

Poland

The history of migration in Poland is characterised largely by emigration. Until the end of the 20th century, emigration took place both in large waves and in continual yearly movements.

The end of the Second World War and the subsequent shifting of Poland's borders westwards resulted in the mass displacement and forced resettlement of approximately eight million people of Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian and German origin. Another large wave of migration occurred after the Second World War when about 300,000 Jews of Polish origin returned to Poland. However, in the years that followed about 220,000 of these moved on to Palestine/Israel, Western Europe and overseas.

Since the 1950s, the majority of people emigrating from Poland to the Federal Republic of Germany have been *Aussiedler* (ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states). Another large wave began in 1968, when up to



Background Information

Capital: Warsaw

Official language: Polish

Area: 312,685 km²
(for comparison, Germany: 357,027 km²)

Population (2006): 38,157,055 (Eurostat)

Population density: 122 inhabitants per km²

Population growth (2005): 0.0% (World Bank)

Labour force participation rate (2006): 63.4% (OECD)

Foreign population as a percentage of the total (2005): 1.8% (703,000 persons) (UN Population Division)

Percentage of foreign employees among gainfully employed (2003): 0.15% (ILO)

Unemployment rate: 14.0% (2006); 18.0% (2005); 19.3% (2004) (OECD)

Religions (2001): 90% Roman Catholic, 1.3% Polish Orthodox, 0.3% Protestant, 0.3% Jehovah's Witnesses, 0.1% Old Catholic, Muslim and Jewish minorities, 8% Other/No religion

25,000 Polish Jews left the country. Polish citizens were allowed to travel relatively freely until the late 1970s, but in 1981 most western countries imposed visa restrictions. As a result of these restrictions primarily people from ethnic minority groups continued to migrate on the basis of agreements and international treaties.

During the suppression of the *Solidarność* movement¹ and the imposition of martial law at the beginning of the 1980s another 250,000 Polish citizens emigrated.

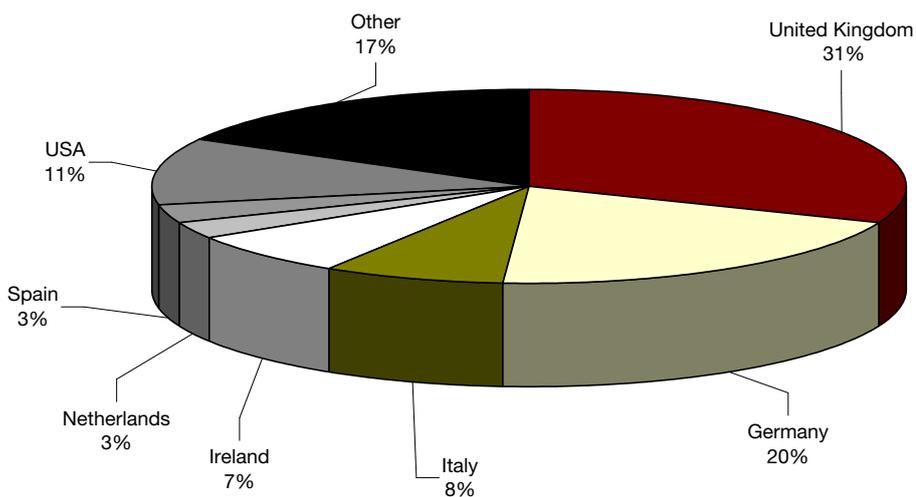
Since the fall of Communism in 1989, the nature of migration to and from Poland has been in flux. As a result of its negative migration balance (see below), Poland is still regarded mainly as a country of emigration. Because of its geographic location between Eastern and Western Europe, however, it increasingly serves as a transit country for migrants. There are also numerous immigrants from Vietnam and Armenia living in the country. In addition to this, Poland seems to be developing into a destination country, primarily for migrants from neighbouring countries on its eastern border (Ukraine, Belarus, Russia), and from other parts of the former Soviet Union. This is predominantly due to the fact that, compared with other Central and Eastern European countries, Poland has been experiencing a period of comparatively rapid economic growth since the 1990s, first as a country associated with the European Union (EU), then as a candidate for accession, and now as a new EU member state.

