

Determinants of Polish international migration in the area of the European Union after 2004

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Abstract. One of the important processes that took place in Poland after the accession to the EU has become migration, especially to other member states. The main aim of this study was to evaluate its determinants. In the theoretical part of the article, which became the basis for empirical research, review of the literature has been made. The authors focused primarily on the assessment of the conditions of emigration of Poles in the EU. They analyzed both economic and institutional factors that determine the existence of enterprising entities in the country. This was a consequence of the assumption of multiplicity of variables affecting migration processes and showed their importance for the Polish migration abroad. The analysis demonstrates that the poten-

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tial factors that attract entrepreneurial entities are both the quality of governance and the economic freedom in the country of destination.

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JEL Classification: F22, E24, E02

INTRODUCTION

Population migration is a process that has constantly occurred throughout human history. It also concerns Poland, where after the Second World War, there were several waves of international migration. The latest wave of Polish international migration was observed after Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. It was also a consequence of globalization processes and the freedom of movement guaranteed in the Treaty of the European Union. The main purpose of this paper is to identify the determinants of Polish international migration within the European Union. This will be accompanied by sub-purposes, which include: identification of a theoretical basis and the results of determinants of migration processes; scale, direction and dynamics of Polish migration in the EU and their empirical verification and evaluation. In the view of these objectives, the basic hypothesis consists of the following statements:

A variety of factors determine the migration processes and therefore a single theory of international migration cannot be used as the basis of empirical research; and

Key factors in the increasing scale of emigration by Poles have different determinants and economic factors do not play the main role.

In order to verify these hypotheses, the authors will use a variety of methods: from selection and analysis of primary and secondary sources to descriptive, comparative and synthesis methods. Therefore, the analysis carried out in the work will require a broad base of empirical data. For this reason, in this article the authors will use the database of the World Bank, UNDP, Eurostat, data from the Heritage Foundation in cooperation with the *Wall Street Journal* and the OECD on World migration, emigration data published by the Central Statistical Office of Poland CSO and theoretical reports related to the issue of migration processes and their determinants.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Human migration, defined by Everett Lee as 'a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence' (Lee, 1966, p. 49) is not a new phenomenon. Mankind from the beginning of history has been characterized by its liveliness and mobility in time and space. Progressive globalization processes and the opening of borders in the European Union has meant that international migration has become easier and thus more common and visible, thanks to ubiquitous mass media. But why do people migrate? As it turns out this is a very complex phenomenon, both in social, demographic, economic and political aspects. One of the first who tried to study this phenomenon and create a theory of migration was Ernst Ravenstein (1985, 1989), who in the 1980s formulated the 'laws of migration'. According to these laws, though migration has mainly economic reasons it should not be treated merely as an economic phenomenon. From this fact scholars began to develop theories explaining the causes of migration. In general, we can distinguish the so-called traditional theories assuming that the greatest influence on migration are economic factors, and contemporary theories focused on the sociological motives of the migration processes.

Recognition of economic migration is well represented by neoclassical concepts that assume that migration is caused by differences in the level of socio-economic development between countries. Even John Hicks (1932) pointed out that international migration is the result of a desire to maximize profits. It is understandable why more and more people tend to migrate to those places where labor market conditions are more favorable for them. Migrating populations calculate the profits and the costs. Therefore, the main driving factor for migration is wage levels.

The economic approach can also be well described by 'push-pull' models. In these models, migration is determined by both factors in the source and in the receiving regions of migrants. These include: wage level, working conditions, unemployment rate, employment opportunities and possibilities to gain new skills. Besides economic factors, migration can be also determined by job tenure, expected lifetime income or housing conditions (Mueller, 1982, p. 5). As noted by Larry Sjaastad, migration is 'an investment increasing the productivity of human resources, an investment which has costs and which also renders returns' (Sjaastad, 1962, p. 83). For the evaluation criterion he recognizes 'the rate of return on resources allocated to migration' (Sjaastad, 1962, p. 83). If the difference in pay is high enough for the benefits to outweigh the costs of moving, or otherwise, the net income is positive and this factor stimulates migration.

According to neoclassical conceptions, one determinant of migration is the ability to improve living conditions and skills development. Therefore, migration is accompanied by the movement of human capital from poorer to richer countries. As a consequence, migration will cease when the level of earnings between countries aligns. As a counterbalance to the above theory, it is worth presenting the position of Greenwood (1997), who noted that none of the studies have confirmed the importance of wages and salaries as determinants of migration. According to Greenwood, the cause of migration is not differences in pay but the desire to adapt consumption to price and income changes and to the supply level of goods and services. Migrants are therefore regarded as consumers of a variety of facilities and public goods.

In contrast to the neoclassical migration theory, a slightly different approach to the issue is the new economic theory of migration. Under this theory it is assumed that migration is an investment in human capital: it affects people's livelihoods and the decision whether to migrate is taken by the family members. Examples of that approach include Stark's research (1991, in: Thieme, 2006, p. 40), which "assumes an 'implicit contractual arrangement' between migrants and their families. She argues that families tend to finance the education of future migrants to enable them to obtain well-paid jobs abroad; in return he or she has to send remittances. Often family members have to find sufficient funds to finance travel, accommodation and for finding employment, requiring that one family member can go abroad and send back remittances' (Wyss, 2004 in: Thieme, 2006, p. 40). In this case, it is assumed that the family decides who will migrate, ensuring that profits are maximised and the risk of failure minimised. Therefore the choices of countries for migration are often countries where it is possible for the family to be protected in case of failure, such as the opportunity to receive benefits in the situation of becoming unemployed in the receiving country.

Another group of theories, which are based on the economic concept, are the 'dual labor market' and the 'world systems' theories. Both of these theories generally ignore such micro-level decision processes, focusing instead on forces operating at much higher levels of aggregation. The former links immigration to the structural requirements of modern industrial economies, while the latter sees immigration as a natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration across national boundaries (Massey, et.al., 1993, p. 432).

