

**ISS**

**Instytut Studiów Społecznych  
Uniwersytet Warszawski**

**Institute for Social Studies  
University of Warsaw**

\*

**Seria: PRACE MIGRACYJNE, nr 28**

**Recent trends  
in international migration  
Poland 1998**

**Marek Okólski**

**Październik 1999**

Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami  
Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW  
Stawki 5/7  
00-183 Warszawa  
Tel: 48+22+8315153  
Fax: 48+22+8314933  
Internet: ISSINFO@SAMBA.ISS.UW.EDU.PL

Seria: PRACE MIGRACYJNE, nr 28

**RECENT TRENDS  
IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION  
POLAND 1998**

**Marek Okólski**

**CONTENTS**

1. Introduction .....	4
2. Migration policy .....	4
3. Transborder mobility (international movements of passengers).....	5
4. Documented flows of migrants .....	9
4.1. Introductory remark.....	9
4.2. General trend.....	10
4.3. Destination of emigrants and origin of immigrants .....	11
4.4. Migration by sex, age and marital status.....	13
4.5. Migrants by educational attainment .....	14
5. Stocks of migrants.....	15
5.1. Stock of immigrants/foreign citizens .....	15
5.2. Foreigners married to Polish citizens in Poland.....	16
5.3. Stock of emigrants (permanent residents of Poland) .....	17
6. Migrant workers .....	18
6.1. Migration for work from Poland .....	18
6.2. Migration for work to Poland.....	19
7. Asylum seekers and refugees .....	21
8. Illegal movements by foreign citizens.....	22
References .....	24
Appendix: statistical tables .....	26

## 1. Introduction

In 1997 and 1998 Poland's economy has been able to sustain its remarkably fast pace of growth which begun before 1995. To be sure, the GDP increase has slightly decelerated but still maintained its rate at around 6 per cent. In 1997 it was 6.5 per cent compared with 6.9 per cent in 1996, and an estimate made last October by the Government Centre of Strategic Studies claims 5.9–6.2 per cent growth for 1998<sup>1</sup>. All in all, the annual average for the most recent five-year period (1994–1998) will certainly surpass the level of 6 per cent.

The year 1998 seems also conspicuous for witnessing two events of symbolic importance whose consequences might extend far beyond the economic sphere. First, after eight years of above the 10 per cent unemployment rate, and after six years of declining unemployment (from 2.9 million or 16.4 per cent), in July 1998 the rate of 9.5 per cent was recorded (which translates into around 1.7 million of unemployed), and it still continues to decline. Second, at the time of writing of this report it is very likely that the 1998 inflation target set by the government will be fulfilled, i.e. the level of 9.5 per cent will be met. This means a one-digit inflation for the first time in more than 15 years.

## 2. Migration policy

Beginning of 1998 was marked by the enforcement of a majority of the regulations of the 1997 Aliens Law which, after a long period of existence of provisional regulations adapted to the old Aliens Law of 1963, set modern legal standards for coping with the matters related to migration and foreigner residents. The main provisions of the act have been presented in the 1997 SOPEMI report for Poland. In the real life, the act, among other things, clearly distinguished the roles and competences of various state organs dealing with migration policy and migration matters, and some institutions (e.g. the Border Guard) became more responsible and consistent in their activities [Zdanowicz, 1998].

On the other hand, reshuffling of the government in the autumn of 1997 (as a result of the Parliamentary elections) produced a number of turbulences and discontinuities in the spheres related to migration. Major effect of those turbulences were a „hibernation” of a potentially important organ set up in September 1997, i.e. the Inter-Ministry Team for Migration Affairs, and an open controversy between a number of cabinet ministers over the issue of a more restrictive control of eastern border of Poland (introduced on 1 January 1998).

The Inter-Ministry Team was empowered with a task of evaluating of migration policy, taking various initiatives in that area, and co-ordinating related government activities. Unfortunately, however, despite the legal obligation, not even an inaugural meeting of the team took place so far. That means that at present, as during the past 10 years or so, no co-ordination at central level is provided in the area of migration policy.

In turn, the above mentioned dispute over the control of the border had precisely the opposite origins: dynamic action of the government rather than relinquishment. The ordinances following specific provisions of the newly enforced Aliens Law abolished a lavish system of admittance of foreigners to Poland. In case of the countries who did not find it possible to conclude readmission agreements, visa became mandatory for all citizens of those countries. This most severely affected the citizens of Belarus and Russia. In addition, citizens from many countries, whose visits were considered to be threatening the internal

---

<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in 1988 Poland was among few European countries virtually unaffected by the financial collapse in Russia.

security of Poland, some other requirements were introduced or the already existing requirements became more efficiently verified/tested (e.g. invitation issued to a foreigner by a permanent resident of Poland).

While the Ministry of the Interior and Administration were in favour of strict control, the Government Centre for Strategic Studies pointed to great losses incurred by the Poland's economy as a consequence of such policy. The supposed losses included a sharp decline in foreign currency inflow, the disruption of all great bazaars, decreases in the number of jobs, and generally economic breakdown of many sub-regions located close to the state border. Individual politicians took opposite stands in arguing on the principles (and the extent) of the free movement of people in the context of diminishing inflow of Belarussians and Russians [e.g. Wesolowska and Gorecki, 1998; S. Onacik, 1998; Olczyk, Kowalik, 1998].

After a (gradual) improvement in the functioning of Polish consulates in Belarus, Russia and few other countries affected, and more efficient work of custom services and documents control at border check points, the flows of foreigners got to normal, and the political debate subsided. A major real effect of the changes in control on entry became a decline of big bazaars, especially those located along eastern border and in Warsaw, or, more precisely, a slow decline of petty trade in Poland [„Gazeta Stołeczna”, 1998]. Arguments are set forth, however, claiming that the trade turnover between Poland and countries behind the eastern border did not suffer as at the same time petty trade is being substituted by professional (and regular) wholesale trade.

In the absence of other specific acts of migration policy (no new international agreements concerning visa-free movement, access to labour market, readmission, etc. or entering new international conventions), policy makers were busy with intellectual activities related to the preparations of Poland to accession to the European Union. Two issues discussed seems of particular importance: possible solutions concerning the movements of Lithuanians and Ukrainians to Poland in view of the European Union standards, and prospective migratory pressure of Polish workers on the Union labour market. As far as the former is concerned, a strong desire was voiced (*i.a.* by the Minister of Foreign Affairs) to maintain a special relationships with those two countries, which would mean, among other things, a continuation of a visa-free regime in the period extending after the moment of the accession. With regard to the issue of labour migration, discussions focused on the future negotiations stand concerning the length (and extent) of a transitory period after the accession during which Polish workers would be barred from opportunities to take a legal employment in the European market.

### **3. Transborder mobility (international movements of passengers)**

As argued in previous SOPEMI reports for Poland, a large proportion of foreigners entering Poland, recorded by the statistics of border crossing, are in fact circular travellers engaged (at the time of their trip) in some sort of economic activity or seasonal migrant workers who otherwise escape registration. Thus the statistics concerning transborder mobility, which typically reflect, in its by far preponderant part, the visits of tourists or transit movement to other countries, may in the case of Poland be also used as an ancillary source of information on the flows of short-term migrants and various paramigratory movements.

As presented in Table 1, 87,820.4 thousand arrivals of foreign citizens were recorded in Poland in 1997. For the first time since 1989 (almost) no increase was observed relative

to preceding year (87,438.1 thousands in 1996). In contrast to this, the departures of the citizens of Poland continued to increase (by 8.7 per cent relative to 1996) but despite that, their number remained much lower than the number of arriving foreigners (by 39,210.3 thousands in 1997). In the first half of 1998 an increase of arrivals reappeared (relative to the first half of 1997) although it was smaller than the increase in the departures of Polish citizens (5.9 per cent compared to 8.6 per cent).

Interestingly, whereas the number of foreigners crossing western border of Poland (shared with Germany) considerably increased (by 14.5 per cent), the check-points on southern and eastern borders (shared exclusively with six ex-socialist countries) recorded a decline: by 12.2 per cent in case of the eastern border and 0.4 per cent in case of the southern border. As far as the eastern border of Poland is concerned, the number of arrivals from the territory of Russia and Belarus decreased by around 30 per cent, and from the territory of Ukraine by around 2 per cent. However, the inflow from Lithuania rose by almost 18 per cent. This might be interpreted as an impact of introducing new regulations stemming from the 1997 Aliens Law. For, as mentioned in chapter 2, newly adopted principles concerning the controls on entry, which hardly affected citizens of western countries, were supposed to better regulate flows of foreigners from eastern and southern countries, and in particular to curb irregular movements from Belarus and Russia.

In 1997, as in earlier years, a large majority among foreigners arriving in Poland constituted the citizens of the seven neighbouring countries (95.0 per cent) of whom citizens of the FRG predominated (56.5 per cent of the total), followed by people of Czech, Ukrainian, Slovak, Belarussian, Russian and Lithuanian nationality (Table 1). From among more than one hundred remaining countries the most important were citizens of Latvia whose arrivals in Poland amounted to as many as 491.6 thousands. This, however, was much less than in case of the least significant of the top seven countries (Lithuania, 1,719.3 thousands). The other important countries whose citizens entered Poland in 1998 included: Austria (371.1 thousands), Estonia (363.0 thousands), the Netherlands (347.8 thousands) and France (340.5 thousands). In sharp contrast to other major home countries for whose nationals Poland presented itself an ultimate destination, a large part of the citizens of Estonia and Latvia coming to Poland were in transit (87 and 81 per cent respectively).

A large majority of visitors claimed a tourist purpose on entering Poland (61.0 per cent), and 11.0 per cent were in transit. Many foreigners, however, declared a commercial purpose of their trip to Poland (7,287.6 thousands or 8.0 per cent of the total), among whom the citizens of Germany clearly predominated (70.2 per cent). Several hundred thousand arrivals with the purpose of petty-trading, job-seeking or doing a business were recorded in case of citizens of the Czech Republic (around 755 thousands), Ukraine (around 443 thousands) and Slovakia (around 306 thousands). Largest percentages of visitors declaring a commercial purpose of their trip to Poland were observed in case of Slovenians (37 per cent), Koreans (33 per cent), Italians (19 per cent), Bulgarians (17 per cent) and Moldovians (17 per cent) but in case of those countries the absolute numbers hardly exceeded few tens of thousands. For comparison, although only 10 per cent German arriving in Poland related their visit to some sort of economic activity (mainly shopping), and even less Ukrainians did so (8 per cent), the actual numbers of those persons went in hundreds of thousands if not millions (Table 1).

