
Challenges of Poland's Migration Policy from the Perspective of the Experiences of Selected European Union Countries

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Brygida Solga¹, Filip Tereszkiwicz²

Abstract:

Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to discuss the determinants of the development of migration policy in Poland and the activities implemented so far in this field, to analyse the migration policies of selected European Union countries in terms of examining the similarities and differences in migration processes, and finally to indicate the possibility of using their experiences in the system of Polish migration policy that is being created.

Design/Methodology/Approach: The main research methods include the desk research method, secondary data analysis as well as publications and expertise prepared in the field of migration policy, while comparative analysis constitutes a complementary research method.

Findings: Poland has two options when it comes to regulating immigration. First, similarly to Germany, it may try to use mechanisms created within the European Union to attract qualified employees, including in particular the Blue Card and partnerships with third countries. Second, like in the Czech Republic, separate procedures for the influx of immigrants from specific countries can be created.

Practical Implications: Poland should create mechanisms facilitating obtaining the status of long-term resident and ensuring the real socio-economic and political integration of immigrants.

Originality/Value: The conducted research allowed for the identification of factors influencing the situation on migration policies in Poland, Germany, and the Czech Republic.

Keywords: Migration policy, public policies, socio-economic development, Poland, Germany, the Czech Republic.

JEL codes: J61, J680, H830.

Paper type: Research article.

¹Professor, Opole University of Technology, Department of Regional Policy and Labor Market, Opole, Poland, e-mail: b.solga@po.edu.pl;

²Assistant Professor, University of Opole, Institute of Political Science and Administration, Opole, Poland, e-mail: f.tereszkiewicz@gmail.com;

1. Introduction

Unprecedented changes in migration processes are taking place in Poland now. It needs to be stated that the scale of international migrations in the country still remains high and has reached around 2.5 million people in recent years. According to Eurostat data, citizens of Poland, Romania, Italy, and Portugal constitute the four largest groups of EU-27 citizens living in other EU Member States. At the same time, significant transformations are observed in the demographic structure of migrants and the directions of emigration, while the demographic, economic and socio-cultural effects of emigration are still seriously felt. On the other hand, the number of foreigners coming to Poland has also increased significantly in recent years.

For several years, Poland has been the country of the European Union (EU) where the largest number of the so-called first residence permits for third-country nationals are issued. Out of the 3.2 million first permits issued in the EU in 2018 (including 527,000 to Ukrainian citizens), the most were issued in Poland (635,000). Changes balancing the emigration outflow of Poles through immigration, are a proof of the migration transition observed in this country, and the change from the negative migration balance to a positive one (Solga and Kubiciel, 2017; Okólski, 2012). The demographic forecast for Poland until 2050 assumes that after 2020 the scale of emigration will be decreasing, while the scale of immigration will be increasing. Poland is at this stage now.

It could seem that the importance of migration processes is reflected in a well-functioning system of public policies in the field of migration policy (Marcu *et al.*, 2018; Noja and Cristea, 2018; Noja, 2018). Meanwhile, in Poland there is no migration policy understood as a coherent system that covers the actions of the state towards its own diaspora and towards foreigners staying on its territory and is an element of the entire system of public policies. Despite taking specific actions in this area, no such system has been created so far, and the previous initiatives are often systemically dispersed and uncoordinated. Moreover, they predominantly have a reactionary nature and lack vision for the future (Okólski and Wach, 2020). This situation seems to be different from the experience of the countries that have been systematically implementing this type of policy for many years (Matyja, Pędziwiatr, and Siewierska-Chmaj, 2015).

The purpose of the paper is to discuss the determinants of the development of migration policy in Poland and the previous activities conducted so far in this area, as well as to analyse the migration policies of selected EU countries in terms of examining the similarities and differences, as well as indicating the possibilities of using their experiences in the system of Polish migration policy that is being created. The subject of the considerations is the development of Poland's migration policy after the political and economic transformations initiated in 1989. The authors

therefore do not undertake the description of the migration policy during communism (before 1989), when its aim was to achieve full state control over the international movement of people, both over people leaving Poland and entering the country.

