

Conditions underlying migrations from Poland to Germany and the United Kingdom

Renata Marks-Bielska
Wiesława Lizińska
Karolina Babuchowska
Milena Kaczmarczyk

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Reviewer
ROMUALD JONCZY

Translated by JOLANTA IDŹKOWSKA

Cover design
ADAM GŁOWACKI

Typesetting and text composition
RYSZARD GLIŃSKI

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Wydawnictwo UWM
ul. Jana Heweliusza 14, 10-718 Olsztyn
tel. 89 523 36 61, fax 89 523 34 38
www.uwm.edu.pl/wydawnictwo/
e-mail: wydawca@uwm.edu.pl

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Introduction

Human migrations have been common throughout an almost entire history of mankind, but in more recent times people have been travelling over longer distances, thus being forced to adapt themselves to completely new cultural or social surroundings and sometimes to break bonds with their country of origin (Koryś, Okólski 2004). Contemporary migration comes in a variety of forms. The movement of people which entails settling down in a new place permanently or semipermanently is called migration. When migrating, people may cross administrative boundaries within their own country (internal migrations) or the state's political boundaries (external migrations) (Organiściak-Krzykowska 2013b).

The development of several economic and non-economic theories of migration has failed to yield a single, universal definition of migration. The principal obstacle is the multidimensional nature of migratory processes. Territorial mobility of people can be differentiated according to a number of criteria, such as space, time, place of residence, activity of people involved in a migratory process, etc. (Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003).

People migrate as entrepreneurs, highly qualified professionals or as manual workers. Migration target countries compete with one another, for example by offering suitable living conditions, to attract highly qualified migrants (Castles, Miller 2011). The spatial mobility, which occurs on a macro- and micro-scale, is a significant element in the development of contemporary societies.

Migration of Poles to foreign countries is discussed from an economic, social, demographic, political and psychological angle. It is so because migrations affect workforce resources, which is a problem to domestic economy. Demographically, migration is analysed in terms of the structure of population in both sending and receiving countries. Migration is raised as a positive or negative issue in election campaigns, which turns it into a political matter. Finally, migration also has impact on private lives and careers of individual people (Danilewicz 2006).

In Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland, the 1990s was a breakthrough decade concerning migratory processes. The democratic political changes opened Poland's borders and eased travel restrictions, both on outward and inward journeys for Polish and non-Polish citizens. Owing to these transformations, the situation of migrants gained new quality (Białobrzeska, Marks-Bielska 2004, Kruse et al. 2014).

The onset of a new migration wave in the Polish history was induced by the accession of Poland to the European Union. Consequences of these migratory flows are difficult to evaluate unequivocally. As well as aggravating the demographic situation in Poland, this recent migration has given rise to numerous unrecognised economic and sociological developments (Jończy 2010a, b).

Migration is an important element of European integration. Free movement of people within the European Union was instituted by the Single European Act, the objectives of which were to minimise differences in the status and structure of labour force in individual EU states, to level off surplus or deficit on labour markets and, in the long term, to achieve more uniform salaries all across the European Union (Kisiel et al. 2008, Kisiel, Pawłowska 2008, Organiściak-Krzykowska 2013b).

Poland is often referred to as an emigration country, that is a country where the number of emigrants surpasses the number of incoming foreigners. It is estimated that around 5 million people emigrated from Poland between 1860 and 1940. This number includes 1.7 million Poles who left for the United States, of which about 20-30% returned to Poland. Another mass emigration wave occurred during the few years after World War Two. About 5 million Poles were staying outside the borders of Poland when the war came to an end. Until 1950, mass migrations involved around 3-4 million people. Afterwards, this wave of migration subsided. In the literature on migration, the time spanning the history of the Polish People's Republic is referred to as the 'Big Closure'. In the early 1950s, the number of emigrants leaving Poland each year ranged around 10,000. It was not until the late 1950s that more people were able to emigrate, mainly because citizens of the German extraction were allowed by the Polish authorities to leave for Germany. The 1960s saw another surge of migration – mostly to the countries of the Eastern Block. The Central Statistical Office of Poland reported that about 240,000 Polish citizens emigrated during that decade.

The transborder traffic law for Poles became more liberal in the 1970s, and the liberalisation progressed in the years to come, which – concurrent with the political and economic crisis in Poland in the 1980s and negative social attitudes – encouraged more people to emigrate. The resultant statistics are as follows: 588,000 outgoing migrants in 1984, 1.1 million in 1985 and 2.8 million in 1986. At the dawn of the state's transformation in 1989, over 19 million journeys (multiple trips) abroad were recorded, including 5 million to the West. Meanwhile, about 400,000 people left Poland permanently. The total number of migrants in 1980-1989 is estimated to be 2.2-2.3 million people. After 1989, citizens of the Central and East European states could freely travel in and out of their countries. Prior to that year, a decision to leave one's country often had to be final. After 1989, the role of seasonal, frequently circular, migration grew

more important. Seasonal migration during the transformation period turned into the major migratory flow of population, involving the highest number of people. Every year, around 200,000 to 300,000 Poles travelled to Germany to seek seasonal employment. The scale of this people's flow became less assessable after the police registration of transborder traffic had been abandoned. According to the State General Census of 2002, 786,000 Poles stayed abroad temporarily (Kaczmarczyk, Tyrowicz 2007).

Another significant event that affected migration was Poland's access to the European Union. The free movement of people is one of the pillars supporting free market in the European Union. It is defined by regulations which ensure free economy of the EU market, and is concurrent with such other rights as freedom of employment and freedom of business activity (Łazanowski 2008, Organiściak-Krzykowska 2013b). The free flow of people is guaranteed to those who are active on the labour market, such as employees, self-employed people, service providers, to those who do not work, such as students, pensioners and old age pensioners, as well as to people who finance their stay abroad from their own resources (Łazanowski 2008).

Once the EU principle of people's free movement applied to Poland as well, Poles gradually gained access to labour markets in other EU countries. Regarding the new member states, known as EU-10 (including Poland), transitional periods of up to 7 years (2+3+2 formula) restricting the free movement of workers were imposed by most of the 'old' member states. However, the Republic of Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom declined to implement such restrictions and opened their labour markets to citizens from the new member states on their accession in 2004 (Wiśniewski 2006). The last EU-15 countries which lifted the restrictions on 1 May 2011 were Austria and Germany. But even prior to that date, Germany had created certain possibilities for legal stay and employment, for example employment programmes addressed to residents in border regions, or to seasonal and contracted workers, which enabled hundreds of thousands of workers from Poland to arrive in Germany.

Prior to Poland's accession to the European Union, Germany used to be the most popular destination chosen by Polish migrants. Despite the longest transitional period of restrictions on the free movement of workers, Germany remained one of the crucial countries receiving emigrants from Poland. According to the National General Census of 2011, 435,187 Poles had stayed in Germany for more than three months, including 78.1% (339,801 people) who had stayed there for over 12 months. Among the countries that decided to abolish restrictions on the free movement of workers earlier, only the United Kingdom recorded a larger inflow of immigrants from Poland¹.

¹ <http://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechne/nsp-2011> accessed on 27.05.2014.

The transnational mobility of Poles in search for employment has attracted widespread attention of researchers and the mass media in the 21st century. The reason is the growing participation of Poles in temporary migration after Poland had joined the European Union and the gradual implementation of the 'free movement of EU nationals' principle. The economic migration from Poland is dominated by relatively young, well-educated people, who often take up jobs below their qualifications. This may give rise to worries about possible depreciation of the social capital of Polish migrants (Łazanowski 2008)

Ernest Ravenstein, the founder of classical migration laws, suggested that regular research into migration was essential for gaining a better understanding of many ongoing processes in the contemporary societies (Mioduszevska 2008). With that borne in mind, is it particularly important to study migration from Poland to Germany – a country that has long been and still is a major destination for Polish migrants. It is also essential to gain the knowledge of the conditions underlying the migration of Poles to the United Kingdom (the UK), mostly because this country now has the highest number of Polish citizens who have decided to leave their country of origin.

The main purpose of our analyses and direct research described herein has been to recognise the conditions underlying the contemporary migration from Poland to Germany and the United Kingdom. The following detailed aims that should lead to the attainment of the main objective have been identified:

1. to determine the general state and dynamics of long-term migrations from Poland to Germany and the UK;
2. to identify the social and professional profile of Polish immigrants in Germany and in the UK;
3. to diagnose the causes for migrations from Poland to Germany and the UK;
4. to determine the influence of migratory connection networks on migration from Poland to Germany and the UK;
5. to solve the question whether the opening of the German labour market on 1 May 2011 had any influence on decisions taken by Polish migrants to emigrate to Germany, and on changes occurring at their places of work;
6. to identify and describe migration plans of Polish migrants in Germany and the UK.

In order to achieve the above objective, secondary data, originating from Eurostat and Polish Main Statistical Office were analysed. These analyses were supplemented by a diagnostic survey (Pilch, Bauman 2001). The authors' own investigation covered two groups of migrants: one living in Lower Saxony, Germany, and the other one dispersed over different locations in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. This part of our research relied on a survey conducted with a self-designed questionnaire. The survey involved non-randomly chosen groups of respondents. A non-random group is

selected in such a way that at some point during the selection process an evaluator intervenes (Szreder, Krzykowski 2005). The choice of non-random samples was dictated by the consideration that it allowed us to conduct our investigation among the Poles who had actually stayed in Germany or the UK for more than 12 months. The questionnaire was completed by 156 adult Poles living in Lower Saxony, who were reached personally by one of the researchers. With respect to Poles staying in Britain, the group of respondents consisted of 208 persons. The way our study was carried out in Britain varied. Some of the respondents were contacted in person, but in most cases the CAWI method was applied. The link with an internet address where the questionnaire was placed was mailed to Poles living in the UK. The research was carried out in 2013 and 2014.

1. International migration in economic sciences – determinants and consequences of migration

1.1. What is migration? Types of migration

Migrations, also known as movements of people, have been undertaken by man since the times immemorial. Migrations are a powerful co-factor that has shaped the history of continents, ancient empires and modern states, families, tribes and contemporary national communities (Hubiak 1999). The word 'migration' originates from the Latin word *migratio*, and means 'to move from one place and settle in another' (Kopaliński 2000). Migration is people's movement between places (spatial movement) that entails territorial transfer and a relatively permanent change of the place of residence (*Sytuacja demograficzna...* 2006). According to the definition coined by the Central Statistical Office of Poland, migration means such a transfer of people that involves a change of the place of residence (permanent or temporary) and crossing an administrative border of the lowest-level administrative district. Changing one's address within the same rural or urban commune, or within the rural or urban part of the same commune is not considered to be migration. Neither is it a change of one's place of residence that is short-lasting (up to 2 months), shuttle movement or tourist traffic.

Literature contains several classifications of migration. One approach divides migrations into internal and external. This classification concerns the destination chosen by migrating populations. Internal migrations, also called internal home flow of people or domestic movement of people, occur when people move within their own state. Descriptions of this phenomenon in the Polish literature are supported by two other terms: migratory inflow and outflow (e.g. moving from towns to villages, from the countryside to towns and cities, between towns or between villages, between provinces) (Organiściak-Krzykowska 2013b).

When the movement of people involves crossing a state boundary, the relevant literature will refer to it as external migration or foreign migration. Such migrations occur between different continents or countries, and are global in scale (Rajkiewicz 2007).

In 1953, the UN recommended the first universal definition of an international migrant, which was subsequently adopted in international statistics. The key element of this definition was the duration of one's stay. A permanent emigrant was a resident intending to leave his or her country of origin² to remain abroad for a period of at least 12 months. A permanent immigrant was a non-resident arriving with an intention of staying in a given country for no less than 12 months (*United Nations...* 1953).

Forty-five years later, in 1998, the UN conceded that a stay abroad lasting less than 3 months could also be classified as 'migration', adding another term such as 'labour migrations abroad', unrestricted by the length of stay (Okólski 2004). Kaczmarczyk (2002) identifies several problems arising from the definition of international migrations. For example, the movement of employees who have been engaged to work abroad but who can regularly visit their native country (migrants from transborder regions) is excluded from the definition of migration. In such cases, it is assumed that the place of permanent residence has not been changed. Likewise, nomads are not classified as migrants as they do not fulfil the formal requirements such as changing the place of permanent residence because they do not occupy any place permanently. Kaczmarczyk (2002) also suggests discarding the minimum duration of one's stay as a criterion for distinguishing migration from non-migration, as it may turn out to be inadequate in certain situations, such as few-day 'trade trips', typically taken by Poles in the late 1980s.

Migration takes many forms (Oziewicz 2006). The most widespread are emigration and immigration, which are further subdivided, depending on the conditions which force or encourage people to move (e.g. economic, non-economic, duration). Emigration means leaving one's country of residence and moving to another country, referred to as a receiving country, with the intention to settle down or stay for a long time there. Immigration is the inflow of people who until then have lived in another country to a host country to settle down or stay for a long time, that is moving to a territory under the jurisdiction of another state. People moving between two countries are both emigrants – from the country of origin – and immigrants – in the receiving country (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009). Internal migrations can be divided into different categories depending on the assumed criteria. We distinguish forced and voluntary migrations, legal and illegal migrations, target and transient migrations, individual and collective migrations. Considering the purpose of migrating outside one's own country, migrations can be divided into: educa-

² Country of residence – a country in which a person has a place of living and spends most time. A change of the place of residence could be for business trips, pleasure travel, visiting relatives and friends, journeys for health reasons, pilgrimages (*Recommendations on Statistics...* 1998).

tional, economic, chain, return (circulation), population transfer, internal displacement, and refugee migrations (Organiściak-Krzykowska 2013b).

With respect to one's will to migrate, migrations can be said to be forced or voluntary. Forced migration is associated with some push factors, administrative or political ones. A decision to migrate assumes the form of an order or is taken under the pressure of external factors (fig. 1).

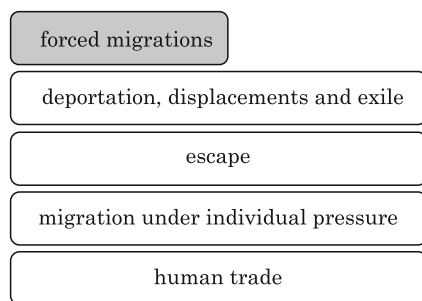


Fig. 1. Types of forced migrations

Source: Kawczyńska-Butrym (2009).

Deportations, displacements and exiles typically involve all social groups – mainly national (displaced people or people in exile) and ethnic ones. They occur as a consequence of some internal regulations in a given country or legal agreements binding between two countries. Impelled migrations (escapes) are due to some persecution because of people's ethnic, national or religious identity, or are induced by the threat of losing one's health or life, for example during wars, military conflicts, revolutions (refugees). The force pushing people to migrate is not usually supported by any legal resolution. Forced migration also takes place on an individual scale, when a person is compelled to leave one's own country, mainly because of political reasons. Such migration usually entails the host country accepting the migrant (political emigrants, asylum seekers, 'a one-way passport'). An extreme example of migration is people trade, which consists of illegal human trafficking and transport, abuse of women and children, forced labour or arranged marriages. By contrast, voluntary migration is undertaken without any external pushing force. It means that some people choose to move in search of opportunities for better life, education, work, etc. (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009).

Another dividing criterion is the main purpose of migration. At this point, the following types of migrations are distinguishable: economic migrations, migrations undertaken for other than economic reasons (fig. 2). The earliest economic migrations from Poland were observed in the 1860s and involved mainly peasants. The driving force was the economic and social situation of

migrants, for example frequent conflicts between villages and manors, forced conscription into the army, unprofitable agricultural production. The subsequent waves of migrants, occurring in the following decades of the 19th century, were mainly encouraged by the search for economic opportunities, and are therefore called economic migrations.

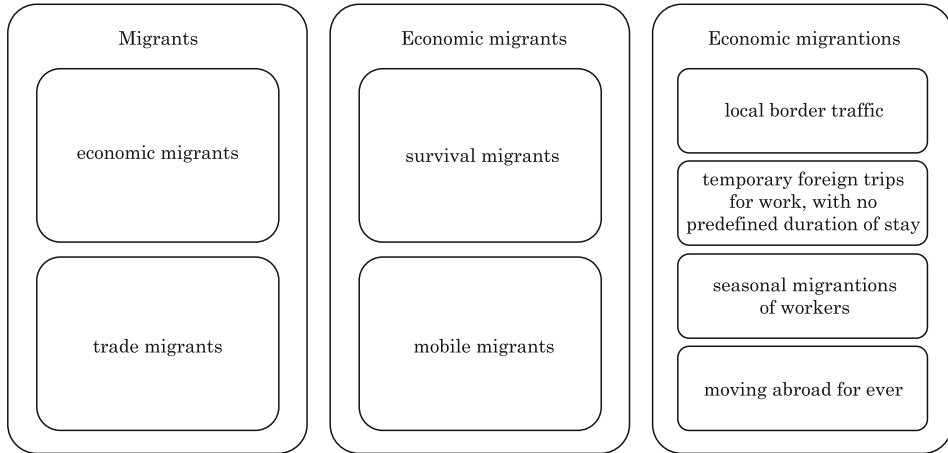


Fig. 2. Types of economic migrations and migrants

Source: Kawczyńska-Butrym (2009), Rogowska-Mikiel (2004).

Survival migrants are the ones who decide to emigrate under economic pressure, in order to secure the means necessary to satisfy such basic needs as food, clothes or the ability to pay off all kinds of financial obligations. Mobile migrants emigrate in order to improve their standard of living. Considering economic migrations, they can be divided according to such criteria as immediate aims, duration and form of migration. Based on these criteria, we can distinguish:

- economic migrants, who in general do not intend to stay permanently in a new place of residence but are interested in earning money. Within this group, we can further distinguish contracted migrants, whose migratory stay is organised in compliance with the conditions defined in a contract for work, and shuttle migrants, who work periodically, often illegally, and maintain contact with their families.
- trade migrants, whose aim is to buy or sell specific goods (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009).

