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### **Causes, scale and consequences of outside migrations from Poland**

Migrations abroad constitute, at the moment, one of the basic research problems in Poland and in the united Europe. Over 100 years ago E. G. Ravenstein<sup>1</sup> presented the basic laws concerning human migrations. Observing the migration processes nowadays we may notice that many of these laws are still valid. The migrations from Poland also prove the validity of Ravenstein's migration laws. The dynamic analysis concerning the outside migrations from Poland indicates also some others specific causes. Since the end of the World War II the emigration from Poland was fluctuating considerably, which was mainly a result of political and economic causes. This study concerns the outside migrations from Poland and points to the periods of increased emigration and to the causes of migration's intensification. It also highlights the influence of migration processes on the country's population. The study presents the scale of this phenomenon in the subsequent decades after 1945. Such a chronological structure of the analysis requires pointing out the years and periods of exceptional intensification of migration processes and the cause of these phenomena, as well as a lack of the complete picture of this phenomenon in the official population statistics.

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<sup>1</sup> E. G. Ravenstein, The Laws of Migration, tłumaczenie polskie: PZLG IG PAN, z. 3-4, Warszawa 1972.

## **Causes, scale and consequences of outside migrations from Poland**

### 1. Introduction

The title of the study points at the socio-economic significance of the migratory movements. The analysis is concerned with the outbound migrations only. The analysed period, as far as the statistic publications allow, includes the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The important date for the analysis of the outside migrations from Poland is the year 1945. After the end of the World War II, following the Potsdam Agreement, the Polish borders on the political map of Europe were shifted. As a consequence, the Regained Territories<sup>2</sup> given to Poland were still inhabited in 1945 by a considerable number of German population<sup>3</sup>. The Potsdam Agreement stated that those inhabitants shall be relocated into the occupation zones in Germany.

At the same time outside the Polish borders established in 1945, a considerable number of Polish citizens inhabited the so called "Borderlands"<sup>4</sup>. The Soviet authorities at that time, basing on the post-war agreement with the Allied Forces<sup>5</sup>, permitted a repatriation of a part of this population to Poland.

Due to the above facts the period after 1945 was characterised in Poland by considerable outside migrations, resulting from the above political factors. The National Repatriation Office<sup>6</sup> was established in Poland to logistically solve the described migration issues. In the subsequent decades the intensity of outside migration decreased significantly, nearing a zero level during the Stalin era. In the period of real socialism in Poland the migration rate started to increase slowly, at some points reaching quite a high level.

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<sup>2</sup> The term "Regained Territories" has been used in Poland after World War II to denote the territories, which belonged to Germany until 1939 and were returned to Poland following the Potsdam Agreement.

<sup>3</sup> The Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945 refers to displacement of German population. The Allied Control Council's plan to displace the German citizens from Poland to Germany referred to the whole population in Poland in the number of 3,5 million.

P. Lippóczy, T. Walichnowski, Przesiedlenie ludności niemieckiej z Polski po II wojnie światowej w świetle dokumentów. PWN, Warszawa-Lódź 1982, s. 52 i nast.

<sup>4</sup> The term "Borderlands" is used in Poland to denote the territories which, following the Potsdam Agreement, were incorporated as a part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and which belonged to Poland after 1939. These territories currently belong to Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania

<sup>5</sup> The agreements made with the Polish government are not taken into consideration here, as its independence and legitimacy did not meet the international standards.

<sup>6</sup> S. Banasiak, Państwowy Urząd Repatriacyjny w latach 1944-1946. Instytut Zachodni, Poznań 1961, tom II (nr 3-4), s. 338.

## 2. Methodology of the analysis

The contemporary analysis of the scale of post-war outside migrations must be based, out of necessity, on the official statistics published by the Central Statistical Office. However, this source of information has to be contextualised, as the data did sometimes undergo selection or certain processing for political reasons.

Until 1989 the permission to travel abroad, not only as emigration, but also for touristic purposes, was issued by the political police. These services issued the one-time-use passports, and they were the ones reclaiming the passports after return. To be given a passport to go abroad was in fact a privilege, not a common right. Due to the general lack of acceptance for the communism in Poland, the political police restricted the number of people going abroad, so that they could avoid disclosing the number of people who did not return to the country of real socialism, or so that they did not have to explain those facts in front of their superiors. All the above stemmed from the philosophy of exercising the power by the totalitarian government. This remark is very significant, as the official statistics concerning the outside migrations should be seen and judged in this context. It should also be referred to at these points of the analysis, where the intensity of the migration, being high according to some sources, is not reflected by the official Polish statistic data.

