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## FOREIGN MIGRATIONS IN POLAND AT THE TURN OF XXI CENTURY

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The fundamental purpose of the article is to show changes in the intensity, scale and main directions of final foreign migrations in Poland during 1990—2008. On the grounds of statistical data, it ought to be stated that the expectations of increased migration outflow of the permanent character, and also media expectations that after 1st May 2004, 2 mln Poles would leave Poland did not come true. However, after Poland had joined the European Union the scale of temporary departures for work increased, and the number of people leaving Poland for a specific period of time, while assuming return migration but without stating when the return was going to take place, increased. After Poland had joined the European Union the scale of temporary departures for work increased. 70% of emigrating Polish people stay abroad for over a year, and therefore they should be considered long-term emigrants: the main purpose is earning money, but the transfer of income to the country is smaller and smaller, especially during the world crisis 2008—2009. This decrease places Poland on the third position (after Moldavia and Turkey) among emigration countries that suffered most in the crisis because of lower transfers.

**Key words:** foreign migrations, emigration, immigration, Poland, structure of migrants by gender and age.

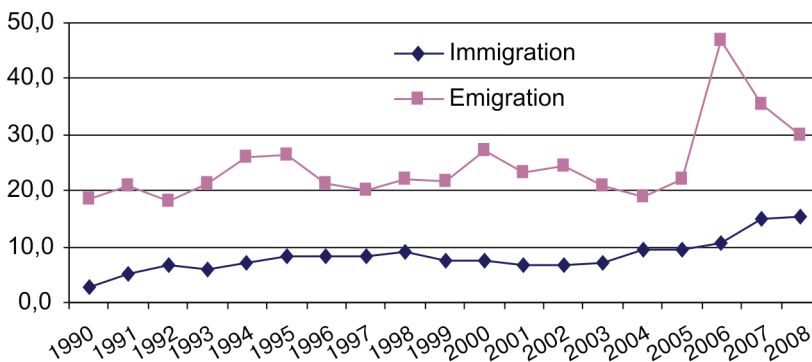
The phenomenon of migration is inseparably related to the process of globalisation of the world economy that facilitates the movement of population, owing to an extensive network of connections with families and friends residing abroad, and the influence of international job market on this network.

The analysis of reported scale of foreign migrations, has in Poland, as well as in majority of countries of Middle Eastern Europe, a limited cognitive value. This particularly refers to the period after 1<sup>st</sup> May 2004 when Poland joined the European Union, which provided the access to EU job markets for Polish citizens. Mass departures of Poles, known from the records of cross-boundary movement, sometimes long-term ones, are not recorded final migrations, but departures for temporary residence. Considering this, the extent of foreign migrations includes only an insignificant rate of „long-term” foreign departures and arrivals “from” and “to” Poland [1]. On the grounds of data from NSP 2002, OECD and administrative data, it can be estimated that right before the extension of the European Union, on average, there were 1,700—1,900 thousand of migrants from Poland staying abroad every year, while a third of them (550—600 thousand) was made by short-term stays (mainly taking a season job), and two thirds (around 1,150—1,300 thousand) by individuals staying abroad for over 12 months. (1) At the same time it ought to be emphasised that also a lot of long-term emigrants maintained close relationship with their country, especially in the situation when the emigration was for the purpose of earning a living, and did not involve the whole family. Around 50—60% of migrants were residing in the countries of European Economic

Area. Among the countries outside Europe, the United States of America and Australia were predominant and attracted around 30—35% of migrants.

The fundamental purpose of the article is to show changes in the intensity, scale and main directions of final foreign migrations in Poland between the years 1990 to 2008.