In the area of comparative analysis of migration policies of the EU countries, the experiences of Germany and the Czech Republic were assessed. These countries were selected for three reasons. Firstly, they are Poland's neighbours, which means that they have similar political, social, and historical experiences that determine migration processes. Secondly, all the three countries are so diverse with respect to the size of their territory, population, and the level of economic development that different models of migration policies can be compared. Thirdly, these countries have different experiences in terms of implemented migration policy. West Germany represents a long-standing practice of management of the influx of economic immigrants. The Czech Republic, in turn, was the migration destination for the citizens of neighbouring Slovakia - both during the period of the federal state existence, and after its dissolution. On the other hand, Poland has many years of experience with unstructured emigration, and actually no experience in terms of the influx of immigrants.

The main research methods include the *desk research* method, secondary data analysis as well as publications and expertise prepared in the field of migration policy, while comparative analysis constitutes a complementary research method. Statistical data comes from the official statistics systems of Poland (Główny Urząd Statystyczny [*The Central Statistical Office*]), Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt), the Czech Republic (Český Statistický Úřad) and the EU (Eurostat) as well as Polish, German and Czech ministries. The system of foreign migration research operated in Poland by Główny Urząd Statystyczny [*the Central Statistical Office*] applies the approach that integrates statistical information on migration. It enables the development of data on the scale and directions of foreign migrations and specific forms of mobility.

Functioning national registration systems, registers, databases, statistical surveys, including censuses, sample surveys (BAEL, EU-SILC), Eurostat and OECD databases as well as foreign administrative sources are the main sources of data on international migrations. Data from the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy were used in the case of Polish registers on the inflow of foreigners to Poland. It contains data on work permits and registered declarations of the intention to entrust completion of work to a foreigner (from 2018 on entrusting work to a foreigner)³.

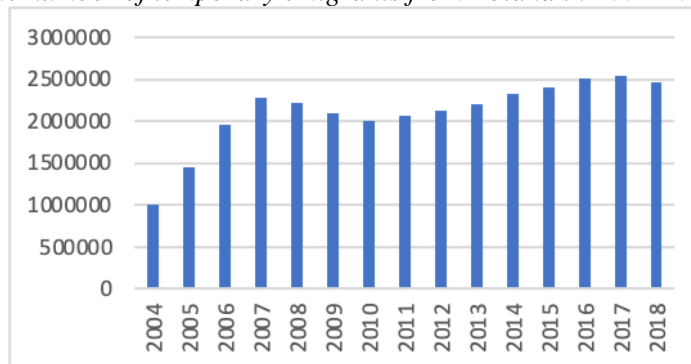
³*At the same time there is data collected by the Office for Foreigners that contains registers of permits to settle, residence permits for a fixed period and consents to grant a refugee status among others. However, due to the scope of the paper, this source was not analysed.*

2. Determinants of the Development of the Migration Policy in Poland

For many decades, Poland was largely an emigration country. Apart from the post-war period, when the population movement was mainly a consequence of the shifting of state borders, international migrations in Poland started to have a mass character at least from the 1980s. It is estimated that in the years 1980-1989 alone, the total number of emigrants reached 2.2-2.35 million people, including 1.1-1.3 million of long-term emigrants. Political changes in Poland in 1989 and the introduction of free access of Polish citizens to passports, as well as waiver of the visa requirement by most Western countries resulted in significant changes in the migration processes in the country. The scale of temporary emigration related to permanent or seasonal employment abroad significantly increased, and the emigration for settlement declined. Since then, temporary labour migrations, often circular in nature, have become the basic form of foreign mobility of the Polish population.

The accession of Poland to the EU in 2004 was an important turning point for international mobility. Since then, Poles can freely travel to EU countries to live, work, and run a business. This fact triggered a great wave of departures. Only between 2004 and 2006, the number of migrants almost doubled (Figure 1).

