

The scale and direction of international migration from Poland after Poland's accession to the European Union and in the age of economic crisis

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Abstract. *Post-accession Polish migration was one of the most important events in recent Polish history. After 2004, with labour markets opening to them, the Poles moved en masse to the West. In addition to foreign destinations traditionally chosen by Poles, new ones emerged - Ireland and the United Kingdom. The aim of this paper is to show the scale of emigration from Poland, the directions of migrations and the regions of migrants' origin after the Polish accession to the European Union, and particularly in times of economic crisis. The study used data from the Central Statistical Office and referred to trips involving permanent residence and temporal residence in the years 2004-2012.*

Keywords: *migration from Poland, international migration, Poland.*

International migrations of Poles in the light of previous studies

International migration has been inscribed in the history of Poland for centuries. At various times, Poles were leaving their country for economic, political, tourist or family reasons. The last event, which abruptly increased the international mobility of Poles was the Polish accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004, and the introduction of visa-free travel to the other countries of the "old EU". Also, there was a liberalization of rules concerning employment of Poles, initially in three countries: Ireland, Sweden and the UK. In subsequent years, transitional periods have ceased to apply in other countries.

A lot of literature has been dedicated to the recent emigration from Poland i.e. after the Polish accession to the European Union. One of the first papers on this topic is the study by Iglicka, Weiner [6], which provides an initial assessment of the situation regarding migration flows to and from Poland after 1 May 2004. Other works on this subject often illustrated the scale of emigration, regional differences in migration with a broad description of demographic and social characteristics of migrants. These studies have shown that the largest recorded migratory outflow was reported within two years from the year of accession, the age structure of migrants was dominated by people of working age, and the main directions of migration were: United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany and the Scandinavian countries [2, 3, 8, 11]. Current research, both in Poland and in other European countries, provide evidence that the opening of borders led to increased emigration of highly qualified specialists from the new member states [7, 9].

The previous research has shown that economic crisis only partly influenced on scale of emigration from Poland. It is also known that emigration direction and return migration of Poles depends to a large extent on their previously adopted "migration strategy" [1]. So it is natural that the most hesitant people will be more likely to change their migration decisions such as moving to another country. Therefore, it is important to monitor and analyse both the migration decisions and the directions of migration of contemporary Poles, in the context of the rapidly changing economic conditions.

In the literature on the subject, studies on the development of the Polish migration in times of economic crisis are lacking. Few studies show [4, 5] that the rates of emigration from Poland have clearly slowed down during the crisis. However, we do not know what is the current diversity of migration and migration directions of Poles in the regional scale.

The objective, time framework and spatial range of the paper. The source data

The aim of this paper is to show the scale of emigration from Poland, the directions of migrations and the regions of migrants' origin after the Polish accession to the European Union, and particularly in times of economic crisis. The study used data from the Central Statistical Office, referring to trips involving permanent residence and temporal residence (migration resources) in the years 2004-2012 on a regional scale.

The scale of Polish migrations including temporary and permanent residence in the years 2004-2012

It is very difficult to give the actual number of Poles who emigrated after the enlargement of the European Union. Unfortunately, there is no fully reliable source from which to obtain this type of information. By the definition of the Polish Central Statistical Office, a migrant is a person who had been registered and who reported their trip in the municipal registration office. In fact, there are relatively few people who did that, and especially the number of temporary migration is very underrated. However, the CSO data belong to the few data on international migration of Poles.

One of the measures defining the number of Poles who left Poland for the EU are estimated data of CSO on immigration resources, determining the number of Polish citizens temporarily residing outside the country for a period longer than three months. These figures by definition do not include the seasonal emigration of Poles. Over the past eight years, the number of Poles living temporarily abroad has varied and ranged from 1 million in 2004 to over 2 million in 2011. According to estimates by the Central Statistical Office, the highest number of Poles staying temporarily abroad was in 2007, as many as 2.3 million people (Figure 1). Since then, this number began to decline, due to the emerging economic crisis that began in the United States in late 2008, and which reached Europe at the beginning of 2009. During the economic crisis, the number of temporary emigrants stood at about 2.1 million, and since 2011 this number began to grow again. This may be attributed to the improvement of the economic situation in the world and the increase in demand for temporary workers, particularly in construction industry.