**Scale of emigration and immigration for permanent residence.** The 1990's were the period of essential changes in the sphere of forms, types and tendencies of foreign migrations in Poland. (2) During the whole period of system transformation, the situation on Polish job market was the most important factor that allowed to explain the intensity and scale of migration (including the one for the purpose of earning a living). Worsening of the situation at the end of the 90's brought the increase in the scale of mobility and changes in its structure [3]. Beside the emigration abroad for permanent residence that was remaining quite high, a pretty remarkable intensification of immigration of foreigners to Poland was observed in the recent years. In the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of emigrants indicated multidirectional changes, and fluctuated within the range from 18,4 thousand in 1990, to 27 thousand in 2000 (graph 1). The first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century brought the decrease in departures of population abroad, up to the level of 18,8 thousand people in 2004 with concurrent increase in the number of immigrants (foreigners and Poles), in 2004 a significant fall of migration balance up to the level of 9,3 thousand people was observed. The number of Polish emigrants in 2006 was twice as high as at the beginning of the period of our membership in the EU. Such an increase in departures for permanent residence had not been recorded for many years. As for the emigration after the record level of departures in 2006, that was as high as almost 47 thousand people, in 2008 it decreased to the level of 30,1 thousand, which indicated the decrease by 15,2%, the immigration was growing slowly, reaching the record level of almost 15,3 thousand arrivals for permanent residence in 2008 (table 1). It was the highest level of arrivals for permanent residence not only since the moment of system transformation but also since the 60's of the previous century.



**Graph 1.** Emigration and immigration to Poland between 1990 to 2008 (in thousand people)

Source: own case study.

Table 1

## Foreign migrations for permanent residence 1990–2008 (in thousand people)

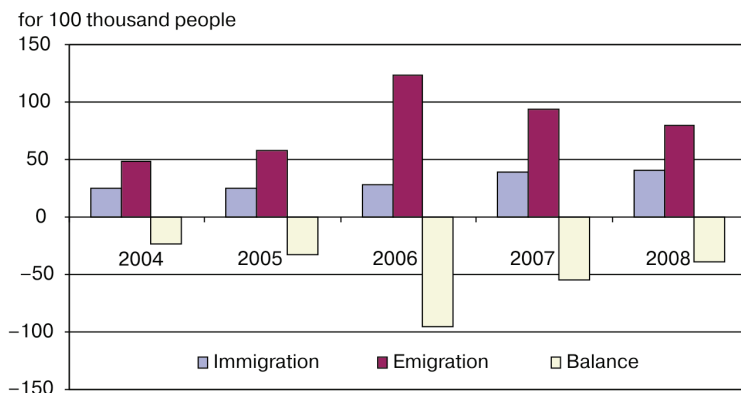
Year	Total			City			Village		
	*I	**E	***B	*I	**E	***B	*I	**E	***B
1990	2,6	18,4	-15,8	2,2	14,8	-12,6	0,4	6,3	-5,9
1991	5,0	21,0	-16,0	4,3	18,5	-14,2	0,7	3,6	-2,9
1992	6,5	18,1	-11,6	5,5	16,3	-10,8	1,0	2,5	-1,5
1993	5,9	21,3	-15,4	4,8	18,1	-13,3	1,1	1,8	-0,7
1994	6,9	25,9	-19,0	5,4	22,1	-16,7	1,5	3,2	-1,7
1995	8,1	26,3	-18,2	6,3	22,0	-15,7	1,8	3,8	-2,0
1996	8,2	21,3	-13,1	6,1	18,1	-12,0	2,1	4,3	-2,2
1997	8,4	20,2	-11,8	6,2	16,9	-10,7	2,2	3,2	-1,0
1998	8,9	22,2	-13,3	6,5	19,0	-12,5	2,4	3,3	-0,9
1999	7,5	21,5	-14,0	5,5	18,2	-12,7	2,0	3,2	-1,2
2000	7,3	27,0	-19,7	5,1	21,5	-16,4	2,2	3,3	-1,1
2001	6,6	23,3	-16,7	4,7	18,1	-13,4	1,9	5,5	-3,6
2002	6,6	24,5	-17,9	4,6	19,0	-14,4	2,0	5,2	-3,2
2003	7,0	20,8	-13,8	4,9	15,7	-10,8	2,1	5,5	-3,4
2004	9,5	18,8	-9,3	6,7	13,9	-7,2	2,8	5,0	-2,2
2005	9,4	22,2	-12,8	6,6	17,1	-10,5	2,7	5,2	-2,5
2006	10,8	46,9	-36,1	7,9	34,0	-26,1	2,9	12,8	-9,9
2007	15,0	35,5	-20,5	10,6	24,8	-14,2	4,4	10,7	-6,3
2008	15,3	30,1	-14,8	10,9	21,1	-10,2	4,3	9,0	-4,7

\*I — Immigration, \*\*E — Emigration, \*\*\*B — Balance.

