

# SOCIAL POLICY TOWARDS FOREIGNERS IN POLAND AFTER 1989: AN OUTLINE OF ISSUES

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## INTRODUCTION

This text presents the aspects of a research project, the main task of which is to answer the following question: What kind of social policy towards foreigners is needed in Poland at present? I outline a number of research problems, ask numerous questions which need answers, and present in part the state of knowledge concerning foreigners in Poland.

Until 1989 Poland was primarily an emigration country. It were our citizens who emigrated in large numbers to other countries, mainly because of political and economic reasons. After the fall of Communism the prevailing 'emigration fever' in the Polish society (the readiness to leave the country almost immediately - see Romaniszyn and Slany 1997:10) declined. Now Poland is becoming a more and more interesting target for immigration (see Tables 1 and 5). Potential immigrants perceive it in three ways:

- (1) as a transit country treated as a stop on the way to rich countries of the Western Europe;
- (2) as a country where you come with the aim to earn some money (a temporary stay followed by going back with the money earned to your own country) and
- (3) as a final destination place.

The Polish economic development, and the ensuing prospect of inclusion into the European Union has increased the attractiveness of our country for foreigners. It seems that Poland's much less restrictive migration laws, in comparison with the Western European states, are a separate important factor accounting for the attraction of Poland in this respect.

Migration to Poland undoubtedly confronts the Polish society with new challenges. I will omit here various integration issues, so often discussed both in the professional literature, issues including the problem of the Polish society's openness towards 'others', our inclination to intolerant behaviour, and so forth. I will concentrate, instead, on the problem of the migration policy of the state. In order to meet the increasing challenges, there is a need for a migration policy that would be long-term, well-planned, consistently administrated, and clearly communicated to the society. However, at present, there are too many *ad hoc* - evoked by particular cases - reactions to problems associated with foreigners.<sup>1</sup> Granting foreigners specific rights, including the right to

officially recognised employment, access to welfare benefits, and so forth, should come within the laws which thoroughly and consistently regulate the place of foreigners in our society.<sup>2</sup>

In order to create a consistent policy towards foreigners, deeper research concerning migration will be of some importance, research that would show the course of processes under way in all their complexity.

## I. TERMINOLOGY

For the needs of this text the term 'policy' is understood in such way as to include any consistent, long-term action undertaken by authorized state organs oriented towards accomplishing a specific group of goals. The term *social policy* I understand as a system of ideas and actions which aim at the improvement of life conditions (Danecki 1996; Rajkiewicz 1996; Supińska 1996). In this context, any long-term migration policy overlaps with issues typical of general social policy.

Another term worthy of interest is 'foreigners'. According to a definition which functions in Polish internal legislation a foreigner is a person who does not have Polish citizenship (*Dziennik Ustaw 1997*, no 114, pos. 739). In Polish everyday language, the word 'foreigners' [ *cudzoziemcy*] usually means people who come to our country only for a certain period of time and is used interchangeably with such words as 'aliens' [ *obcy*], 'strangers' [ *obcokrajowcy*] and 'immigrants' [ *imigranci*] (for more information see Szymańska 1998:412).

Among the community of foreigners staying in Poland we can specify various categories depending on the criteria we apply. For instance, from the legal point of view we distinguish foreigners who have authorization, and those who do not. Taking into account the aims of immigration, we may distinguish the following groups: foreign workers, foreign students, and immigrants who want to settle down in Poland for good, tourists (see Table 2; see also Szymańska 1998:415).

It seems that not all categories of foreigners in Poland must be subjects of social policy. Refugees, repatriates, illegal immigrants, but also officially authorized immi-

<sup>1</sup> A clear example is the forceful liquidation of Romanian illegal camps in Warsaw on 16 June 1996 (see Pur Rachnama 1996; „Rumuni...» 1997; TD 1997). Another matter is receiving numerous groups of refugees without properly organized centers for them or qualified social staff (see Grzymała-Moszczyńska and Nowicka 1998).