Within economic migrations, Rogowska-Mikiel (2004) identifies:

- the local border traffic, which takes place in the border zones of neighbour countries; this low-level cross-border traffic comprises frequent and short

trips across the country's border between the place of residence and the place of work;

- temporary trips abroad with the intention of earning money and with no predetermined duration of stay;
- seasonal migrations of workers (in order to do seasonal work, most often in agriculture), which involve moving across the borders of own's country, usually for a period of 3 to 4 months, in order to earn some money;
- permanent relocation abroad, most often because of the situation in one's own country or the economic, political, social or cultural situation of an individual.

Another group of migrants consists of the people whose main aim is other than immediate financial benefits (non-economic migration), even if the decision to migrate is accompanied by an economic effect (fig. 3).

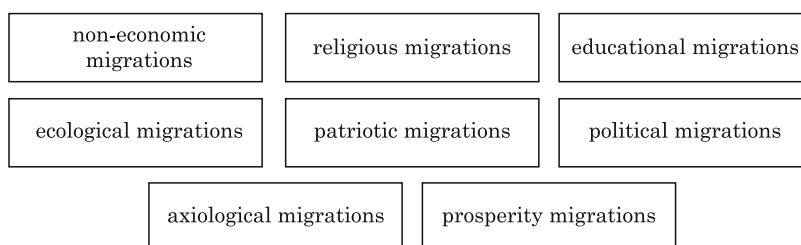


Fig. 3. Types of non-economic migrations

Source: Kawczyńska-Butrym (2009).

Non-economic migrations comprise:

- religious migrations, that is the migrations resulting from the urge/obligation to participate in a pilgrimage, voluntary movements whose main purpose is to fulfil religious obligations or duties which are inscribed in one's faith, or forced migrations due to religious persecution;
- educational migrations, for instance to learn a foreign language, to obtain accreditation of one's professional qualifications, to conduct research. These migrations are orientated towards raising one's life skills (professional competences and knowledge);
- ecological migrations, whose aim is to find a new place of living when the former one has been destroyed by a natural disaster or an ecological catastrophe, or to find a temporary place to stay until the permanent place of residence is restored;
- patriotic migrations, that is people returning to their country of origin, for example driven by the desire to learn the language of their ancestors and explore their homeland, or by the idealisation of the country from which one's family originated, etc.;

- political migrations, due to wars, displacements of people, flights, resulting from changing borders between countries or because of conflicts between political powers. The purpose of political migrations is to ensure physical safety, to protect one's health or life;
- axiological migrations – an individual's decision to migrate is the manifestation of the protest against the threat posed to values which the migrant considers deeply rooted, or against 'political correctness' that one finds difficult to accept, a voice against changes in the social or cultural structure of one's country;
- prosperity migrations – whose aim is to improve one's standard of living. They are a consequence of the previously achieved high economic status undertaken in search of satisfying circumstances for consumption of one's wealth (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009).

Yet another division has been designed according to the duration of a migratory stay. Based on this criterion, the following types of migrations have been distinguished:

- temporary migrations (periodic) – when one plans to return to their country of origin;
- permanent migrations – when one intends to stay in a new country for ever.

Temporary migrations are undertaken by people who have not registered out of the place of permanent residence but are staying outside the borders of their native country, for example Poland (irrespective of the length of stay). Permanent migrations mean that emigrants have registered out of their former place of residence and taken permanent residence abroad (Organiściak-Krzykowska 2013b).

The definition adopted by the Central Statistical Office of Poland distinguishes the following types of migrations:

- short-term migrations, when one stays abroad for 3 to 12 months;
- long-term migrations, which are further subdivided into temporary stays of at least 12 months and permanent stays³.

In addition, Kawczyńska-Butrym (2009) distinguishes between:

- seasonal migrations, i.e. relatively short and often regularly repeated journeys abroad, due to seasonal work;
- circulation migrations – multiple, short-term journeys abroad.

Another distinguishing criterion is the legal aspect. We can identify legal and illegal migrations as well as a transient period, when migrants apply for an asylum or a temporary permit to stay, to study or to work. Additionally, the following three types of situations can be specified:

³ http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/L_migracje_zagraniczne_ludnosci_NSP2011.pdf accessed on 9.12.2013.

- when one's transfer to a receiving country as well as undertaking work there are legal. This is the most advantageous situation for both the migrant and the host country. The migrant's status is legally regulated and guarantees full protection arising from these regulations as well as other rights and benefits connected with the stay, including social benefits, health care, social security, a possibility to apply for a bank loan, education for the children;
- the entry to a host country is legal but the employment is not;
- the entry to a host country and the employment are illegal (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009).

Maksimczuk and Sidorowicz (2007) rightly noticed that different forms of international migrations are closely connected with the underlying reasons and determined by numerous macro- and microeconomic causes as well as motivation borne on the macro- and microsocial grounds. International and inter-regional movements of people most often occur when the following three criteria are met:

1) there is some motivation that inspires a person to change the place of residence and work;

2) there is some freedom in crossing the borders between countries or regions which have an external political and economic boundary (e.g. within the European Union);

3) there are financial means to cover the cost of one's transfer to a new place of residence .

These two authors also drew attention to the so-called chain migrations, which they associated with the fact that migrants from a given country, region or town tend to settle down in an approximately same area in a host country. On the one hand, this satisfies their need to ensure better safety. On the other hand, it provides them with a better access to information.

1.2. Migrations in the light of economic theories

Migration is an extremely complex and highly diverse social process, which evades simple classifications, categorisations, generalisations or theoretical descriptions (Brzozowski 2011). The immense complexity of migration as a phenomenon justifies the doubts expressed by some researchers whether it is possible at all to create a theory that will clarify exhaustively the whole migration process, and many authors who deal with the problem of migration (e.g. de Haas 2007, Golinowska 2001, Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003) even emphasise that there cannot be a single theory vast enough to explain this issue. Consequently, several detailed concepts regarding migration have been developed based on different disciplines of science (Brzozowski 2011, Kisiel, Kuszlewicz-Masiak 2009, Kisiel, Kuszlewicz 2006).

Apart from economic theories, political, sociological and historical concepts are employed to achieve an understanding of migration. The classical theory of economy defines migrations as a result of the flow of people on the labour market. Arthus W. Lewis, awarded a Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics, assumed that developing economy has a dual nature, which is due to the co-existence of modern and traditional sectors. People from the traditional sector, which is characterised by zero marginal productivity, migrate to the modern sector. As the labour supply in the modern sector increases, the wages can remain on a relatively low level. Lewis determined a 30% difference in the level of wages as a threshold which enabled producers in the modern sector to make profits whilst motivating immigrants to change the sector. Having exhausted the surplus of workforce from the traditional sector, labour is being replaced by capital and the traditional sector becomes modernised, as a result of which development conditions are levelled. Dependences identified in the dual sector economy have been transferred to a notion of dual development between countries (Golinowska 2001).

Economic theories pertaining to international migrations focus on attempts to solve three fundamental questions: *why migrations happen, who migrates and what consequences migrations have on the countries of emigration and immigration*. Prior to 1960, migration theories were mostly concerned with internal migrations, a problem which was strictly connected with localisation models of regional economics and economic geography. Economic historians were discussing international migrations, but not on a theoretical plane. As the investment model of labour capital has been developed since the late 1950s, the question of migration has begun to be dealt with on the theoretical ground.

In the classical thought of economics, represented by A. Smith (1776, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*), an assumption was made that migration was a response to spatial imbalance on the workforce market. Smith's observations of large discrepancies in wages in Great Britain clearly indicated that such differences in wages were not an exclusive determinant of migrations (Smith 2008).

Over 150 years later, another leading economist, Hicks (1932) concluded that differences in net economic gains, primarily differences in wages, were the principal cause of migration. Three other researchers, active in the time period spanning Smith's (1776) and Hick's (1932) theories, made a substantial contribution to studies on migration: a geographer Ravenstein⁴ (1990), an American economist Jerome (1926) and a sociologist Zipf (1946). Ravenstein

⁴ Ravenstein himself was an emigrant. He was born in Germany but spent most of his life in Great Britain (Brzozowski 2011).

was the first researcher who drew attention to the special role of economics and economic factors in the process of migration. Based on studies concerning the data from national census records on the British populations, birthplaces and places of residence, Ravenstein formulated seven laws of migration, which since then have become fundamental to any research on international migrations (Bodvarsson, Van den Berg 2013, Brzozowski 2011). The seventh law appears to be acutely contemporary in that it claimed that ‘bad and oppressive law, high taxation, unfavorable climate, hostile social environment and even oppression (slave trade, deportations) have always created flows of migrants, but none of these will ever equal the force arising from man’s natural drive to live in better material conditions’ (Praszałowicz 2002).

Greenwood (1997) summarised Ravenstein’s laws as follows: (1) most migrants move a short distance rather than a long one; (2) towns occupied by a rural population from nearby villages, by filling in gaps, generate migration of rural populations from more remote areas; (3) emigration is reversely proportional to immigration (4) each main current of migration generates compensating waves of migrations; (5) migrants who move longer distances more often prefer to settle down in cities; (6) rural populations are more willing to migrate than urban residents; (7) women are more migratory than men.

Many researchers agree that the first theory of migration which fully deserves that name is the neo-classical theory. It was one of the earliest attempts at approximating the foundations of the classical theory of migration to reality. From the macroeconomic view, the fundamental assumption is the differential between the demand for labour and its supply in different sectors. In consequence, there are differences between the levels of wages, and migration is expected to cause equalisation of wages (Todaro 1976). The theory is based on two assumptions: full employment and the exclusive influence of the labour market on migration (Massey et al. 1993). In microeconomics, it is assumed that migration is an effect of one’s individual decision to move, and the motivation is one’s wish to improve the living conditions. An individual who decides to migrate considers the chances that the migration will create as well as direct and alternative costs, that is the costs of benefits lost should the plan to migrate be abandoned (Golinowska 2001). Individual people are different and in the same circumstances make different decisions regarding migration. The total flow of people is the sum of individual migrations, and this is the area where considerations about migration made on a macro- and micro-scales converge (Massey et al. 1993).

The neo-classical theory of migration seen from the macroeconomic perspective explains that international flows of people are caused by disproportions in the geographical distribution of production means (Brzozowski 2011). The neo-classical models of production means transfer (a development of the

Heckscher-Ohlin's model) assumed free transfer of capital and workforce according to their relative abundance in individual countries, which shaped their relative prices. In the light of these considerations, the determinant of the flow of production means, provided identical technology levels, arises from the differences in the relative capital and labour resources owned by different countries, leading to different levels of remuneration. Migration involves people moving from a country with lower wages to a country with higher wages (Rynarzewski, Zielińska-Głębocka 2006).

The absence of barriers to workforce flow can lead to the equalisation of resources and consequently to the equalisation of wages. This process will continue up to the point when the final work product in both countries becomes equal (at point A) (fig. 4) (Krugman, Obstfeld 2007).

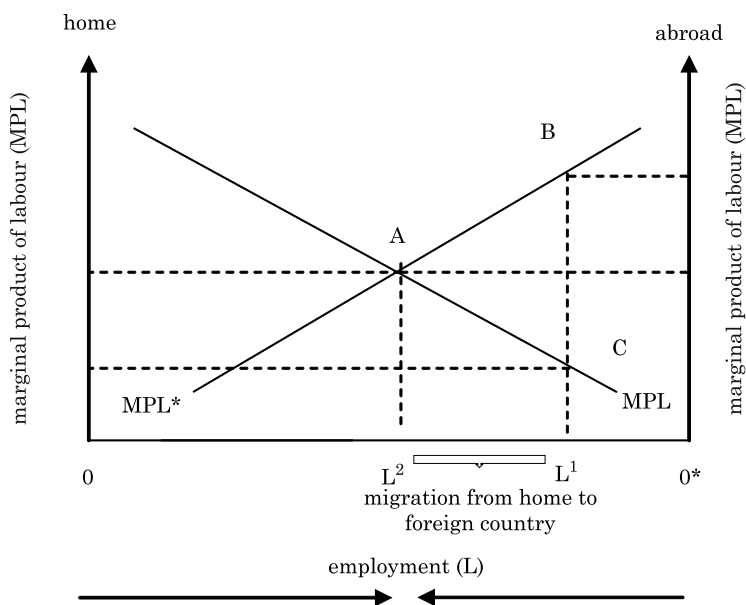


Fig. 4. Causes and consequences of international flow of human labour resources
 Source: Krugman, Obstfeld (2007).

A contribution to the neo-classical theory is made by the neo-classical theory of human capital, which claims that educated people are more willing to migrate. The reason is that such individuals are driven by unfulfilled ambitions and bear lower costs of adapting to a new environment, e.g. they already know some foreign languages, they find it easier to learn, etc. Migration is advantageous to both countries. The country of origin gains from money transfers and new experience of the migrants, which can be taken advantage of

if they return to their home country. The host country gains by receiving qualified workers, who will work for less money than the native inhabitants. The supply gap is filled, without having to expend money on educating workers. If migrants do not return to their country of origin, the sending country loses both the money it spent on their education and some of the most resourceful individuals, who might otherwise stimulate the development of their own country (Dębiec 2012).

Certain modifications have also been introduced into neo-classical theories regarding analysis of migrations, for example the chances of becoming employed or unemployed. Besides, a decision about migration is perceived in these theories as one taken by a family or a household – migration will only take place if the net gain of some family members surpasses the net loss of the others (Parsons, Smeeding 2006).

Classical economic theories dealing with migration focused on differences in incomes as the chief determinant inducing international migration (Hicks 1963, Sjaastad 1962). In reality, however, factors stimulating one to migrate, if measured only in terms of expected income, did not explain why so few people moved between countries despite immense differences in wages worldwide (Parsons, Smeeding 2006).

The theory of wages developed by Hicks makes an important contribution to the development of the neo-classical theory of distribution. Hicks (1932) claimed that differences in net economic gains and wages lay at the foundation of migration. From that point of view, migrations are frequently discussed as a result of differences in wages although, on the other hand, they can be seen as a power able to level off the disparities between earnings (Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003). Hicks' study on the labour market was grossly ignored (both by Hicks himself and other neo-classical theorists) (Flatau 2002).

A slightly different approach to international migration with respect to trade liberalisation was represented by Taylor and Martin (1996), who simultaneously implicated potential consequences for the economic development of an emigrants' country. Taylor and Martin believed that trade liberalisation made trade and migration short-term complements but long-term substitutes. While analysing these relationships, they coined the term 'migration hump'⁵.

The theoretical model created by Martin and Taylor was modified by de Haas (2008), who focused on determining relationships between migration and the economic development of a migrant-sending country, while implicating

⁵ The economic growth becomes more dynamic owing to trade liberalisation, and this initially encourages more people to emigrate, which creates the so-called migration hump. In the long run, because of the increased export, more people find employment in their own country, as a result of which the number of potential emigrants declines – trade becomes a substitute to migration. Another significant consideration is the fact that profit gained in the long term is larger than losses caused in the short term by a transient increase in emigration.

a non-linear dependency between emigration and the economic development and a linear one between immigration and development. Among the factors that determine the rate of migration he listed the following: people's migratory aspirations, creating more wealth, migration networks which lower the costs and restrain the risk of emigration (fig. 5).

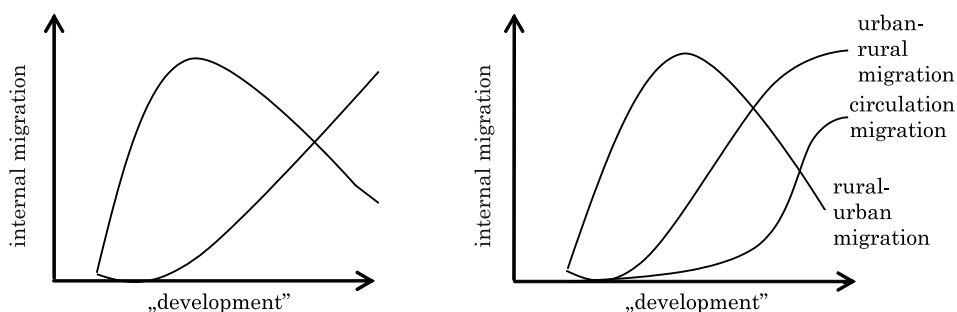


Fig. 5. Economic development versus directions of migration

Source: De Haas (2008).

As rightly observed by Brzozowski (2011), many researchers identify the neoclassical theory with the push-pull concept⁶. But the latter approach is too narrow as it does not account for other micro-scale aspects and almost completely ignores the macro-scale context. Consequently, other theoretical concepts have been proposed to explain the question of international flows of people. The macro-scale approach raises doubts because the scale of migratory flows does not correspond to the theoretical assumptions, as relatively few people from poorer countries decide to emigrate despite substantial differences in wages. Moreover, the neoclassical theory of migration does not take into consideration other, non-economic factors, for instance administrative or political circumstances.

The above reservations have given rise to the development of other migration theories. A new economic theory of migration referred to as the New Economic of Labour Migration (NELM) can serve as an example. Unlike the neoclassical micro-economic theory in the micro-economic approach, which discusses the matter in terms of an individual migrant, the NELM looks at groups of people, most often families, as the basic unit. The main objective of a household is to minimise the risk rather than to maximise the profit. A family

⁶ The push-pull framework is an important component of the neo-classical theory of migration on the micro-scale level. In line with this concept, migration is analysed in the context of the presence of push and pull factors. Among the push factors, the following are indicated: low wages, high unemployment rate, unattractive jobs. Some of the pull factors are a higher level of wages, better chances of finding jobs, prospects of professional promotion and development (Brzozowski 2011).

member will be willing to undertake work in a region distant from his home in order to secure a constant source of income for his family if there are economic problems in the home country. This theory can be applied to explaining the phenomenon of migration from less developed countries. In highly developed countries, the state supports the development of regions threatened for example by structural unemployment and therefore mass migration from one region is rare. In the new economic theory of migration, one of the most important determinants of migration is the environment, which households use as a reference. If the situation of a given household is better than that of their neighbours, the drive to emigrate is weaker, and vice versa. It has been observed, for instance, that people are more willing to migrate if they live in countries where there are bigger internal discrepancies in the standard of living. According to this theory, migration depends on the migrant's country of origin, which is why the destination country is not analysed (Janicki 2007). The new economic theory of migration scrutinised economic migrations as the type of behaviour that relies on sharing the risk in a family. In contrast to individuals, households can differentiate their resources, such as labour, in order to minimise the risk to the family's income (Parsons, Smeeding 2006).