The Emigration/Immigration Balance

If we look simply at the “numbers”, emigration clearly outweighs immigration. Discounting seasonal workers from neighbouring states to the east, there are hardly any immigrants to be found in rural areas. However, the multicultural nature of some districts of Warsaw and other major cities is an indication that immigration is on the rise.

Since 1 May 2004, the Republic of Poland has been a member of the European Union. In addition to the developments mentioned which indicate Poland is becoming a destination country for migration, increasing temporary work migration, so-called circular migration, has also been observed. This includes Polish citizens who work predominantly in Germany, as well as citizens from countries of the former Soviet Union who work in Poland. This circular migration among migrant Polish workers, however, is by no means a new phenomenon, but has been observed since as early as the 1980s. In addition, since Poland joined the EU, its workers have increasingly migrated to other EU states, in particular the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Figure 1: Major destinations of emigrants in 2006 (total 46,900)



Source: Central Statistical Office, Central Population Register – PESEL (*Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Powszechny Elektroniczny System Ewidencji Ludności*)

Between 1980 and 1989, an estimated 1.1 to 1.3 million Polish citizens were considered long-term emigrants (residing in a foreign country for at least a year), not taking into account the several hundred thousands of ethnic Germans (*Aussiedler*) who do not appear in the official statistics. Although the number of immigrants to Poland has increased since the beginning of the 1990s (see figure 2), the migration balance has continued to remain negative. In 2006 emigration from Poland increased sharply. Whereas between 1990 and 2005 the number of emigrants was approximately 20,000 to 25,000 people per year, this number rose in 2006 to nearly 47,000 people (migration balance 2006: -36,100 people). This corresponds to an increase of 111% compared with the previous year. This high increase is based primarily on the migration of Polish workers

to the United Kingdom, one of the countries that immediately opened its labour market to citizens of the accession countries.² According to data in the *Labour Force Survey* carried out by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), in the third quarter of 2006 about 438,000 Polish citizens spent more than two months abroad. Compared with the corresponding quarter in the previous year this represents an increase of 128,000 people. If we consider not only Polish citizens but also people of Polish descent, according to Polish state estimates, the Polish diaspora (the so-called *Polonia*) comprises between 15 and 18 million people worldwide.

Political and Legal Developments

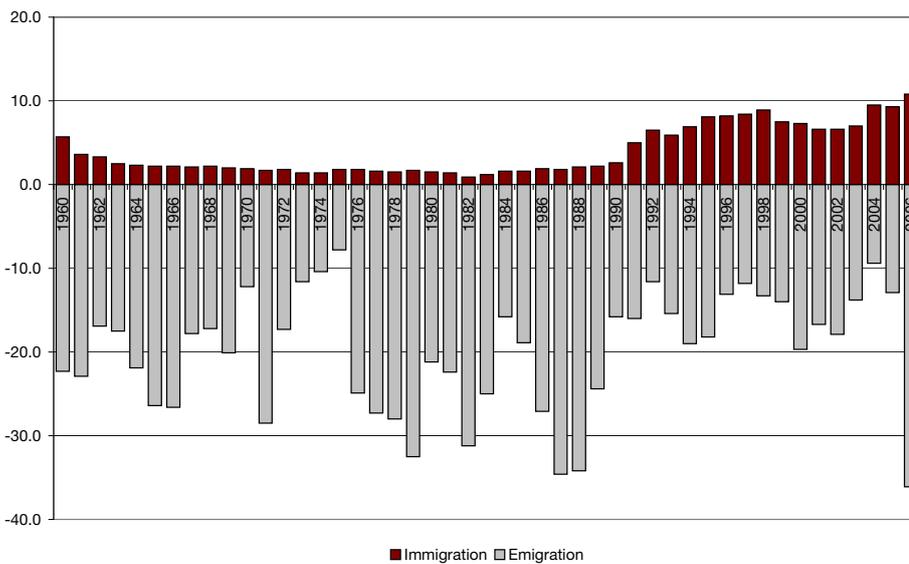
When regulations governing the free movement of persons were liberalised at the end of the 1980s, immigration to Poland gained in importance. This made it necessary to introduce a new legal framework. Until the mid-1990s, there was no clear legal framework for dealing with migration and immigrants, except for the guidelines contained in some

ratified international treaties and the Aliens Act of 1963. An extensive framework was created for the first time in the 1997 Polish Aliens Act. This law, along with further reforms in 2001 and 2003, aims to regulate the entry and residency requirements for foreigners, and to prevent the entry of “undesirable” foreigners.

