

Working Papers

ISS

**Instytut Studiów Społecznych
Uniwersytet Warszawski**

**Institute for Social Studies
University of Warsaw**

*

Seria: PRACE MIGRACYJNE, nr 32

**Recent trends
in international migration
Poland 1999**

Marek Okólski

Luty 2000

ISS is affiliated with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI

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 32

**RECENT TRENDS
IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
POLAND 1999**

Marek Okólski

CONTENTS

1. Introduction: economic background.....	4
2. Migration policy	5
3. Trans-border mobility (international movements of passengers).....	6
4. Documented flows of migrants.....	7
4.1. Introductory remark	7
4.2. General trend	7
4.3. Destination of emigrants and origin of immigrants.....	8
4.4. Migrants by sex, age and marital status.....	10
4.5. Migrants by educational attainment	11
5. Stocks of migrants	12
5.1. Stock of immigrants (foreign citizens).....	12
5.2. Foreigners married to Polish citizens in Poland	14
5.3. Stock of emigrants (permanent residents of Poland).....	14
6. Migrant workers	15
6.1. Migration for work from Poland	15
6.2. Migration for work to Poland	16
6.3. Irregular employment of foreigners.....	18
7. Asylum seekers and refugees	20
8. Illegal movements by foreign citizens.....	20
References	23
Appendix: statistical tables.....	24

1. Introduction: economic background

Basic data depicting the state of the economy of Poland and its growth are presented in Table 1.1. In addition, a series of supplementary table have been provided in the Appendix to highlight developments in the Polish labour market (Tables 1.2-1.7).

Sustained and fast growth of the Polish economy, whose symptoms were observed as early as in 1992, was terminated in 1998 when its rate (in real terms) amounted to merely 4.8 per cent. This meant a rather disappointing economic performance, especially bearing in mind that in the immediately preceding four-year period (1994-1997) the rate averaged at 6.2 per cent per annum. It is expected that the 1999 rate might fall below the previous year level signalling something more than just short-lived economic slow-down. This was already reflected in the monthly 1999-to-1998 growth rates of industrial output, which until August 1999 were considerably lower relative to respective 1998-to-1997 rates, what suggests that the annual growth might be much less impressive than a year before, not to mention the period 1993-1997.

At the same time industrial output (sold in constant prices) increased at about the same pace as real GDP, i.e. 4.8 per cent relative to 1997, which was less than a half of the 1997 rate (11.5 per cent relative to 1996). These changes were accompanied by a relatively high growth of investment outlays (20 per cent) and foreign trade (11 per cent in case of exports and 14 per cent in case of imports), and a declining relative budget deficit (from 2.6 to 2.4 per cent of GDP).

Although stiff monetary measures continued to pay, as an average annual inflation fell from 14.0 per cent in 1997 to 11.8 per cent in 1998 (the average inflation rate in 1999, although most likely the lowest in the 1990s, will probably be substantially higher than generally expected one year ago), the real net wages and salaries' growth rate increased from 5.7 to 7.3 per cent between 1997 and 1998. On the other hand, the number of employed and unemployed stabilised relative to the 1997 level. In other words, the trend of increasing employment and decreasing unemployment, observed since 1993, came to a halt. The situation became even more aggravated in 1999 when each month the number of (registered) unemployed proved to be significantly higher than in respective months of 1998 (in July and August by one-third). The unemployment rate, which in May 1998 was brought down to below 10 per cent (for the first time since 1992), by the end of that year returned to a consistent rise, and for most of 1999 oscillated around 12 per cent.

Despite confusing developments in the Polish economy, Poland attracted increased inflow of foreign capital. In 1998 alone foreign investment amounted to 10.1 billion USD, i.e. more than one-third of the 1991-1998 total, and it is expected that by the end of 1999 further 11 billion USD of foreign capital will be invested in Poland. Before 1999 major beneficiaries were: banks (4.8 billion USD) and car manufacturing companies (3.3 billion USD) whereas major benefactor countries: Germany (5.1 billion USD), USA (4.9 billion USD), France (2.4 billion USD) and Italy (2.0 billion USD).

In 1998 and 1999 four (long awaited) major structural reforms have been implemented, i.e. of health care, state administration, pension and education. In addition, a crucial sectoral reform of mining restructuring, has also been advanced. The cost of the implementation of those reforms is estimated at more than 2 billion USD in 1999. Economic slow down together with frictions caused by reforming of so many sectors at one time provoked a wave of popular unrest and contributed to increased political and social instability.

2. Migration policy

Two recent major legislative initiatives of the government overshadowed activities in the area of migration policy. One of those initiatives is (long awaited) the Polish Citizenship Act, which is supposed to regulate the acquisition, restoration and forfeiture of Polish citizenship and the matters of dual citizenship. The act will replace still binding outdated regulations, originating from an early period of the communist regime. At the time of this writing, the draft of the act is subject to final discussion in parliamentary commissions. Another initiative relates to amendments in the Aliens Law, enacted in 1997 but already, in many respects, considered unsatisfactory. The major changes are said to reflect and be in line with the criticism the original act met on the part of European Commissions institutions or experts. In this case the draft is expected to be submitted soon to the Parliament.

Poland has explicitly reconfirmed, by means of declarations of the President and other high ranked officials, the will of the state to facilitate the return and settlement in Poland of all forcibly displaced Polish citizens or their descendants. This particularly pertains to people of Polish origin who (or whose ancestors) in the 1930s and 1940s were deported to remote areas of the ex-USSR, including Kazakhstan. The declarations, which are supposed to pave the way for working out executive regulations and viable measures for accelerated inflow of the “repatriants” to Poland, came as a reaction to wide criticism of the government for not being able to redeem a promise of quickly bringing back to Poland all Poles in need.

A separate area of activities of the state was lobbying in the European Communities and among member countries of the European Union for setting a definite date for Poland’s accession and granting Polish workers free access to the EU labour market immediately after the accession, i.e. with no time lag between the introduction of free trade and free movement of persons. The government initiated a number of analyses devoted to potential consequences of lifting barriers to the freedom of labour flows between Poland and the EU, and organised a major international conference dealing with those issues (Gdansk, 13-14 May, 1999).

In 1999 the control of people crossing the Polish state frontier was strengthened, and stricter measures were adopted towards irregular foreigners in Poland. This was made possible thanks to the enforcement of the Aliens Law enacted in August 1997 and fully implemented in 1998. The admission of foreigners coming to Poland became subject to much stricter scrutiny than before, and the monitoring of foreigners visiting Poland became more systematic.

As a matter of fact, a typical mode of the latter was screening foreign citizens visiting market places or other places intensely attended by foreigners in large towns. This usually took a form of rather harsh police actions comprising the interrogation of all foreigners spotted at a given place and in a given time, checking the validity of their documents (including the legality of their stay or employment) and, eventually, arresting or deporting them out of Poland. In 1998 the police, assisted by border guard, labour inspection or custom officers carried 109 operations of this kind (called then *Obcy* (Alien)) and so far in 1999 250 operations (this time called *Pobył* (Sojourn)). In 1999 alone, by mid-November, those actions led to the confiscation of merchandise worth of over 1.5 million USD, and the actual deportation of around 3.5 thousand foreign citizens who were evidently in a breach of Polish law [Lentowicz, 1999].

3. Trans-border 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 trans-border 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, 88,592 thousand arrivals of foreign citizens were recorded in Poland in 1998. This indicated a slight increase (by some 1 per cent) over the 1997 figure and a return to a rising trend, which was obstructed in 1997, when for the first time since 1989 no increase of arrivals of foreigners was observed relative to preceding year. The number of departures of the citizens of Poland also increased by around 1 per cent (to 49,328 thousands), but in contrast to arrivals of foreign citizens, its growth slowed down (it was 8.7 per in 1997). Despite that, the number of departing Poles remained much lower than the number of arriving foreigners (by 39.3 millions in 1998).

Interestingly, 1998 was the second year in row when the number of foreigners crossing western border of Poland (shared with Germany) and southern border (shared with the Czech Republic and Slovakia) considerably increased, in situation of a decline of arrivals from the east. A dramatic decrease of arrivals was noted in case of Russia (by 31 per cent) and Belarus (by 26 per cent). This might be interpreted as an impact of the strict regulations stemming from the 1997 Aliens Law, which were supposed to better control the flows of foreigners from eastern and southern countries, and in particular to curb irregular movements from Belarus and Russia.

In 1998, as in earlier years, a large majority among foreigners arriving in Poland constituted the citizens of the seven neighbouring countries (94.9 per cent) of whom citizens of the FRG predominated (58.2 per cent of the total), followed by people of Czech, Ukrainian, Slovak, Belarusian, Russian and Lithuanian nationality (Table 2.1). From among more than one hundred remaining countries the most important were citizens of Austria, France and the Netherlands whose arrivals in Poland amounted to as many as around 400 thousands (in each case). This, however, was much less than in case of the least significant of the top seven countries (Lithuania, 1.7 millions). 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).

A large majority of visitors claimed a tourist purpose on entering Poland (58.6 per cent), 34.7 per cent came for business and 12.4 per cent were in transit. Many foreigners, however, declared a commercial purpose of their trip to Poland (20.1 per cent). Among those who declared a tourist purpose of their visit, 2.5 per cent admitted that they intended to seek a temporary irregular employment during their stay in Poland. That share was much lower than in previous years (3.7 per cent in 1997 and 5.9 per cent in 1995). The decline in the percentage of tourists coming to Poland in a search of a job might partly be explained by (already noted) a substantial decline of the entries of foreign citizens representing countries of the ex-USSR.

The expenditures of foreigners visiting Poland in 1998 were significantly (by more than 25 per cent) lower than in 1997; to similar extent there declined the personal exports of goods from Poland executed by visiting tourists. The main causes of this seem to be the decline in the number of visits of foreigners coming from the east and the contraction of domestic demand in many countries of the former Soviet Union.

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)¹.

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].

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*)².

