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Immigrants in Kraków in 2021

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Abstract

The report shows changes in the structure of the immigrant population in Krakow in 2021 compared to 2020 and 2019 based on the latest data from various registers (including data from ZUS, registration information, residence cards, or declarations on entrusting work to a foreigner). At the end of 2021, immigrants constituted approx. 10% of Krakow's population. Despite the domination of Ukrainian citizens, the migrant community is becoming increasingly diverse. Among others, the number of such national groups (along with Ukrainians) as Belarusians, Georgians, Russians, Indians, but also Spaniards, Italians, British, Brazilians, and Moldovans was growing. The report describes the significant demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the foreigners' population in the city and identifies the places with the highest concentration of immigrants in Krakow. It also describes in details their legal situation and participation in the education system and the city's economy.

Streszczenie

Raport ukazuje zmiany w strukturze populacji imigrantów w Krakowie w roku 2021 w porównaniu do lat 2020 i 2019 w oparciu o najnowsze dane ze zróżnicowanych rejestrów (m.in. danych z ZUS, informacjach meldunkowych, kart pobytu czy oświadczeń o powierzeniu wykonywania pracy cudzoziemcowi). Pod koniec 2021 roku imigranci stanowili już ok. 10% mieszkańców Krakowa. Pomimo dominacji obywateli Ukrainy, społeczność migrantów stawała się coraz bardziej zróżnicowana etnicznie. Wzrastała między innymi liczebność takich grup narodowościowych (obok Ukraińców) jak Białorusini, Gruzini, Rosjanie, Indusi, ale też Hiszpanie, Włosi, Brytyjczycy czy Brazylijczycy i Mołdawianie. Raport opisuje istotne cechy demograficzne i społeczno-ekonomiczne populacji cudzoziemców w mieście oraz identyfikuje miejsca największej koncentracji imigrantów w Krakowie. Opisuje również szczegółowo ich sytuację prawną oraz udział w systemie szkolnictwa i gospodarce miasta.

1. A BROADER BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION PROCESSES IN POLAND AND THE MAŁOPOLSKA REGION IN 2021

Despite the economic slowdown caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, Poland remains an attractive destination for migrants from various parts of the world. As shown by Eurostat data, for another year in a row, our country recorded the highest rates of residence permits granted to foreign nationals aiming to work in the European Union. In 2020, 502 thousand permits of this type were issued, which accounted for 22 per cent of all permits within the EU. Other European countries much more frequently issued residence permits to foreign nationals for the purpose of education (France is the leader in this respect, with almost 73 thousand permits), for family reasons (Germany is the leader at almost 131 thousand), and permits for other reasons, among which the key is granting international protection (here Germany is also the leader with almost 153 thousand permits) (Eurostat 2021). We should remember that two years earlier, in 2018, Poland granted nearly 330 thousand residence permits to foreign nationals in order to pursue employment, which back then accounted for 37% of all such permits granted in the EU (Eurostat 2019).

One of the significant changes in the migration processes to date is related to the increase in the number of people applying for international protection in Poland. In 2021, the number of applications for international protection more than doubled – from 2,800 people who applied for asylum in 2020, up to 7,700 applications by the end of December 2021. The latter statistics have changed significantly not so much due to the increased influx of migrants across the Polish-Belarusian border and the border crisis that continues since mid-2021 (Pędzwiatr et al. 2021b), but mainly due to the relocation of over a thousand Afghans and granting refugee status or subsidiary protection to Belarusians persecuted by Lukashenko's regime. For instance, throughout 2021, 2,270 Belarusian citizens applied for international protection, whereas in 2020 there were 405 such applications, whereas in the previous years (from 2017) no more than 45 people applied annually (UDSC, 2022c). By the end of December 2021, also 1,781 Afghans (of those the vast majority are persons relocated by Poland)

and 1,400 Iraqi citizens applied for international protection. As we will demonstrate below, these processes have been registered only to a minimal extent in the Małopolska region (Małopolskie Voivodeship), where there are no centres for foreign nationals in which persons applying for international protection could wait for their applications to be processed. According to information obtained from Małopolska's Department for Foreigners (UDSC), in 2021 only 90 people were registered with some form of international protection (UDSC, 2022a).

The exact number of foreign nationals residing in Poland is unknown. Difficulties in estimating that figure result, among other things, from: the limitations of large representative surveys such as the National Census in capturing the undocumented influx of migrants; the specific character of immigration to Poland, which is often cyclical and incomplete; and the mobility of migrants themselves (GUS 2013). One of the most precise sets of data on the number of immigrants residing in Poland is provided by the statistics of the Department for Foreigners (hereinafter referred to as the UDSC). It is also worth remembering that these data do not include foreign nationals who do not register their stay in Poland while temporarily staying in our country, either under the visa-free regime or on the basis of visas granted. As we demonstrated in the OWIM study from 2019, which applied Big Data, the Ukrainian population in Kraków was more than three times larger than the records of the Department for Foreigners had shown at the time (Pędzwiatr et al., 2021).

If at the end of 2020, according to the Department for Foreigners (UDSC), 458 thousand people resided in Poland, by the end of 2021, their number increased to almost 546 thousand persons with valid Residence Cards. In other words, the number of foreign nationals who legalized their stay in Poland has increased by 88 thousand over the last year, which shows the increasing dynamics of the growth of the foreign population in Poland (UDSC, 2022d). In the previous year, i.e. between December 2019 and 2020, the number of persons with valid Residence Cards increased by only 30 thousand. Lockdowns caused by the COVID-19 pandemic constituted the main factor that significantly slowed down the dynamics of immigration to Poland. Thus, our predictions that the pandemic would not stop the inflow of immigration, but only temporarily slow it down (Pędzwiatr et al. 2020), have been confirmed.

Our forecasts are in line with the scenarios drawn up by the UDSC. As one of the most recent studies predicts, "the trend of a gradual increase in the number of applications relating to cases for legalization of stay is likely to con-

tinue. Its scale, however, will depend primarily on the development of the political and economic situation in Ukraine and Belarus, but also in other countries of the former USSR.” (UDSC, 2022a). Despite the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been a significant increase in the number of applications not only from citizens of Ukraine and Belarus, but also from Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Uzbekistan.

Apart from Ukrainian citizens, who constitute by far the largest group of immigrants in Poland with valid residence permits (307 thousand people), other quantitatively significant groups of foreign nationals with such documents at the end of 2021 came from Belarus (40 thousand), Germany (20 thousand), Russia (14 thousand), Vietnam (11 thousand), and India (11 thousand). The above data clearly shows that the highest growth dynamics concerned the Belarusian and Ukrainian communities. At the end of 2020, there were 28 thousand Belarusian citizens and 244 thousand Ukrainians living in Poland, with valid Residence Cards. Other smaller communities characterized by a significant growth dynamics in the last year included: Georgians (an increase from almost 8 thousand to almost 11 thousand) and Moldovans (from 3.5 thousand to almost 5.5 thousand). In the case of other significant communities, there was a much slower increase (e.g. in the case of citizens of Russia and India from 12 thousand and 10 thousand in 2020, respectively) or even the numbers were maintained at the same level (e.g. in the case of Germans and Vietnamese). At the same time, the share of Ukrainians among foreign nationals with valid Residence Cards in Poland increased from 53% to 56% (UDSC 2022a).

Foreign nationals with valid Residence Cards in Poland are most often third-country (i.e. non-EU) citizens with a temporary residence permit (347 thousand). Only 91 thousand foreigners staying in Poland had a permanent residence permit at the end of 2021. Although their number increased by 10 thousand compared to 2020, they still constituted only a small part of foreign nationals living in the country on the Vistula River. The number of registered EU citizens living in Poland has increased by approximately five thousand. As mentioned above, the general increase in the number of foreign nationals in Poland was also affected to a small extent by the inflow of foreigners applying for some form of international protection here (e.g. refugee status, subsidiary protection, or stay for humanitarian reasons).

If we take into account the gender structure, we can see that among the immigrants registered by the UDSC, men constitute the vast majority. In terms

of age, migrants in Poland are most often in the 20-39 or 40-59 age groups. The average age of a foreigner in Poland is 33 years. Among the youngest immigrants, under the age of 20, there are very often those whom we discuss in more detail below, who came to Poland to study at one of the national universities.

The spatial distribution of immigrants in 2021 is largely similar to that recorded a year before. Migrants coming to Poland most often settle in large metropolises. The capital city of Warsaw, which is located in the Mazowsze region (Mazowieckie Voivodeship), is by far the most popular place of residence for foreign nationals in Poland. Nevertheless, many migrants choose to live in other parts of the country. Before 2015, the phenomenon of immigration was clearly insular in character – it concerned only some parts of the country, while in other areas the presence of foreign nationals was much less noticeable (cf. Pędziwiatr, 2014). Currently, immigrants are much more evenly dispersed across the country. It is also clear that, apart from Warsaw, very important places that attract immigrants are Poland's other largest cities, including Gdańsk, Poznań, Wrocław, Opole, Katowice and Kraków. According to UDSC data, the population of immigrants in Poland in 2021 increased, above all, in the following regions (voivodships): Małopolskie (from 58 thousand to 76 thousand), Wielkopolskie (from 45 thousand to 63 thousand), and Dolnośląskie (from 41 thousand to almost 58 thousand). In the Mazowieckie Voivodeship, the population of immigrants with Residence Cards increased in the same period (i.e. between December 2020 and 2021) from 125 thousand up to 158 thousand persons (see: Figure 1. – UDSC 2022b).

The present report highlights the status of the foreign population in Kraków in 2021. It refers to a number of sources of statistical data on immigrants, ranging from records of foreign nationals with valid Residence Cards (issued by the Voivode of Małopolska), foreign nationals registered in Kraków included in the registers of the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS), and children of immigrants registered in educational institutions in the city – just to mention the most important ones. Based on these sources, the number and structure of immigrants by age and gender are presented, as well as, wherever possible, by country of origin and education, by the sector of economic activity, and by their place of residence. Analyses of changes in the distribution of foreign nationals within the city are another important feature in the report.

The introductory part outlines the context within which the migration processes in Kraków are taking place. In the next part, we present the state and structure of the immigrant population in Kraków on the basis of the latest re-

Figure 1. Spatial distribution of foreigners with valid residence permits in 2021 and 2020 (situation for 31st December 2020 and 2021)



Source: (UDSC, 2022b).

cords' data from various sources, and we compare the current condition with that of a year and two years before. In the third chapter, we show the spatial distribution of immigrants in the various districts of Kraków, and the changes compared to the previous years. Chapter four is devoted to immigrants in the education system: from pre-school institutions to post-secondary schools and universities. In chapter five, we analyse in detail the presence of immigrants in the urban economy on the basis of the data provided to us by the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) and the Municipal Labour Office (Grodzki Urząd Pracy). We conclude the report with a summary of the findings.

2. CURRENT STATUS AND STRUCTURE OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN KRAKÓW ACCORDING TO THE LATEST DATA

In this chapter, we describe the number and structure of the foreign population living in Kraków in 2021 against the background of changes in this population in the 2019-2020 period. The most recent information used in the report comes from three public data sources. The first is data on permanent and temporary residency registrations obtained from the Kraków City Hall (as of November 1, 2021). The second source is the database on the legalization of stay in Poland by foreign nationals, kept by the Małopolska Voivodship Office (as of November 1, 2021). The last of the sources used here is data provided to the authors by the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) on foreign nationals covered by compulsory social insurance (as of October 31, 2021). Data from previous years come from the same sources and were described in previous reports on immigrants in Kraków (see: Pędziwiatr et al. 2019 and Pędziwiatr et al. 2020).

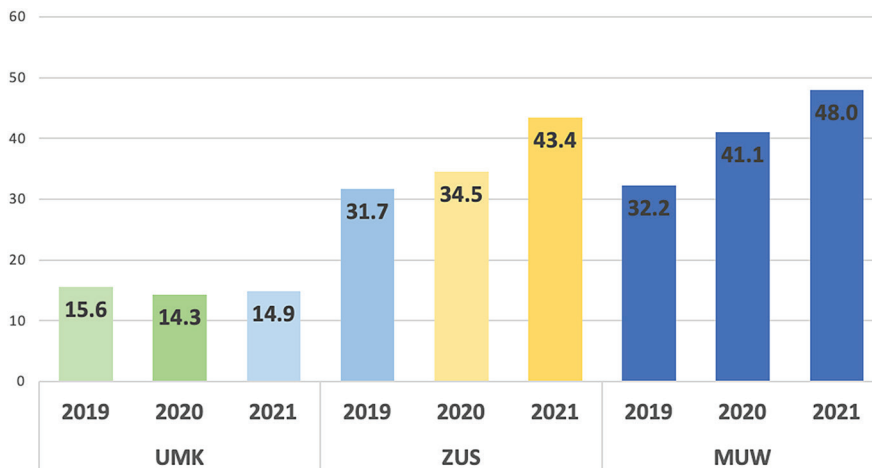
2.1. Number of foreign nationals in Kraków

In the years 2019-2021, we have observed an upward trend in the number of foreign nationals living in Kraków (see: Figure 2). In 2021, the Małopolska Voivodship Office recorded the highest number of migrants to date: at the level of approximately 48 thousand people, i.e. almost 7 thousand more than in the previous year (which constitutes an increase of 17%). The number of foreign nationals paying contributions towards retirement and disability insurance also increased significantly. At the end of October 2021, ZUS recorded 43.4 thousand foreign nationals, which is 8.9 thousand more than the year

before. This represents an almost 25% increase in the number of foreign nationals insured. In 2021, the number of immigrants registered in the city also increased (after a decline in 2020), up to the level of 14.9 thousand, i.e. 600 people more than in 2020. However, this is a lower number than the one recorded in 2019 (15.6 thousand). In 2021, the number of all residents registered in Kraków was 725.3 thousand people (including 706.7 thousand with permanent residence status). It follows that foreign nationals constituted 2.1% of all residents registered in the city.

As indicated in the 2020 report, the decrease in the number of registrations between 2019 and 2020 was probably the result of the COVID-19 pandemic, involving numerous lockdowns and a declining economic situation, i.e. it was the result of the migrants' adapting to changing conditions. In 2021, the pandemic situation stabilized, and more foreign nationals registered their stay at the UMK.

Figure 2. The estimated number of foreigners in Krakow in 2019, 2020 and 2021 according to the diverse sources of data



Source: UMK (2019-2021), MUW (2019-2021), ZUS (2019-2021).

This phenomenon can be observed by following the change in the number of registered persons by the region of their citizenship (see: Table 1).

And so, in the period between 2019 and 2020, the number of immigrants from European countries outside the European Union – i.e. mainly Ukrainians – decreased, whereas in 2021 it returned to a similar level as in 2019 – i.e. around 9.3 thousand people. Another downward year was observed in the number of registered citizens of the European Union¹. In 2021, this group counted approximately 2,900 persons, which is 13% less than in the previous year. The number of registered foreign nationals from other regions, with the exception of Australia and Oceania and South America, has increased only slightly. However, data from MUW and ZUS indicate a dynamic increase in the number of foreign nationals from all regions of the world, except for citizens of Australia and Oceania, registered in the MUW records. According to the data on legalization of stay, the highest growth dynamics was recorded in the group of Europeans from outside the EU, which exceeded 30 thousand residents, reaching the level of 31.3 thousand persons at the beginning of November – representing an increase by 22% compared to the previous year. The next group in terms of the population growth rate were the citizens of South America, whose number increased by 16% i.e. to the level of 1,200 persons. In terms of the largest population change, they were followed by citizens of African countries – who witnessed a 38% increase i.e. up to 992 persons, and by citizens of Asian countries – with a 36% increase i.e. to the level of almost 5.1 thousand persons. If this trend continues, immigrants from Asia may soon become the second largest group of foreign nationals in Kraków.

Much higher dynamics of changes can be observed in the ZUS (Social Insurance Institution) data. Here, the highest relative increases were observed in the groups of Africans and Asians – by 45% and 43% respectively, not counting the very small group of citizens of Australia and Oceania (an increase of 316%). Interestingly, the ZUS database has the largest number of Europeans from outside the EU of all the compared records – almost 32.3 thousand people. This population increased by as much as 27% during the year. When analysing the above data, we need to bear in mind that 2021 was a pandemic year, and yet the dynamics of growth in the numbers of foreign nationals in Kraków remained high.

1 In the present report, UK citizens are still included in one group with EU citizens, mainly in order to maintain comparability of data from previous years. In some parts of the report we omit the words “and Great Britain”, but the full designation of this group is “citizens of the European Union and Great Britain”.

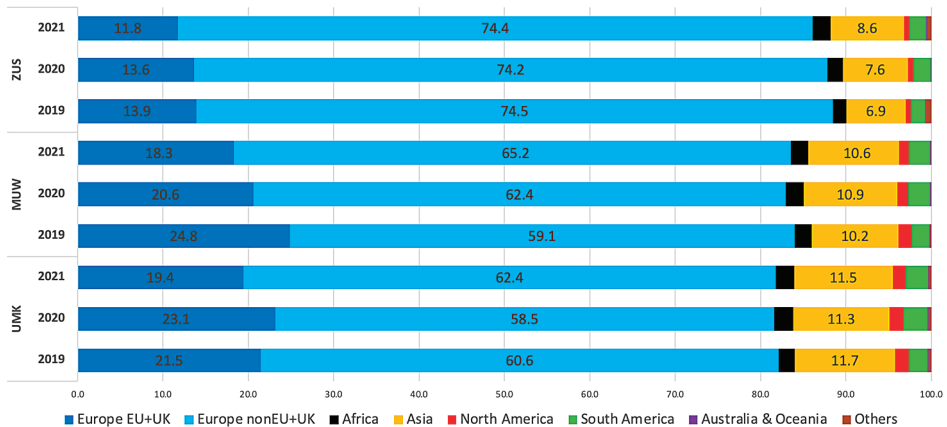
Table 1. Foreigners by region of citizenship in 2019, 2020 and 2021 according to the diverse sources of data

Region	UMK				MUW				ZUS			
	2019	2020	2021	Change 2021/20 [%]	2019	2020	2021	Change 2021/20 [%]	2019	2020	2021	Change 2021/20 [%]
	Europe EU+UK	3 340	3 315	2886	-13	8 003	8 465	8767	4	4 403	4 669	5102
Europe nonEU+UK	9 432	8 387	9287	11	19 054	25 629	31285	22	23 606	25 410	32268	27
Africa	298	316	321	2	629	865	992	15	512	617	893	45
Asia	1 822	1 618	1714	6	3 288	4 482	5090	14	2 185	2 615	3752	43
North America	245	223	226	1	483	529	545	3	198	202	239	18
South America	345	413	396	-4	675	1 038	1200	16	533	722	859	19
Australia & Oceania	25	20	11	-45	47	54	46	-15	16	19	79	316
Others	48	48	44	-8	37	36	35	-3	216	-	205	-

Source: UMK (2019-2021), MUW (2019-2021), ZUS (2019-2021).

The structure of foreign nationals according to the region of their origin is slowly changing. All three records indicate an increase in the share of the largest group, i.e. citizens of European countries outside the EU. According to the UMK, this group accounted for 62.4% of all migrants in Kraków in 2021 (see: Figure 3). MUW indicates the share of that group at the level of 65.2%, and ZUS at 74.4%. This means that out of every four foreign nationals paying contributions to old-age and disability pension insurance, about three were from this part of the world. The share of EU citizens in the structure of Kraków's immigrants is decreasing significantly. This is especially visible in the MUW register. In 2019, almost 25% of migrants came from this area, but in 2021 they constituted only 18.3%. The third largest group, in terms of share, are citizens of Asian countries – around 8.6 to 11.5%, depending on the records database.