<sup>2</sup> For example Article 40 of the *Law of Foreigners* says that a foreigner who applied for refugee status, may be provided with 1) accommodation, 2) food, 3) medical care, 4) material and/or 5) financial help for the time required by the authorities to make the decision (and in justified cases for a period of up to 3 months after the date of issuing the decision) - see *Dziennik Ustaw 1997*. This law does not regulate precisely, however, what the rights of a foreigner with the status of refugee are, except for the right of temporary stay in Poland. In order to be employed a registration in the place one lives is necessary, but on the other hand, it is extremely difficult to register anyone if s/he is not legally employed. There is no law that would clearly regulate how to deal with refugees in such situations (see Łodziński 1998).

grants (e.g. foreign experts) definitely should be. On the other hand, real tourists normally should not.<sup>3</sup> In order to identify groups among the community of foreigners which could (or should?) be in the field of interest of social policy, that much more specific information on their life in Poland needs to be provided.

A matter worth a separate analysis, which I omit here, is the issue how social policy towards foreigners is related to its other aspects.

## II. WHAT KIND OF POLICY TOWARDS FOREIGNERS IN POLAND DO WE HAVE AT PRESENT?

A good answer to this question requires thorough observation of state actions concerning foreigners, NGOs, and other organizations dealing with foreigners' problems. I will concentrate on seven exemplary areas, some of which are already in force, some may potentially be enacted by policy towards foreigners. These seven areas are (1) admission to Poland; (2) foreigners' education; (3) cultural co-operation and exchange; (4) employment; (5) asylum, (6) criminal, and (7) information policy. I will omit though, three other areas: the issues which may be considered as property rights policy (the problem of land sale is most often discussed); matters of integration policy (actions assisting the adaptation of foreigners to life conditions in Poland as well as the propagation of broad pluralism and tolerance in Polish society); information policy - both towards our society and the subject of this policy, i.e. the foreigners themselves.

### I. Admission policy

I understand this policy quite broadly, as general arrangements of the principles of the foreigners' movement across the Polish border. *The Statute on Foreigners [Ustawa o cudzoziemcach]* states that a foreigner staying on Polish territory should have a passport, a valid visa (if a certain person does not travel according to an inter-state agreement concerning border crossing without a visa), and means necessary to cover the costs of entering the country and the intended stay there. The statute offers four types of visa: visitor's visa, visitor's visa with work permit, transit visa and repatriate visa. It specifies the situations in which visas may be denied or invalidated and also how to refuse admission to somebody who basically is entitled to enter the country according to the agreement on traffic without visa entry. Moreover, it established the control and registration of invitations for foreigners (*Dziennik Ustaw 1997*). The European Union

<sup>3</sup> However, a foreign tourist who enters our country may become an immigrant. Quite a number of foreigners cross the border as tourists and soon 'lose' their identity papers. Then they try to obtain a Polish passport or seek asylum (see „Azyl...“ 1998; „42 znikąd“ 1996; Mozołowski 1996:20). Usually the purpose of arrival given by immigrants from the former Soviet Unions is tourism, even though they come to get involved in trading on street markets or taking up some seasonal odd jobs.

standards and the arrangements of the Schengen Group concerning implementation of external border protection dictate such regulations. European integration will mean that the eastern part of the Polish border would become an external border of the EU. This will bring another challenge – conforming to the EU law with simultaneous maintenance of good relations with the neighbours to the East. We already realized how difficult it might be to meet this challenge the moment the *Statute on Foreigners* came into force. Increased possibilities to control the entrance and stay of foreigners caused a significant decline in cross-border traffic mainly on the Polish border with Russia and Belarus, and also triggered protests of Polish small entrepreneurs relying mostly or exclusively on the half-legal cross-border trade. In order to alleviate the dissatisfaction of the border areas population it was necessary to partly change the rules of crossing of the eastern border (cheaper visas were introduced). Policies based on sheer legal principles which do not take into account the social and economic interests of various groups happen to be quite expensive. As it turned out, the introduction of rigorous regulations mainly struck the so-called ‘swing migrants’ who, during their short visits, carried out small businesses (mainly trade) in the border areas. A decrease of border traffic caused a sudden drop of turnover by about 40% in the biggest bazaars in Poland (Łodziński 1998:6-11).