4.2. General trend

In view of a continuously sharp decline of the natural increase of Poland’s population, the role of international migration in shaping the national population balance is becoming crucial. Whereas in 1990 the natural increase amounted to 157,000, in 1998 it was only 20,000. In urban areas the decline was from 69,000 to -9,000. Due to relatively stable net migration, which for Poland as a whole changed from -16,000 in 1990 to -13,000 in 1998, and for urban areas remained at the same level of -12,500, the share of migration in actual increase of the population multiplied.

Very low spatial mobility of Poland’s population, observed in previous years, has been retained throughout 1998. Internally, urban/rural net migration came close to zero level in that year, and reached 8,600, i.e. 54 per cent of the (already rather small) 1987 figure.

On the other hand, emigration of the residents of Poland slightly increased, i.e. from 20,200 to 22,200 or by 9.7 per cent (relative to 1997). The data aggregated on half-year basis (Table 2.3) suggest, however, variation around a relatively stable level rather than a rising trend. For instance, although emigration in the first half of 1998 was higher than in a respective period of 1997 (also 1992 and 1993), it was lower than in such part of 1996 (also 1994 and 1995). In turn, the first half of 1999 witnessed a decline relative to the respective part of the preceding year. Similar oscillations were observed as far as the second halves of year are concerned.

Immigration displayed a little more consistent trend. Beginning with 1993, it increased each first half-year, and only 1999 saw a decrease (Table 2.3). The trend for second half-year was similar, except for a small decline in 1998.

¹ 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”.

² 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 organization that has an exclusive entitlement to processing of the *PESEL* data, provided most of statistics exploited in this part to the author in a highly aggregate form.

Annual immigration figure increased from 8,400 to 8,900, i.e. by 5.8 per cent. The figure for 1998 may not be fully comparable with that for 1987. Until 1997 the category of immigrants comprised people who in a given year were registered as newly arrived “permanent residents” (literally speaking: those who after arrival from abroad registered for the first time for “permanent stay” in any particular administrative unit in Poland), and was a composition of two sub-categories: returning Polish citizens (who immediately before their arrival were not registered in Poland as “permanent residents”) and foreign citizens who after arrival in Poland were granted “permanent residence permit”. In 1998 “permanent residence permit” has been replaced by two different categories: “permission for settlement” which entitles one to be registered for “permanent stay” and “fixed-time residence permit” which entails a right for a registration for “temporary stay”. The foreign citizens who are granted the latter are not included in the category of immigrants. This change has significantly affected immigration statistics for 1998, as e.g. in 1997 as many as 4,056 foreigners qualified as immigrants (after being granted a “permanent residence permit”) and in 1998 only 290 persons were in such situation (those who were granted a “permission for settlement”).

All in all, both the emigration and immigration figures in 1998 were rather low and probably substantially underestimated.

4.3. Destination of emigrants and origin of immigrants

In 1998 the distribution of emigrants by country of destination underwent further polarisation. The role of two major migrant-receiving European countries: Germany and Austria increased, in case of the former from 70.2 (in 1997) to 72.7 per cent of the total and in case of the latter from 3.1 to 3.4 per cent, to exceed three-quarters of the total (75.7 per cent). Between 1995 and 1998 the share of Germany rose by nearly 4 percentage points. In effect the share of all European destinations reached a record level of 83.2 per cent. Continents of destination of traditionally marginal importance for Polish emigrants: Africa and Asia displayed a small rise, from 0.3 to 0.5 per cent whereas North America, which belongs to major target areas of emigration from Poland, encountered a clear decline, from 17.6 to 14.8 per cent (Table 2.4).

Not only that there exists a high concentration of emigrants according to destination countries, but it is equally true that the flows of those persons are highly selective with regard to the region of origin in Poland. Out of 16 regions (major districts, in Polish: *województwo*³), in 1998 nearly 71 per cent of migrants came from four regions: Upper Silesia (44.4 per cent), Opole (10.8), Lower Silesia (8.5) and Pomerania (7.2) while four regions with lowest intensity of the outflow (Lubuskie, Podlasie, Lubelskie and Swietokrzyskie) accounted for merely 5 per cent of the total, i.e. much less than the lowest level observed among the top four. Moreover, the flows of migrants from Poland to major countries of destination are also heavily region-of-origin-selective. In 1998 Polish migrants in Germany originated above all from: Upper Silesia (57 per cent), Opole (14), Pomerania (7) and Lower Silesia (6), migrants in the USA – from: Malopolska (22), Podkarpacie (15), Lower Silesia (10) and Podlasie (10), in Canada – from: Lower Silesia (21), Malopolska (11), Mazovia (11) and Upper Silesia (9), and in Austria – from: Malopolska (31), Lower Silesia (18) and Upper Silesia (14). Migrant networks, some of them at least of century-long tradition, are clearly at work here.

³ New administrative division of Poland has been introduced on January 1, 1999. The former 49 districts have been replaced by 16 districts. Those 16 units, which now more than before respect the traditional regional boundaries, retained the name of the former units, i.e. *województwo*.

Contrary to the outflow from Poland, the population of immigrants represents a rather diversified pattern with respect to the geographical direction of flows. The largest contributing country of origin (Germany) sends only around one quarter of all immigrants and the number of countries whose share in the total exceed 1 per cent is 15 (only 6 countries of origin of such characteristic in case of (still much more sizeable) flow of emigrants). In 1998 the geographical composition of the countries of origin in case of migrants coming to Poland was affected (and, in a way, distorted) by the already mentioned fact of legislation change, which apparently undermined the chances of being recognised as immigrants of some migrants of non-Polish citizenship. This might explain a sudden decline (relative to 1997) in the number of immigrants from Belarus or Ukraine in situation when the number of immigrants from major target countries of Polish emigration (Germany and the United States), i.e. the number of predominantly returning Poles, continued to increase.

Undoubtedly the most conspicuous fact about the immigration to Poland in 1998 was coming of Vietnam to the top four countries of origin. Vietnamese migrants whose number still in 1997 was comparable to that of Austrians, Belarusians, British and Italians, and substantially lower than that of Canadians, French, Kazakhstanians and Russians, not to mention the migrants coming from Germany, the USA and Ukraine, almost doubled over just one year. What should be emphasised, this happened under circumstances of a less lenient migration policy of Poland. Intensified increase of immigrants from Vietnam combined with growing inflow of migrants from Armenia and Kazakhstan (in this case – almost exclusively repatriated persons of Polish extraction) brought about a distinct increase in the share of migrants from Asia in the total immigration figure, namely from 12.2 to 13.5 per cent.

It might be of interest a large number of top countries of origin recorded a negative migration balance with Poland (or Poland recorded a positive balance with those countries). Presented below a list of 16 countries of origin from which the inflow exceeded the level of 200 persons in 1998, suggests that among six countries in case of which the balance is positive for Poland, in case of five (the only exception is the United Kingdom) the inflow to Poland fails to generate any noticeable counterflow of emigrants:

Country	Immigration	Emigration	Balance
Germany	2,341	16,128	-13,787
USA	1,274	2,217	-943
Ukraine	661	9	652
Vietnam	434	2	432
Canada	415	1,076	-661
France	399	266	133
Kazakhstan	385	6	379
Russia	304	11	293
United Kingdom	245	166	79
Austria	229	761	-532
Belarus	198	2	196
Italy	198	211	-13
Australia	181	277	-96
Sweden	133	250	-117
Armenia	105	-	105
Netherlands	102	166	-64

4.4. Migrants by sex, age and marital status

The situation close to sex parity among migrants, that gradually emerged in the mid-1990s, tended to hold in 1998. The proportion of males was greater than females among the emigrants (52:48) whereas among the immigrants females predominated over males (51:49). In 1998 compared with 1997 the males increased their “lead” among the emigrants while in case of the immigrants a slight excess of males was replaced with a slight excess of females.

Also the age composition of migrants underwent very minor changes. Among emigrants in two age groups: 15-19 and (to a lesser degree) 45-49 significant increases were observed, and in two groups: 0-14 and 35-39 the proportion in total male emigrant population decreased visibly (Table 2.5). The age structure of emigrants, however, remained very “youthful” among men, with persons below 25 accounting for 49 per cent of the total (a corresponding female share was only 31 per cent) and over-represented in “reproductive age” among women (women aged 25-44 comprised 42 per cent of the total whereas men at that age only 30 per cent). In the immigrants symptoms of the increase of family migration became noticeable, with a sharp increase in the share of teenagers and small children (Table 2.9). Altogether the proportion of males aged below 20 grew from 17 to 21 per cent, and the proportion of females from 19 to 21 per cent.

In the both populations, namely emigrants and immigrants, the working age persons remained grossly over-represented. Male emigrants aged 20-59 accounted for 59 per cent of the total (61-61 per cent in 1996-1997) and female emigrants for 71 per cent (70-71 per cent in 1996-1997) whereas male immigrants aged 20-59 accounted for 66 per cent of the total (72 per cent in 1996-1997) and female immigrants for 64 per cent (66-69 per cent in 1996-1997)⁴.

As follows from Table 2.6 and Table 2.10, 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 1998 the number of single emigrants increased (relative to 1997) more than the number of single immigrants, a negative migration balance among the single, continuously very high, became even more pronounced. A similar story but to a considerably lesser degree might be said of the married. The relevant data are the following:

Category	1997			1998		
	single	married	other	single	married	other
						Males
Emigrants (E)	6,463	3,504	212	7,249	4,058	219
Immigrants (I)	1,597	2,400	282	1,804	2,291	305
Balance (I-E)	-4,866	-1,104	+70	-5,445	-1,767	+86
Ratio (E/I)	4.0	1.5	0.7	4.0	1.8	0.7
						Females
Emigrants (E)	4,739	4,632	672	4,667	5,149	706
Immigrants (I)	1,212	2,386	470	1,366	2,574	576
Balance (I-E)	-3,527	-2,246	-202	-3,301	-2,575	-130
Ratio (E/I)	3.9	2.1	1.4	3.4	2.0	1.2

⁴ On 1 January 1998 the share of persons aged 20-59 in Poland's resident population was 54 per cent.

