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**Recent trends
in international migration**

Poland 1997

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RECENT TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION POLAND 1997

Marek Okólski

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1. Introduction

In 1996 and the first half of 1997 the economy continued to perform well. The rate of growth remained at the level well above 5 per cent per annum whereas the unemployment and inflation rates kept declining. However, a one-digit inflation is yet to come. Actually the level of 18.5 per cent was achieved in 1996 and 13.0 per cent is expected for 1997 (the annual average for 1995 was 27.8 per cent). The unemployment rate fell down to 12.1 per cent in 1996 and might be at the level of 11.5 per cent in 1997 (the annual average for 1995 was 14.9 per cent). As a matter of fact, the number of unemployed in September 1997 was around 1.9 million, down from nearly 3 millions (in September 1994) which was the highest level recorded in Poland in the 1990's. At the same time, the number of employed increased considerably (by 2 per cent in 1996).

2. Migration policy

A major event of 1996 was the Sixth Conference of European Ministries Responsible for Migration Affairs hosted by Poland in June under the auspices of the Council of Europe. One might also mention a document adopted by the Council of Ministers in May, formulating the principles of repatriation of people of Polish origin (see the 1996 SOPEMI report for Poland).

After a disappointing deadlock in many areas of migration policy observed in that year, however, in 1997 a number of important measures were taken. Undoubtedly what should be described first here is the passing of the Aliens Law by the Parliament. It happened on 25 June 1997, and is to be enforced on 27 December 1997. It might be noted here that the work on a new act has been going on since the beginning of 1993, and the presently passed act awaited its endorsement since September 1995.

The act has fully replaced the old Aliens Law of 1963. The old regulations, together with all related ordinances based on it, were both too general and incomplete, and left various aspects of the sojourn of a foreigner unregulated or subject to arbitrary decisions [Jagielski, 1997]. Specific shortcomings of those regulations were as follows [Lewandowski and Szonert, 1977]:

- lack of resolution which individual state central organ is responsible for migration policy;
- lack of clear principles of granting (or withdrawing) of permanent residence permits;
- lack of a possibility to grant permission to reside for a specified (temporary) period to a foreigner;
- lack of clear criteria to be applied to foreigners wishing to enter Poland;
- inadequate rules pertaining to the expulsion/deportation and detention of a foreigner;
- lack of legal foundation for setting up of the registers of foreigners.

In addition to a need to create an act which would avoid the deficiencies of the old Aliens Law, it was also necessary to improve on certain recently issued regulations, i.a. those related to protection of refugee status procedures against abuse, and to found a legal basis for the repatriation policy.

In general, the new act was "to create the legal conditions which would allow the free development of population movement but simultaneously would provide the state with necessary means to counteract the inflow of undesirable foreigners" [Lodzinski, 1997]. All the above mentioned issues seem to have been tackled by the new act to a satisfactory degree. The main features of new Aliens Law are the following:

- it introduces clear, valid and mutually consistent basic concepts related to inflow of foreigners to and their sojourn in Poland and their definitions (chapter 1, article 4);
- it establishes criteria and rules of foreigners entry into Poland (chapter 2, articles 5 and 6), in particular of the repatriation of an alien of the Polish nationality or origin (chapter 2, article 10);
- it provides for granting an alien of the permission to reside for a specified period or to settle (chapter 3, article 16), and sets the relevant conditions (chapter 3, articles 17 and 19), relevant time limits (chapter 3, articles 18 and 19), rights and obligations of an alien while in Poland (chapter 3, articles 20 and 21, chapter 4, articles 25 and 26);
- it resolves in a coherent manner (and in accordance with the Geneva Convention and the New York Protocol) basic rules concerning the refugee status (chapter 5) and asylum (chapter 6);
- it determines the circumstances of the expulsion of an alien and relevant procedures (chapter 7)¹;
- it provides for setting up of various registers of aliens and indicates the authorities responsible for running particular registers (chapter 8);
- it establishes liability of the carriers responsible for bringing to Poland of an alien who does not hold permission to enter Poland (chapter 9);
- it sets the principles of mutually consistent and exclusive procedures and competences of agencies (chapter 11);
- it introduces penal provisions related to foreigners entries, sojourn or relevant documents (chapter 12).

Besides passing of the new Aliens Law by the Parliament and its endorsement by the President of Poland, other important legislative developments included ratification of certain international documents pertaining to migration or migrants. Particularly worth to be mention is that in June 1997 Poland ratified European Social Contract (of which its articles 18 and 19 in full, but not article 20). Also in this year proceedings concerning another important migrant-related document, namely the ILO convention no. 97 have been considerably advanced.

In October 1996 Poland concluded an agreement with Luxembourg concerning the exchange of trainees which brought the number of countries with which employment-related agreements were signed to 12 (other countries include: Belarus, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Libya, Lithuania, Russia, Slovakia, Switzerland and Ukraine).

Poland failed to conclude a readmission agreement with her three neighbours with whom its has yet to be signed, that is with Belarus, Lithuania and Russia, but in case of Lithuania and Russia relevant talks are seriously advanced. At the moment the readmission agreement is in force with nearly 20 states including co-signatories of the Schengen agreement and Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Moldova, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Ukraine. Negotiations concerning the readmission agreement are in progress with the following countries (besides the above mentioned): Albania, Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Canada, Estonia, India, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Vietnam.

¹ Article 62 provides that the costs of expelling an alien should generally be borne by the alien herself/himself but it establishes 2 exceptions to this rule: 1/ if the expulsion occurs as a result of irregular employment, the costs should be met by an employer, and 2/ if an alien stays in Poland due to an invitation from a Polish resident (which is dealt with by article 15), the costs should be met by the party that issued the invitation.