Source: own case study on the grounds of data from GUS (Central Statistical Office) [6].

For the third time, immigration to Poland for permanent residence exceeded the level of 10 thousand people. In 2008 the influx was slightly higher against the preceding year, but against 2006, it was higher by almost 42%. Because of the fact that in 2008 a high level of departures and also the highest level of arrivals were observed, the migration balance, against the preceding year was admittedly still negative, but when compared to the preceding year, it decreased to the level of 14,8 thousand people. In recent years, in our country, we can observe a large scale phenomenon of transit traffic of foreigners, that is often changed into long residence in Poland, usually illegal one (not evidenced).

In such circumstances, Poland has been unintentionally becoming the country of not intended, final immigration. Graph 2 shows intensity of permanent immigration after Poland joined the European Union.

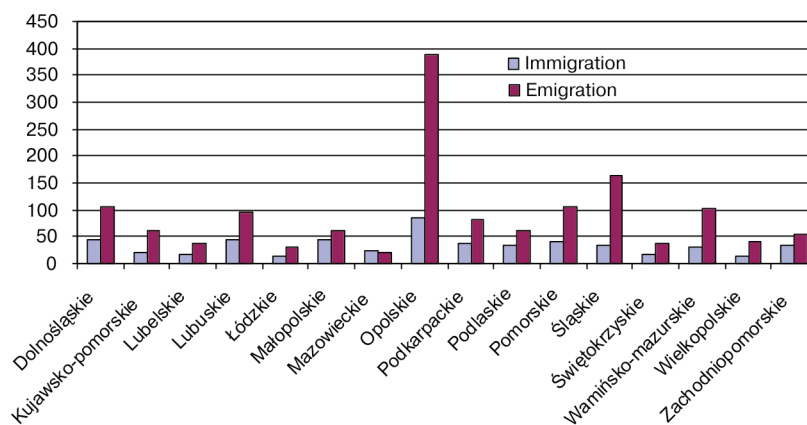


**Graph 2.** Foreign migrations for permanent residence between the years 2004 to 2008 (for 100 thousand people)

Source: own case study.

Foreign migrations for permanent residence (both emigrations and immigrations) in decisive majority refer to the people who live in cities. At the same time, there is a very significant differentiation in their regional profile. For the last five years borderline provinces: Lubuskie, Dolnośląskie, Małopolskie and Opolskie have been the main area of influx of population to Poland from abroad for permanent residence (from 43 to 86 people for 100 thousand inhabitants) (3). On the other hand, the lowest (relatively speaking) degree of influx from abroad (from 14 to 20 people for 100 thousand inhabitants) has been observed in Łódzkie, Świętokrzyskie, Lubelskie and Kujawsko-Pomorskie provinces. As it is seen, they were regions that in part, were less attractive with respect to the level of economic development and in part, they were large regions, in which the newcomers from abroad make an insignificant proportion in relation to native residents.

With respect to the outflow of people abroad, for many years the highest intensity has been observed in Śląskie province (162 people for 100 thousand inhabitants) and Opolskie province (388 people for 100 thousand inhabitants) — compare graph 3. In average annual approach for the period of 2004 to 2008, the population growth resulting from foreign migrations for permanent residence, occurred in Poland only in Mazowieckie province (3 people for 100 thousand population). It is a region that includes in its area, the most rapidly developing urban agglomerations. On the other hand, the highest negative balance of migration was observed in all provinces that experienced various types of development difficulties in the new social and economic circumstances. These included Opolskie province (−301 people for 100 thousand inhabitants), Śląskie province (−127), and Warmińsko-Pomorskie province (−71).