Figure 3. Structure of foreigners in Krakow by region of citizenship and data source in 2019, 2020 and 2021

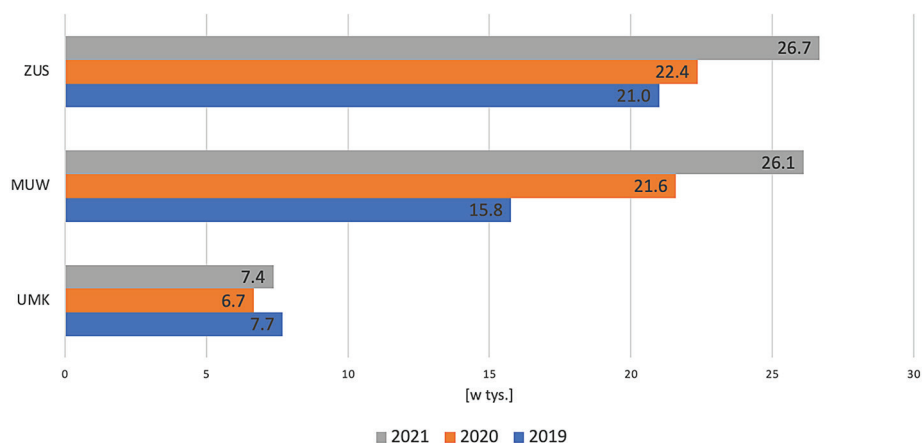


Source: UMK (2019-2021), MUW (2019-2021), ZUS (2019-2021).

When analysing the data on the migrant population in Kraków, special attention should be paid to the population of Ukrainians, which is by far the largest group of foreign nationals in the city. In 2021, Ukrainians accounted for almost 50% of all registered foreign nationals (according to the UMK); they made up 54% of those persons legalizing their stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland (MUW); and 61% of those paying contributions to the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS). The number of immigrants from Ukraine

is increasing year by year. The MUW and ZUS records indicate that about 26 thousand Ukrainians are living in Kraków (see: Figure 4). Despite the aforementioned increase, the number of registered persons from this country remained basically the same, and amounts to approximately 7,5 thousand people. It follows that approximately one out of four immigrants from Ukraine registers their stay with the UMK. At this point, we should add that, according to a survey conducted by the authors in 2021 among immigrants in Małopolska, about 83% of Ukrainians in Kraków declare their wish to stay in Poland permanently² (see: Pędziwiatr et al. 2021). Therefore, these people link their future with our country, and yet they do not choose to register their residence. This fact points to the weakness of the Polish residence registration system, which makes it impossible to correctly estimate the number of actual inhabitants of Kraków, migrants included.

Figure 4. The number of Ukrainian citizens in Krakow in 2019, 2020 and 2021 according to the diverse sources of data

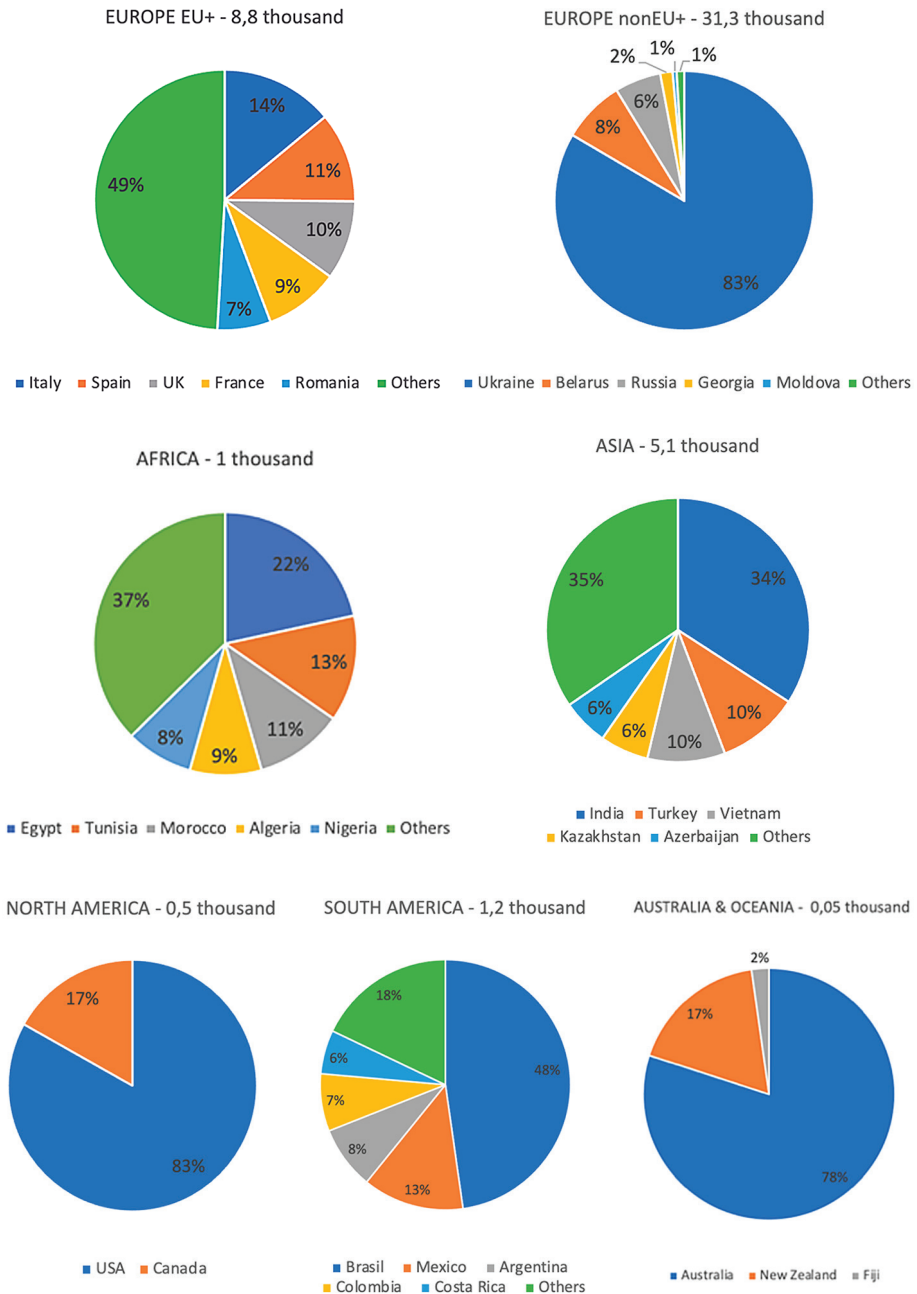


Source: UMK (2019-2021), MUW (2019-2021), ZUS (2019-2021).

In Kraków, Ukrainians are by far the largest group of Europeans from outside the European Union. Their share in this group of migrants is 83% (see: Figure 5). They are followed by other national groups: Belarusians – 8%, and

2 The sample included 281 Ukrainians who declared their preferences regarding the length of their stay in Poland. The respondents were asked the question: “How long do you intend to stay in Poland?”

Figure 5. Structure of foreigners according to the region of citizenship in 2021



Russians – 6%. This structure has not changed compared to the previous year. Among the citizens of the European Union and Great Britain, the most numerous group consists of people from Southern Europe, including 14% Italians and 11% Spaniards. The citizens of Great Britain (10%) and France (9%) are second in the ranking. Interestingly, a new group joined the list of the most numerous, namely, the citizens of Romania. Their number in Kraków is growing every year, and in 2021 it reached the number of 581 people who legalized their stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland in the branches of the MUW.

Compared to 2020, slight changes can be observed in the structure of the Asian population. The main nationalities among this group are Indians (34%), Turks (10%), and Vietnamese (10%). The Cracovian population of the latter, which has been the dominant in this part of the world for years, is slowly losing its share in favour of Asian migrants.

In the fourth largest group – South American citizens – there were no changes in structure. Brazilians are still the dominant group, accounting for almost 50% of this population. They are followed by Mexicans (13%), Argentines (8%), Colombians (7%), and Costa Ricans (6%).

In turn, among foreign nationals from Africa, Egyptians (22%), Tunisians (13%), Moroccans (11%), and Algerians (9%) continue to predominate. People from North America in Kraków are mostly citizens of the United States (83%), and those from Oceania are mostly Australians (78%).

In the ranking of the ten largest groups of the migrants living in Kraków (by country of origin), there were slight changes in the period 2019-2021 according to all data sources (see: Table 2). Nationals of European countries are definitely dominant. Year by year, the Indians – one of the most dynamically growing populations in Kraków – are becoming increasingly numerous, and so are Georgians and Turks. In 2021, Brazilians were also in the top ten, according to the MUW data, with their number exceeding 500. We should add at this point that the share of the top ten most numerous foreign populations in Kraków continues to increase slowly. In 2021, their share in the light of the UMK data was 75.6%, according to MUW – 77.4%, and the ZUS database – 82.8%.

Table 2. Ranking of the countries of origin of foreigners according to the number of foreigners in 2019, 2020 and 2021

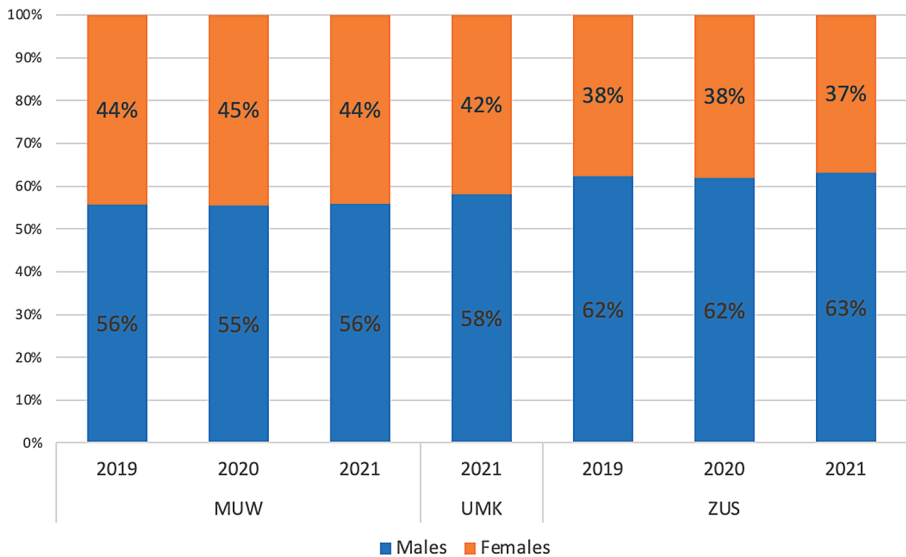
No	UMK						MUW						ZUS					
	2019		2020		2021		2019		2020		2021		2019		2020		2021	
	Country	Count	Country	Count	Country	Count	Country	Count	Country	Count	Country	Count	Country	Count	Country	Count	Country	Count
1	UKRAINE	7 694	UKRAINE	6 676	UKRAINE	7367	UKRAINE	15 774	UKRAINE	21 601	UKRAINE	26111	UKRAINE	20 997	UKRAINE	22 359	UKRAINE	26677
2	RUSSIA	775	BELARUS	769	RUSSIA	1050	RUSSIA	1 434	BELARUS	1 687	BELARUS	2440	BELARUS	1 203	BELARUS	1 404	BELARUS	3014
3	ITALY	742	RUSSIA	700	RUSSIA	580	RUSSIA	1 338	RUSSIA	1 642	RUSSIA	1803	ITALY	735	RUSSIA	850	INDIA	1280
4	INDIA	454	INDIA	494	INDIA	486	INDIA	909	INDIA	1 149	INDIA	1226	INDIA	708	INDIA	791	RUSSIA	1189
5	INDIA	454	INDIA	494	INDIA	486	INDIA	909	INDIA	1 149	INDIA	1226	INDIA	708	INDIA	791	ITALY	939
6	SPAIN	318	UK	361	UK	302	SPAIN	856	SPAIN	897	SPAIN	981	SPAIN	491	SPAIN	564	GEORGIA	923
7	VIETNAM	284	FRANCE	309	FRANCE	277	FRANCE	784	FRANCE	831	UK	863	GEORGIA	394	GEORGIA	476	SPAIN	612
8	FRANCE	279	SPAIN	273	SPAIN	263	UK	695	UK	770	FRANCE	812	FRANCE	370	ROMANIA	371	TURKEY	510
9	UK	259	VIETNAM	254	VIETNAM	226	GERMANY	571	GERMANY	559	ROMANIA	581	ROMANIA	341	FRANCE	364	ROMANIA	405
10	GERMANY	223	ROMANIA	208	TURKEY	211	ROMANIA	474	ROMANIA	536	BRAZIL	573	VIETNAM	304	UK	323	FRANCE	401
x	TOTAL	11 595	x	10 614	x	11 258	x	23 889	x	31 134	x	37 128	x	26 113	x	28 252	x	35 950
x	SHARE	74.5%	x	74.0%	x	75.6%	x	74.2%	x	75.8%	x	77.4%	x	82.5%	x	82.5%	x	82.8%

Source: UMK (2019–2021), MUW (2019–2021), ZUS (2019–2021).

2.2. The structure of the population of foreign nationals by age and gender

Men predominate in the population of foreign nationals living in Kraków. Among people who legalized their stay in the Republic of Poland at MUW, 56% were men (see: Figure 6). This structure did not change in the analysed years. In the current year, for the first time, the UMK made available its data on foreign nationals by gender and age for the purposes of this report. According to the records, 58% of those registered were men. The largest share of men is reflected in the number of migrants paying social security contributions to ZUS. Here, the share of men has invariably been around 63%.

Figure 6. Structure of the population of foreigners by gender in 2019, 2020 and 2021 according to the diverse sources of data



Source: UMK (2021), MUW (2019-2021), ZUS (2019-2021).

It is also worth noting that among the largest groups of foreign nationals in Kraków, we observe a large diversity in the feminization level. In general, Europeans from outside the European Union have a gender-balanced population (see: Table 3). About five out of ten migrants from Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, Slovakia, and Romania are women. The situation is different within the

population from the European Union countries: here, there is a clear predominance of men. Only three out of ten people are women. In the largest group of non-European origin – the Indians – approximately 63% are men. Among Turks and Georgians one in five is female.

Table 3. The share of female migrants in the 20 largest groups of foreigners by citizenship in Krakow in 2021

Country	Number of foreigners	Female share
UKRAINE	26 111	49%
BELARUS	2 440	52%
RUSSIA	1 803	54%
INDIA	1 738	37%
ITALY	1 226	23%
SPAIN	981	29%
UK	863	21%
FRANCE	812	28%
ROMANIA	581	53%
BRAZIL	573	43%
GERMANY	540	32%
TURKEY	512	23%
VIETNAM	485	40%
GEORGIA	481	19%
USA	453	32%
PORTUGAL	408	20%
SLOVAKIA	380	47%
HUNGARY	378	45%
NETHERLANDS	342	24%

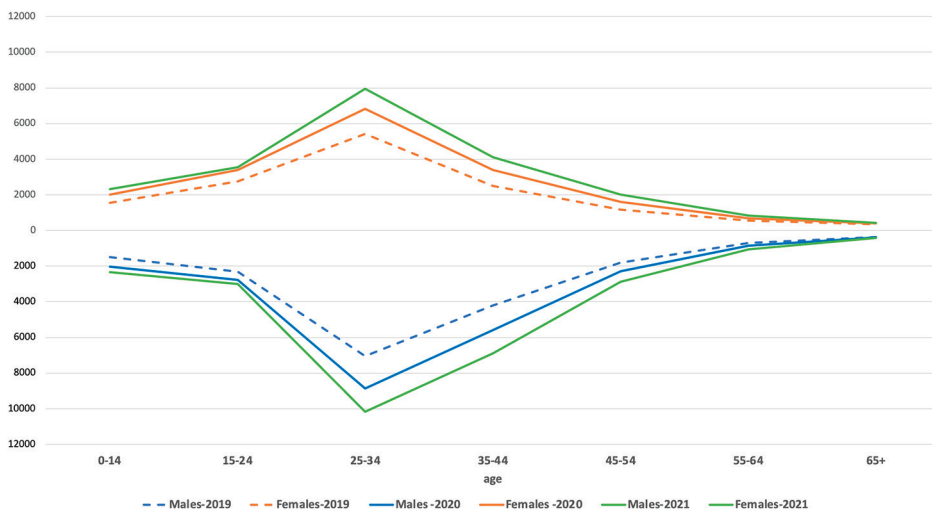
Source: MUW (2021).

Between 2019 and 2021, the immigrant population grew across all age groups. However, the greatest changes were recorded in the age groups of 25-34 and 35-44, that is, people in the employable age (see: Figure 7). In 2021, according to data from the MUW, people aged 25-34 accounted for 38% of all foreign nationals in Kraków. The second largest group, i.e. people aged 35-44, had a 23% share in the population. Men are dominant in all age groups, except for the group of people of higher education age, where 85 men per 100 women were recorded. The largest disproportion in the numbers by gender occurred in the group of 35-44 years, where for every 100 women there were 167 men. In the group of 25-34-year-olds, the ratio was 125.

Similar conclusions can be drawn when analysing the data provided by ZUS. The largest group of social security payees consists of people aged 25-34, followed by those aged 35-44 (see: Figure 8). The predominance of men is observed in all age groups. In 2021, the largest difference occurred in the

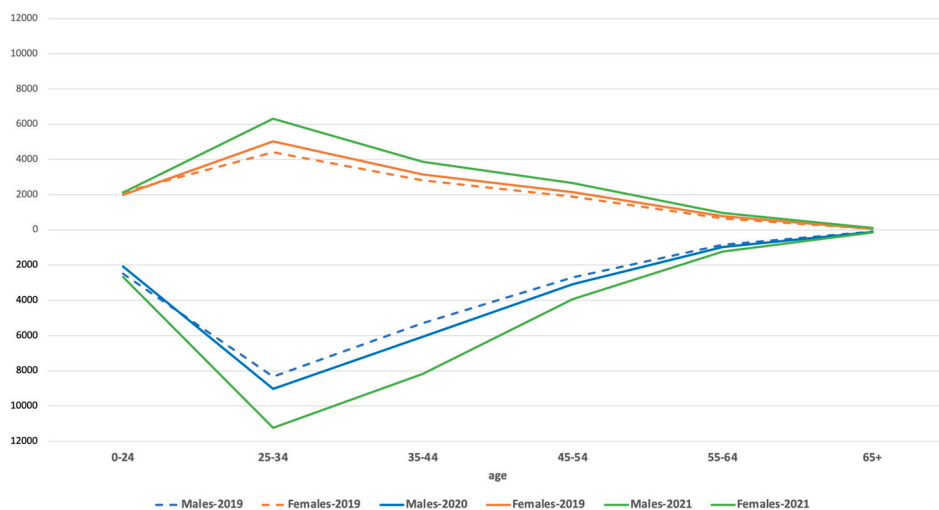
population aged 35-44, where there were 212 men per 100 women, and among 24-34-year-olds – with 178 men per 100 women.

Figure 7. Population structure by age and sex in 2019, 2020 and 2021 (MUW data)



Source: MUW (2019-2021).

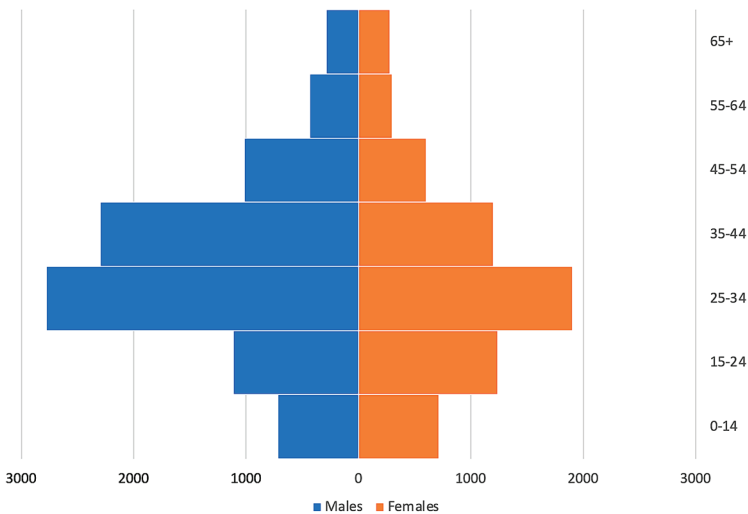
Figure 8. Population structure by age and sex in 2019, 2020 and 2021 (ZUS data)



Source: ZUS (2019-2021).