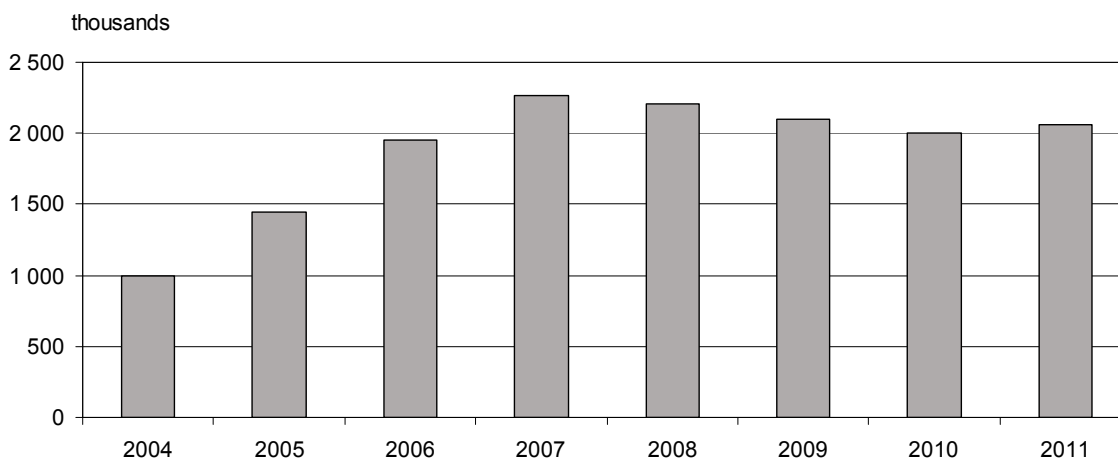


Fig. 1 Emigration for temporary stay from Poland in years 2004-2011 (Source: own study based on CSO data)

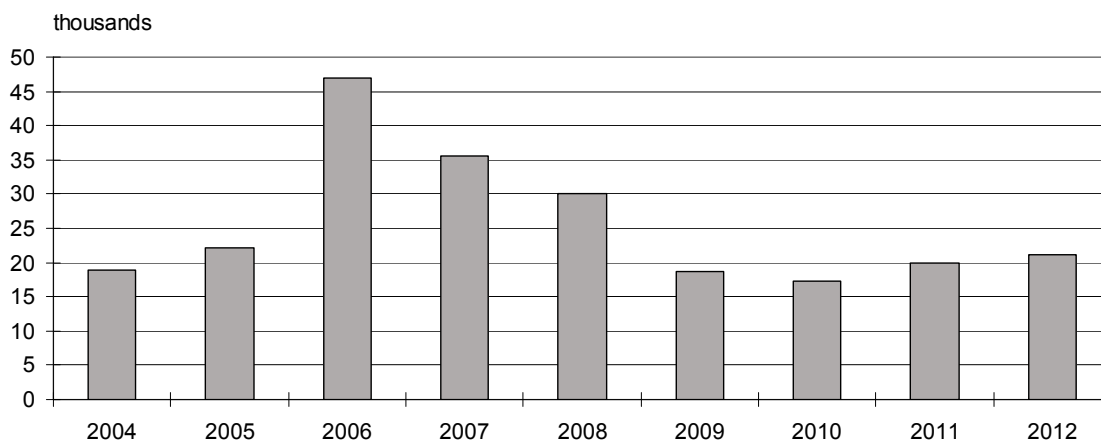


Fig. 2. Emigration for permanent stay from Poland in years 2004-2012 (Source: own study based on CSO data)

The dynamics of the analysed phenomenon can also be traced in CSO data on the official registration of departures for permanent residence abroad. These materials undoubtedly cover only a small portion of the actual situation. However, they have some advantages over other methods of statistical investigations. These data concern the group of people who decided to stabilize their lives outside the country, which has not only legal implications, but is also characterised by considerable durability, as opposed to other forms of migration. It is also important that based on the data on migration for permanent residence we can capture the trends and regional systems of changes in migration in Poland (Śleszyński 2006; Zborowski, Gałka 2008).