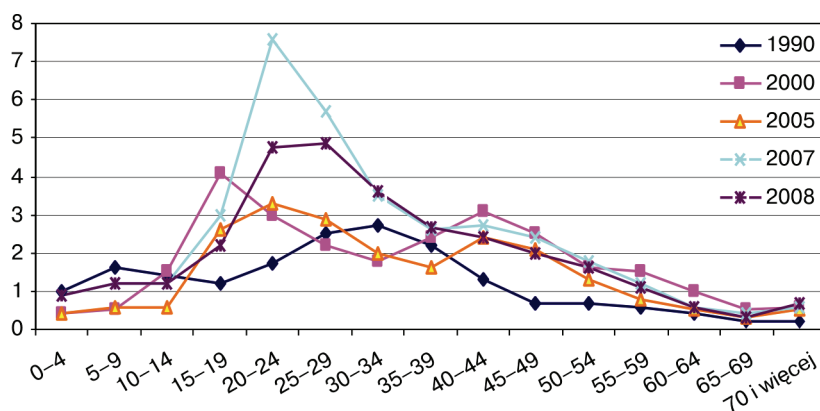


**Graph 3.** Average annual (for the years 2004 to 2008) scale of immigration and emigration for 100 thousand people

Source: own case study.

**Structure of migrants by gender and age.** With respect to division of permanent emigrants and immigrants by gender, men are predominant. It is characteristic for departures that took place in the period of social and economic transformation, and inverse to the tendency observed in 1980's when the gender proportions were characterised by decisive predominance of women emigrating for permanent residence and a slight predominance of women coming for permanent residence [7]. At the turn of the 21st century,

we can observe predominance of male migrants, and so, for example in 2006 almost 39% more men than women permanently left Poland whereas there were 22% more male than female immigrants. The following years bring another increase in the number of departing and arriving males when compared with females, which indicates the strengthening of the tendency of predominance of male migrants in departures and arrivals for permanent residence. In 2008, the share of males in departures abroad amounted to almost 59%, whereas in arrivals up to 54%. Division of migrants by age — both emigrants and immigrants — underwent significant changes in time (table 2, graph 4, 5 and 6).



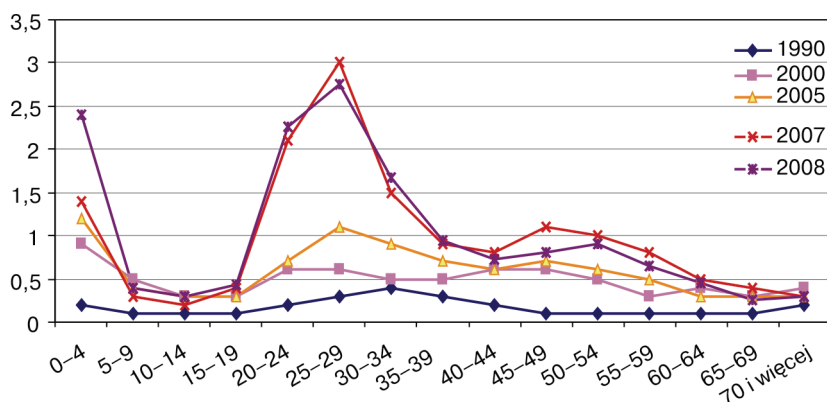
**Graph 4.** Emigration from Poland for permanent residence by age of the emigrants between the years 1990 to 2008 (in thousand people)

Source: own case study.

The 1980's and the first years of the 1990's were characterised by a decisive predominance of migrants of 25 to 39 years of age and high shares of children and youth (4). The second half of the 90's brings a shift in the age structure, and young people, between 20 to 24 years of age start to predominate in departures. The years between 2005 to 2008 were characterised by a very clear predominance of young people between 20 to 29 years of age; the share of this age group in departures for permanent residence in general, was systematically growing from 28,3% in 2005 to 37,6% in 2007 and after that, it slightly decreased to the level of 31,9% in 2008 (table 2). It ought to be indicated that in the first half of the first decade of the 21st century, the division of migrants was a bi-modal division; the second maximum fell on the last group of mobile working age, that is 44 to 49 years of age. In the two last years, the age divisions were unimodal with the dominant that fell on the age range of 20 to 24 years of age.

The division of immigrants by age is multimodal (graph 5). In the first decade of the 21st century a high share of people arriving to Poland can be observed in the age groups of 25 to 29 years of age (5). In 2008 they made 18% of total influx (a year before, every fifth immigrant had been at that age). The share of people of 25 to 49 years of age grew in the years between 2000 to 2008 by almost 7% and in 2008, it came to 45,2% of arrivals for permanent residence in total. Children with a dominant in the age group between 0 to 4 years of age are a part of migrating families, therefore we can observe their high share among immigrants. In 2008 the proportion of children in arrivals to Poland was twice as high as in 1990. With reference to 1990 we observe the increase

in the share, in total arrivals, of older groups of post-working age, that is between 45 to 59 years of age. At the same time, the share in influx of older people, that is, at 60 and more years of age was over twice smaller; it decreased from 15,1% in 2000 to 6,7% in 2008.