In 1996 a major restructuring of the government and state central administration has taken place which, among other things, has had a bearing on the division of competences and organization of activities concerning migration affairs in Poland. A new ministry, the Ministry of the Interior and Administration, has been set up which has taken over the competence of the former Ministry of the Interior and partly the former Office the Council of Ministers. Until then the latter had an authority over district administration (*urząd wojewódzki*), and therefore could interfere with regional policies regarding sojourn of foreigners in Poland (especially their settlement) which (incidentally) could be in conflict with the competences and activities of the former. As a matter of fact, until very recently no legal basis existed for a uniform and regionally co-ordinated policy in this respect, and this was only changed by the introduction of the new Aliens Law. Clearly the founding of new Ministry of the Interior and Administration gave rise to more concerted government activities in the area of migration. Within the Ministry, on 4 January 1997 its major unit dealing with foreigners in Poland, the Office for Migration and Refugee Affairs, has been transformed into the Department of Migration and Refugee Affairs. Among important activities of the Ministry and its relevant Department in particular one should mention an extensive inter-sectoral work on the principles of migration policy whose first stage has been completed in October 1997 with holding of a seminar of experts at which the first draft of such principles was presented.

In an effort to better co-ordinate migration affairs in Poland, in September 1997 the Prime Minister issued an ordinance setting up an Inter-Ministry Team for Migration Affairs. The team which is led by under-secretary of state in the Ministry of the Interior and Administration and includes high-level representatives of four ministries and four other state organs is to serve the Council of Ministers as an advisory body. Its major duties embrace: evaluation of principles of migration policy, evaluation of specific regulations concerning migration and refugee affairs, contributing to the co-ordination of activities of various state organs in the area of migration, taking initiatives on counteracting undesirable aspects of migration, preparing reports on migration for the Prime Minister and initiating relevant research.

3. Transborder mobility (international movements of passengers)

Due to a well-known scarcity of more or less complete information on international migration to and from Poland, the data on passenger movements present in themselves a non-negligent value for a migration analyst. This seems true for at least two reasons. First, a large majority of the relevant movements are legal and centrally recorded. And, what is not immaterial, the data are widely available. Second, there are good reasons to believe that the purpose of a large part of transborder mobility has something to do with money earning/saving activity. As a matter of fact, many travellers, while making use of visa-free regime (or using a tourist visa) and staying in a country of destination for a very short time, take up gainful employment there or do businesses in their own names. A significant majority of foreigners visiting Poland, however, seem to be involved in exporting of consumer goods; it is estimated that the value of goods (in retail price) exported by individual travellers was in excess of 11,600 million zlotys (around 3.500 million US dollars) which means a 28-per cent increase relative to 1995 [CSO, 1997].

A high intensity of movements of Polish citizens to other countries and foreigners to Poland which was observed since 1988 not only continued in 1996 but the number of departures of Poles and arrivals of foreigners in that year turned out substantially higher than in 1995. The former increased by 22 per cent (to reach over 45 millions) whereas the latter by 6 per cent (to reach nearly 88 millions). Although in 1996 the number of citizens of other countries entering Poland exceeded by almost 100 per cent the number of departing Poles, this was the first year over a decade when the change in the former outpaced the change in the latter.

As far as foreign citizens (representing major countries of origin) entering Poland are concerned, one might note a recent stabilisation (with a slight decline) of entries by Germans (after 1994, at the level of around 47 millions), and a sharp increase of entries by Belarussians, Czechs, Slovaks and Ukrainians (altogether around 33 millions in 1996).

During the first 9 months of 1997 around 63.2 million arrivals by foreigners and 35.2 million departures of Poles were recorded. Relative to the respective period of 1996, the number of departures increased by 5.6 per cent whereas the number of arrivals declined (for the first time in many years) by 0.5 per cent. As in previous years, Germans predominated among foreigners visiting Poland (56.6 per cent of the total number of arrivals), followed by Czechs (18.5 per cent), Ukrainians (6.3 per cent), Belarussians (4.6 per cent), Slovaks (4.4 per cent), Russians (2.4 per cent) and Lithuanians (2.1 per cent). Thus the citizens of countries which do not have a common border with Poland accounted for only 5.1 per cent of all foreigners' visits to Poland in that period.

Economic significance of the travelling of foreigners into Poland continued to be very high. In the first nine month of 1997 they spent in Poland more than 6 billion zlotys (PLN)² of which around 85 per cent went on the purchase of merchandise which was exported. The latter constituted around 13.5 per cent of all Polish official exports (confirmed by SAD) in that period³.

4. Documented flows of migrants

4.1. Introductory remark

As pointed out in earlier SOPEMI reports for Poland, Polish statistics are able to capture only two remote ends of the interval covering the "truth" about international migration. One end is the data on international passenger movements (referred to in part 3, above), while another end the data reflecting reported arrivals to or departures from Poland related to a change of "permanent residence". Both seem to reflect phenomena that are far away from what might be considered as the mainstream of international migration. Although the data on international movements of people that involve a change of "permanent residence" are in accordance with Poland's legal definition of migration, they are only a measure of the number of relevant administrative acts, that is, the registrations of arrivals or departures intended at the time of registration as "permanent" ("definitive"), and not a measure of actual flows (no matter of for how long).

As after many years of exerting pressure on statistical authorities and decision makers responsible for migration policy, status quo in migration statistics in Poland has been fully preserved, we have still (which also pertains to the present report) to rely on data based on evident misconceptions [Okólski, 1997].

This part of the report will entirely draw on the statistics related to the concept of "permanent residence". The source has been central population register (PESEL)⁴.

² Which is an equivalent of around 1,750 million US \$.

³ It might be noted that at the same time the citizens of Poland spent in other countries around 1.5 billion zlotys (PLN), which means around 2 per cent of all imports.