## 2. Educational policy

I understand educational policy as all purposeful actions which are related to the education of foreigners in Poland.

Among the foreigners studying in our country we may distinguish people who are being educated on the following levels: elementary, secondary, higher, postgraduate, PhD studies and specialist trainings. Further on I will focus on the area of higher education.

Taking into account the kind of sponsorship, we distinguish three groups of students: holders of Polish government scholarships along with :: : welfare benefits (the holders are offered free education as well as accommodation and food grants); scholarship holders without welfare benefits (they receive free education but must live on their own means); and finally those that study in Poland relying on their own resources (they have to pay for their education). Holders of scholarships from the Polish government constitute the largest group – almost 80%. The Ministry of Education decides who may be granted which scholarship. The access to education without charge and access to maintenance means is most often granted to people of Polish origin (almost all of whom came from Kazakhstan, Lithuania and the Ukraine etc.). The holders of Polish government scholarships who are provided only with free education are usually students from Africa, Asia and Western Europe. However, the rector of the specific university takes decisions concerning admission to a university (no matter whether the person is a scholarship holder or is ready to cover all the costs himself/herself).

Universities do not provide special integration programmes for foreign students, although there seems to be a need for this. In some universities the newcomers, especially

from the former Soviet Union, live almost exclusively in their own circles; they spend their leisure time and holidays together and refrain from contacts with Polish students.

It remains to be established to what extent the present educational policy is coordinated with the direction of the Polish foreign policy. Are geopolitical factors included in considerations on granting scholarships from the Polish government to foreigners from various countries? Is there any geographically coordinated scholarship policy at all? Is the policy related to sign agreements of bilateral cooperation? For instance, assuming that strategic priority is placed on Poland's good contacts with the Ukraine, the Polish state should create extremely favourable conditions for students applying from this particular country. However, there are no data indicating that such a policy exists.

### **3. Cultural policy**

I define cultural policy as the actions of the state's official institutions (or institutions acting on its behalf – e.g. subsidized foundations) aimed at stimulating, supporting, and organizing, international artistic exchange and cooperation broadly understood.

It would be quite interesting to find out whether most of this cooperation is accomplished as a result of coordination on the level of the central government or whether local cooperation, e.g. between particular Polish and foreign cities, dominates. I was not able to establish whether there is a unit in the Ministry of Culture that collects information concerning the entirety of such cooperation. Is this cooperation correlated with the directions of our foreign policy? Is there any data showing that the organization of such cooperation is focused towards particular countries, regions and/or groups of countries? What countries' artists are most often (and which most willingly) hosted in Poland? Can any clear-cut patterns be identified here? Are any such patterns spontaneous or are they arranged according to some programmes monitored by the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? It seems to me that the answers to the above questions may have a significant indicatory value in creating migration policy in the field of cultural exchange.

Relatively closed communities of immigrants cultivating their own culture (e.g. the Vietnamese) are a problem of a different nature. Do they receive any kind of support on behalf of the Polish State? If so what are the rules of such support distribution?

### **4. Employment policy**

I understand employment policy as state actions regulating the number and structure of foreigners present in legal and illegal (within the grey zone) job markets in Poland.

Since 1990 the influx of foreign workers to Poland, employed both legally and illegally, has significantly increased. Individual foreigners are not entitled to apply for a work permit on their own behalf. Only legally operating firms may apply for such a

permit, providing details about a job position which is to be taken by a foreigner. The bodies, which are authorized to issue work permits for foreigners in Poland, are Provincial Work Offices. When issuing such permits, executives in the Provincial Work Offices should take into account the situation on the job market in a given region (see Łodziński 1998:18-19). It would be quite interesting to know whether the authorities allowing immigrants to take up legal jobs take into consideration the phenomenon of the black work force market. And to what extent they can recognize this issue. It would also be quite interesting to find out whether the decisions concerning employment are influenced by the nationality of foreigners or by the fact that some of them graduated from Polish universities. Does corruption exist (and on what scale) in the field of these decisions?