The importance of the foreign passenger movements into Poland is multifarious. Overriding indirect effects include for instance a growing number of individuals who regularly travel to Poland in order to make money on their trip, usually in some informal way, and, as a result, an increasing incidence of the metamorphosis of pseudo-tourism into migration. Viewed from the angle of their direct consequences, those movements

systematically overwhelm the out-goings of Poles, and thus substantially contribute to (or, perhaps more precisely, modify) the balance of payments of Poland. A primary source of this contribution lies in a great amount of invisible payments from abroad, i.e. *inter alia* revenues generated by Polish economic agents through selling goods and services to visitors from foreign countries. Needless to say, the significance of that phenomenon is strongly reinforced by growing negative (since 1996) balance of payments. This seems obvious in the light of the following data<sup>2</sup>:

<b>Year</b>	<b>Actual (net) balance of payments in million US \$ (documented)</b>	<b>Estimated (net) balance of invisible payments (due to transborder passenger movement) in million US \$</b>	<b>The share of revenues from invisible exports in total exports of Poland in %</b>
1995	+5,455	7,754	33.9
1996	-1,352	7,153	29.4
1997	-4,268	6,061	22.2
1998	-7,300 (a)	5,700 (b)	18.0 (a)

(a) an estimate made by the Government Centre for Strategic Studies

(b) an estimate made by NBP (Central Bank of Poland)

In the course of the 1990s a trend was observed of increasing expenditures (in real terms) of foreigners in Poland, and increasing share of outlays on exportable goods. For instance, in 1997 (relative to 1996) the former grew by 19.3 per cent whereas the latter by 3.3 percentage points (85.7 per cent in 1997)<sup>3</sup>. Apparently this trend has been partly halted in 1998. While the share of expenditures on exported merchandise increased further to reach 87.1 per cent in the first half of 1998, their total volume declined (in the first half of 1998 by 15.3 per cent relative to the respective part of 1997)<sup>4</sup>. During the first six months of 1998 a decrease in expenditure in Poland was observed in case of practically all major national groups of „customers”, the most severe on the part of foreigners arriving from the ex-USSR (by 27 per cent). It should be mentioned that those passengers are by all means most professionally (commercially) oriented in their travelling to Poland. An indirect evidence might be here the amount of money spent in Poland per one person during an individual journey; if the outlays (per capita) in case of people entering Poland from the Czech Republic in 1997 were taken for 100, the respective value for Slovaks would be 146 and for Germans 165, and for nationals of the neighbouring eastern countries from between 244 (Russia) and 806 (!, Ukraine)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Kowalik, 1998.

<sup>3</sup> CSO, 1998a.

<sup>4</sup> CSO, 1998b.

<sup>5</sup> Respective ratio for the first half of 1998 in case of the citizens of Belarus and Ukraine (relative to the Czechs) was even higher than in 1997, and exceeded 850.

As suggested in earlier SOPEMI reports for Poland, commercial trips of foreigners to Poland have developed into highly organised and complex operations. Gradually, a hierarchic network of wholesale and retail trading organisations has been established in Poland with a primary goal of supplying the citizens of foreign countries with goods in demand. At the centre of this network are four gigantic bazaars located in central Poland (Warsaw and Gluchow, Rzgów and Tuszyn, all last three in the vicinity of Łódź) which order and buy goods directly from Poland-based producers or import goods from abroad. Customers of those bazaars include either foreigners directly exporting goods to abroad or retailers (but also wholesalers) operating in a dozen or so medium-scale bazaars in border areas, whose activities are almost exclusively aimed at foreign buyers. Eight such bazaars (Cedynia, Gubin, Kostrzyn, Lekkica, Osinow, Słubice, Swinoujście and Zgorzelec) operate close to western border of Poland, two (Białystok and Przemysł) close to eastern border and one (Cieszyn) close to southern border. At the bottom of the hierarchy there exist hundreds of small market places designed for and attended by petty traders from various countries. They are located mostly in towns and villages within an easy reach from border check-points. A large majority of goods sold in those market places originate from nearby medium-sized bazaars or, but not frequently, from major centrally-located bazaars or, still more rarely, directly from producers or importers. A well-developed transportation system links bazaars with not only border check-points but also with many principal foreign cities. Within the principal and medium-sized bazaars a modern trading infrastructure has been built.

A survey conducted at the end of 1997 [Malinowska and Wyznikiewicz, 1998] which covered 15 largest bazaars supplying foreign agents with goods for exportation implied a great (but slowly declining<sup>6</sup>) role of the bazaar trade in the functioning of Poland's economy. The estimated sales of all investigated 15 bazaars in 1997 slightly exceeded 7.2 billions zloty (around 2.2 billions US \$<sup>7</sup>). This meant a moderate decline relative to 1996 when the total sales were believed to be more than 8 billions zloty. Despite a decline, the combined turnover of those 15 bazaars would have placed them at the very top (with the fourth rank) among all companies based in Poland in 1997. Individually, two biggest bazaars (Tuszyn and Warsaw), with sales of the magnitude of almost 2 billions zloty would have been classified among the top 30. Finally, the exports of all 15 bazaars were around 3.9 billions zloty or around 1.2 billions US \$ (of which around 70 per cent went to the ex-socialist countries, chiefly to Ukraine and Belarus).

Further crucial findings of the survey are as follows.

1/ Because of the task of supplying with goods retailers operating in various market places all around Poland, the share of foreigners' purchases in the total sales of three bazaars located near Łódź was the lowest – between 21 and 24 per cent, and of Warsaw bazaar (the largest of all) 62 per cent. In case of the remaining (middle-sized) bazaars the respective percentage was in excess of 90 per cent (6 units) or just below that level (5 units).

2/ The sales' structure was dominated by clothing/textiles (59 per cent), followed by footwear (8 per cent), household appliance (5 per cent) and food products (5 per cent). The concentration of sales was much greater in bazaars close to eastern border where the contribution of clothing/textiles is 81 per cent (in sharp contrast to bazaars located in western part of Poland with only 46-percent share of clothing/textiles).

---

<sup>6</sup> That was a conclusion drawn from a comparative analysis of two surveys: one carried out in 1996 and another in 1997, and based on opinions and future plans of major retailers and wholesalers [Malinowska and Wyznikiewicz, 1998].

<sup>7</sup> The researchers point to a possible underestimation of sales volume in their study, namely by some 20-30 per cent [Malinowska and Wyznikiewicz, 1998].



3/ Wholesalers' participation in all reported purchases varied from around 0 per cent in all eight bazaars close to western border of Poland, through around 3 per cent in Cieszyn (southern border) and around 20–30 per cent in Białystok and Przemyśl (eastern border), to around 50–90 per cent in all big and centrally located units.

4/ Foreign currency „involvement” in the transactions ranged from 10–20 per cent (principal three bazaars near Łódź and two eastern middle-sized bazaars), through 30 per cent (Warsaw), to more than two-thirds (up to 90 per cent) in the remaining units.

5/ Major suppliers for the largest four (centrally-located) bazaars, who constituted a primary source of sales recorded in all 15 bazaars, included: Poland-based private firms, non-affiliated with the bazaars (40 per cent of the total sales), own manufacturing companies (39 per cent), foreign-based companies (17 per cent) and state-owned enterprises (4 per cent).

6/ Not only that the bazaars generated substantial economic activity of various Polish economic agents, but they also offered jobs. The estimated number of employees in all 15 bazaars exceeded 43 thousands, of which around 85 per cent of regular (full-time) employment. In addition, more than 76 thousand persons working outside of bazaars, were exclusively employed in relation to bazaars' activities, of whom the regular workers constituted around 79 per cent. Thus in 1997 the (big and middle) bazaars (and, indirectly, petty traders or shoppers from abroad) generated a direct employment of nearly 120 thousand persons in Poland.

## 4. Documented flows of migrants

### 4.1. Introductory remark

As pointed 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 (see: Chapter 3), while another end the data reflecting reported arrivals to or departures from Poland related to the change of „permanent residence”. Both seem to reflect the phenomena that are far away from what might be considered 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)<sup>8</sup>.

As after many years of exerting various pressures 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].

---

<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact, since the implementation of the 1997 Aliens Law, i.e. 1 January 1998, those practices are not compatible with legal norms. No longer a category like „permanent residence” applies to incoming foreigners; those persons may only lawfully become immigrants by obtaining a permission for „settlement” or „residence for fixed period”.

This part of the report will entirely draw on the statistics related to the concept of „permanent residence”. The source has been the central population register (*PESEL*)<sup>9</sup>.

#### 4.2. General trend

The year 1997 saw a continuation of relatively low spatial mobility of Poland's population. Internal migration involved only around 417.0 thousand persons (or 12 per 1,000 inhabitants), by around 10–20 thousand less than in 1995 and 1996, and by around 50 thousand less than the annual average for 1991–1995. For comparison, the annual average in the 1980s was around 650 thousand, i.e. 18 per 1,000, and in the 1970s around 860 thousand, i.e. 25 per 1,000 (still far below the levels recorded in the 1950s and 1960s).

In 1997 net urban-rural migration barely reached the level of 17 thousand, although not long before then, in the 1980s, the annual average neared 140 thousand, and in the 1970s it was still much higher (by nearly 50 per cent).

Emigration of the residents of Poland fell down to 20.2 thousand, one of the lowest levels recorded in the post-war history (Table 2). This was due to a sharp decline of the outflow in the first half of that year. In the second half of 1997 the flow of emigrants returned to a „norm” established in 1996 (10.5–10.9 thousand within a six-month period), which was reaffirmed in the first half of 1998 when 10.6 thousand exits of emigrants were recorded (Table 2).

In contrast, in 1997 immigration kept increasing, and reached the level of 8.4 thousand (by 3 per cent more than in 1996). In the first half of 1998 a further (this time quite substantial<sup>10</sup>) rise was noted.

A tendency observed in preceding years was reversed towards increasing the ratio of the number of foreign citizens granted „permanent residence”<sup>11</sup> to the total number of immigrants:

<b>Period</b>	<b>Immigrants registered as „permanent residents”</b>	<b>Foreigners granted „permanent residence”</b>	<b>Ratio (3/2) in %</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
1995	8,121	3,067	37.8
1996	8,186	2,844	34.7
1997	8,426	4,056	48.1

A tentative conclusion might that in 1997 there occurred a significant increase of non-Polish citizens among immigrants arriving in Poland.

Migration balance in 1997 was very low (minus 11.8 thousand); in all post-1955 period it could only compare to the levels observed in 1974, 1975 and 1992. In relative terms, 2.4 emigrants were recorded per 1 immigrant (2.5 in the first half of 1998), which

<sup>9</sup> The data originate from regional (district) 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 organisation 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.

<sup>10</sup> By nearly 14 per cent relative to respective period of 1997 (which was the highest of all respective periods since 1960).

<sup>11</sup> It is impossible to be registered as an immigrant without getting a permission of „permanent residence”. However, in order to be finally registered as an immigrant a foreigner (who holds a permanent residence permit) has to report to local authorities her/his arrival for „permanent residence” to a specific address in a given administrative area.

mean a continuation of an earlier established trend (e.g. 3.7 in 1994, 3.2 in 1995 and 2.6 in 1996).

#### 4.3. Destination of emigrants and origin of immigrants

A decline in the number of emigrants recorded in 1997 was distributed pretty evenly among main countries of destination (Table 4). Only in case of one those countries (Austria) an increase in the outflow was observed, and in case of another country (Canada) the 1996 level was maintained. Although to a modest degree, an already very strong concentration of emigration (by countries of destination) further progressed. The share of emigrants heading for Europe increased from 79.8 to 80.6 per cent, and the share of two major European countries of destination, Austria and Germany, grew from 72.0 to 73.4 per cent. At the same time, the share of persons for whom North America was destination decreased from 18.0 to 17.6 per cent (in case of USA – from 11.7 to 11.0 per cent).