The analysis of UMK registration data provides similar observations. The most numerous are the age groups 25-34 and 35-44 (see: Figure 9). In the latter, the masculinization index is 192, which means that for every 100 women there were 192 men. A slightly smaller imbalance occurred in the group of 45-54-year-olds where the observed ratio was almost 170:100, while among 25-34-year-olds there were 146 men per 100 women.

Figure 9. Population structure by age and sex in 2019, 2020 and 2021 (UMK data)



Source: UMK (2021).

2.3. Structure of the foreign population by educational qualifications

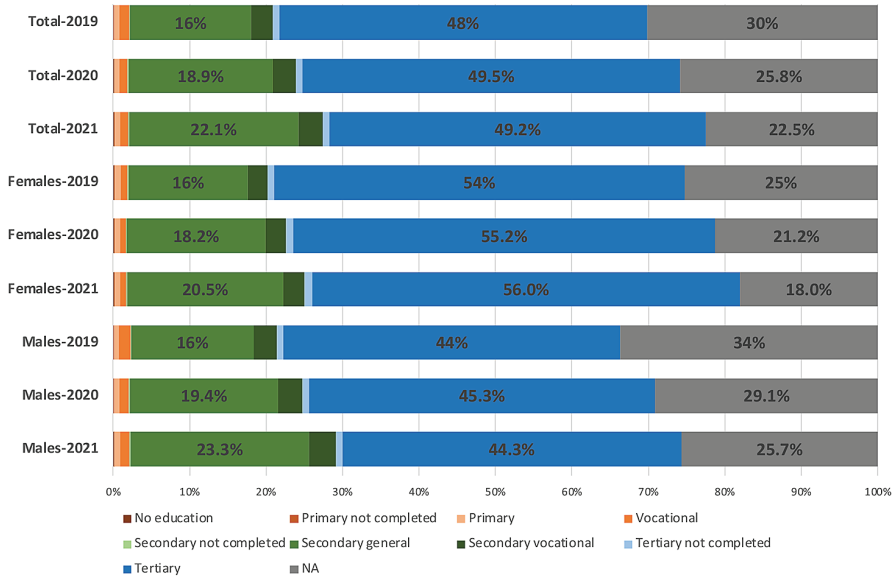
Foreign nationals living in Kraków are very well educated. The latest data provided by the MUW for the year 2021 indicate that approximately 63.5% persons aged 25 and more had higher education qualifications (see: Table 4). Interestingly, the share of the best educated migrants is decreasing year by year. In 2019, the share was almost 69%, and in 2020, down to 66.7%. This decline is visible in all groups of people in employable age. This may indicate changes within the Kraków labour market, which now requires the highest level of education from migrants to a lesser extent. The city attracts migrants

Table 4. Structure of education of foreigners aged 25 and over by sex in 2019, 2020 and 2021 without taking into account the lack of data

Education	2019			2020			2021		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
No education	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.1%	0.13%	0.20%	0.17%
Primary not completed	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.05%	0.09%	0.06%
Primary	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.98%	0.82%	0.90%
Vocational	2.2%	1.2%	1.8%	1.7%	1.0%	1.4%	1.72%	1.00%	1.41%
Secondary not completed	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.19%	0.12%	0.15%
Secondary general	24.1%	20.9%	22.7%	27.4%	23.1%	25.5%	31.36%	24.94%	28.53%
Secondary vocational	4.6%	3.5%	4.1%	4.4%	3.4%	4.0%	4.80%	3.39%	4.18%
Tertiary not completed	1.2%	1.1%	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%	1.09%	1.19%	1.14%
Tertiary	66.5%	71.8%	68.9%	63.9%	70.1%	66.7%	59.66%	68.26%	63.46%

Source: MUW (2019-2021).

Figure 10. Structure of education of foreigners aged 25 and more by sex in 2019, 2020 and 2021, including the lack of data

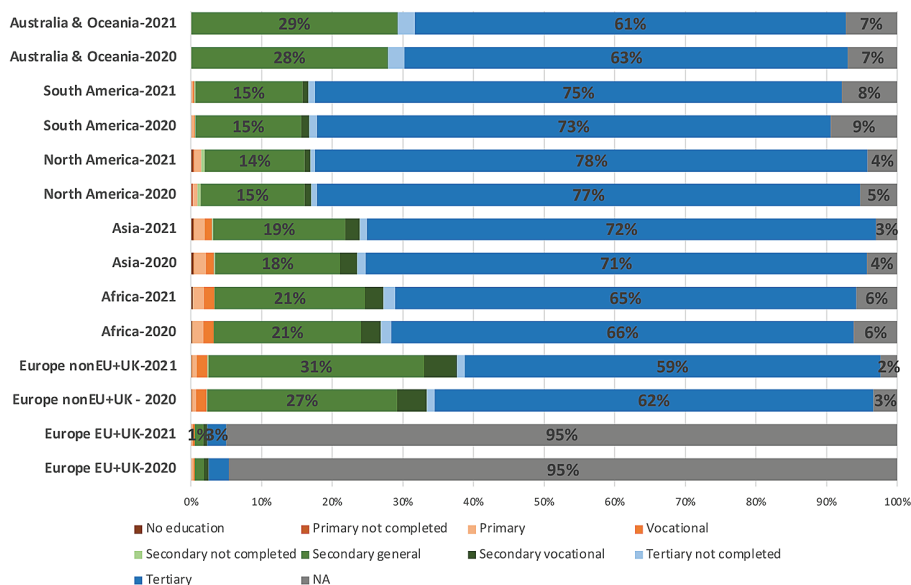


Source: MUW (2019-2021).

with professional qualifications acquired as part of secondary education. This is especially true of the male migrant population. As shown in Table 4, there is a growing disproportion in higher education qualifications between men and women. Immigrant women are generally better educated. In 2019, the difference in the share of women and men with higher education was 5.3 percentage points, while in 2021 the gap increased to 8.6 percentage points.

Two limitations of MUW data should be indicated at this point. Firstly, data on education is based on the declarations by foreign nationals themselves and is not further verified (no certificates confirming educational qualifications are required). Secondly, we do not have information about educational qualifications of a large portion of foreign nationals. The available information mostly concerns data on people who submit documents for legalizing their stay using the right of residence of a European Union citizen. In 2021, there was no information on educational qualifications in reference to 22.5% of all immigrants (see: Figure 10), in particular citizens of the European Union and Great Britain, with no data available for 95% of this population.

Figure 11. Structure of education of foreigners aged 25 and over by region of citizenship in 2020 and 2021

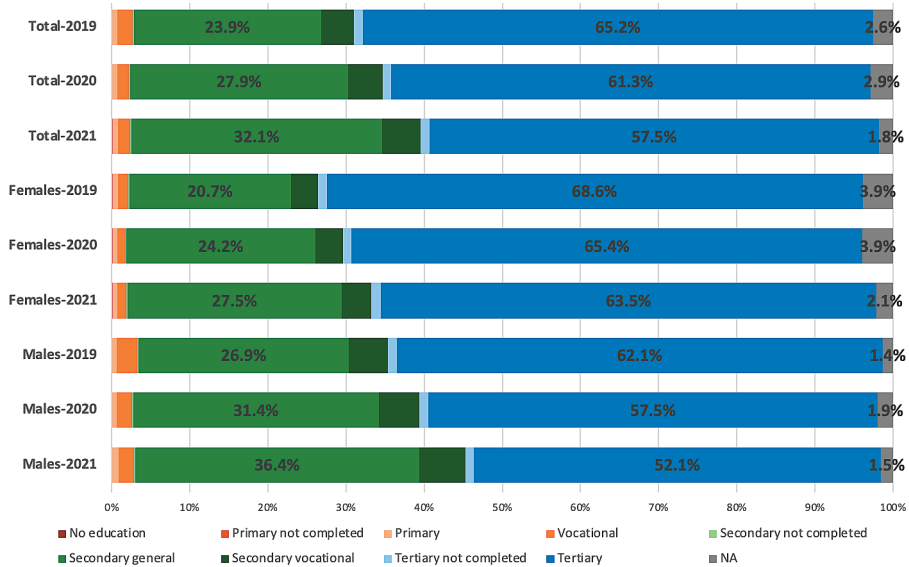


Source: MUW (2019-2021).

In Kraków, in general, immigrants from all regions of the world are much better educated than Poles. The best-educated foreign nationals are those coming from America. As many as 78% of those from North America and 75% from South America had higher education qualifications in 2021 (see: Figure 11). Among the Asians in Krakow those with a higher education qualification accounted for 72% of the group; in the case of the Africans the percentage was 65%; while with the citizens of Australia and Oceania – 61%. The most numerous group of migrants, i.e. Europeans from outside the European Union, have the lowest level of education among the compared groups. Approximately 59% people in this group had a higher education qualification. As mentioned before, we do not have sufficient information on the education of European Union citizens – no data is available for 95% of this group. However, the overall level of education in the European Union is very high, so it can be assumed that the general level of education based on the available data (taking into account the deficiencies of that data) is underestimated (see: Figure 10), and the information presented in Table 4 better reflects the actual structure of educational qualifications of the foreign population in Kraków.

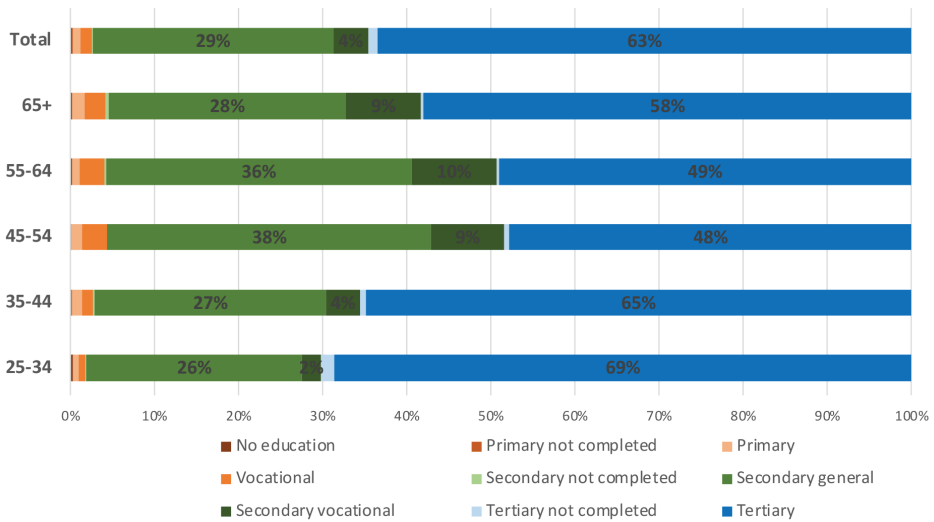
Figure 12 shows that the decline in the level of education of all migrants in Kraków is primarily related to a change in the level of education of people

Figure 12. Structure of education among Ukrainians aged 25 and over legalizing their stay in the Republic of Poland, living in Krakow in 2019, 2020 and 2021



Source: MUW (2019-2021).

Figure 13. Structure of education of foreigners by age in 2021



Source: MUW (2019-2021).

coming from Ukraine. It follows that the recent migrants in Kraków are on average slightly less educated than those who had come to our city previously. In 2021, 57,5% of Ukrainians aged 25 and over had a higher education qualification – this amounts to approximately 10,500 people who supply Kraków’s labour market with their high-quality human capital.

In the Ukrainian population, women are also better educated than men. In 2021, 63,5% of Ukrainian women declared they had a higher education degree, while the corresponding share in the group of men was only about 52%. We should note at this point that two years earlier the male population demonstrated a higher share of academic qualifications – by as much as 10 percentage points, reaching 62%. In the female population, the decline was much lesser, amounting to 5 percentage points from the original share of 68,6%.

In the population of immigrants living in Kraków, there is a significant differentiation in the level of education by age. Younger migrants tend to be much better educated than older ones. Among people aged 25 and over, those aged 25-34 are best educated. Almost seven out of ten people in this group have tertiary education (see: Figure 13). The next group are 35-44-year-olds, among whom the share of higher education qualifications is 65%. In the remaining employable age groups, i.e. between 45 and 64 years of age, only every second person obtained a higher education qualification.

As mentioned before, the level of education in the population of foreign nationals in Kraków is showing a downward trend. Table 5 indicates that the decline in the share of persons with a higher education degree is evident in all the analysed age groups throughout the period 2019-2021. Despite this decline, the overall structure of educational qualifications has not changed. Almost all migrants have at least a secondary education qualification³.

Table 5. Structure of education of foreigners by age in 2019, 2020 and 2021

Age	2019			2020			2021		
	Lower than secondary	Secondary	Tertiary	Lower than secondary	Secondary	Tertiary	Lower than secondary	Secondary	Tertiary
25-34	2%	23%	75%	2%	26%	72%	2%	29%	69%
35-44	3%	28%	69%	3%	30%	67%	3%	32%	65%
45-54	5%	43%	52%	4%	45%	50%	4%	48%	48%
55-64	5%	40%	54%	4%	42%	54%	4%	47%	49%
65+	6%	35%	59%	5%	39%	56%	5%	37%	58%

Source: MUW (2019-2021).

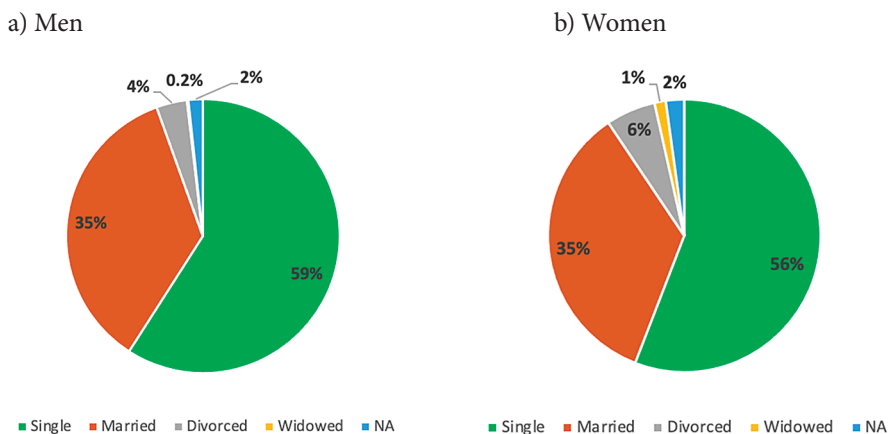
³ See also a separate study on highly skilled immigrants in Kraków – Brzozowski et al. 2021.

2.4. Structure of the foreign population by marital status

According to data from the Małopolska Voivodship Office (MUW), in 2021 the structure of foreign nationals according to marital status did not change compared to previous years. In the male population, 59% of people are not in a registered relationship (see: Figure 14 and Table 6), with 35% married. Divorced people account for about 3-4% of the population.

This statistics follows a similar pattern in the female population. Single persons dominate, with the share of 56%, while married women constitute about 35% of all female immigrants. The share of divorced women in the female group increased in the analysed period. In 2019, their share was 4.3%, while in 2021 it increased to 5.9%.

Figure 14. Structure of foreigners by marital status in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

Table 6. Structure of foreigners by marital status in 2019, 2020 and 2021

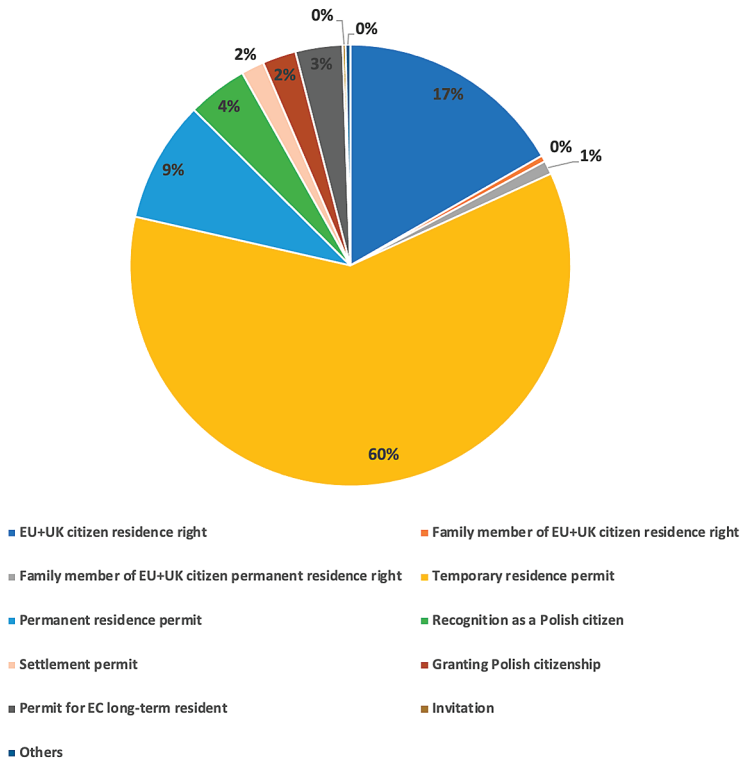
Males	2019	2020	2021	Females	2019	2020	2021
Single	59.0%	59.4%	59.1%	Single	56.7%	55.7%	55.9%
Married	35.8%	34.9%	35.4%	Married	34.6%	34.6%	34.7%
Divorced	3.2%	3.2%	3.6%	Divorced	4.3%	5.1%	5.9%
Widowed	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	Widowed	1.3%	1.3%	1.3%
NA	1.9%	2.3%	1.7%	NA	3.1%	3.3%	2.2%

Źródło: MUW (2019-2021).

2.5. Legal status of immigrants in Kraków

The vast majority of foreign nationals with legalized stay within the territory of Poland, who live in Kraków, have a temporary residence permit. Six out of ten migrants enjoy such status. The share of this particular has not changed group over the last year. The second type of migrants is the people who exercise their right of residence as citizens of the European Union and Great Britain. In 2021, there were 17% of them, which represents a decrease by 2 percentage points from 19% in 2020. About 10% of migrants had a permanent residence permit.

Figure 15. Structure of cases for the legalization of stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland among foreigners in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

Immigration to Poland is a relatively new phenomenon; therefore, only a small portion of the foreign population has acquired the right to hold a permanent residence permit. Thus, about 70-80% of immigrants from all analysed regions of the world had a temporary residence permit, with the exception of European Union citizens, 91% of whom used their right as EU citizens to stay within the territory of the Republic of Poland (see: Table 7). The share of foreign nationals staying in Poland on the basis of a permanent residence permit ranges from 5% for immigrants from Asia and South America to 12-13% for Europeans from outside the EU as well as Australia and Oceania. Foreign nationals from North America present a slightly different structure: namely, 67% have a temporary residence permit, 10% have a permanent residence permit, and 12% have obtained a settlement permit. Citizenship is an extremely rare category of cases. Only about 2% of cases, i.e. about one thousand immigrants, fall within this category.

Table 7. Structure of cases for the legalization of stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland among foreigners in Krakow by region of citizenship in 2021

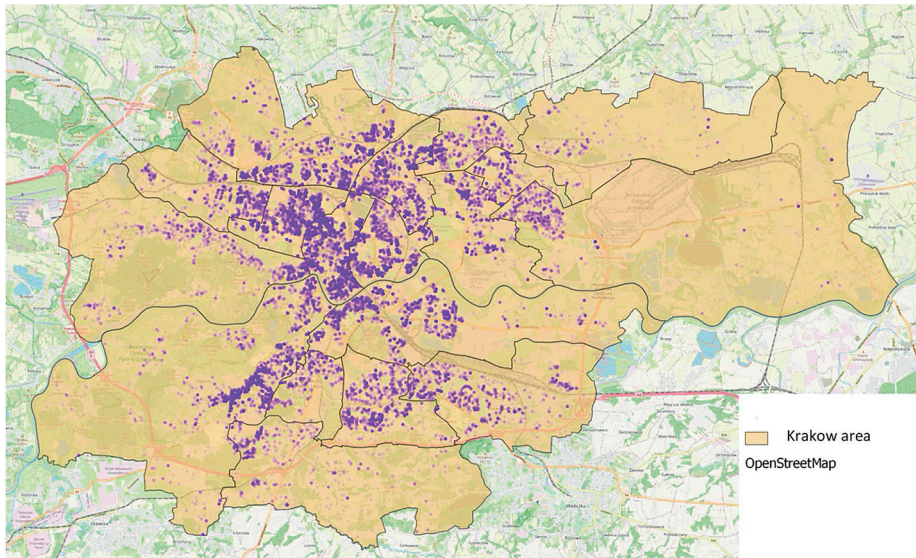
Type of case	Europe UE+UK	Europa non UE+UK	Africa	Asia	North America	South America	Australia & Oceania	Total
EU+UK citizen residence right	91%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	17%
Family member of EU+UK citizen residence right	0%	0%	1%	1%	3%	6%	0%	0%
Family member of EU+UK citizen permanent residence right	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Temporary residence permit	0%	73%	72%	81%	67%	83%	70%	60%
Permanent residence permit	0%	12%	10%	5%	10%	5%	13%	9%
Recognition as a Polish citizen	0%	6%	4%	2%	1%	1%	0%	4%
Settlement permit	2%	1%	4%	2%	12%	1%	7%	2%
Granting Polish citizenship	1%	3%	3%	3%	4%	2%	4%	2%
Permit for EC long-term resident	0%	4%	3%	5%	3%	1%	4%	3%
Invitation	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Others	0%	0%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	0%

Source: MUW (2021).

3. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN KRAKÓW

In 2021, foreign nationals lived in all districts of Kraków, but their concentration varied significantly between these respective administrative units. Figure 16 shows the place of residence of foreign nationals in Kraków with the aid of purple dots, based on data from the MUW⁴.

Figure 16. Spatial distribution of foreigners by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

Information from the database for legalizing the stay, maintained by the MUW, demonstrates that the highest concentration of foreign nationals has been recorded in the districts of Old Town – 5.9 thousand people, Dębniki – 5.4 thousand people, Podgórze – 4.7 thousand people, and Prądnik Biały – 4.6 thousand people (see: Table 8). Immigrants in only these four districts accounted

4 The greater the concentration of migrants in a given location on the map, the greater the saturation of purple colour.

for about 43% of the population of foreign nationals in Kraków. The smallest number of people was registered in the districts of Wzgórza Krzesławickie (0.3 thousand people), Bieńczyce (0.7 thousand people), and Łagiewniki-Borek Fałęcki (0.8 thousand people). The migrant population increased by 14%, including more than 20% increases recorded in the districts of Nowa Huta (32%), Grzegórzki (22%), Stare Miasto (21%), Podgórze (21%), Swoszowice (21%), and Mistrzejowice (21 %). The only district in which the number of migrants decreased was Bieńczyce, where their population decreased by 3% compared to 2020. The changes in the number of migrants in the Krowodrza district are interesting. According to the data of the UMK, this district saw the largest increase in registrations in all of Kraków. However, according to the data of the MUW, this district recorded one of the lowest increases among all Kraków's districts (7%). It is worth noting that last year – which included the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic – residence registrations were very significantly reduced, down to the numbers before 2019, whereas the ZUS and MUW databases did not confirm a similarly strong reduction in the number of foreign nationals in Kraków (Pędziwiatr et al. 2021: 17).

Based on the residence registration data from the UMK, the most preferred districts of residence were: Dębniki (1,828 people, which constituted 12.3% of all migrants in Kraków in 2021), Podgórze (1,532 people – 10.3%), the Old Town (1,452 people – 9.7%), Prądnik Biały (1,392 people – 9.3%), and Grzegórzki (1,345 people – 9%). The smallest number of foreign nationals lived in the districts of Wzgórza Krzesławickie (110 people, or 0.7% of all migrants in Kraków in 2021), Łagiewniki - Borek Fałęcki (260 people – i.e. 1.7%), and Bieńczyce (285 people – i.e. 1.91%). Having compared the registration data from the previous year (2020), we conclude that during the year there was a 4% increase in the number of migrants in Kraków with registered residence. The largest increase was observed in the Krowodrza district, where the number of registrations increased by 25% from the level of approximately 0.9 thousand people to almost 1.2 thousand people; in the Bieżanów-Prokocim district (by 17%); and in the Grzegórzki district (by 15%). The largest decrease was recorded in the area of Biały Prądnik, where the number of migrants fell by 19% from 1.6 thousand people down to 1.4 thousand persons; and in the Łagiewniki-Borek Fałęcki district (decrease by 12%); Nowa Huta (decrease by 12%); and Czyżyny (decrease by 10%) (see: Table 8).

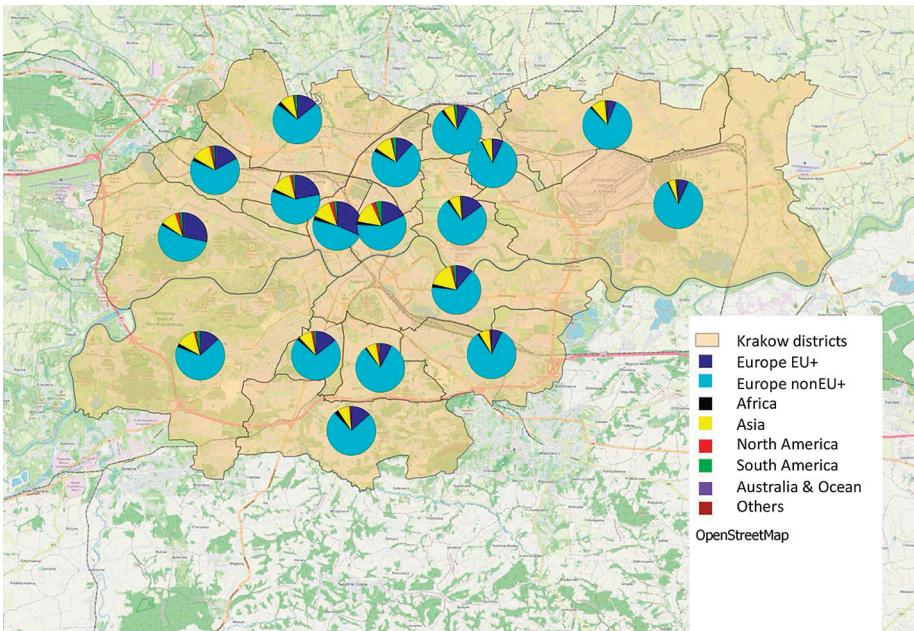
Table 8. Number of foreigners by district of Krakow and selected groups of origin in 2020 and 2021

No	District	UMK										MUW											
		2019					2020					2019					2020						
		Foreigners	Europe nonEU+	Europe EU+	share	share	Foreigners	Europe nonEU+	Europe EU+	share	share	Foreigners	Europe nonEU+	Europe EU+	share	share	Foreigners	Europe nonEU+	Europe EU+	share	share		
		count	count	count	%	%	count	count	count	%	%	count	count	count	%	%	count	count	count	%	%		
I	Stare Miasto	1 281	37%	39%	33%	1 317	41%	41%	3%	4 560	37%	46%	36%	4 643	37%	44%	36%	4 643	37%	44%	2%	2%	
II	Grzegorzki	1 190	47%	28%	46%	1 148	25%	25%	-4%	2 431	51%	28%	3 244	52%	25%	3 244	52%	25%	33%	33%			
III	Prądnik Czerwony	1 250	66%	19%	63%	1 160	19%	19%	-7%	2 711	71%	16%	3 568	72%	13%	3 568	72%	13%	32%	32%			
IV	Prądnik Biały	1 550	62%	23%	63%	1 654	23%	23%	7%	3 060	64%	21%	4 082	67%	17%	4 082	67%	17%	33%	33%			
V	Krowodrza	1 488	58%	23%	58%	1 488	23%	23%	-41%	2 807	54%	29%	3 599	55%	27%	3 599	55%	27%	28%	28%			
VI	Bronowice	636	60%	24%	53%	531	29%	29%	-17%	1 448	57%	27%	1 628	61%	22%	1 628	61%	22%	12%	12%			
VII	Zwierzyniec	501	41%	38%	42%	437	38%	38%	-13%	1 280	40%	45%	1 413	44%	40%	1 413	44%	40%	10%	10%			
VIII	Dębniki	1 763	65%	17%	62%	1 640	21%	21%	-7%	3 760	62%	19%	4 738	64%	17%	4 738	64%	17%	26%	26%			
IX	Łąkiemniaki-Borek Fałęcki	255	56%	31%	59%	292	24%	24%	15%	653	66%	22%	720	68%	18%	720	68%	18%	10%	10%			
X	Swozowice	329	61%	19%	64%	376	20%	20%	14%	502	59%	28%	699	69%	18%	821	69%	18%	64%	64%			
XI	Podgórze Duchackie	708	74%	14%	68%	686	16%	16%	-3%	1 395	77%	12%	1 842	79%	9%	1 842	79%	9%	32%	32%			
XII	Bieszanów-Prokocim	637	78%	14%	61%	611	17%	17%	-4%	1 079	79%	12%	1 758	82%	10%	1 758	82%	10%	63%	63%			
XIII	Podgórze	1 548	57%	20%	56%	1 571	19%	19%	1%	2 864	61%	18%	3 868	62%	14%	3 868	62%	14%	35%	35%			
XIV	Człysty	1 091	73%	9%	67%	810	15%	15%	-26%	1 219	63%	25%	1 655	72%	18%	1 655	72%	18%	36%	36%			
XV	Mistrzowice	456	74%	15%	70%	428	16%	16%	-6%	718	76%	14%	899	78%	10%	899	78%	10%	55%	55%			
XVI	Bieliczycze	285	70%	14%	72%	289	16%	16%	1%	462	80%	11%	731	83%	9%	731	83%	9%	58%	58%			
XVII	Wzgórze Krzesławickie	69	57%	19%	68%	98	68%	16%	42%	185	71%	13%	256	71%	9%	256	71%	9%	38%	38%			
XVIII	Nowa Huta	518	79%	12%	75%	414	15%	15%	-20%	828	79%	12%	899	83%	10%	899	83%	10%	9%	9%			
x	NA	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	212	x	x	523	x	x	523	x	x	x	x	x	x	
x	Total	15 555	61%	21%	58%	14 340	23%	23%	-8%	32 216	59%	25%	41 100	62%	21%	41 100	62%	21%	28%	28%			

Source: UMK (2020 and 2021), MUW (2020 and 2021).

In 2021, the most numerous group in all districts were citizens of European countries outside the European Union (see: Figure 17). According to the data from MUW, they constituted between 47% (in the case of the Old Town) and 86% (in the case of Nowa Huta) of all immigrants. The second most numerous group were citizens of the European Union. They had the largest percentage share in the structure of immigrants in the Old Town district (32%). In the remaining districts, their share ranged from 6% (Wzgórze Krzesławickie) to 28% (Zwierzyniec). These data indicate that EU citizens generally choose districts with relatively higher apartment rental costs.

Figure 17. Structure of the population of foreigners by region of citizenship in Krakow's districts in 2021



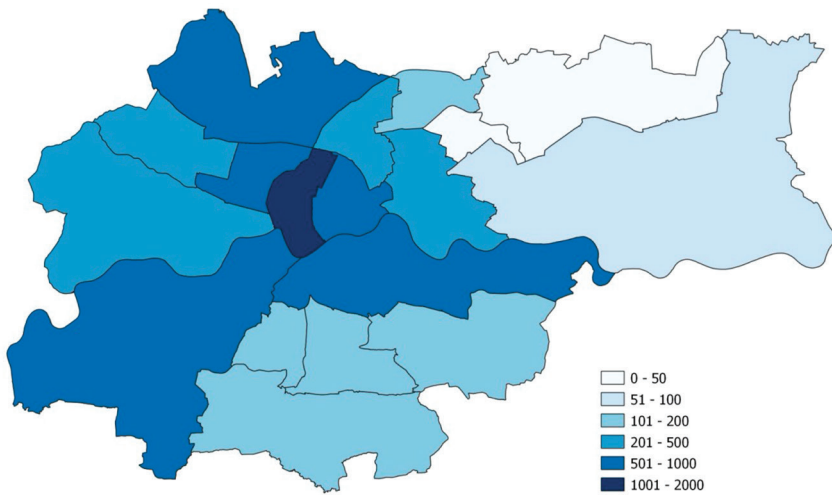
Source: MUW (2021).

The spatial distribution of foreign nationals in the districts of Kraków in 2021, by region of origin, is presented below. There is a noticeable similarity in the distribution of the place of residence of foreign nationals from the European Union, Africa, Asia, and South America. The largest number of migrants from these regions of the world live in the districts of Prądnik Biały,

Prądnik Czerwony, Krowodrza, the Old Town, Grzegórzki, Dębniki, and Podgórze, creating the shape of an inverted letter “T” on the map.

A very large concentration of foreign nationals from the European Union is visible in the area of the Old Town. The least popular districts for EU citizens to live in are the eastern districts – Bieńczyce, Wzgórza Krzesławickie, and Nowa Huta as well as southern districts – Podgórze Duchackie, Swoszowice, Bieżanów – Prokocim, and Łagiewniki – Borek Fałęcki. Furthermore, compared to the previous year, there has been a noticeable decline in the popularity of the districts of Zwierzyniec, Bronowice, Prądnik Czerwony, and Czyżyny (see: Figure 18).

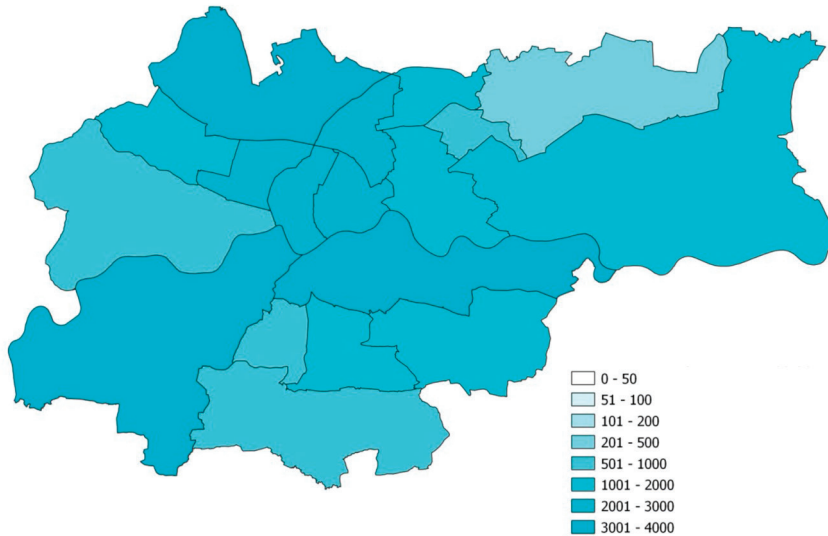
Figure 18. Spatial distribution of foreigners from the European Union by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

Foreign nationals from European countries outside the European Union are distributed fairly evenly throughout all districts of Kraków in terms of residence. About 85% of them are citizens of Ukraine. Their particular concentration in one of the districts of Kraków is not noticeable. Most of the immigrants from this group live in the districts of Prądnik Biały, Dębniki, and Podgórze, and the fewest – in Wzgórza Krzesławickie (see: Figure 19).

Figure 19. Spatial distribution of foreigners from outside the European Union by districts in Krakow in 2021

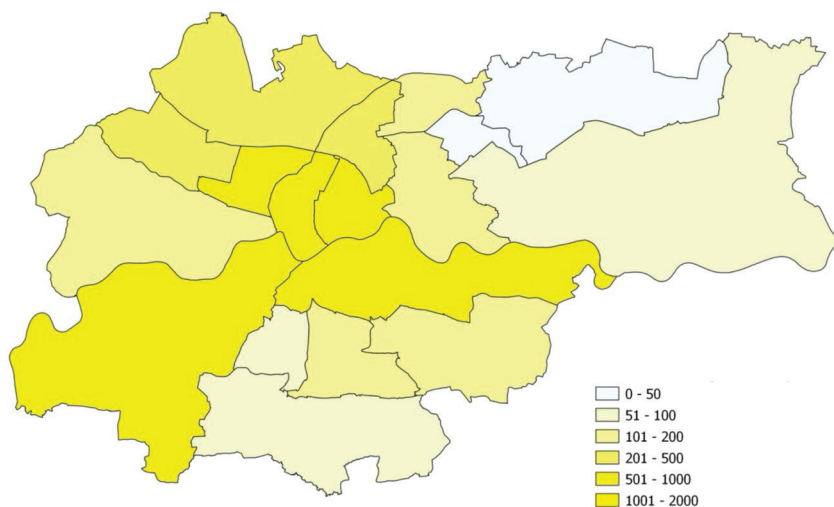


Source: MUW (2021).

As in the case of foreign nationals from European countries outside the European Union, no particular concentration was found among migrants from Asian countries in specific districts of Kraków. Having said that, most of them tend to live in the Old Town, Grzegórzki, Podgórze, Krowodrza, and Dębniki. The least popular districts are Wzgórze Krzesławickie and Bieńczyce (see: Figure 20).

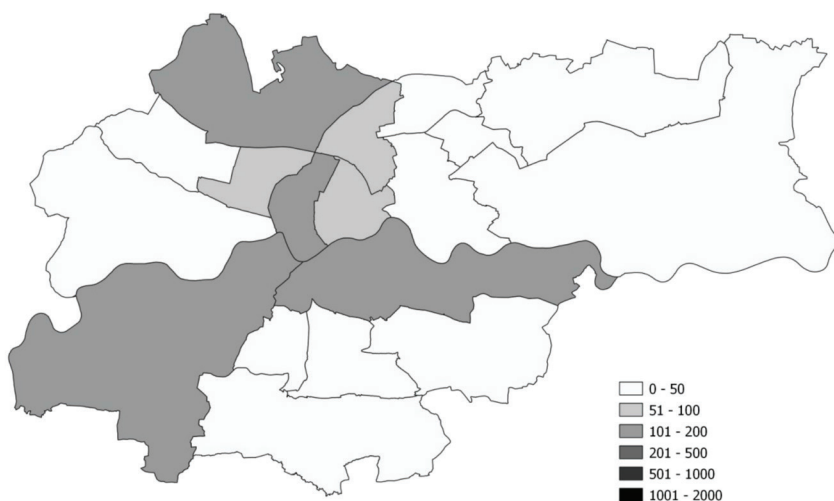
In the population of foreign nationals from African countries, over 100 people live in each of the following districts of Kraków: Old Town, Prądnik Biały, Dębniki, and Podgórze. It is worth mentioning that compared to the previous year the popularity of the last of the aforementioned districts has increased. Other districts, less popular, but where at least 50 representatives of this group live, are: Grzegórzki, Krowodrza, and Prądnik Czerwony (see: Figure 21).

Figure 20. Spatial distribution of foreigners from Asia by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

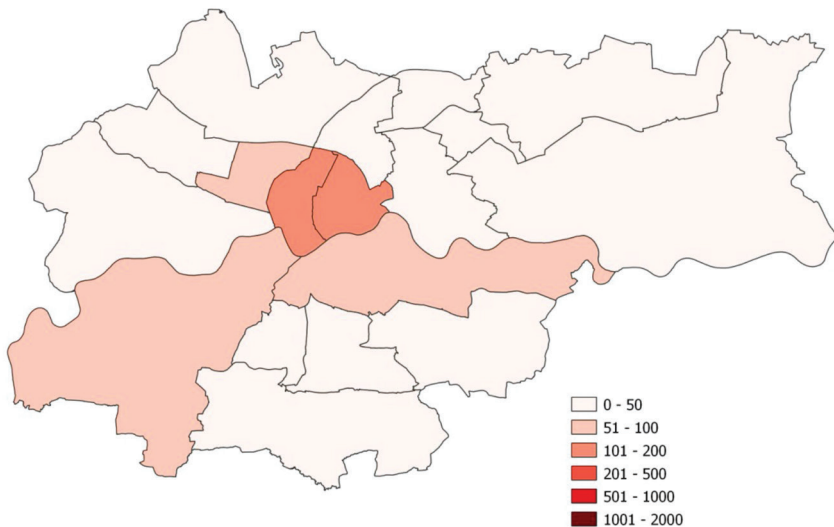
Figure 21. Spatial distribution of foreigners from Africa by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

The greatest concentration of immigrants from North America can be observed in the central districts of Kraków, that is the Old Town and Grzegórzki (see: Figure 22). Compared to the previous year, the popularity of the Pogórze district among immigrants from this group has decreased.