The analysis is going to be presented in decades from 1950 to 1990. Besides, the post-war period before 1950 and the transformation period of the 90's and the beginning of the present decade will be presented in the tables. The newer and most recent data (regarding the transformation period) will be presented in more details. The range of data published by the Central Statistical Office makes it impossible to present the whole period from 1945 to 2007 in a detailed and homogenous way.

## 3. The temporal range of the analysis

It has already been stated in the introduction that the study concerns the scale of outside migrations in Poland. Therefore the analysis, by design, should be of a quantitative character. What will not be analysed are the directions of migration, although throughout the analysed period there can be noted the decades of increase migration to the USA, Germany, Israel or to the British Islands. The regional origin of the migrants and their social and professional position in Poland also were not analysed, although the regions more prone to migration, like Opole Province, Podhale (Polish highlands) and Podlachia, can be distinguished. The study is mainly to show the scale of migration, and to point at the specific causes of migration in the chosen periods after 1945. The

essential reason of migration has always been the economic conditions, but the intensity of migration has been changing mainly for political reasons.

#### 4. Post-war outbound migrations

The scale of migrations during the post-war period was shaped mainly by the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement. In spite of the organised form of the forced displacements of population at that time, there are no complete statistic data reflecting those movements, especially the detailed annual data from the period immediately after the World War II.

Table no 1. Outside migrations after the World War II presented in thousands.

	migrations	1945-1950
1	2	3
2	emigration	2543,6
3	immigration	1499,9
4	balance	-1043,7

source: Historia Polski w liczbach. GUS, Warszawa 2003.

Table no 1. presents the earliest post-war period. The migration streams at that time resulted mainly from the political reasons described above. They can be presented in a couple of points:

- Forced displacements of German population from the territories ascribed to Poland as a result of the agreements between the victorious world powers made in Yalta and Potsdam
- The repatriation of the Polish population from the Borderlands of the country, which territory was annexed to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics after the War, that took place with the Allied Countries approval, as well as the repatriation of the people from that area who had been exiled to Siberia and Kazakhstan as a result of the Soviet terror on the territories occupied by the USRR, in accordance with the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact
- The repatriation of Polish citizens from various countries, which was a result of the developments of the World War II. During the War the Poles were sent to forced labour in Germany, they also participated in the battles on different fronts, including the 2<sup>nd</sup> General Władysław Anders Army, as well as the French, British, Soviet and German armies.

- Emigration of the remaining Jewish population from Poland to Palestine, mainly the ones who survived the War on the USSR territories

It is worth recalling that the total census conducted in 1946 shows that the freshly defined territory of Poland was inhabited by around 23,8 m citizens<sup>7</sup>. At that time around 4 million people participated in the migrations before 1950, which was 1/6 of population. As a result of those enormous outside migratory movements until 1950 the negative migratory balance of over one million citizens was registered in Poland.

## 5. Migrations in the period of Polish People's Republic

From 1949, due to the power being completely taken over by the communists, the country's borders were practically closed. There is no complete knowledge about the migration in the 50's, which have to be divided in two periods. The detailed data from Polish statistic publications come from the years 1955-1960.

Table no 2. Outside migrations in 1955-1960.

no	Migrations	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	saldo
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2	emigration	2325	33036	148472	140918	29774	24050	378575
3	immigration	8523	33240	95275	86883	33087	747	257755
4	balance	6198	204	-53197	-54035	3313	-23303	-120820

source: Roczniki Demograficzne, Roczniki Statystyczne, GUS, Warszawa.

For the period of 1951-1954 only partial and approximate data is accessible<sup>8</sup>. These numbers are indirectly presented in the table no 3. If during the 50's decade the negative balance of outside migrations was almost 100 thousand and the total emigration scale in 1955-1960, according to the table no 2, is close to the emigration provided by a different source, and presented in table no 3, it would mean that in the years 1951-1954 only the immigration (repatriation) to Poland at the level of nearly 20 thousand took place, while the emigration during that period hardly took place, which confirms the closure of the country's borders from the outbound emigration. During that period, of the most radical and painful Stalinism in Poland, the citizens were actually not permitted to emigrate.