Critics of the new economic theory of migration argue that it offers a one-sided description of migration, mostly concentrating on the identification of reasons for emigration from the standpoint of a country exporting work-force. Another weakness of the above theory is that it neglects the context of settling down in a destination country and how it affects subsequent waves of migrations (Brzozowski 2011).

Proponents of the dual labour market theory strive to present migration on the macro-scale level and with respect to destination countries, by analysing the demand for migrants' labour in these countries. The labour market in developed countries is characterised by the presence of segmentation (bifurcation). Two sectors, capital-intensive and labour-intensive, are formed. The number of employees from a given country in the labour-intensive sector decreases even when the unemployment rate is high. Some job offers are unattractive to the native population, for example less paid, dangerous or low-prestige jobs as well as jobs which do not require high skills or are seasonally available. The demand for work in these areas could be satisfied by immigrants. The employment of immigrants does not raise the unemployment rate but stabilises the economy of the immigrants' receiving country. The demand for labour in sectors associated with lower social classes cannot be satisfied by an increase in wages because this could lead to structural inflation. The work available in the capital-intensive sector is well paid and mostly offered to highly qualified workers, more often to nationals. Zwiech (2013) explains that candidates for jobs must fulfil certain requirements which are

either truly or just apparently satisfied by all persons interested in starting a new job. The theory presumes that economic conditions are the only determinant of migration. Factors of political nature are ignored (Janicki 2007).

The theory of the worldwide system is based on the concept conjured by Wallerstein (1974), who contended that globalisation was a consequence of the expansion of capitalism in the contemporary world. Countries have been grouped in concentrically arranged circles, each composed of a core, a semiperipheral area and a peripheral area. The core consists of highly developed countries, which dominate over less developed countries, located peripherally. The core contains various economic activities, from mass production through an advanced form of agricultural economy to international services. Peripheries are characterized by monocultures, mainly agricultural in character, although extraction of minerals also plays a considerable role. As the core countries progressively exhaust own mineral resources and must face increasing labour costs, they search for less expensive workforce and raw materials abroad. The migration of capital begins from the core to the peripheries, which simultaneously become a market for selling products from the core countries. Foreign investment causes changes in the employment structure in peripheral countries, which stimulate migration. Owing to migrations, the core can accelerate its development and the disproportion between the core and peripheries grows bigger (Janicki 2007). Semiperipheries function as a bridge between the core and peripheries. They do not compete with either the core or the peripheries, but strive to protect the internal market. A semiperipheral country competes with other semiperipheral states (Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003).

In order to clarify an increasingly complex process of migration, economists also employ a theory of migratory networks, originating from sociology. Migrations are motivated and supported by networks of contacts between migrants. In groups where no member has ever migrated social bonds between all the members do not facilitate migration. Once the first group member becomes a migrant, social bonds turn into social capital, which encourages other group members to make a decision about migration. As well as making would-be migrants feel safer, social capital generates material benefits, such as information, accommodation and support. On the other hand, a social network evokes in a migrant a wish to imitate his predecessors and to achieve at least comparable gains. It also leads to a phenomenon known as a chain of migrations, which favors maintaining contacts between migrants from same villages, towns or regions back in the immigrant sending country when settling down in the receiving state (Golinowska 2001). Moreover, well-developed networks of contacts contribute to a further growth and continuity of a given

stream of migrants, even when the initial stimulants, such as wage and unemployment differentials between the sending and receiving region, now play a much less significant role in encouraging migrations. Thus, migration assumes the form of a self-propelling process (Keipińska 2008).

Assumptions close to the ones underlying the theory of migratory networks have been expressed in the institutional theory, which states that permanent migrations are a consequence of connections between institutions. Companies and organisations which facilitate migrations while controlling the associated risk have been established in response to migrants' expectations (Janicki 2007).

Another important determinant of international migrations is progressing integration. According to the classical current in integration theory, which appeared in a model proposed by Balassa (1961), integration proceeds in stages, and free movement of economic factors (including labour) is achieved by an integrating organisation at the stage of creating a common market. When instituting a free flow of people within the internal market of the European Union, two main elements were considered: a possibility to offer and accept jobs, and the absence of administrative barriers to the flow of people between the EU member states. However, the legal regulations governing this movement in the EU were not implemented until 2004-2005, and therefore their results will not be seen until some more distant future (Ambroziak 2013).

The expansion of the EU to Central and Eastern Europe created a need to diagnose a possible course of migrations. Nonetheless, the multi-faceted character of migration in both theoretical and empirical practice, has – to some extent – restricted the range of achievable results (Golinowska 2001).

Ambroziak (2012) highlights two of the goals set for the common market, namely attaining a more rational employment and satisfying the local demand for specific qualifications. The integration was intended to create more wealth and stimulate the convergence of prices of production factors, including wages of workers in all countries which belonged to an integrating organisation. However, the concept of free movement of employees, which is so broadly used, does not fully reflect the EU reality because every individual makes an independent decision whether they have an opportunity to move freely or not, and determines both the character and aim of moving within the organisation as well as the scope of activities undertaken in order to find employment.

Bouder (2006) contradicts other theorists when suggesting that migrations are a factor which shapes labour markets and not *vice versa*. He also emphasises the fact that there are some poorly paid jobs just because there are immigrants willing to do them. The position of immigrants on a labour market depends on social, cultural and institutional factors rather than on economic conditions.

1.3. Causes and consequences of international migrations

Decisions to migrate are usually preceded by an analysis of various arguments in favour and against such a move. The liberalisation of European labour markets was seen as an opportunity not only by those Poles who then were in their own country and decided to look for better paid work abroad, but also by those who had emigrated to different EU countries before and could legalise their stay. A decision to stay or leave involved a certain amount of risk, which is inherent to living in a foreign environment, with a poor knowledge of cultural norms, absence of supporting people and often having poor linguistic skills. People who have sound knowledge of a foreign language, with jobs sought on the labour market and high qualifications have better chances of finding more prestigious and better paid work. But less well-educated people, often with no knowledge of a foreign language, can as well decide to emigrate for work (Zielińska, Szaban 2012).

Analysis of the causes of migration may lead to the conclusion that decisions to leave one's country are taken under the influence of objective circumstances regarding the development of both prospective emigrants' country of origin and their destination country. These conditions are termed as 'push factors' (expelling migrants) and 'pull factors' (attracting migrants). Push and pull factors motivate one to migrate or facilitate such a decision; in addition, they help one forecast chances of earning high wages or improving professional qualifications (Maksimczuk 2007).

The model of push and pull factors proposed by Bogue in 1969 is one of the most popular models illustrating reasons for migrating. A migrant is subjected to forces which drive him outside the country of origin and to forces which attract him to a destination country. Examples of such migration push and pull factors are contained in table 1.

Considerable influence on the development of the above model of push and pull factors came from the research done by Lee, who in 1966 designed a theory of intermediate obstacles and distinguished four groups of factors which affect one's decision about migration. They pertain to the place of residence, country of origin and target country, indirect obstacles and personal issues. Lee observed that the prevalence of benefits over costs due to migration does not necessarily lead to a positive decision to migrate. What is needed is a stimulus that will overcome the feeling of inertia, which to some extent is always present. According to Lee, inertia is the feeling of being attached to one's place of residence. Once inertia is combated successfully, a decision to migrate may follow (Orłowska 2013). Migration is not only the product of push and pull factors, but also the result of one's perception of such circumstances (Iglicka-Okólska 1998).

Table 1

Motivation for migration

Motivation	Push factors	Pull factors
Demographic, economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – low wages – high unemployment – poverty – inadequate health care – inadequate education – demographic pressure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – demand for labour – higher wages – better standard of living – opportunities for personal and professional development
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – political repressions – deportations, repatriations – conflicts – danger – violence – violation of human rights – corruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – feeling of safety – political freedom
Social, cultural, religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – discrimination, ethnic or religious persecution – remittances – lack of equality between men and women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – no discrimination – feeling of being accepted – return to ancestors' country – family unification – freedom of belief
Ecological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – ecological catastrophes – natural disasters – life in a given area impossible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – healthier natural environment – access to natural resources – better living condition

Source: Orłowska (2013), *Migration and Remittances...* (2006).

Based on the empirical verification of migration determinants from 14 OECD countries between 1980 and 1995, Mayda (2010) made an effort to identify the impact produced on migration by such factors as the average income and income disparity in both sending and receiving countries. Her analyses provided some arguments that supported the push-and-pull model, but also implicated some contrary phenomena. Furthermore, Mayda confirmed that pull factors, including an opportunity to earn money in a host country, contributed to a larger scale of migration. On the other hand, she did not verify the effect of a number of push factors (e.g. the GNP per capita in a sending country). The results of her analyses suggested some asymmetry in the role of push and pull factors. A possible explanation is the role played by the demand side in the model, which encompasses the migration policy of the destination country.

Rogowska-Mikiel (2003) underlines that behind every individual decision to migrate there is the desire to improve the material status of one's family, often perceived as unsatisfactory when confronted with one's idea what it could be like if a decision to migrate abroad was taken. Another important reason for migrating from one's country is when it is either difficult or

impossible to use all available and free labour force on the internal market because the supply exceeds the demand.

Cieślińska (2012) claims that a case when a migratory flow in one specific direction becomes exceptionally popular resembles 'running with the herd' or some fashion trend. A broad wave of migrants makes their migration easier and safer.

Maruszczyńska (2013) believes that migration destabilises the migrant's nearest social surroundings, including family, often disrupting family bonds. This conclusion finds confirmation in the fact that increasingly more often prolonged absence of one of the spouses is the major reason for divorce, and more and more frequently a wife or a husband temporarily living abroad files for a divorce.

Migrations can therefore produce a negative effect on family life. They can break up families and lead to certain modifications in how the word 'family' is understood. The absence of one or both of the parents, nicknamed 'Euro-orphanage', means that the children stay under the custody of just one parent, grandparents, relatives or an institution. In some cases, they stay alone. The children who are deprived of parental care for a long time are observed to be socially maladjusted, for example they suffer from addictions, separate themselves from the society, etc. Consequences of such negligence in child care are difficult to predict (Kozak 2010). The seriousness of this problem is evidenced by the fact that the term 'Euro-orphanage' has been sanctioned by legal regulations⁷. The number of children who have been 'orphaned' due to their parents' emigration has not been counted precisely, which is why it is impossible to provide relevant data.

A distinguishing feature of the contemporary economic emigration from Poland is the relatively young age of emigrating Poles, who are free from obligations towards their families back in the country. The young age of emigrants is generally associated with their being childless and unmarried, which is a contributory factor to prolonged stays abroad (Jończy 2009). Frequently, young people do not have a strong incentive, for example children, a spouse or a home to return to, that would encourage them to terminate their migratory stay abroad. Moreover, young people with no family ties adapt more easily and engage themselves in work and professional development more strongly, which is another reason why they are willing to stay abroad longer⁸.

⁷ The Ministry for National Education in Poland states that Euro-orphanage is a situation when a parent or parents' economic migration causes the disruption of basic family functions such as providing a continuous socialisation process, emotional support to a child and culture transmission.

⁸ ois.rops-opole.pl/download/Wplyw_zagranicznych_migracji_zarobkowych_na_sytuacje_spol-dem_woj_opolskim.html accessed on 31.03.2014.

A flow of foreigners to a given country can have consequences which are either in the economic interest of that country or against it. The actual impact depends on the specific situation of a receiving country in different areas and related to the condition of labour force, economic boom or recession, the state's economic strategy, situation on the labour market, etc. (Organiściak-Krzykowska 2012; 2013a).

Effects of migration can be discussed from a short-term or a long-term perspective; they can be scrutinised from the point of view of both sending and receiving countries. By filling in the gap between the demand and supply for work, mostly in sectors characterised by permanent or seasonal shortage of workers, immigrants contribute to the economic development of the receiving country. Unqualified workers constitute inexpensive workforce, which reduces production costs, whereas highly qualified professionals, attracted by better material and professional conditions, save the country's expenditure on education. The receiving country also experiences an increase in the level of consumption and demand on the housing market. Immigrants change the demographic structure of countries. As the statistical data demonstrate, most of emigration occurs from countries with generally younger populations to countries which ageing societies. Thus, migration contributes to decelerated ageing in the receiving country. Last of all, legal immigrants pay taxes and contribute to the state's pension scheme (Orłowska 2013).

Despite the broadly held belief that immigrants have a strong negative effect on wages and job opportunities for local residents, the relevant literature contains only a handful of reports sharing this view (Friedberg, Hunt 1995, Somerville, Sumption 2009). Empirical estimates accomplished in different conditions and according to different approaches have shown that the impact of immigration on the target country's market is minimal. There is no proof to support that the employment rate among the native population decreases notably due to immigration. Most empirical analyses completed for the United States of America and for other countries have demonstrated that a 10% increase in the number of immigrants among native workers leads to no more than a 1% reduction of wages (Friedberg, Hunt 1995). Card (2001) reported a comparable reduction of wages, ranging from 1 to 3%. Cortes (2008) concluded that when immigration of less qualified workers increases by 10%, the labour-consuming jobs, such as house or office cleaning as well as gardening and landscaping, are less paid by around 2%.

The concern that immigration might have a negative effect on the labour market has always been focal to debates on immigration in the USA. However, no research done before 1980 proved that immigration *did* affect negatively the native labour market. Since then, many researchers have attempted to explore how immigrants change the labour market and what market opportunities

remain open to native workers. However, the researchers' effort, mostly consisting in making comparisons between the economic situation of native workers in towns or in whole regions, has not yielded conclusive results. The main reason was that groups of immigrants defined in most of the earlier research were distinguished according to their level of education as an indicator of the professional skills they possessed. Borjas's research (2002) was different in that the key element was the insight into one of the major implications arising from the theory of human resources, namely that the worker acquires professional skills both at school and at work. Thus, he presumed that different groups of immigrants possessing specific experience create different classes of skills. Based on this assumption, Borjas tried to diagnose the influence of immigration on the labour market for native workers. He suggested that immigration lowers the wages and decreases the demand for native workers.

The country receiving immigrants also bears some additional costs due to the influx of migrants, for example the state provides new-comers with housing, education, social benefits or health care and helps them adapt to the new reality. An arrival of a large number of migrants may cause cultural, religious or racial conflicts, sometimes leading to the emergence of ghettos in poorer parts of cities and raising the crime rate (Orłowska 2013).

An advantage of migration observed in a sending country is certainly a decrease in the unemployment rate as the surplus of labour force has been shifted abroad. Money transfers from foreign countries contribute to a rise in consumption and investment capital, which – as well as stimulating production and services – may create new jobs. Also, the incomes earned by seasonal migrants are a positive impulse stimulating the development of local businesses, admittedly felt only seasonally.

Human emigration, especially when it concerns a large share of a whole population, results in a deteriorated demographic potential of the sending country and misshapes the age structure (accelerated ageing of the population, especially in rural areas), which – apart from the loss of individuals who are busiest on the work market (production-age people are most likely to emigrate) – poses a threat to the state's pension system (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009). Another disadvantage is that the emigration country's population quality suffers. Those who most readily take a decision to emigrate are often educated people, which means that the relative number of highly qualified people in the sending country declines. Parallel to that, a phenomenon named 'brain waste' can be observed. It appears for example when college graduates migrate and take jobs below their qualifications. Another development is called 'brain drain', and it stands for an outflow of highly qualified workforce (Kaczmarczyk, Tyrowicz 2008).

Another negative consequence of migration is the risk of wasting the money spent on education. Other disadvantages include economic degradation of depopulating areas, shortages of workers in those sectors where the outflow of workforce has been most severe and lost opportunities due to the migration of workers, loss of potential taxes, risk of inflation due to uncontrollable money transfers to the sending country and an outflow of investment capital together with the migrants (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009).

Consequences of migration for a sending country can also be considered in relation to returns of migrants, i.e. re-emigration. Among the most notable effects are:

- higher professional qualifications in the host country and opportunities to take advantage of improved skills after returning to one's home country. Besides, the experience gained abroad can stimulate the innovative thinking of re-emigrants and the saved capital can enable them to make investments;
- when a young generation returns to their country of origin, they can improve the state's demographic situation;
- re-emigration creates more wealth in the native country as re-emigrants and their families can enjoy an improved material status;
- production of goods and development of services expected by re-emigrants, e.g. better education, more homes, etc. (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009, Orłowska 2013).

People with university education who had jobs below their qualifications while staying abroad may have to face a problem of the so-called gap in a professional career. In extreme cases, re-emigrants may become unemployed. This is particularly undesirable when their return to the home country is associated with a worse situation on the foreign work market. Considering the fact that economies of the EU member states are mutually dependent, the economic situation in the European Union can adversely affect the Polish economy. Then, re-emigration can aggravate the economic condition of Poland.

It is extremely difficult to weigh out and compare all consequences of emigration in a sending country. It appears easier to assess the benefits of a receiving country. However, the latter often remain unnoticed by local residents, while fears evoked by jobs being offered to foreigners are felt more acutely (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009).