**Graph 5.** Immigration to Poland for permanent residence by age of the immigrants between the years 1990 to 2008 (in thousand people)

Source: own case study.

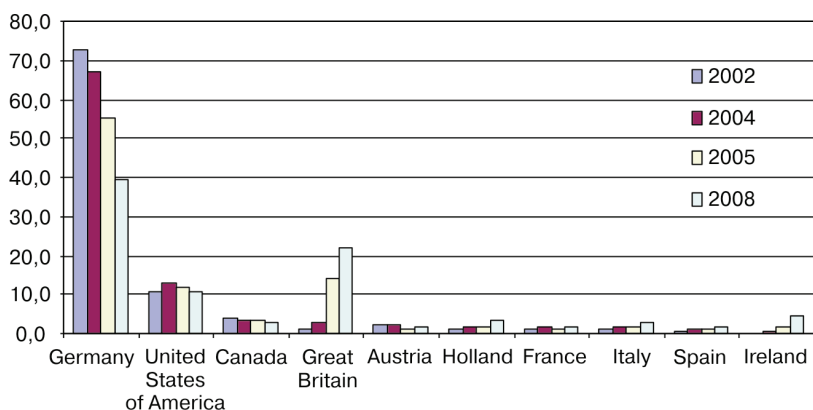
Table 2

**Structure of migrants for permanent residence by age in the years 1990 to 2008 (%)**

Years	Emigration					Immigration				
	1990	2000	2005	2007	2008	1990	2000	2005	2007	2008
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
0—4	5,4	1,5	1,8	2,5	3,0	7,7	12,3	13,5	9,5	15,7
5—9	8,7	1,9	2,7	3,4	4,0	3,8	6,8	4,5	2,0	2,6
10—14	7,6	5,6	2,7	3,4	4,0	3,8	4,1	3,4	1,4	2,0
15—19	6,5	15,4	11,9	8,5	7,3	3,8	4,1	3,4	2,7	2,8
20—24	9,2	11,2	15,1	21,5	15,8	7,7	8,2	7,9	14,3	14,8
25—29	13,6	8,2	13,2	16,1	16,1	11,5	8,2	12,4	20,4	18,0
30—34	14,7	6,7	9,1	9,9	12,0	15,4	6,8	10,1	10,2	10,9
35—39	12,0	9,0	7,3	7,3	8,9	11,5	6,8	7,9	6,1	6,2
40—44	7,1	11,6	11,0	7,6	8,1	7,7	8,2	6,7	5,4	4,7
45—49	3,8	9,4	9,6	6,8	6,6	3,8	8,2	7,9	7,5	5,3
50—54	3,8	6,0	5,9	5,1	5,4	3,8	6,8	6,7	6,8	5,9
55—59	3,3	5,6	3,7	3,4	3,6	3,8	4,1	5,6	5,4	4,3
60—64	2,2	3,7	2,3	1,7	1,9	3,8	5,5	3,4	3,4	3,0
65—69	1,1	1,9	1,4	1,1	1,0	3,8	4,1	3,4	2,7	1,7
70 and more	1,1	2,2	2,3	1,7	2,3	7,7	5,5	3,4	2,0	2,0

Source: own case study on the grounds of data from GUS (Central Statistical Office) [6].

**Directions of migration.** Geographical directions chosen by Polish emigrants for permanent residence have been unchanged in a large extent, but their relative importance has significantly changed. Germany, the traditional country of migration of Poles, has been gradually losing its importance (graph 6). The share of permanently departing for that country decreased significantly (from 72,6% in 2002 to 39,4% in 2008), for the benefit of increase in proportion of emigrants leaving for Great Britain (increase by over 20%) and Ireland (increase by 4,6%). These countries opened their job markets in May 2004 and apart from this, the structure of their job markets and offered conditions favoured, and have still been favouring the employment of Poles.