4.5. Migrants by educational attainment

Despite the increase in the number of emigrants (also at age 15+), the number of those with university diploma and graduates of secondary schools decreased in 1998 (relative to 1997) whereas the number of migrants with at best vocational training greatly increased (Table 2.7). In view of improving educational structure of the general population of Poland, on the one hand, and predominance of young persons (therefore, as a rule, better educated than older people) in the emigrants, on the other hand, the continuation of that trend (which started in early 1990s) looks amazing, especially that already a large majority of emigrants are low educated people, and the numbers of highly educated are just vestigial.

The percentage shares of male and female emigrants aged 15+ in the respective total suggest that gradually documented migration from Poland is becoming a domain of uneducated people:

Year	Males		Females	
	post-secondary	elementary	post-secondary	Elementary
1988	11.7	39.7	6.2	34.7
1989	8.2	36.5	5.6	35.3
1990	5.5	51.2	4.1	53.1
1991	3.7	59.5	2.9	62.6
1992	3.6	66.4	2.7	67.3
1993	2.8	70.2	2.1	71.9
1994	2.4	69.3	2.1	69.5
1995	2.2	73.2	2.0	73.0
1996	2.1	76.7	1.7	76.6
1997	1.8	75.5	1.6	74.0
1998	1.4	78.1	1.5	75.8

Against this picture, figures included in Table 2.11 present 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	286	1,934	2,332	15,224
Immigrants	1,885	3,017	1,176	221
Balance	+1,599	+1,083	-1,156	-15,003

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. According to the Aliens Law enacted on 25 June 1997, and enforced by the end of that year, all foreign citizens living in Poland (holding a valid "permanent residence permit") were obliged to renew the document granting them a right to stay in Poland, and until the end of 1998 this procedure was to be free while after 1999 it was to involve a considerable fee. It was expected therefore that the renewal of documents by the foreigners will make it possible to establish a reliable aliens register in Poland.

As mentioned in earlier SOPEMI reports, in 1993 an estimate of the number 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 residents, 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. Bearing in mind that in this period few thousand foreigners acquired Polish nationality, the stock of foreigners legally living in Poland might be estimated at 40,000-45,000 at the end of 1997. However, an updated (thanks to the above mentioned provisions of the Aliens Law of 1997) registry of the Ministry of Interior and Administration (as of the middle of 1998) disclosed much lower number of foreign citizens staying permanently in Poland, namely around 32,500 [Nowak, 1998]. This surprisingly low figure constitutes only 0.1 per cent of the total population of Poland.

The ex-Soviet citizens were by far the main national group among the foreign residents of Poland, as recorded anew in the middle of 1998. Their share in the total exceeded 42 per cent, with Ukrainians taking the lead (3,200 persons), followed by Russians (2,700) and Belarusians (1,000). However, in case of as many as 4,800 former USSR citizens the nationality remains unknown. Other relatively sizeable national groups include: Germans (3,500), Bulgarians, Greeks, Vietnamese and Swedish (in each case over 1,000). By all accounts, these figures seem greatly underestimated; for instance, the numbers of newly issued permanent residence permits for Belarusians and Vietnamese since 1994 were close to the cumulative totals disclosed for those nationalities in mid-1998.

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 Belarusian (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). 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 the 1998 and (the first six months of) 1999 statistics when the number of applications for a permission for settlement in Poland was strikingly low and the number of permissions granted even much smaller (Table 2.12). A comparison between the relevant data for the first half of 1997 and 1999 seems illuminating in this respect:

Country of origin	Applications		Permissions granted	
	1st half 1997	1st half 1999	1st half 1997	1st half 1999
Total	2,162	182	2,006	256
Ukraine	532	22	411	37
Kazakhstan	266	-	340	2
Vietnam	184	17	163	32
Russia	163	30	173	48

On the other hand, in 1998 and even more so in the first half of 1999 there flourished a newly introduced category of foreigners granted a fixed-time residence permit. This new category, established by the 1997 Aliens Law, roughly corresponds to the old United Nations concept of long-term immigrant. It says (Article 17) that the permission may be granted "if the alien demonstrates that circumstances have arisen to justify his/her residence on the territory of Poland for a period longer than 12 months. Such circumstances may, in particular, be the following: 1/ obtaining permission for employment or for performing other gainful work; 2/ conduct of economic activity; 3/ taking up of studies; 4/ the contraction of marriage with a Polish citizen or with an alien having permission to settle". In addition, the Article 18 of the Aliens Law determines that the permission "shall be granted for a period up to two years with the possibility of an extension, which, however, may not exceed 10 years".

In 1998 over 9,000 applications for the permission were submitted, and in the first half of 1999 as many as 7,400. While in 1998 only 4,850 foreigners were granted a fixed-time residence permit, in the first half of 1999 that number went up to nearly 8,900 (Table 2.12). This seems to be a breakthrough in the statistics of immigration to Poland in recent years. The five top nations granted the permission during the first 18 months after the introduction of the 1997 Aliens Law are as follow: Ukraine (2,064 persons; 15.0 per cent of the total), Vietnam (1,279 persons; 9.1 per cent), Yugoslavia (1,193 persons; 8.7 per cent), Russia (921 persons; 6.7 per cent) and USA (719 persons; 5.2 per cent).

Picture representing the presence of foreigners in Poland could be supplemented by using certain other data sources. As stems from Table 2.13, in 1998 Poland hosted 5,541 foreign students and 3,398 asylum seekers (in the both cases almost no change relative to 1997). In addition, 20,759 foreigners were given a work permit (a considerable increase relative to 1997, i.e. by 19 per cent). Persons falling into those three categories as a rule were not covered by the statistics of permanent residence permits (nor permission for settlement nor fixed-time residence), 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 continue to be rather rare. Those unions constituted only 1.9 per cent of all marriages registered in Poland in 1998, which, however, was distinctly above the 1997 level (1.6 per cent). In 1998 the number of mixed marriages increased by 18.7 per cent, and it reached the level observed in the late 1980s and early 1990s when many Poles (especially females) married foreign citizens in Poland, often with an intention to emigrate and settle in home country of the partner.

Compared with 1990, the number of Polish women who married foreign citizen in 1998 was still much lower (by 27 per cent) but the number of Polish men who did so was much higher (by 69 per cent) (Table 2.14). As far as the mixed marriages of Polish women are concerned, a decline continued in case of new unions with the citizens of Germany and the United States, two principal target countries for Polish emigrants, and a sharp increase was observed in case of Armenia (87 per cent in 1998) and Vietnam (65 per cent), major (besides Ukraine, in case of which some rise was also noted) countries of the origin of immigrants recently coming to Poland (Table 2.16). Similar changes occurred with respect to mixed marriages of Polish men (Table 2.15). A particularly strong increase in 1998 took place in case of the unions with Vietnamese females, as it amounted to 182 per cent (nearly three-fold). On the other hand, in that year the number of unions concluded with women of American, British or Swedish citizenship declined. As a result, a pattern of mixed marriages tends, to a growing degree, to reflect the geography of immigrants, rather than, as was the case in not too remote past, the geography of destination countries of Polish migrants.

It is interesting to note that considerably large number of mixed marriages were contracted with non-single foreigners. The share of bachelors in 1998 was 72 per cent and spinsters only 54 per cent.

In situation of a relatively less tolerant attitude of the authorities in Poland towards irregular foreigners, mixed marriages have become an important vehicle facilitating legalisation of foreigner's stay. Recently, the first case was brought to the court where lawyer's office was accused of helping to arrange for fictitious marriages of foreigners with Polish citizens [Tor, 1999].

5.3. Stock of emigrants (permanent residents of Poland)

The source of regular data on that issue was until very recently a quarterly Labour Force Survey (*BAEL*), which since May 1993 included the topic of temporary residence outside Poland of Polish citizens. It should be explained that the Labour Force Survey statistics reflected only a part of the stock of Polish migrants staying abroad, as the relevant statistics pertained exclusively to those who were the adults (in this regard rare exceptions occurred), retained their „permanent address” in Poland during their stay abroad, had at

least one household member still staying at that address, and at the time of survey were away from their Polish home for at least two months. The data extracted from subsequent quarterly surveys, though based on a dangerously small sample, revealed a formidable consistency. The trends were rather stable and in many instances similar, e.g. among males and females, among those who stayed abroad relatively shorter and relatively longer, and among those who were employed in a foreign country or were involved in something else while abroad. Still, it is possible that this is the last time when the topic of stock of Polish migrants is reported here, because, due to financial constraints, after February 1999 the Labour Force Survey has been discontinued.

Generally, as indicated in earlier reports for Poland, the data indicate a steadily declining number of the permanent residents of Poland staying abroad (Table 2.17). At least this is obvious since 1994 where typically around 200,000 persons were estimated to be in such situation (around 125,000-140,000 in 1998), the number that went down to just above 110,000 in February 1999. 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 45 per cent in 1988 (and February 1999). The share of the gainfully employed in the total moderately oscillated until the end of 1997 (around 70 per cent), and a small but consistent increase occurred thereafter (79.5 per cent in February 1999).

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 2.18). Finally, it should be mentioned that the geographical 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 2.19). Among those whose stay in a foreign country is relatively short a major country of residence is Germany (30 per cent in February 1999), followed by Italy and the USA (22 per cent each). In turn, the USA takes the lead (with 41 per cent) in case of migrants staying abroad for more than one year. Other important countries here are: Germany (20 per cent), Italy (15 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 (and final) estimate (February 1999) suggests around 89,000 migrant workers who at the time of survey were for at least two months in a foreign country (Table 2.17) but employment of Polish citizens abroad in February was as a rule the lowest of all seasons, probably due to the factor of seasonality.

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 1998 (a little less than in 1997), of which more than 96 per cent in Germany, of which in turn around 92 per cent in connection with seasonal work (Table 2.20). According to this concept of foreign employment of Polish citizens, since

1994 the number of migrant workers was steadily increasing (nearly 60-per cent rise in 1994-1998). 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, which is a major form (and direction) of regular employment of Poles in foreign countries. 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. An overwhelming (and still increasing) majority of seasonal workers in Germany are personally selected by the employers prior to migration.