<sup>7</sup> Rocznik Demograficzny 2007, GUS, Warszawa.

<sup>8</sup> Immigration rate in 1953 according to the official statistics amounted to 2,0 thousand, and emigration rate 2,8 thousand. In 1954 the above values were 2,8 thousand for immigration and 3,8 thousand for emigration respectively.

Rocznik Demograficzny 1998. GUS, Warszawa.

Table no 3. Outside migrations in the 50's decade

no	migrations	sum	according to table no 2
1	2	3	4
2	emigration	377400	378575
3	immigration	277700	257755
4	balance	-99700	- 120820

source: as above.

Regardless of the doubts with regards to the complete identification of the migration scale in the 50's it can be stated that that period includes the years of increased outside migratory movement. Those were the years after Stalin's death in 1953, and especially after the "Polish September" of 1956, when further repatriation from the USRR were enabled for those Poles, who had not been allowed to leave the Soviet Union after 1945. In total around 250 thousand Polish citizens came to Poland during the years 1957-1958.

At the same time, the emigration of that part of German population was enabled, who were kept in Poland after the post-war displacements came to an end<sup>9</sup>. At that time it had had the economical justification. If it had not been for the German miners, there would have not been the Wałbrzych region bituminous coal mining industry. Similar issues affected many industrial plants on the Regained Territories, mainly on the undamaged sub-Sudetes territories, which were activated by the former German workers after 1945<sup>10</sup>.

Towards the end of the 50's the situation changed. Many workers had been prepared to work in those plants, and the political situation enabled – this time a voluntary – emigration of the remaining German population.

Table no 4. Outside migrations in the years 1961-197, presented in thousands

no	Migrations	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	balance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2	emigration	22,4	20,8	20,1	25,4	32,1	28,8	21,9	17,2	22,5	10,3	221,5
3	immigration	1,2	1,0	1,2	0,8	1,2	1,1	1,0	0,8	0,7	0,8	9,8
4	balance	-21,2	-19,8	-18,9	-24,6	-30,9	-27,7	-20,9	-16,4	-21,8	-9,5	-211,7

source: as above

In the 60's different tendencies occur. Migrations to Poland practically cease. They decrease to the level of 10 thousand per decade, which points at its random character. They often were marriages of foreign students in Poland. The emigration level oscillates around 20 thousand a year. To the high extent it includes the so called "families reunion" actions, slow and administratively limited emigrations of ethnically German people from Poland<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> According to the German sources the number of German population in 1950 was still 1,4 million. J.

Kociszewski, Proces integracji gospodarczej ziem zachodnich i północnych z Polską. AE, Wrocław 1999, s. 187.

<sup>10</sup> See: B. Ociepka, Niemcy na Dolnym Śląsku 1945-1970. Wyd. U. Wroc., Wrocław 1992.

<sup>11</sup> S. Jankowiak, Łączenie rodzin między Polską a NRD w latach 1955-1959. Przegląd Zachodni, nr 4, Poznań 1995, s. 85.

On the basis of official statistics it is difficult to judge the scale of Jewish people emigration from Poland, as for political reasons they had been charged with the unrest in the students and intelligence environment after March 1968. According to the foreign sources approximately 60 thousand Jews left Poland at that time. The official emigration statistics do not provide the confirmation, but they supposedly underwent deliberate falsification. The dominant conviction among the experts is that that emigration was rather of qualitative character (it was meant to dispose of the ethnic element which was uncomfortable and unfavourable towards the government) than of the quantitative one.