It is assumed that emigration is determined by factors standing on the recipient side. According to Priore (1979, in: Massey, et.al., 1993, p. 440), 'international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations'. Dual labor market theory assumes that well-paid and highly skilled jobs are usually undertaken by citizens from more highly developed countries who do not want to take up low-paid occupations. Consequently, immigrants from poorer countries are meeting the demand for low-paid occupations.

Meanwhile, world systems theory assumes that capital movement causes economies' modernization as well as changes in their structure and the need for retraining job forces. Globalization processes and migration facilities between developing and developed economies cause people to migrate and penetrate labor markets abroad, where there are better earnings opportunities (see Wallerstein, 1974).

In addition to migration theories, which are based on economic factors, some researchers have created migration theories focused on non-economic motives. These are primarily sociological factors, based on forming social and family bonds in the place of emigration. It is underlined that human relationships and kinship networks strengthen migration processes. Thomas Faist pointed out that 'social relations and social capital in households, neighbourhoods, communities and more formal organizations help migrants in the migration decision and adaptation process, so they are both a resource and an integrating device' (Faist 1997, 2000, in: Hagen-Zanker, 2008, p. 16).

It should be pointed out that interpersonal and kinship networks also affect the level of entrepreneurship among migrants. 'Studies of immigrants and their entrepreneurship show that their kinship networks are a key resource for the creation of small businesses. An ethnic economy exists whenever any immigrant or ethnic minority maintains a private economic sector in which it has a controlling ownership stake' (Light and Karageorgis, 1994, in: Gloop, 2007, p. 2). Among theories dealing with the importance of interpersonal networks that are based on kinship and sociological factors of migration processes, special attention in the literature should be paid to the 'network' theory, 'institutional' theory and 'migration systems' theory (Massey, et.al., 1993, pp. 448–454). Another interesting approach is the 'cumulative causation' theory, according to which each wave of migration is the result of waves that preceded it. This is due to the fact that people do not want to accept a lower standard of living and therefore decide to re-migrate.

2. THE SPATIAL STRUCTURE AND THE DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS FROM POLAND

Accession to the EU has been the most important event of Poland's recent history. In the years following accession there was a strong outflow of Polish citizens to other EU countries. At least 1.05 million inhabitants went abroad in the period from May 2004 till the end of 2006, and circa 1 million just in 2007 (PAN, 2014, p. 13). In accordance with the rough assessments based on the Central Statistical Office of Poland, during the years 2010–2013 the stream of trips for at least a three-month stay was increasing by circa 60,000 persons per year (Table 1). The trips, conditioned by many factors, shall be treated as an active attitude of the Polish emigrants toward the world and the reality surrounding them. This attitude denotes their understanding, in a wide sense, of the benefit of changing their living conditions. This attitude is variable and dependent on the level of education, consciousness, experience, as well as on the conditions surrounding the persons (Brzozowski, 2007).

In the years 2004–2013, most Polish emigrants travelled to the United Kingdom and Germany. Their mean share in individual years amounted to 33.7% and 31.2%, respectively. In the case of the United Kingdom, one should note that there was a significant increase in the general emigration volume in 2005 that stabilised to this level in subsequent years. In the case of Germany, the situation was the opposite. In 2005, the share of Poles migrating to Germany decreased. Nevertheless, Germany had one of the highest shares of migrant Polish people. Within the whole period under investigation, the volume of emigrants from Poland to Germany increased by approximately 45.5% and from Poland to United Kingdom by close to 328.0%.

The three next receiving countries, Ireland, Italy and Netherlands, had a lower share of emigrants from Poland, though with relatively high absolute numbers. In 2005, the general volume of emigration to Ireland increased by close to 300% in comparison with the previous year. Within the peri-

od of 2004–2013, Ireland was the country of the highest Polish people emigration increase dynamics that amounted to 666.7%. For Italy, it was 62.7%;for Netherlands – 347. 8%.

Table 1

Rough volume of emigration from Poland, for the temporary stay* in 2004–2013 (in thousands)

Country	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2013/2004 change in %
Total: Including for permanent stay **	1 000 .	1 450 .	1 950 .	2 270 35.5	2 210 74.3	2 100 41.9	2 000 41.2	2 060 44.3	2 130 49.7	2 196 66.3	119.6 x
Austria	15	25	34	39	40	36	29	25	28	31	106.7
Belgium	13	21	28	31	33	34	45	47	48	49	276.9
Cyprus	.	.	.	4	4	3	3	3	2	1	x
Czech Republic	.	.	.	8	10	9	7	7	8	8	x
Denmark	.	.	.	17	19	20	19	21	23	25	x
Finland	0.4	0.7	3	4	4	3	3	2	2	3	650.0
France	30	44	49	55	56	60	60	62	63	63	110.0
Greece	13	17	20	20	20	16	16	15	14	12	-7.7
Spain	26	37	44	80	83	84	48	40	37	34	30.8
Netherlands	23	43	55	98	108	98	92	95	97	103	347.8
Ireland	15	76	120	200	180	140	133	120	118	115	666.7
Germany	385	430	450	490	490	465	440	470	500	560	45.5
Norway	.	.	.	36	38	45	50	56	65	71	x
Portugal	0.5	0.6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	100.0
Sweden	11	17	25	27	29	31	33	36	38	40	263.6
United Kingdom	150	340	580	690	650	595	580	625	637	642	328.0
Italy	59	70	85	87	88	88	92	94	97	96	62.7

* more than 2 months in the period till 2006 and more than 3 months in the other years.

** in years 2004–2006: data about the length of stay unavailable.

Source:GUS, Information on the size and directions of the temporary emigration from Poland in 2004–2013, Warszawa, October 2014.