The relevant statistics are compiled by Polish district Labour Offices through which all applications of workers are being processed. Table 2.21 presents the 1998 distribution of seasonal workers by industry of employment in Germany and district of origin in Poland. The data point to a preponderant (and still growing) importance of the employment in agriculture (86 per cent of the total), followed by viticulture or grape picking (8 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 (a sector no longer accessible for Polish seasonal workers).

As stems from Table 2.21, in 1998 the top ten districts (of all 49 districts) included mainly areas located in the western part of Poland, relatively close to Polish-German border, few centrally located districts and one relatively small, remote and underdeveloped unit, namely Suwalki district, in case of which an increase in migration for seasonal work in 1993-1998 exceeded 80 per cent. A number of other districts of similar characteristics as Suwalki displayed similar growth.

6.2. Migration for work to Poland

Data on regular employment of foreign citizens in Poland are scarce and incomplete. What is relatively well documented are work permits granted to foreigners, as a rule before coming to Poland. Work permit is required when a foreigner applies for a Polish visa, which entitles to gainful employment in Poland. Obtaining a permit, however, does not necessarily mean that a foreigner actually comes to Poland nor that he/she works there. Some statistics are also compiled with regard to actual regular employment of foreigners but those only apply to migrants working in companies that employ at least five persons. On the other hand, the statistics of work permits indicate that a considerable proportion of permits goes to those who intend to work in smallest companies (with less than five employees); in 1998 it was one-third of permits (permits given for work in foreign sub-contracting firms are not included here). If we focus on the employment in Poland-based companies that employ at least five persons, then on the basis of data for 1997 it would be possible to arrive at a rough estimate of the proportion of foreigners granted a work permit who actually take up a job in Poland. In that year 8,311 foreigners who met these criteria were registered as actually employed whereas the corresponding

number of work permits was 10,305. This implies a proportion of around 80 per cent actually employed among those granted a work permit⁵.

Due to scarcity of data on the actual employment of foreigners, the description of major trends and structural characteristics of that phenomenon has to be based on the statistics of work permits. It follows from those statistics that the regular employment of foreigners in Poland tends to grow systematically. The year 1998 was no exception to that rule: the number of work permits granted to foreign citizens increased from 17,498 (in 1997) to 20,759, i.e. by 18.6 per cent. This was a slight deceleration of the growth compared to 1997 (by 28,0 per cent) but the rate of change continued to be rather high. Relatively the largest rise in 1998 took place with respect to work permits granted to the employees of foreign sub-contractors (from 2,191 to 3,831).

The nationalities of migrants are very diverse and include more than 100 countries. Even the top-15 list reveals many contrasts, where Belarus and Ukraine, the countries bordering Poland are neighbours of such remote countries as the USA, South Korea, China or Vietnam:

Country	Number of work permits, 1998
Ukraine	2,960
Belarus	2,761
Vietnam	1,779
United Kingdom	1,321
Germany	1,274
Russia	1,130
France	960
USA	824
China	736
Turkey	506
India	485
South Korea	445
Italy	425
Armenia	390
Bulgaria	369

Compared to 1997, Belarus recorded the largest increase – from 1,418 to 2,761, which was almost entirely due to the growth of employment within sub-contracting firms (from 730 to 2,073). Also the increase in case of France (from 622 to 960) was quite impressive. On the other hand, the number of work permits than went to Vietnamese declined – from 2,041 to 1,779. This was an important exception to annual changes concerning that nationality, which had been observed uninterruptedly since 1993.

Further concentration of employment occurred in 1998 among those whose work permits were granted individually. The share of manual employment decreased while the share of consultants and other non-manual employment increased. Also increasing was the share of owners, usually self-employed or employing a small number of compatriots (Table 2.24). The national patterns of employment by major occupations persisted through 1998 in all major nationalities of workers origin. The Vietnamese continued to predominate among the owners (25 per cent of the owners' total); as a matter of fact the number of owners from

⁵ In 1993-1997 the number of work permits for foreigners to be employed in Polish firms up to workers increased by 26.9 per cent whereas the number of foreigners actually employed in those firms by 25.2 per cent. This may suggest that work permit data, which are much more comprehensive and detailed than the data on the employment of foreigners, might be adequately reflecting the trends concerning the latter.

Vietnam increased in 1998, despite an overall decline of work permits granted to that nation in that year. By the same token, citizens of the United Kingdom were by far the largest nationality among teachers (28 per cent of the total), and the citizens of Ukraine among manual workers (skilled and unskilled together) (40 per cent of the total). In turn, a large proportion of managers (42 per cent of the total) originated from four western countries: Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. Typically, Ukrainians and Belarusians sought employment in Poland as manual workers, Vietnamese, Chinese, Turkish, Armenians and Bulgarians as owners, Germans, French and Americans as managers, and British as teachers.

A strong tendency was observed in 1998 and the first half of 1999 (Table 2.22) for more interest on the part of potential foreign workers in private than in public sector, and within private sector – for more interest in foreign rather than Polish capital companies. The role of state-owned companies in employing foreigners, which in early 1990s was still significant, has become marginal. The trend in this respect, as reflected by official statistics, however, might be somewhat obscured due to the fact that the data by type of ownership are available only for those foreigners who obtain work permit individually. Those who are granted a permit for work in a sub-contracting firm often actually work in a state-owned company. A typical example is Szczecin Shipyard, one of the largest state-owned companies in Poland, which systematically employs a large number of foreigners, all of them, however, through sub-contracting firms. In 1993-1997 the share of foreign workers in the total employment of the shipyard increased from 1.8 to 10.7, and reached the absolute number of nearly 900 [Czyszczewicz et al., 1998].

Little changes took place with regard to composition of work permits by branch of economic activity (Table 2.23). Trade together with hotels and restaurants remained the leading branch attracting around 40 per cent of all work permits in 1998 and the first half of 1999. In contrast, agriculture, which in early 1990s offered a significant number of jobs to regular foreign workers, at the end of the decade has totally lost its importance (only 80 work permits in the first half of 1999).

In general, as far as documented foreign employment is concerned, in 1998 no great changes could have been observed in Poland. That kind of employment has clearly remained a narrow and relatively unimportant segment of the labour market.

6.3. Irregular employment of foreigners

In 1999 the National Labour Office suggested that each year some 200,000 migrant workers take up employment in the Poland's shadow economy [Lentowicz, 1999]. A majority of them are seasonal workers from Ukraine. However, there is also a growing irregular employment of Vietnamese citizens. It is expected that soon (in view of the inter-government agreement between Germany and Vietnam, which requires that the remaining 40,000 Vietnamese workers formerly employed by the ex-GDR companies, leave Germany by the year 2000) a major influx of new migrants of that nationality might become a reality. The National Labour Office also notes growing irregular work of citizens of western countries (Germany, France and the Netherlands) who are often employed in connection with large investment projects in wholesale trade and chains of supermarkets. In north-western part of Poland occasional irregular work is also relatively common among German citizens who live in the neighbouring lands of Brandenburg and Meklemburg.

In 1997 the Labour Offices through their specialised services (dealing with the legality of employment) carried out 57,800 inspections of companies and in 1998 82,500 inspections. Altogether around 2,500 cases of illegal employment of foreigners were revealed. More than 500 related cases against the employers were brought to the court: in 1997 – 223 and in 1998 – 294. At the same time, 280 cases in 1997 and 407 cases in 1998 were brought to the court against foreign workers. Among migrants found in irregular situation a large majority were the persons from the ex-USSR (1,600), followed by the citizens of European Union countries (300), Bulgaria (180), Vietnam (160) and USA (40) [Pur Rahnama, 1998]. Bearing in mind that it is relatively easy to hide illegal labour by an employer, these figures suggest a non-negligible incidence of the employment of undocumented foreigners.

Major reason for a relatively wide employment of migrant workers in Poland is the expansion of its shadow economy. According to the Labour Force Survey data, in 1996 and 1997 around 5 per cent of national labour had a job in the shadow economy, which means more than 850,000 workers [Sztanderska, 1999]. More information on irregular employment of migrants is available from various surveys conducted by research institutes rather than government agencies. For instance, the Research Institute on Democracy and Private Enterprise concluded in 1995 (on the basis of a survey among the employers carried out in three regions/districts of Poland) that a quarter of irregular employment constitute foreigners (28 per cent in Przemysl district, 25 per cent in Warsaw district and 12 per cent in Lodz district) [Piasecki and Rogut, 1995].

A number of studies suggest that in major regional labour markets in Poland there exist “labour exchanges” where it is relatively easy to find a job in the informal sector. Various intermediaries also operate through local media and direct contacts with employers. “Newcomers” in the Polish labour market often advertise their availability for employment in well-known market places/bazaars. Increasingly migrants return repeatedly to the same employers to which they frequently recommend or introduce their friends and relatives [Antoniewski, 1997; Badowska et al., 1995; Ornacka and Szczesny, 1998].

In large industrial centres foreigners find work in construction industry, trade, restaurants/fast food facilities, car repair shops and households, whereas in the country side in construction, horticulture and (seasonally) picking fruits or helping in harvest. There are some areas of Poland where the farm employment is entirely foreign; a large proportion of migrants stay for a large part of each year, some of them travel back and forth every three months while some others stay illegally for more than one year [Badowska et al., 1995]. It is quite common that migrants live and eat in large groups on the employer’s premises, and it is either difficult to detect their concentration by labour inspection services or inspectors are being corrupted by employers. In a recent study focusing on undocumented migrants in Poland, a relatively large agricultural area was penetrated by a researcher who worked with migrants on a farm, and after work hours socialised with migrants from other farms in a “hotel” where from 200 to 300 irregular migrant workers lived at one time [Antoniewski, 1999].