Table no 5. Outside migrations in the years 1971-1980, presented in thousands.

no	migrations	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	Balance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2	emigration	30,2	19,1	13,0	11,8	9,6	26,7	28,9	29,5	34,2	22,7	225,7
3	immigration	1,7	1,8	1,4	1,4	1,8	1,8	1,6	1,5	1,7	1,5	16,2
4	balance	-28,5	-17,3	-11,6	-10,4	-7,8	-24,9	-27,3	-28	-32,5	-21,2	-209,5

source: as above

In 1970 the period of crude communism in Poland of the Gomułka's era finished. Edward Gierek took the leadership of the communist party and the 70's are characterised by the modernisation of economy (mainly for foreign loans), certain improvement of the citizens existence and the slightly decreased tightness of the borders<sup>12</sup>. However, it did not significantly affect the scale of immigration to Poland, nor the emigration rate, at least according to the official statistics. During that period a recognised in Poland agreement took place with the Federal Republic of Germany, which increased the emigration to Western Germany. In the exchange for the credit advantage the communist authorities allowed for the emigration of approximately 100 thousand people of German origin to Western Germany<sup>13</sup>. The end of the decade brought however further political unrest, which led to the changes of the both party and country top authorities. On the turn of these two decades it became much easier to cross the borders, and therefore emigration of several hundreds thousands of Poles took place. And again, in the official Polish statistics the scale of the migration is much smaller, however some other sources show<sup>14</sup> that several thousand of political refugees<sup>15</sup> (as the incomers from Poland were referred to<sup>16</sup>) resided on the territories of Austria or Federal Republic of Germany in 1981.

<sup>12</sup> The permeability of the borders in literature exists is a theoretical notion, related to the frontier crossings. See: Z. Chojnicki, Uwarunkowania rozwoju regionu nadgranicznego. W: Uwarunkowania i kierunki rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego województwa gorzowskiego. T. 2, Studia rozwoju i zagospodarowania przestrzennego. Red. J. J. Parysek, B. Gruchman, AE Poznań, 1998.

<sup>13</sup> J. Korbel, RFN: "łączenie rodzin" po Helsinkach - fakty i opinie. Przegląd Stosunków Międzynarodowych, nr 6, Opole 1978, s. 95.

<sup>14</sup> Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich 1982, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, Wien .

<sup>15</sup> The term results from the international conventions, which constitute a legal basis for the protections granted to immigrants in Austria. Jahre Flüchtlingsforschung. Ein Rückblick auf Flucht, Vertreibung und

Table no 6. Outside migrations in the years 1981-1990, presented in thousands.

no		1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	balance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2	emigration	23,8	32,1	26,2	17,4	20,5	29,0	36,4	36,3	26,6	18,4	266,7
3	immigration	1,4	0,9	1,2	1,6	1,6	1,9	1,8	2,1	2,2	2,6	17,3
4	balance	-22,4	-31,2	-25,0	-15,8	-18,9	-27,1	-34,6	-34,2	-24,4	-15,8	-249,4

source: as above

At the onset of the 80's the actual scale of emigration is not seen. If the highest value appears in 1982, while Martial Law was in power in Poland and the borders were practically closed, then the cause of the published numbers, besides the political reasons, is the method used for recording the migration. The emigrations were probably registered as staying outside the country only after the passport expired, which could have appeared in the accumulated form in 1982 for the formal reasons. They are the basic values, not analysing the deeper, therein ethnical<sup>17</sup>, level of the migration. They are also completely different to what was registered in other countries<sup>18</sup> with regards to the emigration from Poland during the emergence of "Solidarity". After the Martial Law came to an end, and especially in the second half of the 80's, emigration increased again to the level of over 30 thousand a year. It was a decline of the communist period, and some symptoms of thaw in the west during the Gorbaczow's era caused again the increased permeability of the borders.

## 6. Migrations during the transformation period

The period after 1990 shows that the emigration scale presented above did not express a dislike towards the country but towards the political system. Emigration during the first years after the downfall of the communist government in Poland decreased to the level of less than 20 thousand a year. At the same time the immigration to Poland rose slightly, reaching around 10 thousand per year. As a result, in the 90's the negative balance of abroad migrations in Poland decreased<sup>19</sup> and was lower by approximately 100 thousand than in the previous decade, and it reached the lowest level since the 50's. Over 70 thousand immigrants during the decade is quite a considerable number, especially taking into consideration the quick decrease of the population growth.

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Massenwanderung, Band X der Abhandlungen zu Flüchtlingsfragen. Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, AWR-Bulletin, Heft 2-4/1975/Sonderheft/.

<sup>16</sup> Demographische Informationen 1982. Institut für Demographie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, s. 121.