Figure 22. Spatial distribution of foreigners from North America by districts in Krakow in 2021

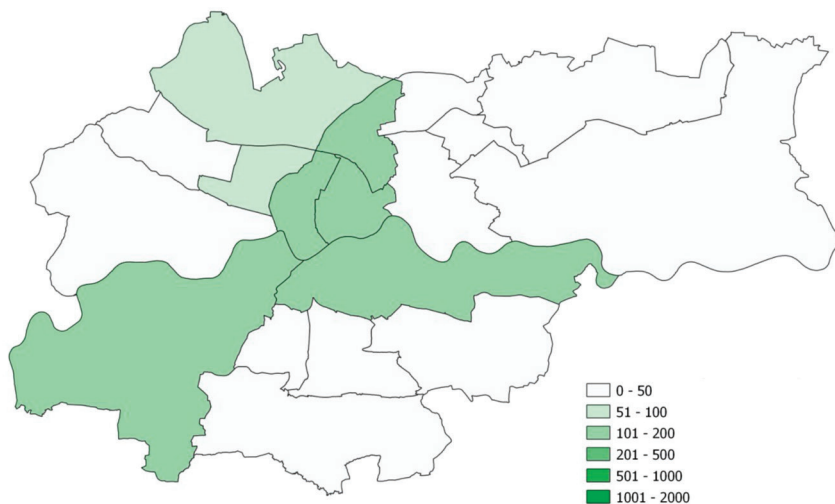


Source: MUW (2021).

As for the distribution of South American immigrants in Kraków, they mainly live in the districts of the Old Town, Grzegórzki, Prądnik Czerwony, Dębniki, and Podgórze. Over the past year, the number of immigrants from this geographical region in the Prądnik Biały district has decreased (see: Figure 23).

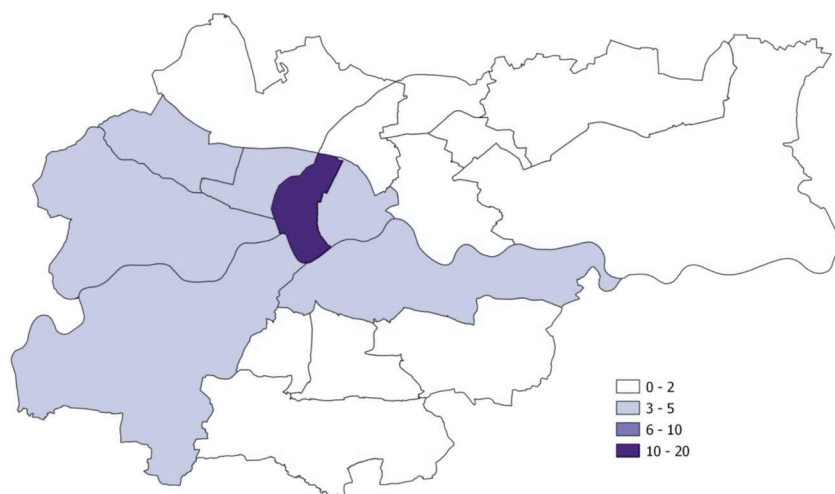
The largest concentration of foreign nationals from Australia and Oceania is recorded in the Old Town. In addition to this district, immigrants from the said group also live in the following areas: Bronowice, Zwierzyńiec, Krowodrza, Dębniki, Grzegórzki, and Podgórze. We should mention that within a year, in practically each of these districts, the number of immigrants decreased by more than a half (see: Figure 24).

Figure 23. Spatial distribution of foreigners from South America by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

Figure 24. Spatial distribution of foreigners from Australia and Oceania by districts in Krakow in 2021

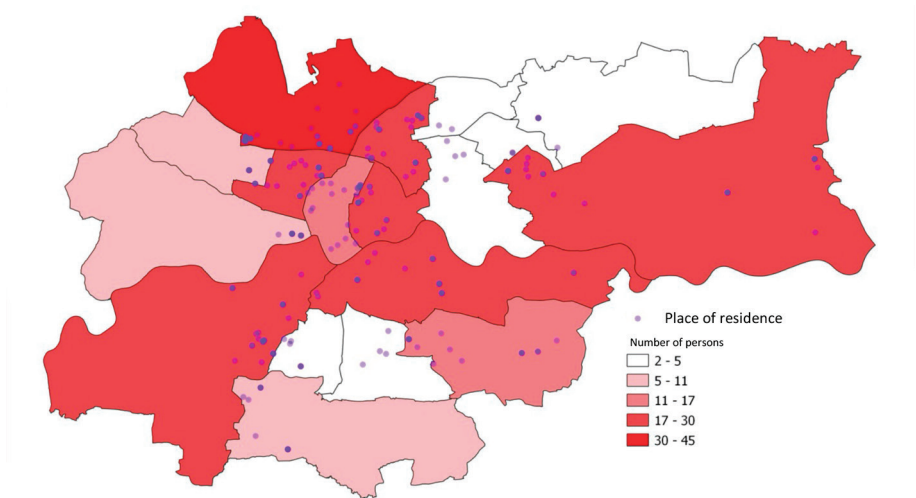


Source: MUW (2021).

The last part of this chapter presents the spatial distribution of four selected groups of foreign nationals, namely: Armenians, Brazilians, Vietnamese, and Indians.

In 2021, Armenians inhabited all districts of Kraków, with the largest concentration in the Prądnik Biały district, near Rondo Ofiar Katynia. The smallest number of Armenians lived in the districts of Wzgórza Krzesławickie, Mistrzejowice, Bińczyce, Czyżyny, Podgórze Duchackie, and the district of Łagiewniki – Borek Fałęcki. Compared to the previous year's report, a smaller number of Armenians can be noticed in the Old Town, Wzgórza Krzesławickie, and in Bronowice (see: Figure 25).

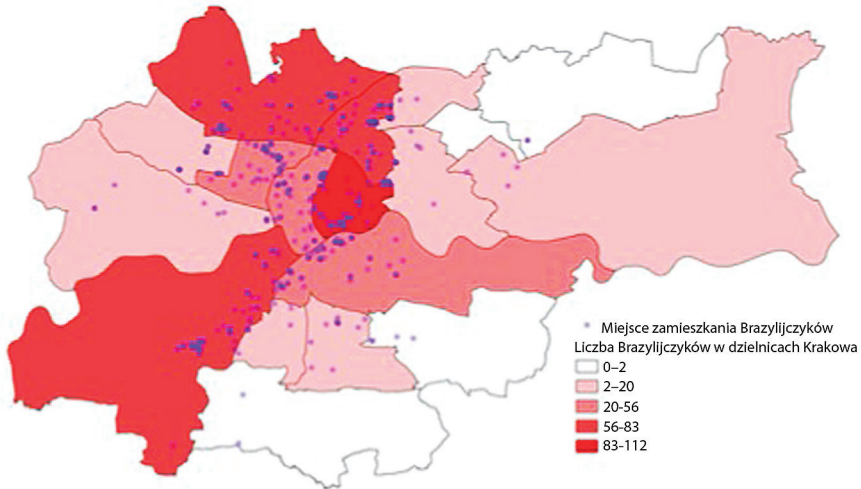
Figure 25. Spatial distribution of Armenians by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

In the case of Brazilians, it is possible to state that they prefer the central and northern part of Kraków – the districts of Grzegórzki, Prądnik Czerwony, Prądnik Biały, i.e. the regions with the most headquarters of international corporations in Kraków. A large part of the population of this group also lives in the area of Michała Bobrzyńskiego street and Kapelanka street in the Dębniki district (see: Figure 26).

Figure 26. Spatial distribution of Brazilians by districts in Krakow in 2021



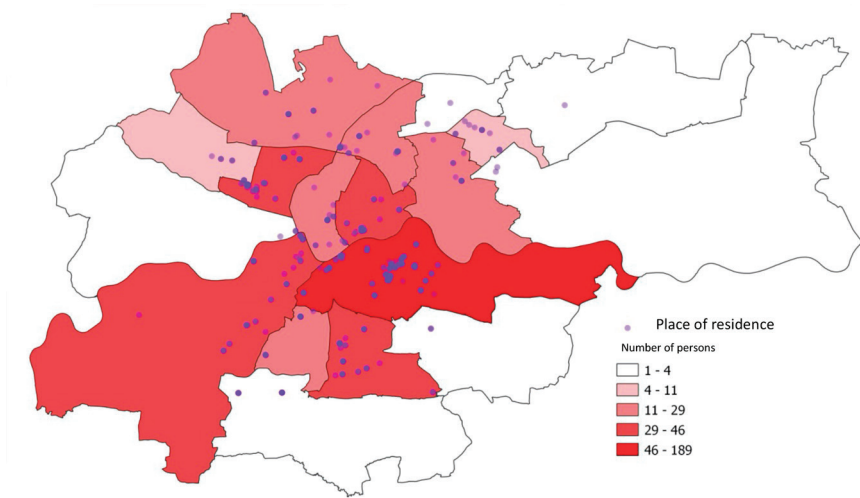
Source: MUW (2021).

The largest concentration of Vietnamese in Kraków is in the Podgórze district, in the area of the CHT market and trading centre of Kraków, near the Płaszowski pond, and in the area of Stare Podgórze. The first two clusters are related to the main area of commercial and service activities of this group in the past and today (Brzozowski and Pędziwiatr 2014; Pędziwiatr et al. 2021a), whereas the third one is linked to the catering business. However, it is worth noting that the latter, catering activity operates in all districts of the city, including Nowa Huta. Apart from Podgórze, the Vietnamese live in numerous districts of Dębniki, Krowodrza, Podgórze Duchackie, and Grzegórzki. The smallest number of Vietnamese live in the areas of Wzgórza Krzesławickie, Nowa Huta, Mistrzejowice, Swoszowice, Zwierzyniec and Biechanów-Prokocim (see: Figure 27).

When it comes to citizens of India, their highest concentration in the Old Town, Grzegórzki, Podgórze, and Dębniki is clearly marked. It is in these districts, in addition to the offices of international corporations, that we also find restaurants with Indian cuisine run by many Indian citizens. Relatively numerous groups of Indians are also noticeable in Krowodrza and Prądnik Czerwony. Less numerous clusters are also visible in Prądnik Biały and in

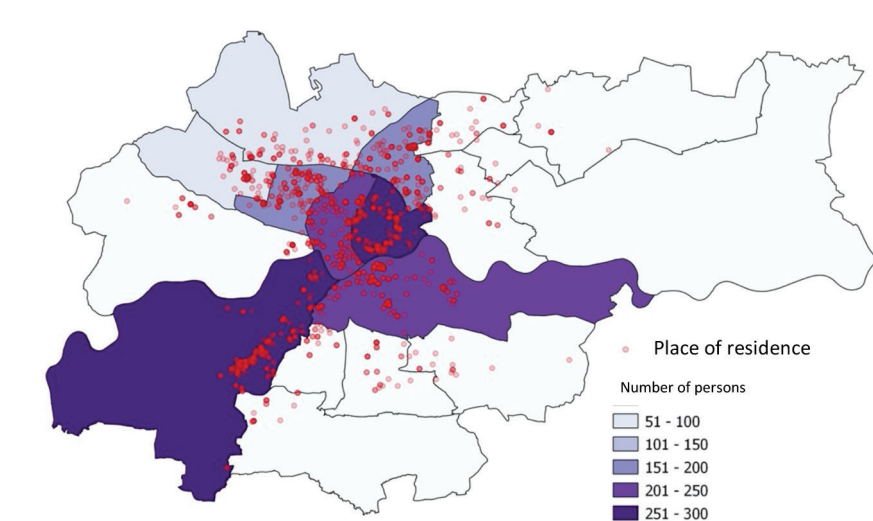
Bronowice. Only a few Indians decide to live in Nowa Huta, Bieńczyce, Wzgórze Krzesławickie, or Swoszowice. Several persons also live in Zwierzyniec district (see: Figure 28).

Figure 27. Spatial distribution of Vietnamese by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

Figure 28. Spatial distribution of Indians by districts in Krakow in 2021



Source: MUW (2021).

4. IMMIGRANTS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN KRAKÓW AND THE MAŁOPOLSKA REGION

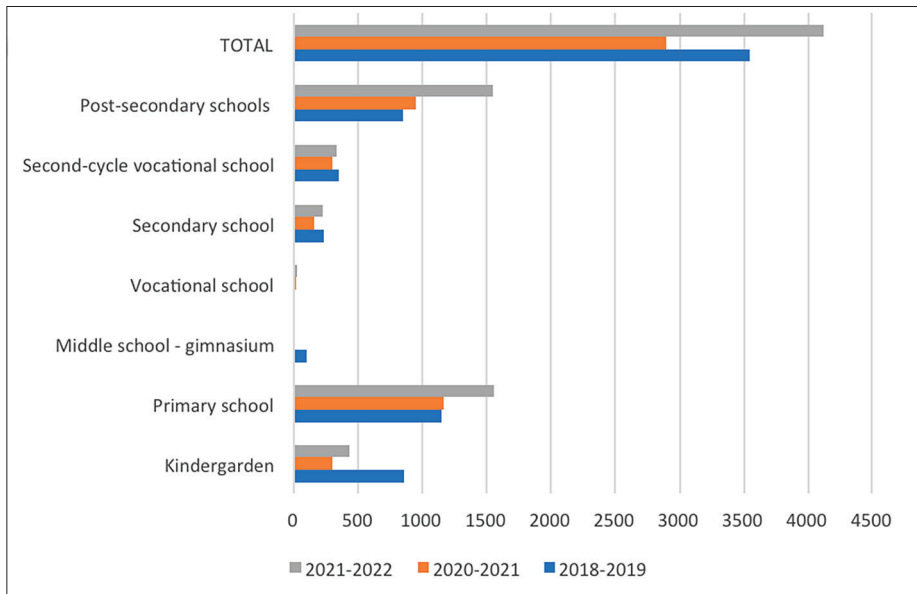
One of the areas of social life in which the presence of immigrants is tangibly noticeable is the education system. Foreign nationals are increasingly present in this context – from the lowest level of education, i.e. kindergartens, to the highest level – university education. If such presence had been incidental even a decade ago, today the attendance of foreign children has almost become the norm in every major educational facility in Kraków.

In this part of the report, we analyse the latest data on the presence of foreign nationals in the education system, from the pre-school level to primary and secondary education and universities. We also compare the current data with the situation a year ago and three years ago. In the case of pre-school, primary, secondary, and post-secondary schools, we rely on the information provided to us by the Department of Education of the City of Kraków (Wydział Edukacji Urzędu Miasta Krakowa). The latter, in turn, obtains the data from the Polish Ministry of Education (Ministerstwo Edukacji Narodowej). According to the information provided to us by representatives of Kraków Municipality a year ago, the city was not provided with the data on foreign nationals in Kraków schools in the 2019-2020 school year; and it is only in possession of the 2020-2021 data, hence we compare the current data to the figures from the year before, and three years before, as described in detail in previous OWiM reports (Pędziwiatr et al. 2020 and 2019). In the case of data on the presence of students at Kraków's universities, we mainly use the latest data from the Central Statistical Office for the academic year 2020-2021 (GUS 2021) and information from the Statistical Office in Kraków (USKrk 2021).

4.1. The COVID-19 pandemic and immigrants in the school system

Although the COVID-19 pandemic continues to have a negative impact on the presence of foreign students in the education system, it is clearly visible that the negative trend, which emerged in the 2020-2021 school year, has already been reversed. During the previous school year, at all levels of education, from pre-school to primary and secondary, there were 4,123 foreign students in the city, which is almost 1,230 more than the year before, and 588 more than three years before (see: Figure 29). Thus, the percentage of foreign nationals among all students using educational institutions in the city increased from 2% to 2.8%. At the same time, it is worth noting that this percentage varies significantly depending on the type of facility. It is most noticeable in post-secondary schools, where about 13% of all attendees in this type of institution are foreign nationals, and it is the lowest in high schools (secondary schools), where the figure is less than 1%.

Figure 29. Comparison of the number of foreigners in various types of educational institutions in the 2018-2019, 2020-2021 and 2021-2022



Source: own elaboration of the UMK 2021b.

In the last school year, the highest increase in the number of foreign nationals was recorded in post-secondary and primary schools. The number of foreign pre-schoolers also increased slightly. In the latter case, however, it is clear that the situation has not yet returned to the pre-pandemic “normal”. As we indicated in our last year’s report, the uncertainty generated by the COVID-19 epidemic had the most negative impact on the education system at the highest level (university-level education) as well as the lowest level. Many foreign parents decided not to enrol their children in pre-schools for fear that these facilities might be temporarily closed (as was the case in the 2020-2021 school year), and for fear of their children’s health and the potential transmission of diseases from kindergarten to home (Brzozowski et al. 2020, Pędziwiatr et al. 2020).

Slight increases were also recorded among foreign children attending secondary schools of general and technical profile. In both cases, the numbers of students returned to the level prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, when 236 foreign nationals attended high schools, and 350 foreign students attended technical secondary schools (Pędziwiatr et al. 2020).

4.2. Foreign nationals in kindergartens and primary schools

According to the data made available to the authors by the UMK at the beginning of the school year 2021/2022, a total of 33,760 children aged 3-6 (and in particularly justified cases, children aged 2.5 years or 7 years) attended all types of public kindergartens and pre-school centres (both self-government-operated, or non-governmental) in Kraków. A year earlier, there were 33,158 of them. As in the previous year, 51% of the children attended self-government-run kindergartens, and 49% attended non-governmental kindergartens. As three years before, the largest group among pre-schoolers were four-year-olds, and the least numerous were seven-year-olds attending kindergartens due to postponement of compulsory schooling.

There were 434 foreign nationals among all pre-schoolers. In other words, 1.3% of all pre-schoolers in the city are foreigners. The largest number of foreign pre-schoolers was registered in the public kindergarten “Happy Kids” at Porucznika Halszki street (30 persons) and in the private kindergarten of the Cracow International School at Sokołowskiego street (29 persons). The private

kindergarten “Happy Kids” in Zagaje street, and the self-government-operated kindergarten No. 17 in Kraków at Józefa street were slightly less popular (with 15 foreign children in both). In the ten most popular kindergartens in Kraków (i.e. those attended by the highest number of foreign children), there are also four other public and two non-public institutions (for details, see Table 9).

Table 9. Krakow kindergartens with the largest number of foreign children in the school year 2021/22

Lp.	Name	Type of school	Street	House number	Number of children who are not Polish citizens
1.	PUBLICZNE PRZEDSZKOLE „HAPPY KIDS”	public	por. Halszki	1	30
2.	NIEPUBLICZNE PRZEDSZKOLE CRACOW INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL	non-public	Andrzeja Sokołowskiego	19	29
3.	NIEPUBLICZNE PRZEDSZKOLE „HAPPY KIDS”	public	Zagaje	47	15
4.	SAMORZĄDOWE PRZEDSZKOLE NR 17 W KRAKOWIE	public	Józefa	70	15
5.	NIEPUBLICZNE DWUJĘZYCZNE PRZEDSZKOLE „KIDS&Co.”	non-public	Powstańców Wielkopolskich	13H	12
6.	PUBLICZNE PRZEDSZKOLE NIESAMORZĄDOWE NANULAK W KRAKOWIE	public	Wadowicka	6	11
7.	SAMORZĄDOWE PRZEDSZKOLE NR 123 „TĘCZOWA AKADEMIA PRZEDSZKOLAKA” W KRAKOWIE	public	Macieja Miechowity	4	10
8.	NIEPUBLICZNE PRZEDSZKOLE „OPEN FUTURE”	non-public	ul. dr. Józefa Babińskiego	4	9
9.	PUBLICZNE PRZEDSZKOLE GABI	public	Chmieleniec	39	8
10.	PUBLICZNE PRZEDSZKOLE „WESOŁA CIUCHCIA” W KRAKOWIE	public	Kobierzyńska	165	6
Sum of the above					145

Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

As for primary schools, at the beginning of the 2021/2022 school year, there were 58,718 children enrolled, among whom 1558 were foreign nationals. Compared to the 2020/2021 school year, the number of students in primary schools increased by almost three thousand; whereas in the last school year the number of schools decreased by 2 facilities. In total, at the turn of 2020/2021, there were 176 primary schools, of which 112 were local government schools, 18 were public non-local government schools and 46 were non-public non-local government schools. The vast majority of students (over 45 thousand) attended local government-operated schools (UMK 2021c: 88-89).