One of the principal reasons why researchers have become interested in the impact of migration was the enlargement of the European Union. Analyses performed by Baas and co-authors (2010) suggest that migration flows induced by the EU enlargement to the East increased the GNP in the integrated areas by about 20% (ca 24 billion euros). Results of the simulations carried out showed that in the EU-15 receiving countries wages fell by less than 0.1% in the short term. But in the long term, levels of remuneration remained stable.

Likewise, the unemployment rate increased only slightly in the short term in all EU-15 countries, but was unaffected by migration in the long term. With respect to the sending countries, wages increased and unemployment decreased in the short term. We believe that migrations do not affect the labour market in the long term.

2. Historical, legal and economic conditions underlying migrations from Poland to Germany and the UK

2.1. Migrations from Poland to Germany from a historical perspective

Migrations from the Polish territories to Germany have a very long history. Prior to World War One, migrations to Germany were stimulated by the dynamic growth of the German economy, especially in the Ruhr district (Świątkowski 2006). In 1870-1914, an estimated number of emigrants from the Polish territory to Germany reached 3.5 million. Owing to its rapid industrial and economic development, Germany demanded more workforce in the industries and agriculture. Poles from less industrialised areas were the main source of workers satisfying the increased demand for labour. It is estimated that about 1.2 million Polish immigrants originated from the part of Poland that had been annexed by Prussia, another 1.2 million came from the Polish territories which had been incorporated to the Russian Empire and 1.1 million arrived from the Polish lands acquired by the Austrian Empire. The main destinations for Polish migrants in Germany were North Rhine-Westphalia, the Ruhr region and Berlin.

In the interwar period, permanent migrations were halted while seasonal migrations, which were initially illegal, were limited in number. The Polish-German Convention of 24 November 1927 concerning Polish agricultural workers legalised seasonal migrations and provided Polish agricultural workers with some form of legal protection. In the 1930s, due to the economic crisis, limits on seasonal migrations were imposed. The borders were reopened to Polish immigrants in 1937.

During World War Two, foreign citizens forcefully displaced to the territory of the Third Reich were mostly slave workers, concentration camp prisoners, POWs as well as about 200,000 children who were selected to undergo Germanisation. Poles were the most numerous group of foreign workers (about 60%). Estimates indicate that the number of Polish emigrants during that period reached 1.9-2.5 million. When the war ended, Poles in Germany found themselves staying in different occupation zones. Most were granted the status of expelled persons. A large number of immigrants returned to Poland,

aided by repatriation actions, while others emigrated to other countries in West Europe. Some decided to stay in West Germany. In 1950, about 80,000 Polish immigrants were given the status of stateless persons, so-called DPs (displaced persons) (Nowosielski 2012).

After 1945, migrations from Poland were most often motivated by political reasons. The new migration policy, the aim of which was to curb the mobility of Polish residents, led to very specific forms of migration. Migrations on business began to play an important role, but as the control measures slackened slightly, tourist migrations, both for commerce or temporary work, created opportunities to improve the financial status of migrants and their families. In the 1950s, the first migration wave of displaced persons occurred, mainly as a consequence of the policy of joining families carried out by the Polish and the German Red Cross. Poland was left by about 250,000 people. The second wave of repatriating migrants took place on the grounds of the Treaty Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Polish People's Republic Concerning the Basis for Normalising Their Mutual Relations, signed at Warsaw on December 7, 1970. Such migrations continued until the late 1980s. In parallel, the 1980s were marked by a large-scale migration, known as the Solidarity migration, caused by political reasons.

Prior to 1989, a decision to leave Poland used to be final. People who decided to leave the country could not return in the perceivable future. Following some liberalisation of the transborder movement, migrations to Germany assumed a more temporary character. Despite certain austerity of the German migration policy, there were numerous opportunities for arranging a legal stay and occupation in Germany, for example employment programmes addressed to transborder, seasonal and contracted workers, which allowed hundreds of thousands of workers from Poland to arrive in Germany (Kaczmarczyk 2002).

Subsequent to the political transformation in Central and East European countries, restrictions imposed on the migration from Poland to Germany were gradually relaxed. In 1990-2003, employment migrations (seasonal, circulation and permanent ones) were prevalent. Germany became one of the principal destinations for Polish migrants (Cieślińska 2012).

After Poland's access to the EU, the labour markets of most of the EU countries were gradually opened to Polish citizens, but this did not lead to any reduction in the number of Poles emigrating from Poland to Germany. Although the access to the German labour market was limited, there were other possibilities of finding legal employment. Restrictions were lifted in respect of some occupations, such as engineers, electronic engineers, machine construction specialists, IT engineers or medical doctors. Also, the opening of the services market enabled would-be migrants to evade restrictions by

registering themselves as the self-employed. In 2008, Germany allowed citizens of 'new member countries' who were college graduates (not only from German schools) to take employment in Germany that would correspond to their courses of studies, without prior testing of the job market. This stimulated the flow of well-educated migrants from Poland to Germany (Frelak 2010).

Unquestionably, the distribution of Polish immigrants in Germany is largely influenced by the historical waves of Polish migrations. Most Poles live in North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and Hesse, where migratory networks are well-developed.

2.2. The historical context of migrations of Poles to the UK

The history of Polish migrations to Britain dates back to the 14th c., when Polish protestants arrived in the British Isles to learn and study the doctrine of the reformed church. In the second half of the 17th c. and in the 18th c., during the period of the Counter-Reformation, migrations of Poles to Britain were slightly more numerous. However, the flow of Poles to that country did not increase substantially until the end of the 18th c., after the Partition of Poland in 1795. At that time, next to France, England turned into a haven for Polish politicians and soldiers, who emigrated abroad with an intention to continue struggle for the liberation of their country. Another wave of Polish migrants arrived in Great Britain in the early years of the 19th c., when Otto von Bismarck's colonisation policy forced Polish inhabitants of the Prussian Partition to leave their land. They moved in large numbers to Great Britain and in contrast to the earlier migrations they were 'ordinary people'. Until the outbreak of World War One, three locations in Great Britain could be distinguished as particularly favoured by Polish immigrants. They were London, Manchester and Lanarkshire in Scotland (Trevena 2009).

After World War One, the appeal of Great Britain as a destination of Polish migrants waned, as evidenced by the fact that it was chosen by just 758 Poles between the years 1919-1931.

A new era in the history of Polish migration to Great Britain began at the end of World War Two. Great Britain was an important centre of political immigration. The Polish government-in-exile was based in London until its dissolution in 1991. There were also numerous organisations of Polish immigrants, Polish mass media and Polish chaplaincy established in Great Britain. Consequently, the post-war immigrants from Poland living on the British Isles could sustain their national identity. Actually, it was in Great Britain that Poles were able to preserve and nurture patriotic feelings (Cieślińska 2012).

As Poles were leaving their native country for various reasons, three waves of Polish migrations to Britain can be distinguished (Słowik 2013). The first one occurred immediately after the war, in 1945, and was due to political reasons. Immigrants arrived in Britain with General Anders' troops, and their war experiences included fight against Germans in the territories of England, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy. Thousands of Polish soldiers who had fought in West Europe did not decide to return to Poland when the war ended. Their decision to stay abroad was encouraged by the British government, which at that time was recruiting foreign labour force to raise the country from war damage. Estimates set the number of Polish refugees who settled down in Great Britain until 1951 at over 160,000. Another wave of Polish migration lasted from the 1960s to the 1990s. But the number of Poles who arrived in Britain during those decades was incomparably smaller and the underlying reasons for their migration were mainly political and economic. On the one hand, there were those migrants (mainly wives and children) who arrived to join their family members already dwelling in Britain (Fihel, Piętka 2007). Moreover, many people left Poland due to the outbreaks of political unrest in 1956, 1970 and later, in 1980-81. Those were predominantly political refugees, who sought asylum in Great Britain. Just in 1986-1996, 2,900 applications for political asylum were filed by Poles in the UK. A large number of those who left Poland at that time were illegal emigrants (Duvell 2004, Słowik 2013).

The third wave of migration consisted of the people who left Poland after 2004, that is after the accession of Poland to the EU. Those were mostly migrations in search of employment. It should be emphasised that the size of that migration wave to Great Britain was unexpectedly large and is now considered to be a social phenomenon and an unprecedented demographic event (Cieślińska 2012).

2.3. Regulations governing employment of Poles in Germany and the UK

Free movement of people is one of the fundamental pillars on which the European Union's liberal internal market stands. The principle has been expanded over the European Economic Area to cover Norway, Lichtenstein and Iceland as well as Switzerland. The free movement concerns both people active on the work market, i.e. employees, self-employed persons, service providers, those who do not work, e.g. students, retired people, old-age pensioners and people self-financing their stay abroad (Łazanowski 2008).

According to the jurisprudence of the Court of Justice of the European Union, a person is deemed to be a worker if he or she who provides work having

a certain economic value for another person, under the direction of that person and receives remuneration for the work performed. In line with the European Community law, the free movement of workers alongside the freedom to exercise economic activity (i.e. to start and manage companies and firms) and to provide services are among the fundamental freedoms guaranteed in the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community. The free flow of workers is legislated by the regulations of primary and secondary law. Of fundamental importance is the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, which guarantees the free movement of workers between the member states by including such obligations as:

- to treat equally to a host state's citizens in respect of employment, remuneration and work terms;
- to accept job applications for employment from citizens of other member states;
- to ensure the freedom of movement and stay in the territory of every member state, with the purpose of undertaking and performing work;
- to allow one's stay in a given state after the employment terminated.

The EU secondary law specified the details of the Treaty's provisions regarding the free movement of workers and their families and the coordination of social security. The regulations pertaining to the freedom of movement of workers do not apply to employment in public administration. In addition, the EU member states can restrict the right to entry and stay in their territories if required in order to maintain order, safety or public health. However, such a decision must be justified by the behaviour of an individual refused the entry and his or her actions must constitute an actual threat to the basic interest of the country that forbids the entry (Uścińska 2008).

The regulations governing the flow of workers between old member states, the so-called EU-15, and the countries which accessed the EU in 2004 (the EU-10) were defined in the Accession Treaty. Transitional periods were established for the new countries, lasting for 7 years at the longest (known as the 2+3+2 formula). Three countries, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom, decided not to implement transitional periods and opened their labour markets to citizens from the new member states in 2004 (Wiśniewski 2006). This means that starting on 1 May 2004 Poles did not have to apply for permits to stay and work in the UK. Moreover, they were granted exactly the same rights as UK citizens to have access to job offers, to receive same wages and to be guaranteed same work conditions.

The last of the EU-15 states to have lifted the restrictions (on 1 May 2011) were Austria and Germany. However, prior to that day, there had been alternative ways to hire Polish citizens in Germany. Based on the bilateral agreements signed between Poland and Germany in 1990, it was possible to

employ workers on a short-term basis, for seasonal work (mainly in agriculture), contracted workers and guest workers. Moreover, since 1 May 2004 Polish entrepreneurs have been allowed to provide services in Germany (owing to the freedom to provide services in the whole European Union). In 2007-2009 Germany implemented regulations which liberalised the access to their labour market for professionals, e.g. IT specialists, engineers and doctors of medicine⁹.

2.4. Macroeconomic conditions as determinants of migration

Theories on workforce migrations developed worldwide identify various determinants of this process including differences in the level of economic development and wages. International migration of workforce is also associated with such determinants as broadly understood costs and benefits, which may arise from the above circumstances.

In 2004-2013, the highest GDP per capita expressed in international dollars was recorded in Germany, where it reached 44,469 in 2013, as compared to 38,452 in the UK and 23,649 in Poland in the same year (tab. 2). It is worth noticing that the GDP per capita tended to increase in Poland throughout the whole decade while in the UK it decreased in 2009-2010: by 3.5% in 2009 relative to the previous year (2008) and by 1.4% in 2010 compared to 2009. Meanwhile, in Germany, the GDP per capita fell by 2.0% in 2009 versus 2008. Moreover, the GDP per capita in Poland in 2013 was 81.3% higher than in 2004. This increment was by 65.0 percentage points (p.p.) higher than the increase in the GDP per capita in the UK and by 36.2 p.p. higher than its increase in the same time period in Germany.

Another measure, known as the consumer price index (CPI), reflects a percentage change in the consumer expenditure to purchase a certain set of goods, called a representative basket of goods, measured over a certain time period. The major disadvantage of this index is that the contents of a basket of goods could vary from country to country. Thus, the harmonised consumer price index (HCPI) is used for comparisons across the whole European Union. This measure eliminates the discrepancies intrinsic to the methodology of creating a basket of goods separately in individual states. In 2013, the highest annual average increase in the general level of prices among the three analysed countries was observed in the UK, where it equalled 2.6% and was 1 p.p. higher than in Germany and 1.8 p.p. higher than in Poland. In 2004-2013, prices in

⁹ http://issuu.com/polska2030/docs/skutki_otwarcia_niemieckiego_ryнку_pracy accessed on 4.04.2014.

Table 2

Selected macroeconomic indices in Poland, Germany and the UK

Index	State	Years											
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013		
GDP <i>per capita</i> (international dollar) ¹⁰	Poland	13 042	13 807	15 160	16 877	18 046	19 218	20 683	22 110	22 623	23 649		
	Germany	30 637	32 142	34 684	36 703	38 383	37 210	39 558	42 381	43 171	44 469		
	the UK	33 066	34 525	36 851	37 390	37 753	36 422	35 924	36 629	36 942	38 452		
HCIP (previous year = 100) ¹¹ Annual average rate of change	Poland	103.6	102.2	101.3	102.6	104.2	104.0	102.7	103.9	103.7	100.8		
	Germany	101.8	101.9	101.8	102.3	102.8	100.2	101.2	102.5	102.1	101.6		
	the UK	101.3	102.1	102.3	102.3	103.6	102.2	103.3	104.5	102.8	102.6		
HCIP (year 2005 = 100) ¹² Annual average index	Poland	97.9	100.0	101.3	103.9	108.3	112.6	115.6	120.1	124.5	125.5		
	Germany	98.1	100.0	101.8	104.1	107.0	107.2	108.4	111.1	113.5	115.3		
	the UK	98.0	100.0	102.3	104.7	108.5	110.8	114.5	119.6	123.0	126.1		

* according to the purchasing power parity in current prices in international dollars

Source: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database accessed on 2.05.2014.

¹⁰ <http://stat.gov.pl/statystyka-miedzynarodowa/porownania-miedzynarodowe/tablice-o-krajach-wedlug-tematow/rachunki-narodowe/> accessed on 22.02.2015.

¹¹ <http://stat.gov.pl/statystyka-miedzynarodowa/porownania-miedzynarodowe/tablice-o-krajach-wedlug-tematow/ceny/> and <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nu/submitViewTableAction.do> (same data from the Main Statistical Office in Poland and from Eurostat).

¹² http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nu/show.do?dataset=prc_hicp_auid&lang=en accessed on 22.02.2015.

Poland rose by an average of 2.9 p.p., in the UK – by 2.7 p.p. and in Germany by 1.8 p.p.

The living standard and quality are also compared by the Human Development Index (HDI), which is a synthetic measure that illustrates changes in the social and economic development of a country. The index is composed of such information as life expectancy, gross national income *per capita* and level of education. The value of the index is in the range of 0 to 1. The scores are used for grouping countries into those with very high (0.8-1.0), high and medium (0.5-0.8) and low human development (less than 0.5) (Księżyk 2013). In 2014, the HDI score for Germany was 0.911, which put that country on the 6th position in the UN ranking list. The UK occupied 14th position, with the HDI score of 0.892, while the score for Poland was 0.834, which gave the country the 35th place globally (*Human...* 2014). Thus, all the three countries belong to the group of countries with very high human development.

Three measures: employment index, unemployment rate and average monthly net salary, were employed to illustrate the work market in each of the three countries (tab. 3). The employment index shows the ratio of working age adults to the total population between 15 and 65 years of age. In Germany, during all the analysed years, the employment-to-population ratio tended to increase. In Poland, however, the increasing tendency was disrupted in 2009 and 2010, when a slight decrease was observed. The value of this index followed a completely different course in the UK. In 2005, it was higher than in 2004, increasing from 75.0 to 75.2%, and remaining on that level until 2008. It rose afterwards until 2010, when it started to decline to 73.6% in 2011. In the subsequent years, it increased again.

In 2013, the employment-to-population ratio in Poland was 64.9%, being lower by 12.2 p.p. than in Germany, by 9.9 p.p. than in the UK and by 3.4 p.p. than the average score for the EU-28. In Poland, Germany and the UK, throughout the whole time period submitted to our analysis, the employment-to-population ratio was higher for men than for women. In Poland, it was 72.1% for men in 2013, which was by 14.5 p.p. higher than for women. In Germany, it reached 81.9% for men (9.6 p.p. more than for women) and in the UK it was 80.4% for men (11.1 p.p. more than for women). In 2013, the employment ratio relative to gender in Poland was less than the average for the UE, unlike in Germany and the UK, where it was above that average value.

When considering the employment ratio in relation to the educational background, the lowest values of this index were reported for populations with primary education. In 2013, it reached 64.6% in the UK, which was 6.4 p.p. higher than in Germany and 27.0 p.p. higher than in Poland. Since 2008, Poland was observed to experience a steady decrease in the employment ratio value for people with primary education. In the UK, a higher employment-to-population ratio was reported for the population with secondary education

(79.2%). In Germany, it equalled 77.3% and in Poland – just 62.4%. The employment index for any segment of the population according to the schooling level was lower than the EU average. The biggest disproportions were observed among people with primary education, where the employment-to-population ratio was 13.8 p.p. lower than the EU average, while being just 0.6 p.p. lower than the EU average among college and university graduates. Noteworthy is the fact that the employment-to-population ratio increased in Poland and Germany in 2013 (by 13.3 and 12.1%, respectively), while it slightly decreased in the UK in the same year (by 0.3%).

