectations were that 105.4 million people from this number will be economically active population, and the remaining members of their families (International Labor Organization 2010: 1).

The Global Commission on International Migration, in its report on migration in 2005 stated that economic motives for migration include differences in:

- Amount of salaries, with almost half of the people living in the sub-Saharan Africa, live on less than a dollar a day,
- Unemployment, with unemployment in the middle east and Africa is almost twice larger than the developed industrial countries,
- Differences in the longevity of living. Life expectancy in developing countries is 58 years, which is significantly less than the average life expectancy in developed countries which is 78 years (Steiner 2009: 3).

Despite the differences in the standard of living, significant set of causes of migration are globalization and development of possibility for using of means of communication (Internet, social networks, mobile phones) and transport (greater availability above all in international transport). All of these elements have contributed to a significant increase in international migrations.

The trend of domination of economic migrations over political was characteristic of migrations in the 20th century for Balkan countries, although it could be said that the ratio between economic and political migrations in the Balkans are not the same as worldwide. Economic migration in the Balkans after the Second World War until the fall of the Berlin Wall mainly covered three countries: Yugoslavia and Turkey as countries from where people most often migrated to Western Europe, mainly Germany, Austria and the Scandinavian countries and Greece, where until the joining in the European Economic Community (now European Union), people have emigrated, for improving the economic situation from the mid-1980s to become a country that attracts immigrants. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, countries like Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania became countries with a significant number of migrants in Western Europe.

Migration processes from Yugoslavia to Western European countries started in the 1960s, following the adoption of appropriate legislation in 1964. Yugoslavia was the only socialist country where migration to Western Europe was permitted. In the 1960s and 1970s, the country became one of the most important sources of labor in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Between 1964 and 1973 around 860,000 citizens of Yugoslavia migrated. A significant part of these, approximately 200,000 migrated to overseas countries, Canada, the United States, New Zealand and Australia. Migration in European countries primarily in Germany was quite pronounced in the late 1960s and early 1970s. So in 1969, there were 192 232 registered migrants from Yugoslavia, in 1970 are registered 202 360 migrants, while in 1971 are registered 113 333 migrants. This means that in just three years from Yugoslavia to Germany have migrated 507 925 citizens. More than 10% of the population between 20 and 30 years and 34% of highly educated labor has migrated. In the next period the Yugoslav government tried to discourage the migration trend, which resulted in reduced numbers of migrants of 75 501 in 1972 and 81 504 in 1973 (Akgunduz 2008: 110). In the period between 1973 and 1985, an additional 500 000 citizens of Yugoslavia immigrated to Western Europe, so in the late 1980s to 1990 an additional 550 000 citizens of Yugoslavia immigrated to Western European countries (Bonifazi and Mainolo 2004: 521).

The agreement between Turkey and Germany for recruiting of the workforce, from 30th October 1961 only regulated the process of migrating citizens from Turkey to Germany that was already happening before the signing of the agreement. Thus, in July 1960, 2495 workers from Turkey were already working in Germany, so that in June 1961 this number reaches 5 200. Between 1961 and 1973 around one million Turkish workers arrived in Western Europe. Some of them stayed longer than the prescribed period so that the estimates were that in 1973 in western European countries, there are about 1.3 million workers from Turkey. The number of immigrants was highest in 1968, when according to the Turkish Employment Service, Turkey had left 525,000 workers, of which 80% went to Germany (Martin 2012: 128). On 23 of November 1973, Germany halted the recruitment of manpower from countries not members of the European Economic Community, which among other things also hit Turkey (Akgunduz 2008: 4). In 2008, there were 2.3 million EU citizens recorded who were born in Turkey, most of which 1.5 million live in Germany, 158 000 in Austria, 230 000 in France, 200 000 in the Netherlands (Biffl 2011: 1). According to statistics from Turkey in 2009, 3.8 million citizens of the Republic Turkey have lived outside the borders of Turkey, which includes overseas countries and countries in the Middle East. The majority of the Turkish citizens living outside its borders are 1.7 million that live in Germany. According to data from 2000, 1.3 million citizens of Turkey are born outside the borders of Turkey (Martin 2012: 130).

As for migrations from Bulgaria, they are considerably smaller. Thus, according to the census from 1992 and 2001, 217 809 people have left the country, as data are inconsistent with the expectations of the National Institute of Statistics. That institution for the period 1993-96 expected 253 609 people to leave the country, while for the period 1998-2001 expectation was that 210 000 people will leave the country (Markova 2010: 12).

Conclusion

Generally, it could be said that the Balkans in the 20th century was a space where political and economic migrations occurred continuously. The data show that despite the numerous political and war conflicts, significantly larger migrations cause the economic motives for migrating. When analyzing the reasons for migration we must have in mind that the political (military) conflicts have both direct and indirect impact on migrations through the devastation of the economic potentials of countries and their economic stagnation, which ultimately contributes to the deepening of the difference in the living standard between economically developed and the Balkan countries, which in turn intensifies the economic motives for migration.

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