In 2000 the Repatriation Act was passed to govern the influx of ethnic Poles living in the area of the former Soviet Union and who have experienced disadvantages due to deportation, exile or ethnically-motivated persecution. Under this law, those applying for an entry visa as an ethnic Polish repatriate have to satisfy a series of criteria: they must prove that two great grandparents or one of their parents or grandparents are (or were) of Polish nationality; they must demonstrate clear commitment to Polish nationality by cultivating the language, culture and customs;

and there must be a guarantee of sufficient accommodation in Poland as well as a source of maintenance. If the applicant does not have accommodation or any source of maintenance, a visa will only be granted if there is an invitation from a Polish commune.³ The latter must undertake to provide the repatriate with accommodation and a range of benefits to assist the applicant’s integration for at least 12 months. Repatriates are granted Polish citizenship upon entering the country; however, this does not extend to a non-Polish spouse travelling with them, whose entry is entirely governed by the Aliens Act.

In the run-up to EU membership, Polish migration policy was affected predominantly by the adoption of the terms of the Schengen Agreement. According to the terms of the agreement, Poland was required to secure its eastern border, which would become a border to the EU.⁴ Poland was also required to align

Figure 2: Emigration and immigration, 1960-2006 (in thousands)*

Source: Central Statistical Office, Central Population Register – PESEL (*Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Powszechny Elektroniczny System Ewidencji Ludności*)

* Note: It would appear that ethnic German emigrants (*Aussiedler*) are partially excluded from these figures.

its asylum policy with that of the EU and to introduce visas for citizens of neighbour states to the east as of October 1, 2003. In the first year following the introduction of mandatory visas, 1.1 million visas were issued in the Polish consulates in Ukraine (600,000), Belarus (300,000) and Russia (200,000, primarily in Kaliningrad). In the west Ukrainian city of Lviv alone between 800 and 1,000 visas were issued daily. In 2005, the number of visas issued to citizens of neighbouring eastern states rose by 5.4% to 1.3 million, of which 240,000 visas were issued by the Polish consulate in Lviv (18%).

In addition to bringing its laws into alignment with EU standards, the Aliens Act, which was amended in 2003, contained a legalisation programme (*abolicja*). In the months from September to December 2003, 3,508 irregular foreigners from 62 states applied for their residency status to be regularised. Predominantly Armenians (46.4%) and Vietnamese (38.2%) took part in this programme. By November 2004, 2,413 decisions had been made in favour of the applicant (68.8%).

From 2004 to 2006, Poland's migration policy continued to be adapted to EU standards. Two amendments to the law governing the residence, entry and departure of EU citizens came into force in October 2005 and August 2006. Amongst other changes, special residence permits were introduced for citizens of the EU (up to 3 months, more than 3 months and permanent residence). The amendment of October 2005 also restricted the right to permanent settlement and simplified access to the labour market for asylum applicants whose papers could not be processed within a year.

The access of foreigners to the labour market was also the subject of further reforms in the year 2006. The new legislation simplifies access to the labour market for some categories of foreigners. However, protecting the indigenous workforce

continues to be a priority. Since 1 September 2006 another regulation has come into force permitting farmers to employ seasonal workers from the eastern neighbour states of Belarus, Ukraine and Russia without a work permit. These workers may not, however, work for longer than three months within a six month stay.

In March 2008 a new legal measure for ethnic Poles will come into force, the so-called *Karta Polaka*. Ethnic Poles originating from states of the former Soviet Union, Belarus, Estonia, Lithuania, the Republic of Moldova, the (entire) Russian Federation and Ukraine who are awarded the *Karta* will enjoy certain advantages when staying in Poland. They will be entitled to take up any legal occupation (including being self-employed) without a work permit. The document will also take the place of an entry visa, facilitating frequent border crossings. Moreover, those in possession of the *Karta* will receive free access to educational institutions, the health system in emergencies and to state museums as well as reduced price rail travel within Poland. The document will be valid for ten years and may be extended. In order to acquire the *Karta* applicants have to prove that they are of Polish descent, have basic Polish language skills, and that they have cultivated an attachment to Poland and Polish culture. Unlike a visa issued under the Repatriation Act, the *Karta Polaka* will not entitle its holder to settle in Poland, nor will the holder acquire Polish citizenship.