During this period, France, Spain and Norway received a moderate share of Polish emigration. In particular, since 2007 Norway has become more popular as a place of stay of Polish people abroad for a period longer than 3 months. In 2013, in comparison with 2007 (data of earlier years is unavailable), the volume of migrants from Poland to Norway increased by 97.2%. The shares of the other countries in migration of Polish people were low or very low. In the cases of Belgium, Austria and Sweden only, this level remained in the vicinity of 2%. However, the change dynamics for the countries was significant since it amounted, for these countries, to 276.9%, 106.7% and 263.6%, respectively. For the other countries, i.e. Denmark, Greece, the Czech Republic, Finland and Portugal, the share (in the total volume of migrants from Poland)

amounted to 1% and less. In this case, the minute change in the volume of migrants from Poland resulted in a high percentage dynamics equal to 650% in the case of Finland.

Research has emphasized various reasons of foreign migration; however, most economic studies on this topic are focussed only on economic factors considered in the micro-, mezo- or macro-scale. The systematic approach to the migration theories discussed in the previous section indicates that many factors influence migration and that migration variability cannot be explained by one factor or even a group of factors, even those as important as economic factors. However, migration investigations in the macro-scale should consist of seeking regularities governing migration on the basis of listing the person flow volumes between territorial units (countries, in this case) and the indicators of differentiation of those units. Such an approach has been applied to the analysis performed in this paper. The authors of the study wish to demonstrate the importance of various economic and institutional conditions attracting Polish citizens to other countries.

3. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF POLISH MIGRATION

Well-known migration theories put a strong accent on economic factors as the basic premises of population movements. Good working conditions and the possibility of higher earnings beyond the borders of a person's country ensure for that person and his or her family the highest standard of living. Seeking work that guarantees stable employment and satisfactory wage constitutes, therefore, a symptom of enterprise attitudes, improvement of the economic standing of the household means better living conditions and better possibilities as well as prosperity.

From the point of view of the considerations being conducted, the authors focussed on several economic conditions regarding emigration of Polish people. Within the scope of the neo-classic theory, the authors analysed mean gross monthly wages as a significant factor attracting emigrants to individual countries. On the other hand, Poland's unemployment level was recognized as the pushing-out factor. Of the determinants indicated by the new economic theory of migration, the level of the guaranteed social protections in the European Union countries under discussion was investigated.

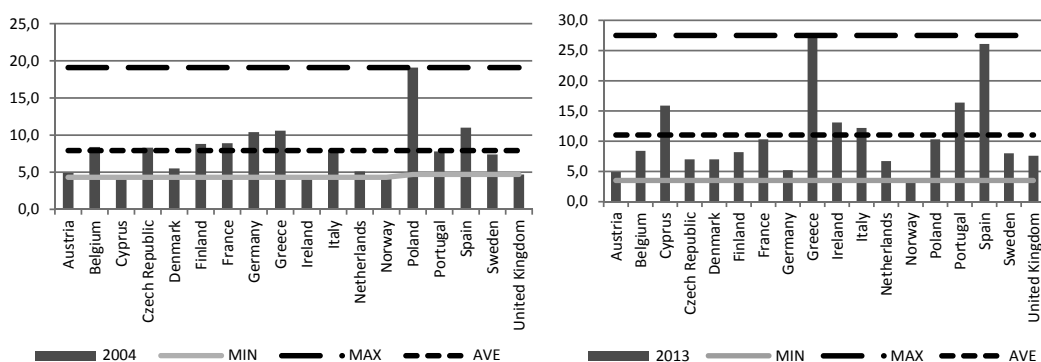


Figure 1. Unemployment rate in selected EU countries and Norway in 2004 and 2013

Source: own study basing on the Eurostat data, http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=une_rt_a&clang=en (referred on 20/12/2014).

The wave of emigration of Polish people in 2004 was caused not only by the accession of Poland to the European Union and opening of many borders but also by Poland's lower economic standing in comparison with other European countries. There were problems also on the labour market. Almost every fifth person included in the labour resource was unemployed. The unemployment rate was then 19.1%, twice as high as the EU mean value. At that time, in the countries most popular for Polish emigration, the unemployment level was on a decidedly lower level: Germany: 10.4%; United Kingdom: 4.7%; Italy: 8.0%; France: 8.9%; Spain: 11.0% (Figure 1). The unemployment levels in these countries weretwo or even four times lower than that in Poland, which encouraged even more to go abroad in order to seek work.

In 2013, the unemployment rate in Poland amounted to 10.3%,lower than that in Ireland, Greece, Spain, Italy, Cyprus and Portugal. The dynamic increase in unemployment in Greece, from 10.6% in 2004 to 27.5% in 2013, as well as in Spain, from 11.0% to 26.1%, caused a brake in Polish migration for temporary stays in those countries. Ireland faced a similar situation: an initial very low unemployment rate, four times lower than in Poland, produced a high chance for finding a job, which boosted an inflow of foreigners, including many Polish people. In 2007, the volume of Polish emigrants in that country amounted to 200,000.

After the financial downturn beginning in 2008+, ad, more detail, in 2009, unemployment in Ireland increased two times in comparison with the previous year, to 12%, exceeding the unemployment level in Poland. Since that year there has been a gradual decrease in the number of Polish people in Ireland; in 2013 there were only 115,000 of them. Nevertheless, Ireland still remains at the head of those countries to which Polish people go most willingly, just after the United Kingdom (642,000 persons) and Germany (560,000 persons), both of which have lower unemployment, at the rates of 7.6% and 5.2%, respectively. A considerable number of Polish citizens went also to the Netherlands, France, Belgium and Norway, where the employment rates in 2013 amounted to 6.7%, 10.3%, 8.4% and 3.5%, respectively (Figure 1).

In the emigration context, an analysis of the unemployment levels of selected European Union countries and Norway, in comparison with Poland, indicates clearly that Polish people emigrate to the countries in which the unemployment level is relatively low or, at least, lower than that in Poland. It is an evidence of a good (or better) condition of the labour market, producing hope for finding a stable, well-paid occupation or, at least for finding work more easily than in Poland.