7. Asylum seekers and refugees

The size of inflow of the refugee applicants remained almost unchanged for three consecutive years: 1996, 1997 and 1998. The annual number of those persons was between 3,200 and 3,500. The first half of 1999 saw a distinct increase relative to the first half of 1998: from 966 to 1,385. The inflow of foreign citizens seeking protection in Poland seems to be higher than in the middle of the decade (less than 1,000 annually) but it is by no means strong or in any way striking.

As follows from Table 2.25, in 1998 there was a considerable increase in the number of applications from citizens of Armenia. Some analysts relate this more to the changes in Polish regulations (e.g. visa started to be required from Armenians) than to the internal situation in Armenia. Nevertheless in the first half of 1999 this rising trend intensified. As a result, since 1998 for Poland, Armenia has been the main refugee sending country. On the other hand, there occurred a decline in the arrivals of applicants from origins that dominated asylum seekers flows to Poland in 1996 and 1997, i.e. Indian sub-continent and Afghanistan. In the latter case the number of asylum seekers declined from 636 in 1997 to 334 in 1998. Nationality which turned out by far the most important in 1997, Sri Lankans, became less visible in 1998 (a decline from 864 to 642) and nearly disappeared from sight in the first half of 1999 (only 70 applications). Other important developments of 1998 was a dramatic increase in the inflow of Yugoslav asylum seekers, mainly from Kosovo. Yugoslav citizens retained their high position in early 1999.

On the basis of data compiled by the government reception centres for refugees, on 15 December 1998 three major nationalities included: Sri Lanka (29 per cent of the total), Afghanistan (20 per cent) and Yugoslavia (15 per cent). Citizens of African countries accounted for 13 per cent of the total, ex-Soviet people from Caucasus for 6 per cent, people from Indian sub-continent for 6 per cent, and citizens of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine for 5 per cent. A large majority of refugees were in their twenties or younger (77 per cent for the total population of reception centres; in case of Sri Lanka as many as 85 per cent). Refugees from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka were almost entirely young adult males, whereas those from Afghanistan included not only many females but also children (33 per cent below the age 16). Refugees from the ex-USSR were the oldest; more than one-third of them were between 30 and 65.

8. Illegal movements by foreign citizens

In 1998 symptoms were observed of declining illegality in international movement of people, in particular in transit migration through Poland. One of good indicators of the intensity of illegal transit of people seems to be the number of foreigners deported to Poland on the basis of readmission agreements. Traditionally a bulk of illegal migrants readmitted to Poland are deported from Germany. In this regard the first half of 1999 was unusual because for the first time in many years the six-month figure fell below the level of 1,000 (actually it was 979). Relative to the corresponding period of 1998, the decrease was 29 per cent. Bearing in mind that already in the first half of 1997 a decrease of some 43 per cent was recorded, this implies a rather steady favourable trend.

In 1998 the Polish Border Guard apprehended 3,750 foreigners who attempted to illegally cross Polish (as a rule - western, i.e. with Germany) border or succeeded to do so. A large majority of illegal entries to Poland (60 per cent) took place through southern border (with the Czech Republic and Slovakia) which also is a new tendency. In the not-too-remote past the most preferred route for illegal transit migrants was through eastern border of Poland. The number of apprehended foreigners was much smaller than in 1997 (5,312) which already was less than in 1996 and even the more so than in 1995. All those

suggest that the control of the state frontiers has become more effective than in the first half of the 1990s and probably also that the intensity of illegal migration has declined.

The statistics of illegal migration by geographical distribution of migrants can best be summarised by showing the top-15 countries (according to the number of persons deported from Poland) whose citizens were subject to the Border Guard or Police actions (related to the violation of border crossing regulations) in 1998:

Country of citizenship	Deported from Poland	Readmitted from abroad into Poland
Total	7,079	2,817
Romania	1,976	1
Ukraine	1,027	268
Bulgaria	874	6
Armenia	481	144
Moldova	313	275
Bangladesh	300	58
Czech Republic	286	39
Belarus	193	53
Sri Lanka	180	342
Russia	179	78
Afghanistan	160	427
Vietnam	131	42
Lithuania	95	49
Pakistan	91	65
India	90	48
Yugoslavia	64	462
Iraq	42	117
FYR Macedonia	58	69
Georgia	44	39
Turkey	41	32

It follows from the above data that the number of deportations from Poland has come to be much higher than the number of deportation of foreigners to Poland. Since the latter almost exclusively took place from western countries (mostly from Germany), this may indicate a more strict control of the state frontiers and better monitoring of foreigners within the country on the part of Polish authorities. The differences between two figures for each country may also be indicative of something interesting, namely the propensity of a given nationality to transit further to the West. It seems, for instance, that in 1998 Romanians' ultimate destination, who have been arrested in Poland, might have been Poland itself (although it is also possible that in the case of citizens of Romania breaching German rules, Germany deported those persons directly to Romania). Poland as a country of ultimate destination appears to be also in case of citizens of Bulgaria, and to lesser degree Ukraine, Armenia and Bangladesh. The opposite seems true in the case of citizens of Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, and to some extent also Moldova, Pakistan and (especially) Yugoslavia, FYR Macedonia, Georgia and Turkey.

As mentioned earlier, in 1998 and 1999 Poland imposed stricter rules and procedures towards irregular or illegal foreigners. This produced largely increased number of decisions to expel unwanted foreigners. The number of such decisions increased from 5,707 in 1997 to 7,955 (Table 2.26). In 1998 those decisions affected as many as 9,000 foreigners, mainly from Romania (2,300), Ukraine (1,300), Bulgaria (1,400) and Armenia (1,000). The implementation of those decisions was differentiated but rarely complete. For instance, in 1997 a relatively high degree of the implementation of expulsion decisions was achieved in case of citizens of the Czech Republic, Yugoslavia, Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine (around or above 80 per cent), moderate in case of citizens of Bulgaria, Armenia, Bangladesh, FYR Macedonia (between 50 and 70 per cent) and low in case of citizens of Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Vietnam and Iraq (below 30 per cent).

Finally, it should be observed that organised trafficking in migrants declined in late 1998 and early 1999, probably due to introducing severe sanctions against traffickers.

References

- Antoniewski R., 1997. Przyczynek do badań nad nieformalnym rynkiem pracy cudzoziemców, "ISS Working Papers", no. 3.
- Antoniewski R., 1999. Robotnicy rolni z Ukrainy. Raport z obserwacji uczestniczącej (maszynopis), Warszawa: ISS
- Badowska J., H. Grymuza, N. Minkowicz-Albert, 1995. Praktyka nieformalnego rynku pracy. In: M. Bak (ed.), Nieformalny rynek pracy. Oficyna Naukowa, Warsaw.
- Bielecki J., 1999. Otwarcie rynku niewykluczone, "Rzeczpospolita", 18 November.
- Ceg, 1998. Więcej repatriantów, "Zycie", 15 December.
- Czyszkiewicz R., W. Durka, B.J. Kozłowski, 1998. Obcokrajowcy na polskim rynku pracy. Instytut Badań nad Gospodarką Rynkową, Gdansk.
- Department for Migration and Refugee Affairs, 1999. Polska – dane dotyczące migracji 1994-1998, Ministry of the Interior and Administration, Warsaw.
- Gryczka A., J. Kostyla, 1998. Wietnamczycy w Polsce: male Hanoi, "Wprost", 14 February.
- Gmyz C., 1998. Konsul o dobrym sercu, "Zycie", 23 February.
- Lazarewicz C., 1999. Obywatel Nguyen się zeni, "Magazyn Gazety", 26-27 February.
- Lentowicz Z., 1999. Wyjeżdżają pod straż, "Rzeczpospolita", no. 269, 18 November.
- National Labour Office, 1999. Zgody na prace udzielane cudzoziemcom przez wojewódzkie urzędy pracy w okresie 01.01.-31.12.1998 (wyniki badania sondazowego), March, Warsaw.
- Nowak L. (ed.), 1998. Migracje zagraniczne w Polsce w latach 1988-1997, Central Statistical Office, Warsaw.
- Ornacka E., J. Szczęsny, 1998. Gastpracownicy, "Wprost", 20 December.
- Piasecki B., A. Rogut, 1995. Charakterystyka nieformalnego rynku pracy w Polsce na podstawie badań ankietowych. In: M. Bak (ed.), Nieformalny rynek pracy. Oficyna Naukowa, Warsaw.
- Polish Border Guard Headquarters, 1999a. State Border Protection/Border Traffic Control. Basic Statistical Data 1998, Warsaw.
- Polish Border Guard Headquarters, 1999b. Sytuacja na granicy państwowej w I półroczu 1999 r., Warsaw 15 July.
- Pur Rahmana I., 1998. Na saksy do Polski, "Gazeta Wyborcza", 4 December.
- Rubaj M., Nielegalnie pod bramą, 1999, "Zycie", 21-22 August.
- Rybak M., A. Domagała, 1999. Przemyciony tłum, "Gazeta Wyborcza", 12 March.
- Szarlik A., 1998. Zapraszamy was z pełnym portfelem, "Zycie", 30 December.
- Tomaszewski J., 1999. Nieprzezroczysta granica, "Wprost", 14 March.
- Tor, 1999. Polsko-wietnamska fikcja malżenska, "Rzeczpospolita", 19 October.