Table 1: Origin of foreigners in Poland, census 2002⁵

Southeastern Europe / former USSR	21,670	44.0%
EU 25 / EEA	11,821	24.0%
Asia	4,042	8.2%
America	1,498	3.0%
Africa	502	1.0%
Unknown	6,286	12.8%
Stateless	546	1.1%
Not specified	2,856	5.8%
Total	49,221	100.0%

Source: Polish Central Statistical Office (*Główny Urząd Statystyczny*), cited in Kępińska (2004)

The Immigrant Population

It is extremely difficult to quantify Poland's foreign population as there is hardly any official data concerning the "stocks", in other words, the total number of foreigners in Poland. One of the few sources is the 2002 census, which estimates the

number of foreigners living in Poland at just 49,221 people. This would correspond to just 0.1% of the total population. According to the census, the most widely represented nationalities in 2002 were Ukrainians (9,881; 20%), Russians (4,325; 8.8%), Germans (3,711; 7.5%), Belarusians (2,852; 5.8%), and Vietnamese (2,093; 4.3%). Overall, citizens of southeast European countries and the states of the former Soviet Union (excluding the Baltic countries) accounted for at least 44% of the foreign population in Poland (see table). In general, however, independent experts consider the census numbers, as well as the government population statistics for foreigners, to be too low.

By contrast, the International Migration Report 2006 produced by the UN Population Division estimates the number of foreigners living in Poland to be 703,000 (2005), corresponding to 1.8% of the total population.

Residence permits

Since the reforms concerning the residence of EU citizens, five categories of residence permit have been in place. In 2005 there were a total of 42,380 applications for residence permits, of which 38,512 (91%) were approved: 22,626 renewable temporary permits were issued to third-country nationals for a stay of longer than three months, and 3,589 settlement permits were awarded. In addition, 2,183 temporary residence permits for stays of three to twelve months were awarded to EU citizens in 2005, as were 10,077 EU residence permits for stays of more than one year and 37 long-term settlement permits.

Due to the introduction of new residence permit categories, it is no longer possible to make a longer-term comparison between current data and permits that were issued previously. In the period between January and August 2006, 27.3% of the total number of residence permits issued were granted to EU citizens, primarily German (13.5%), while 38% of residence permits went to citizens of states of the former Soviet Union, in particular Ukrainians (25%). The largest percentage of residence permits granted to non-European states went to the Vietnamese (approx. 6%).

If we look at the years 1998 to 2003 - that is, prior to the introduction of permits for EU citizens - Ukrainians were granted 42.8% of all temporary residence permits. Where longer-term residence permits (then known as "fixed-term residence permits") and settlement permits were concerned, however, the percentage issued to Ukrainian citizens came to just 22.6% and 25.3%, respectively. This discrepancy is primarily due to the fact that many Ukrainians come to Poland for temporary jobs, even though their temporary residence status generally does not permit them to take on work.

Since the 2001 legal reform, persons applying for a permanent residence permit must prove, among other things, that they have had a temporary residence permit for five years (before 2001 it was three years), and that they have sufficient financial means. As access to the labour market has been handled very restrictively until now, it has not often been possible to prove sufficient financial means and thus acquire a permanent residence permit. However, on 1 June 2004 a legal reform⁶ came into force that should make gaining access to the labour market easier for specific groups, including holders of statutory temporary suspensions of deportation, foreign spouses of

Poles, recognised refugees, and, pursuant to a further reform in force since autumn 2005, asylum applicants whose papers could not be processed within a year.

Table 2: Residence permits according to citizenship (10 most common in 2005)

Country of citizenship	Number
1. Ukraine	9,824
2. Germany	6,125
3. Belarus	2,407
4. Vietnam	1,876
5. Russian Federation	1,849
6. Armenia	1,529
7. France	1,079
8. United Kingdom	835
9. USA	832
10. India	673

Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens (URIC), cited in Kępińska (2006)

Ethnic Poles

A distinctive feature of Polish migration policy is the preferred treatment it awards "ethnic Poles" (see also Political and Legal Developments). The law is aimed at ethnic Poles living in the Asian states of the former Soviet Union who were deported there under Stalin's rule in the 1930s and 1940s from their traditional areas of settlement in Belarus, Ukraine and Lithuania. With the introduction of the *Karta Polaka* in March 2008, this group will be extended to include people from neighbouring states such as Ukraine and Belarus.