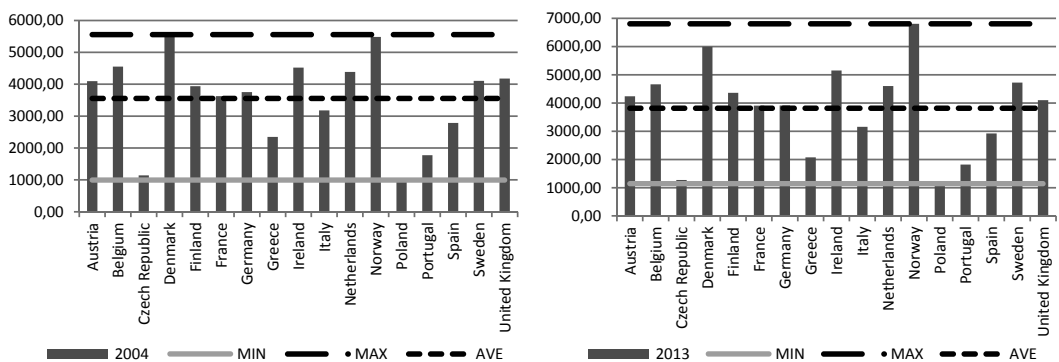


Figure 2. The mean monthly gross monthly wage in selected EU countries and Norway in 2004 and 2013 (2013 USD exchange rates and 2013 constant prices)

Source: own study on the basis of the data of OECD, http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=AV_AN_WAGE (referred on 20/12/2014).

In addition to the possibilities of finding work abroad, a highly influential factor on emigration is the remuneration offered for the work. Figure 2 depicts the mean monthly gross wage in selected EU countries and Norway in 2004 and 2013. These wages were higher than the mean wage in Poland. Owing to these higher earnings, the main directions of emigration of Polish people were to the indicated countries.

In the period under investigation, the mean monthly wage in Poland increased from 994.92 USD in 2004 to 1140.79 USD in 2013; in other words, 15 percentage points in 10 years. The disproportion between Poland and other European countries in population income decreased over this period but the observed wages in Poland remained so low that the earning motive still induces Poles to travel abroad. In 2004, the highest mean wages occurred in Denmark (5556 USD), Norway (5485 USD) and Belgium (4552.83 USD); however, Polish people did not immigrate to those countries in greater numbers because the labour markets in those countries were fully opened only in 2009. From that instant, the volume of Polish emigrants to those countries has increased slowly but systematically; however, no significant immigrant wave has been observed.

The wage differentiation in 2004 between Poland and Germany (to which the greatest number of Poles immigrated) amounted to 377%. In 2013, the highest mean wage was offered in Norway (6807.05 USD), and the lowest in Poland (1140.79 USD). The difference is almost 600%. Countries with a somewhat lower mean wage, but still several times higher than that in Poland, were more frequent targets of migrants included: the United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands or Italy. The mean monthly wages amounted there, in 2013, to: 4102.55 USD, 3913.35 USD, 5155.24 USD, 4600.51 USD and 3157.70 USD, respectively. The mean wage in Ireland was the highest of the indicated five countries; however, the number of Polish migrants to Ireland was 5 times smaller than in Germany and almost 6 times smaller than in the United Kingdom.

A significant element indicated by the theory concerning migration is also the demand for work in the receiving country, including work for migrants. Here, one can use the job vacancy statistics given by Eurostat (Eurostat 2014). It follows that, in the period 1Q2004–3Q2014, the biggest number of job offers were in countries such as the United Kingdom, Germany and the Netherlands. This is in agreement with the statistics demonstrating that these are the most often-selected migration directions for Polish people.

Economic aspects, particularly earnings, induce Polish people to go to the places where they may earn decidedly more than in Poland (3 to 4 times). However, the statistics show clearly that emigration is not oriented towards the maximum possible wages offered within the EU. Of the target place, there are also the non-economic factors, such as even lower communication, language barriers as well as those connected with the access and adjustment in the relevant country, and, often, family considerations.

The new economic theory of migration puts an emphasis on the significance of the social protection level as an economic factor deciding on emigration. The operation of social aid in a particular country constitutes a component of smoothing the risk in connection with immigration and protects against the effects of a possible lack of work. In addition, in many cases, social protections enables migrants to bring their family members with them, as well as to insure them. The value of social services as a percentage of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) in selected EU countries and Norway in 2004 and 2012¹ is depicted in Figure 3.

In 2004, Poland dedicated 0.7% GDP to social services; in Belgium, the amount was 3.4% GDP. Among the countries chosen by Polish people as a migration country, only Italy used a lower amount of GDP for social help (0.5%) than Poland. In the period of 9 years, expenses for social protection in relation to GDP decreased in 7 countries (including those in Poland, to the level of 0.3%); they increased in 9 countries, and in two countries remained on the level of 2004. The highest, almost a triple increase, was noted in Ireland

¹ For 2013: Data unavailable.

where, in 2012, social services constituted 3.6% GDP. In all target countries of Polish emigrants, in 2012 expenses for social services constituted the several times higher percentage of GDP of the relevant country than in Poland. The highest share was in Belgium (3.7%) and the lowest in Norway (0.6%). This means that the disproportions between Poland and the indicated countries became even deeper. Poland stands out from the other EU countries and the conditions offered abroad are decidedly more beneficial and guarantee better protection.