Comparing the data on permanent migration in the years 2004-2012, we can see a similar trend as in the case of temporary migrants (Figure 2). According to CSO data, the number of people leaving Poland permanently began growing only two years after Polish accession to the European Union, which resulted from migration strategies undertaken by immigrants and the process called chain migration (Gałka 2012). The mechanism of this process is that the first to emigrate are young people, mostly men who are the most likely to take risks. Then, after getting familiar with the new country and living and working conditions, they encourage other family members or friends to join them. Apogee of migrations for permanent residence took place in 2006. Another reason for the rapid growth of permanent residence check-outs, particularly in 2007, was unfavourable tax law forcing double taxation. I.e. immigrants who took a job abroad and were still

registered as permanent residents in Poland, were forced to pay income tax in both countries. Only since 2007, after the change of tax law, the situation began to change and there was a decrease in permanent residence check-outs. However, the situation in next years was disadvantageous. Since 2010, in a time of economic crisis, we can observe an increase in the number of check-outs from permanent residence, which in 2012 amounted to 21, 2 thousand. and has a tendency to increase. We can therefore assume that Poles began to leave their country again.

Destinations of Poles and the regions of origin of migrants

As destination countries for emigration with the highest number of Poles staying for temporary residence in all analysed years, the United Kingdom and Germany definitely stand out. (Figure 3). Other important countries of residence of Poles in 2011 were also Ireland, with 120 thousand immigrants, the Netherlands (95 thous.) and Italy (94 thous.). Other countries have attracted little interest of Poles and this mainly because of legal restrictions on access to the labour market (e.g. Italy), relatively smaller earnings, or lack of migration networks in the country. It should be added that Ireland and the United Kingdom first opened their labour markets to the new Member States on 1 May 2004, which was the main cause of such a large immigration to these countries. In contrast, the large migration to Germany can be explained by, next to the higher income than in Poland, the long tradition of migration and highly developed migration networks.

Destinations of Poles are confirmed by the data on permanent emigration. According to them, in 2011, the main countries to which Poles were migrating were: Germany and the United Kingdom. Further, but still in the forefront of the emigration destinations of Poles, were the United States of America, followed by Ireland (Figure 4). The allocation of the target countries of emigration of Poles stemmed from ancient traditions such as seasonal work migrations to Germany, which have taken place since the nineteenth century, followed by the USA, which was associated with economic migrations since the mid-nineteenth century.

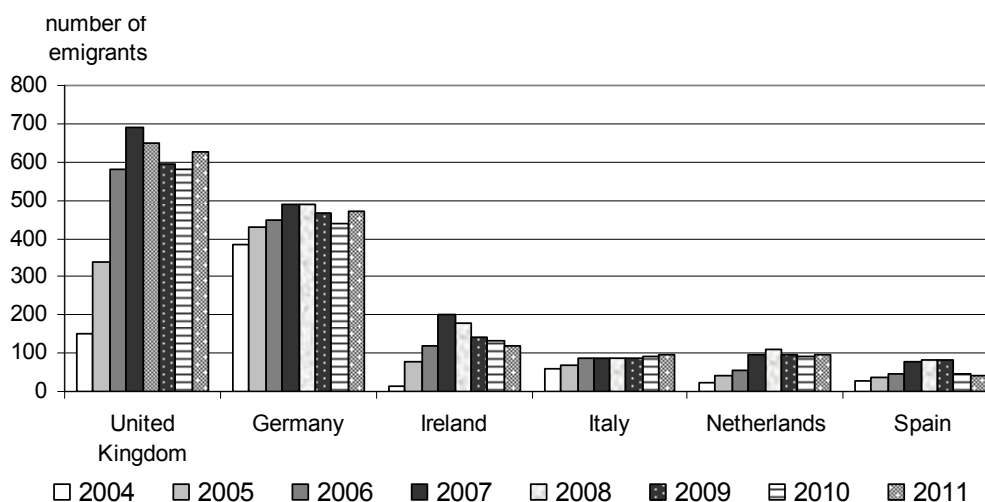


Fig. 3. Main emigration directions from Poland for temporary stay between 2004-2011 (Source: own study based on CSO data)