Between 1997⁷ and 2005, 3,392 visas were issued to ethnic Polish repatriates, by means of which a total of 4,966 people (repatriates and their family members) entered Poland. Excluding the years 2001 and 2002 (immediately after the Repatriation Law came into force) the number of visas issued each year has scarcely exceeded 300. The majority of repatriates entering Poland since 1997 come from Kazakhstan.

One reason for the low number of ethnic migrants lies in the stipulation that applicants provide proof of accommodation and a source of maintenance in Poland or that they have been invited by a Polish commune which agrees to meet these conditions. Due to a shortage of council housing, high unemployment and the fear of overly high costs, many communes do not feel that they are in a position to adequately support the settlement of a repatriate. Conversely, potential repatriates often find those communes that actually do issue an invitation unattractive.⁸

While the older generation of Polish repatriates has maintained the Polish language and culture as far as possible, members of the younger generation are displaying difficulties in mastering the Polish language, preferring the Russian language and culture instead. This has led to considerable inte-

gration problems that are only exacerbated by an insufficient and poorly executed integration policy.⁹

Minorities

Poland is seen as a nearly ethnically homogeneous society. As a result of the Holocaust and the forced resettlement brought on by the shifting of borders after the Second World War (a process that had a particularly strong effect on Poland), national and ethnic minorities make up only a small percentage of the country's total population. Whereas in 1931 more than a third of the population (albeit residing within different territorial boundaries) belonged to minorities, it is estimated that they represent only 2 to 3% of the population today.

The figures on the size of national and ethnic minorities are widely divergent. In the 2002 census, about 253,300 respondents stated that they belonged to either a national or an ethnic minority (147,094 Germans, 47,640 Belarusians, 27,172 Ukrainians and 12,731 Roma). In contrast, ethnic and national minority associations estimate that they have between 1.17 and 1.78 million members. Germans, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Russians, Slovaks, Jews, Chechens and Armenians are considered national minorities. The Roma, the Lemkos, the Tatars and the Karaites are recognized by the state as ethnic minorities.

Integration Policy

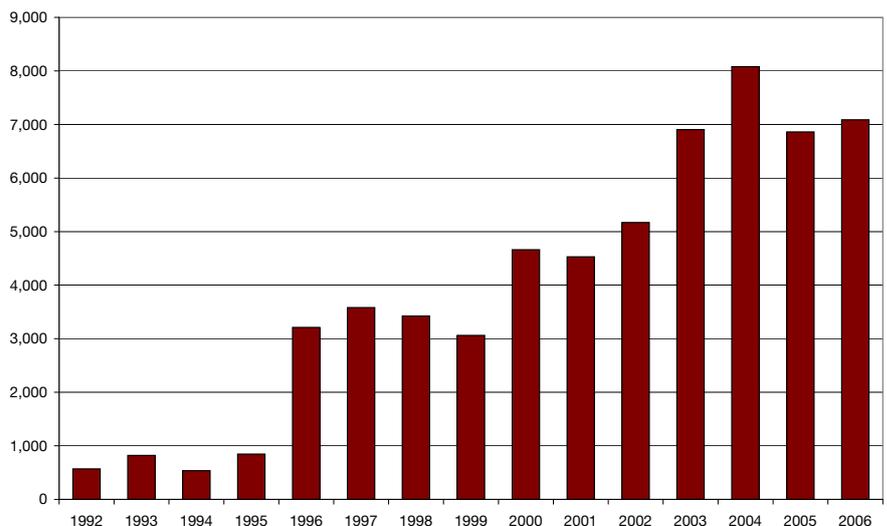
Aside from ethnic Polish repatriates, who enjoy certain integration benefits under the Repatriation Act, Poland's integration policy applies only to refugees and, since 2007, to foreigners who hold statutory temporary suspensions of deportation. These two groups are given the same access to state social benefits as Polish citizens. In addition, they can take up employment without a work permit and attend primary and secondary state schools free of charge. By contrast, integration programmes offered at a local level are accessible only to refugees. These include an obligatory language course as well as assistance in finding accommodation and registering at an employment office. The year-long programmes aim to integrate the refugees in the labour market. However, due to a lack of personnel, these programmes are not particularly efficient, leaving most refugees in Poland to resort to social welfare services or the assistance of welfare organisations. Migrant workers are not entitled to any form of assistance with integration, which means that they are forced to rely on their own migrant social networks for support.¹⁰