⁴ The data come from regional registers, and are centrally compiled (into PESEL) by the Government Information Centre subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior and Administration. However, the Central Statistical Office, the organization that has an exclusive entitlement to processing of the PESEL data, provided most of statistics exploited in this part to the author in a highly aggregate form.

4.2. General trend

After two years (since the second half of 1993) of a moderate increase in the number of emigrants, the second half of 1995 saw a stabilisation. This, given usually higher emigration figure for the second than first six months of a year, might have suggested an end to a short-lived rising trend. Indeed, in the next three halves of a year the number of emigrants has been declining, and the 1996 annual figure (21.3 thousand) proved to be of the magnitude of a relatively low 1990-1992 (average) level (Table 1)⁵. Bearing in mind a continuation of that trend in the first half of 1997 (Table 2), one might expect a further steady decline in emigration from Poland.

In contrast with this trend, the number of immigrants has been on increase. To be sure, the 1996 annual figure was only slightly (by 1 per cent) higher than the 1995 figure, but at the same time it exceeded the 1992-1994 annual average by 28 per cent, the 1988-1991 average by 256 per cent and 1985-1987 average by 355 per cent (Table 1). The number of immigrants, which in Poland displays even stronger seasonal pattern than the number of emigrants characterized with a particular intensification towards the end of a calendar year⁶, increased even further in the first half of 1997, namely by 2 per cent relative to the respective period of 1996.

In this context it seems interesting to compare official immigration statistics (i.e. based on the central population register) with the statistics on new permanent residence permits. A major difference between the two is that the latter includes only foreigners so the difference at any give period might be interpreted as a proximate measure of the inflow of immigrants with Polish passports. The respective data for 1995, 1996 and the first half of 1997 are as follows:

period	immigrants registered as "permanent residents"	foreigners granted permanent residence	difference (as per cent of all immigrants)
1995	8,121	3,067	62
1996	8,186	2,844	65
1/2 of 1997	3,649	2,006	45

Those data suggest that in 1995 and 1996 foreign citizens constituted a predominant part of the immigrants, and that in 1996 a small increase in the proportion of foreigners took place. In the first half of 1997 a sudden and not fully understandable decrease in the share of foreign citizens was observed.

Migration balance in 1996 was very low (minus 13.1 thousands), only a little higher than in 1992 but substantially lower than in all consecutive years since 1975. Changes in the relative terms seem even more pronounced: e.g. the number of emigrants per 1 immigrant which in 1994 amounted to 3.75 (12.09 in 1989), fell down to 3.25 in 1995 and 2.60 in 1996. The current trend (including the first half of 1997), reinforced by expected developments in the repatriation of Kazakhs of Polish origin, suggests that soon (within 3-5 years) Poland might become a country with a close to zero migration balance.

⁵ In 1989-1991 around 19.1 thousand emigrants were registered. As a matter of fact, with the exception of years bordering with 1970 and 1973-1975, that was the lowest three-year annual average since 1956.

⁶ That phenomenon could find a plausible explanation in case of immigration statistics. As obtaining a permanent residence permit is in Poland a final precondition for a foreigner to be registered as a resident by local administration (only then can he/she be counted as an immigrant), immigration figures are strongly positively correlated with the statistics on permanent residence permits granted. Apparently towards the end of each year district administrations work more effectively, and attempt at shortening of delays in processing the applicants' cases, and minimising of the number of unresolved cases in a given year. No clear reason for the seasonal variation can be offered as far as emigration statistics are concerned.

4.3. Destination of emigrants and origin of immigrants

Surprisingly, a rather sharp decrease in the number of emigrants was relatively evenly distributed among various countries of destination. In absolute terms, emigration declined with respect to all major target countries. Destinations which encountered minor relative gains were two “western” countries located most closely to Poland: Austria⁷ and Germany. Their combined share in the total number of emigrants increased from 71.2 to 72.0 per cent. A small increase was also noted in case of Australia. Although Germany remained to be the main migrant receiving country (69.5 per cent in 1996) and despite a small increase in its share in 1996, its leading position was less clear than few years ago, and its relative importance did still lag behind the levels recorded in 1993 and 1994 (72-73 per cent). Among the “losers” most important was the United States whose share in the total emigration from Poland declined from 12.1 to 11.7 per cent. All in all, however, the changes were rather insignificant (Table 3).

The changes in the geographical distribution of immigrants were overshadowed by a rapid increase in the inflow from Asia (by more than 40 per cent). The share of immigrants from that continent (originating mostly from Vietnam and Kazakhstan) increased from 6.5 per cent in 1995 (3.5 per cent in 1994) to 9.1 in 1996. Among the other countries, noticeable increases were recorded in case of Germany (from 24.2 to 26.3 per cent) and three Slavonic ex-Soviet states: Belarus, Russia and Ukraine (from 11.8 to 12.9 per cent, a combined share). In a sharp contrast, the proportion of immigrants coming from American countries decreased in both absolute (which was contrary to a general trend) and relative terms; their share dropped from 29.1 per cent in 1995 to 23.3 per cent in 1996 (Table 7).

The first half of 1997 witnessed a further substantial rise in the proportion of immigrants from Asia - to 12.0 per cent of the total. Migrants from Kazakhstan and Vietnam contributed to that figure in more than 56 per cent, and their share in the total inflow was 6.8 per cent. Another fact worth to be highlighted here is almost a closing of a gap between the numbers and shares of immigrants from Germany and the ex-USSR. While in 1990 Germany was ahead with a 8.3 percentage points advantage (and in that year the immigrants from the USA still contributed more to the total than the immigrants from the (then) Soviet Union), in the first half of 1996 the gap was reduced to 2.6 percentage points (with the USA lagging behind by 6.4 percentage points relative to the ex-USSR).