The spatial distribution of the level of permanent residence check-outs showed strong regional differences. A decline in check-outs was recorded in the three provinces: Śląskie, Opolskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie, which since the EU accession sent the highest numbers of Poles abroad. These were the less economically developed regions with well-developed networks of migration, especially in Germany. The negative dynamics should be associated with the generally declining number of persons of mobile age, and thus depletion of migration resources in these areas. A slight increase in migration was recorded in the provinces Małopolskie, Podkarpackie, Zachodniopomorskie and Podlaskie. The highest, over 200% increase in departures was recorded in the provinces of central and eastern Poland (Figure 5). This may be due to the fact that previously migration from these areas was not characterized by such a large scale due to lack of migration networks in the countries of the "old EU" and the unfavourable age structure of these areas, especially in the eastern provinces. These regions have never belonged to the leading regions of emigration, so even a small increase in the number of emigrants contributed to such large increase in dynamics.

The analysis of mobility in regional systems showed that the major regions sending migrants for permanent residence were invariably the provinces: Śląskie, Opolskie and Dolnośląskie, with the highest numbers of emigrants in the years 2004-2012 (Table 1). The percentage of departures from the Śląskie province was the highest in all analysed years. In contrast, the smallest share in permanent emigrations was recorded in the regions characterized by the lack of migration tradition, areas of usually agricultural character and with advanced ageing processes of the population (e.g. provinces Lubelskie and Świętokrzyskie) and in

the border regions, where people often take jobs abroad but do not have to change their place of residence such as Zachodniopomorskie and Lubuskie.

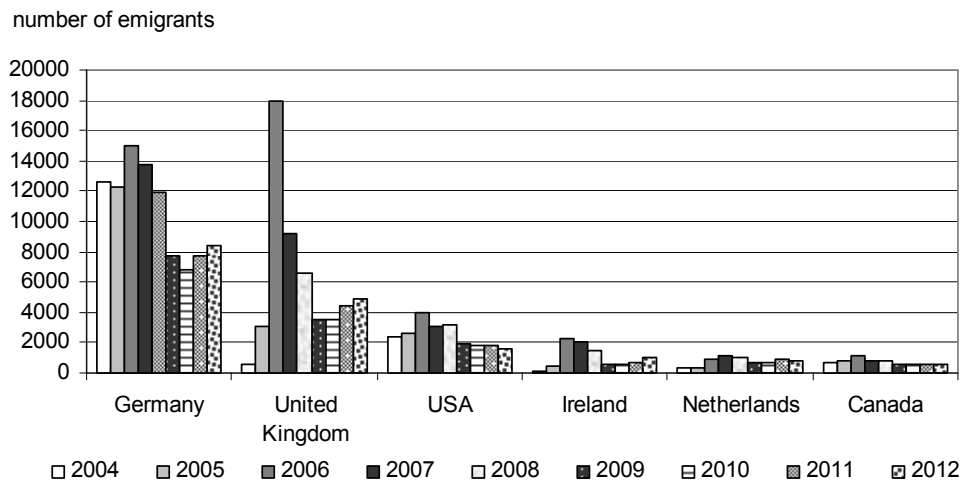


Fig.4 Main emigration directions from Poland for permanent stay between 2004-2012 (Source: own study based on CSO data)