Just like in the previous year, the primary school, which is currently the most popular among foreign nationals, is the Julian Aleksandrowicz school No. 158 at Strąkowa street, which is a public facility. In November 2021, 97 foreign nationals studied there. Although this educational institution was attended by students who were citizens of 11 countries outside Poland, the dominant group is made up of Ukrainian children, of whom there were 74.

The second most popular school in the city among foreign nationals at the beginning of the 2021/2022 school year was the Jan Henryk Dąbrowski primary school No. 53 at Skośna street, with 52 foreign students. As in the primary school at Strąkowa street, here also Ukrainians constituted the vast majority (41 people), apart from the citizens of Belarus (7), Russia (3), and Armenia. The next in ranking is Stefan Czerniecki public school No. 47, located at Myśliwska street, with 51 foreign students.

Among the ten primary schools most frequently attended by foreign nationals, there is only one private school, Cracow International School, with bilingual departments, located at Andrzeja Sokołowskiego street. 46 foreign children from 22 countries of the world are attending it. The largest group of foreign nationals in this school are not Ukrainian children, of whom there are 8, but Indian students, of whom there were 15 in November 2021.

The Jagiellonian University Primary School No. 151, located at Lipińskiego street, a year ago was the second most popular school in the city. Currently, the number of foreign students has dropped from 60 to 42, and the school ranks only seventh among the most popular institutions among foreign nationals. In the top ten most popular primary schools among foreign children in Kraków, there are also schools Nos. 109, 58, 93, 149 and 85. These schools are located in various districts of the city (see: Table 10).

Table 10. Primary schools in Krakow with the largest number of foreigners in the 2021/22 school year

Lp.	Name	Type of school	Street	House number	Number of children who are not Polish citizens
1.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA Z ODDZIAŁAMI INTEGRACYJNYMI NR 158 IM. PROF. JULIANA ALEKSANDROWICZA W KRAKOWIE	Public	Strąkowa	3A	97
2.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA NR 53 IM. JANA HENRYKA DĄBROWSKIEGO W KRAKOWIE	public	Skośna	8	52
3.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA NR 47 IM. STEFANA CZARNIECKIEGO W KRAKOWIE	public	Myśliwska	64	51
4.	NIEPUBLICZNA SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA Z ODDZIAŁAMI DWUJĘZYCZNYMI „CRACOW INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL”	non-public	Andrzeja Sokołowskiego	19	46
5.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA NR 109 IM. KORNELA MAKUSZYŃSKIEGO W KRAKOWIE	public	Józefa Mackiewicza	15	46
6.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA NR 58 IM. TADEUSZA KOŚCIUSZKI W KRAKOWIE	public	Stanisława Pigonia	2	44
7.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA Z ODDZIAŁAMI INTEGRACYJNYMI NR 151 IM. UNIwersYTETU Jagiellońskiego W KRAKOWIE	public	Wacława Lipińskiego	2	42
8.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA NR 93 IM. LUCJANA RYDLA W KRAKOWIE	public	Feliksa Szlachtowskiego	31	40
9.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA NR 149 IM. MARSZAŁKA JÓZEFA PIŁSUDSKIEGO W KRAKOWIE	public	Franciszka Bujaka	15	38
10.	SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA NR 85 IM. KS. KAZIMIERZA JANCARZA W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Osiedle Złotego Wieku	4	35
Sum of the above					491

Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

4.3. Immigrants in secondary schools

According to the data provided to the authors of the report by the Department of Education of the City of Kraków, in November 2021, secondary schools (or high schools) in Kraków, including secondary schools for adults, were attended by a total of 25,650 people, i.e. by a little under 200 students more than the year before. Among students in secondary schools, almost three fourths attend public schools, and one fourth attend non-public schools. Among the high school students of Kraków, there were only 223 foreign nationals. Thus, they constituted only 0.9% of all high school students in the city.

The largest number of foreign high school students (30 persons) was studying in the Dr H Jordan 27th General Secondary School at Senatorska street, and 25 of them were Ukrainian citizens. Two students came from Venezuela and one each from Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Vietnam. Similarly to the year before, many foreign nationals also chose education at the European Non-Public Secondary School in Kraków at Ślusarska street. In this institution, which has a total of 29 foreign students, the most numerous groups are citizens of Ukraine (16 people), in addition to citizens of eight other countries. More than half of all foreign high school students receive their education in the top ten most popular high schools. On the list of ten high schools with seven or more foreign nationals among their students, there are a total of seven public schools and three non-public schools. More than 10 foreign students are educated at the Tadeusz Kościuszko 4th Secondary School at Krzemionki street and in the Leopold Staff 20th Secondary School at Szlak street. The remaining non-public high schools, which successfully attract foreign nationals, include the 24th Secondary School at Wilhelma Wilka-Wyrwiński street, 5th Private Secondary School at Smoleńsk street, and the Bilingual Secondary School operating as part of the Cracow International School at Andrzeja Sokołowskiego street (see: Table 11).

Table 11. Secondary schools in Kraków with the largest number of foreigners in the school year 2021/2022

Lp.	Name	Type of school	Street	House number	Number of children who are not Polish citizens
1.	XXVII LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE IM. DR. HENRYKA JORDANA W KRAKOWIE	public	Senatorska	35	30
2.	KOLEGIUM EUROPEJSKIE - EUROPEJSKIE NIEPUBLICZNE LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE W KRAKOWIE	non-public	Ślusarska	9	29
3.	IV LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE IM. TADEUSZA KOŚCIUSZKI W KRAKOWIE	public	Krzemionki	11	12
4.	XX LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE IM. LEOPOLDA STAFFA W KRAKOWIE	public	Szlak	5	11
5.	XXIV LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE IM. JANA PAWŁA II W KRAKOWIE	public	ul. Wilhelma Wilka-Wyrwińskiego	1	9
6.	V PRYWATNE LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE	non-public	Smoleńsk	14	9
7.	XLII LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE IM. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W KRAKOWIE	public	Studencka	13	9
8.	IX LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE IM. ZYGMUNTA WRÓBLEWSKIEGO W KRAKOWIE	public	Kazimierza Czapińskiego	5	9
9.	NIEPUBLICZNE DWUJĘZYCZNE LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE „CRACOW INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL”	non-public	Andrzeja Sokołowskiego	19A	8
10.	II LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCE IM. KRÓLA JANA III SOBIESKIEGO W KRAKOWIE	public	Jana Sobieskiego	9	7
Sum of the above					133

Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

In Kraków, in November 2021, 2,568 students studied in the first-degree vocational schools. Two thirds of those attended self-government-operated schools and one third attended non-government schools. Among all students of this type of school, there were only 23 foreign nationals. They constituted only 0.9% of all students in vocational schools. The most popular in this respect is the vocational school No. 23 located at Maciej Miechowity street, in which 7 foreign nationals were studying. Further vocational colleges, which foreign nationals were attending, include the vocational school No. 17 at Osiedle Szkolne and vocational school No. 10 at Jana Zamoyskiego street. Less than four foreign nationals studied in the remaining vocational schools (see: Table 12).

Table 12. Stage I sectoral vocational schools in Krakow in the school year 2021/2022

Lp.	Name	Type of school	Street	House number	Number of children who are not Polish citizens
1.	BRANŻOWA SZKOŁA I STOPNIA NR 23 IM. ŚW. MAKSYMILIANA MARIII KOLBE W KRAKOWIE	public	Macieja Miechowity	7	7
2.	BRANŻOWA SZKOŁA I STOPNIA NR 17 W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Szkolne	37	5
3.	BRANŻOWA SZKOŁA I STOPNIA NR 10 W KRAKOWIE	public	Jana Zamoyskiego	6	4
4.	BRANŻOWA SZKOŁA I STOPNIA NR 3 IM. ERAZMA JÓZEFA JERZMANOWSKIEGO W KRAKOWIE	public	al. Aleja gen. Jana Skrzyneckiego	12	3
5.	BRANŻOWA SZKOŁA I STOPNIA NR 1 W KRAKOWIE	public	Jerzego Szablowskiego	1	2
6.	BRANŻOWA SZKOŁA I STOPNIA NR 21 W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Osiedle Tysiąclecia	38	1
7.	BRANŻOWA SZKOŁA I STOPNIA NR 11 W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Osiedle Złotej Jesieni	16	1
Sum of the above					23

Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

When it comes to second-cycle vocational schools across the city, 13,928 people attended this type of school in November 2021. The vast majority of them were students of local government-operated schools (over 12 thousand people) (UMK 2021c). Among them, there were 335 foreign nationals. Thus, their share among all youth acquiring knowledge and skills to work in a specific profession with the title of technician is 2.4%.

Just like one year and two years before, the most popular technical school among foreign nationals was the Huta Tadeusza Sendzimira Steelworks Technical School. Over a quarter (94 people) of all foreign nationals studying in vocational schools chose that school, located at Osiedle Złotej Jesieni. Almost all foreign nationals in this school (except 5) are Ukrainian citizens. There, they study towards gaining knowledge and experience that will allow them to obtain the title of IT technician, mechanic, electronics technician, electrician, metallurgist, logistics technician, mechatronics technician or metallurgical technician, hotel industry or tourist service technician.

Among the most popular vocational schools were also technical schools No. 17 and No. 2 located in Osiedle Szkolne, offering education, among others, in the fields of mechanics, construction, IT, and gastronomy, as well as technical school No. 20 at Osiedle Tysiąclecia. It is immediately apparent that most of the top ten second-cycle professional schools educating foreign nationals in Kraków are located in the Nowa Huta district (see: Table 13).

Table 13. Secondary technical school in Krakow with the largest number of foreigners in the school year 2021/2022

Lp.	Name	Type of school	Street	House number	Number of children who are not Polish citizens
1.	TECHNIKUM HUTY IM. TADEUSZA SENDZIMIRA	non-public	os. Osiedle Złotej Jesieni	2	94
2	TECHNIKUM MECHANICZNE NR 17 W KRAKOWIE	Public	os. Osiedle Szkolne	37	36
3.	TECHNIKUM NR 2 IM. STUDENCKIEGO KOMITETU SOLIDARNOŚCI W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Osiedle Szkolne	18	29

Lp.	Name	Type of school	Street	House number	Number of children who are not Polish citizens
4.	TECHNIKUM POLIGRAFICZNO-MEDIALNE NR 20 IM. ZENONA KLEMENSIEWICZA W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Osiedle Tysiąclecia	38	25
5.	TECHNIKUM NR 16 W KRAKOWIE	public	al. Aleja gen. Jana Skrzyneckiego	12	23
6.	TECHNIKUM EKONOMICZNO-HANDLOWE NR 5 W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Osiedle Spółdzielcze	6	22
7.	TECHNIKUM GASTRONOMICZNO-HOTELARSKIE NR 10 W KRAKOWIE	public	os. Osiedle Złotej Jesieni	16	17
8.	TECHNIKUM PRZEMYSŁU SPOŻYWCZEGO NR 22 IM. ŚW. MAKSYMILIANA MARIII KOLBE W KRAKOWIE	public	Macieja Miechowity	6	15
9.	PUBLICZNE TECHNIKUM RZEMIOSŁA I PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI	non-public	Rzeźnicza	4	15
10.	TECHNIKUM INŻYNIERII ŚRODOWISKA NR 13 W KRAKOWIE	public	Ułanów	9	10
Sum of the above					286

Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

As we mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, post-secondary schools are the most popular schools among foreign nationals. At the end of 2021, almost 12 thousand people (11,977 to be exact) attended post-secondary schools, which in Kraków are almost exclusively non-governmental institutions (non-public schools with the rights of a public school). As many as 1,546 of the post-secondary school attendees were foreign nationals. In other words, foreigners constituted 13% of all students in this type of education (see: Table 14).

Over the last year, there has been a 4% increase in the share of immigrants in the group of people attending this type of school. Together with Polish students, they learn various professions (from cosmetology and floristry to IT, ICT, and accounting), which are highly employable, making it easy to get a job

Table 14. Post-secondary schools in Kraków with the largest number of foreigners

Lp.	Name	Type of school	Street	House number	Number of children who are not Polish citizens
1.	NIEPUBLICZNA POLICEALNA SZKOŁA ZAWODOWA CENTRUM NAUKI BIZNESU I ADMINISTRACJI W KRAKOWIE	non-public	os. Osiedle Kościuszkowskie	2A	275
2	KRAKOWSKIE CENTRUM EDUKACJI - SZKOŁA POLICEALNA	non-public	Szewska	14	221
3.	SZKOŁA POLICEALNA „COSINUS PLUS” W KRAKOWIE	non-public	Kremerowska	17	210
4.	GOWORK.PL NIEPUBLICZNA SZKOŁA POLICEALNA W KRAKOWIE	non-public	Wielopole	18B	186
5.	NIEPUBLICZNA SZKOŁA POLICEALNA RENOMA W KRAKOWIE	non-public	Kremerowska	15	183
6.	NIEPUBLICZNA MEDYCZNA SZKOŁA POLICEALNA RENOMA W KRAKOWIE	non-public	Kremerowska	15	138
7.	NIEPUBLICZNA SZKOŁA POLICEALNA PASJONAT	non-public	Podbrzezie	10	74
8.	GLOKER NIEPUBLICZNA SZKOŁA POLICEALNA NR 2	non-public	Basztowa	4	41
9.	SZKOŁA POLICEALNA „COSINUS I” W KRAKOWIE	non-public	Kremerowska	17	40
10.	EDUVISION POLICEALNA SZKOŁA ZAWODOWA W KRAKOWIE	non-public	Sławkowska	1	38
Sum of the above					1406

Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

after graduation. Some schools receive a municipal subsidy to conduct qualified vocational courses. Currently, the most popular among foreign nationals is the Non-Public Post-Secondary Vocational School – the Centre for Business and Administration Science in Kraków, located in Osiedle Kościuszkowskie. Other popular post-secondary schools include Krakowskie Centrum Edukacji, Cosinus Plus, and Gowork.pl (see: Table 14 for the full list).

4.4. Nationality structure of immigrants in Kraków's kindergartens, primary and secondary schools

In 2020, for the first time, we obtained information on the nationality structure of foreign nationals in educational institutions from pre-school to post-secondary level. Although the number of Ukrainian citizens in the education system from pre-school to post-secondary schools has increased by the end of 2021, their percentage share in the total population has decreased.

If in the 2020-2021 school year they constituted four fifths of all foreign nationals attending local government-operated and non-government schools in Kraków, then in the first semester of 2021-2022 their share was slightly higher than three-fourths of this population (exactly 77%). Last year, the number of Belarusian students increased significantly, from pre-primary to secondary level. If in the school 2020-2021 there were less than a hundred Belarusian citizens registered in educational institutions, in November 2021 there were almost 300 of them, representing 5,5% of all foreign nationals in Kraków's schools. The number of Indian nationals in educational institutions has also increased by a third over the past year. The group of Russians also increased visibly (see: Table 15).

Table 15. The largest foreign-born groups in educational institutions in 2020-2021 and 2021-2022

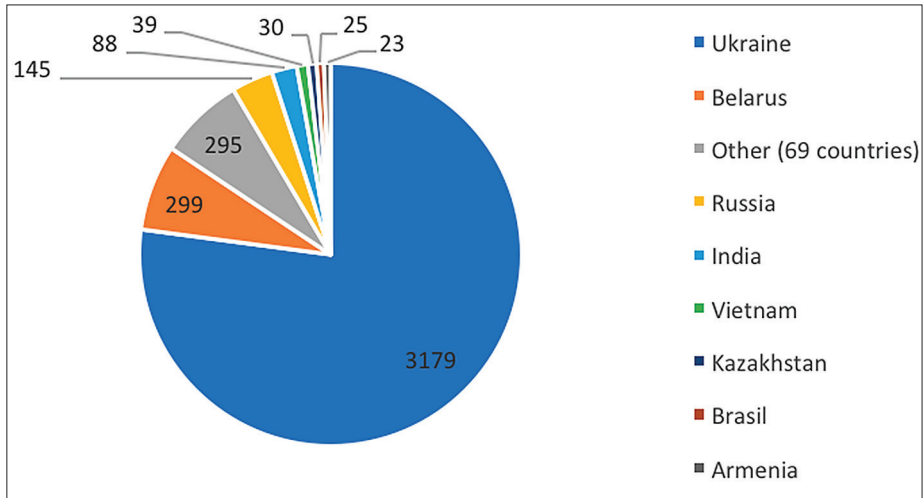
	2020-2021 (number)	2020-2021 (percentage)	2021-2022 (number)	2021-2022 (percentage)
Ukrainians	2265	80,6%	3179	77,0%
Belarusians	93	3,3%	299	5,5%
Russians	102	3,6%	145	3,5%
Indians	57	2,0%	88	2,1%
Vietnamese	32	1,1%	39	0,9%

Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

As for the overall national structure of foreign nationals in self-government-operated and non-government schools in November 2021, the domination of Ukrainian citizens is plainly apparent within it. Over three quarters of foreign students (3,179 people) attending Kraków's schools had Ukrainian

passports. The second largest group was the Belarusian group with 299 students, followed by citizens of Russia, India, Vietnam, Kazakhstan, Brazil, and Armenia – to name the most numerous groups (see: Figure 30).

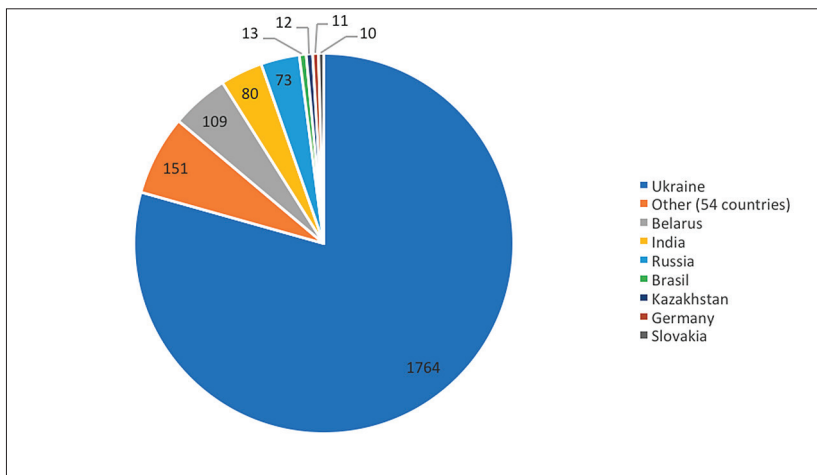
Figure 30. The total number of foreigners in public and non-public kindergartens / schools in the school year 2021/22



Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

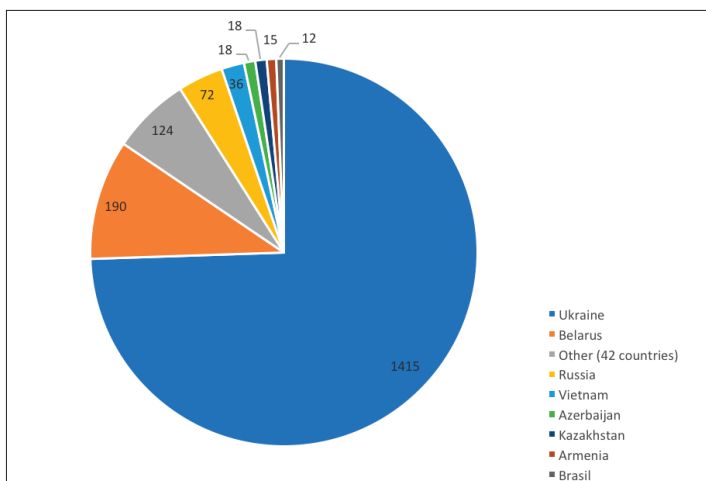
If a year ago foreign nationals tended to choose self-government-run kindergartens and schools more often, in the current school year we can observe a much greater interest of foreign nationals in non-governmental institutions. Over 2.2 thousand of foreign nationals attend such institutions, whereas 1.9 thousand attend local-government-operated institutions. If we take into account the largest group of foreign nationals in the city, i.e. citizens of Ukraine, we can see that 1,764 people attend non-governmental kindergartens and schools, whereas 1,415 attend local-government-run schools. In the case of the Belarusians and the Vietnamese, however, there is a clear preference for local-government-run kindergartens and schools. In fact, all Vietnamese citizens visible in educational statistics attend local government institutions. This may be related to the economic situation of Vietnamese immigrants in Kraków, who, to a lesser extent than, for example, some well-off immigrants from Ukraine, can afford to pay a higher fee for a kindergarten or a school. The reverse is true for Indian citizens. Almost all (except 8 people) attend non-government kindergartens or schools (see: Figures 31 and 32).