As mentioned earlier, the first half of 1997 was a period in which, in contrast to 1995 and 1996, a majority of the immigrants seemed to be Polish citizens. This, however, sharply differed according to a country of origin, what is illustrated by the following data (pertaining to the top 10 countries of origin):

country	immigrants registered as “permanent residents”	foreigners granted permanent residence	difference (as per cent of all immigrants)
Germany	912	85	91
USA	510	28	94
Ukraine	334	411	(-) 23
Canada	187	5	97
France	133	18	86
Russia	133	173	(-) 30
Vietnam	132	163	(-) 23
Kazakhstan	115	340	(-)196
Belarus	109	143	(-) 31
United Kingdom	97	24	75

⁷ Actually Austria is located rather south of Poland.

The last column points to a striking differentiation among the countries of origin. The data imply that western countries send to Poland almost exclusively Polish citizens whereas in case of the ex-USSR and Vietnam the opposite seems true. Such conclusion might be dubious for at least two reasons. First, the two sets of statistics are not entirely compatible. In the light of the data presented, impossible becomes possible: in many cases the number of foreigners granted permanent residence permit exceeds by far the number of all people who registered their arrival (from abroad) for a permanent residence in Poland. This can only be explained by the fact that in case of certain countries of origin (four countries of the ex-USSR and Vietnam in the present case) the changes in the number of applications for permanent residence (and in the number of appropriate administrative decisions) are so quick that a natural time-lag between obtaining an approval and making a formal registration brings about (within a given time unit) a "surplus" of immigrants holding foreign passports. Second, with the exception of Vietnam, a large part of migrants coming from all other countries in case of which foreigners comprise a predominant group among all immigrants (four countries of the ex-USSR), are in fact people of Polish origin, who (or whose ancestors) in many cases were involuntarily deprived of their Polish citizenship. All this suggests that a large majority of immigrants (much larger than reflected in the statistics) are Poles, either by citizenship or ethnic selfidentification.

The above mentioned intensifying inflow of migrants from Asia (mainly from Vietnam, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Syria) and former European republics of the ex-USSR is by no means matched by emigration from Poland to those countries. In fact, Poland's statistics indicate that the latter takes place in rare, not to say: exceptional, cases. In effect, Poland is already a net immigration country vis-a-vis Asia and the ex-USSR, with a quite significant positive balance. Among other countries that count in the exchange of population with Poland a positive migration balance is maintained with France, Italy and the United Kingdom. By the way, if the 1996 data for two major destinations for emigrants from Poland (Germany and the USA) would be extracted from migration statistics, Poland's general position would change from net emigration to net immigration country.

4.4. Migrants by sex, age and marital status

In 1996 the number of both male and female emigrants turned out to be lower relative to respective 1995 figures. However, the decline in the latter subpopulation was a little stronger than in the former, and in effect the sex ratio increased from 102.0 males per 100 females to 104.5. It should be reminded that in the 1980's males were greatly underrepresented in the documented outflow (159 females per 100 males in 1981-1988), and since 1989 female excess has been gradually disappearing (to shift, in 1994, into a small male excess).

Contrary to the trend in emigrants, a change (a rise) in the number of immigrants was stronger in females than males, and as a consequence the sex ratio decreased from 113.7 males per 100 females to 103.6.

The first half of 1997 saw a slight decline in the emigrant sex ratio (to 103.1) and a moderate rise in the immigrant sex ratio (to 106.3). The sex ratios displayed distinct diversity according to countries of destination or origin. Among the emigrants males were particularly strongly overrepresented in case of the USA (134 males per 100 females) and underrepresented in case of Italy (230 females per 100 males), Sweden (191) and Denmark (187), while in case of Germany situation close to sex parity (103 males per 100 females) was observed. Masculinisation of the immigrants was very high in case of the United Kingdom (131 males per 100 females), Germany (129) and France (122) whereas feminisation seemed striking in case of the ex-USSR (175 females per 100 males), Italy (132) and Vietnam (116).

Age composition of migrants did not significantly change, although a small (but maybe meaningful) increase in the proportion of relatively young immigrants could be observed. The emigrants remained much younger than the immigrants. Those two tendencies can easily be seen in the following percentage figures (more detailed data are presented in Table 4 and Table 8):

age group	emigrants				immigrants			
	1995		1996		1995		1996	
	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
0-15	32	23	33	21	13	14	16	16
20-59	62	68	61	70	75	71	72	69
60+	6	9	6	9	12	15	12	15

Distributions of migrants by marital status did hardly change between 1995 and 1996 (Table 5 and 9). Among emigrants and immigrants a large majority comprised the single and married persons. The main difference between the emigrants and immigrants was that among the former single persons predominated whereas among the latter married persons. This is consistent with previous observation, namely that the former was generally substantially younger than the latter. It might be claimed that in general the immigration to Poland involved whole families more often than the emigration from Poland. A symptomatic was a rather strong decline in the net loss of single women (the ratio of single emigrant females to single immigrant females fell down by 27 per cent).

In 1996 the migration balance was still negative in almost all categories according to marital status. The only exception were divorced or widowed males. However, in many categories (all, except single males and females) it was already rather small, and in all relevant categories displayed a strong decline. In effect, in 1996 the proportion of married emigrants to married immigrants did not exceed 2 to 1 (in fact: 1.8 to 1) which meant a radical decrease compared to 1995 (2.2 to 1). Here are the relevant data:

category	males						females					
	1995			1996			1995			1996		
	single	married	other	single	married	other	single	married	other	single	married	other
emigrants (E)	8,333	4,707	265	6,936	3,744	202	6,167	5,932	940	4,955	4,755	705
immigrants (I)	1,476	2,504	341	1,489	2,390	286	969	2,272	559	1,063	2,364	594
balance (E-I)	-6,857	-2,203	+76	-5,447	-1,354	+84	-5,198	-3,660	-381	-3,892	-2,391	-111
ratio (E/I)	5.6	1.9	0.8	4.7	1.6	0.7	6.4	2.6	1.7	4.7	2.0	1.2

4.5. Migrants by educational attainment

As can be seen in Table 6, no major differences were observed in the changes of the number of emigrants falling into particular categories of educational attainment. All categories recorded a considerable decline. Contrary to 1995, the decline occurred even among the emigrants whose education ended at the level of elementary school. This contributed to the continuation of a peculiar, highly “skewed” educational structure of emigrants, with a great overrepresentation of the poorly educated and great underrepresentation of the better educated. As explained in earlier SOPEMI reports for Poland, that structure has become an outcome of migration trends initiated in the late 19980’s.