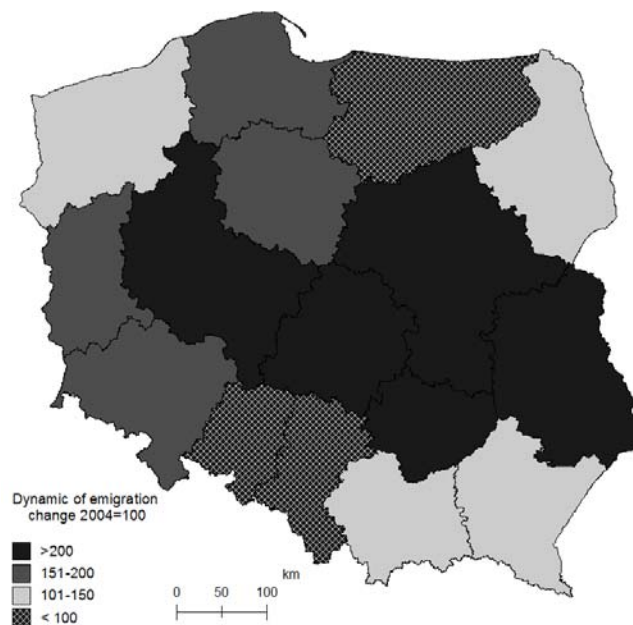


Fig. 5 Dynamic of emigration change according voivodeships between 2004-2012 (Source: own study based on CSO data)

Summary

Research shows that after the Polish accession to the European Union there has been a rapid increase in the number of Poles travelling abroad, but in the period of economic crisis, the scale of migrations with both temporary and permanent residence has decreased. Till 2010, the scale of departures was decreasing, but already in 2011 we see an increase in departures abroad for permanent residence and an increase in Polish immigration resources in other countries. This may on the one hand indicate the end of the crisis in European economies, by the increasing demand for new labour force. On the other hand, the growth of permanent residence check-outs may indicate deteriorating living conditions in Poland.

Undoubtedly this subject requires further study. Poles went mainly to European countries, and the economic crisis has not affected these directions. It is worth noting that in the years 2004-2012, the dynamics of emigration on a regional scale has changed. The biggest increase in migrations was recorded in the regions of central and eastern Poland, while a decline in mobility was observed in these regions, which had the highest emigration numbers in the first period (Opolskie, Śląskie).

Table 1.

Number of emigrants for permanent stay according voivodeships in years 2004-2012

Voievodeships	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
	numbers									percentages								
Łódzkie	301	513	1462	984	836	468	556	551	658	1,6	2,3	3,1	2,8	2,8	2,5	3,2	2,8	3,1
Mazowieckie	309	408	2185	1446	1068	636	592	787	886	1,6	1,8	4,7	4,1	3,5	3,4	3,4	4,0	4,2
Małopolskie	1272	1264	3178	2254	2314	1311	1231	1494	1608	6,7	5,7	6,8	6,4	7,7	7,0	7,1	7,5	7,6
Śląskie	6213	6861	9865	8358	6591	4349	3958	4185	4672	32,9	30,8	21,0	23,6	21,9	23,4	22,8	21,1	22,0
Lubelskie	182	327	1703	1145	839	492	459	583	505	1,0	1,5	3,6	3,2	2,8	2,6	2,6	2,9	2,4
Podkarpackie	791	1122	2800	1893	1801	1040	863	951	940	4,2	5,0	6,0	5,3	6,0	5,6	5,0	4,8	4,4
Podlaskie	493	565	1238	761	668	469	421	587	530	2,6	2,5	2,6	2,1	2,2	2,5	2,4	3,0	2,5
Świętokrzyskie	144	128	904	633	652	326	307	288	302	0,8	0,6	1,9	1,8	2,2	1,8	1,8	1,5	1,4
Lubuskie	426	602	1497	1226	983	584	557	693	728	2,3	2,7	3,2	3,5	3,3	3,1	3,2	3,5	3,4
Wielkopolskie	392	578	2292	1853	1519	1183	1094	1207	1438	2,1	2,6	4,9	5,2	5,0	6,4	6,3	6,1	6,8
Zachodniopomorskie	637	1018	1082	978	986	739	565	633	641	3,4	4,6	2,3	2,8	3,3	4,0	3,3	3,2	3,0
Dolnośląskie	1419	1691	5201	3702	3457	2164	2007	2148	2384	7,5	7,6	11,1	10,4	11,5	11,6	11,6	10,8	11,2
Opolskie	3829	3414	4792	4385	3785	2117	1848	2318	2297	20,3	15,3	10,2	12,4	12,6	11,4	10,6	11,7	10,8
Kujawsko-Pomorskie	479	754	2360	1560	1210	745	766	910	956	2,5	3,4	5,0	4,4	4,0	4,0	4,4	4,6	4,5
Pomorskie	1075	1867	4027	2630	2115	1253	1396	1715	1774	5,7	8,4	8,6	7,4	7,0	6,7	8,0	8,6	8,4
Warmińsko-Mazurskie	915	1130	2350	1672	1316	744	740	808	881	4,8	5,1	5,0	4,7	4,4	4,0	4,3	4,1	4,2