<sup>17</sup> R. Rauziński, Współczesne migracje zagraniczne na Śląsku Opolskim. Wyd.I.Ś., Opole 1999, s. 24.

<sup>18</sup> Demographische Informationen 2/1981. Institut für Demographie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, s. 93.

<sup>19</sup> J. Stańczak, Imigracja na stałe. W: Migracje zagraniczne ludności w Polsce w latach 1988-1997. GUS, Warszawa 1998, s. 100.



Table no 7. Outside migrations in the years 1991-2000.

no	migrations	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	balance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2	emigration	20977	18115	21376	25904	26344	21297	20222	22177	21536	26999	224947
3	immigration	5040	6512	5924	6907	8121	8186	8426	8916	7525	7331	72888
4	balance	-15937	-11603	-15452	-18997	-18223	-13111	-11796	-13261	-14011	-19668	-152059

source: as above

Immigration after 1990, into democratic Poland, could have various causes. One, of the political nature, was a long expected one. It was returning to Poland of the offspring of Polish citizens inhabiting the Eastern Borderlands exiled far into the former USRR, especially to Kazakhstan, during the period of Soviet occupation at the beginning of the World War II<sup>20</sup>. The Polish government, democratic since 1990, assured on numerous occasions that they would facilitate this patriotic immigration-repatriation<sup>21</sup>. The new quality in the immigration can be brought by certain migration policy, introduction of which is inevitable to solve the problem of repatriation of the Poles from the East. Sejm (lower house of the Polish government) has made the relevant decisions<sup>22</sup> regarding the above matter already in the 90's.

Other causes of the increasing immigration to democratic Poland have been the returns of the people, who had left before for political reasons. It has also been the return migration of those who wanted to invest the money earned abroad in the free market economy in Poland, as well as the returns of those who experienced financial failure and could not integrate into the new environment outside the country. The whole of those issues is currently the area of intense studies of migration in Poland during the transformation period<sup>23</sup>.

Table no 8. Outside migrations during the years 2001-2007.

no	migrations	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	balance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2	emigration	23368	24532	20813	18877	22242	46936	36000	192768
3	immigration	6625	6587	7048	9495	9364	10802	15000	64921
4	balance	-16743	-17945	-13765	-9382	-12878	-36134	-21000	-127847

source: as above

During the current decade the scale of outside migratory movements has increased considerably. The important date is 2004 and Poland's annexation to the integrated European structures. The accessibility of the foreign labour

<sup>20</sup> Represje sowieckie wobec Polaków i obywateli polskich. Raport Komisji Ekspertów na zlecenie Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości RP, Ośrodek „Karta”, Warszawa 2000, s. 26.

<sup>21</sup> In the years 1998-2006 solely the number of repatriates from the former USRR exceeds 8 thousand. Rocznik Demograficzny 2007, GUS, Warszawa 2007, s. 459.

<sup>22</sup> On the Sejm's session 8.11.2000 the bill regarding the repatriation of Poles from the Caucasian and Asian territories of the former USRR was outvoted. Gazeta Wyborcza, 10-12 November 2000.

<sup>23</sup> See: Sytuacja demograficzna Polski. Raport 2005-2006. Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, Warszawa 2006.

markets caused officially double increase in the emigration scale and, interestingly, a significant, almost double increase in the immigration. Currently Poland, as a European Union Member State is also an interesting emigration spot for the citizens of the countries not belonging to the EU<sup>24</sup>.

However, the actual scale of emigration from Poland is not known at the moment, as there is no need to declare a permanent emigration, and not all the travels abroad are registered. From the indirect, foreign sources it can be deducted that around 1 million of new emigrants can currently reside outside the country. It is important to highlight that those are “new” immigrants, as the total number of Poles living abroad, stemming from the “old” emigration can reach even 6 million.

## 7. Summary

Migrations constitute the natural demographic process and only the specific situation in Poland during the Polish People’s Republic is the reason why it cannot be analysed on the basis of completely reliable information. Unfortunately the lack of a complex registration system of migration streams in Poland after 1990 also hinders the analysis and evaluation of the problem’s scale.