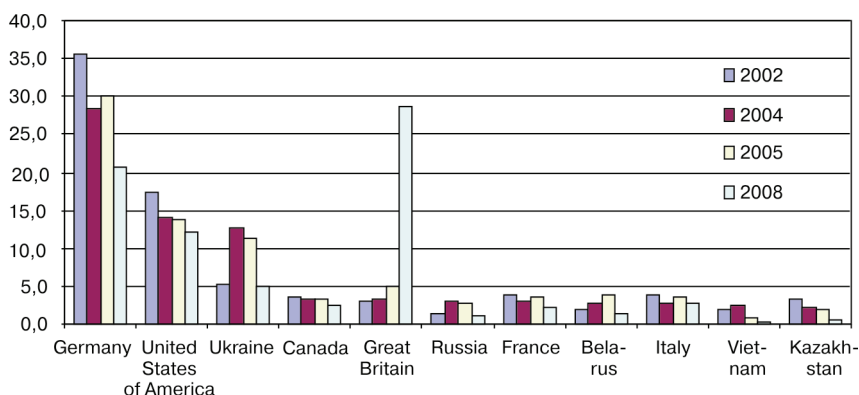


**Graph 6.** Emigration from Poland for permanent residence by final country destination for the years 2002, 2004, 2005 and 2008 (absolute values)

Source: own case study.

The United States of America were on the third position, while after 2004 the share of this direction in emigrations slightly decreased. It is similar to permanent departures for Canada, the country that was traditionally an emigrant country for Poles. We can conclude, that opening of European job markets made the countries of Northern America lose their importance for prospective emigrants. Departures for the countries of Southern Europe such as Spain or Italy, that opened their job markets for Poles in 2006 have also been coming to prominence (6).

Immigration to Poland was undertaken mainly by citizens of Germany, the United States and countries of the former Soviet Union and also Canada (graph 7). However, in recent years a significant increase in arrivals for permanent residence from Great Britain can be observed. Considering the absolute influx (4365 people), in 2008 this country had the first position in the ranking, which also translated to the increase in the share of arrivals from Great Britain to Poland (28,6%). Thereby, Germany lost their predominant role on the map of the countries of immigrants' origin. When compared to 2005, in 2008 a decrease in the influx from the countries of the former Soviet Union was reported respectively by: 27,3% from Ukraine, by 37,3% from Russia, by 39% from Belarus and by 56% from Kazakhstan.



**Graph 7.** Immigration to Poland for permanent residence by the countries of origin for the years 2002, 2004, 2005 and 2008 (absolute values)

Source: own case study.

**Emigration from Poland for temporary residence.** Since 2004, emigration abroad of Polish people has increased significantly, which is related to the opening of new EU job markets. According to estimates by GUS (*Central Statistical Office*), in 2008, there were about 2210 thousand Polish people permanently residing outside Poland, that is 60 thousand fewer than in 2007, out of which over 85% of emigrants were residing in Europe. A remarkable majority (about 1820 thousand) of people departing from Poland were staying on the territory of the European Union (table 3).

Table 3

**Emigration from Poland for temporary residence\* between the years 2002 to 2008**

Country of residence	Number of emigrants in thousands					
	NSP 2002**	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	786	1 000	1 450	1 950	2 270	2 210
Europe	461	770	1 200	1 610	1 925	1 887
<i>including:</i>						
EU-27***	451	750	1 170	1 550	1 860	1 820
<i>including:</i>						
Austria	11	15	25	34	39	40
Spain	14	26	37	44	80	83
Ireland	2	15	76	120	200	180
The Netherlands	10	23	43	55	98	108
Germany	294	385	430	450	490	490
Great Britain	24	150	340	580	690	650
Italy	39	59	70	85	87	88
Countries outside the European Union	10	20	30	60	65	67
<i>including:</i>						
Norway	—	—	—	—	36	38

\* For the years 2002 to 2006 — over 2 months, for the years 2007 to 2008 — over three months.

\*\* Until 2006 25 countries.

\*\*\* After estimating the number of emigrants of not established country of temporary residence, the number of emigrants residing in the countries of Europe amounts to 547 thousand, in EU countries — 535 thousand.

Source: [2].