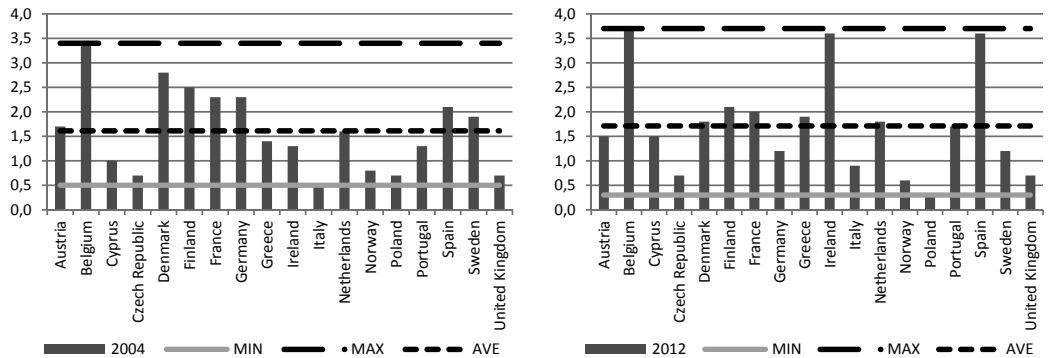


Figure 3. Social services as a GDP percentage in selected EU countries and Norway in 2004 and in 2012

Source: own study on the basis of the data of Eurostat, http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=spr_exp_fun&lang=en, Access: 25.12.2014.

In accordance with the neo-classical migration theory, apart from the economic determinants shown above, the level of social/economic development is one of the conditions deciding the international migration process. The countries having a higher development level attract migrants willing to improve not only the material conditions of their lives. Social/economic development is treated as the ultimate goal of operation of all economics and the indices depicting it are used for evaluation of the conditions of living for the people (including migrants) who live there. Economic development is the qualitative/structural change reflected in the framework of the basic macroeconomic aggregates. Contemporarily understood social development is, however, an increase in freedom as well as the possibility of living in the way that is valuable for them.

As indicated by A.K. Sen (2002, p. 315), ‘the development is a giant process multiplying the possibilities in which the freedom is fulfilled’. This takes place when an increase in the possibility of choice occurs which allows people to improve the quality of their lives (UNDP 1990). This approach is used in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in its reports on social development, as well as in the methodology for its Human Development Index (HDI), one of the best known synthetic meters for development evaluation.

One of the six premises underlying the HDI was the creation, within the framework of one index, the economic and social components (Fukuda-Parr, Shiva Kumar 2003, p. 128) which evaluate the development of countries within the three dimensions: wealth of the citizens, health and knowledge, and, therefore, may be treated as an indicator of “facilities and public goods”, in which, in accordance with the presumption of Greenwood, the emigrant/consumer is interested. Affluent living standard of citizens (their wealth) is measured in the HDI by the net national income *per capita*, as per the buying strength. For definition of

the health condition, it is used the index of the foreseen mean life length at the instant of birth. The access to the knowledge is expressed by: the mean education year number in the school as well as the expected length in the school, expressed in years². A simple mathematical procedure makes it possible to define the partial indices by one figure accepting a value in the interval 0-1 (UNDP, 2010).

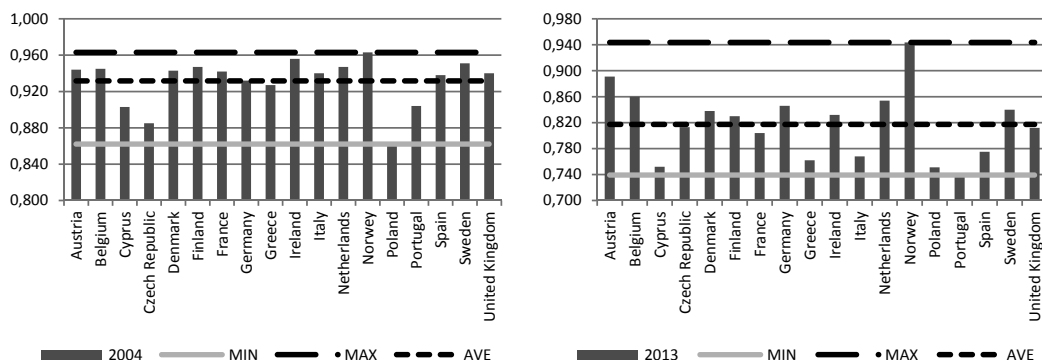


Figure 4. The value of the index *Human Development Index* in selected EU countries and Norway in 2004 and 2013

Source: a study on the basis of data of UNDP Human Development Index, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi> (referred on 20/12/2014).

In the analysed period, the social/economic development level in the group of EU countries and Norway underwent considerable change, presented in Figure 4. In 2004, the level of social/economic development in Poland was the lowest (0.862) among the countries under investigation. Norway was the highest (0.963). The difference between the development levels of these countries amounted to approximately 12%. The mean development index for all countries under analysis (0.932), located closer to the maximum HDI value, indicated a relatively higher development level in many countries. In the two countries that were then chosen most frequently as the destination for Polish migrants, the social/economic development was evaluated on the average level for all countries under investigation (Germany) as well as one minutely higher (the United Kingdom). The social and economic development levels of these two countries was on average approximately 8% higher than that in Poland. Similar levels of the HDI indices were found in the three next most frequently chosen target countries for Polish migration at that time: Italy, France and Spain. On the other hand, Sweden and Ireland, in spite of higher development levels, attracted then a relatively small part of Polish people leaving the country.

Due to the last financial crisis, negative changes in the evaluation of the social/economic development were found in the following years. In 2013, none of the countries recorded an improvement in development; in addition, the differences between the countries deepened. The highest development level was again in Norway (0.944), a decrease from 2004. In spite of that, two times more Polish citizens remained in Norway than in the beginning period of the crisis (2007) due to its higher development level.

² Access to the knowledge is expressed in this way from the jubilee report of 2010. Till 2009 inclusively, education level was expressed by the index of reading and writing ability among adults as well as the gross scholarization index for all education levels.