Another measure applied to characterise labour markets is the unemployment rate. It shows the percentage of unemployed people within a specific age range in the total number of working people in the same age brackets. Eurostat defines an unemployed person as someone aged 15 to 74 without work during the reference week, who claims to be available for work within two weeks and who has actively sought work for the past four weeks, or else a person who has already found a job that they would start in no more than 3 months¹³.

During the analysed time period, the unemployment rate tended to decrease only in Germany. In Poland, the unemployment rate decreased from 19.1 to 7.1% between the years 2004 and 2008, which meant a decrease by 12 p.p., but then it rose again in 2013. In the UK, the unemployment rate increased from 2004 to 2011, but decreased in the final two years submitted to our analysis, down to 7.6% in 2013. On average, the unemployment rate for women in the EU-28 is about 0.1 p.p. higher than for men. In the three countries discussed herein, the gender gap persisted only in Poland, where it reached 1.4 p.p. in 2013. In contrast, the UK and Germany observed a lower unemployment rate among women than among men (by 0.6 p.p. in the UK and 0.9 p.p. in Germany). Likewise, a high unemployment rate was observed for people aged 15-25. In 2013, it was 7.9% in Germany (a decrease by 5.9 p.p. compared to the reference year), 20.7% in the UK (an increase by 8.7 p.p.) and 27.3% in Poland (a decrease by 12.3 p.p.).

The highest average monthly gross remuneration in 2013 was recorded in the UK (1,462.6 euro), where it was higher by 162.2 euros than in Germany and by 1,145.1 euros higher than in Poland. It is also worth noting that the average remuneration in the UK during the analysed decade did not fluctuate extensively and grew by just 2.4% relative to its level in 2004. Much bigger changes occurred in Germany (18.8%) and in Poland (71.0%). Despite the dynamic increase in wages observed in Poland, the average monthly salaries earned by Poles correspond to just 24.4% of the average remuneration in Germany and 21.7% in the UK.

¹³ <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tsdec460&plugin=1> accessed on 23.04.2014.

Table 3

Selected indices characterising the labour market in Poland, Germany and the UK

Index	State	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	X*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Employment ratio	Poland	57.3	58.3	60.1	62.7	65.0	64.9	64.3	64.5	64.7	64.9	
	Germany	68.8	69.4	71.1	72.9	74.0	74.2	74.9	76.3	76.7	77.1	68.3
	the UK	75.0	75.2	75.2	75.2	75.2	73.9	75.6	73.6	74.2	74.8	
Employment ratio according to gender	Poland	51.2	51.7	53.1	55.5	57.3	57.6	57.3	57.2	57.5	57.6	62.5
	men	63.5	65.1	67.3	70.2	73.0	72.6	71.3	71.9	72.0	72.1	74.2
	Germany	62.6	63.1	65.0	66.7	67.8	68.7	69.6	71.1	71.5	72.3	62.5
	men	74.9	75.6	77.2	79.1	80.1	79.6	80.1	81.4	81.8	81.9	74.2
	the UK	68.0	68.5	68.6	68.4	68.8	68.2	67.9	67.9	68.4	69.3	62.5
	men	82.1	82.0	82.0	82.2	81.8	79.6	79.3	79.4	80.0	80.4	74.2
Employment ratio according to education	Poland	35.6	36.2	37.7	40.3	42.3	41.0	39.2	38.7	38.9	37.6	51.4
	secondary	57.2	57.8	59.3	61.9	64.1	63.6	62.7	62.9	62.6	62.4	69.3
	higher	80.2	81.1	81.7	82.8	83.7	83.7	82.5	82.2	82.1	82.3	81.7
	Germany	49.2	51.9	54.1	55.0	55.9	55.7	56.0	57.3	57.7	58.2	51.4
	secondary	68.3	69.6	71.4	73.3	74.2	74.1	74.9	76.3	76.7	77.3	69.3
	higher	86.3	86.2	87.1	87.1	88.4	86.7	85.4	85.5	86.0	86.1	81.7
the UK	primary	64.6	64.2	63.6	63.4	59.1	57.2	55.5	55.6	56.4	64.6	51.4
	secondary	79.2	79.6	79.5	79.7	77.8	75.6	75	75.6	75.2	79.2	69.3
	higher	87.4	87.5	87.4	87.3	85.3	84.4	84.1	82.7	83.2	87.4	81.7

cont. table 3

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Unemployment rate	Poland	19.1	17.9	13.9	9.6	7.1	8.1	9.7	9.7	10.1	10.3	
	Germany	10.5	11.3	10.3	8.7	7.5	7.8	7.1	5.9	5.5	5.3	10.8
	the UK	4.7	4.8	5.4	5.3	5.6	7.5	7.8	8.1	7.9	7.6	
Unemployment rate according to gender	Poland											
	women	20.1	19.4	15.1	10.3	7.9	8.6	10.0	10.4	10.9	11.1	10.9
	men	18.3	16.7	13.0	9.0	6.4	7.8	9.4	9.0	9.4	9.7	10.8
	Germany											
Unemployment rate according to gender	women	10.2	11.0	10.2	8.8	7.7	7.3	6.6	5.6	5.2	5.0	10.9
	men	10.7	11.6	10.3	8.6	7.4	8.1	7.5	6.2	5.7	5.6	10.8
	women	4.3	4.3	4.9	5.0	5.1	6.4	6.9	7.4	7.4	7.1	10.9
	men	5.1	5.2	5.7	5.5	6.1	8.6	8.6	8.7	8.4	8.0	10.8
Unemployment rate among 15- to 25-year olds	Poland	39.6	36.9	29.8	21.6	17.2	20.6	23.7	25.8	26.5	27.3	
	Germany	13.8	15.6	13.8	11.9	10.6	11.2	9.9	8.6	8.1	7.9	23.4
	the UK	12.0	12.8	13.9	14.3	15.0	19.1	19.8	21.3	21.2	20.7	
Average monthly remuneration [Euro]	Poland	185.7	214.8	231.3	265.8	309.8	261.6	292.9	302.0	300.0	317.5	
	Germany	1094.1	1100.4	1105.6	1140.6	1174.8	1178.4	1225.5	1256.5	1271.2	1300.4	**
	the UK	1427.8	1465.7	1521.4	1597.2	1394.4	1257.5	1336.3	1346.1	1514.2	1462.6	

* Arithmetic mean for the EU-27 in 2013.

** No data.

Source: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database accessed on 2.05.2014 and <http://stat.gov.pl/statystyka-miedzynarodowa> accessed on 2.05.2014.

3. The scale of foreign migrations

3.1. Germany and the UK as destination countries for Polish emigrants

Although Germany is Poland's neighbour country, any claim that these two countries are close to each other in the historical and cultural context raises many controversies. The past experiences have brought to the surface substantial differences, fundamental in nature, which have often been manifested by hostile relationships between the two countries. To some extent, contemporary international migrations take place in the pre-defined historic context, although the primary reason for emigrating from Poland to Germany, especially among job seekers, is the gap in the economic development between the two states (Cieślińska 2012).

Most immigrants of Polish extraction live in Bavaria, North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Bavaria, Hesse and Baden-Württemberg. This is the consequence of historical waves of Polish migrations to Germany. The German federation states which are traditionally chosen by Polish migrants are characterised by well-developed migratory networks. Our surveys were conducted in Lower Saxony, which in 2012 was the fourth federation state with respect to the number of Polish migrants (fig. 6) (Nowosielski 2012).

Lower Saxony with the capital city Hanover covers an area of 47,613 km² and is the second largest federation state in the German Federal Republic. It is populated by about 7.9 million people. The unemployment rate in 2013 was 6.1%. Other large urban centres, apart from Hanover, are Oldenburg, Wilhelmshaven, Lüneburg, Wolfsburg, Brunswick, Salzgitter, Hildesheim and Osnabrück. The economy of Lower Saxony relies on industries and agriculture. The dominant industries are car factories, shipyards, machinery manufacture, electrotechnical and electronic industries, petroleum refining, mining, steel plants as well as the chemical industry and food processing. Agriculture is dominated by intensive dairy cattle and swine rearing, as well as the cultivation of cereals, fodder crops, potato, sugar beet and vegetables. In Lower Saxony, there are also numerous research and development centres. The gross added value in 2013 in Lower Saxony was *circa* 200 billion euros, which corresponded to about 9% of added value of whole Germany. The companies



Fig. 6. Lower Saxony and the contours of the other federal states in the Federal Republic of Germany
Source: *The authors, based on:* http://wikitravel.org/pl/Dolna_Saksonia.

which contributed most to the manufacturing output in Lower Saxony were Volkswagen AG, Continental AG, TUI AG, Salzgitter AG and the Bosch group¹⁴.

Like in Germany, the distribution of Polish migrants in the UK is uneven. When World War Two ended, the first clusters of Poles on the British Isles formed around military bases and adaptation camps for demobilised soldiers and their families. These clusters were scattered all over the territory of Great Britain, although they were most numerous in England, with a large number of Polish immigrants living in London. Other areas where Poles chose to settle down were Edinburgh, Manchester, the Midlands, North England (Lancashire and Yorkshire). Besides, in Wales Polish migrants mostly settled down in Cardiff, while in Scotland they chose the principal cities as well as the counties of Lanark, Fife and Angus (Gałka 2012).

When the European Union was enlarged in 2004, Poles migrating to the British Isles continued to settle down in the locations which had long been populated by their compatriots. Consequently, the spatial distribution pattern of Polish immigrants did not change extensively. Poles tend to prefer industrialised areas. It is not an easy task to determine the number of Polish post-accession immigrants in Great Britain, mostly because there is not a single reliable source collecting data on this subject. Valuable information about the British population is supplied by the British Office for National Statistics (the ONS). The estimated number of Polish immigrants staying in Great Britain for more than 12 months between June 2013 and June 2014 was 508,000 and their regional distribution is presented in figure 7.

¹⁴ www.innovatives.niedersachsen.de accessed on 01.04.2014.



* Estimates are considered too unreliable for practical purposes due to a small sample size

Fig. 7. Estimated number of Polish immigrants in the UK regions

Source: the authors, based on data from the ONS.

3.2. The general state and dynamics of migrations

Estimates suggest that the end of 2013 about 2.196 million Poles were staying temporarily outside the borders of Poland. These data reflect just an approximate migration scale because different countries have different methods for the registration of people arriving in their territories and the availability of pertinent information is likewise varied (*Informacja...* 2014).

Among the states which have long been the main destinations of Polish emigration, a considerable increase in the number of immigrant Poles at the

Table 4

Long-term emigrants according to Polish provinces of their origin

Polish province	Number of emigrants to				Share of emigrants from a given province [%]				Migration dynamics [%]	
	Germany		the UK		Germany		the UK		Germany	the UK
	2002	2011	2002	2011	2002	2011	2002	2011	2011/2002	2011/2002
Dolnośląskie	16 464	31 732	1202	43 251	6.7	9.3	8.0	9.3	192.7	3598.3
Kujawsko-pomorskie	8526	18 141	556	36 024	3.5	5.3	3.7	7.7	212.8	6479.1
Lubelskie	2784	8086	1169	32 682	1.1	2.4	7.8	7.0	290.5	2795.7
Lubuskie	4617	12 615	194	13 606	1.9	3.7	1.3	2.9	273.2	7013.4
Łódzkie	2744	5995	931	26 458	1.1	1.8	6.2	5.7	218.5	2841.9
Małopolskie	4790	11 476	1340	36 510	2.0	3.4	8.9	7.8	239.6	2724.6
Mazowieckie	5774	11 738	2280	34 081	2.4	3.5	15.2	7.3	203.3	1494.8
Opolskie	71 036	53 535	404	8669	29.1	15.8	2.7	1.9	75.4	2145.8
Podkarpackie	2872	7578	1370	37 305	1.2	2.2	9.1	8.0	263.9	2723.0
Podlaskie	2669	5910	1230	18 508	1.1	1.7	8.2	4.0	221.4	1504.7
Pomorskie	19 382	31 652	967	33 741	7.9	9.3	6.4	7.2	163.3	3489.3
Śląskie	74 423	77 046	1183	45 276	30.5	22.7	7.9	9.7	103.5	3827.2
Świętokrzyskie	1740	5322	522	18 539	0.7	1.6	3.5	4.0	305.9	3551.5
Warmińsko-mazurskie	10 995	18 603	698	28 572	4.5	5.5	4.6	6.1	169.2	4093.4
Wielkopolskie	7287	19 864	537	27 512	3.0	5.9	3.6	5.9	272.6	5123.3
Zachodniopomorskie	8000	20 508	462	25 727	3.3	6.0	3.1	5.5	256.4	5568.6
Total	244 103	339 801	15 045	466 461	100	100	100	100	139.2	3100.4

Source: the authors, based on data from National Census of the Population in 2002 and 2012.

end of 2013 was noticed in Germany, while the analogous increase in the UK was much smaller (*Informacja...* 2014). Table 4 contains the data on numbers of immigrants from Poland arriving in Germany and in the UK, as well as the dynamics of change. The data taken for our analysis originated from the National Census of the Population in 2002 and 2012.

The number of Polish emigrants who left for Germany to stay for over 12 months increased between 2002 and 2011 by 95,698, which is 39.2%. The data show that during that time period most people emigrated to Germany from the following Polish provinces (capital cities given in brackets): *śląskie* (Katowice), *opolskie* (Opole), *dolnośląskie* (Wrocław) and *pomorskie* (Gdańsk). The share of migrants originating from the traditional migration regions (*śląskie* and *opolskie*) in the total number of emigrants in 2002 was 59.6%. In 2011, the percentage of emigrants from those two districts fell down to 38.5% (less by 21.1 p.p.). On the one hand, the number of migrants leaving for Germany to stay there for over a year decreased in *opolskie* province (less by 17,501). Meanwhile, the number of emigrants from other Polish districts increased. The lowest migration dynamics was noticed in the *śląskie*, *dolnośląskie*, *pomorskie* and *opolskie* provinces, all characterised by the highest number of long-term migrants, and also in the *warmińsko-mazurskie* province (Olsztyn). Long-term migrations began to play a more important role in the provinces which until now have not belonged to the traditional regions from which Poles emigrate to Germany.

The post-accession Polish migration wave to the UK was huge, as the data set in table 4 prove. In 2002, the number of Poles staying in the UK for more than 12 months was a little more than 15,000, whereas in 2011, it rose to 466,500, which corresponds to an increase by 3100.4%. The analysis of the structure of emigrants to the UK according to the Polish provinces from which they originated proved that in 2002 there was a relatively large share of migrants from the *mazowieckie* (Warszawa), *małopolskie* (Kraków) and *podlaskie* (Białystok) provinces. Relatively few people emigrated from the *lubelskie* (Lublin) and *opolskie* (Opole) provinces. This tendency continued until 2011. Regarding *opolskie* province, those residents who chose to emigrate tended to prefer Germany as a host country. It should be highlighted that the regional differentiation of emigrants leaving for the UK in 2011 was not as deep-rooted as in the case of the Polish migration to Germany, although there were some provinces in which the dynamics of changes was much higher than in the other parts of Poland. These were the *pomorskie* (Gdańsk), *zachodniopomorskie* (Szczecin) and *wielkopolskie* (Poznań) provinces.

4. Migrations of Poles to Germany and the UK in the light of own research

4.1. Description of the respondents

The survey covered 362 adult Poles staying for at least 12 months outside Poland, including 154 living in Germany and 208 in the UK. Regarding the Germany-based emigrants, women constituted 57.1% of the respondents (men – 42.9%), while in the UK the percentage of female respondents was 87.0% and men – just 13%. The Polish National Census of the Population of 2011 shows that there were 186,274 women and 153,527 men from Poland staying in Germany for more than 12 months. The percentage of women was therefore 54.8%.

Among the factors that determine migration, an important role is played by individual characteristics of migrating persons, including the age. As indicated before, the young age of migrants is typically associated with their being childless and unmarried. These characteristics, as well as the lack of other bonds with the country of origin of a migrant, mean that young people are more likely to decide to stay longer abroad.

When examining the age structure of our respondents, we noticed that over 1/3 (33.8%) of the people staying in Germany were between 31 to 40 years old, and in the UK the percentage of respondents in the same age category was 43.7%. In Germany, a large percentage of Polish immigrants was composed of people aged 41-50 (27.9%) and over 50 (16.9%). The smallest number of respondents in Germany belonged to the age groups of 18-25 years (9.1%) and 26-30 years (12.3%). In the UK, the second most numerous age group consisted of people aged 26-30 (30.3%), followed by persons who were 18-25 years old (21.1%). Few respondents in the UK were over 50 years old (0.5%). The survey suggests that most of the respondents were relatively young people, less than 40 years old. In Germany, their share was 55.2% and in the UK as much as 95.2% (fig. 8).

Considering the consequences of migration, especially the social ones, the marital status of emigrants is an important determinant of the scale and role of migration. As already underlined, emigration can undermine family life and cause its destruction. The structure of the marital status among the surveyed

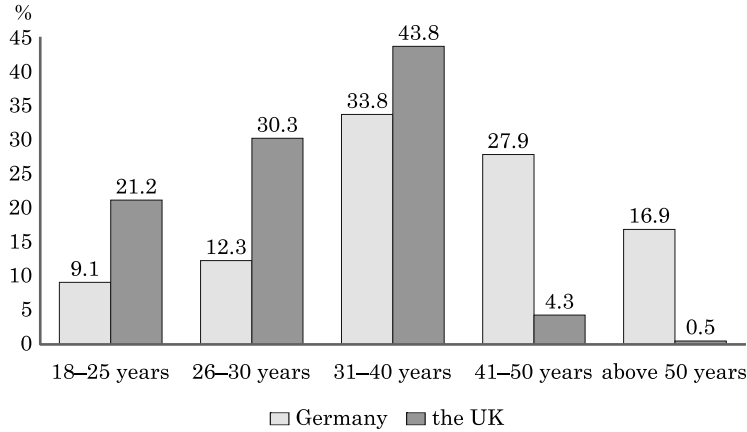


Fig. 8. Age structure of respondents

Source: the authors, based on own research.

emigrants is shown in figure 9. The dominant group was composed of people who were either married or had a life partner. Among the people who emigrated to the UK, people with a spouse or a partner made up over 82% of the respondents, while among the German-based emigrants they constituted 47%.