Appendix: statistical tables**1. Economic development and labour market**

(Tables 1.2-1.7 extracted from: U. Sztanderska, Background Study on Labour Market and Employment in Poland, First Draft (typescript), Warsaw 1999; with the Author's permission)

Table 1.1. General indicators of economic development, 1992-1998

Indicator	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
GDP (real; annual change in %)	2.6	3.8	5.2	7.0	6.1	6.8	4.8
Industrial output sold (real; annual change in %)	2.8	6.4	12.1	9.7	8.3	11.5	4.8
Agricultural output (real; annual change in %)	-12.7	6.8	-9.3	10.7	.7	-2	6.0
Inflation rate (annual average)*	38.5	30.5	28.4	27.9	18.7	14.0	11.8
Participation rate**	n.a.	n.a.	66.4	67.7	66.9	66.4	66.2
Employment rate**	n.a.	n.a.	56.9	58.3	58.9	59.3	58.9
Unemployment rate (ILO definition) **	n.a.	n.a.	14.3	13.8	12.0	10.6	11.1
Unemployment rate (registered)	14.3	16.4	16.0	14.9	13.2	10.3	10.4
Share of labour force in agriculture***	n.a.	n.a.	19.3	18.6	18.2	17.7	16.6
Share of labour force in private sector***	n.a.	n.a.	44.2	46.1	49.3	52.4	53.7
Gross disposable income per capita (real; annual change in %)	-0.7	-0.8	3.3	6.1	4.2	7.3	n.a.
Supply of money (real; annual change in %, as of Dec. 31)	9.1	-1.2	6.8	10.9	9.0	13.8	15.1
State budget deficit (% of GDP)	6.4	3.3	3.6	3.3	3.4	2.6	2.4
Foreign investment (USD billion)	1.0	1.6	1.3	2.5	5.2	6.6	10.1

*Price indices of GDP; ** Calculated for persons aged 15-64; *** Calculated for persons aged 15-59(F)/64(M)

Source: CSO Statistical Yearbook, Labour Force Survey (estimates by Sztanderska, 1999), National Bank of Poland, Government Centre for Strategic Studies, State Agency for Foreign Investment

Table 1.2. Regular employment, 1989-1998 (annual averages)

Indicator	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
	<i>according to reported (Labour Office) data</i>									
Number of employed (thousand)	17,002	16,280	15,326	14,677	14,330	14,375	14,735	15,041	15,439	16,425
Annual change (in %)		-4.2	-5.9	-4.2	-2.4	0.3	2.5	2.1	2.6	0.8
<u>Share of the total (in %)</u>										
Agriculture	26,7	26,6	26,0	25,8	25,8	27,1	26,1	26,7	25,9	n.a.
Industry	36,5	36,0	35,0	32,8	31,6	31,0	31,2	30,4	30,1	n.a.
Services	36,7	37,4	39,0	41,5	42,6	41,8	42,7	42,9	44,0	n.a.
Share of the total in private sector (in %)	n.a.	45,1	50,2	53,7	56,8	59,8	61,9	64,0	68,8	n.a.
	<i>according to Labour Force Survey data</i>									
Number of employed (thousand)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	15,135	14,772	14,747	14,771	15,103	15,315	15,335
Annual change (in %)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		-2,4	-0,2	0,2	2,2	1,4	0,1
<u>Share of the total (in %)</u>										
Agriculture	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	24,3	25,7	22,6	21,5	20,7	19,8	18,7
Industry	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	31,9	31,1	32,5	33	32,9	32,8	32,6
Services	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	43,8	43,1	44,9	45,5	46,4	47,4	48,7
Share of the total in private sector (in %)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	48,4	51,5	51,5	52,6	55,0	56,4	56,7

Source: Sztanderska, 1999

Table 1.3. Estimated hidden (irregular) employment, 1994-1997

Estimate	1994	1995	1996	1997
Irregular employment, i.e. in „shadow economy” (thousand)	835	805	850	n.a.
Share of irregular employment in labour force (in % – version I)	4,6	4,4	4,7	4,8
Share of irregular employment in labour force (in % – version II)	4,9	4,7	5,0	5,1

version I – calculated in relation to labour force from Statistical Yearbooks
version II- calculated in relation to labour force from LFS

Source: Sztanderska, 1999

Table 1.4. Job vacancies, 1990-1997

Indicator	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
	<i>during a year</i>							
All vacancies (thousand)				527,9	804,0	914,2	878,9	915,8
Relation (in %) of vacancies to admittance to employment in entities employing more than 5 persons				30,1	44,0	46,1	41,8	53,5
	<i>as of 31 December</i>							
Vacancies (thousand)	54,1	29,1	22,9	21,7	25,2	20,5	13,8	36,7
Relation of vacancies to the number of:								
Working persons	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,2
Hired employees	0,5	0,3	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,4
Registered unemployed persons	4,8	1,3	0,9	0,8	0,9	0,8	0,6	2,0
Number of vacancies in entities employing more than 5 persons (thousand)					35,6	41,9	48,2	33,6

Source: Sztanderska, 1999

Table 1.5. Registered (reported by labour offices) unemployment and unemployment according to LFS data, 1990-1997

Unemployment characteristics	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
	<i>reported data (as of 31 December)</i>							
Unemployed persons (thousand)	1,126.1	2,155.6	2,509.3	2,889.6	2,838.0	2,628.8	2,359.5	1,826.4
Unemployment rate (in %)	6.5	12.2	14.3	16.4	16.0	14.9	13.2	10.5
Job vacancies (thousand)	54.1	29.1	22.9	21.7	25.2	20.5	13.8	11.9
Unemployed per one vacancy	20.8	74.1	109.6	133.2	112.6	128.2	171.0	153.5
	<i>Labour Force Survey data; ILO definition (as of the end of November)</i>							
Unemployed persons (thousand)			2,394	2,595	2,375	2,233	1,961	1,737
Unemployment rate (in %)			13.7	14.9	13.9	13,1	11.5	10.2

Source: Sztanderska, 1999

Table 1.6. Unemployment structure according to lfs and registers (as reported by labour offices) by unemployment duration (total unemployment =100), 1994-1998

Year	Unemployment duration in months		
	0-6	7-12	over 12
	<i>according to LFS</i>		
1994	36,7	21,7	41,6
1995	39,8	20,3	39,9
1996	38,2	21,0	40,8
1997	42,1	23,7	34,3
1998	43,1	21,5	35,3
	<i>according to registers</i>		
1994	33,2	22,6	44,2
1995	38,2	24,4	37,4
1996	37,6	21,3	41,1
1997	33,6	22,1	44,3
1998	42,9	16,7	40,4

Source: Sztanderska, 1999

Table 1.7. LFS' estimated unemployment rates by educational level (as of the end of November)

Education	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
	<i>unemployment rates</i>				
Post-secondary	3,5	3,0	2,9	2,0	2,9
Secondary vocational	12,1	11,5	10,2	9,1	8,8
General secondary	16,3	15,7	13,3	13,1	13,7
Basic vocational	18,0	16,8	14,4	12,1	12,6
Elementary and lower	15,0	15,3	13,9	13,2	15,1
	<i>long-term (over 12 months) unemployment rates</i>				
Post-secondary	1,2	0,9	0,7	0,4	0,7
Secondary vocational	4,8	4,2	4,1	3,1	3,0
General secondary	6,8	5,1	5,9	4,6	4,9
Basic vocational	7,2	6,4	5,6	3,9	4,3
Elementary and lower	6,9	7,3	6,1	4,9	5,9

Source: Sztanderska, 1999

2. International movements of people, migratory flows and migrants

Table 2.1. Arrivals of foreigners (in million); top seven nationalities. Poland 1997 and 1998

Country of citizenship	All arrivals			
	Actual		Per cent	
	1997	1998	1997	1998
Total	87.8	88.6	100.0	100.0
Germany	49.6	51.6	56.5	58.2
Czech Republic	16.8	16.8	19.1	19.0
Ukraine	5.3	4.8	6.0	5.4
Slovakia	4.2	4.5	4.8	5.1
Belarus	3.8	2.6	4.3	2.9
Russia	2.0	2.1	2.3	2.4
Lithuania	1.7	1.7	1.9	1.9
Austria	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5
France	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5
Netherlands	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.5
USA	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3
others	3.2	3.0	3.6	3.4

Source: Border Guard

Table 2.2. International migration (a); year-by-year figures and five-year annual averages. Poland: 1945-1998 (in thousand)

Year	Emigrants	Immigrants	Year	Emigrants	Immigrants
1945-1949	797.8	754.9	1975-1979	25.8	1.7
1950-1954	15.4	4.0	1980-1984	24.4	1.3
1955-1959	66.7	53.2	1985-1989	29.8	1.9
1960-1964	23.8	3.5	1990-1994	20.9	5.4
1965-1969	23.8	2.1	1995-1998 (b)	22.5	8.4
1970-1974	17.6	1.6			
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	1998	22.2	8.9

(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) four-year average

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.3. 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
2nd half-year	11,597	4,768	-6,829
1999			
1st half-year	9,514	3,823	-5,691

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.4. Emigrants by major destinations. Poland: 1995-1998

Country of destination	1995	1996	1997	1998	
	as per cent of total				actual
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	22,177
Europe	79.6	79.8	80.6	83.2	18,446
Austria	2.3	2.5	3.1	3.4	761
France	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.2	266
Germany	68.9	69.5	70.2	72.7	16,128
Italy	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.0	211
Sweden	2.2	1.7	1.4	1.1	250
United Kingdom	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	166
other	3.4	3.6	3.3	0.3	66
Africa	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	61
America North	18.5	18.0	17.6	14.8	3,293
Canada	6.4	6.3	6.6	4.9	1,076
USA	12.1	11.7	11.0	10.0	2,217
America Central and South	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	21
Asia	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	57
Oceania	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.3	297
Unknown	-	-	0.1	0.0	2

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.5. Emigrants by sex and age. Poland: 1997 and 1998

Age category	Males			Females		
	1997 per cent	1998		1997 per cent	1998	
		per cent	actual		per cent	actual
Total	100.0	100.0	11,607	100.0	100.0	10,570
0-14	12.4	10.6	1,235	12.5	11.0	1,166
15-19	21.0	24.1	2,794	8.7	8.7	915
20-24	14.5	13.9	1,619	10.5	11.0	1,160
25-29	6.6	6.3	735	10.6	10.2	1,074
30-34	6.3	6.0	693	9.7	9.2	968
35-39	9.4	8.1	943	11.6	10.5	1,115
40-44	9.8	9.9	1,149	11.6	12.4	1,310
45-49	7.2	8.0	924	7.5	9.3	978
50-54	3.3	3.7	430	4.2	4.3	454
55-59	3.9	3.4	393	4.4	4.5	471
60-64	2.2	2.5	292	3.4	3.0	321
65-69	1.6	1.7	202	2.3	2.5	265
70+	1.5	1.7	198	2.8	3.5	373