Among the countries under investigation the minimum value of the HDI index in 2013 was obtained by Portugal (0.739), wherein the number of Polish migrants (1,000) had not changed since 2006. An almost 28% difference in the development evaluations for Norway and Portugal, as well as the low value of the mean development level (0.817) for all countries under analysis, located closer to the minimum HDI value, indicates the deepening of the development divergence among them. Therefore, the United Kingdom and Germany, which recorded higher development levels than Poland (by approximately 8% and 12%, respectively) remained the countries receiving the greatest number of Polish migrants, their volume increasing more than 4 times in the case of the United Kingdom. However, the biggest increase of Polish people staying temporarily abroad happened then in Ireland (almost eight-fold in comparison to 2004) wherein the social/development level was evaluated higher than that of the United Kingdom. Other countries (Netherlands, Belgium, France or Spain) managed to attract more Polish migrants than it would result from the total emigration increase proportion.

4. INSTITUTIONAL CONDITIONS OF POLISH EMIGRATION

The neoclassic migration theory is considered one-dimensional because it reduces the full complexity of migration factors to the economic dimension. As the above considerations have shown, economic factors may constitute important reasons of the migrant inflow to the countries involved. However, in this study, an additional group of factors that may attract migrants to a particular country were subjected to analysis. These factors are the institutional conditions of the operation of businesses. References of the subject emphasise these conditions' positive effect upon undertaking enterprise actions; one should account to such actions, 'the active attitude towards the world of the persons looking for comfortable functioning conditions in foreign countries.

In accordance with the institutional approach, a particular clean public good that may be 'consumed' by migrants and improve their living standard is public governance. This becomes a factor differentiating various countries and attracting migrants with the effectiveness and efficiency of its public institutions. In accordance with D. Rodrik (2008, p. 19), 'Governance has instrumental value insofar as it provides producers and households with greater clarity on the rules of the game and investors with greater assurance that they can appropriate the returns to their efforts'.

In the references of the subject, the notion of good governancies used not only as a multidimensional theoretical paradigm. This term also possesses some practical/political virtues (Jessop 2007) used in the governance process evaluation in economics. In accordance with D. F. Kettl (2005, p. 6), good governancies an insufficient but necessary condition for economic growth and social stabilization. In the comparative analysis of the governance quality in the countries under investigation, the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) database created by the World Bank considers governance quality in six dimensions: Voice and Accountability, Rule of Law, Regulatory Quality, Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism, Government Effectiveness and Control of Corruption (Kaufmann et. al., 2009).

The World Bank computes the aggregated WGI indicators and evaluates the governance quality in each dimension on a scale from +2.5 to -2.5 (Kaufmann et al., 2010, p. 12). A higher value of WGI denotes higher governance quality in the indicated dimension. Further analysis required, however, a simple aggregation of the WGI indicators in the form of a single figure. Assigning identical weight to the good governance dimensions recognized by the World Bank, we calculated the mean value of the general Governance Quality Indicator (oWGI) obtained by each of the countries under investigation. The values of oWGI for the selected EU countries and Norway are presented in Figure 5.

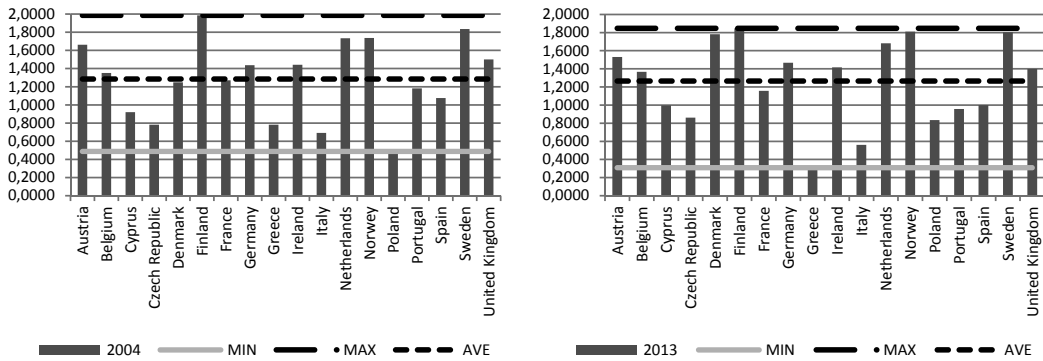


Figure 5. Evaluation of the governance quality in selected EU countries and Norway in 2004 and 2013

Source: a study on the basis of the World Bank database Worldwide Governance Indicators, <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp> (referred on 21/12/2014).

In 2004, Poland had the lowest level of governance quality among the countries under analysis. The highest value, in Finland, was more than 2 times greater than in Poland. However, Finland did not then attract many Polish migrants. Of all the countries under investigation, governance quality in the United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland, Austria, Norway, the Netherlands and Sweden was greater than the mean. The three first of these countries at the time accepted as much as 55% of all migrants from Poland. In spite of the general worsening of governance quality in 2013, these countries maintained their position above the mean oWGI and the volume of Polish migrants inflowing to them grew to almost 60% of the total volume of Polish citizens staying abroad above 3 months.

The greatest increase in the number of migrants from Poland was recorded in Ireland (10 times increase); this could be due to its maintaining a governance quality approximately 12% higher than all other countries under analysis. A similar situation may be noted in the case of Finland (governance quality 46% higher than the mean), the Netherlands (governance quality 39% higher than the mean) and Belgium (improvement of the governance quality by 3 percentage points in relation to the mean value). The volume of migrants from Poland increased, in relation to 2004, 5 times in Finland and 3 times in the Netherlands and Belgium. On the other hand, the worsening of governance quality, in particular, during the last crisis, in such countries as Greece (governance quality 75% lower than the mean) and Spain (governance quality 56% lower than the mean) resulted there in circa double decrease in the volume of migrants from Poland in comparison to 2007–2008.