In 1996 the predominance of emigrants having attained at most elementary education in all emigrants further increased whereas the share of people with university diploma further decreased, in spite of the fact that before 1996 the former share was already very high and the latter was already very low. The data presented below (percentage shares of two extreme categories in 15+ male and female sub-totals) suggest that settlement emigration, as registered by Polish statistics has continued to be an almost exclusive domain of lowest educated people:

year	males		females	
	post-secondary	elementary	post-secondary	elementary
1988	11.7	39.7	6.2	34.7
1989	8.2	36.5	5.6	35.3
1990	5.5	51.2	4.1	53.1
1991	3.7	59.5	2.9	62.6
1992	3.6	66.4	2.7	67.3
1993	2.8	70.2	2.1	71.9
1994	2.4	69.3	2.1	69.5
1995	2.2	73.2	2.0	73.0
1996	2.1	76.7	1.7	76.6

The distribution of immigrants by educational attainment was much different from that of emigrants (Table 10). In 1996 the largest category constituted immigrants who completed full secondary education but did not get university diploma, followed by those who completed post-secondary education. Immigrants whose highest attainment was elementary school comprised the smallest category.

Deep differences between structures of the emigrants and immigrants according to educational level produced a paradoxical effect (which already appeared in 1994, to be sure): despite still much larger annual number of emigrants than immigrants recorded in Poland, the balance in the categories of post-secondary and secondary education was strongly positive (almost 2,600 persons altogether in 1996). The balance in the category of vocational education was negative but significantly lower than in any of two afore-mentioned. It was therefore the category of elementary (or lower) education where a general trend (overall, highly negative migration balance) had its roots. The basic data are as follows:

migrant category	category of educational attainment			
	post-secondary	secondary	vocational	elementary or lower
emigrants	350	1,917	2,040	14,137
immigrants	1,877	2,953	1,198	1,154
balance	+1,527	+1,036	-842	-12,983

5. Stocks of migrants

5.1. Stock of immigrants (foreign citizens)

According to a legal definition which is still (until 27 December 1997) in use in Poland, the stock of foreign citizens has to include the foreigners who after being granted permanent residence permit were registered at any specific address as permanent residents of Poland, and until a given moment did not leave for any other country nor acquired Polish citizenship. The central population register or any other sources, however, do not render it possible to arrive at any reliable estimate of such population.

In Table 12 an attempt has been made to present certain data, originating from very diverse sources, which shed some light on this phenomenon. As follows from figures included in that table, in 1994-1996 Poland saw nearly 8,400 newly admitted permanent residents with foreign passports. According to the newly passed Alien Law they all would shortly qualify for naturalisation. Since by the end of 1993 the total number of foreigners with permanent residence in Poland was estimated at 30,000-35,000, there might be now (turn of 1997) around 40,000 foreigners legally settled in Poland.

The number of foreigners admitted for a long-term temporary residence is much more difficult to estimate. The data contained in Table 12 may help to establish a minimum size of that category. For instance, in 1996 Poland hosted 5,300 foreign students and a certain number (1,000-2,000) of foreign trainees. There were also 3,200 applications for refugee status processed by Polish authorities. In addition 13,700 foreigners were granted a work permit in that year. The number of foreign citizens who stay in Poland for long time (e.g. for over one year) on the basis of temporary residence permits issued for other reasons (than education or work) is totally obscured but it does not seem to be very large (certainly smaller than the number of permanent residence holders).

All this gives a rough (minimum) estimate of the stock of foreign population legally staying in Poland. It goes up to some 70,000 persons. Among around a half of those foreigners (who came to Poland most recently), people originating from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus and Vietnam predominante.

The number of undocumented resident population with foreign passports seems lower than that but recently it is obviously growing at a very rapid pace. Research projects conducted in Poland in 1993-1997 point to the existence of (growing) enclaves of settlers from Armenia, Romania, Ukraine, Vietnam and (to a lesser degree) certain other countries who are in Poland in irregular situation.

5.2. Stock of emigrants (permanent residents of Poland)

Most recent data on this subject come from two sources: a quarterly Labour Force Survey (which includes the issue of temporary residence abroad since May 1993) and a microcensus carried out in December 1995. In a number of previous SOPEMI reports the former source was extensively exploited. It seems interesting to begin with taking a closer look a series of data extracted from that source, which includes 16 points of time extending from May 1993 to February 1997 (Table 14).

The data, though based on a dangerously small sample, reveal a formidable consistency. The trends are similar among males and females, among those who stay abroad relatively shorter and relatively longer, among those who are employed in a foreign country and are involved in something else while abroad. As far as the most aggregate figures are concerned, until the end of 1994 the number of Poles having a permanent residence in Poland but staying abroad for more than 2 months (at the time of a specific survey) kept growing - from 186,000 in May 1993 to 209,000 in August 1994. Since November 1994 the

opposite tendency is true, and in February 1997 only 148,000 permanent residents of Poland were reported to be staying (for more than 2 months) abroad. Average annual figure that in 1994 was 196,000 decreased to 183,000 in 1995 and 162,000 in 1996.