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.6. 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
males					
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
1998	11,607	7,249	4,058	46	173
0-14	1,235	1,235	-	-	-
15-24	4,413	4,347	64	-	2
25-34	1,428	944	456	2	13
35-44	2,092	453	1,563	6	32
45-54	1,354	189	1,109	5	63
55-64	685	79	579	10	87
65+	400	47	287	23	159
females					
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	4,739	4,632	327	345
1998	10,570	4,667	5,149	356	350
0-14	1,166	1,166	-	-	-
15-24	2,075	1,854	210	2	9
25-34	2,042	974	992	13	63
35-44	2,425	360	1,918	32	115
45-54	1,432	154	1,121	63	94
55-64	792	65	590	87	50
65+	638	94	318	159	19

(a) annual average

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.7. Emigrants aged 15 years or above by sex, age and education.
Poland: 1997 and 1998

Age category	Educational attainment				
	total	post-secondary	secondary (a)	vocational	elementary or less (b)
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
1998					
males					
total	10,372	147	695	1,432	8,098
15-24	4,413	3	100	212	4,098
25-34	1,428	20	105	237	1,066
35-44	2,092	48	240	538	1,266
45-54	1,354	52	168	306	828
55-64	685	13	52	105	515
65+	400	11	30	34	308
females					
total	9,404	139	1,239	900	7,126
15-24	2,075	-	129	87	1,859
25-34	2,042	29	324	221	1,468
35-44	2,425	51	454	377	1,543
45-54	1,432	46	238	177	971
55-64	792	11	74	22	685
65+	638	2	20	16	576

(a) including post-secondary not completed

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

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.8. Immigrants by country or continent of origin. Poland: 1997 and 1998

Origin of immigrants	Actual numbers		Per cent of annual total	
	1997	1998	1997	1998
Total	8,426	8,916	100.0	100.0
Europe	5,334	5,593	63.3	62.7
Austria	193	229	2.3	2.6
Belarus	243	198	2.5	2.2
France	315	399	3.7	4.5
Germany	2,098	2,341	24.9	26.3
Italy	212	198	2.5	2.2
Russia	304	304	3.6	3.4
Sweden	126	133	1.5	1.5
Ukraine	758	661	9.0	7.4
United Kingdom	233	245	2.7	2.7
other	852	885	10.1	9.9
Africa	204	165	2.4	1.9
America	1,685	1,759	19.9	19.7
Canada	415	415	4.9	4.7
USA	1,197	1,274	14.2	14.3
other	73	70	0.8	0.8
Asia	1,033	1,206	12.2	13.5
Kazakhstan	324	385	3.8	4.3
Vietnam	238	434	2.8	4.9
other	471	282	5.6	3.2
Oceania	165	187	1.9	2.1
Unknown	5	6	0.1	0.1

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.9. Immigrants by sex and age. Poland: 1997 and 1998

Age category	Actual numbers		Per cent	
	1997	1998	1997	1998
males				
total	4,279	4,400	100.0	100.0
0-19	748	919	17.5	20.9
20-29	882	839	20.6	19.1
30-39	977	837	22.8	19.0
40-49	806	846	18.8	19.2
50-59	378	390	8.8	8.9
60-69	309	338	7.2	7.7
70+	179	231	4.2	5.3
females				
total	4,147	4,516	100.0	100.0
0-19	788	962	19.0	21.3
20-29	792	777	19.1	17.2
30-39	826	883	19.9	19.6
40-49	763	809	18.4	17.9
50-59	365	437	8.8	9.7
60-69	365	418	8.8	9.3
70+	248	230	6.0	5.1

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.10. Immigrants by sex and marital status. Poland: 1981-1998

Year	Marital status				
	total	bachelor or spinster	married	widower or widow	divorced
males					
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
1998	4,400	1,804	2,291	84	221
of which: age 15+	3,646	1,050	2,291	84	221
females					
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
1998	4,516	1,366	2,574	329	247
of which: age 15+	3,717	567	2,574	329	247

(a) annual average

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.11. Immigrants aged 15 years or above by sex, age and education.
Poland: 1997 and 1998

Age category	Educational attainment				
	total	post-secondary	secondary (a)	vocational	elementary or less (b)
1997					
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
1998					
males					
total	3,646	992	1,315	787	101
15-24	508	23	196	122	29
25-34	892	275	339	209	22
35-44	883	270	363	194	12
45-54	631	244	222	131	8
55-64	355	112	96	69	7
65+	377	68	99	62	23
females					
total	3,717	893	1,702	389	120
15-24	476	55	222	45	30
25-34	888	256	424	131	18
35-44	902	271	475	90	11
45-54	599	195	284	63	8
55-64	450	80	183	40	13
65+	402	36	114	20	40

(a) including post-secondary not completed

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

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.12. Permanent residence permits granted by citizenship (15 major citizenships). Poland: 1995-1999 (a)

Citizenship	1995	1996	1997 (b)		1998 (c)				1999 (a)			
			applica- tions	granted	permission for settlement		permission for fixed-time residence		permission for settlement		permission for fixed-time residence	
					applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted	applica- tions	granted
Total	3,060	2,844	5,329	4,056	756	290	9,032	4,849	182	256	7,421	8,880
Ukraine	585	646	1,382	955	120	54	1,405	894	22	37	1,032	1,170
Vietnam	200	256	592	333	74	23	1,439	720	17	32	453	826
Armenia	81	69	217	100	29	7	676	430	18	18	206	294
Russia	343	289	389	322	88	27	674	379	30	48	398	523
Belarus	225	227	436	304	41	19	412	228	5	12	259	317
Germany	199	143	209	169	21	9	294	175	9	7	334	293
USA	49	39	51	52	22	14	305	166	-	1	343	376
Bulgaria	50	45	103	80	33	17	126	64	4	4	110	119
Yugoslavia	47	36	50	31	29	18	101	56	6	8	1,183	1,137
United Kingdom	39	32	57	43	14	7	166	54	5	8	196	223
Kazakhstan	237	249	531	592	6	-	139	51	-	2	126	166
Lithuania	73	88	84	64	9	2	84	50	2	4	72	85
Sweden	45	47	61	46	6	2	53	32	2	4	54	54
Syria	42	25	52	41	13	5	74	32	3	4	64	82
Algeria	56	29	41	27	18	6	47	29	3	5	14	23
all others	789	624	1,074	897	233	80	3,037	1,489	56	62	2,577	3,192

(a) in 1999 - between 1 January and 30 June

(b) 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

(c) 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 2.13. Stocks of foreigners (selected components) by major citizenships.
Poland: 1998 (unless indicated otherwise)

Country of citizenship	Newly Admitted permanent residents (1994-1998)	Students (excluding trainees)	Work permit holders (excluding permanent residents)	Refugees (applications processed)	Foreigners expelled
Total	13,959	5,541	20,759	3,398	7,079
Afghanistan	37	11	-	334	160
Armenia	389	16	390	992	481
Austria	145	27	305	-	3
Bangladesh	16	4	20	136	300
Belarus	1016	693	2761	23	193
Bulgaria	263	117	369	33	874
Canada	38	97	175	-	-
China	90	32	737	1	16
Czech Republic	137	251	283	-	286
Denmark	31	13	207	-	-
France	148	33	960	-	-
Germany	192	138	1,274	-	-
India	75	13	485	94	90
Iraq	58	14	15	130	42
Italy	167	16	424	-	2
Kazakhstan	1,294	321	46	8	11
Lithuania	334	467	125	-	95
Moldova	64	-	67	4	313
Mongolia	62	36	241	12	45
Netherlands	135	5	317	-	4
Pakistan	19	4	31	180	91
Russia	1,353	251	1,130	47	179
Somalia	-	-	-	49	14
Sri Lanka	1	2	9	642	180
Sweden	223	69	290	-	-
Syria	198	87	66	7	5
Ukraine	3,062	868	2960	29	1,027
United Kingdom	176	22	1321	-	3
USA	192	232	824	-	-
Vietnam	1,057	187	1,779	10	131
Yugoslavia	215	32	177	422	64

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

Table 2.14. Total marriages contracted according to the spouses' nationality.
Poland: 1990-1998

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
1998	209,378	205,374	35	2,428	1,541

(a) except for 1996, 1997 and 1998 included in other categories (total number of cases is probably below 40 on annual scale)

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.15. Mixed marriages; Polish husband, foreign wife – by nationality of wife.
Poland: 1993-1998 (selected years)

Nationality of foreign wife	1993	1995	1996	1997	1998	
					total	spinster
Ukraine	189	331	340	456	537	235
Vietnam	15	15	42	110	310	198
Russia	139	119	151	127	142	67
Belarus	54	95	104	122	124	64
Germany	85	61	63	53	74	41
Armenia	7	27	28	42	53	29
Lithuania	23	41	40	33	41	30
Kazakhstan	2	13	11	10	23	17
USA	63	46	33	39	22	16
Canada	20	17	15	7	15	12
Czech Republic	16	8	10	13	14	8
China	6	-	3	3	12	4
Latvia	2	6	10	9	10	5
Rumania	4	1	8	6	10	7
Bulgaria	4	7	7	8	10	7
Total	754	920	977	1,166	1,541	840

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.16. Mixed marriages; Polish wife, foreign husband – by nationality of husband. Poland: 1993-1998 (selected years)

Nationality of foreign husband	1993	1995	1996	1997	1998	
					total	bachelor
Germany	876	748	698	649	632	357
Vietnam	60	45	79	152	251	206
Armenia	17	44	64	75	140	128
United Kingdom	74	100	92	98	124	90
Ukraine	67	89	108	106	119	62
Italy	85	102	86	104	108	85
Netherlands	101	120	111	78	102	66
USA	204	185	138	126	99	74
France	62	63	76	61	71	60
Canada	69	46	43	30	46	32
Russia	48	51	38	38	46	20
Australia	29	29	20	18	44	10
Belarus	16	18	21	26	35	21
Bulgaria	19	20	21	29	30	21
Belgium	31	41	41	41	28	13
Algeria	9	30	26	31	27	27
Sweden	72	48	46	37	26	16
Greece	49	39	22	31	24	19
Norway	23	20	27	23	20	12
Yugoslavia	5	27	12	9	18	12
Syria	32	25	16	16	17	17
Lithuania	13	8	15	15	15	12
Jordania	10	12	9	11	15	15
Total	2,323	2,320	2,177	2,206	2,428	1,758