Table no 9. The balance of outside migrations in the years 1945-2007.

no	migrations	1945-1950	1951-1960	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2000	2001-2007	balance
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2	emigration	2543600	378575	221900	225700	266700	224947	192768	4054190
3	immigration	1499900	257755	9800	16200	17300	72888	64921	1938764
4	balance	-1043700	-120820	-211700	-209500	-249400	-152059	-127847	-2115026

source: as above

Table no 9 presents a migratory turnaround registered in the official Polish statistics since 1945. Regardless of the time when the outside migrations occurred, regardless of their intensity and causes, throughout the 60-year period Poland has been a country of a net migration. The decline in the population exceeds 2,1 million citizens in total. Approximately 6 million inhabitants of the country participated in the migratory movements, which constitutes nearly 1/6 of the current population. Therefore, despite long lasting limitations, the Polish society was characterised by quite high spatial mobility.

If we take into consideration the tendency to migrate depending on age, then the outside migrations constitute also one of the causes of a quick ageing of

<sup>24</sup> D. Simonides, Czy Polska jest współcześnie krajem emigracji czy imigracji ? W: W odpowiedzi na zjawiska i wyzwania społeczne. Red. K. Frysztacki, K. Heffner, PIW – Instytut Śląski w Opolu, UO, PO, WSZiA, Opole 2003, s. 340.

the Polish society and contribute to the constant decrease of the fertility and reproduction measures of the population.

The currently unknown actual scale of the earning migrations, and maybe permanent as a consequence, greatly affect the labour market. The employee market starts to be an issue and the deficient professions<sup>25</sup> has appeared in Poland in 2008. The big agglomerations have problems with filling the vacant job positions. A considerable spatial differentiation can be also observed in this respect, which justifies the division of the regional development in Poland into Poland A and B.

All these consequences of the contemporary migrations necessitate the rational migratory policy, including the access to Polish labour market for the people from the countries outside the European Union.

However, it needs to be mentioned that the importance of demographic changes exceeds the horizon of the political parties' term-oriented thinking. It was clearly reflected by the debates and results of the 1<sup>st</sup> Demographic Congress in Poland, held for 13 months in the years 2001 and 2002. The postulate to create a realistic and purposeful migration policy should therefore be aimed at the bodies of opinion, experts and the society in general. Exposure of the problems and the scale of danger may in consequence force the authorities to undertake actual actions with regards to the population policy.

## 8. Conclusions

The above analysis of the main tendencies within the outside migrations field, their causes, intensity and consequences, allows to form the basic conclusions resulting from the observations of migrations in Poland after the World War II:

- the analysis of the intensity of outside migrations in Poland conducted within particular decades shows that during the real socialism in Poland the political factors were crucial
- the settlements made by the victorious allied forces after the World War II resulted in enormous forced migrations in the form of displacements and repatriations
- the great political changes in Poland entailed the increased scale of outside migrations, which has been registered in practically all the analysed decades

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<sup>25</sup> Compare: H. Sobocka-Szczapa, *Zawody nadwyżkowe, deficytowe i wykazujące równowagę w województwie mazowieckim*. W: *Regionalny system koordynacji rynku pracy województwa mazowieckiego*. Red. E. Kryńska, IPiSS, Warszawa 2007.

- during the political transformation period the intensity of outside migrations was initially similar to the one from the earlier decades, and the main increase of migrations took place after Poland joined the European Union
- throughout the analysed period the immigration to Poland was at a very low level, which resulted in a constant negative balance of outside migrations
- in the period of transformation the scale of immigration to Poland increased, which reflects the emergence of new tendencies within the field of outside migrations
- outside migrations negatively affect the social structure of society, contributing to the ageing of the society and to the lower level of the generations replacement rate
- the scale of outside migrations, especially emigrations, has begun to destabilize the national labour market, especially in the biggest agglomerations and in the regions open to European cooperation
- the dangers resulting from the scale of outside migrations require urgent forming of the programmes and taking efficient actions with regards to the population policy

The above conclusions may not be fully justifiable, as throughout the analysed period the official statistics were not fully reliable in reflecting the migration scale, and this remark does not only apply to the period of real socialism, but also to the transformation period in Poland.

In the current political reality, facing the Poland's integration with the European structures, what needs to be postulated is the creation of a reliable system to register the migratory movements, which are of crucial socio-economical meaning for the development of Poland and European Union.