The estimate of the stock of Polish citizens staying abroad, based on the Labour Force Survey, however, seems seriously biased. The obvious reason for this is that it embraces only those migrants who did not emigrate with all other members of their Polish households. Also, the survey by the definition excludes underage household members, and in practice it takes account of only a very small fraction of children staying abroad. Unfortunately, these two reasons do not fully explain the scale of underestimation of the stock of emigrants which appears clear in the light of statistics of major destination countries or anecdotal evidence which can be found in Poland.

Surprisingly, a relevant estimate produced by the official sources on the basis of the 1995 microcensus seems grossly exaggerated. As follows from Table 13, on 17 May 1995 more than 900,000 Polish residents were supposed to stay abroad on temporary basis, namely for longer than 2 months at the time of microcensus. The above quoted total figure, however, includes 118,000 children (below the age of 15); given 249,000 females aged 20-44 who supposedly stayed temporarily abroad at that time, this would imply 2.1 children per 1 woman at that age. This seems to clearly suggest that a bulk of the estimated stock of temporary migrants from Poland might be complete families, or, in other words, emigrants who already (probably quite a long time ago) settled abroad, but for the reasons related to present Polish administrative rules claim their permanent residence in Poland.

6. Migrant workers

6.1. Migration for work from Poland

No Polish source offers quantitative information on this subject of satisfactory scope and quality. Labour Force Survey enables a researcher to arrive at general figure reflecting a stock, namely the number of workers whose sojourn in a foreign country extends for over 2 months. An estimate for February 1997 is the lowest ever obtained (i.e. since May 1994), and it claims that around 105 thousand Poles, being at that time permanent residents of Poland, worked abroad. Apparently the declining trend has been in force since the middle of 1994 when, according to the source, around 150 thousand persons stayed abroad for the reason of employment.

Either the estimated 105 thousand Polish residents who in the beginning of 1997 worked in a foreign country or a declining trend with respect to the employment of those persons seem to be a little inconsistent with estimates made by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. For instance, according to those estimates (Table 15), in 1996 around 220 thousand of Poles found employment abroad within the framework of intergovernmental agreements alone. Moreover between 1994 and 1996 the number of persons in such situation increased by more than 50 per cent. However, the Ministry suggests that the total employment of Polish migrants, estimated at 300-350 thousand in 1996, displays neither strong nor coherent changes over time.

As stems from Table 15, a large majority of Polish migrant workers find employment in Germany. That country absorbed nearly 97 per cent of workers employed abroad in accordance with bilateral inter-government agreements in 1996. Other two countries that counted in these statistics were: the Czech Republic and France, each giving a job to slightly above 3,000 persons from Poland⁸. In addition, in 1996 around 5,000 Poles

⁸ In France between 1993 and 1996 this kind of employment decreased from 5,013 to 3,401.

were legally employed in the ex-USSR, of which around 2,500 in Russia. Among countries that receive largest numbers of Polish migrant workers who find legal employment beyond the framework of inter-government agreements, are Germany followed by Austria, Greece, Italy and a number of others (e.g. France, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom).

Most Polish migrants workers who are in regular situation abroad find employment in “inferior” segment of labour market; the duration of their contracts is usually very short and wages relatively low. This is even more so with irregular workers whose number is obscured but by no means negligible. Surveys conducted recently in various regions of Poland indicate that in many microregions, typically in rather remote rural districts, a considerable proportion of the population receives money from foreign employment, and a majority of migrant workers from those microregions are “irregulars”.

6.2. Migration for work to Poland

It becomes increasingly obvious that at present Poland receives quite large numbers of migrant workers from other countries. They are by and large persons in irregular situation. An estimate made on the basis of surveys conducted in Ukraine and Poland between 1994 and 1996 suggests that there might be many more than 500,000 Ukrainians (on annual basis) who take up gainful employment during their sojourns in Poland⁹. A great majority of those persons come to Poland with a primary intention to buy merchandise for resale in Ukraine but nevertheless as a “side activity” they also engage in various contract works. Needless to say, the jobs they find are almost exclusively in the shadow economy and of very short duration.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Policy argues that recently each year some 100-150 thousand foreign workers find illegal employment in Poland. Although, according to that estimate, a substantial proportion of those people are seasonal workers, it probably omits foreigners who were employed for a very short time, e.g. for 2 weeks or shorter.

In 1996 13,668 new work permits were issued to foreign citizens who did not have a status of permanent resident¹⁰. More than 50 per cent of those permits were issued in just one (out of 49) district, namely Warsaw. Around 87 per cent of the permits went to Polish employers and around 13 per cent to foreign employers who had a license to operate in Poland (in the latter case, the permits fit into the framework of project-tied employment). From among 1,753 permits for foreigners working for licensed foreign employers, 73 per cent were issued to the citizens of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. About one third of the later were related to the employment in one of the largest (state-owned) Polish company, the Szczecin shipyard¹¹.

Statistics of newly issued work permits reveal that in 1996 17 countries were represented by more than 150 workers employed by a Poland-based firm (Ukraine, Vietnam, United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, USA, China, Belarus, France, Italy, Czech Republic, South Korea, Mongolia, Turkey, India, Sweden and Armenia) and only 8 countries by more than 500 (see the data to follow). In 1993-1996 the number of work permit recipients was on the rise in case of some countries (e.g. Vietnam) whereas in case of some others the opposite was observed (e.g. Belarus):

⁹ The estimate for 1995 implies that around 800,000 travellers from Ukraine were engaged in some kind of employment in Poland. Migrants with valid work permits constituted only 0.2 per cent of that figure.

¹⁰ No work permit is required in case of foreigners who are permanent residents in legal sense.