Germany is (and, in fact, has been for many years) the main country receiving Polish short-term migrants. As it is presented by BAEL data, in the third quarter of 2005, for the first time Germany lost the leading position for the benefit of departures for Great Britain. The share of departures for Germany in total number of departures was gradually decreasing from 38,5% in 2004, through 29,7% in 2005 and reaching the level of 22,2% in 2008. In recent years, the growth in departures for Great Britain and Ireland has been the highest, whereas this increase was becoming stable between 2007 to 2008. At the same time, as it is published by GUS (*Central Statistical Office*), the number of returns from abroad, mainly from Great Britain, Ireland and also the United States has increased as a result of the economic crisis and its consequences for job markets in many countries of the European Union. In 2008, 60 thousand emigrants returned to Poland, out of which 40 thousand from Great Britain. On the one hand, the economic crisis has stopped the outflow of people from Poland in recent years, which can be caused by the fear of occurrence of difficulties in finding a job abroad, while on the other



hand, the crisis has not brought mass returns to Poland and the people residing abroad tried to survive the crisis in the countries where they were residing (for example accepting lower rates or moving into black market).

It ought to be added that a significant majority of Polish emigrants were residing abroad because of work. Between 2004 to 2008, the proportion of people taking up, or looking for a job was estimated at 80 to 90%, although it has to be stated that as the years go by the number of people being maintained by Polish emigrants is growing (husbands and wives, children).

Despite the observed decrease in the number of Polish emigrants for temporary residence in the countries of the European Union, in 2008 the stream of emigration was over twice as high as in 2004. It comes out of the existing studies on emigration of Polish people for the purpose of earning money, that dissatisfaction with incomes obtained from work in the home country or their lack (in case of the unemployed) and the low level of satisfaction of economic and social needs are the main reasons for departures abroad [5].

**Immigration to Poland for the purpose of earning money.** Immigration for the purpose of earning money is related to acquisition of income or activity aimed at earning money in the country of destination. It can be of a legal character, if the employee has the visa that provides the right to undertake a job, or illegal, if such a visa is not obtained. Obtaining the work permit is quite a complicated, time-consuming and expensive procedure, therefore a large part of immigration for the purpose of earning money is of the illegal character and does not occur in official statistics (7). As it is indicated in statistics from GUS (*Central Statistical Office*) and the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, in 2008 18 thousand employees obtained individual work permits, which indicates the increase by almost a half when compared with the previous year (table 4).

Table 4

**Work permits given to foreigners between the years 1999 to 2008 (in thousand)**

Years	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Number of permits	17,1	17,8	17,0	22,8	18,8	12,4	10,3	10,7	12,1	18,0

Source: data for the years 1999 to 2007: Demographic situation of Poland, Report 2007 to 2008, the Government Population Council, Warsaw 2008; data of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy for 2008.

With reference to the largest number of permits issued in 2002, the permits issued in 2008 make less than 80%. Among all the permits issued in 2008, a small part referred to permits for the period of time shorter than 3 months — 7,5%. Others were issued for the period of over 3 months. (8) In 2008, 48% of permits were issued for work in small enterprises employing up to 9 employees and almost 16% for work in companies employing over 250 employees. Similarly to previous years, in the greater part, the permits referred to men and the largest number of them was issued in Mazowieckie province (43%).

Considering the number of issued work permits, Ukraine is predominant. It is the country from which 5,4 thousand employees, that is 1,6 thousand more than in 2007,

were recruited in 2008. The rate of permits for Ukrainians made up 30% of all individual permits. In total, the citizens of the countries that neighbour Poland from the East (Belarusians, Russians and Ukrainians) obtained almost 40% of all permits. It ought to be added that they found employment mainly in building trade. In recent years, the next positions in the acquisition of permits have been occupied by citizens of Vietnam and China (9). If the share of permits issued for Vietnamese was decreasing from 9,3% in 2006, through 8,8% in 2007 to 6,6% in 2008, in the case of foreigners from China, the rates have been growing. Citizens of Vietnam mainly work in trade (retail and wholesale) and gastronomy, whereas the citizens of China in trade and industrial processing.