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.17. 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: 1993-1999 (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)	-	-
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	(133)	(76)	(57)	(60)	(73)	-	-
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
November	125	73	52	55	70	93	74.4
1999							
February (b)	112	63	49	50	61	89	79.5

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

(b) LFS was discontinued after February 1999

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.18. 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 2.19. 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 and February 1999

Country	Duration of stay abroad (in months)							
	All migrants				Of which: migrant workers			
	2-11		12+		2-11		12+	
	May 1998	Feb 1999	May 1998	Feb 1999	May 1998	Feb 1999	May 1998	Feb 1999
Total	62	50	75	61	48	39	52	50
USA	13	11	34	25	10	8	22	20
Germany	23	15	12	12	17	11	8	9
Italy	5	11	8	9	5	10	7	7
United Kingdom	5	1	2	1	3	1	1	1
Canada	1	-	4	3	-	-	3	2
Austria	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
France	2	1	2	2	1	-	1	2
others	9	10	12	8	8	8	9	8

Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2.20. Polish migrants employed abroad on the basis of bilateral international agreements. Poland: 1993-1998

Country of destination	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Total	179,494	144,958	189,933	219,810	230,283	227,772
Belgium	-	2	17	6	6	3
Czech Republic	1,568	1,777	2,726	3,004	4,576	4,270
France						
seasonal	4,985	4,176	3,573	3,351	3,011	2,681
trainees	28	22	23	50	280	78
Germany						
seasonal	139,824	124,860	158,979	185,430	198,424	201,681
guest workers	898	995	1,003	667	649	575
project-tied employment	31,190	11,696	22,335	25,996	23,010	17,996
students employment	500	500	500	500	831	513
Libia	400	400	400	400	400	400
Slovakia	101	518	362	391	380	506
Switzerland	-	12	15	15	11	19

Source: Ministry of Labour and Social Policy

Table 2.21. Contracts for seasonal work in Germany by industry of employment in Germany and district of origin. Poland: 1998 and 1999 (a)

District	Total	Agriculture	Viticulture	Exhibitions	Hotel	Other
1998						
Total	201,681	173,378	15,723	4,408	2,632	5,540
Kielce	12,334	10,786	1,010	148	71	319
Wroclaw	11,402	10,247	757	126	87	185
Konin	9,460	8,015	510	190	52	693
Walbrzych	7,952	7,193	458	133	65	103
Opole	7,463	6,608	645	41	51	118
Jelenia Gora	8,788	6,563	1,617	126	203	279
Katowice	6,999	5,687	854	95	160	203
Legnica	6,223	5,462	392	161	96	112
Kalisz	6,343	5,426	566	84	75	192
Suwalki	5,845	4,917	425	235	98	170
others	118,872	102,474	8,489	3,069	1,674	3,166
1999 (a)						
Total	163,597	152,979	2,029	3,917	2,626	2,046
Kielce	10,750	10,255	160	125	85	125
Wroclaw	8,589	8,077	102	127	64	219
Konin	7,431	6,938	55	218	60	160
Jelenia Gora	6,677	6,084	194	147	176	76
Walbrzych	6,375	5,957	85	160	86	87
Opole	6,226	5,968	74	60	69	55
Katowice	5,503	5,109	73	93	152	76
Olsztyn	5,334	4,943	34	173	137	47
Legnica	5,307	5,013	41	108	110	35
Kalisz	4,757	4,472	59	84	83	59
others	96,648	90,163	1,152	2,622	1,604	1,107

(a) in 1999 - between 1 January and 30 June

Source: National Labour Office

Table 2.22. Work permits granted individually by ownership of enterprise (eight top countries of origin). Poland: between 1 July 1997 and 31 July 1999

Country	Total	Ownership of enterprise				
		state	private; Polish capital	private; foreign capital	private; mixed capital	other
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
01-07-31.12.98						
Total	8945	617	2023	4706	1359	351
Ukraine	1317	267	591	275	110	74
Vietnam	839	1	95	718	40	0
Germany	644	51	47	362	170	14
UK	630	36	227	262	111	0
France	563	18	53	368	116	8
Russia	399	55	105	144	58	37
China	355	0	32	317	9	0
Belarus	354	50	145	99	25	35
other	3844	140	728	2161	720	206
01.01-30.06.99						
Total	8,212	291	1,681	4,689	1,282	269
Ukraine	1,011	99	491	297	81	43
Vietnam	768	2	85	653	28	-
Germany	625	9	38	405	168	5
UK	537	18	130	255	115	19
France	512	16	37	366	85	8
Russia	438	22	183	137	80	16
USA	361	13	52	204	65	27
Belarus	350	39	144	117	28	22
other	3,610	73	521	2,255	632	129

Source: National Labour Office

Table 2.23. Work permits granted individually by branch of economic activity (eight top countries of origin). Poland: between 1 July 1997 and 31 July 1999

Country	Total	Branch of economic activity					
		industry transporta- tion	constru- ction	agriculture forestry	trade catering	education	other
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
01.07-31.12.98							
Total	8,945	1,798	498	189	3,430	1,045	1,985
Ukraine	1,317	259	97	145	239	281	296
Vietnam	839	23	-	-	786	1	29
Germany	644	236	72	9	138	57	132
UK	630	44	10	-	110	277	192
France	563	147	48	-	246	27	95
Russia	399	57	17	6	128	54	137
China	355	13	19	3	313	-	7
Belarus	354	92	42	2	69	61	88
other	3,844	927	193	27	1,401	287	1,009
01.01-30.06.99							
Total	8,212	1,882	409	80	3,345	507	1,989
Ukraina	1,011	191	40	41	347	101	291
Vietnam	768	20	-	-	708	17	23
Germany	625	268	42	8	156	16	135
UK	537	92	8	1	50	178	208
France	512	135	74	1	207	13	82
Russia	438	74	24	4	139	23	174
USA	361	91	9	-	49	63	149
Belarus	350	72	42	2	81	24	129
other	3,610	939	170	23	1,608	72	798

Source: National Labour Office

Table 2.24. Work permits granted individually by occupation (top countries of origin).
Poland: 1997 and 1998

Country	Total	Occupation						
		manager	owner	expert, consultant	teacher	skilled worker	unskilled worker	other
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
1998								
Total	16,928	3,496	4,633	2,368	1,637	1,758	461	2,575
Ukraine	2,311	55	213	262	392	511	376	502
Vietnam	1,779	99	1160	96	3	331	8	82
Germany	1,189	445	254	253	77	35	-	125
UK	1,135	320	150	91	452	2	-	120
France	937	440	116	194	63	12	1	111
Russia	823	92	205	169	89	37	11	220
USA	806	257	143	85	196	1	1	123
China	736	65	399	57	4	162	-	49
Belarus	688	34	97	99	85	192	18	163
Turkey	505	73	277	95	1	28	2	29
India	485	147	167	63	7	23	2	76
Korea South	420	171	49	102	2	6	-	90
Italy	419	186	100	73	4	7	-	49
Armenia	390	13	225	68	10	37	6	31
Bulgaria	353	28	213	30	3	47	1	31
Netherlands	302	126	68	76	4	4	1	23
other	3,650	945	797	555	245	323	34	751

Source: National Labour Office

Table 2.25. Asylum seekers (a) by country of origin. Poland 1995-1999

Country of origin	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999 (b)	1995-1999 (c)
Total	843	3,212	3,544	3,398	1,385	12,382
Afghanistan	73	489	636	334	167	1,699
Algeria	35	31	41	21	13	141
Armenia	151	354	469	992	550	2,516
Bangladesh	6	203	229	136	7	581
Belarus	5	33	31	23	19	111
Georgia	23	25	25	20	8	101
India	110	230	160	94	8	602
Iraq	57	359	198	130	18	762
Pakistan	34	173	349	180	12	748
Russia	83	63	50	47	26	269
Somalia	73	188	69	49	8	387
Sri Lanka	60	630	864	642	70	2,266
Ukraine	11	20	29	29	11	100
Yugoslavia	9	20	27	422	123	601
CIS (d)	12	59	67	48	23	209
all other	101	335	300	231	322	1,289

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

(b) 1 January – 30 June 1999

(c) 1 January 1995 – 30 June 1999

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

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

Table 2.26. 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	1994-1998
Total	1,843	3,199	5,087	5,166	7,955	23,250
Afghanistan	-	25	48	133	151	357
Algeria	53	27	62	24	22	188
Armenia	149	505	606	261	875	2,396
Bangladesh	-	8	280	179	213	680
Belarus	82	128	211	119	278	818
Bulgaria	146	209	432	473	360	1,620
China	-	4	169	37	21	231
Czech Rep.	2	6	3	338	5	354
FYR Macedonia	3	32	18	34	66	153
Georgia	24	21	27	44	67	183
India	4	241	327	154	67	793
Iraq	-	10	23	77	71	181
Latvia	38	31	30	28	38	165
Lithuania	39	57	50	84	122	352
Moldova	21	211	357	285	382	1,256
Mongolia	14	14	9	65	97	199
Pakistan	2	47	226	103	151	529
Romania	184	397	561	1,049	1,537	3,728
Russia	151	192	188	110	239	880
Slovakia	2	3	-	114	4	123
Sri Lanka	-	22	273	286	299	880
Turkey	4	10	33	23	55	125
Ukraine	826	815	887	844	1,247	4,619
Vietnam	16	13	45	24	233	331
Yugoslavia	15	25	13	41	83	2,109
all other	170	279	339	472	1,355	23,250

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

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