The highest number of work permits is granted every year in the Warsaw region, where foreigners receive over half of all the work permits issued in Poland. Those who are legally employed are mainly the managing staff of foreign companies, advisors or specialists of state and private companies, and foreign language teachers (Domaradzka 1996; GSM 1998; Mozołowski 1996: 20; PAP 1998; Santera 1995: 10; Skulimowska 1995; Wojtaszewski 1995). Employment of foreign managers is associated with the presence of foreign capital in Poland. The figures of the National Labour Office produced by the end of the '90s indicated that the number of foreigners legally working in Poland had reached 30 thousand.

The phenomenon of taking up illegal jobs by immigrants has developed in Poland on a wide scale right next to the legal employment of foreigners. The phenomenon of illegal employment of foreigners is quite difficult to capture statistically. The estimates indicating the number of illegally employed foreigners vary from 250 thousand to even 1 million (com. GSM 1998; Ornacka, Szczęsny 1998: 28; PAP, KATA 1997; Skarbek 1998). In the context of the high unemployment rate in our country (about 3 million unemployed at the end of 2001), it is worth exploring whether, and in what degree, this phenomenon has negative effects on our job market. It is important that foreigners are often paid much less than Poles, and in addition 'one does not have to' pay any insurance fee for them. Foreigners are in general in league with their employers and other illegally employed foreigners. Therefore, the fact that foreigners are involved in the black job market is only revealed via some conflicts with the criminal law either on the part of the foreigner himself or his/her employer (Margaz 1993).

## 5. Asylum policy

The term asylum policy is used in order to specify all state actions, which regulate the inflow of immigrants who come to a country on a non-voluntary basis, for example, war refugees and sufferers of various kinds of discrimination or natural disasters. In recent years they have been arriving in our country in greater and greater numbers (Łodziński 1995: 65; Walaszek 1994). Quite a lot of them seek asylum or refugee status (see Tables 2 and 3).

Chapters 4 and 5 of the *Law of June 25<sup>th</sup> 1997 of Foreigners* (*Dziennik Ustaw 1997*, no 114, pos. 739) regulate *granting* asylum and the refugee status. Both refugee status and granting asylum consist in giving shelter on our territory to foreigners who are persecuted in their own country for their political, religious, social etc. convictions or activities.

Each state may specify the procedures for granting asylum independently; however, granting refugee status must proceed according to the established international conventions (Geneva Convention of 1951; New York Protocol of 1967). The countries which ratified these regulations must grant refugee status to each person who fulfils specific requirements. Asylum decisions, however, belong to a sovereign field of a given country. The Polish authorities in cases in which „an important interest of the Polish Republic speaks for it« grant asylum (art. 50, law 2 *The Law of Foreigners*, see *Dziennik Ustaw 1997*).

Although *the Law of Foreigners* defines the subject matter of asylum policy, the reports of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration show a tendency to abuse (see Table 4) of the procedure for applying for refugee status. A new category has appeared, the so-called 'quasi-asylum seekers'. Persons wanting to get to the West, but were intercepted in Poland, almost automatically apply for the refugee status in order to gain one more chance to reach the »countries of prosperity« and avoid deportation to the mother country (see DW 1997; Jachowicz 1997; Lentowicz 1997; Niklewicz 1997). Seeking refugee status or sometimes asylum is often probably a cover for other motives for migration e.g. earning money, especially among the citizens of the former Soviet Union.

The waiting time for refugee status specified by law is 3 months. However, in practice it may even last well over a year. During this time the Polish State covers the costs of the stay of immigrants awaiting a decision.

## 6. Criminal policy

To deport or to initiate legal procedures of investigation and punishment - this is one of the basic dilemmas of criminal policy. However, do we have a clearly defined policy in this respect in Poland?

Undoubtedly, in any country visited by large numbers of foreigners, there are also crimes committed by them. This creates a number of problems. Is it more beneficial for a state in which the proportion of foreigners who infringe the law is quite high to send them back to their own countries or to make them serve a sentence on the spot after convicting them? Is it less expensive, in case involving some minor offence(s), to deport the foreigners than activate the whole machinery of justice? How many more agreements on mutual extradition should be signed and with which countries? What are the costs of imprisoning foreign citizens?