¹¹ Various attempts by other big state-owned enterprises to replace Polish workers by workers from the ex-USSR through licensed foreign intermediaries were recently prevented by the government (National Labour Office).

country	1993	1996	first half of 1997
Ukraine	1,570	2,234	1,104
Vietnam	771	1,221	858
Germany	478	803	458
United Kingdom	431	951	456
Russia	1,187	738	359
China	576	630	323
USA	430	680	316
Belarus	1,184	516	284

A major ownership sector employing foreigners with work permits proved to be private firms with pure foreign capital (39 per cent of the total in 1996 and 45 per cent in the first half of 1997). Its share in overall number of work permits kept grows in over recent 5 years. In 1996 other firms with private capital received 46 per cent of all permits and in the first half of 1997 44 per cent (Table 16).

In 1996 most popular branch of the economy seemed trade and catering which obtained 34 per cent of all permits compared with 19 per cent for industry and transportation, and 14 per cent for education (Table 17). However, various nationalities displayed strikingly different patterns of employment by economic branch. The largest party of Ukrainian workers (the main group among legal migrants) was employed in agriculture (34 per cent). A predominant majority of Vietnamese (92 per cent) worked in trade and catering. In turn, the most popular among Germans (32 per cent) was employment in industry and transportation, while among British - employment in education (52 per cent).

In 1996 regular foreign labour continued to be strongly polarised according to professional status. There were two major poles: highly skilled non-manuals (managers, experts, consultants, teachers, etc.) and manuals, with the former accounting for 50 per cent of all work permits and the latter accounting for 20 per cent¹². The third important and distinct group (16 per cent) constituted owners (usually of very small units). Compared to 1995, three professional groups encountered a high rise (relative to the average growth that is 14 per cent): experts and consultants (24 per cent), teachers and instructors (24 per cent) and owners (23 per cent). While the number of work permits that went to skilled workers increased by 17 per cent, in general employment of the manuals rose much less than the average (by only 4 per cent), due to a decline in the number of permits to unskilled workers (by 10 per cent). Finally, growth in the number of newly employed managers was moderate (9 per cent), clearly below the overall average (Table 18). Bearing in mind a large number of clandestine workers in Poland, usually holding jobs that require very low skills, the recent developments in work permit issuance seem to indicate that the respective policies are driven by a rule of exceptions rather than a set of consistent economic premises, and the regular labour market has become increasingly protected against the inflow of non-highly skilled foreign workers.

¹² In fact, the proportion of manual workers among all legally employed foreigners was significantly higher due to the fact that a large majority of persons allowed to work on the basis project-tied basis (licensed foreign firms operating in Poland) employed mostly manuals.

7. Repatriation to Poland

As mentioned in the 1996 SOPEMI report for Poland, in May 1996 formal steps were taken by the government of Poland to facilitate and channel the immigration of former Soviet citizens who had Polish ancestors. At stake were primarily at least 100 thousand people living in Kazakhstan, and many more living in other ex-republics of USSR. That immigration was to be officially called repatriation, and at first its main principle was to bring to Poland individual families from Kazakhstan on the basis of initiatives of (personal invitations from) local communities (or rather local administration, *urząd gminy*). Local administration was made responsible for providing the migrants with steady shelter and jobs, and assisting them in integration into a community. Therefore local resources became a major constraint in that process.

While in 1993 and 1994 approximately only 70 persons from Kazakhstan were granted a permanent residence in Poland (but not necessarily the Polish citizenship), in 1995 and 1996 their number rose to 239 and 249, respectively. By the end of 1996 the programme of repatriation was greatly expanded, and between 1 January 1997 and 30 September 1997 further 1080 persons (278 families) living in Kazakhstan were invited by Polish local communities (altogether by 200 *gmina*) to settle on their territory. At the same time, more than 500 application for repatriation to Poland (embracing more than 670 persons) were submitted to Polish consulates all around the world (of which 96 per cent in Kazakhstan). In that period 401 foreigners received a permanent residence permit due to repatriation, and 247 foreigners obtained a special document, named repatriation visa which implies automatic acquiring of Polish citizenship, and in addition 43 members of their families who had no Polish ancestors were granted a permanent residence in Poland. The process of repatriation accelerates each month. According to one estimate, around 80 per cent of all persons repatriated in the last couple of years came to Poland within recent six months. It is expected that in 1997 around 350 families or 1,400 persons of Polish origin will have actually settled in Poland within the repatriation programme. At the moment many other applicants (around 3,500 persons) await their turn to be repatriated [DMRA, 1997a].

In view of the fact that the Aliens Law which will be enforced on 27 December 1997, lifts a precondition for a repatriated person to be invited by a local community in Poland, the pace of repatriation might soon speed up even stronger. Meanwhile the implementation of repatriation programme provides a painful experience, particularly with respect to the integration of the newly arrived. A study conducted in Western Pomerania in 1997 (13 families or 53 persons from Kazakhstan) revealed that though the level of education of repatriants is relatively high (9 persons with university degrees), they do not integrate easily. First, in case of all couples only one partner could claim Polish origin. Most frequently non-Polish partners were Russians and Ukrainians (and one case of German and Tartar origin). Moreover, even the persons who had Polish ancestors are grandchildren or grand-grandchildren of Polish deportees which means that they are members of second or third generation born in Kazakhstan. No wonder then that nobody knew Polish reality and language at the moment of arrival to Poland, and still in all families Russian language is used for everyday communication. Interactions with local populations are scarce and conflict-conducive [Kozłowski, 1997].

8. Asylum seekers and refugees

Since 1994 Poland has experienced a new (after a “virgin” wave of inflow in 1990) intensified influx of asylum seekers. The number of people who applied for refugee status in 1996 was more than 3,200 that meant a 3.8 times more than in 1995. The 1996 intensity of arrivals of asylum seekers was maintained in 1997, if not slightly elevated.