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To sum up, on the grounds of statistical data, it ought to be stated that the expectations of increased migration outflow of the permanent character, and also media expectations that after 1st May 2004, 2 million Poles would leave Poland did not come true. However, after Poland had joined the European Union the scale of temporary departures for work increased, and the number of people leaving Poland for a specific period of time, while assuming return migration but without stating when the return was going to take place, increased. After several years' experience in the membership of Poland in the European Union, it is clear that larger number of returns from emigration has not been reported. Only several thousand Poles have come back to Poland. According to estimates of GUS (*Central Statistical Office*), about 70% of emigrating Polish people stay abroad for over a year, and therefore they are no longer temporary emigrants but they should be considered long-term emigrants. According to data presented by K. Iglicka during the seminar organised by Province Labour Office in Warsaw on the subject of migration of Poles for the purpose of earning money, the transfer of income to the country is smaller and smaller [8] (10). During 2004—2008 it was PLN 70 bln; in the first quarter of 2009, the transfers were by a quarter smaller than in the same quarter of 2008. In the second and third quarter of 2009, the decrease was 20%. This decrease places Poland on the third position (after Moldavia and Turkey) among emigration countries that suffered most in the crisis because of lower transfers.

The answer to the question if the phenomenon of return to the home country is going to be intensified, shall be obtained in the future.

#### NOTES

- (1) Out of which about 200 thousand decided to depart illegally, beyond bilateral agreements between Poland and receiving countries as for annual quota of season work permits [4]. It ought to be remembered that season migrations are a specific form of mobility and are relatively seldom changed into emigration of a permanent character. They are typical only of some societies and social groups, therefore in statistics and international comparisons they are not included in the analysis of foreign migrations.
- (2) In Polish statistics two streams of migration are expressed: emigration and immigration, inseparably connected with the act of reporting departure or registering for permanent residence. Registering for permanent residence stands for the acquisition by an individual of the rights of a permanent resident in the country.

- (3) For the period 2004—2008, average annual dimensions of influx and outflow calculated for 100 thousand people in individual provinces of Poland were studied.
- (4) In 1990 the share of people of 25 to 39 years of age in departures for permanent residence in total came to 40,2%.
- (5) Immigration refers to both the Polish citizens coming back from emigration as well as to foreigners who are going to settle down or have already settled down in Poland.
- (6) On the fifth anniversary of membership of Poland in EU, that is on 1st May 2009, restrictions in the access to their job markets were abolished by Belgium and Denmark. It means that transition periods are maintained only by two countries, Germany and Austria. It has to be reminded that at the moment Poland joined the Union (1<sup>st</sup> May 2009) three countries, that is Ireland, Sweden and Great Britain actually opened their job markets. Next job markets were opened by Spain, Portugal, Finland and Greece on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2006, on 31st July 2006 by Italy and on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2007 by the Netherlands. On 1<sup>st</sup> November 2007 the government of Luxemburg gave Polish citizens the access to its job market and on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008 all restrictions in the access to job market in France were abolished.
- (7) Foreigners can obtain work permits individually or within the limits of contract export services.
- (8) It results from the fact that in July 2007 the regulation of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy that the citizens of the countries that neighbour Poland in the East, that is from Belorussia, Russia and Ukraine may be employed in Poland without a permit for the period of up to 3 months during 6 successive months, came into force.
- (9) Not including Taiwan.
- (10) K. Iglicka is the employee of the Institute of Social Studies of the University of Warsaw.

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## **МИГРАЦИОННЫЕ ПОТОКИ В ПОЛЬШЕ В НАЧАЛЕ XXI В.**

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В статье анализируются изменения в интенсивности, масштабе и основных направлениях миграции в Польше в 1990—2008 гг. Анализ статистических данных не подтвердил прогнозируемого выезда из Польши 2 млн человек на постоянное место жительства в другие страны Европы после 2004 г. (вступление Польши в ЕС). С другой стороны, после вступления Польши в ЕС масштабы трудовой миграции усилились, более 70% поляков оставались за пределами Польши более 1 года, что позволяет относить их к категории постоянных мигрантов; в последние годы наблюдается постоянное уменьшение объемов денежных переводов в страну, особенно в период кризиса 2008—2009 гг. Это поставило Польшу (вместе с Молдавией и Турцией) в число стран, наиболее пострадавших от кризиса и сокращения денежных переводов мигрантов.

**Ключевые слова:** миграции, эмиграция, иммиграция, Польша, половозрастная структура мигрантов.