With a further increase in the numbers of immigrants (but at the same time a decline in the number of emigrants heading for Germany), the absolute and relative importance of Germany (still the main country of origin) as a resource country diminished. The number of immigrants coming from that country declined by 3 per cent, and their proportion in the total number of immigrants went down by 1.4 points (24.9 per cent in 1997). Generally, the migrants were quite heavily dispersed by countries of origin (Table 8). The overall inflow from 11 countries from which more than 200 immigrants were recorded in 1977 accounted for only 75.8 per cent of the total, while in case of emigration the share of two major countries of destination (Germany and USA) was much higher than this, namely 79.9 per cent, and four major countries (additionally, Canada and Austria) accounted for nearly 90 percent of the total outflow.

Immigration increased due to a rapid growth of inflow from Ukraine (by 42 per cent) and Asia (by 38 per cent), in the latter case mainly from Kazakhstan and Vietnam.

It might be of interest to note that a large majority of top countries of origin recorded a negative migration balance with Poland. Below in addition to the list of 11 countries of origin from which the inflow exceeded 200 persons in 1997, 3 countries were included which though they did not meet that requirement, received more than 200 Polish residents in that year:

<b>Country</b>	<b>Immigration</b>	<b>Emigration</b>	<b>Net migration</b>
Germany	2,098	14,202	-12,104
USA	1,197	2,229	-1,032
Ukraine	758	14	+744
Canada	415	1,336	-921
Kazakhstan	324	5	+319
France	315	245	+70
Russia	304	8	+296
Vietnam	284	-	+284
Belarus	243	4	+239
United Kingdom	233	121	+112
Italy	212	155	+57
Austria	193	631	-438
Sweden	126	288	-162
Australia	159	239	-80

The above presented figures suggest a number of distinct exceptions to the „rule” saying that each migratory flow generates its counterflow. While it seems very true in case of migration between Poland and countries like Germany, USA, Canada or France, it is at the present time not so in case of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Russia, Vietnam or Belarus.

Various evidence presented in subsequent SOPEMI reports for Poland indicated that Polish statistics tend to underestimate migratory flows. So far a basis for such conclusion were statistics of major target countries for migrants from Poland. It seemed, however, more strongly supported in the case of emigration from Poland than immigration to Poland. Recent statistics collected by the government of Ukraine shed still more light on this issue. It stems from those statistics that e.g. between 1995 and 1997 each year from 175 to 250 immigrants arrived from Poland. The Polish (emigration) statistics in turn appeared to take account of merely around 10 per cent of those flows. On the other hand, the Ukrainian emigration figures seem to much better fit respective Polish immigration data; the differences (Polish statistics again relatively underestimating the flows) varied from 5 to 35 per cent.

An indirect (and rather approximate) way to establish the citizenship (or, more precisely, the proportions between the Polish and non-Polish citizens) of immigrants originating from a given country might be a juxtaposition of statistics of immigration and residence permits, as the former applies to migrants of both Polish and non-Polish citizenship and the latter only to foreigners:

<b>Country of origin</b>	<b>Immigrants registered as „permanent residents”</b>	<b>Foreigners granted „permanent residence”</b>	<b>Apparent prevalence of foreigners in immigrants</b>	<b>Apparent prevalence of Polish citizens in immigrants</b>
Germany	2,098	169		+
USA	1,197	52		+
Ukraine	758	955	+	
Canada	415	9		+
Kazakhstan	324	592	+	
France	315	45		+
Russia	304	322	+	
Vietnam	284	333	+	
Belarus	243	304	+	
United Kingdom	233	43		+
Italy	212	52		+
Bulgaria	102	80	+	
Armenia	83	100	+	
Lithuania	76	64	+	

#### 4.4. Migration by sex, age and marital status

The 1997 decline in the outflow proved to be more pronounced in males than in females, i.e. by 6.5 and 3.6 per cent, respectively. As a result the numbers of men and women became almost equal, and the sex ratio declined from 104.5 males per 100 females in 1996 to 101.4 males per 100 females. By way of comparison, the numbers of male and female immigrants increased at similar pace (by around 3 per cent), and thus the sex ration remained at the same level (103 males per 100 females). Therefore a remarkable sex parity was recently observed in migration flows in Poland.

Age composition of migrants did not significantly change. To be sure, except female immigrants it hardly changed at all. The only distinct novelty in 1997 relative to 1996 was an increase in the share of the youngest segment (0–19), principally in females, at the expense of the working age migrants (Table 5 and Table 9):

Age group	Emigrants				Immigrants			
	1996		1997		1996		1997	
	males	females	males	females	males	females	males	females
0-19	33	21	33	21	16	16	17	19
20-59	61	70	62	71	72	69	72	66
60+	6	9	5	8	12	15	11	15

As follows from Table 6 and Table 10, no significant changes occurred in migration flows with respect to marital status. The single continued to predominate among the emigrants whereas the married among the immigrants. Because in 1997 the number of single emigrants decreased (relative to 1996) while the number of single immigrants increased, a negative migration balance among the single, although still very high, became much less pronounced. A similar story but to a considerably lesser degree might be said of the married. The relevant data are the following:

Category	Males					
	1996		other	1997		other
single	married	single		married		
Emigrants (E)	6,936	3,744	202	6,463	3,504	212
Immigrants (I)	1,489	2,390	286	1,597	2,400	282
Balance (I-E)	-5,447	-1,354	+84	-4,866	-1,104	+70
Ratio (E/I)	4.7	1.6	0.7	4.0	1.5	0.7
	Females					
Emigrants (E)	4,955	4,755	705	4,739	4,632	672
Immigrants (I)	1,063	2,364	594	1,212	2,386	470
Balance (I-E)	-3,892	-2,391	-111	-3,527	-2,246	-202
Ratio (E/I)	4.7	2.0	1.2	3.9	2.1	1.4

#### 4.5. Migrants by educational attainment

The trend of declining number of emigrants affected only two of four major categories by educational attainment, the categories on both extreme ends, i.e. migrants with a university diploma and those whose highest achievement became (at best) completing of a primary school. The number of emigrants qualifying in two middle-level categories increased, of which in case of those who completed secondary education was quite considerable, i.e. 7 per cent (Table 7)<sup>12</sup>. It was a minor deviation from a tendency observed since the late 1980s when the changes in the number of migrants representing relatively higher educational attainment led to a systematic and substantial decline of their share in the total while the changes concerning migrants with lower attainment caused the opposite effect. As a result, in 1997 not only the share of emigrants with university diploma but also (for the second time in 10 years, since 1988) the share of emigrants with elementary education declined. Nevertheless, as might be seen from data to follow, first and more generally, the distribution of emigrants by educational attainment did not change (relative to 1996 and a bit earlier years), with increasing number (and share) of persons in each category of lower order, and second, the percentage of migrants with elementary education remained relatively very high (around three-quarters of the total) while the percentage of those with post-secondary education became even more negligible than in 1996 (below 2 per cent):

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
1997	1.8	75.5	1.6	74.0

Against this picture, figures included in Table 11 suggest a sharply contrasting distribution of immigrants, characterised by a predominance of persons with secondary education, followed by persons with university diploma. Generally, as in earlier years, on the average the immigrants are much better educated than the emigrants, and despite still much lower immigration than emigration, the number of immigrants falling into two categories of educational attainment of higher order continues to be substantially (more than twice) higher than the respective number of emigrants:

Migrant category	Category of educational attainment			
	post-secondary	secondary	vocational	elementary
Emigrants	295	2,047	2,206	13,206
Immigrants	1,987	2,897	1,145	2,397
Balance	+1,692	+850	-1,061	-10,809

<sup>12</sup> Here and elsewhere in the present section all relative numbers refer to the population aged 15 or over.

## 5. Stocks of migrants

### 5.1. Stock of immigrants/foreign citizens

According to legal definition which was in use until 27 December 1997, the stock of foreign citizens in Poland included the foreigners who after being granted permanent residence were registered at a specific address as permanent residents of Poland, and until a given moment did not leave for any other country nor acquired Polish citizenship. There was no attempt in Poland to relate a notion of the stock of foreigners to the concept of the foreign born. Since the end of 1997 there legally exist two categories of foreign residents in Poland: those granted a permission for settlement and those with a residence permit for a fixed time. Irrespective of conceptual differences, however, the central population register (or any other source) do not render it possible to arrive at any reliable estimate of the foreign population in Poland.

As mentioned in earlier SOPEMI reports, in 1993 an estimate of foreign citizens residing in Poland suggested their size within the range of 30,000–35,000. Since that time, due to the lack of attempts on the part of the central administration to verify the past records of foreign resident no new sound estimate was possible. In 1994–1997 the number of foreign citizens granted a permanent residence permit was increasing (with a minor exception for 1996), and altogether 12.4 thousand new permissions were issued (Table 13). Bearing in mind that in this period few thousand foreigners acquired Polish nationality, the stock of foreigners legally living in Poland might estimated at 40,000–45,000 at the end of 1997.

Recent (1994–1997) acquisitions of permanent residence permit were overwhelmed by the citizens of the ex-USSR, among whom major nationalities included: Ukrainian (2,691 or 21.7 per cent of the total), Russian (1,243), Kazakh (1,136) and Belarussian (900). Other important countries of origin were: Vietnam (890) and Germany (630). Between 1994 and 1997 the annual number of permits more than doubled (rise by 117 per cent). Kazakhstan was by all means a leader in this growth (increase by factor 13), followed by Vietnam (increase by 217 per cent) and Belarus (increase by 110 per cent) (Table 12). The fact that in reality the permissions granted to citizens of Kazakhstan shaped the above depicted trend might now only be of historical meaning. This is because a large majority of applicants coming from Kazakhstan were people of Polish origin for whom until the end of 1997 the repatriation procedure required an application for permanent residence as an initial step to the restoration of Polish citizenship. Since 1 January 1998 repatriated persons (of Polish descent) from Kazakhstan (as well as from other countries) are automatically granted Polish citizenship on entering Poland, and thus they skip over the procedure related to any residence permit.

The changes in legislation (the 1997 Aliens Law) are clearly reflected in statistics for the first six months of 1998 when the number of applications for a permission for residence in Poland was strikingly low and the number of permissions granted even much smaller (Table 12). A comparison between the relevant data for the first half of 1997 and 1998 seems illuminating in this respect:

Country of origin	Applications		Permissions granted	
	1st half 1997	1st half 1998 (a)	1st half 1997	1st half 1998 (a)
Total	2,162	1,444	2,006	667
Ukraine	532	330	411	154
Kazakhstan	266	18	340	1
Vietnam	184	154	163	69
Russia	163	129	173	55

(a) the figures for 1998 reflect a combination of two categories: „permission for settlement” and „permission for fixed-time residence”

Picture representing the presence of foreigners in Poland could be supplemented by using certain other data sources. As stems from Table 13, in 1997 Poland hosted 5,443 foreign students (almost no change relative to 1996) and 3,535 asylum seekers (a moderate increase relative to 1996). In addition, 17,498 foreigners were given a work permit (a considerable increase relative to 1996). Persons falling into those three categories as a rule were not covered by the statistics of permanent residence permits, hence they represent another segment of the stock of (legal or legalised) foreigners in Poland.

Apart from the foreigners whose stay in Poland has been regularised, there are many undocumented foreign citizens. A recent estimate attributed to the Central Statistical Office speaks of 150,000 irregular foreigners in employment in Poland [L.Z., 1998]. On the other hand, various estimates of the number of undocumented Vietnamese alone put that number within the range of 20,000–100,000 Gryczka and Kostyla, 1998; Gmyz, 1998]. Apart from people from Vietnam, large groups of irregular foreigners originate from Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania, Russia and Ukraine.