Refugee and Asylum

Polish asylum and refugee laws have been affected by international conventions (among others, the ratification of the 1991 Geneva Refugee Convention) and adaptation to the restrictive

trends in asylum law in most EU member states. The Aliens Act of 1997 facilitated deportation as well as sanctions against transport service providers (carrier sanctions). Since the reform of the Aliens Act in 2001, "clearly unfounded" applications for asylum have been subjected to accelerated processing. This procedure was also intended for applicants from so-called secure states. In practice, however, it is not being applied to this group. The 2003 amendment to the Aliens Act introduced the concept of statutory temporary suspension of deportation.

Figure 3: Applications for asylum, 1994-2006* (including family members of the applicants)



Source: Office for Repatriation and Aliens (*Urząd do Spraw Repatriacji i Cudzoziemców*)

*The figures for 2006 are provisional

According to the 1997 law, applications for asylum have to be filed upon entry into Poland. However, the Polish Supreme Administrative Court (*Naczelny Sąd Administracyjny*) has declared that the practice among the Polish Border Police of periodically denying entry to refugees is not legal.¹¹ Thus, applications for recognition as a refugee or to gain asylum can once again be filed anywhere in the country.

Between 1992 and 2006, around 59,000 asylum applications were filed (of these, nearly three quarters were filed between 2000 and 2006). Of a total of 7,088 applicants in 2006 (including family members), 90% came from the Russian Federation (6,393 people), almost all from Chechnya. Only 422 people were recognized as refugees (6%); another 2,045, however, were granted the temporary suspension of deportation first introduced in 2003 (28.9%). A total of 91% of those recognized as refugees and 98% of those granted a suspension of deportation were Chechens. Compared with the previous year, the number of applications for asylum did rise slightly (+ 3.3%), but it was still far below the high point reached in 2004.

Insufficient integration measures are a major problem in Polish asylum and refugee policy. Hence, according to information from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Warsaw, many refugees and asylum applicants decide

to journey on to other EU states. Therefore, Poland is mainly a transit country.

Since May 1, 2004, a law on the social integration of refugees has been in force.¹² The so-called individual integration programme that is contained in the law provides financial support to refugees and their family members for the period of one year. Between EUR 100 and EUR 270 are granted monthly for language courses and accommodation, according to need. However, Polish NGOs have criticised this amount as being far too low. The main problems related to integration remain the search for accommodation and access to the labour market.

Citizenship

The legal basis for citizenship is provided by the Polish Constitution and related supplementary laws. According to article 34, paragraph 1 of the Constitution of April 2, 1997, Polish citizenship is acquired at birth if at least one of the parents already possesses citizenship (*ius sanguinis*). Naturalisation is possible after a minimum of five years of legal residency in Poland. Although it is not stipulated in national law, multiple citizenships are tolerated in practice.¹³

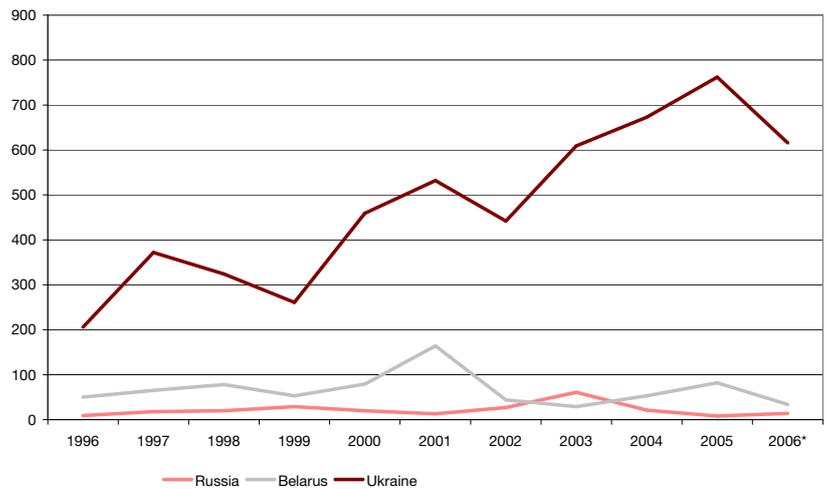
Between 2002 and 2005, 7,623 people were naturalised. Some 2,866 people were naturalised in 2005 alone, a considerable increase compared with the previous year (2004: 1,937 naturalisations). This increase can be attributed primarily to the processing of a backlog of applications. Most of the people who were naturalised in the period between 2002 and 2005 came from Ukraine, Belarus, the Russian Federation, Israel, Lithuania and Germany.¹⁴