Figure 31. National structure of foreigners in non-public schools in Krakow in the school year 2020-2021 (as of 1.11.2020)



Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

Figure 32. National structure of foreigners in public schools in Krakow in the school year 2021-2022 (situation for 1.11.2021)



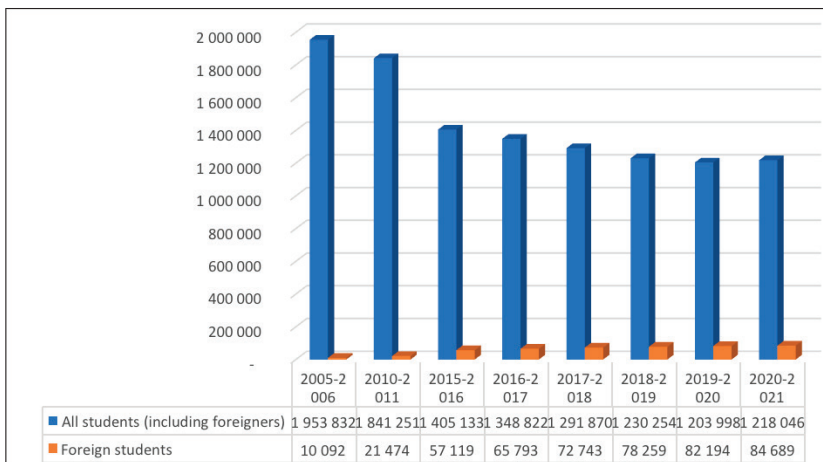
Source: own study based on data from UMK 2021b.

4.5. Immigrants at Kraków's universities

In the academic year 2020/21, for the first time since the academic year 2005/2006, an overall increase in the number of students at Polish universities was recorded. According to the latest GUS report, there were 1,218.0 thousand students in the country, which is 1.2% more than the year before. As in the previous years, women constituted the majority of students (58.0% of all students). Almost 70% of the total number of students were enrolled at public universities, and the most frequently chosen fields of study were: business and administration (18.1% of the total number of students), medical studies (11.3%), social studies (10.3%), as well as engineering and technical studies (8.7%). (GUS 2021).

What is particularly important from our perspective is the further increase in the number of foreign students despite the continuing COVID-19 pandemic, which significantly impeded studying abroad. Compared to the 2019/2020 academic year, there was an increase by 3.0% in the population of foreign students at Polish universities. 84.7 thousand foreign nationals who studied at our universities in 2020/2021 accounted for 7.0% of the total number of students. The most numerous group were students from European countries – 61.9 thousand people (73.1%), including the citizens of Ukraine – 38.5 thousand (45.4%) (GUS 2021).

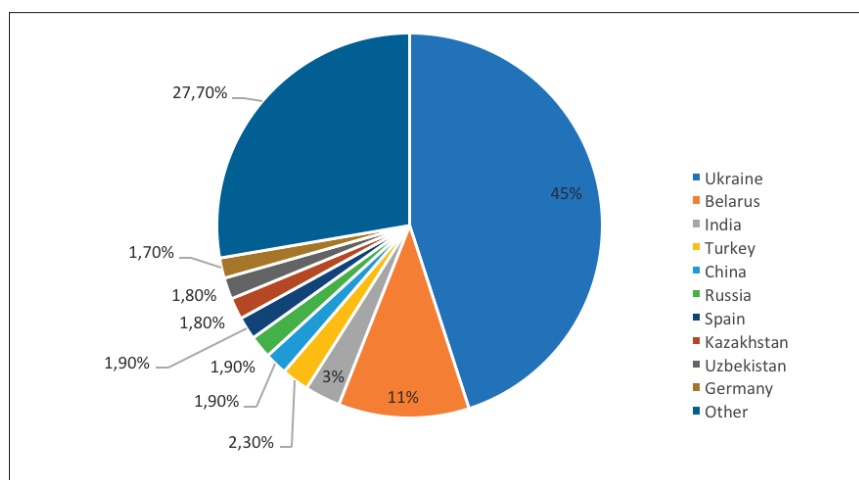
Figure 33. The number of all students at universities in Poland (including foreigners - blue), and the number of foreign students at universities in Poland (orange) between 2005 and 2021



Source: own study based on data from GUS 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020b, 2021.

As the figure below clearly shows, students from Ukraine and Belarus (45% and 11% respectively) make up the vast majority of foreign nationals at domestic universities. Other prominent student groups came from India (3%) and Turkey (2.3%). Just under 2% of foreign students in Poland came from China, Russia, Spain, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Germany (see: Figure 34).

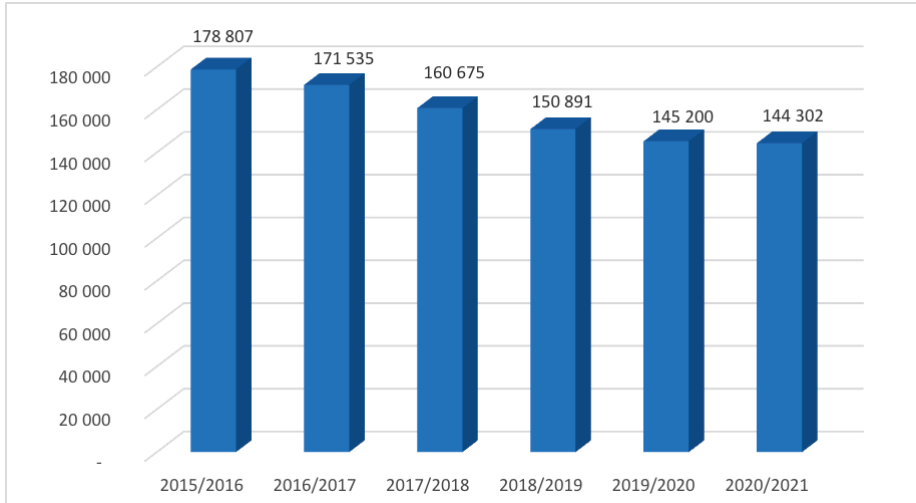
Figure 34. National structure of foreign students in Poland in the academic year 2020-2021 (GUS 2021)



Source: own study based on data from GUS 2021.

In Kraków and the Małopolska region, unlike in the country as a whole, the number of all students in the region and the city decreased only slightly. However, it is apparent that the dynamics of the decline has clearly declined. In the 2019/2020 academic year, a little over 145 thousand students were following their education in the Małopolskie Voivodeship, and in 2020/2021 that number was almost one thousand less. As for foreign nationals in the region, and those attending Kraków's universities, a year ago there were 8,435 in the region, and 8,149 in the city. In the 2020-2021 academic year, there were 8,040 foreign students in Małopolska, and 7,811 in Kraków, respectively (see: Figure 35 and Table 16).

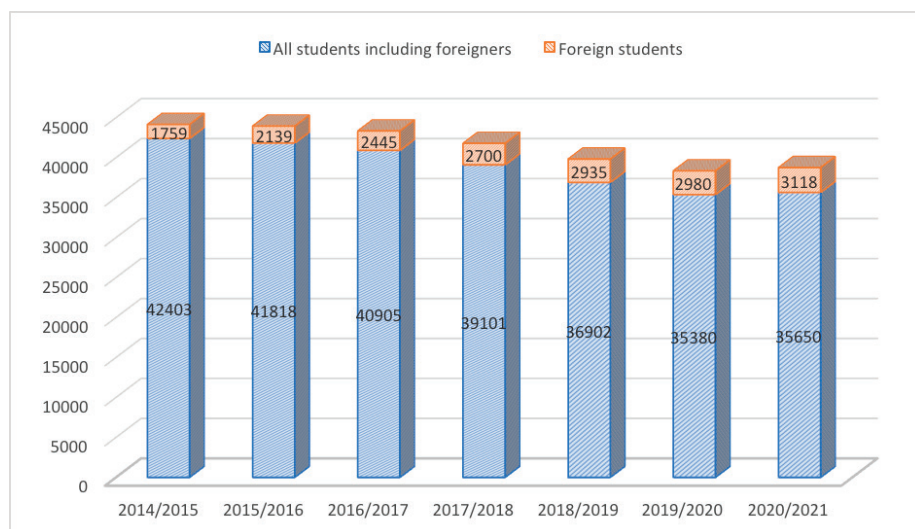
Figure 35. Number of all students at universities in the Małopolskie voivodship (including foreigners)



Source: own study based on USKrK 2021.

Although, as mentioned above, the total number of foreign students in Kraków slightly decreased, not all universities recorded a decline. For example, at the Jagiellonian University, the largest university in Kraków and the region, and the second largest university in the country after the University of Warsaw, the number of all students has been dropping regularly for five years, but has again increased slightly over the last year (by 270 people). Despite the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of international students has also increased. If 2,980 foreign nationals studied at the Jagiellonian University in the academic year 2019/2020, there were 138 more in the year following. The increase in the number of foreign nationals studying at the Jagiellonian University has been a constant process that we have been observing for over two decades. Among the 3,118 foreign nationals studying at the Jagiellonian University in the 2019-2020 academic year, as many as 1919 were women. The vast majority of foreign nationals at the Jagiellonian University choose full-time studies. What distinguishes the largest university in Kraków, apart from having the largest group of foreign students, is also the enormous diversity of the latter in terms of nationality structure (see: Figure 36).

Figure 36. Foreigners among all students of the Jagiellonian University between 2014 and 2021



Source: own study based on GUS 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021.

When it comes to attracting foreign students, the unquestionable leader among non-public schools in Kraków has been Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego (hereinafter referred to as AFM). In contrast to the Jagiellonian University, last year the number of foreign nationals attending classes at this university dropped for the first time in many years. 1905 foreign nationals studied at the AFM in the academic year 2018/2019, and 1967 in 2019/2020. Over the last year, their number dropped to 1872. As at the Jagiellonian University, also at the AFM the majority of foreign students are women (1154). The Cracow University of Economics also recorded a further decline in the number of foreign nationals at the university. If in the academic year 2019/2020 the CUE had 750 foreign students, in the last year their number dropped to 660. However, this still allowed CUE to maintain the third position on the list of Kraków's universities most frequently chosen by foreign nationals. The subsequent positions were taken by the AGH University of Science and Technology (with 440 foreign students), the Pedagogical University (with 345 foreign students), and the Cracow University of Technology (with 332 foreign students). At all the above-mentioned universities, the number of foreign nationals has decreased over the last year. In 2019/2020, they had 544 (AGH), 406 (PU) and 354 students (CUT), respectively. One of the universities which, apart from the Jagiellonian University, recorded

an increase in the number of foreign students last year compared to the previous year is Kraków's Academy of Music (AM). With 153 foreign nationals among its students, the Academy of Music has become one of the most popular universities in Kraków, ahead of, among others, the Agricultural University and the Pontifical University (for more information, see: Table 16).

Table 16. Foreigners studying in Krakow between 2020 and 2021 academic year (order according to the size of the population of foreign students)

University	Studies					
	Total	Including woman	Full time		Part-time	
			TOTAL	Including woman	TOTAL	Including woman
Uniwersytet Jagielloński	3118	1919	2970	1824	148	95
Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego	1872	1154	1784	1100	88	54
Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie	660	388	578	348	82	40
Akademia Górniczo-Hutnicza im. Stanisława Staszica w Krakowie	440	146	430	144	10	2
Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej	345	263	319	242	26	21
Politechnika Krakowska im. Tadeusza Kościuszki	332	127	317	126	15	1
Akademia Muzyczna w Krakowie	153	85	153	85	0	0
Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie	146	62	144	61	2	1
Wyższa Szkoła Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego i Indywidualnego 'Aperion' w Krakowie	124	38	122	37	2	1
Uniwersytet Rolniczy im. Hugona Kołłątaja w Krakowie	106	52	104	51	2	1
Spółeczna Akademia Nauk w Łodzi - Filia W Krakowie	94	38	90	37	4	1
Wyższa Szkoła Zarządzania i Bankowości w Krakowie	91	32	71	22	20	10
Wyższa Szkoła Europejska im. ks. Józefa Tischnera w Krakowie	65	43	44	29	21	14
Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomii i Informatyki w Krakowie	53	19	39	12	14	7

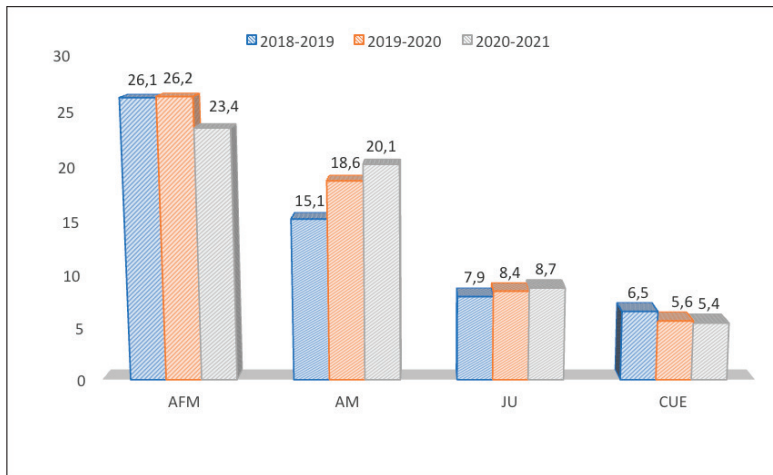
University	Studies					
	Total	Including woman	Full time		Part-time	
			TOTAL	Including woman	TOTAL	Including woman
Akademia Sztuk Pięknych im. Jana Matejki w Krakowie	49	36	39	28	10	8
Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie	41	31	37	27	4	4
Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego im. Bronisława Czecha w Krakowie	40	21	38	20	2	1
Krakowska Wyższa Szkoła Promocji Zdrowia	40	37	24	21	16	16
Akademia WSB w Dąbrowie Górniczej – Wydział Zamiejscowy w Krakowie	28	2	26	2	2	0
Wyższa Szkoła Turystyki I Ekologii W Suchej Beskidzkiej - Wydział Turystyki w Krakowie	9	3	0	0	9	3
Akademia Sztuk Teatralnych im. Stanisława Wyspiańskiego w Krakowie	3	1	3	1	0	0
Szkoła Wyższa im. Bogdana Jańskiego w Warszawie - Wydział Zamiejscowy w Krakowie	2	1	0	0	2	1
Total Krakow	7811	4498	7332	4217	479	281
Total Malopolskie Voivodeship	8040	4617	7516	4314	524	303

Source: own study based on data from USKrk 2021.

When it comes to the share of foreign students in the entire student population of a given university, the highest rates for years have been recorded by the largest non-public university in Kraków, i.e. Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza-Modrzewskiego (AFM). It is worth noting, however, that in the last year this university recorded a decrease in the number of foreign students, which also translated into their lower share in the total student population. If a year ago they constituted more than 26% of all students, now they are slightly more than 23% at this university. However, it is worth noting that in the academic year 2014/2015 this share was already as much as 16% (Brzozowski and Pędziwiatr, 2015: 219-220). If the Academy of Music continues to attract similarly high numbers of foreign nationals, it may soon have the largest group of foreigners among its students. In the academic year 2018/2019, their share among all students of

the Academy of Music was 15.1%. A year ago it increased to 18.6%, and currently every fifth AM student is a foreign national. The percentage of foreign nationals in the student community of the Jagiellonian University increased only slightly (0.3%). At this point it is worth pointing out that the Collegium Medicum functioning within the Jagiellonian University, where foreign students (above all from Norway) are particularly prone to study, has a much higher internationalization rate than the entire Jagiellonian University (see: Pędziwiatr et al. 2019). The share of foreign nationals among students of the Cracow University of Economics decreased very slightly (0.2%) (see: Figure 37).

Figure 37. Percentage of foreigners among students of selected Krakow universities in the 2018-2019, 2019-2020 and 2020-2021 academic years



Source: own study based on data from USKrk 2020 i 2021, GUS 2020b i 2021.

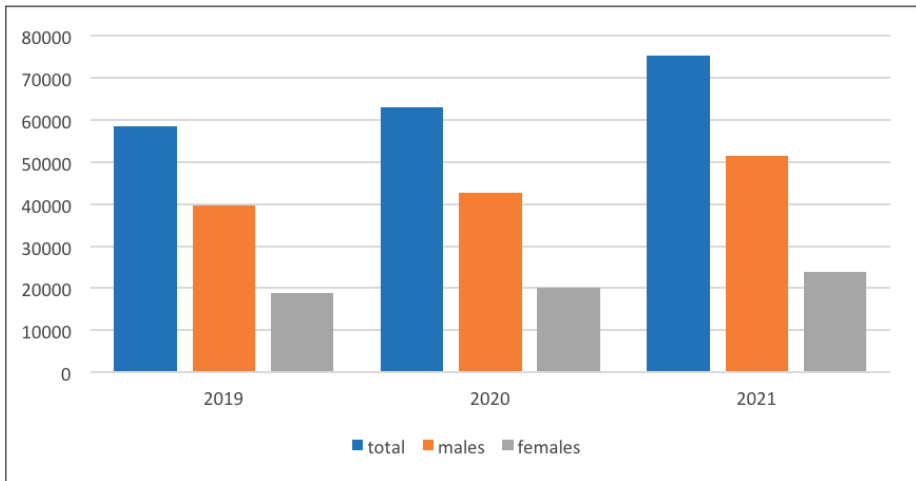
In conclusion, it is worth adding that the statistics described above include only a part of a very important group of foreign students, i.e. Erasmus exchange students. They are included in the GUS records only when they stay in Poland for more than one semester. Their presence in the city even for one semester has a significant impact on the internationalization of academic life and the immigration nature of Kraków, which we discussed extensively in a separate OWIM report (Mucha and Pędziwiatr 2019). According to the latest statistics of FRSE (the Erasmus+ National Agency), a total of 175 thousand students came to Poland in the academic year 2018/2019, which was the last period reported by the FRSE (FRSE 2021).

5. IMMIGRANTS AND THE ECONOMY OF KRAKÓW AND THE MAŁOPOLSKA REGION

Immigrants come to the Małopolska region and Kraków city itself mostly for economic reasons. In 2021, the Polish economy recorded a growth of 5.7%, which also translated into increased demand for labour and an increase in wages. In the Małopolska region, the average gross salary in the enterprise sector in 2021 increased by as much as 11.7% to PLN 6,650, while in Kraków itself this indicator was at an even higher level (PLN 7,264 – as of January 2022). No wonder, then, that steadily increasing numbers of foreign nationals came to the rapidly developing economy of the region and the city. According to the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS), in 2021, there were as many as 75 thousand foreign nationals registered for retirement and disability insurance in the Małopolskie Voivodeship, which is an increase by 19.7% compared to 2020 (see: Figure 38). Interestingly, the growth dynamics, as in the previous years, was slightly higher when it came to men employed – this means that in the regional labour market, male employees are markedly dominant among foreign nationals, while female employees constitute only 31.8% of the total. When comparing these employment data with the general gender structure of the entire population of foreign nationals (see: Chapter 2 and Figure 6), it is clear that a significant portion of foreign workers still come to Małopolska alone, while in the case of the entire immigrant families, the traditional model is still popular, meaning that it is the man who is the main breadwinner.