In fact, can we even talk about such a policy, in the sense of well-premeditated and consistently carried out actions? Is Poland bound by any international agreements as well as e.g. unwritten principles of mutuality when establishing such a policy?

## 7. Information policy: a note on the media discourse

It is not difficult to spot a media coverage on foreigners in Polish press, radio or TV. However, there seems to be no comprehensive debate on the place of foreigners in Polish society. An overwhelming majority of newspapers and journals offer texts which are organized according to principles of political correctness. Foreigners and our asylum policies are not overtly criticized; stereotypes are not cherished. But, as my analysis of the picture of the Vietnamese in Poland presented by the Polish press demonstrates (Szymańska in press), for the most part they are mentioned in not neutral, rather unpleasant circumstances like: problem of land sale, illegal employment, beggary, shadow economy and numerous, mostly petty, crimes. Readers of the Polish press, well aware of the high unemployment rate (below 20%, i.e. under 3 million) can hardly have positive associations with foreigners in Poland. So, a comprehensive information policy, including education programmes on intercultural communication, seems to be desirable.

In 2001 when the EU enlargement negotiations reserved momentum the sensitive issue for many Polish people became the future right of foreigners to buy land in Poland. Polish peasantry (small holders) especially, is extremely perceptive to this question - at present agricultural land in Poland is about seven times cheaper than in Germany. Therefore, there are political groupings which want to enact legislation which enforces an interim period when foreign investors would have limited rights to own land property in Poland. However, hot parliamentary debates on the issue are not framed within any broader discourse on the role of foreigners in Poland when our country becomes a fully pledged member of the EU.

### *A note on the Vietnamese in Poland*

First large groups of Vietnamese have appeared in Poland in the 60s under official schemes of cooperation within the Soviet Bloc. In the 70s in the height of the American-Vietnam war numerous groups of students studied at Polish universities receiving grants from the Polish government. At the time they were the majority of the Vietnamese population in our country. At present about 200 persons are studying. Parts of the students of the 70s have stayed in Poland for good and seem to be well integrated in our life. Therefore it is not they who are the most visible.

Now, the majority of the Vietnamese seem to be small, largely unofficial, trade businessmen or black labour force groups who arrived after 1989. They came to Poland on the basis of a Polish-Vietnamese inter-state agreement concerning border crossing without a visa which was valid until 1997. In most recent years there was another inflow of former Vietnamese Gastarbeiter from Germany. In 2000 about 40.000 Vietnamese were obliged to leave Germany after expiration of the German-Vietnamese agreement from 1995 on employment (see Pur Rahnama 1999). An unknown, but probably substantial, fraction of them lives in Poland. There are reports about Vietnamese who try to enter Poland illegally. 6000 of the Vietnamese are legal residents in



Poland; according to various assessments the actual number of them ranges from 25.000 to 35.000 (Belka 2000).

In 2000 the Vietnamese were granted 1230 work permits - more than received by French or British citizens (Stankiewicz 2001). There were also reported illegal and sort of underground (hidden) work camps in which migrants from the former USSR, Bulgaria and Vietnam work. According to some assessments there are about 100 such work camps (Kudzia and Pawelczyk 2000). An insight into the scope of such kinds of activity was provided by a police investigation which in 1998 traced an illegal bank transfer out of Poland of 74 million dollars organized by two Vietnamese who were cooperating with networks of their country fellowmen illegally working in Poland (PAP 1998).

It seems that the best part of newcomers appear in Poland in order to earn quick although hard earned money; mostly in small trade and gastronomy. According to the Ministry of Economy data in 1997 the Vietnamese owned 20 companies, but were running 200 of them (Pawlicki and Ziel, and PAP 1997). This may indicate that at least in some cases officially registered Polish owners serve only as front men for the black Vietnamese capital.

In order to omit work permit restrictions which are related to the present high rate of unemployment in Poland, the Vietnamese companies' managers often declare that they need employees who possess such unique abilities as full command of the Vietnamese language. In such cases work permits are usually granted. Another method used are bogus marriages. Only in one of the regions there were during 1998 over 200 such Polish-Vietnamese marriages; most of them pretty quickly followed by real divorces (ZM 2000).