In 1996 and (the first half) 1997 a major group of foreigners requesting a refugee status were citizens of Sri Lanka (respectively, 20 and 30 per cent), followed by citizens of Afghanistan, Armenia, Iraq, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Somalia. Refugee applicants from those 8 countries accounted for 83 per cent of all applicants recorded between 1 January 1996 and 30 June 1997 (Table 19).

According to the Department for Migration and Refugee Affairs (Ministry of the Interior and Administration), recently almost all asylum seekers apply in circumstances related to an event of illegal migration, namely in one of three situations [1997b]:

- after being apprehended by the Border Guard during illegal border crossing;
- after being arrested by the Police inside Poland because of the lack of appropriate documents;
- after being expelled from Germany on the basis of readmission agreement.

Due to this, a large majority of proceedings related to the applications for refugee status is discontinued within a relatively short time. Many applicants after being released from arrest immediately “disappear”, and never more report to the refugee administration, and many others spend some time in refugee reception centres in order to “recover” and flee for Germany when first suitable opportunity comes. Very few remain in contact with the refugee authorities for longer than a couple of months. It is evident that migrants grossly abuse refugee procedures in Poland.

9. Illegal movements by foreign citizens

One of important phenomena related to movements of people to and from Poland in 1996 and in the first half of 1997 was apparently dramatic increase in trafficking in migrants. This at least is a message of a special report prepared by the Department of Migration and Refugee Affairs [DMRA, 1997b].

Statistically, three sources may throw some light on the incidence and national composition of illegal migration, and migration with the assistance of traffickers in particular: the Border Guard data on apprehensions of illegal migrants at the time of border crossing, the data on expulsions of foreigners based on decisions taken by district administration in Poland (Table 20) and the data on foreigners accepted or expelled on the basis of readmission agreements.

Characteristic of the data on aborted illegal border crossings in 1996 is that despite a decline in the overall number of such cases relative to 1995 (by 6 per cent), the number of arrested foreigners coming from remote countries of origin substantially increased. While it might legitimately be claimed that a bulk of persons holding e.g. Belarussian, Czech, Russian, Slovak or Ukrainian passports, arrested on illegal crossing of Polish border, might have just been involved in one of another kind of money-making illegal transborder activity, and do not necessarily aim at travelling through Poland to Germany, the case of many other national groups might be entirely different.

As a matter of fact, with an important exception of people of Czech citizenship¹³, the incidence of apprehensions of foreigners from neighbouring countries was on the decline between 1995 and 1996. For instance, in case of Ukraine the relevant number fell down from 874 to 628 and in case of Russia from 474 to 382. The same is true of Romanians who traditionally constitute the by far largest group of migrants arrested on Polish border. To be sure, the incidence of Romanians (unsuccessfully) attempting an illegal crossing of Poland's border is decreasing rapidly already for several years now¹⁴. As far as migrants believed to be major clients of traffickers are concerned, the respective figures were the following:

country of origin	1995	1996	percentage increase
Moldova	639	1,067	67.0
Armenia	1,356	1,010	-25.5
Afganistan	459	867	88.9
Iraq	372	626	68.3
Sri Lanka	201	609	203.0
India	772	484	-37.3
Pakistan	257	443	72.4
Bangladesh	118	219	85.6

In 1996 5,087 district authorities issued 5,087 decisions to expel foreigners whose stay in Poland was considered unwanted. This meant a 59-per cent increase relative to 1995. One of the main reasons behind those decisions was illegal stay on the Polish territory. It is expected that the number of relevant facts in 1997 might be even higher than in 1996; the first six months saw more than 2,900 such decisions. In 1996 and 1997 (the first half) the leading nationalities among the subjects to expulsion were: Ukrainian, Armenian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Bangladesh, Indian, Sri Lanka, Belarussian, Moldovian, Pakistani and Russian.

On the basis of readmission agreements with neighbouring countries, in 1996 Poland expelled over 2,400 foreigners, of whom 1,860 to Ukraine, 383 to Lithuania, and 178 to Belarus. Compared with 1995, expulsions to those three countries increased by around 43 per cent (between 1994 and 1996 by 182 per cent). At the same time, in 1996, on the same basis, Poland from Germany received more than 4,800 foreigners. An increase in this case fell short of 20 per cent.

As a matter of fact, illegality of foreigners entry to and stay in Poland might be expressed in much larger numbers if account would be taken of the incidence of forged or faked documents used by foreigners. It is well known that Polish law enforcement authorities uncover only a small part of those documents (e.g. passports, visas, vouchers and invitations by a Polish resident). In reality, however, each day some of those documents are readily available in thousands.

Problem that is presently considered as the most severe among those related to illegality of foreigners seems trafficking in migrants. It is believed that Poland has become one of the main transit countries in that part of the phenomenon which involves migrants from Asia, the Middle East and North Africa [DMRA, 1997b]. Two major international routes appear to run through Poland. The first originates in Indian sub-continent (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). Western part of Asia (Armenia, Iran, Iraq and Turkey) and certain countries of Africa (Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria, Somalia and Sudan) and its subsequent major stages leading to Poland are: Almaty,

¹³ The number of apprehended Chechs increased from 750 in 1995 to 986 in 1996.

¹⁴ Between 1993 and 1996 the respective number declined from around 7,000 to around 1,200.

Moscow (or Sankt Petersburg), Minsk and Vilnius. An important characteristic of this route seems a neglect of border control by the Lithuanian guard. Until the middle of 1996, when the Polish Guard started to patrol the border by means of helicopters, quite often migrants travelled from Lithuania to Poland by small aircrafts; e.g. in 1995 as many as 20 such flight were intercepted by Polish authorities. The second route starts in various places in Armenia, Moldova, Macedonia, Romania and Turkey (rarely also in Africa and remote countries of Asia) and involves Romania, Moldova, Hungary, Russia and Ukraine or Slovakia. In case of both routes, for many migrants a final passage to the West (Germany) involves their smuggling through the border.

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