Figure 1. The number of temporary emigrants from Poland in 2004-2018

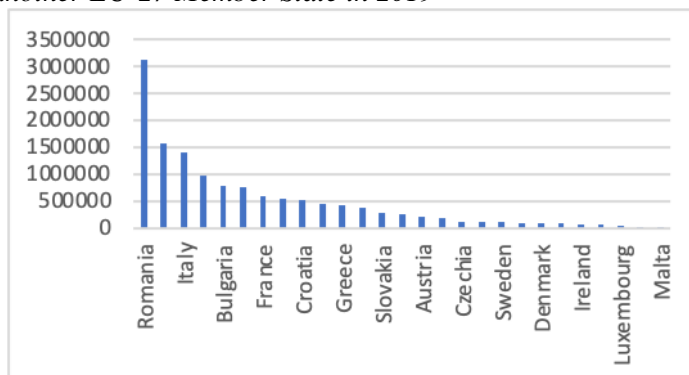


Source: Own case study based on GUS, 2019.

Despite differences in methodology, both the data from the public statistics of Poland and the EU confirm the high scale of the emigration outflow of Poles. The data from the 2011 census show that at the time, about 2 million people had stayed abroad for over 3 months, while most of them (1.5 million) for at least 12 months. This means that for every 1,000 inhabitants of Poland, more than 50 were temporarily abroad at the time for at least a quarter (Anacka and Okólski, 2014). According to the latest estimates of Główny Urząd Statystyczny [*Central Statistical Office*], in 2017 over 2.5 million permanent residents of Poland were temporarily staying abroad, and in 2018 over 2.4 million. The vast majority of them were staying

in the EU Member States. On the other hand, Eurostat data shows that Polish citizens, together with citizens of Romania, Italy, and Portugal, constituted the four largest groups of EU-27 citizens living in other EU-27 Member States in 2019 (Figure 2).

Figure 2. *The number of EU-27 citizens whose permanent residence was on the territory of another EU-27 Member State in 2019*



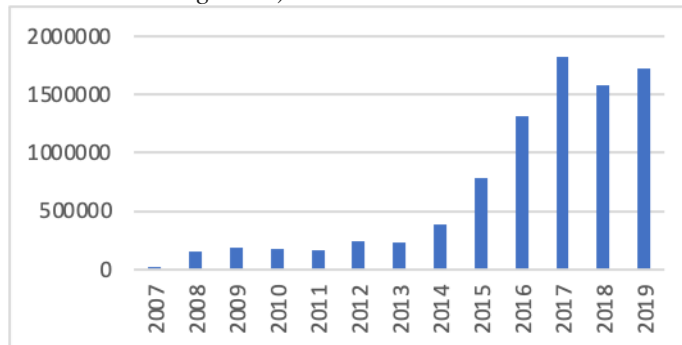
Source: Eurostat, 2020.

Not only the scale of foreign migration is important, but also the features of the emigration. In the group of people leaving the country, the percentage of long-term migrants is increasing, which may mean that emigrants from Poland more and more often decide to stay abroad permanently. Most of the emigrants (over 80%) are of working age, and the group aged 25-29 is the largest. In the group of emigrants, the share of people with a relatively high level of education is also increasing. About 1.2 million of them have at least secondary education, including over 400,000 people with higher education. The emigrants are not only mostly young people, but also, to a large extent, single. The latter feature may mean greater possibilities to settle permanently abroad and start a family there. This means that as a result of emigration, Poland mainly loses young people at reproductive age and the highest professional activity. It should be assumed that these structural features of Polish emigration are important from the point of view of the system of migration policy that is being created, especially in the area of assumptions and goals of this policy.

Despite the clearly outflow character, Poland is a country in which the scale of immigration has significantly increased in recent years. Economic immigration for employment in Poland is dominant. Among several legal possibilities enabling the stay of immigrants, the procedure giving Polish employers the opportunity to submit declarations of the intention to entrust performance of work to a foreigner (from 2018 on entrusting work) and employing foreigners on their basis, proved to be the key instrument enabling them to be employed (Górny and Śleszyński, 2019). It is a simplified path for employing foreigners, addressed to citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. A growing importance of the influx of

economic immigrants to Poland on the basis of this legal form can be observed. In 2007, the number of submitted declarations reached slightly less than 22,000, a year later - over 156,000, and now (2019) - 1,720,000. In just over a decade, this number increased almost 80 times (Figure 3).