During our survey, it emerged that just 3 respondents who emigrated to the UK left their children in Poland. In two cases the children were under custody of family members and in one – they stayed with an emigrant’s spouse.

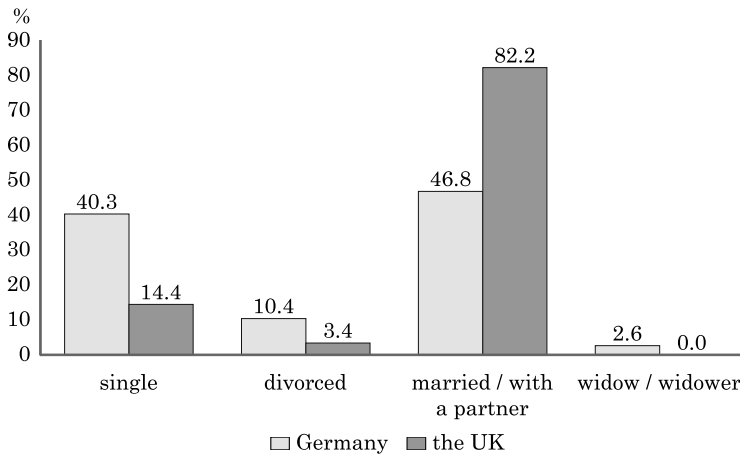


Fig. 9. Marital status of respondents

Source: the authors, based on own research.

Single men and women were a relatively large group among the respondents. In Germany, they represented 40.3% of the whole group submitted to the research, while in the UK they made up 14.4%. One in ten people staying in Germany was divorced (10.4%) and the percentage of divorcees among the Polish immigrants in the UK questioned was just 3.4%.

According to Kaczmarczyk (2008), people from villages and small towns, relatively poorly educated, are more likely to choose traditional destination countries, e.g. Germany. Our investigations confirm this observation. The respondents from smaller localities tended to emigrate to Germany (fig. 10).

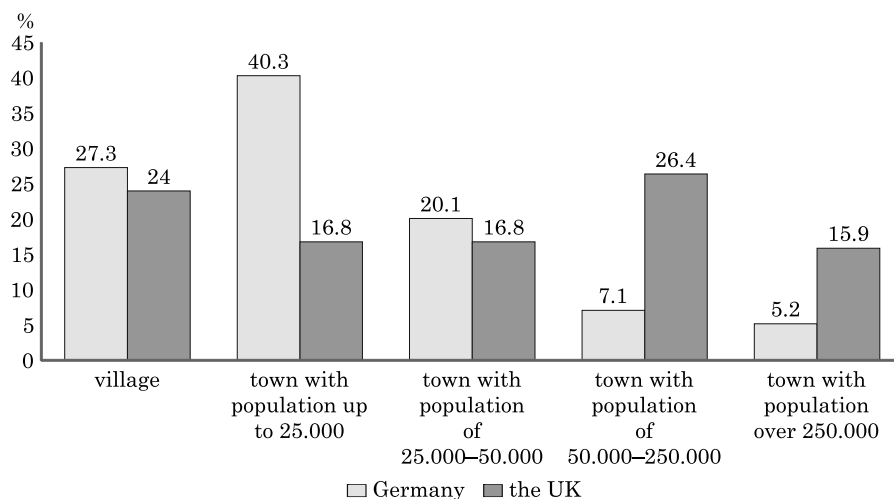


Fig. 10. Place of residence prior to emigrating from Poland

Source: the authors, based on own research.

With respect to the emigration of Poles to Germany, as many as 40.3% of the respondents originated from towns with the population of less than 25,000 and 27.3% used to live in the countryside. Those who lived in towns with the population of between 25,000 and 50,000 made up 20.1% of the respondents in Germany and 7.1% came from towns with 50,000 to 250,000 inhabitants. Merely 5.2% of the respondents indicated towns with more than 250,000 residents as their place of residence prior to emigration. The structure of emigrants to the UK in terms of their previous place of living appeared to be somewhat different. The highest share (26.4%) of the respondents came from towns inhabited by 50,000 to 250,000 people, while a slightly lower percentage came from villages (24.0%). About 1/3 of the respondents came from small towns.

4.2. Educational and linguistic competences of migrants versus their employment in a host country

Emigration arising from economic reasons is most obviously motivated by the wish to seek employment abroad. Ultimately, the type of work that immigrants will do in a host country depends on a number of complex factors. On the one hand, it will depend on whether a given person's stay abroad is legal and therefore he or she is allowed to take a job – especially when one wishes to find a better post or work in a public institution. Despite high qualifications or a sound knowledge of the language spoken in the host country, finding an occupation by someone whose stay is not legalised will be either extremely difficult or utterly impossible. But among all possible factors involved in the search for employment, noteworthy is how Polish immigrants perceive themselves on a foreign labour market.

Among our respondents who decided to emigrate to Germany, most had secondary vocational training (34.4%) or higher education (29.2%). 23.4% of the respondents had secondary general education. Persons with post-secondary vocational training (3.2%) or with primary schooling (9.7%) made up the two smallest groups of our respondents. The latter group comprised 3.9% of the total number of respondents who completed lower secondary school (fig. 11).

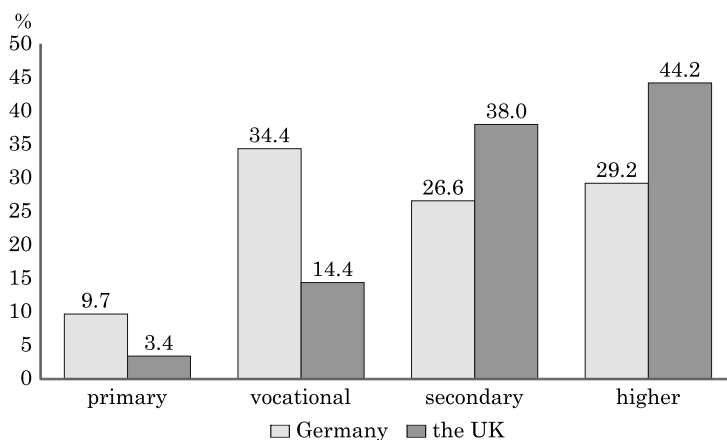


Fig. 11. Structure of the educational background of respondents

Source: the authors, based on own research.

Among the immigrants in the UK, the dominant group consisted of college and university graduates (44.2%), while slightly fewer people (38.0%) completed secondary education. Just 14.4% had vocational training and 3.4%

finished only primary school. Mucha-Leszko and Kałol (2009) claimed that the capability of Polish immigrants to compete on the British job market does not matter much because despite their good professional background they take on jobs that require much lower qualifications.

Good integration with the host country's society is certainly facilitated by a sound knowledge of its language. Among the respondents who have emigrated to Germany, a large group (39.6%) declared to know the German language on an advanced level (fig. 12). The intermediate level was indicated by nearly 30% of the questioned persons. Another third of the respondents (30.5%) who have stayed in Germany for over a year admitted to having some basic knowledge of German or not knowing the language at all. The respondents claimed that the major barriers to learning German were the lack of time and the prevalence of persons among co-workers who did not use German at work or else possessed very basic language skills. Another reason most often implicated was that emigrants spent their free time mostly in the company of other Polish immigrants.

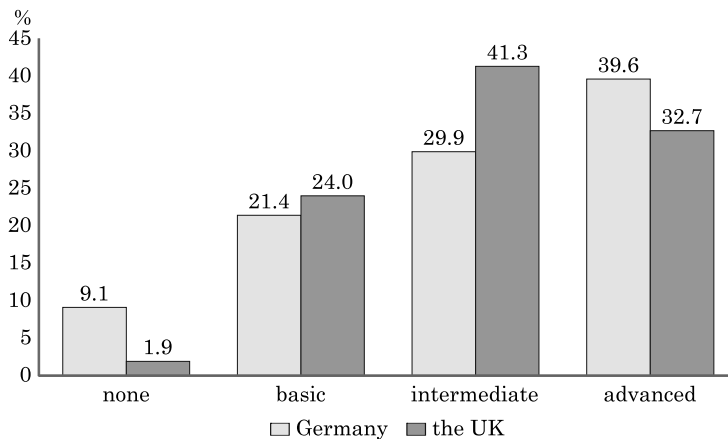


Fig. 12. Knowledge of German/English among respondents

Source: the authors, based on own research.

Out of the surveyed Polish immigrants in the UK, more than a half (54.8%) declared knowing the English language prior to leaving Poland. The current level of their English language skills was evaluated as intermediate (41.3%), advanced (37.7%) or basic (24.0%). There were only 4 respondents (1.9%) who admitted to not knowing the English language.

With respect to the legal status of Polish immigrants in Germany, the majority of our respondents had legal employment (90.3%, that is 139 persons). It is worth adding that the survey was conducted in August 2013, when the

German labour market had fully opened to Polish citizens. As a result, many Poles who had for years been working illegally in Germany could legalise their status¹⁵. Eight persons (7.1%) said they worked without having a work permit while 7 persons (4.5%) did not work at all. The data illustrated in figure 13 show that the most numerous group of workers was composed of persons hired to provide care to children or elderly persons (23.4%). The second most numerous group consisted of people working in industry (15.6%) or in agriculture and horticulture (11.0%).

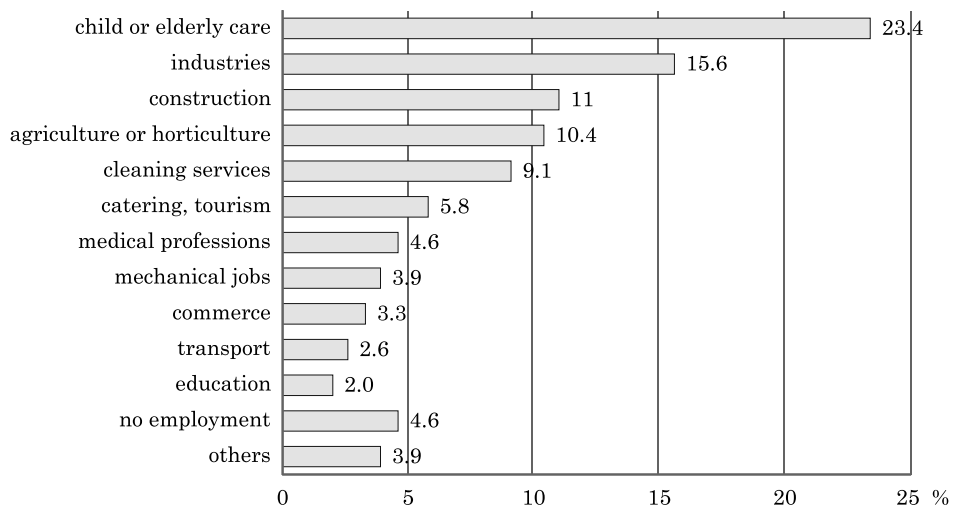


Fig. 13. Employment of immigrants in Germany according to business branches
 Source: the authors, based on own research.

Over 11% of the respondents found employment in the construction industry. 10.4% of those we questioned worked as housekeepers or providing house cleaning services. The remaining persons worked in the following branches: administration, education, catering, hospitality or tourism, commerce and transport. Seven persons (4.5%) worked in medical services.

Among the 208 persons who participated in our survey in the UK, 148 (71.1%) had jobs. They all worked legally, and the structure of their employment was different and much more varied than in Germany. The information contained in figure 14 shows that the most numerous group of respondents (20.3%) worked in the catering and tourism industry. Other numerous groups of immigrants found employment in other factories (15.5%), commerce (12.8%) and cleaning services or as housekeepers (12.2%). Interestingly, 6 respondents

¹⁵ <http://www.achja.pl/materialy/3.pdf> accessed on 3.04.2014.

worked in education (college or school) and 4 people worked in state administration. The survey proves that Polish immigrants in the UK search for work that is consistent with their education.

Because we found that 60 UK immigrants questioned did not work, we considered it important to explore the reasons. As the gathered information suggests, 45 persons were busy bringing up their children and another 10 were on maternity leave. This could be the consequence of the evident prevalence of young women in the surveyed group, who decided to become mothers while on immigration. The ONS data shows that Polish women gave birth to 21,300 babies in the UK in 2013. In the group submitted to our analysis, 116 persons, i.e. 55.8%, stated that one or more of their children were born in the UK.

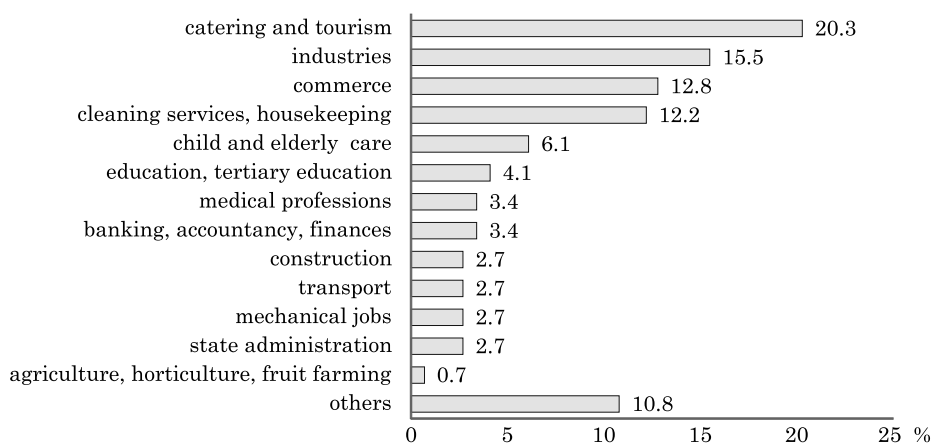


Fig. 14. Employment of immigrants in the UK according to business branches
Source: the authors, based on own research.

4.3. Determinants of decisions to migrate

The complexity of causes underlying a decision to migrate can be evidenced through broad-scale analyses of migrations conducted according to both economic and sociological theories. Briefly, just as the workforce factor is far from being homogenous so are the reasons for migration. It is often emphasised that a decision to leave one's country or a choice of a host country are preceded by an analysis of numerous arguments which generate a cluster of opportunities and benefits as well as an opposing cluster of losses-threats due to the decision to emigrate.

Our research showed that the most important factors which led to a decision about migration were the economic ones. Over 46% of the respondents

decided to emigrate to Germany due to a difficult financial situation of their families (fig. 15). Two other important reasons were higher wages in the host country (41.6%) and an intention to make savings (39.6%). Over 26% of the respondents also indicated a desire to attain a higher standard of living. Problems finding work in Poland motivated over 9% of the questioned persons to leave for Germany. Education and language learning were the reasons pointed by just 4.5% of the respondents. Among the non-economic reasons, over 30% said they wanted to join their family or friends staying in Germany. The lack of legal barriers to emigrating to Germany and undertaking work there encouraged 8.4% of the respondents to exit Poland.



*respondents could indicate more than one choice
 Fig. 15. Reasons for emigrating from Poland
 Source: the authors, based on own research.

The NSP data of 2011 also suggest that the persons staying in Germany for more than 12 months said their principal motivation was economic. For example, 64% left for Germany to seek work. Family matters motivated 26% of the respondents and education was the cause implicated by 6.2% of the respondents¹⁶.

¹⁶ http://www.stat.gov.pl/gus/12773_PLK_HTML.htm accessed on 31.03.2014.

The emigrants staying in the UK who participated in our study, like the German-based migrants, left Poland mainly because of economic reasons, as the data collected in figure 15 demonstrate. Among the reasons for migration they most often mentioned the wish to improve the standard of living (49%), higher wages than in Poland (44.7%) and lack of work in Poland (37.0%). Nearly 1/3 of the respondents stated that they were encouraged to leave Poland by their family members or friends already staying abroad. One in four justified the decision to emigrate by a desire to live an adventure, visit new places and learn about new cultures, as well as to have better self-development prospects. Other replies related to one's personal situation, for example the break-up of a marriage.

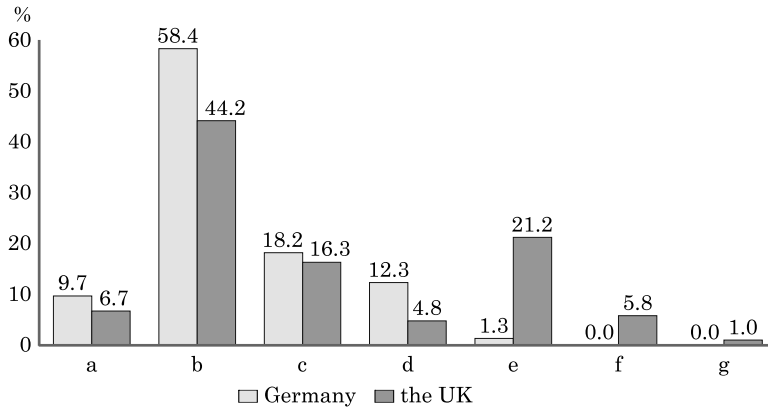
4.4. The influence of migratory networks on migration

The post-accession migration from Poland in search of work is often referred to as 'a social' one, which indicates that emigrants create communities which function like social online communities. People who belong to such a community of migrants, like users of social networks on the internet, create own environments, exchange their experiences and impressions, provide one another with support when necessary, but the overriding value is that everyone preserves the sense of being an individual, who can withdraw from a given community at any moment (Cieślińska 2012).