## 5.2. Foreigners married to Polish citizens in Poland

It is well known argument that the concluding of marital union with a native person may facilitate integration of a migrant in the host society or help in removing barriers to her/his regularisation. It might be hypothesised that from the Polish perspective until early 1990s mixed marriages frequently and above all served as a vehicle for emigration of Polish citizens while since early 1990s for immigration of foreigners.

In Poland mixed marriages of Polish citizens with aliens are rather rare. Those unions constituted only 1.6 per cent in all marriages registered in Poland in 1997. In recent years with a gradually decreasing number of all unions concluded, also the number of mixed marriages was falling down, and as consequence the incidence of the latter remained stagnant since 1990. Two sub-periods in this trend could be noted. First of them, extending from 1990 to 1993, witnessed a sharp decline either in the number of unions where Polish woman married foreign man (by 30 per cent) or unions where Polish man married foreign woman (by 17 per cent). Between 1993 and 1997 the number of the former unions declined even further (by 5 per cent) but the number of the latter unions strongly increased (by 55 per cent). Therefore the recent five-year period might be considered as relatively favourable for mixed marriages of foreign wives and Polish husbands (Table 14).

As far as mixed marriages where female is a Polish partner are concerned, a dramatic decline took place in case of the citizens of Germany (by 57 per cent in 1990–1997). Similar albeit less sharp trend was observed with regard to the citizens of the USA, Sweden and



Canada. In addition, from among major nationalities taking part in mixed marriages with Polish females, the number of unions stagnated in case of Dutch, French and Belgian. Two important western nationalities, Italian and British, displayed a moderate but clear increase. Opposite to these, men coming from countries like Ukraine, Vietnam or Armenia contributed to a rapid rise in the number of mixed unions with Polish citizens (Table 16).

Even more important, probably to a large degree due to Polish naturalisation regulations, seem trends related to mixed marriages of Polish men. No rises (but rather a decrease, often substantial) were observed in case of partners representing any western nationality, and a decline in case of Germans was indeed striking (by 86 per cent in 1990–1997). On the other hand, there strongly increased mixed unions in which female partners proved to be the nationals of many countries whose contribution to recent immigration to Poland is the largest. For instance, the number of unions with a female partner from Ukraine (by far the main country in this respect) grew by 141 per cent in 1993–1997, and from Belarus by 126 per cent. In the middle of 1990s a new phenomenon of mixed marriages of Poles with Asiatic wives began, and e.g. between 1995 and 1997 the number of that kind of unions with a Vietnamese partner increased by factor 7 and with an Armenian partner by 56 per cent (Table 16).

### 5.3. Stock of emigrants (permanent residents of Poland)

Regular data on that issue come from a quarterly Labour Force Survey (*BAEL*) which since May 1993 includes the topic of temporary foreign residence of Polish citizens. It should be explained from the beginning that the Labour Force Survey statistics reflect only a part of the stock of Polish migrants staying abroad, namely those statistics pertain exclusively to those who are the adults (in this regard rare exceptions may occur), retain their „permanent address” in Poland during their stay abroad, have at least one household member still staying at that address and at the time of survey are away from their Polish home for at least two months. The data though based on a dangerously small sample, reveal a formidable consistency. The trends are rather stable and in many instances similar, e.g. among males and females, among those who stay abroad relatively shorter and relatively longer, and among those who are employed in a foreign country and are involved in something else while abroad.

Generally though, the data indicate a steadily declining number of the permanent residents of Poland staying abroad (Table 17). At least this is obvious since 1994 where typically around 200,000 persons were estimated to be in such situation (around 130,000–140,000 in 1998). The number of male migrants declines at faster pace than the respective number of females (in 1994 on the average 60 per cent of the total were men whereas in 1998 57 per cent). There increases a relative importance of Poles staying abroad for shorter (up to one year) rather than longer time; the proportion of the former increased from 42 per cent in 1994 to 46 per cent in 1998. The share of the gainfully employed in the total moderately oscillates, between 68 and 74 per cent; as a matter of fact, a small increase occurred in 1998.

Persons in relatively young brackets of the working age (25–34 years) constitute a predominant part of the migrants (in May 1998 55 per cent in males and 61 per cent in females), and those whose stay abroad is longer are more dispersed with respect to age (Table 18). Finally, it should be mentioned that the geographic pattern of migrants distribution reflects more past migration flows than current flows, especially as far as concerns the migrants staying abroad for longer than one year (Table 19). Among those whose stay in a foreign country is relatively short a major country of residence is Germany

(37 per cent), followed by the USA (21 per cent), Italy (8 per cent), the United Kingdom (8 per cent) and Austria (6 per cent). The USA takes the lead (with 45 per cent) in case of migrants staying abroad for more than one year. Other important countries here are: Germany (16 per cent), Italy (11 per cent) and Canada (5 per cent).

## **6. Migrant workers**

### 6.1. Migration for work from Poland

No Polish source offers quantitative information on this subject of satisfactory scope and quality. The above mentioned Labour Force Survey enables a researcher to arrive at a general figure reflecting a stock, namely the number of workers whose sojourn in a foreign country extends for over two months, and practically only those (married) whose partner stays in Poland during their employment abroad. A recent estimate (August 1998) suggests 104 thousand migrant workers who at the time of survey spent more than two months in a foreign country, but it seems difficult to interpret and assess from the view-point of reliability.

A rough estimate (made by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy) of the regular foreign employment of Polish citizens/residents (this is by no means clear from the sources) in countries with which Poland has signed respective bilateral agreements implies a figure of some 230,000 for all 1997, of which more than 95 per cent in Germany, of which in turn around 90 per cent in connection with seasonal work (Table 20). According to this concept of foreign employment of Polish citizens, since 1994 the number of migrant workers is steadily increasing (nearly 60-per cent rise in 1994–1997). However, this conclusion (and the underlying data in general) should be treated with a caution because various surveys carried out in Poland suggest that a majority of Polish migrant workers are in irregular situation in labour markets of foreign countries, and the trends in that group of migrants might be somewhat different from those in regular situation.

Relatively solid statistical basis exists in Poland for the analysis of migration for seasonal work in Germany. According to the bilateral agreement, migrants are entitled to up to three-month employment in Germany within a calendar year, in an indicated industry (branch) and subject to the availability of jobs. The relevant statistics are compiled by Polish district Labour Offices through which all applications of workers are being processed. Table 21 presents the 1997 distribution of seasonal workers by industry of employment in Germany and district of origin in Poland. The data point to a preponderant role played by employment in agriculture (79 per cent of the total), followed by viticulture or grape picking (11 per cent). In fact, other German industries hardly matter in overall employment of seasonal workers from Poland. It should be mentioned that shortly after the respective bilateral agreement has been implemented, seasonal jobs offered to Polish workers were much more dispersed, and for instance in 1993 the share of agricultural employment was only 55 per cent while as many as 15 per cent workers (almost 23,000 cases) found employment in construction industry (only 11 cases in 1997).

In early years of the functioning of the bilateral agreement concerning seasonal work, a majority of Polish workers originated from a limited number of regions (districts), and better chances were associated with the proximity of German border and a higher level of region development. Therefore, quite against verbal intentions of the agreement, the share of workers from regions hit by heavy unemployment and deep economic restructuring (mainly from those located in central and eastern Poland) in migration for seasonal work in Germany was improporportionately low. As stems from Table 21, in 1997 the top ten districts

(of all 49 districts) included at least one relatively small, remote and underdeveloped unit, namely Suwalki district, in case of which an increase in migration for seasonal work in 1993-1997 exceeded 80 per cent. A number of other districts of similar characteristics displayed similar growth.

Many (although rather dispersed) sources point to the fact that most Polish migrant workers, irrespective of their legal status, find employment in „inferior” segment of labour market; the duration of their contracts is usually very short and required skills or wages offered are relatively low.

## 6.2. Migration for work to Poland

It is often claimed that each year well above 100,000 migrant workers find employment in Poland [I. Pur Rahnema, 1997; L.Z., 1998]. The estimated number seems to a large degree a matter (and a consequence) of the definition adopted. If foreign visitors who undertake occasional works (sometimes of the duration of just one day or so) in Poland are counted, then in case of Ukrainians alone the number might be as high as several hundred thousands in a single year. Nonetheless it is obvious that a large number of foreigners (and Poles, too) work in the shadow economy, and that so far no serious attempt has been made to establish the magnitude of that employment. Only a small part of foreign workers (or their potential employers) apply for work permits. One of the reason is that the application procedure is costly and time-consuming.

In 1997 around 17,500 foreigners were legally entitled to work in Poland, of whom around 15,300 on the basis of individually granted permits (around 2,200 within a framework of project-tied contracts). After several years of a relative stabilisation, this means a sharp increase relative to 1996 (by nearly 30 per cent). The first half of 1998 saw a continuation of that rise (17-per cent increase relative to the corresponding period of 1997). Although it would be premature to try any explanation of that change, it might be observed that with new regulations (the 1997 Aliens Law), gradually introduced since the end of 1997 (and easy to predict even before), one type of visa, visa 05 or the so-called business visa, has been abolished. In many cases in the past business visa could „substitute” the work permit, especially in a situation of small (e.g. one-person) firms set up in Poland by foreigners, and because it was simpler to obtain and cheaper.

As in preceding years, a large majority of permits were linked with jobs in Warsaw district (54 per cent permits granted individually and 52 per cent granted collectively in the first half of 1998). A few other districts that counted included: Gdansk (5 per cent), Szczecin (5 per cent), Katowice (4 per cent) and Lodz (4 per cent).

The citizens of as many as 19 countries were granted at least 100 work permits between 1 January and 30 June 1998: Ukraine (1,349), Vietnam (940), Belarus (867), Russia (639), the United Kingdom (638), Germany (578), France (382), China (381), the USA (332), Korea South (252), Italy (251), Turkey (230), Armenia (222), India (212), the Netherlands (163), Bulgaria (153), Sweden (150), Mongolia (136) and Austria (126). While in 1996 only two countries were represented by more than 1,000 workers (permits) in Poland (Ukraine and Vietnam), and further six countries by more than 500 workers (the United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, the USA, China and Belarus), in 1997 seven countries fell in the former category (Ukraine, Vietnam, Belarus, the United Kingdom, Russia and Germany) and three other in the latter (the USA, China and France). The changes in the top eight (by the 1997 ranks) from 1993 and 1997 were as follows:

Country	1993	1997	Percentage increase
Ukraine	1,570	2,690	+71
Vietnam	771	2,041	+165
Belarus	1,184	1,418	+20
United Kingdom	431	1,225	+184
Russia	1,187	1,217	+3
Germany	478	1,066	+123
USA	430	833	+94
China	576	743	+29

Although in the course of recent five years, the list of top eight included the same countries, the changes undergone by particular countries of that list were very differentiated. A striking fact is a rapid increase in the number of permits granted to the citizens of western countries, especially British and German. Similar growth was also observed in case of French, Italians, Danish, Swedish and Dutch. From among non-western countries the increase of permit number granted to Vietnamese is by all means the most spectacular. It should be mentioned though that several other countries were also on a sharp rise, namely India, Turkey, Armenia, South Korea and Mongolia (in case of each of these countries more than 250 permits were granted in 1997).