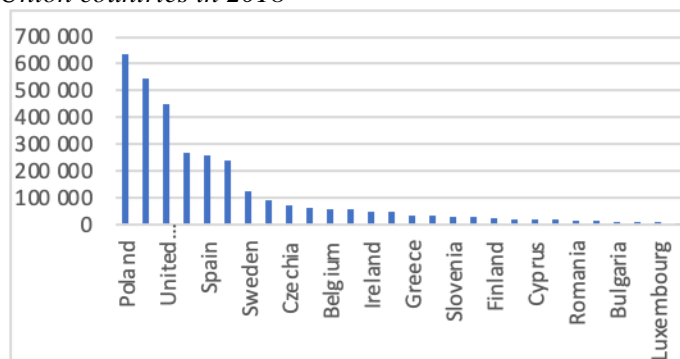
Figure 3. The number of declarations of the intention to entrust performance of work (from 2018 on entrusting work) issued in Poland in 2007-2019



Source: Own case study based on Department Rynku Pracy MRPiPS, 2018.

On the other hand, Eurostat data shows that in 2018, Poland issued the largest number of first residence permits to foreigners from outside the EU (over 635,000). Much fewer permits were issued by Germany (approximately 543,000), Great Britain (approximately 450,000) and France (approximately 267,000), i.e. the countries with much longer traditions of accepting immigrants than Poland (Figure 4).

Figure 4. The number of first residence permits for third-country citizens issued in European Union countries in 2018



Source: Own case study based on Eurostat, 2019.

Immigrants to Poland for temporary stay are mainly Ukrainian citizens who find employment here. Most of them are young men, aged 20 to 49 and well-educated. Almost every third immigrant has completed higher education. The young age of

immigrants is quite a typical phenomenon, as migrations are mainly the domain of young people. But such a structure of economic migrants is certainly positive in the context of the problem of aging of the labour resources. Thus, it constitutes a major challenge for the migration policy system, that consists in encouraging the people to stay in Poland. Economic immigrants, mainly from Ukraine, are represented in large numbers in those industries that traditionally (in Western Europe) employ foreigners. Usually, these are jobs that do not require high qualifications and for which there is less demand from the domestic (Polish) labour force, especially in times of economic prosperity.

3. Shaping the Migration Policy in Poland

Although the postulate to formulate the assumptions of the migration policy appeared in Poland already at the beginning of in the 1990s, the activities implemented in this area so far, resulted mainly from Poland's accession to the EU. Nevertheless, these activities - both in the period immediately preceding the accession and a long time after, were mainly reactive in nature. This is because to a large extent, they were based on the adoption of a whole set of legal regulations on the European level, and on the fulfilment of obligations resulting from the fact of being a border country of the EU (Heffner and Solga, 2019). Due to these requirements, specific provisions were introduced in Poland in the field of border control, refugee policy and the visa system. Poland also adopted legal solutions promoting the free movement of citizens within the Union. The partial opening of the labour market to foreigners and the liberalization of legal regulations in this area were also an important element of the observed changes. On the basis of experiences of Western and Central European countries, the *Act on foreigners* was created. Initially it was very restrictive and limiting the channels of legal migration, but in the following years it has been amended several times and, consequently, the procedures for foreigners' access to the Polish labour market have been simplified. Currently, Poland has become practically the only country in the EU where citizens of several Eastern European countries have gained open access to the domestic labour market in the area of temporary or seasonal work.

The adoption in 2012 of the document entitled *Polityka migracyjna Polski - stan obecny i postulowane działania* [Poland's migration policy - current state and proposed actions], which summarized the assumptions of the state's migration policy and indicated directions and recommended actions in this area was an important moment in the emerging system. At that time, this document was considered an interpretation of the migration strategy implemented in Poland. Together with the work on this document, the development of another one, entitled *Polska polityka integracji cudzoziemców – założenia i wytyczne* [Polish policy of integration of foreigners - assumptions and guidelines] was started. Although its draft was approved, it was not adopted and, as a result, it did not play a significant role in shaping the integration policy (Wach, 2018).