Among various groups of foreigners in Poland the Vietnamese people consist one of the most (if not the utmost) hermetic one; they do not learn Polish, do not inform our police about inter-group disorders and try to keep low profile. This poses problems not only for the police (investigating cases as the one above is utterly difficult) but also for scholars. For example, we do not know how it is possible to live many years in Poland (not being territorially separated in clearly cut enclaves) and not to move outside the borders of one's own cultural ghetto. And this refers mostly to the »new«, i.e. post-Communist times immigration.

## CONCLUSION

Can the current social policy meet present challenges? Which dangers can and which cannot be avoided? Are institutions dealing with foreigners, equipped with sufficient power and resources? Does coordination of the various types of policies presented above, exist? In what degree? How does the visa policy relate to employment and educational policies? What is the access to education of people who have been granted the status of a refugee? Does Polish society understand the reasons for which

there are certain funds reserved for refugees? What is the information policy of the government in this field?

The point is that, according to my knowledge, no one in Poland can provide exhaustive answers to these kinds of questions. One of the aims of this research project I am working on is to acquire answers to such questions, and to formulate recommendations for concerning legal norms, public education, directions of propaganda (the public media included) etc. However, before this can be done, a lot of conceptual and factual consideration is needed.

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Table 1

## Inflow of foreigners to Poland

1985 - 3 410 100
1989 - 8 232 600
1990 - 18 210 800
1991 - 36 845 800
1992 - 49 015 000
1995 - 82 243 600
1996 - 87 438 600
1997 - 87 817 400
1998 - 88 592 400
1999 - 89 117 900
2000 - 84 514 900

Source: *Ruch Turystyczny w Polsce 2000*, Warszawa: GUS, p. 166.

Table 2

## Foreigners temporary staying in Poland longer than 1 year

Year	Studying in Poland	Employed in Poland; the number of permissions for work only	Which received the residence permit	Persons who completed applications for refugee status
1994	5176	11181	2463	562
1995	5202	11363	3067	843
1996	5313	13668	2841	3211
1997	5443	17498	3973	3531
1998	5541	20759	1567	3398
1999	6025	20618	661	3002

Source: *Rocznik Demograficzny 2000*, Warszawa: GUS, p. 338.

**Table 3**

**Applications for refugee status in Poland according to citizenship**

1994	1995	1996	1997 January-November
Armenia - 289	Armenia - 151	Sri Lanka - 630	Sri Lanka - 760
Bosnia and Herzegovina - 39	India - 110	Afghanistan - 487	Afghanistan - 579
Iraq - 39	Russia - 83	Iraq - 355	Armenia - 392
Georgia - 26	Afghanistan - 73	Armenia - 350	Pakistan - 320
Russia - 26	Somalia - 73	India - 230	Iraq - 182
Algeria - 22	Sri Lanka - 60	Bangladesh - 203	Bangladesh - 179
Ukraine - 21	Iraq - 57	Somalia - 187	India - 151
Yugoslavia - 18	Algeria - 34	Pakistan - 173	Somalia - 69
India - 11	Pakistan - 34	Russia - 62	Russia - 47
Sudan - 11	Georgia - 23	Lebanon - 41	Azerbaijan - 36
Angola - 8	Bosnia and Herzegovina - 14	Liberia - 35	Algeria - 34
Sri Lanka - 8	Stateless - 13	Azerbaijan - 33	Bulgaria - 32
Afghanistan - 7	Romania - 11	Moldavia - 33	Byelorussia - 30
Ethiopia - 6	the Ukraine - 11	Algeria - 31	Romania - 26
Pakistan - 5	Yugoslavia - 9	Turkey - 28	Ukraine - 26
Others - 62	Others - 85	Others - 555	Others 295
All - 598	All - 841	All - 3203	All - 3138

Source: Kuczyński 2000:24.

**Table 4**

**Refugees in Poland**

Year	Applying for refugee status	Status granted	Status rejected	Procedure discontinued*
1993	819	61	135	235
1994	598	391	188	362
1995	843	105	193	394
1996	3205	120	375	1454
1997	3533	148	597	3161

Since taking a decision usually takes about a year, the sum of decisions taken and applications under consideration is not the same as the number of persons applying.