Source: own study based on CSO data

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Анотація. Я. Галка, В. Варчолік **Масштаб і напрямки міжнародних міграцій з Польщі після акцесії Польщі до Європейського Союзу, а також під час економічної кризи.** Метою цієї роботи була вказівка масштабу еміграції з Польщі, напрямків по виїзду, а також регіонів походження після акцесії Польщі до Європейського Союзу, особливо під час економічної кризи. З цієї метою було зроблено аналіз даних щодо числа людей тимчасово проживають за кордоном, а також еміграції на постійне проживання в 2004-2012 рр. З даних випливає, що після акцесії Польщі до Європейського Союзу, число емігрантів почала збільшуватися і було найвищим у 2006 (постійні емігранти) і 2007 роках (тимчасові емігранти), зате економічна криза в невеликій мірі затримав масштаб еміграції на постійне, а також тимчасове перебування поляків.

Головними країнами виїздів поляків на тимчасове проживання були Великобританія, Німеччина та Ірландія, зате на постійне проживання: Німеччина, Великобританія, а також США. Випливало це як з відміни обмежень у доступі до ринків праці цих країн, так з міграційних традицій, а також міграційних мереж. Просторове розташування рівня виписок з постійного проживання проявляло сильну регіональну диференціацію. Падіння динаміки виписок було відзначено у трьох воєводствах: Силезькому, Опольському і Вармінсько-Мазурському. Невелике збільшення виїздів було відзначено у воєводствах: Малопольському, Підкарпатському, Західно-поморському, а також Підляському. Зате найвище збільшення виїздів, вище 200%, було відзначено у воєводствах центральної, а також східної Польщі.

Ключові слова: міграція з Польщі, міжнародна міграція, Польща.

Аннотация. Я. Галка, В. Варчолік, **Масштаб и направления международных миграций из Польши после акцессии Польши в Европейский Союз, а также во время экономического кризиса.** Целью настоящей работы было указание масштаба эмиграции из Польши, направлений по выезду, а также регионов происхождения после акцессии Польши в Европейский Союз, особенно во время экономического кризиса. С этой целью был сделан анализ данных касающихся числа людей временно проживающих за границей, а также эмиграции на постоянное проживание в 2004-2012 гг. Из данных вытекает, что после акцессии Польши в Европейский Союз, число эмигрантов начало увеличиваться и было самым высоким в 2006 (постоянные эмигранты) и 2007 году (временные эмигранты), зато экономический кризис в небольшой степени задержал масштаб эмиграции на постоянное, а также временное пребывание поляков.

Главными странами выездов поляков на временное проживание были Великобритания, Германия и Ирландия, зато на постоянное проживание: Германия, Великобритания, а также США. Вытекало это как из отмены ограничений в доступе к рынкам труда этих стран, так из миграционных традиций, а также миграционных сетей.

Пространственное расположение уровня выписок с постоянного проживания проявляло сильную региональную дифференциацию. Падение динамики выписок было отмечено в трех воєводствах: Силезьском, Опольском и Варминско-мазурском. Небольшое увеличение выездов было отмечено в увеличении выездов, выше 200%, было отмечено в воєводствах центральної, а также восточной Польши.

Ключевые слова: миграция из Польши, международная миграция, Польша.

Поступила в редакцию 28.02.2014 г.