As in previous years, in 1997 the most popular branch of economy seemed trade and catering which obtained 40 per cent of all permits compared with 19 per cent for manufacturing industry and transportation and 11 per cent for education (Table 23). Trade and catering was overwhelmed by Vietnamese and Chinese to whom went 44 per cent of permits in that branch. In turn, education was a domain of British, Ukrainians, Germans and Americans with 69 per cent of the total. National distribution of permits in industry and transportation was much less concentrated than those described above; two by far most important nations (Ukrainians and Germans) received 33 per cent of the branch total.

A major ownership sector employing foreigners with work permits proved to be private firms with pure foreign capital (50 per cent *vis-a-vis* merely 39 per cent in 1996). As a matter of fact, there were small firms with little capital that mattered here (Table 22). The sector was dominated by Vietnamese (frequently just running individual bazaar stalls or small restaurants) who received 23 per cent of all sector permits. A little more permits went to private firms with pure Polish capital (25 per cent) than to private firms with mixed (Polish-foreign) capital (15 per cent) and much more than to state-owned companies (7 per cent).

In 1997 regular foreign labour continued to be strongly polarised according to professional status, although a major change relative to preceding years seemed to occur (Table 24). For a major and indeed very rapid increase took place in case of owners (by 71 per cent relative to 1996) and managers (by 44 per cent), which *inter alia* contrasted with a decline in case of unskilled workers (by 12 per cent), a stabilisation in case of teachers, and rather insignificant growth in case of skilled workers (18 per cent) and experts/consultants (19 per cent). Of importance was a single fact of increasing by 83 per cent the number of permits to the citizens of Vietnam who became owners or managers. As explained earlier, it might have been an artificial effect caused by the changes in legislation, especially abolishing of the so-called business visa. All in all, a major category remained managers (25 per cent of the total), followed by owners (22 per cent) and experts/consultants (13 per cent). The unskilled workers found themselves rather marginalised, with only 5 per cent of all permits.

## 7. Asylum seekers and refugees

In the years 1997 and, though to a lesser degree, 1998 a trend of elevated inflow of asylum seekers to Poland was maintained. After 1994 when a relatively low number of application for the refugee status was recorded (a little less than 600), an moderate increase occurred in 1995 (almost 850 applications), followed by a dramatic rise in 1996 (nearly by factor 4 relative to the previous year). A very high level of 1996 (3,212 applications) was even increased in 1997 (to 3,544). The data for the first half of 1998 (966 applications) suggest again an annual number close to 3,000.

It became evident that that newly established elevated level of the inflow of asylum seekers to Poland is almost entirely due to the growth of trafficking in migrants. The mechanism is rather simple. Foreigners readmitted or apprehended on illegal crossing of the Polish border or on illegal transit through Poland are entitled to apply for a refugee status which offers them a chance of not being arrested and/or deported to their countries of origin.

In 1997 (as in 1996) the main nationality among asylum seekers were the citizens of Sri Lanka (nationality of rather low importance in 1995 and earlier) whose share in the total was 24 per cent (Table 25). The other distinct nationalities included Afghanistans (18 per cent), Armenians (13 per cent) and Pakistanians (10 per cent). All those nationalities recorded a sharp increase (relative to 1996). The inflow became relatively less sizeable from India, Iraq and Somalia, to mention the most spectacular cases.

The first six months of 1998 an intensified inflow of Armenians and the citizens of Yugoslavia, whereas the inflow of people from Sri Lanka and Afghanistan seemed to decline (Table 25).

In describing the phenomenon of refugee inflow to Poland one has to reflect on the outcomes of application procedures. Although the Polish rules with regard to the entitlement to refugee status are considered to be rather liberal, only 259 positive decisions were taken in two-year period of 1996 and 1997, which translates into 3.8 per cent of all applications. The main reason for this is not ineligibility but rather the fact that most migrants after submitting an application simply „disappear”. For instance, in 1996 in case of as many as 75 per cent of all applications the decision could not be taken, and was discontinued due to the lack of contact with an applicant. In 1997 that was 81 per cent, and in the first half of 1998 60 per cent. Two striking examples might be referred here to: of applicants coming from Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, in a large part probably qualifying for a refugee status. In 1997, for instance, in the former case from among 326 procedures in the first instance, there were 11 positive and 7 negative decisions, but at the same time 298 discontinued cases, and in the latter case – 2 positive and 27 negative decisions and 958 discontinued cases. Similar stories could be said of the applications submitted by the citizens of Armenia, Bangladesh, India, Iraq, Pakistan and Romania. Somewhat contrasting case present applicants from Somalians among whom the largest group constitute those who were granted a refugee status, and the proportion of discontinued procedures is (i.e. in 1997) rather low (33 per cent). But this is an exception.

## 8. Illegal movements by foreign citizens

A dramatic increase in trafficking in migrants, reported to SOPEMI last year, continued to dominate the area of illegality/irregularity of foreigners in Poland. Except for a few countries, a majority of migrants from Asia and Africa come to Poland with an intention of getting to one of western countries, and their trip involves more or less elements of illegality. However, a dominant part of illegal (often trafficked) migrants from Armenia and Vietnam, just to mention two most important countries of origin, seem to ultimately head for Poland. Poland is also a destination for a number of irregular foreigners, coming from many other countries, most notably from Romania and Ukraine, who also, in frequent cases, resort to the services of trafficking organisations [Okólski, 1998]. Apparently there also exists the phenomenon of trafficking in Polish migrants, in this case to the United States<sup>13</sup>.

After a decline in 1996 (by 6 per cent), also the year 1997 saw decreasing number of foreigners apprehended on illegal border crossing (4-per cent decrease relative to 1996). Out of 10,537 reported cases of this kind, 5,312 foreigners were arrested independently by the Polish Border Guard, of whom a majority (4,305 persons outside of border crossing points). A major geographical region of origin of apprehended migrants proved Asia, especially countries of or around Indian sub-continent whose number increased by 24 per cent (relative to 1996), to reach 3,707. As many as 77 per cent foreigners apprehended on eastern border of Poland turned out Asians. Illegal border crossing of those persons involved three cases of using a plane (flights over Polish-Lithuanian border) and two cases of using a helicopter (flights over Polish-Ukrainian border). Among those arrested by the Border Guard, Asians constituted 40 per cent, the citizens of Romania and Balkan countries 23 per cent, and the citizens of the newly independent states (ex-USSR) 20 per cent.

In 1997 Poland received 4,797 foreigners within the readmission frameworks which meant a slight decrease (by 2.3 per cent), a fact contrasting with rather sharp increases in 1995 and 1996. One-half of the readmitted originated from Asia of whom the citizens of Afghanistan and Sri Lanka accounted for nearly 60 per cent.

Assisted large groups of illegal migrants (over 10 persons) who were apprehended in Poland in 1997 included 4,139 foreigners (in 215 groups). However, the largest group apprehended in 1997 was arrested in Ukraine after a joint action of the Polish and Ukrainian guards, and it was composed of 98 persons (mainly Sri Lankans). Compared to 1996, the number of such groups increased by 27 per cent, and the number of migrants by 33 per cent. As many as 102 traffickers were arrested of whom 95 citizens of Poland.

The number of foreigners expelled from Poland in 1997 amounted to 5,166 and was the highest ever recorded (2-per cent increase relative to 1996). The foreigners were deported in the form of 392 organised convoys; around 220 foreigners (of whom more than 50 per cent from Bangladesh) were flown to their home countries at the expense of the Poland's government.

As follows from Table 26, Romanians happened to be the most numerous nationality among the expelled (1,049 persons). Apparently this came as a result of a targeted action, directed specifically towards a segment of citizens of Romania residing in Poland who were believed to be involved in various criminal networks or „organised” beggary. The next nation were Ukrainians (844), followed by Bulgarians (473), Czechs (338), Sri Lankans (286), Moldovians (285) and Armenians (261). A distinct decline in the number of

---

<sup>13</sup> A group of five traffickers went on trial for organising in 1995–1997 an illegal migration of the citizens of Poland. An evidence has been accepted by the Krakow court of assisting 10 Poles in their illegal migration to North America [Sadecki, 1998].

expulsions could be observed in case migrants from Indian sub-continent (with the exception of the citizens of Sri Lanka) which probably was more related to increasing number of applications for refugee status<sup>14</sup> than to decreasing incidence of illegality.

In the first half of 1998 only 1,791 illegal foreigners were apprehended in Poland which marked a considerable decline (by 25 per cent relative to the first half of 1997). A decrease occurred in case of all regional groups of migrants. However, the share of Asians, the by far largest regional group in two previous years, in the total increased from 41 to 49 per cent.

Also a decline was observed with respect to trafficking in migrants, at least as far as the apprehensions of large groups of migrants are concerned. Only 39 groups consisting of more than 10 persons (including 637 migrants) were apprehended. The share of Asians amounted to 92 per cent of all arrested foreigners. Also 23 traffickers were arrested of whom 21 Poles.

On the basis of readmission agreements, from 1 January to 30 June, 1998 Poland received 1,409 foreigners and expelled 2,107 foreigners, of whom the major nationalities were the following:

<b>Country of citizenship</b>	<b>To Poland</b>	<b>From Poland</b>
Afghanistan	200	71
Moldova	167	155
Ukraine	166	409
Sri Lanka	163	57
Armenia	126	195
Yugoslavia	85	15
Iraq	73	31
Pakistan	49	38
Bulgaria	6	259
Romania	-(a)	242
Belarus	30	88

(a) Romanians apprehended in Germany (who get there through Poland) are deported directly to Romania

In conclusion, the first half of 1998 witnessed diminishing incidence of illegality in the movements and other behaviours of migrants in Poland.

---

<sup>14</sup> Increasingly many migrants resort to that means only after being apprehended in connection with illegal border crossing or illegal transiting through Poland.

## References

Border Guard Headquarters, 1998a. The Border Guard of the Republic of Poland. Warsaw.

Border Guard Headquarters, 1998b. Situation along Polish state border in the first half-year of 1998. Warsaw.

Central Statistical Office, 1998a. Ruch graniczny i wydatki cudzoziemców w Polsce oraz Polaków za granicą w 1997 roku. Warsaw.

Central Statistical Office, 1998b. Ruch graniczny i wydatki cudzoziemców w Polsce oraz Polaków za granicą w I półroczu 1998 r. Warsaw.

„Gazeta Stołeczna”, no. 206, 3 September (Nie ma Rosjan, nie ma handlu).

Gmyz C., 1998. Konsul o dobrym sercu, „Życie”, 23 February.

Gryczka A. and J. Kostyla, 1998. Wietnamczycy w Polsce: male Hanoi, „Wprost”, no. 7, 14 February.

Kowalik A., 1988. Jest trochę lepiej. Raport Rządowego Centrum Studiów Strategicznych, „Rzeczpospolita”, no. 91, 18-19 April.

Kowalik A., 1998. Targowiska mogą reanimować dwóch ministrów, „Rzeczpospolita”, no. 64, 18 March.

L.Z., 1998. Najczęściej na czarno, „Rzeczpospolita”, no. 204, 1 September.

Lodziński S., 1998. Uwarunkowania prawne w dziedzinie polityki migracyjnej Polski w procesie integracji z Unią Europejską, unpublished manuscript.