The theory concerning migration processes indicates that its reasons include disproportions in the economic development of sending and receiving countries. They may result, among other things, from institutional conditions constituting economic freedom. This paper used the Index of Economic Freedom (IEF), published by the Heritage Foundation in partnership with the *Wall Street Journal*, to evaluate the selected EU countries and Norway. The IEF shows that economic freedom is the basic law for each human being in order to control his or her work and property and also to have freedom of movement³. Figure 6 presents the data concerning IEF in 2005 and 2014 for the selected countries of the EU and Norway.

³ It should be noted that the IEF value published in the current year is the result of the analysis of the data for the previous year or earlier data. For instance, for the values of the Index of Economic Freedom 2014, the data refers to the second half-year 2012 as well as to the first half-year 2013, which was available not later than till 30 June 2013. More about the investigation methodology: <http://www.heritage.org/index/about> (last accessed 26.12.2014).

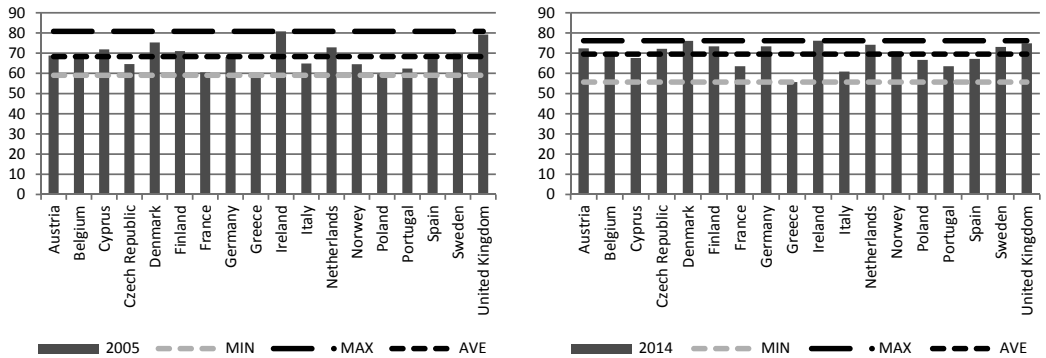


Figure 6. Overall score *Index of Economy Freedom* for selected EU countries and Norway, published in 2005 and 2014

Source: own study on the basis of the data of Heritage Foundation in the partnership with the Wall Street Journal, <http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year> (referred on 26/12/2014).

During the investigated period, a positive change happened in Poland’s economic freedom domain. Importantly, the dynamics of Poland’s IEF value change in 2014 in relation to 2005 was the highest among the countries under investigation. Unfortunately, the IEF value level itself was not satisfactory. At the beginning of the investigation period, only Greece had an IEF value below the value calculated for Poland. Its deviation from the maximum value (Ireland) amounted to as much as -21.2 points, and from the mean value by -8.7 points. The value of the Index of Economic Freedom calculated for Poland in 2010 was already higher than those for Greece and Italy. There was a decrease in the number of Polish immigrants to Greece and an increase in the number to Italy. In 2014, the value of IEF for Poland reached the maximum value and was, additionally, higher than those for Portugal and France. What is of importance, the deviation of the IEF value for Poland, from the maximum and mean values for the countries under investigation (Greece) was higher by 11 points. The difference between the IEF value for Poland and the values for the countries to which Polish people went most frequently in 2004–2014 (the United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland and Netherlands) also decreased. Even more, in comparison with Italy, the conditions from the half of the period under investigation were already much better.

Thus, it may be stated that the level of economic freedom in Poland might become an incentive for emigration for Polish people. Confirmation may be found in the statistics concerning the volume of emigrants from Poland to the selected EU countries and Norway (see Table 1). However, the positive dynamics of the IEF value changes for Poland, bigger than in other countries, may indicate that it will be a factor of decreased influence.

The Index of Economic Freedom also includes the sub-index Fiscal Freedom (FF). This is a measure of the tax load in the country involved. Thus, it constitutes an important element of the institutional conditions influencing the income gained from the work and capital. In Figure 7, the values of FF, published in 2005 and 2014 for selected EU countries and Norway are presented. The data presented indicates that, in the period under investigation, the fiscal freedom measured by the Fiscal Freedom sub-index increased in Poland. Its value published in 2005 amounted to 68.3 points and in 2014 to 76.1 points – the highest value in the whole period under investigation.

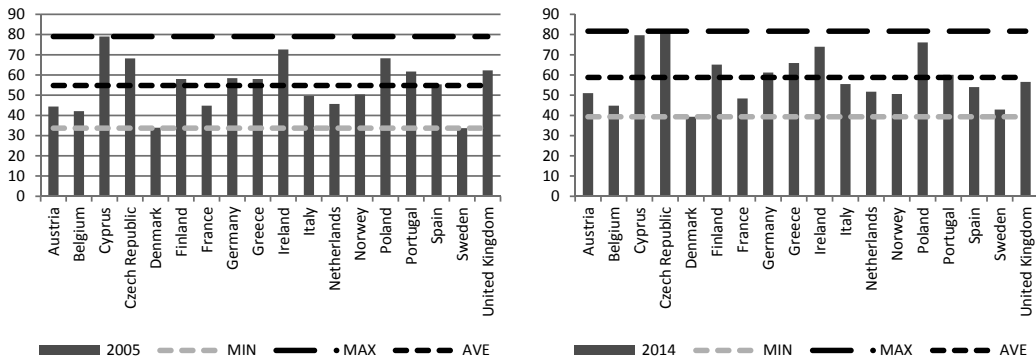


Figure 7. Fiscal Freedom for selected EU countries and Norway, published in 2005 and in 2014

Source: own study on the basis of the data of Heritage Foundation in the partnership with the Wall Street Journal, <http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year> (referred on 26/12/2014).