Irregular Migration

Since the 1990s, Poland has developed into a transit country for irregular migration from east to west. Between 1996 and September 2006, 43,283 people were seized at the Polish border. Some 18,688 (43.2%) of these people were trying to enter Poland illegally and 24,595 (56.8%) were attempting to travel through Poland illegally to an adjacent country. The destination country of those departing or transiting illegally was most often Germany (in 64% of cases from January to September 2006, and in 67% of cases in 2005). Based on readmission agreements, the Polish authorities deported 52,419 foreigners home to neighbouring countries between 1998 and 2006, predominantly to Ukraine (2006: 76.8%).

Whereas the total number of seizures was showing signs of decreasing, or at least stabilising, before 2002, observers noted an increase in seizures of illegal immigrants and those transiting between 2003 and 2005. By contrast, the first nine months of 2006 once again indicate a decrease in the numbers seized. Overall, however, the number of illegal migrants seized at Poland's eastern border has increased continuously in the course of the past ten years, especially at the border between Poland and Ukraine (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Seizures of persons entering illegally at Poland's eastern border (excluding Lithuania) by border sections



Source: Polish Border Police (*Straż Graniczna*)
* Note: January-September

A possible explanation for this trend is the fact that border controls have been tightening in the course of (and since) Poland's accession to the EU. The introduction of mandatory visas for citizens of neighbouring eastern states could also have played a role. Furthermore, it is important to note that the number of people seized while attempting to enter the Czech Republic and, above all, Slovakia illegally has increased since the end of the 1990s. Thus, it can also be assumed that there has been a shift in migration routes.

Poland's eastern border, which is more than 1,000 kilometres long, is the longest one shared by the enlarged EU and neighbouring states in the east.⁽¹⁵⁾ During the accession negotiations between Poland and the EU, the securing of this border was a central issue in the area of Justice and Home Affairs, and it received renewed attention in the run-up to Poland's full application of the Schengen Agreement in December 2007. From 1996 to 2002, Poland was awarded around EUR 74 million from the EU PHARE programme.¹⁶

Current Developments and Future Challenges

Brain drain

During the accession negotiations between Poland and the EU one issue became the topic of particularly intense discussions: the so-called brain drain (i.e. the emigration of professionals in certain fields, e.g. the medical profession, or highly qualified workers in general, in this case from Poland to Western European countries). Simultaneously, by introducing measures restricting the free movement of workers during the transition period, the majority of the old 15 EU member states made sure that their labour markets would initially be closed to employees from the new member states. Such measures seemed likely to counteract the brain drain phenomenon.

In the case of labour migration between Poland and Germany (along with the United Kingdom one of the most impor-

tant destination countries for labour from Poland), movement is affected (theoretically at least) by the new German Immigration Act in addition to existing bilateral regulations, like those concerning seasonal workers. The new law allows highly qualified persons to access the German labour market and to obtain permanent residency status. It also allows foreign students who have successfully completed their studies to remain in Germany for another year in order to look for a job. Nonetheless, so far the brain drain issue has played a lesser role in connection with Germany. Highly qualified professionals from Poland are more likely to go to the US and Canada.

More recent data from the *Labour Force Survey* conducted by the International Labour Organisation ILO, however, indicates that emigration among highly qualified Poles has increased since Poland joined the EU. In 2005, 10% of emigrants held a university degree (2004: 5%), 29% a high school diploma (2004: 19%) and 20% had professional training (2004: 16%).¹⁷ Whether these highly qualified migrants remain abroad permanently, thereby contributing to the brain drain, is not clear. Although short-term labour migration continues to dominate, the data show that long-term migration has gained importance and is increasing further. The highest increases were recorded in the numbers emigrating to Ireland and the United Kingdom. Estimates indicate that between 500,000 and one million Poles have migrated to the United Kingdom since Poland joined the EU, many of them as circular migrants. Very recently, however, many Poles have returned to their home country.