The so-called migration crisis and the mass influx of migrants to Europe from 2015 increased interest in the issues of migration, but at the same time caused significant politicisation of the issue (Lesińska and Duszczyk, 2018). However, the increased interest in the migration policy did not bring any significant changes in the system of Polish migration policy, but on the contrary - the existing strategic documents, including the above-mentioned document *Polityka migracyjna Polski* [*Polish Migration Policy*], were withdrawn. New, very general priorities for the new migration policy have been defined, but so far, no plan for the implementation of these objectives has been developed.

4. Migration Policies of Germany and the Czech Republic

Due to different historical and political experiences, migration policy of Germany was evolving in a different way than in Poland and the Czech Republic. Paradoxically, however, some similar elements can be identified. The dissimilarity of the German migration policy results primarily from long-term experiences in the sphere of the inflow of foreign labour, and then from the so-called unification process. Germany experienced a huge scale of influx of immigrants after the end of World War II, due to the resettlement of people of German origin and the process of recruitment of the workforce resulting from the needs of the dynamically developing economy. In relation to the first group of immigrants, Germany implemented a policy aimed at people expelled from their homeland (*Heimatvertriebene*), refugees and people displaced from the then German Democratic Republic (East Germany) (*Übersiedler*) and displaced persons (*Aussiedler*). On the other hand, the second group were guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*). The other foreigners could apply for refugee status and asylum (*Asylbewerber*) or the permit for tolerated stay (*Geduldete mit Bleiberecht*).

It is estimated that in the first decade after the end of World War II, over 12 million people in total came to Germany, and by the end of the 1980s - 19 million. Among those who came, nearly 15 million were immigrants who were considered legitimate citizens of Germany. Among the remaining group, the largest number of foreign workers were recruited mainly from European and non-European countries of the Mediterranean basin (Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia) (Seifert, 2006). The integration of millions of newcomers with the local population was a great undertaking. In relation to each of the immigrant groups, extensive actions based on specific legislation were conducted, and the policy towards immigrants was implemented on the professional and social, socio-cultural, socio-psychological, and political and economic levels (Engelhardt, 2006).

In 1990, the GDR was incorporated into the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), which caused a rapid movement of people from the Eastern to the Western lands. However, due to the reunification of these two countries, it was of an intra-state rather than external character, which caused the radical change in the structure of

migration in Germany. This was because until reunification, immigration from East Germany was external in nature. The second process makes the experiences of Germany and Poland similar to each other. It is manifested in the reluctance of the German government to admit long-term immigrants. There was a predominant belief among local politicians, similar to the view popular in Poland, that foreign workers should not stay in their homeland permanently.

Therefore, for many years there was no clear and transparent way to obtain German citizenship in Germany, even for long-term residents and their children (Gesley, n.d.). This reluctance to naturalize foreigners has been causing problems with their integration and means that Germany is usually not seen as a destination country for long-term immigrants. It is rather perceived, as a country of economic migration (Chin, 2017). Despite such a cautious and conservative policy, over 17 million people in Germany (21% of the country's population) have "foreign origin". Around 45% of people from this group come from one EU Member State, 13% from another European country, 30% from Asia and 5% from Africa (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015).

While perceiving Germany as one of the main destinations of economic immigration seems to be widespread, it is rarely noticed that the country is also a source of emigrants (Fig. 2). Every year, more than 250,000 German citizens emigrate from the country, mainly for economic purposes. The scale of this phenomenon is therefore not as high as in Poland, but the structure of migrants is similar. Over 70% of them have higher education or have skills that desired on the labour market. However, this is not a classic human capital flight, and this gap will be filled by the inflow of immigrants from other EU Member States or from third countries. That is why the migration balance closes each year with a surplus of several hundred thousand (Statistische Bundesamt, 2018). It is a characteristic feature of German emigration, which distinguishes it from Polish emigration, that it is not permanent, and most emigrants return to Germany after some time (This is where, 2019). The main direction of German emigration are other European countries. OECD data show that in recent years the citizens of the country mainly emigrate to Switzerland, Austria, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Spain (OECD, 2019), i.e. neighbouring, culturally and linguistically close countries, where there are statistically higher earnings (Walsh, 2019).