National Labour Office (Krajowy Urząd Pracy), 1998a. Zezwolenia na prace udzielane cudzoziemcom przez wojewódzkie urzędy pracy w okresie 01.01-31.12.1997 r. (wyniki badania sondazowego). Warsaw.

National Labour Office (Krajowy Urząd Pracy), 1998b. Zezwolenia na prace udzielane cudzoziemcom przez wojewódzkie urzędy pracy w okresie 01.01-30.06.1998 r. (wyniki badania sondazowego). Warsaw.

Malinowska E. and B. Wyznikiewicz, Handel targowiskowy w 1997 roku. Instytut Badań nad Gospodarką Rynkową, Gdańsk-Warsaw.

Office of the Parliament (Kancelaria Sejmu, Biuro Studiów i Ekspertyz), 1998. Dyskusja prasowa na temat skutków wejścia nowej ustawy o cudzoziemcach (wybor: S. Lodziński). Warsaw.

Okólski M., 1997. Statystyka imigracji w Polsce. Warunki poprawności, ocena stanu obecnego, propozycje nowych rozwiązań, „ISS Working papers. Seria: Prace Migracyjne”, no. 2. Warsaw.

Okólski M., 1998. Combating migrant trafficking in Poland. Results of a recent study. Regional Seminar on Migrant Trafficking through the Baltic States and Neighbouring Countries. Vilnius, 17-18 September.

Olczyk M., 1998. Kłopoty dla polskiej gospodarki, „Rynki Zagraniczne”, 23 February.

Onacik S., 1998. Z WNP do Polski – łatwiej i dużo taniej, „Prawo i Gospodarka”, 26 February.



Pur Rahnama I., 1997. Goscie chciani i niechciani, „Gazeta Wyborcza”, 27-28 October.

Sadecki J., 1998. Przerzut ludzi do Ameryki, „Rzeczpospolita”, 21 February.

Wesolowska E. and L. Glowacki. 1998. Bazary nie chcą umierać, „Życie”, no. 22, 27 January.

Zdanowicz M., 1998. The legal status of aliens in Poland, unpublished manuscript.

**Appendix: statistical tables****Table 1.** Arrivals of foreigners and arrivals with a purpose of performing some sort of economic (commercial) activity; top seven nationalities. Poland 1997

Country of citizenship	All arrivals		Arrivals declared to be related to shopping/petty trade/ /employment/business	
	Actual	Per cent	Actual	Per cent
Total	87,820,400	100.0	7,287,616	100.0
Germany	49,589,304	56.5	5,113,110	70.2
Czech Republic	16,793,082	19.1	734,917	10.1
Ukraine	5,351,504	6.1	443,063	6.1
Slovakia	4,173,562	4.8	305,592	4.2
Russia	2,036,188	2.3	86,229	1.2
Lithuania	1,719,290	1.9	85,729	1.2
Belarus	3,804,724	4.3	76,729	1.0
others	4,352,746	5.0	442,247	6.0

Source: Border Guard

**Table 2.** International migration (a); year-by-year figures and five-year annual averages. Poland: 1945-1996 (in thousand)

Year	Emigrants	Immigrants	Year	Emigrants	Immigrants
1945-1949	797.8	754.9	1970-1974	17.6	1.6
1950-1954	15.4	4.0	1975-1979	25.8	1.7
1955-1959	66.7	53.2	1980-1984	24.4	1.3
1960-1964	23.8	3.5	1985-1989	29.8	1.9
1965-1969	23.8	2.1	1990-1994	20.9	5.4
			1995-1997 (b)	22.6	8.2
1945	1,506.0	2,283.0	1972	19.1	1.8
1946	1,836.0	1,181.0	1973	13.0	1.4
1947	542.7	228.7	1974	11.8	1.4
1948	42.7	62.9	1975	9.6	1.8
1949	61.4	19.1	1976	26.7	1.8
1950	60.9	8.1	1977	28.9	1.6
1951	7.8	3.4	1978	29.5	1.5
1952	1.6	3.7	1979	34.2	1.7
1953	2.8	2.0	1980	22.7	1.5
1954	3.8	2.8	1981	23.8	1.4
1955	1.9	4.7	1982	32.1	0.9
1956	21.8	27.6	1983	26.2	1.2
1957	133.4	91.8	1984	17.4	1.6
1958	139.3	92.8	1985	20.5	1.6
1959	37.0	43.2	1986	29.0	1.9
1960	28.0	5.7	1987	36.4	1.8
1961	26.5	3.6	1988	36.3	2.1
1962	20.2	3.3	1989	26.6	2.2
1963	20.0	2.5	1990	18.4	2.6
1964	24.2	2.3	1991	21.0	5.0
1965	28.6	2.2	1992	18.1	6.5
1966	28.8	2.2	1993	21.3	5.9
1967	19.9	2.1	1994	25.9	6.9
1968	19.4	2.2	1995	26.3	8.1
1969	22.1	2.0	1996	21.3	8.2
1970	14.1	1.9	1997	20.2	8.4
1971	30.2	1.7			

(a) in legal sense only, i.e. migration related to the changes of "permanent" residence; this also pertains to Tables from 3 to 11

(b) three-year average

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 3.** International migration by half-year. Poland: 1992-1998

Period	Number of emigrants	Number of immigrants	Migration balance
1992			
1st half-year	8,576	3,135	-5,441
2nd half-year	9,239	3,377	-5,862
1993			
1st half-year	8,693	2,827	-5,866
2nd half-year	12,683	3,097	-9,586
1994			
1st half-year	11,949	3,027	-8,922
2nd half-year	13,955	3,880	-10,075
1995			
1st half-year	13,312	3,428	-9,884
2nd half-year	13,032	4,693	-8,339
1996			
1st half-year	10,596	3,586	-7,010
2nd half-year	10,701	4,600	-6,101
1997			
1st half-year	9,337	3,649	-5,688
2nd half-year	10,885	4,777	-6,108
1998			
1st half-year	10,580	4,148	-6,432

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 4.** Emigrants by major destinations. Poland: 1995-1997

Country of destination	1995	1996	1997	
	as per cent of total			actual
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	20,222
Europe	79.6	79.8	80.6	16,315
Austria	2.3	2.5	3.1	631
France	1.4	1.2	1.2	245
Germany	68.9	69.5	70.2	14,202
Italy	0.7	0.7	0.7	155
Sweden	2.2	1.7	1.4	288
United Kingdom	0.6	0.6	0.6	121
other	3.4	3.6	3.3	673
Africa	0.2	0.3	0.1	35
America North	18.5	18.0	17.6	3,565
Canada	6.4	6.3	6.6	1,336
USA	12.1	11.7	11.0	2,229
America Central and South	0.1	0.1	0.1	18
Asia	0.2	0.2	0.2	42
Oceania	1.4	1.5	1.2	240
Unknown	-	-	0.1	7

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 5.** Emigrants by sex and age. Poland: 1996 and 1997

Age category	Males			Females		
	1996 per cent	1997 per cent	1997 actual	1996 per cent	1997 per cent	1997 actual
Total	100.0	100.0	10,179	100.0	100.0	10,043
0-14	13.6	12.4	1,268	13.2	12.5	1,254
15-19	19.8	21.0	2,138	8.2	8.7	878
20-24	12.7	14.5	1,482	10.4	10.5	1,055
25-29	7.2	6.6	669	10.1	10.6	1,073
30-34	7.6	6.3	647	10.3	9.7	977
35-39	9.8	9.4	954	12.0	11.6	1,164
40-44	9.7	9.8	999	10.9	11.6	1,161
45-49	5.9	7.2	733	6.4	7.5	759
50-54	3.4	3.3	342	3.8	4.2	420
55-59	3.9	3.9	400	5.3	4.4	441
60-64	3.0	2.2	228	3.8	3.4	345
65-69	2.0	1.6	164	2.7	2.3	236
70+	1.5	1.5	155	3.0	2.8	280

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 6.** Emigrants by sex and marital status (for 1997 also by age).  
Poland: 1981-1997

Year and age category	Marital status				
	total	bachelor or spinster	married	widower or widow	divorced
<b>males</b>					
1981-85 (a)	10,937	5,357	5,270	114	197
1986-90 (a)	13,734	7,347	5,988	82	317
1991-95 (a)	11,337	6,464	4,609	84	180
1992	9,063	5,230	3,577	93	161
1993	10,603	5,560	4,783	84	176
1994	13,451	7,891	5,306	84	170
1995	13,305	8,333	4,707	73	192
1996	10,882	6,936	3,744	54	148
1997	10,179	6,463	3,504	60	152
0-14	1268	1,268	-	-	-
15-24	3,620	3,550	70	-	-
25-34	1,316	836	456	-	24
35-44	1,953	509	1,370	13	61
45-54	1,075	175	851	6	43
55-64	628	84	502	22	20
65+	289	41	255	19	4
<b>females</b>					
1981-85 (a)	13,092	4,864	7,120	783	326
1986-90 (a)	15,630	6,466	8,208	541	416
1991-95 (a)	11,206	4,973	5,447	452	334
1992	9,052	4,253	4,329	247	223
1993	10,773	4,481	5,356	656	280
1994	12,453	5,318	6,170	562	403
1995	13,039	6,167	5,932	489	451
1996	10,415	4,955	4,755	345	360
1997	10,043	4739	4632	327	345
0-14	1,254	1,254	-	-	-
15-24	1,933	1,737	192	1	3
25-34	2,050	997	975	15	63
35-44	2,325	404	1,766	29	126
45-54	1,179	162	895	41	81
55-64	786	107	545	87	47
65+	516	78	259	154	25

(a) annual average

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 7.** Emigrants aged 15 years or above by sex, age and education.  
Poland: 1996 and 1997

Age category	Educational attainment				
	total	post-secondary	secondary (a)	vocational	elementary or less (b)
1996					
males					
total	9,406	195	682	1,314	7,215
15-24	3,533	3	113	280	3,137
25-34	1,604	25	140	318	1,121
35-44	2,119	90	237	420	1,372
45-54	1,011	45	111	163	692
55-64	751	24	54	100	573
65+	388	8	27	33	320
females					
total	9,038	155	1,235	726	6,922
15-24	1,929	2	148	82	1,697
25-34	2,122	38	361	243	1,480
35-44	2,382	72	456	268	1,586
45-54	1,059	22	159	86	792
55-64	955	14	95	31	815
65+	591	7	16	16	522
1997					
males					
total	8,881	158	722	1,380	6,705
15-24	3,620	5	115	257	3,243
25-34	1,316	20	140	260	896
35-44	1,953	62	255	478	1,158
45-54	1,075	47	135	254	639
55-64	628	19	50	107	452
65+	289	5	27	24	263
females					
total	8,785	137	1,325	826	6,501
15-24	1,933	3	133	78	1,719
25-34	2,050	32	415	230	1,373
35-44	2,325	56	512	323	1,434
45-54	1,179	37	175	146	821
55-64	786	7	64	33	682
65+	516	2	26	16	472