Our investigations prove that networks of links between migrants play an important role in communities of Polish immigrants both in Germany and in the UK. Over 58% of the respondents from Germany and over 44% of those living in the UK were helped by their relatives or friends, already staying in the host country, to find the first jobs (fig. 16).

Migratory networks can be created by emigrants prior to their arrival or when settling down in a host country, and possibly also with the help of people living abroad (Słowik 2013). Networks of links between emigrants are information flow channels, which minimise risk and lower the costs of emigration, which facilitates a decision to emigrate but also shapes the geographic and structural patterns of migrations¹⁷. Being a member of such a network enables one to interpret the surrounding reality, to decipher the incoming information, gather the necessary information and use it when facing a threatening situation. A migratory network helps a new immigrant to enter the migrant community, whose members provide him with certain benefits. Moreover,

¹⁷ http://rynekpracy.org/files/1bezrobocie.org.pl/public/biuletyny_fise/biuletyn_fise_nr1_wspolczesne_migracje.html accessed on 31.04.2014.



- a – with the help of relatives, friends in Poland
- b – with the help of relatives, friends in Germany / the UK
- c – online, newspaper advertisements, etc.
- d – through Polish job agencies
- e – through German / British job agencies
- f – others
- g – no reply

Fig. 16. Finding the first job in a host country

Source: the authors, based on own research.

migratory networks enable immigrants to create communities of Polish expatriates, which gradually assume a more formal structure, being transformed into associations, societies, etc. (Słowik 2013).

Subsequently, our respondents mentioned mass media, which helped over 18% of them in Germany and 16% in the UK to find employment abroad. Nearly one in five people in the UK found a job through job agencies operating in that country, while the German job centres supported just 1.3% of Polish immigrants in Germany. Polish job centres enabled 12.3% of Poles emigrating to Germany to find their first work, while in the UK the analogous percentage was 4.8%. Friends and relatives staying in Poland assisted 9.7% of the respondents in Germany in arranging the travel and finding the first job, mostly by recommending them to their former employers. In the case of the UK, this percentage was 6.7%.

4.5. Consequences of the labour market liberation

Poland's accession to the European Union entailed free movement of people and free access to the European work markets for Polish citizens. This gave rise to some concern among some of the West European residents, afraid that an uncontrollable flow of job seekers might arrive in their countries.

These worries were brought to attention when justification of temporary restrictions imposed on the free movement of workers was sought. In the time of Poland's accession, Poles could freely undertake work in just three countries of the 'old' Union: the UK, Ireland and Sweden, and in all new member countries.

The 1990s were a time of very good economic growth in the UK, which – among other developments – led to a considerable improvement of the labour market, which witnessed a steady increase in the employment rate and a decrease in unemployment. Additionally, the reform of the labour market implemented since 1997 contributed to the occupational activation of persons who until then had been either inactive on the work market or persistently unemployed (Fihel, Piętka 2007). The rapid increase in the number of immigrants in the UK, mainly arriving from Poland, provoked voices that the situation on the British work market might deteriorate.

The analyses conducted in 2012 by the Centre for Economic Performance (2012) suggest that the fear of immigration growth was far beyond proportions. It is difficult to find any evidence that workers in the UK had to be more mobile or they earned lower wages due to immigrants. Moreover, immigrants on the British labour market are younger and better educated than workers born in the UK. The average percentage of people with higher education in 2012 was 46% among migrants from the UE-8, compared to 17% for the British citizens (*Raport...* 2012). Immigrants were also at a lesser risk of being unemployed.

What distinguished workers from Poland who arrived in the UK was the maladjustment of their education and the occupation they found in the host country, as most of them had jobs below their qualifications (*Raport...* 2012).

All of our respondents who were staying in the UK left Poland after its access to the EU, which is why they could not compare the situation on the British job market before and after the EU enlargement. The changes that were reported were therefore the ones which occurred between their arrival in the UK and the time of our research. A change for the better which emerged from our survey was noticed in respect of the legal status of employment, as 63% of the respondents suggested some improvement in this area (fig. 17).

Over half of the people we questioned (54.3%) also confirmed that their wages had improved. In other words, a high percentage of the respondents noticed that their remuneration had risen. This observation most probably reflects the economic growth in the UK. The basic macroeconomic indices in the two years prior to our study improved compared to the values recorded during the economic crisis. A better economic situation contributed to pay rises. Among the negative changes, a large number of the respondents indicated a high rotation of workforce (41.3%) and an insufficient number of job offers (38.9%).

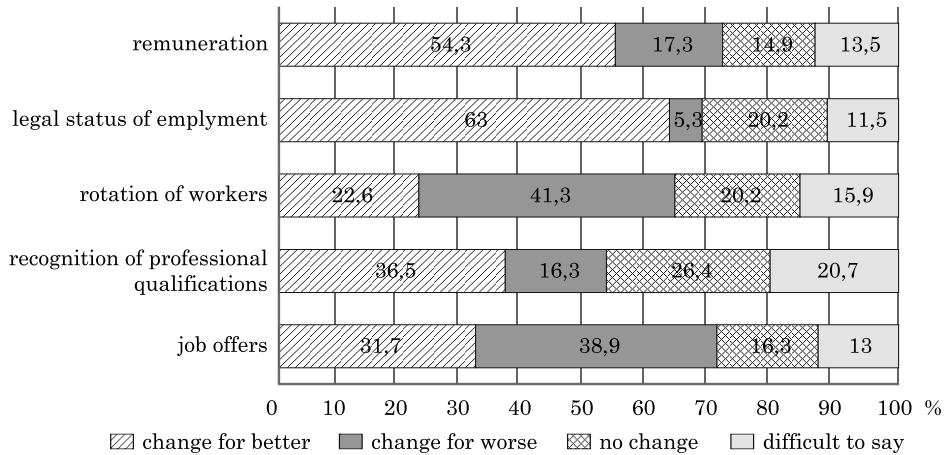


Fig. 17. Changes on the British labour market after 2004

Source: the authors, based on own research.

The German work market was opened to citizens of the new member states, including Polish citizens, on 1 May 2011. Germany therefore implemented the maximum, seven-year-long transitional period. However, as mentioned previously, Poles could legally operate on the German labour market prior to that day, for example by running own business or taking advantage of the right of the freedom to provide services in the whole EU. Almost all of the respondents (122 persons) had left for Germany before 1 May 2011. They were questioned about the changes occurring in their work places, including the formal recognition of their professional qualifications and the number of jobs offered (fig. 18).

Significant changes were noticed only in terms of the recognition of professional qualifications, legal employment and rotation of workers. Nearly 40% of the respondents pointed to some progress in the process of recognizing professional qualifications, and 33.8% noticed an improved legal status of employment. Over 31% of the people questioned also observed a more intensive rotation of workers, and implicated as the main cause stronger competition of workers from Central and East European countries. Most of the respondents did not notice any changes or else admitted they could not say whether any changes had occurred. The reason could be the fact that workers from Poland were able to find legal employment in Germany even before 1 May 2011, for example as seasonal workers, contracted employees or host workers. In line with the law ensuring free provision of services in the EU, Polish entrepreneurs have been allowed to provide services in Germany since the year 2004.

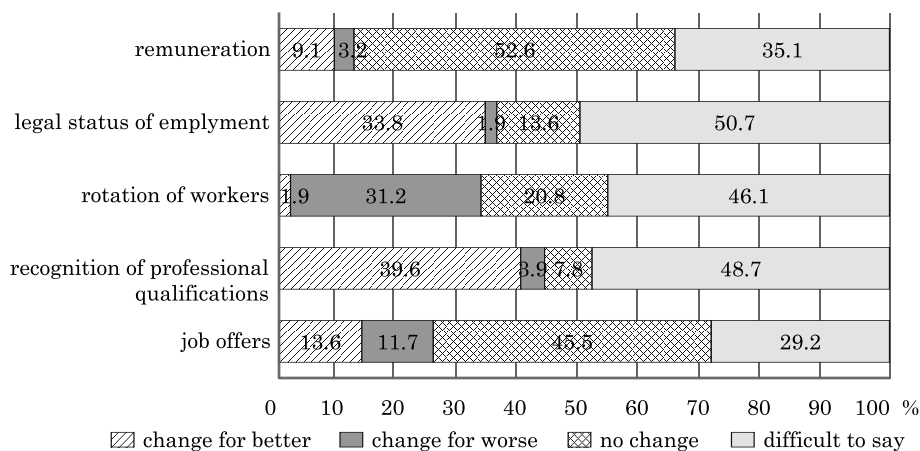


Fig. 18. Changes associated with the German labour market having been fully opened in 2011
 Source: the authors, based on own research.

In 2007, the access to the work market was liberalised for some professionals (e.g. doctors of medicine, engineers)¹⁸.

The respondents could also write about other changes they noticed which resulted from the opening of the work market on 1 May 2011. Four persons mentioned that it was easier to take on employment in such branches of economy which had been less accessible before. Among the 18 persons who left for Germany after 1 May 2011, 4 (that is 22.2%) mentioned the lack of legal barriers to emigrating to Germany as one of the conditions which helped them make a decision to emigrate (fig. 18).

4.6. Migration plans of Poles staying abroad

As demonstrated by the study completed by Jończy (2009), most emigrants are unable to say whether and when they would return to their home country. While on emigration, they consider three possibilities: to return to Poland, to stay in the host country or to emigrate to another country. Kowalska (2013) noticed that a decision about the length of their stay abroad is difficult for emigrants to make, which is a consequence of the strategy they often assume, and which is referred to as the so-called intentional unpredictability. This strategy consists of an intentional imprecision of future plans at a specific place and a maximum usability in terms of available options, with plans often

¹⁸ https://zds.kprm.gov.pl/sites/default/files/skutki_otwarcia_niemieckiego_ryнку_pracy.pdf accessed on 5.04.2014.

surpassing the borders of a single country. Migrants who are classified into this group, while living abroad keep up-to-date with the events in Poland and, depending on the situation there, will make a decision to return to their native country or to stay abroad (Kowalska 2013).

In our study, respondents gave a wide array of replies when asked about their future place of residence. Regarding migrants living in Germany, the most numerous group was comprised of respondents who did not have any plans concerning their future place of living (40.3%). Contrary to that, the majority of respondents from the UK (46.6%) were certain they wanted to stay in that country permanently. 39.6% of migrants in Germany and just 19.2% of those in the UK said they intended to return to Poland. One in five living in Germany declared that they wanted to stay there. Nine persons, 5 in the UK and 4 in Germany, planned to leave for another EU country (fig. 19).

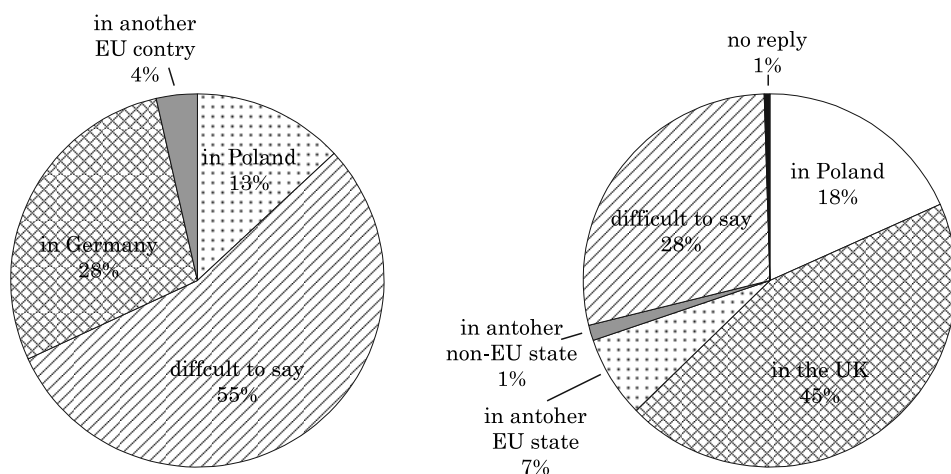


Fig. 19. Structure of respondents according to expected future place/country of residence
Source: the authors, based on own research.

121 respondents, 60 in Germany and 61 in the UK, said that they wanted to return to Poland permanently. The prevalent group among the migrants living in Germany declared that their plan to return to the home country depended on the future improvement of living standards in Poland (29.8%) or a possible deterioration in this respect in Germany (20.9%). Nearly 18% of respondents intended to come back to Poland within a few years, while 7.5% wanted to do so within a year. The smallest group (6.0% of the surveyed) said they wanted to return to Poland upon retirement. The remaining persons (10.4%), although admitting they wished to go back to Poland, did not commit themselves to a fixed timeframe (fig. 20).

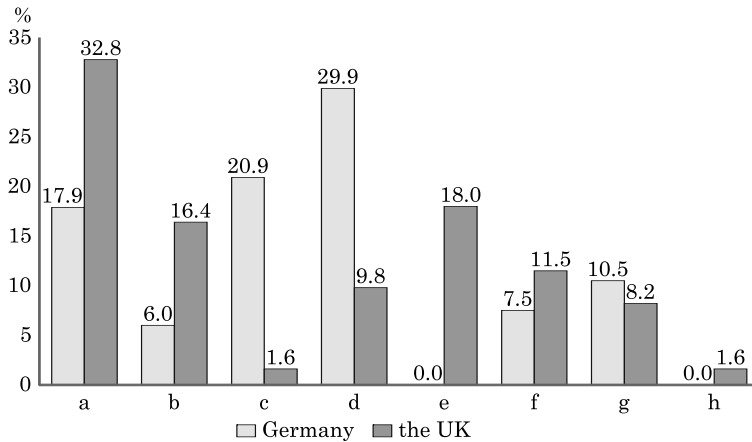


Fig. 20. Expected timeframe of return to Poland

Source: the authors, based on own research.

Nearly 1/3 of the surveyed migrants in the UK (32.8%) planned to return to Poland within several years. Another 18% said it depended on their future family situation, and 16.4% wanted to wait until they retired.

Our research shows that a large share of respondents (61.2%) pursue the strategy of intentional unpredictability, mentioned before, when planning the return to Poland and making a decision when they could go back to their home country.

Over 47% of the respondents living in Germany who declared their intention to return to Poland wanted to find employment there (fig. 21). Nearly 18% were planning to set up their own businesses. Almost 3.0% said they intended to work on their own farms. One in four (26.9%) did not have any specific plans regarding professional activity after returning to Poland but almost 12% did not intend to take up any work and live on the savings or old age pensions. With respect to migrants in the UK who planned to return to Poland, 69.2% intended to live on the savings and pensions. Another 11.5% did not have any plans, few (7.7%) intended to work on their own farms or start own businesses (3.8%).

Increasingly more often, a job undertaken abroad is the first occupation of migrants. This may have some influence on excessive financial expectations and the mismatch with the local labour markets experienced by migrants. 10.4% of migrants in Germany started their professional career there. And although migrants often take up jobs below their qualifications while staying abroad, they expect to find better jobs in Poland or at least to be offered inadequately high salaries as compensation for the discomfort of doing worse

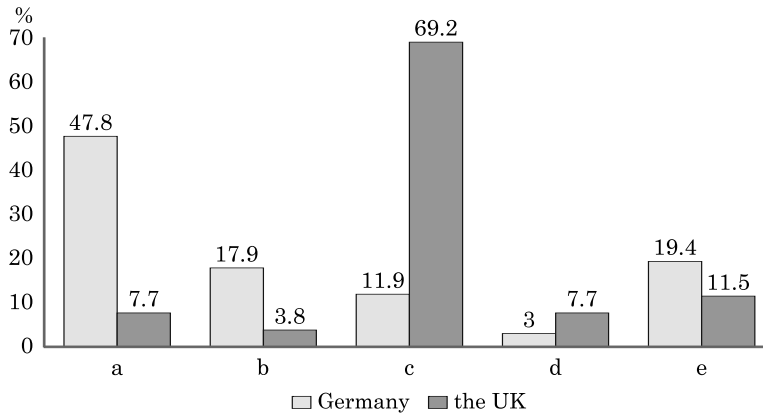


Fig. 21. Plans of immigrants after returning to Poland

Source: the authors, based on own research.

jobs in Poland. 9.1% of respondents indicated that they would not agree to do the same kind of work in Poland. One in four (20.8%) conceded that it would depend on the wages they could be offered in Poland for the same type of work.

Recapitulation and conclusions

International migrations are a multi-faceted phenomenon, which to some degree is a consequence of the heterogeneous nature of workforce, a migrating production factor. Another contributing factor is the complexity of determinants which stimulate migration. The scale and dynamics of migrations attract our attention also when trying to foresee future developments. Making predictions, however, could be difficult due to the high fluctuations of migratory flows and their sensitivity to various impulses originating from the environment in which potential and actual migrants live.

Freedom of movement between countries is an important element stimulating migration. Other incentives include a possibility of legal employment abroad or the right to conduct own business activity in a foreign country. Thus, legal regulations are a significant group of migration stimulating factors. They include laws which liberate flows of people as well as a wide range of regulations which affect the life of a migrant and his family abroad. Worth mentioning are regulations governing the Code of Labour, social benefits, health care or education.

Over the recent years, a stronger need has grown to do conduct research into the phenomenon of international migrations. This is particularly evident in countries, including Poland, which have come to struggle with demographic problems. Complex and continuous diagnosis and evaluation of migration are essential for an adequately designed and implemented migration policy.

Changeability of the migratory processes in Poland can be identified not only on the basis of fluctuating numbers of emigrants – which is obvious – but also by analysing a change in the geographical structure of migrations. Data provided by the Central Statistical Office in Poland demonstrate that the share of emigrants from the *opolskie* and *śląskie* provinces (traditionally perceived as regions from which local population migrates to Germany) to the total number of emigrants to Germany fell from 59.6 in 2002 to 39.2% in 2011. Moreover, the smallest growth in the migration dynamics occurred in those Polish provinces where the number of long-term emigrants was the highest (i.e. *dolnośląskie*, *opolskie*, *pomorskie* and *śląskie*). Meanwhile, the role of long-term migrations to Germany from those Polish provinces which did not traditionally supply many emigrants to that country has gained importance.