The change in the approach of German government to migration policy occurred at the beginning of the 21st century. It was caused by signals coming from the economy about the lack of specialists, especially in the new technologies sector. This convinced the government to introduce regulations facilitating legal immigration. On January 1, 2005, a new migration law entered into force, also changing the civil law and regulations concerning the right of permanent residence. These legal acts were important because, for the first time in history, the German government focused on attracting long-term immigrants, in particular those

belonging to the group of highly qualified specialists, as well as on tools facilitating the integration of immigrants. Since then, similarly to Poland, these regulations have been amended several times due to the necessity to implement EU directives (Gesley, n.d.).

For many years, it has been typical of Germany that the demand for labour in the economy has been growing faster than the supply (in Poland, this phenomenon has only occurred in recent years). The main source of this problem is the fact that German society is aging very quickly. In 2019, the share of people aged over 65 in the total population was approximately 35%. Forecasts project that in 2025 it will be 40%, and in 2050 as much as 60% (BIBE, 2018). In addition, it is expected that in 2025, on the one hand, there will be a shortage of about 1.8 million employees with specific professional preparation, and on the other hand, there will be an excess of unskilled workers on the market. Therefore, the German debate on immigration is now focused on the need to attract skilled and highly skilled workers. Government documents emphasize that the inflow of workers from EU member states will probably prove to be insufficient.

Therefore, the necessity to introduce the following changes is indicated: 1) recruitment of highly qualified employees in non-EU countries; 2) introducing a visa for jobseekers; 3) launching, abroad, the language courses and programs to raise qualifications; 4) increasing financial resources for programs improving qualifications in Germany; 5) creating employment opportunities for people who have been refused asylum or are the so-called tolerated migrants. However, liberalization of the immigration policy is to be accompanied by the maintenance of the requirements concerning knowledge of the German language, priority for employing German citizens in specific sectors, protection of labour markets in regions with high unemployment, as well as limiting the possibility of receiving social benefits by immigrants (Düvell, 2019). Nevertheless, the introduction of the above-mentioned changes would fundamentally change immigration policy of Germany, which is still aimed at limiting the influx of long-term immigrants.

Finally, it should be clearly emphasised that German migration policy is largely reactive. Most foreign workers come to Germany not on the basis of a work visa but in search of asylum or under the regulations of family reunification. This, in turn, essentially distinguishes the German migration policy from Polish and Czech policies. Currently, the main goal of the government in Berlin is not to attract skilled labour, but to include people who have come to Germany for other reasons, into the labour market. The solution introduced at the EU level, i.e. the blue card is the main exception here. This instrument is mainly used by Germany, because in 2018 nearly 90% of workers employed on the basis of blue card found employment in companies registered in that country. In addition, Germany participates in the so-called EU Mobility Partnerships that have been signed with such countries as Tunisia, Jordan, Nigeria, and Morocco. These activities are complemented by the launch of pilot

programs and projects the aim of which is to recruit specific types of workers in these four countries (Düvell, 2019). However, it is still difficult to assess the effects of these actions, nevertheless, it can be seen that in the meantime, the German government is trying to use EU initiatives to meet the needs of the local labour market rather than radically change internal regulations (Tereszkiewicz, 2015).

The migration policy of the Czech Republic, in turn, underwent a different evolution in comparison with Poland and Germany. In 1993, Czechoslovakia split into two independent states: the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The declaration of independence brought significant changes in the migration policy, because before that date the movement of people between these countries had been perceived as internal migration, and after the date as external immigration. This was important because the decision to liquidate the federal state caused an increase in the flow of people from poorer Slovakia to richer Czech Republic, which was perceived by former fellow citizens from the East as an attractive place not only to earn money, but also to live. For this reason, among others, over the last 30 years, almost tenfold increase in the number of foreigners living in the Czech Republic was reported, from 78 thousand in 1993 to 800 thousand in 2019, including 300 thousand as permanent residents (Czech Statistical Office, 2020). However, it should be remembered that nearly 40% of them are Slovaks, i.e. former fellow citizens (OECD, 2019).