(a) including post-secondary not completed

(b) including elementary not completed and (rare cases of) unknown

Source: Central Statistical Office



**Table 8.** Immigrants by country or continent of origin. Poland: 1996 and 1997

Origin of immigrants	Actual numbers		Per cent of annual total	
	1996	1997	1996	1997
Total	8,186	8,426	100.0	100.0
Europe	5,196	5,334	63.5	63.3
Austria	248	193	3.0	2.3
Belarus	210	243	2.6	2.5
France	365	315	4.5	3.7
Germany	2,155	2,098	26.3	24.9
Italy	191	212	2.3	2.5
Russia	313	304	3.8	3.6
Sweden	118	126	1.4	1.5
Ukraine	533	758	6.5	9.0
United Kingdom	207	233	2.5	2.7
other	856	852	10.5	10.1
Africa	180	204	2.2	2.4
America	1,909	1,685	23.3	19.9
Canada	507	415	6.2	4.9
USA	1,343	1,197	16.4	14.2
other	60	73	0.7	0.8
Asia	746	1,033	9.1	12.2
Oceania	154	165	1.9	1.9
Unknown	-	5	-	0.1

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 9.** Immigrants by sex and age. Poland: 1996 and 1997

Age category	Actual numbers		Per cent	
	1996	1997	1996	1997
males				
total	4,165	4,279	100.0	100.0
0-19	648	748	15.6	17.5
20-29	833	882	20.0	20.6
30-39	994	977	23.9	22.8
40-49	833	806	20.0	18.8
50-59	341	378	8.2	8.8
60-69	314	309	7.5	7.2
70+	202	179	4.8	4.2
females				
total	4,021	4,147	100.0	100.0
0-19	653	788	16.2	19.0
20-29	801	792	19.9	19.1
30-39	860	826	21.4	19.9
40-49	764	763	19.0	18.4
50-59	347	365	8.6	8.8
60-69	366	365	9.1	8.8
70+	230	248	5.7	6.0

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 10.** Immigrants by sex and marital status. Poland: 1981-1997

Year	Marital status				
	total	bachelor or spinster	married	widower or widow	divorced
<b>males</b>					
1981-85 (a)	610	195	356	25	34
1986-90 (a)	1,021	277	630	22	72
1991-95 (a)	3,424	1,164	1,968	73	208
1992	3,468	1,196	1,959	93	163
1993	3,046	1,009	1,771	59	207
1994	3,569	1,200	2,070	68	231
1995	4,321	1,476	2,504	80	261
1996	4,165	1,489	2,390	76	210
1997	4,279	1,597	2,400	75	207
of which: age 15+	3,677	995	2,400	75	207
<b>females</b>					
1981-85 (a)	719	171	394	115	39
1986-90 (a)	1,054	277	545	167	64
1991-95 (a)	3,077	795	1,809	255	212
1992	3,044	777	1,808	247	223
1993	2,878	752	1,686	207	197
1994	3,338	824	1,989	312	213
1995	3,800	969	2,272	301	258
1996	4,021	1,063	2,364	350	244
1997	4,147	1,212	2,386	331	218
of which: age 15+	3,517	582	2,386	331	218

(a) annual average

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 11.** Immigrants aged 15 years or above by sex, age and education.  
Poland: 1997

Age category	Educational attainment				
	total	post-secondary	secondary (a)	vocational	elementary or less (b)
males					
total	3,677	1,094	1,292	791	500
15-24	496	40	182	115	159
25-34	1,009	348	387	212	62
35-44	968	317	372	235	44
45-54	548	201	189	116	42
55-64	315	115	79	64	57
65+	341	73	83	49	136
females					
total	3,517	893	1,605	354	665
15-24	495	63	246	55	131
25-34	853	287	422	94	50
35-44	868	272	440	102	54
45-54	496	164	228	56	48
55-64	390	73	158	22	137
65+	415	34	111	25	245

(a) including post-secondary not completed

(b) including elementary not completed and (rare cases of) unknown

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 12.** Permanent residence permits granted by citizenship (15 major citizenships).  
Poland: 1994-1998

Citizenship	1994	1995	1996	1997 (a)		1998 (b)			
				appli- cations	granted	permission for settlement		permission for fixed-time residence	
						appli- cations	granted	appli- cations	granted
Total	2,457	3,060	2,844	5,329	4,056	756	290	9,032	4,849
Ukraine	515	585	646	1,382	955	120	54	1,405	894
Russia	283	343	289	389	322	74	23	1,439	720
Belarus	145	225	227	436	304	29	7	676	430
Vietnam	105	200	256	592	333	88	27	674	379
Germany	121	199	143	209	169	41	19	412	228
Kazakhstan	44	237	249	531	592	21	9	294	175
Lithuania	74	73	88	84	64	22	14	305	166
Yugoslavia	68	47	36	50	31	33	17	126	64
Sweden	66	45	47	61	46	29	18	101	56
Armenia	64	81	69	217	100	14	7	166	54
Bulgaria	57	50	45	103	80	6	-	139	51
Syria	67	42	25	52	41	9	2	84	50
USA	38	49	39	51	52	6	2	53	32
Algeria	45	56	29	41	27	13	5	74	32
United Kingdom	38	39	32	57	43	18	6	47	29
all others	727	789	624	1,074	897	233	80	3,037	1,489

(a) the number of permissions granted in a given year may exceed the number of applications submitted in that year because the former also pertain to applications submitted in preceding years

(b) since 1 January 1998, the former category „permanent residence permit” has been replaced by two categories: „permission for settlement” and „fixed-time residence permit”

Source: Department for Migration and Refugee Affairs, Ministry of the Interior and Administration

**Table 13.** Stocks of foreigners (selected components) by major citizenships.  
Poland: 1997 (unless indicated otherwise)

Country of citizenship	Newly admitted permanent residents (1994-1997)	Students (excluding trainees)	Work permit holders (excluding permanent residents)	Refugees (applications processed)	Foreigners expelled
Total	12,392	5,443	17,498	3,535	5,166
Afghanistan	34	12	1	636	133
Armenia	313	19	341	464	261
Bangladesh	14	9	18	229	179
Belarus	900	600	1,418	31	119
China	74	25	743	5	37
Czech Republic	119	250	176	1	338
France	128	31	622	-	2
Germany	630	139	1,066	-	82
India	68	19	412	160	154
Iraq	52	21	11	197	77
Italy	152	9	365	-	2
Kazakhstan	1,136	281	34	5	3
Netherlands	130	4	301	-	-
Pakistan	17	4	22	350	103
Russia	1,243	268	1,217	50	110
Somalia	-	-	-	69	-
Sri Lanka	1	4	8	862	286
Sweden	203	70	259	-	-
Syria	176	105	50	10	7
Ukraine	2,691	855	2,690	29	844
United Kingdom	152	19	1,225	1	2
USA	179	189	833	-	5
Vietnam	890	85	2,041	3	24

Source: Central Statistical Office, Ministry of the Interior and Administration, Ministry of National Education, National Labour Office, Border Guard

**Table 14.** Total marriages contracted according to the spouses' nationality.  
Poland: 1990-1997

Year	Total marriages contracted	Both spouses national	Both spouses foreigners (a)	Mixed marriages	
				foreign husband	foreign wife
1990	255,369	251,129	.	3,329	911
1991	233,206	229,277	.	3,124	911
1992	217,240	213,876	.	2,588	776
1993	207,674	204,597	.	2,323	754
1994	207,689	204,392	.	2,366	931
1995	207,081	203,775	.	2,353	953
1996	203,641	200,411	38	2,177	977
1997	204,850	201,441	37	2,206	1,166

(a) except for 1996 and 1997, included in other categories (total number of cases is probably below 40 on annual scale)

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 15.** Mixed marriages; Polish husband, foreign wife – by nationality of wife.  
Poland: 1990-1997 (selected years)

Nationality of foreign wife	1990	1993	1995	1996	1997
Ukraine		189	331	340	456
Russia		139	119	151	127
Belarus		54	95	104	122
Germany		85	61	63	53
FRG	346				
ex-GDR	24				
Vietnam			15	42	110
Lithuania		23	41	40	33
USA	88	63	46	33	39
Armenia			27	28	42
Canada		20	17	15	7
Kazakhstan			13	11	10
Czech Republic			8	10	13
ex-Czechoslovakia	21				
Latvija			6	10	9
ex-USSR	255				
Sweden	35				10
United Kingdom	14				12
Total	911	754	920	977	1,166

Source: Central Statistical Office



**Table 16.** Mixed marriages; Polish wife, foreign husband – by nationality of husband.  
Poland: 1990-1997 (selected years)

Nationality of foreign husband	1990	1993	1995	1996	1997
Germany		876	748	698	649
FRG	1,445				
ex-GDR	49				
USA	263	204	185	138	126
Netherlands		101	120	111	78
Ukraine		67	89	108	106
Vietnam		60	45	79	152
France	63	62	63	76	61
United Kingdom	44	74	100	92	98
Italy	67	85	102	86	104
Armenia			44	64	75
ex-USSR	211				
Sweden	179	72	48	46	37
Canada		69	46	43	30
Belgium			41	41	41
ex-Czechoslovakia	64				
Total	3,329	2,323	2,320	2,177	2,206

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 17.** Polish citizens staying abroad for longer than 2 months who at the time of each Labour Force Survey (LFS) were the members of households in Poland by sex, duration of stay abroad and main activity abroad (in thousands). Poland: 1993-1998 (a)

Date of LFS	All migrants			Duration of stay abroad (in months)		Of which: migrant workers	
	total	males	females	2-11	12+	actual numbers	per cent of total
1993							
May	186	110	76	72	114	-	-
August	199	121	78	88	111	-	-
November	174	106	68	73	101	-	-
1994	(196)	(117)	(79)	(83)	(113)	-	-
February	167	97	70	71	96	-	-
May	207	121	86	78	129	144	69.5
August	209	131	78	88	121	150	71.7
November	200	119	81	95	105	139	69.5
1995	(183)	(110)	(73)	(89)	(94)	-	-
February	179	103	76	91	89	126	70.3
May	178	104	74	83	95	130	73.0
August	188	116	72	91	97	139	73.9
November	186	116	70	90	96	138	74.1
1996	(162)	(92)	(70)	(72)	(90)	-	-
February	155	86	69	62	93	109	70.3
May	168	97	71	79	89	119	70.8
August	165	94	71	79	86	112	67.8
November	160	92	68	69	91	108	67.5
1997	(144)	(83)	(61)	(62)	(82)	(101)	-
February	148	85	63	62	86	105	70.9
May	137	78	59	55	82	94	68.6
August	148	85	64	67	81	101	68.2
November	142	82	60	66	77	102	71.8
1998							
February	130	73	57	62	68	96	73.8
May	137	76	61	62	75	100	72.9
August	141	83	58	63	79	104	73.7

(a) numbers in brackets denote annual averages based on four surveys

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 18.** Polish citizens staying abroad for longer than two months who at the time of inquiry were the members of households in Poland by sex and age (in thousands; rounded). Poland: May 1996, May 1997 and May 1998

Age	Males		Females	
	Duration of more than two months	of which: duration of stay more than 12 months	Duration of more than two months	of which: duration of stay more than 12 months
1996 total	97	49	71	39
0-17	4	3	5	4
18-24	15	7	22	10
25-34	33	16	21	12
35-44	23	10	12	8
45-54	19	10	9	5
55-64	3	1	2	1
65+	2	2	2	1
1997 total	78	48	59	34
0-17	4	2	2	2
18-24	11	7	16	7
25-34	24	17	15	9
35-44	18	8	10	7
45-54	14	9	7	4
55-64	4	3	5	3
65+	2	2	4	2
1998 total	76	44	61	31
0-17	3	-	3	2
18-24	14	7	21	5
25-34	21	12	16	8
35-44	21	12	8	7
45-54	11	8	7	4
55-64	4	3	4	3
65+	1	1	2	1