Relations with neighbouring countries to the east

The consequences of Poland's accession to the EU for relations with its neighbours to the east, especially Ukraine, were also debated publicly in the course of membership negotiations. In particular, concerns were expressed in the border regions of eastern Poland about possible negative consequences resulting from the introduction of mandatory visas and the tightening of border controls. It was feared that cross-border co-operation, which had been gradually developing during the 1990s, could be made more difficult, and that cross-border family relationships would suffer under a more restrictive border regime. Entrepreneurs from the region expressed their concern that the number of customers from neighbouring countries would decrease. In 2003, when mandatory visas were introduced for citizens of the eastern neighbouring countries, the number of people entering Poland through its eastern border initially decreased by 7.5%. Where the border with Ukraine is concerned, however, an increase in immigrant numbers has been recorded since 2004, with increases also recorded for the borders with Belarus and the Russian Federation since 2005. Nonetheless, it remains to be seen what effect the full implementation of the Schengen Agreement in Poland from 21 December 2007 (land and sea borders) and March 2008 (air borders) and the associated abolition of border controls with other Schengen states will have on migration from neighbouring states to the east.

Conclusion

As an EU member state, Poland will continue to develop into an attractive destination country for migrants, and it will probably continue to evolve from an emigration country into a transit and immigration country. Until now immigration policy and the issue of the integration of foreign citizens in Poland have not been important issues in public debate. Integration policy will, however, continue to move into the foreground, especially because this topic is on the EU's political agenda.

Endnotes

- 1 The "Solidarność Movement" (Solidarity Movement) was the union founded by Lech Wałęsa in 1980 in Gdansk which triggered the democratisation process in Poland.
- 2 For further information about the free movement of workers in the context of the EU's eastern expansion in 2004 see Heinen, M. and Pegels, A. (2006): "EU Expansion and the Free Movement of Workers: Do Continued Restrictions Make Sense for Germany?" focus Migration Policy Brief No. 4. http://www.focus-migration.de/EU_Expansion_and_the.1201.0.html?&L=1
- 3 Communes wishing to support an repatriate are listed in a register used by potential repatriates to look for a suitable invitation (in particular with regard to opportunities for professional integration). The law provides for a range of administrative and financial incentives for the communes (e.g. partial refunding of accommodation costs) which are to be financed from an allocation in the central budget.
- 4 See Newsletter "Migration und Bevölkerung" 3/98, 7/02.
- 5 (a) The EU/EEA group also contains ten new member states; (b) The three Baltic States have not been included in the numbers for the Soviet Union. Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are included in the EU/EEA group; (c) Not all foreigners are categorised according to citizenship in the census breakdown.
- 6 Act on Promotion of Employment and Institutions of the Labour Market; cf. *Dziennik Ustaw* (Journal of Law), 2004, No. 99, item 1001.
- 7 The repatriation law did not come into force until 2001. However, in response to an uncontrolled influx of migrants at the start of the 1990s, the immigration of ethnic Poles was provisionally regulated by the Aliens Act following a government resolution.
- 8 See Elrick, Frelak and Hut (2006).
- 9 For more on Poland's integration policy in general, see Gmaj (2007).
- 10 For a critique of Poland's integration policy, see Gmaj (2007) and Kępińska (2006).
- 11 See FFM (1999).
- 12 Act on Social Assistance, cf. *Dziennik Ustaw* (Journal of Law), 2004, No. 64, item 593.
- 13 See Górny et al. (2003).
- 14 See Kępińska (2006).
- 15 Romania's external border with non-EU states is in fact about 300 km longer than Poland's EU border. However, one bordering state (Serbia) lies to the west of Romania (476 km in length).
- 16 The EU PHARE programme: The Phare programme was originally the main instrument for financial and technical cooperation between the European Community and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It was created in 1989 to support the reform process and economical and political change in Poland and Hungary. Since 1994 it has been one of three financial instruments used to prepare for the accession of the ten associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe. When these states joined the EU in the course of expansion towards the east, the Phare Programme was renewed as an "Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA)."
- 17 See Kępińska (2006).

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