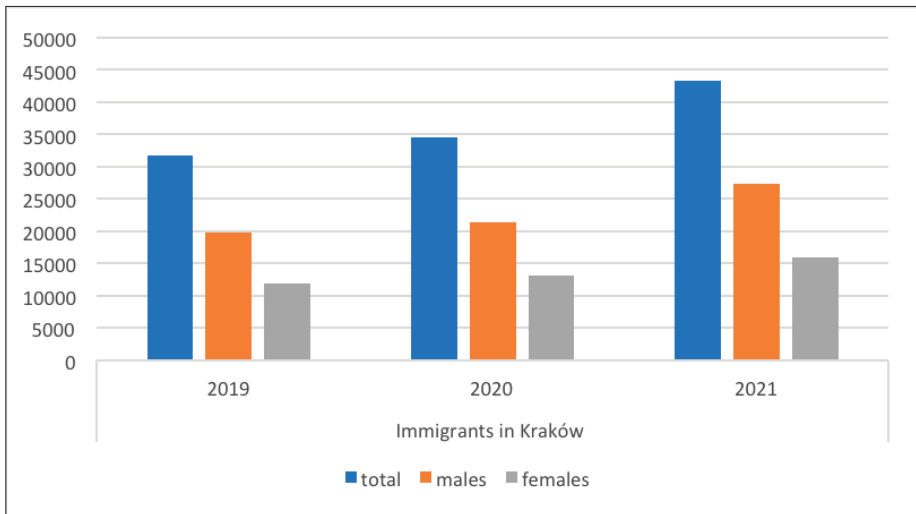
In the case of immigrants working in Kraków alone, an even higher growth rate was observed in 2021 – there were over 43 thousand of them, i.e. over a quarter more (25.9%) than in 2020 (see: Figure 5.39). Also in this case, the dynamics of the growth of the male migrant population was greater than that of women – in 2021 women accounted for 36.9% of foreign employees in our city, compared to 38.1% in 2020. As we will see later in the chapter, this will result from the development of typical “male” industries, that is, sectors that mainly employ male workers (construction sector, for example). In addition, 1,561 foreign nationals in Kraków were insured with ZUS for running a business, 1/3 of which (509) were Ukrainians.

Figure 38. Number of immigrants in Małopolska voivodeship in ZUS register



Source: ZUS (2021).

Figure 39. Number of immigrants in Kraków voivodeship in ZUS register



Source: ZUS (2021).

When considering the ethnic structure of immigrants taking up work in Kraków, interesting processes have been observed (see: Table 17). The struc-

ture of immigrants has changed significantly in terms of the country of origin and citizenship. The domination of Ukrainian citizens is still visible, while in terms of the annual dynamics, a very large increase can be seen, especially in the case of the citizens of Belarus and Georgia (more than 2-fold increase), as well as citizens of India and Russia.

Table 17. Foreigners in ZUS registers by citizenship

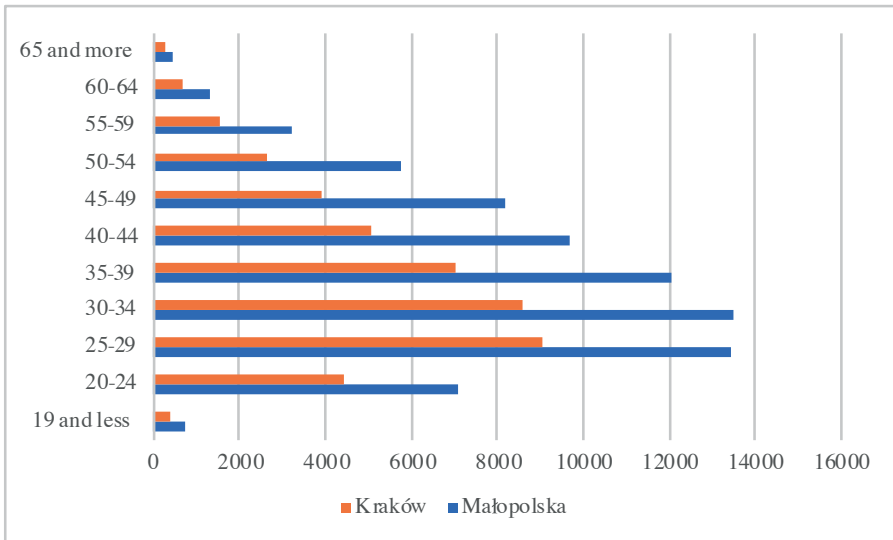
Citizenship	2019	2020	2021
Ukrainian	20997	22359	26677
Belarusian	1203	1404	3014
Russian	708	850	1189
Indian	570	791	1280
Italian	735	750	939
Georgian	394	476	923
Moldovian	156	156	258

Source: ZUS (2021).

Thus, despite the continuous growth, the relative share of Ukrainians among foreign workers in Kraków has decreased – from 66.3% in 2019 to 64.9% in 2020, to 61.5% in 2021. As a result, the population of foreign workers in our city became increasingly ethnically diverse and multicultural. Thus, there are new, and rather important groups of employees: citizens of Turkey (510 people), Brazil (344 people), Azerbaijan (221 people), as well as Europeans – citizens of Great Britain (370 people), France (401 people), Spain (612 people), and Romania (405 people).

When analysing the age structure of working foreign nationals, it should be stated that on average they are much younger than average in the total population of employees working in Kraków. A significant share of foreign workers are under 45 years of age – this applies to as many as 97% of employees from India, 89% of Belarusians, 86.5% of Italians, and 76% of Ukrainians. To compare: in the fourth quarter of 2020, in the entire Małopolska region, the professionally active population aged 15-44 was only 57.8% of the total (BDL, GUS 2022).

Figure 40. Age structure of foreigners in ZUS register (2021)



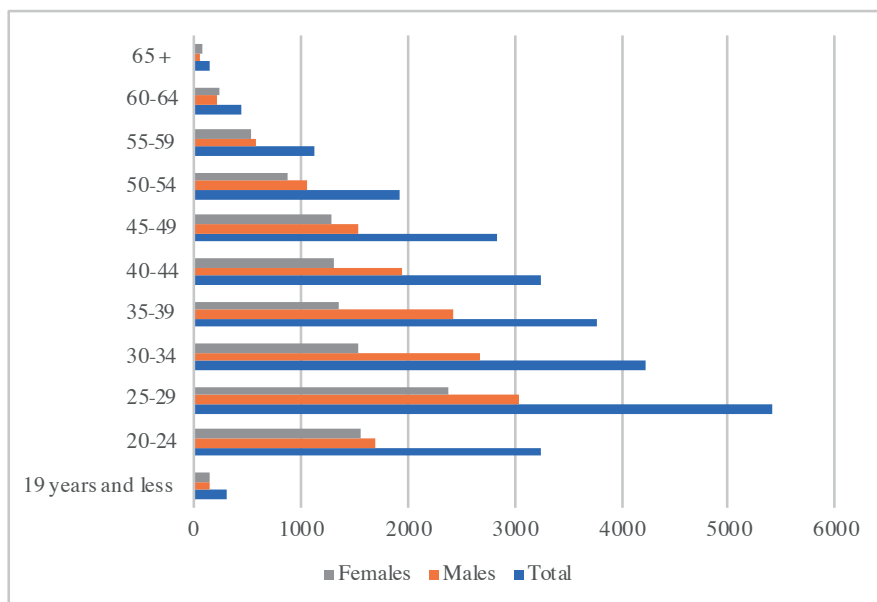
Source: ZUS (2021).

The influx of immigrants to the Kraków economy is a very positive phenomenon, not only in the context of filling vacancies in the labour market, but also in terms of demographics. The vast majority of foreign workers are relatively young and provided that they settle in Poland permanently, they may – at least to some extent – mitigate the effects of ageing domestic labour resources.

However, it is worth considering how this predominance of young workers – especially in the case of Ukrainians – might change as a result of Russia's aggression against Ukraine on February 24, 2022. According to various estimates, up to 130 thousand men from Ukraine could have left Poland in order to defend their homeland (Maziarz, 2022). At the time of introducing corrections (March 2021) to the original version of the report, we are not able to determine the actual scale of this outflow; it will certainly be the subject of the OWiM analysis in 2022.

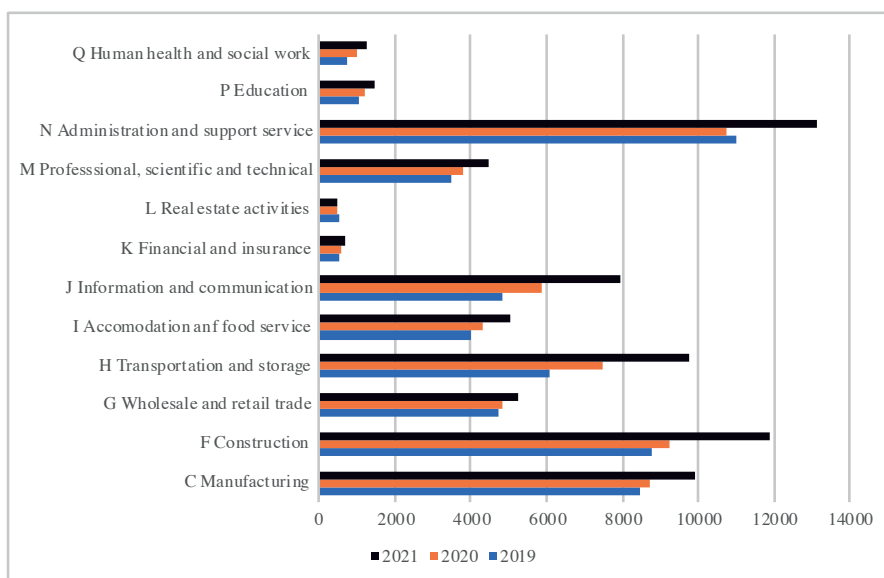
As for the industries in which foreign nationals found employment in 2021, the leading ones at the regional level include: construction, industrial processing, transport and storage, as well as information and communication. However, in the case of the PKD (code list of the classification of business services in Poland) N section (activities in the field of administration services and supporting activities), it is worth noting that it covers the entire spectrum of the economy, i.e. employee leasing and temporary employment agencies.

Figure 41. Age structure of Ukrainian citizens in ZUS register (2021)



Source: ZUS (2021).

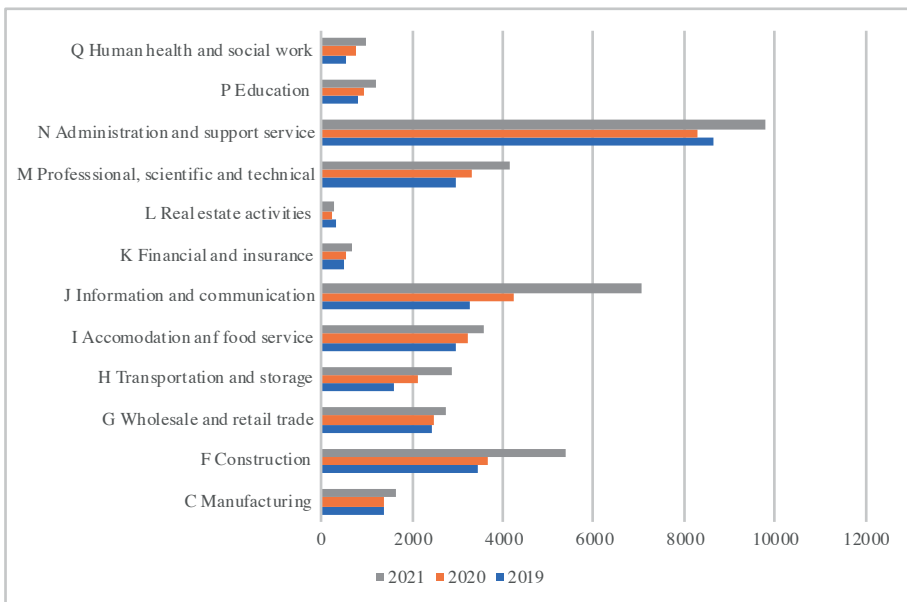
Figure 42. Foreigners in ZUS registers in Małopolska by industry



Source: ZUS (2021).

In the case of Kraków, the employment structure of foreign nationals by industry is similar to that in the entire region (see: Figure 43). The most popular sectors are: industrial processing (9.8 thousand people, an increase by 1200 people compared to 2020), construction (11.9 thousand people, an increase by 1650 people), transport and warehouse management (9.7 thousand people, an increase by 2.3 thousand people), as well as information and communication (7.9 thousand, an increase by 2 thousand). As in 2020, a specific ethnic specialization is still visible; for instance, 85.7% of foreign nationals employed in the construction industry are Ukrainians, the information and communication sector is dominated by Ukrainians and Belarusians, but other nationalities are also strongly represented – e.g. Russians, Indians, Brazilians, Spaniards, and Italians.

Figure 43. Foreigners in ZUS registers in Krakow by industry

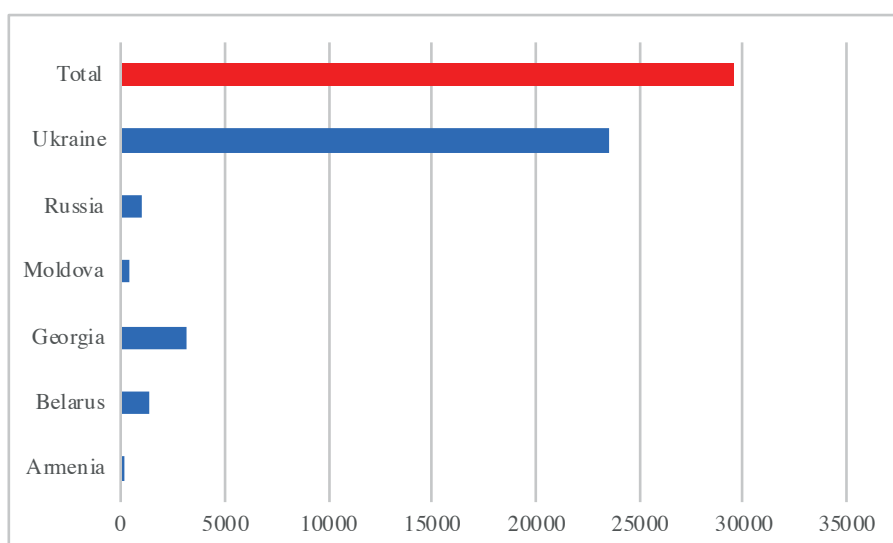


Source: GUP (2021).

It is also worth adding that, apart from immigrants registered in the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) records, an important group of foreign nationals are people employed on the basis of declarations on “entrusting work to a foreigner”, who, based on the last year’s regulations, could be employed in such capacity by a Polish employer for a period of up to 6 months. Nearly 30

thousand jobs were registered at the Grodzki Urząd Pracy (Municipal Labour Office) in Kraków in the period between January and October 2021 based on such declarations (exact number 29580, see: Figure 44), of which nearly one third pertained to work in the construction sector (8676)⁵. While the main ethnic group for which these declarations were issued is unsurprisingly Ukrainian, it is worth noting the very large number of declarations issued to Georgian citizens (3,148).

Figure 44. Number of declarations on entrusting work to a foreigner



Source: GUP (2021).

This means that in the case of short-term (i.e. several months) economic migrations to Kraków, it was the citizens of Georgia that became the third largest ethnic group, ahead of the citizens of Russia and India, and reaching a size similar to the group of workers from Belarus. Moreover, considering that the amendment to the Act on Foreigners of January 2022 significantly increased the employer's options related to the aforementioned declarations – even allowing employment for a period of 24 months – an increase in the popularity of this instrument can be expected in 2022.

5 It should be added that this is an estimated value because the data on the so-called “simplified procedure” contain only a job position, which cannot always be easily assigned to a given industry.

Finally, some attention should be paid to unemployed foreign nationals. In the case of Kraków, the number of unemployed foreign nationals and foreigners looking for a job, registered with the Grodzki Urząd Pracy (Municipal Labour Office) in Kraków, was marginal in 2021, and it never exceeded 300 at any point throughout the year. There were even fewer people receiving unemployment benefits – their number ranged between 11 and 28 persons. Thus, it should be concluded that the vast majority of immigrants in Kraków perform paid work, and do not have any major problems either with finding a job or changing employers (see: Figure 45).

Figure 45. Unemployed foreigners in Krakow



Source: GUP (2021).

6. CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing the above analyses, it is worth emphasizing that the foreign community in Kraków continues to develop dynamically despite the economic slowdown and restrictions in mobility caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly differentiated in terms of nationality, ethnicity, class, and religion – just to name some of the dimensions. Foreign nationals who stay in the city are still mostly people who have temporary residence permits, but the number of people with permanent residence permits increases every year. The number of people who acquire Polish citizenship is also growing, and thus they become invisible in the records, which concern only foreign nationals. Our analyses once again show that foreign nationals live in all city districts, without apparent signs of potentially dangerous or disadvantageous spatial concentration processes.

The final amendments to this report were introduced in the second half of March 2022, i.e. at the time of an unprecedented, massive influx of Ukrainian refugees to our city as a result of the Russian aggression against Ukraine on February 24, 2022. This influx is a revolution in terms of the structure of the foreign population, and the general population of Kraków city. Nevertheless, the detailed picture of the population of foreign nationals for 2021 outlined in this report is very important to fully understand the dynamics of population changes in the capital of the Małopolska region. Since 2014, Kraków has been accepting significant numbers of immigrants from Ukraine, but also from other countries. Even before February 2022, foreign nationals constituted an important part of Kraków's resident population: at the end of 2021, 48 thousand foreigners had valid residence permits. However, we are only talking about immigrants staying in Kraków for a longer period of time. We should remember also about workers taking up employment for a shorter period of time (several months), who, after all, also make up the city's population, even if they do so temporarily. Therefore, to these 48 thousand we should add another nearly 30 thousand of foreign nationals employed on the basis of the so-called simplified procedure (declarations on entrusting work to a foreigner). Even this number does not yet reflect the full picture of the situation, because part of the immigrant population is not registered by the state administration and it is missing from the records – they are either family members of working migrants, or foreign nationals working unofficially, in the so-called shadow economy – although this latter phenomenon is not very common.

As we have demonstrated in the OWiM demographic report from two years ago (Pędziwiatr and others, 2019), using big data tools, the real number of Ukrainians in Kraków alone is much higher than that shown in official records, and for 2019 the actual figure amounted to at least 50 thousand people – i.e. over three times more than the official residence records (i.e. records containing information about foreign nationals with valid residence cards – at that time including 15,7 thousand Ukrainian citizens). Thus, even before the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the most conservative estimates were at 70-80 thousand foreign nationals in Kraków, and this would mean that immigrants already constituted nearly 10% of the population of our city at the end of 2021. If the majority of refugees who stayed longer in Kraków decide to remain here “for an extended period of time”, it is possible that the share of the population of foreign nationals in Kraków might increase to even more than 20% of the city’s inhabitants.

When thinking about the new, extremely large group of refugees from Ukraine who came to Kraków after February 24, 2022, one cannot forget about the foreign nationals who had already lived here before. First of all, because it was a significant part of the “at home” Ukrainians (see Brzozowski et al., 2021) who took it upon their shoulders the burden of helping and accommodating their compatriots who were fleeing the war. But it is also important to remember that despite the current Ukrainian domination, the foreign community in Kraków is multi-ethnic and multicultural. In addition to Ukrainians, significant national groups also include Belarusians, Georgians, Russians, Indians, but also Spaniards, Italians, British, Brazilians, and Moldovans. Therefore, without diminishing in any way the essential needs of the Ukrainian refugees, the challenge facing Kraków and its authorities is to maintain a friendly and inclusive environment in which all these foreign nationals will feel equally welcome and needed. It is no coincidence that the program implemented in the city for many years and aimed at supporting foreign nationals is called “Open Kraków”. We shall badly need a prudent openness towards all foreign nationals in the difficult year 2022, and in the years to come.

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