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 19.** Members of households located in Poland who stayed abroad for more than two months at the time of inquiry (of which: migrant workers) by country of destination (in thousand). Poland: May 1998

Country	Duration of stay abroad (in months)			
	All migrants		Of which: migrant workers	
	2-11	12+	2-11	12+
Total	62	75	48	52
USA	13	34	10	22
Germany	23	12	17	8
Italy	5	8	5	7
United Kingdom	5	2	3	1
Canada	1	4	-	3
Austria	4	1	4	1
France	2	2	1	1
others	9	12	8	9

Source: Central Statistical Office

**Table 20.** Polish migrants employed abroad on the basis of bilateral international agreements. Poland: 1993-1997

Country of destination	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Total	179,494	144,958	189,933	219,810	230,283
Belgium	-	2	17	6	6
Czech Republic	1,568	1,777	2,726	3,004	4,576
France					
seasonal	4,985	4,176	3,573	3,351	3,011
trainees	28	22	23	50	280
Germany					
seasonal	139,824	124,860	158,979	185,430	198,424
guest workers	898	995	1,003	667	649
project-tied employment	31,190	11,696	22,335	25,996	23,010
students employment	500	500	500	500	831
Libia	400	400	400	400	400
Slovakia	101	518	362	391	380
Switzerland	-	12	15	15	11

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Policy

**Table 21.** Contracts for seasonal work in Germany by industry of employment in Germany and district of origin. Poland: 1997

District	Total	Agriculture	Viticulture	Exhibitions	Hotel	Other
Total	198,424	156,511	22,194	5,371	4,363	9,985
Wroclaw	12,129	9,546	1,453	254	548	328
Kielce	11,152	9,179	1,235	151	143	444
Konin	9,297	7,305	508	228	95	1,161
Jelenia Gora	8,868	6,212	1,774	188	210	484
Walbrzych	7,851	6,624	763	187	117	160
Opole	7,586	6,099	988	96	125	278
Katowice	7,285	5,505	1,092	147	233	308
Kalisz	6,208	5,032	589	145	139	303
Legnica	5,971	4,830	611	170	203	157
Suwalki	5,285	4,084	602	228	130	241
Others	116,792	92,095	12,579	3,577	2,420	6,121

Source: National Labour Office

**Table 22.** Work permits granted individually by ownership of enterprise (eight top countries of origin). Poland: between 1 July 1996 and 31 July 1998

Country	Total	Ownership of enterprise				
		state	private; Polish capital	private; foreign capital	private; mixed capital	other
01.07-31.12.96						
Total	6,358	703	1,917	2,637	797	304
Ukraine	1,212	214	755	88	57	98
Vietnam	765	3	111	609	37	5
Germany	435	82	29	188	100	36
UK	469	26	214	164	39	26
Russia	375	84	127	74	72	18
USA	359	50	84	140	47	38
China	334	2	27	288	16	1
Belarus	285	48	38	48	29	67
other	2,124	173	433	1,054	406	58
01.01-30.06.97						
Total	6,830	386	1,972	3,106	1,068	298
Ukraine	1,104	94	776	142	42	50
Vietnam	858	4	121	695	25	13
Germany	458	19	47	243	119	30
UK	456	23	149	180	93	11
Russia	359	35	152	84	75	13
China	323	-	20	285	17	1
USA	316	21	61	135	75	24
Belarus	284	57	145	43	30	9
other	2,672	133	505	1,299	592	147
01.07-31.12.97						
Total	8,477	649	1,821	4,492	1,204	311
Vietnam	1,183	5	130	1,025	20	3
Ukraine	1,129	214	590	168	54	103
UK	650	33	208	264	105	40
Germany	567	88	30	285	145	19
USA	500	48	82	229	111	30
China	418	2	23	368	22	3
Russia	382	56	103	129	73	21
Belarus	327	63	155	55	22	32
other	3,321	140	500	1,969	652	60
01.01-30.06.98						
Total	7,983	326	1,796	4,296	1,223	231
Ukraine	994	121	555	202	46	70
Vietnam	940	2	95	804	23	16
Germany	545	17	28	331	157	12
UK	505	26	105	224	103	47
Russia	424	20	179	146	70	9
China	381	1	29	331	18	2
France	374	14	28	237	91	4
Belarus	334	45	151	89	32	17
other	3,486	80	626	1,932	683	54

Source: National Labour Office

**Table 23.** Work permits granted individually by branch of economic activity (eight top countries of origin). Poland: between 1 July 1996 and 31 July 1998

Country	Total	Branch of economic activity					
		industry transporta- tion	constru- ction	agriculture forestry	trade catering	education	other
01.07-31.12.96							
Total	6,358	990	199	425	2,278	995	1,471
Ukraine	1,022	198	40	386	141	177	80
Vietnam	765	32	-	-	709	-	24
Germany	435	127	17	8	83	104	96
UK	469	43	6	-	31	262	127
Russia	375	46	13	-	123	67	126
USA	334	47	6	-	45	145	116
China	359	20	28	1	285	-	-
Belarus	285	48	38	48	29	67	55
other	2,124	429	41	18	832	173	631
01.01-30.06.97							
Total	6,830	1,388	239	469	2,562	536	1,636
Ukraine	1,104	182	44	411	144	75	248
Vietnam	858	21	-	-	793	-	44
Germany	458	139	13	12	132	39	123
UK	456	66	5	3	50	190	142
Russia	359	52	19	3	121	30	134
China	323	19	12	-	288	1	3
USA	316	70	6	-	41	84	115
Belarus	284	64	32	14	49	18	107
other	2,672	775	108	26	944	99	721
01.07-31.12.97							
Total	8,477	1,496	224	322	3,532	1,190	1,713
Ukraine	1,129	159	25	277	164	272	232
Vietnam	1,183	27	-	1	1,118	-	37
Germany	567	176	27	7	135	102	120
UK	650	79	5	1	55	345	165
Russia	382	59	22	-	142	50	109
China	418	18	14	2	370	-	14
USA	500	107	4	-	47	165	177
Belarus	327	111	23	15	47	55	76
other	3,321	760	104	19	1,454	201	782
01.01-30.06.98							
Total	7,983	1,785	295	249	3,283	500	1,871
Ukraine	994	184	35	190	195	93	297
Vietnam	940	22	-	-	885	1	32
Germany	545	209	33	9	152	19	123
UK	505	114	10	7	7	193	174
Russia	424	57	29	9	143	21	165
China	381	14	16	1	345	-	5
France	374	123	26	-	127	11	87
Belarus	334	98	31	3	82	19	101
other	3,504	964	115	30	1,347	143	887

Source: National Labour Office



**Table 24.** Work permits granted individually by occupation (top countries of origin).  
Poland: 1996 and 1997

Country	Total	Occupation						
		manager	owner	expert, consultant	teacher	skilled worker	unskilled worker	other
1996								
Total	11,915	2,619	1,948	1,617	1,746	1,346	943	1,696
Ukraine	2,234	42	98	193	281	424	787	409
Vietnam	1,221	114	652	84	3	300	3	65
UK	951	272	46	56	517	-	-	60
Germany	803	283	147	141	156	15	-	61
Russia	738	73	144	155	115	67	16	168
USA	680	215	50	91	245	2	-	77
China	630	145	235	66	5	117	-	62
Belarus	516	24	23	65	98	139	70	97
France	386	196	38	59	45	4	1	43
Italy	248	156	37	45	1	1	-	8
Netherlands	244	128	37	48	7	1	-	23
Czech Republic	204	25	12	24	1	21	16	105
Korea South	201	108	7	62	2	4	-	18
Mongolia	198	10	43	91	7	3	7	37
Turkey	197	73	32	51	-	18	9	14
India	191	54	22	48	3	21	2	41
other	2,273	701	325	338	260	209	32	408
1997								
Total	15,307	3,761	3,340	1,926	1,790	1,586	829	2,075
Ukraine	2,233	67	166	171	376	345	718	390
Vietnam	2,041	338	1,063	91	3	428	2	116
UK	1,106	352	62	67	486	1	-	138
Germany	1,025	421	181	167	149	21	-	86
USA	816	272	89	73	268	-	3	111
Russia	741	88	185	146	90	55	13	164
China	741	132	334	65	7	143	4	56
Belarus	611	27	52	67	88	236	19	122
France	602	290	69	129	31	7	2	74
India	412	139	110	55	7	34	3	64
Turkey	375	108	145	73	1	25	8	15
Italy	365	153	61	109	5	12	-	25
Armenia	341	43	163	40	7	54	4	30
Korea South	302	160	19	84	7	8	-	24
Netherlands	277	138	41	76	4	2	1	15
Mongolia	276	7	75	88	9	20	6	71
other	3,043	1,026	525	425	252	195	46	574

Source: National Labour Office

**Table 25.** Asylum seekers (a) by country of origin. Poland 1994-1998

Country of origin	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998 (b)	1994-1998 (c)
Total	598	843	3,212	3,544	966	9,163
Afghanistan	7	73	489	636	123	1,328
Algeria	22	35	31	41	6	135
Armenia	289	151	354	469	181	1,444
Bangladesh	-	6	203	229	82	520
Belarus	10	5	33	31	12	91
Georgia	26	23	25	25	7	106
India	11	110	230	160	44	555
Iraq	39	57	359	198	61	714
Ukraine	21	11	20	29	14	74
Pakistan	5	34	173	349	99	660
Russia	26	83	63	50	26	248
Somalia	-	73	188	69	19	349
Sri Lanka	8	60	630	864	175	1,737
Yugoslavia	18	9	20	27	34	61
CIS (d)	9	12	59	67	12	159
all other	107	101	335	300	71	961

(a) refugee applications submitted (including accompanying family members)

(b) 1 January - 30 June 1998

(c) 1 January 1994 - 30 June 1998

(d) except nationals of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Russia and Ukraine

Source: Department for Migration and Refugee Affairs, Ministry of the Interior and Administration

**Table 26.** Decisions on expulsion of foreigners taken by district administration (a) by country of origin. Poland: 1994-1998

Country of origin	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998 (b)	1994-1998 (c)
Total	1,843	3,199	5,087	5,166	2,107	17,402
Afghanistan	-	25	48	133	71	277
Algeria	53	27	62	24	3	169
Armenia	149	505	606	261	195	1,716
Bangladesh	-	8	280	179	31	498
Belarus	82	128	211	119	88	628
Bulgaria	146	209	432	473	259	1,519
China	-	4	169	37	1	211
Czech Rep.	2	6	3	338	102	451
India	4	241	327	154	31	757
Iraq	-	10	23	77	31	141
Lithuania	39	57	50	84	56	286
Moldova	21	211	357	285	155	1,029
Pakistan	2	47	226	103	38	416
Romania	184	397	561	1,049	242	2,433
Russia	151	192	188	110	65	706
Slovakia	2	3	-	114	13	132
Sri Lanka	-	22	273	286	57	638
Ukraine	826	815	887	844	409	3,781
Vietnam	16	13	45	24	48	146
All other	170	279	339	472	212	1468

(a) i.e. by district administration offices (*urząd wojewódzki*)

(b) 1 January – 30 June 1998

(c) 1 January 1994 – 30 June 1998

Source: Border Guard; Department for Migration and Refugee Affairs, Ministry of the Interior and Administration