Therefore, immigration to the Czech Republic is largely not even intra-EU in nature, but post-interstate, and is not perceived as a problem by the citizens of the country. However, in recent years, an increasing influx of Ukrainian citizens to the Czech Republic (over 20,000 annually) can be observed, which means that over 100,000 citizens of this post-Soviet republic live there. As a result, we can actually talk about a similar level of immigration from Slovakia and Ukraine. However, the status of citizens of the two countries is fundamentally different. Due to their historical, cultural, and linguistic bonds, Slovaks are treated almost in the same way as Czechs (the best example of this is the fact that the Czech prime minister is Andrej Babiš from Slovakia). On the other hand, Ukrainians are treated as classic economic immigrants and do not have a special status, apart from a few exceptions.

In addition to the citizens of these two countries, 60,000 Vietnamese and nearly 40 thousand Russians also emigrated to the Czech Republic. Although the Vietnamese diaspora has still been larger, the current trend indicates that the Russian diaspora will soon reach the same level. In recent years, a significant increase (by over 50%) of the influx of people from Romania, Bulgaria, and Southeast Asia (Philippines, Taiwan, South Korea) has also been observed. Contrary to Germany, the Czech Republic, just like Poland, does not have a large community coming from the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (Jungwirth at all, 2019), which is largely due to a very restrictive asylum policy. Thus, there is not a problem of integrating people who came for a purpose other than job seeking, which is typical of Germany.

Considering the emigration from the Czech Republic, unlike in Poland and Germany, it is small and additionally it has been systematically declining in recent years, reaching the level of around 20,000 annually. As a result, the Czech Republic has a positive migration balance just like its western neighbours. The emigrants are mostly young and well-educated people. The main destination for citizens of the Czech Republic are Germany (nearly 50%), Austria (8%) and Switzerland (5%), i.e. the neighbouring countries with similar culture and much higher earnings. Thus, there are significant similarities to Poland and Germany in terms of the structure and directions of emigration (OECD, 2019).

The Czech economy, like the German one (and in recent years also Polish), is highly dependent on economic immigrants, which means that economic development is based on their work. However, contrary to Germany, the possibility of emigrating to the Czech Republic for work purposes is severely limited due to the necessity to obtain a work visa and a work permit. For all these reasons, the necessity to liberalize immigration policy is quite common among the Czech political class, which is why in recent years significant changes have been introduced to the legislation to facilitate the influx of qualified workers (Münich, 2014). Among other things, the Czech government has established special paths to make the procedure of hiring a third-country worker faster. In 2018, such facilities were created for the citizens of Ukraine, Mongolia, the Philippines, and Serbia. Each year, nearly 20,000 people can come to work from Ukraine, 2 thousand from Serbia, and 1 thousand from other countries. Additionally, a pilot program was launched in relation to Ukraine to facilitate the arrival of highly qualified employees (Jungwirth *et al.*, 2019). Therefore, an attempt was made to regulate economic immigration in order to attract workers with qualifications in demand for the economy.

In the Czech Republic, like in Poland or Germany, the influx of immigrants should help limit the negative effects of the rapid decline in population and population aging. It is predicted that without a significant increase in the inflow of immigrants and growth in fertility, by 2100 the population of this country will decline from 6.6 million to 4 million (Pravec, 2017). In order to keep the Czech population at a constant level, the inflow of 20-30 thousand immigrants annually is necessary (Klímová and Rosková, 2017). In recent years it has been possible to achieve this level (Jungwirth *et al.*, 2019). Moreover, the number of people obtaining permanent resident status has been increasing over the years, reaching the level of nearly 290,000 in 2018. This relatively large influx of immigrants to the Czech Republic has meant that as many as 7% of the residents of the country are of foreign origin, which is the largest share among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, economic development, combined with the decline and aging of the population as well as the lack of a skilled workforce, made the Czech Republic a country of immigration with a high proportion of inhabitants of foreign origin (Seidlová, 2018).