The 2005 value of FF for Poland was higher than those of the 15 countries under analysis. Only Cyprus and Ireland had higher values. The deviation of the FF value calculated for Poland in 2005 from the maximum value (Cyprus) amounted to -16.5 points, and from the mean value for all countries to 10.7 points. From the minimum value (Sweden), the FF value for Poland was higher by 32.9 points. In subsequent years, Poland's FF value systematically increased and its dynamic of positive change was one of the highest among the countries under investigation. In 2010, only the Czech Republic had an FF value higher than Poland; since 2011, only Cyprus and the Czech Republic have higher FF values. The FF value specified for Poland in 2014 deviated from the maximum value (the Czech Republic) by -5.6 points.

Poland's FF value deviated from the mean value by 17.3 points and from the minimum value (Denmark) by 36.8 points. In the context of the data concerning Polish emigration, it should be noted that in the period under investigation, superiority in fiscal freedom between Poland and the United Kingdom, Germany and the Netherlands was increasing. The difference was the highest in relation to the Netherlands, followed by Italy, the United Kingdom and Germany. In relation to Ireland, the difference changed from -6.9 points in 2004 to 2.1 points at the end of this period. The positive trends concerning the fiscal freedom differences were maintained between Poland and the countries of lower importance for emigration from Poland. In general, it may be stated that increasing fiscal freedom and its level should be a factor encouraging Polish people to remain in their country rather than encouraging emigration. However, the statistics do not confirm this supposition.

A significant role in the migration process is played by the conditions enabling migrants to correct the living and development conditions for their skills. This role may be evaluated using the sub-index Business Freedom (BF), which measures the effectiveness of government regulations concerning the difficulties in starting up, running and closing some economic activity. This sub-index is calculated on the basis of the data from investigations of the Doing Business, Measuring Business Regulations World Bank Group. Its values, published in 2005 and 2014 for selected EU countries and Norway, have been presented in Figure 8.

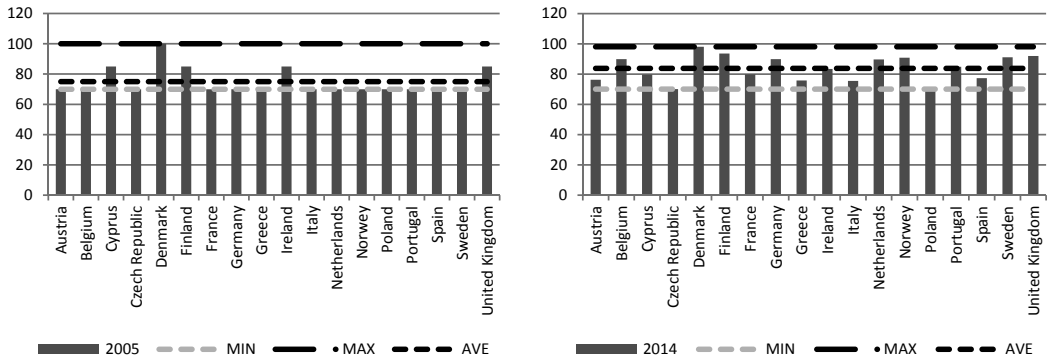


Figure 8. Business Freedom for selected EU countries and Norway, published in 2005 and in 2014

Source: own study on the basis of the data of Heritage Foundation in the partnership with the Wall Street Journal, <http://www.heritage.org/index/explore?view=by-region-country-year> (referred on 26/12/2014).

The value of the sub-index Business Freedom published for Poland in 2005 amounted to 70 points, deviating from the maximum value (Denmark) by -30.0 points and from the mean value by -5.0 points. Unfortunately, in subsequent years, values in this sub-index decreased significantly, oscillating between 53.7 points and 56.6 points, and were the lowest among all countries under investigation. Only as late as 2010 have its values been increasing to reach, in 2014, the value of 70.1 points. The deviation from the maximum value (Denmark) was -28.0 points and from the mean value by -13.7 points. Therefore, the deviation was significantly high.

In the first half of the period under investigation, especially in 2007–2009, the value of the BF sub-index calculated for Poland deviated significantly negatively from the values calculated for the receiving countries of the highest number of Polish migrants. For instance, in relation to Ireland, the deviation ranged from -36.8 and -39.3 points. However, in 2014, there was only a -13.3-point deviation in relation to Germany; for the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the deviation ranged between -19.6 points and -21.9 points. In the group of countries with a high share of Polish migrants, the lowest negative differences were recorded with respect to Italy. In relation to the countries with a lower share of Polish migrants, the differences were also significant. Therefore, we may state that the level of business freedom should be a factor encouraging Polish people to immigrate to countries with a high level of this freedom. Evidence for this statement is found in the statistics presented in Table 1.

CONCLUSIONS

It is considered that migration to economically and socially better developed countries is an important strategy of coping with unemployment, low wages and unsatisfactory living conditions for people in peripheral countries (Massey 2001). Without any doubt, therefore, when undertaking the decision on whether to migrate, most persons should take into account e.g. the level of the wages, social protections or the labour market conditions valid in the target country. However, the results of the investigations into the connection between the scale of migration and relative unemployment levels in EU countries seem to refute the myth of the same, with regard to the relationship between these two variables. On the other hand, the collective

study *Is what we hear about migration really true? Questioning eight stereotypes* (Migration Policy Centre 2014) debunks other stereotypes.

All this indicates that in the investigations being carried out, the economic conditions of emigration, considered on the macro plane, should not predominate over other potential factors attracting enterprising individuals to the target countries. As emphasised in the analysis conducted in the present study, other factors should become the institutional conditions determining the widely understood enterprise of the emigrating persons. The high number of Polish emigrants and their greater inflow to some European countries whose governance quality and economic freedom are relatively high, confirm this study's hypothesis that the factors for the increase in scale of Polish emigration are various. Among these factors, the economic ones may not play the most important role.

The analysis conducted and the conclusions flowing from the same call for further investigations that shall make it possible to validate them. The authors of the study express their hope that it will become the beginning of future investigations in this field.

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