\* The most frequent reason of discontinuation is leaving Poland by persons which apply before a decision is taken.

Source: UNHCR: [www.unhcr.pl/podstawowe/tabela3.html](http://www.unhcr.pl/podstawowe/tabela3.html)

Table 5

## Ethnic structure of illegal immigrants

1993	1994	1995	1996	January-July 1997
All - 11309	All - 10907	All - 11670	All - 10942	All - 2999
Romania - 6989	Romania - 358	Romania - 2827	Romania - 1226	Romania - 505
Bulgaria - 1691	Ukraine - 1070	Armenia - 1356	Moldavia - 1067	Sri Lanka - 452
Ukraine - 1446	Armenia - 850	Ukraine - 874	Armenia - 1010	Afghanistan - 308
Russia - 993	Czech Republic - 617	India - 772	Czech Republic - 986	Czech Republic - 244
Armenia - 883	Bulgaria - 611	Czech Republic - 750	Afghanistan - 867	Ukraine - 226
Czech Republic - 488	Russia - 499	Moldavia - 639	Ukraine - 628	Armenia - 173
Byelorussia - 389	India - 462	Russia - 474	Iraq - 626	Pakistan - 98
Algeria - 348	Moldavia - 413	Afghanistan - 459	Sri Lanka - 609	Iraq - 83
Germany - 325	Byelorussia - 291	Iraq - 372	India - 484	Russia - 82
Yugoslavia - 270	Algeria - 276	Bulgaria - 261	Pakistan - 443	Bangladesh - 80
Lithuania - 250	Yugoslavia - 252	Macedonia - 258	Russia - 382	Bulgaria - 80
Vietnam - 209	Sri Lanka - 185	Pakistan - 166	Bulgaria - 246	India - 59
Moldavia - 198	Iraq - 166	Germany - 211	Bangladesh - 219	Germany - 56
Slovakia - 184	Pakistan - 166	Sri Lanka - 201	Germany - 170	Lithuania - 51
Chinese - 135	Germany - 157	Byelorussia - 185	Slovakia - 159	Slovakia - 44

Source: Kuczynski 2000:21.

## POVZETEK

DRUŽBENA POLITIKA DO PRISELJENCEV NA POLJSKEM PO LETU 1989:  
ORIS PROBLEMA

Katarzyna Szymanska

*Avtorica predstavi nekatera bistvena vprašanja raziskave o migracijskih tokovih v Poljski od leta 1989 naprej. Predvsem se odpira žgoči problem odnosa družbe, javnosti in vladnih reakcij na nove in masovne oblike migracij, na primer vietnamske etnične skupine in prebežnikov. Med migracijske tokove se prišteva tudi številne kratkoročne »obiske« tujcev iz sosednjih držav, ki na neformalnem trgu dela ponujajo storitve. Szymanska poskuša klasificirati oblike migracij ter jih statistično in normativno opredeliti. Analizirani so nekateri pogoji za priselitev različnih kategorij migrantov, ki jih vlada uveljavlja v svoji nastajajoči zakonodaji. Predstavljen je oris zanimivega primera etnične ekonomije stalno priseljenih Vietnamcev. Značilnost sedanje politike vlade je nekonzistentnost, plitkost ter pomanjkanje dolgoročne perspektive v regulaciji migracijskega fenomena. Tudi seznanjanje javnosti je odsotno ali nezadovoljivo. Raziskava je še v teku in avtorica se na tem mestu zadovolji z postavljanjem vprašanj, za katera upa najti odgovore ter izdelati priporočila vladi.*

*Katarzyna Szymanska je asistentka, mag. sociologije in raziskovalka na Inštitutu za sociologijo Univerze Nicolaus Copernicus v Torunu. Njeno področje analiz so novi socialni*

*in kulturni izzivi, ki jih doživlja družba na Poljskem. Piše tudi knjigo o migrantih na Poljskem s stališča vidikov kulturne antropologije ter socialne politike. Je avtorica več objav, med drugim 'Tujci na Poljskem', objavljenem v Polish Sociological review, no. 4, 1998.*