The results of our research have confirmed that younger people (up to the age of 40) are more willing to migrate. At the same time, the analysed group of

respondents was dominated by married couples or people living with partners (up to 82.2% in the UK). Although the educational level was demonstrably different between the two destination countries (the largest group of immigrants in Germany was composed of persons with vocational training, while the dominant groups of Polish migrants in the UK had higher education), Poles continued to work mostly in the services sector – in Germany they often provided care to children and elderly people and in the UK they frequently found employment in restaurants and hotels. A relatively large group of our respondents was composed of young women who did not work either because they were on a maternity leave or decided to be full-time mothers. On the one hand, this is a beneficial solution because Polish families can stay abroad without being separated. On the other hand, this situation will discourage them from returning to Poland.

Our studies reflected the whole complexity of migration as a phenomenon. A decision to migrate either to Germany or to the UK has often been justified by economic considerations. The German-based respondents most often implicated a difficult material situation of family (as a push factor to leave one's native country), while in the UK they more frequently suggested it was a wish to improve the standard of living (as a pull factor to chose a destination country). As for non-economic factors, most respondents mentioned an intention to join family members or friends staying abroad. At that point, worth noticing is the significance of networks of connections between migrants in the current migration from Poland. Over half of the respondents from Germany (58.4%) and 44.2% of those from the UK admitted that their relatives or friends had helped them to arrange their travel and find work abroad. Hence, it seems justifiable to claim that networks of migratory connections facilitate making a decision to migrate and determine directions and the scale of migratory flows.

Considerable differences are also notable with respect to the plans made by migrants and their future residence in foreign countries. While Polish migrants in Germany most often said they did not have any plans regarding their future place of living (40.3%), a large percentage of Poles in the UK (46.6%) declared that they certainly wanted to stay in that country permanently. Respondents from Germany stated that their decision to return to Poland depended mainly on the economic situation in Poland and in Germany. For our respondents living in the UK, family matters were more important in this regard.

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Summary

Prior to the accession of Poland to the UK, Germany was the most popular European destination country among Polish emigrants. The German authorities, respecting the concern felt by the German society that the influx of cheap labour from new EU member states would be excessive, decided to temporarily restrict the access to the German labour market and implement a seven-year transitional period, until 1 May 2011. Meanwhile, among the countries which decided to lift such restrictions earlier, an increased incoming flow of Poles was observed only in the UK. Migrations produce a range of effects on the social and economic development of both sending and receiving countries, which is why systematic research in this area is essential.

The primary objective of this study has been to identify the conditions underlying contemporary migrations from Poland to Germany and to the UK. A review of the relevant literature and online resources was supported by the information collected by Eurostat and the Polish Main Statistical Office as well as the data obtained by the authors from Polish immigrants. A survey was completed in 2013 and 2014 by Polish migrants staying abroad for at least 12 months. The participants were 154 persons living in Lower Saxony (Germany) and 208 persons residing in different parts of the UK.

During the analysed time span (2004-2013), both the number of emigrants from Poland changed as well as the geographical distribution of their places of origin. The contribution of emigrants from the Polish provinces traditionally seen as regions of people's outflow to Germany (*opolskie, śląskie*) decreased from 59.6 in 2002 to 38.4% in 2011. As for the migration to the UK, in 2002 the highest share of Polish migrants originated from the *mazowieckie* province (15.1%) while in 2011 the percentage fell down by more than double, to 7.3%, and became similar to the shares of UK immigrants from 8 other Polish provinces.

Our research results verified the fact that younger people (up to the age of 40 years) are more willing to emigrate. Most of our respondents were either married or lived with a partner (as many as 82.2% UK-based respondents). Although the educational level was demonstrably different between the two destination countries (the largest group of immigrants in Germany was composed of persons with vocational training, while the dominant groups of Polish migrants in the UK had higher education), Poles continued to work mostly in the services sector – in Germany they often provided care to children and elderly people and in the UK they frequently found employment in restaurants and hotels. A relatively large group of our respondents was composed of young women who did not work either because they were on a maternity leave or decided to be full-time mothers.

The complex nature of reasons for migrating was confirmed. Dominant causes were economic ones (in Germany – a difficult material situation of family, as a push factor to leave one's native country, while in the UK – a wish to improve the standard of living, as a pull factor to choose a destination country). As for non-economic factors, most respondents mentioned an intention to join family members or friends staying abroad. An important role of migratory connection networks was proven, as over half of our respondents from Germany (58.4%) and 44.2% of those living in the UK admitted to being helped by relatives or friends staying in those countries.

Considerable differences emerged with respect to plans made by migrants. While Poles in Germany most often said they did not have any plans regarding their future place of living (40.3%), a large percentage of Polish immigrants in the UK (46.6%) declared that they certainly wanted to stay in that country permanently. Respondents from Germany stated that their decision to return to Poland depended mainly on the economic situation in Poland and in Germany. For our respondents from the UK, family matters were more important in this regard.

Zusammenfassung

Vor dem Beitritt Polens in die EU, das beliebteste Zielland bei den Polen in Europa war Deutschland. Die deutschen Behörden, unter Bedachtnahme der Besorgnis der deutschen Gesellschaft vor einem zu großen Zustrom von billigen Arbeitskräften aus den neuen EU-Mitgliedstaaten, hatten beschlossen, den Zugang zum deutschen Arbeitsmarkt mit einer siebenjährigen Übergangszeit bis zum 1. Mai 2011 zu begrenzen.

Hingegen unter den Ländern die sich auf eine baldige Aufhebung der Beschränkungen entschieden, wurde ein größerer Zustrom im Vereinigten Königreich von polnischen Immigranten festgestellt. Aufgrund der Bedeutung von Migrationsprozessen für die soziale und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung/Auswirkungen der Herkunfts- und Zielländern, ist es notwendig, eine systematische Forschung in diesem Bereich durchzuführen.

Das Hauptziel dieser Studie war es, Ursachen der Migrationsströme aus Polen nach Deutschland und Großbritannien zu untersuchen. Neben den Studienberichten wurden auch Sekundärdaten verwendet, die von Eurostat und des Statistisches Zentralamt stammten, sowohl auch die Primärdaten aus eigenen Untersuchungsergebnissen.

Die Umfrage wurde im Jahr 2013 und 2014, an einer Gruppe von Migranten die mindestens 12 Monaten im Ausland waren, durchgeführt. An der Studie haben 154 Personen aus Niedersachsen (Deutschland) sowie 208 Personen die aus verschiedenen Regionen des Vereinigten Königreichs teilgenommen.

Im analysierten Zeitraum (2004-2013) hat sich in Polen nicht nur die Zahl der Emigranten, sondern auch die geographische Struktur von Ihrer Herkunft geändert.

Der Anteil der Emigranten aus Woiwodschaft, einer traditionellen Region (Opolskie, Śląskie), die nach Deutschland abgewandert sind, verringerte sich von 59,6% im Jahr 2002 auf 38,4% im Jahr 2011. Bei den abgewanderten nach Großbritannien die aus der Provinz Mazowieckie (15,1%) stammten, hat sich der Anteil im Jahr 2011 um die Hälfte reduziert und war sehr nahe an den Anteilen der anderen 8 Provinzen.

Die Ergebnisse der Untersuchungen bestätigten, dass vor allem jüngere Menschen (bis zum 40 Lebensjahr) abgewandert sind. Die meisten der Befragten Personen lebten in einer Ehe oder Partnerschaft (in Großbritannien waren es sogar 82,2%). Trotz der großen Unterschiede im Bildungsniveau in den beiden Migrantengruppen (die größte Gruppe der Zuwanderer in Deutschland wurde von Personen mit einer Berufsausbildung zusammengesetzt, hingegen in Großbritannien mit einem Hochschulabschluss). Die Polen sind nach wie vor hauptsächlich im Dienstleistungssektor beschäftigt, die kein sehr hohes Bildungsniveau erfordert. In der Gruppe der Migranten war relativ ein hoher Anteil an jungen Frauen die nicht erwerbstätig waren, aufgrund Kindererziehung oder Mutterschaftsurlaub.

Die Komplexität der Migrationsgründe wurde bestätigt. Hauptursachen, für die gewählten Zielländer, waren wirtschaftliche Aspekte (Deutschland – die schwierige materielle Lage der Familie, Push-Faktor, seine Heimat zu verlassen, während in Großbritannien – bestand der Wunsch, den Lebensstandard zu verbessern, Pull-Faktor). Unter den nicht ökonomischen Faktoren/Gründe, wurden am häufigsten genannt, den Anschluss an die im Ausland lebende Familie oder Freunde.

Ebenfalls wurde bestätigt, dass eine große Bedeutung die Migrationsnetzwerke sind, da mehr als die Hälfte der Befragten aus Deutschland (58,4%) und (44,2%) der Befragten aus Großbritannien Unterstützung von Familienangehörigen oder Verwandten erhielten, die in diesen Ländern lebten.

Die Untersuchungsergebnisse zeigten signifikante Unterschiede zwischen den Plänen von Migranten. Die polnischen Migranten in Deutschland hätten am häufigsten keine Zukunftspläne, hinsichtlich des Wohnsitzes (40,3%), während die Migranten aus Großbritannien (46,6%) die Absicht haben, dauerhaft im Land zu bleiben. Die Befragten aus Deutschland erklärten, dass die Entscheidung für eine Rückkehr in das Herkunftsland vor allem die wirtschaftliche Lage in Polen und Deutschland entscheidend ist und für die Befragten aus Großbritannien die familiäre Situation.

Streszczenie

Przed akcesją Polski do UE, Niemcy były najczęściej wybieranym krajem docelowym w Europie przez Polaków. Władze Niemiec biorąc pod uwagę obawy społeczeństwa przed zbyt dużym napływem taniej siły roboczej z nowych państw członkowskich, zdecydowały o ograniczeniu dostępu do niemieckiego rynku pracy i skorzystaniu z siedmioletniego okresu przejściowego, aż do 1 maja 2011 r. Natomiast wśród krajów, które zdecydowały się na wcześniejsze zniesienie ograniczeń jedynie w Wielkiej Brytanii odnotowano większy napływ emigrantów z Polski. Ze względu na znaczenie procesów migracyjnych dla rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznego zarówno krajów pochodzenia migrantów, jak i krajów docelowych, niezbędne jest prowadzenie systematycznych badań w tym obszarze.

Głównym celem pracy było poznanie uwarunkowań współczesnych migracji zagranicznych z Polski do Niemiec i Wielkiej Brytanii. Obok studiów literaturowych wykorzystano dane wtórne zgromadzone przez Eurostat oraz GUS, a także dane pierwotne, uzyskane w toku badań własnych. Badanie ankietowe przeprowadzono w 2013 r. i w 2014 r. na grupie migrantów przebywających za granicą co najmniej 12 miesięcy. W badaniach uczestniczyły 154 osoby przebywające w Dolnej Saksonii (Niemcy) oraz 208 osób przebywających w różnych częściach Wielkiej Brytanii.

W analizowanym okresie (2004-2013) zmieniała się w Polsce nie tylko liczba emigrantów, ale także struktura geograficzna ich pochodzenia. Udział emigrantów z województw uznawanych za tradycyjne regiony odpływu ludności do Niemiec (opolskie, śląskie) uległ zmniejszeniu z 59,6% w 2002 r. do 38,4% w 2011 r. W przypadku emigracji do Wielkiej Brytanii można zauważyć, że największym udziałem w tym zjawisku w 2002 r. charakteryzowało się woj. mazowieckie (15,1%), natomiast w 2011 r. udział ten uległ ponad dwukrotnemu zmniejszeniu do poziomu 7,3% i był bardzo zbliżony do udziału innych 8 województw.

Wyniki badań własnych potwierdziły większą skłonność do migracji osób młodych (do 40 roku życia). W badanej grupie dominowały osoby pozostające w związku małżeńskim lub partnerskim (w Wielkiej Brytanii było to nawet 82,2%). Pomimo dużego zróżnicowania poziomu wykształcenia w obu grupach migrantów (w Niemczech największą grupę stanowiły osoby z wykształceniem zawodowym, natomiast w Wielkiej Brytanii – z wykształceniem wyższym) Polacy nadal w głównej mierze podejmują pracę w sferze usług nie wymagających bardzo wysokiego wykształcenia. W badanej grupie migrantów stosunkowo liczna była grupa osób – młodych kobiet, które nie pracowały ze względu na wychowywanie dzieci lub przebywały na urlopie macierzyńskim.

Potwierdzono złożoność przyczyn zjawiska migracji, w głównej mierze były to czynniki o charakterze ekonomicznym (Niemcy – trudna sytuacja materialna rodziny – jako czynnik wypychający w kraju pochodzenia, Wielka Brytania – chęć poprawy stopy życiowej – jako czynnik przyciągający w kraju docelowym). Wśród czynników pozaekonomicznych najczęściej wymieniano zamiar dołączenia do rodziny bądź znajomych przebywających za granicą. Potwierdzono również duże znaczenie sieci powiązań migracyjnych, gdyż ponad połowa respondentów z Niemiec (58,4%) i 44,2% respondentów z Wielkiej Brytanii skorzystała z pomocy krewnych bądź znajomych przebywających w tych krajach.

Wyniki badań wskazały na istotne różnice planów migrantów, bowiem polscy emigranci w Niemczech najczęściej nie posiadali planów związanych z przyszłym miejscem zamieszkania (40,3%), natomiast emigranci w Wielkiej Brytanii zdecydowanie (46,6%) zamierzają pozostać w tym kraju na stałe. Respondenci z Niemiec decyzję o powrocie uzależniali głównie od sytuacji gospodarczej Polski i Niemiec, natomiast respondenci z Wielkiej Brytanii od sytuacji rodzinnej.

Appendix

A questionnaire

Dear Respondents

Since 1 May 2004, mass migrations of Poles to the EU countries have been observed. This development still awaits some deeper research, especially with respect to the driving forces and the plans of migrants. We would like to kindly request some of your time to fill in this questionnaire, whose purpose is to gain better understanding of the migrations of Polish citizens. The data collected through this survey will remain absolutely anonymous and will serve only for scientific purposes. When answering the questions, please put an 'x' sing in appropriate boxes or fill in the gaps.

Thank you very much for completing the survey

1. Have you been staying in the UK/Germany for more than a year?

- yes
- no (move on to question 3 please)

2. Did you leave Poland before 1 May 2004?

- yes
- no

3. Did you know English/German before leaving Poland?

- yes
- no

4. How do you assess your current command of English/German?

- none
- basic
- intermediate
- advanced

5. Indicate three main reasons why you left for the UK/Germany.

- lack of work in Poland
- difficult financial situation of family
- to learn the language, education
- family, friends staying abroad
- to improve standard of living
- better conditions for running own business
- to live an adventure, explore new places and cultures
- lack of legal barriers to travel

- higher wages than in Poland
- better prospects for development (e.g. for children)
- other reasons (what reasons?)

6. How did you find your first job?

- through relatives, friends in Poland
- through relatives, friends in the UK/Germany
- online, newspaper advertisements, etc.
- through Polish job agencies
- through British/German job agencies
- other ways (what ways?)

7. Indicate the changes you have noticed in the UK caused by the full opening of the British labour market after 1 May 2004 or since you arrived in the UK.

	Change for better	Change for worse	No change	Difficult to say
Remuneration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Legal status of employment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rotation of workers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recognition of professional qualifications	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Job offers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others, what changes?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Since your arrival in the UK/Germany, have you noticed any changes in the work conditions:

- yes, the number of immigrants from different countries has risen
- yes, it is more difficult to find or change a job
- yes, regulations concerning work or social benefits are more restrictive
- yes, the attitude of the society to immigrants is better
- yes, the attitude of the society to immigrants is worse
- I have not noticed any changes
- it is difficult to say

9. Where do you intend to live in the future?

- in Poland
- in the UK/Germany
- in another EU state
- in another non-EU state
- difficult to say

10. Do you plan to return to Poland?

- yes, when?
- in a year's time
- in a few years' time
- when I retire
- it depends on my family situation (e.g. children, marriage)
- it depends on a possible improvement of living conditions in Poland
- it depends on a possible deterioration of living conditions in the UK/Germany
- it is difficult to say
- no
- I do not know

11. If you are planning to return to Poland, what are you going to do back in the home country?

- I will resume my previous occupation
- I will take on a new job
- I will start my own business
- I will work on my own farm
- I will live on savings or my pension
- I don't know
- other plans?

Information about the respondent

Sex:

- female
- male

Age:

- 18-25 years
- 26-30 years
- 31-40 years
- 41-50 years
- over 50 years

Marital status:

- I am:
 - married
 - living with a partner
- single
 - unmarried
 - divorced
 - widow/widower

Do you have children?

- yes, they came with me to the UK/Germany,
- yes, they were born in the UK/Germany,
- yes, they stayed in Poland under the custody of my spouse/partner
- yes, they stayed in Poland under the custody of my family
- yes, they stayed in Poland under the custody of my friends
- no

Place of residence prior to leaving for the UK/Germany:

- village
- town up to 25,000 population
- town between 25,000 and 50,000 population
- town between 50,000 and 250,000 population
- town over 250,000 population

Last school finished:

- higher
- secondary
- vocational
- junior secondary
- primary

Legal status of employment:

- legal
- illegal
- I do not work because:
 - I am on a maternity leave
 - I bring up a child/children
 - I have difficulty finding a job
 - social benefits I receive are sufficient to make a living
 - another reason, what reason?

Employment sector:

- construction
- banking, accountancy, finances
- education, higher education
- catering and tourism
- commerce
- mechanical occupations
- medical occupation
- child and elderly care

- industries
- agriculture, horticulture, fruit tree farming
- transport
- cleaning services, housekeeping
- I do not work
- others, what sector?