However, this is in contradiction with the state of the political debate on migration, where - similarly to Poland – no distinction is made between economic migrants and refugees (Jungwirth *et al.*, 2019; Kopecký, 2018). This could result in slowing the influx of migrants whose skills are crucial to maintaining economic development in the Czech Republic.

5. Conclusions

The state's migration policy is a derivative of many different economic, political, and socio-cultural determinants (Klaus *et al.*, 2020). The migration history of the country and the relationship between the scale and nature of emigration and immigration are also one of the conditions for the development of this policy (Meyers, 2000). Its evaluation should be the most important factor determining the goals of the migration policy and should influence the activities implemented within its framework.

In the context of the specific migration situation of Poland, in which both foreign migration of its citizens and the inflow of foreigners are of great importance, a broad approach to the shape of the migration policy is justified. This means that Polish migration policy should be a comprehensive system that is consistent with broadly approached public policies and cover issues related to both immigration and emigration. Therefore, the state should define a vision of the place and role of foreigners in society and on the labour market, including the development of immigrants' entrepreneurship (Kubiciel-Lodzińska *et al.*, 2020; Desiderio, 2014), and at the same time propose actions related to citizens' mobility, taking into account the care for their rights abroad. Solutions concerning people returning from emigration and the issues of repatriation should also constitute an important space in the migration policy (Lesińska, 2013). Thus, in order to make the migration policy an effective system, it should be integrated with other public policies of the country and thus support the socio-economic development, enabling the proper use of the migration potential.

The experience in running the migration policy system of selected countries shows that there is no perfect solution, and each country - apart from common elements - has its own specificity. However, it can be seen from the example of Germany and the Czech Republic that avoiding an honest political debate about the need for an influx of immigrants is not a good solution. The example of Germany, where its politicians made efforts to limit long-term immigration, shows that in view of the population aging and the objectively existing needs of the economy, sooner or later it will be necessary to liberalize the possibility of obtaining the right to permanent residence. For the time being, Poland, while focusing on attracting short-term economic migrants and not thinking about the long-term consequences of this process, is repeating German mistakes. The experience of our western neighbour shows that a large number of these people can stay on the Vistula.

Therefore, it will be necessary to create mechanisms facilitating obtaining the status of long-term resident and ensuring the real socio-economic and political integration of immigrants. This is because Poland - unlike the Czech Republic - cannot count on a constant influx of labour from the territory of the former federal state, which will integrate or assimilate without any problems.

Looking at the experiences of Germany and the Czech Republic, it can be indicated that Poland has two options when it comes to regulating immigration. Similarly, to Germany, it may try to use mechanisms created within the EU to attract qualified employees, including in particular the Blue Card and partnerships with third countries. This solution is politically convenient as it will allow to avoid a difficult and prejudicial debate on the purposefulness of the influx of immigrants. However, the lack of this debate may cause negative social reactions to the arrival of more foreigners in the country. Therefore, the experience of the Czech Republic can be used, and separate, but strictly defined, procedures for the influx of immigrants from specific countries can be created. However, this will require the identification of priority countries, which in Poland will certainly be Ukraine and Belarus, i.e. the countries which are culturally close. However, the Czech experience shows that these sources of immigrants may prove insufficient.

Considering the phenomenon of emigration, the experiences of our neighbours are of little use to Poland. This is because in the case of the Czech Republic, it is difficult to speak of a large scale of this process, as its citizens emigrate to other countries to a limited extent. On the other hand, emigration from Germany is relatively large in absolute numbers, but counterbalanced by the influx of immigrants. The features distinguishing both countries from Poland is the fact that both these countries can attract their citizens again, and that the phenomenon of re-emigration is quite common. After gaining valuable experience while working abroad, both Germans and Czechs, decide to return to their homeland. This is partly due to the nature of the local labour market and the relationship between the employer and employee. The attractiveness of living in the country is also important. It seems, that if the Polish government wants to attract Poles living abroad to return to Poland, it should take measures to increase the broadly perceived comfort of living in the country, and not only focus on propaganda actions, as is the case today.

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