

CROSS-BORDER SHOPPING IN POLAND IN THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

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Summary. Cross-border shopping which has been analysed in this study was particularly intensive in the first years of the transformation period, and as the economic differences between Poland and her neighbours decreased the intensity of this phenomenon declined. Certain regional differences regarding the citizenship of the cross-border shoppers have been revealed. At Poland's western border Germans prevailed among citizens crossing the border, and Polish citizens, too, constituted a sizeable proportion. Poland's southern border was mainly crossed for shopping purposes by Polish citizens, and Czechs and Slovaks also came in large numbers. Among persons crossing the eastern border the largest group consisted of the citizens of the neighbouring countries; there was also a certain number of the Poles and persons from the remaining countries which emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Among persons crossing the air and maritime borders the most sizeable group consisted of the Poles and of the citizens of West European and non-European countries.

Key words: cross-border shopping, goods in cross-border shopping, regional differences

INTRODUCTION

The period of transformation in Poland which was initiated on the fourth of June 1989, i.e. the day of the first democratic elections, and which was completed on the first of May 2004 is characterized by numerous changes in social and economic sphere including the sphere of cross-border shopping which has been analysed in this study. Unrecorded trade turnover was particularly intensive in the first years of the transformation period, and as the economic differences between Poland and her neighbours decreased the intensity of this phenomenon declined. However, it should be emphasized that the nature and rate of transformation of the cross-border shopping varied depending on the particular border sections [Powęska 2002].

In world literature cross-border shopping is most often understood as border crossings by large numbers of residents of a given country for shopping reasons coupled with other purposes such as: consumption, services and tourism [Wang 2004; Timothy, Butler 1995]. Meanwhile, in Polish literature this phenomenon has been termed as “cross-border shopping” [Macieja 1997], “unrecorded trade” [“Cross-Border Travel and the Expenditures of Foreigners in Poland...”] “unrecorded trans-border trade” or “shopping unrecorded in the documents of customs clearance” [Borzym 1998]. Regardless of the terminology used, in almost all studies the entire unrecorded foreign turnover carried out by travellers was viewed as cross-border shopping. Illegal sales and purchases, however, carried out by both private persons and business entities operating in the grey area were regarded as smuggling¹. For the purpose of the present study cross-border shopping has been defined as an unregistered trans-border trade carried out in an unrecorded way by private persons making use of legally permitted quantities of goods to be carried across the border as specified by customs allowances and norms.

The goal of this study is to present the commodity pattern of goods brought to Poland within the framework of cross-border shopping depending on border sections, to answer the question to what extent the shopping was the major purpose of border crossings and to what extent this phenomenon accompanied other reasons for cross-border travel, as well as to identify demographic characteristics of the cross-border shoppers.

WORK METHODOLOGY

The main information source used in this study are data obtained from the questionnaire addressed to the persons involved in cross-border shopping conducted by the customs officers in June and July 2001. The survey was conducted on each day of the week for twenty-four hours, and the days of the interviews did not come in succession but were chosen at random for approximately two months. Customs officers were notified about the date of interviews on the day preceding the survey. Travellers to be interviewed were chosen at random and the daily number of questionnaires designed for the given border crossing-point was implemented successively throughout twenty-four hours keeping the proportions stemming from daily oscillations in the intensity of travel. However, the final qualification of travellers to be questioned was made by customs officers. A very important assumption was that the customs officer who was to conduct an interview should not be guided by the presumption that a given person was a cross-border shopper. It was assumed that the group of people interviewed should include also persons who did not take part in such activity and that the luggage of each person questioned should have been checked. The control should take place after the filling out of the questionnaire, so that the traveller who was answering questions would not know whether he or she would be controlled. The decision as to the degree of control was to be taken by the customs officer who was obliged to act on his or her own discretion. The data obtained from the questionnaires were shown in Tables 1–6 being the basis of the analysis made.

¹ The phenomenon of smuggling has not been analysed in this study.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PHENOMENON

Altogether, 20,426 persons took part in the survey. The number of the interviews conducted on the particular border sections was proportional to the magnitude of cross-border travel. Thus, most of the interviews were conducted at the Polish-Czech border (6565), and next came the Polish-German border (4823), Polish-Ukrainian border (2664), Polish-Belarusian border (2029) and Polish-Slovak border (1962 questionnaires). A slightly smaller number of people were questioned at the Polish-Russian border (973), Polish-Lithuanian border (628), air border (422) and at the maritime border (269). Most of the people interviewed were between 30 and 50 years old (55.95% of the total number of respondents; see Table 1). A sizeable group included also persons who were between 19 and 30 years of age (24.62%). A less numerous group consisted of children (4.5%) and persons aged between 51 and 65 years (12.5), whereas the proportion of elderly people above 66 years of age was very small (1.75%). Proportionately, most persons aged between 30 and 50 years were found at the Polish-Lithuanian border (67.36%) and at the Polish-Belarusian border (60.52%), as well as at the Polish-Ukrainian (58.26%) and air border (59.24%), whilst on the remaining border sections the percentage of persons aged between 30 and 50 years ranged from 50% to 55%. Persons aged 19–30 years prevailed at Poland's border with Russia (37.10%), and with Slovakia (27.27%) and Ukraine (27.89%). Among the population aged above 50 years a higher proportion than the national average was recorded at the air border (19.19%), Polish-German border (14.24%) and Polish-Czech border (14.96%).

Among the travellers interviewed most people were secondary school graduates (45.27%; see Table 2), less persons had technical or professional diploma (22.56%) and university degree (18.15%), and the smallest group had primary education (4.02%). The

Table 1. The age of travellers crossing the border by border section in Poland in 2001
Tabela 1. Wiek przekraczających granicę podróżnych według odcinków granicznych w Polsce w 2001 roku

Border section	Age group						Total
	Unspecified	0–18	19–30	30–50	51–65	66+	
				%			
Unspecified	97.80	–	–	2.20	–	–	100.00
Belarusian	7.29	0.30	22.67	60.52	8.72	0.49	100.00
Czech	3.23	0.79	24.87	53.82	14.96	2.33	100.00
Maritime	2.60	0.74	21.93	53.53	17.47	3.72	100.00
Air	0.95	1.42	16.59	59.24	19.19	2.61	100.00
Lithuanian	7.64	0.48	16.88	67.36	7.17	0.48	100.00
German	4.15	0.64	22.00	56.67	14.24	2.30	100.00
Russian	1.44	0.62	37.10	52.52	7.71	0.62	100.00
Slovak	5.05	0.87	27.27	53.62	11.88	1.33	100.00
Ukrainian	3.72	0.56	27.89	58.26	8.52	1.05	100.00
Total	4.50	0.68	24.62	55.95	12.50	1.75	100.00

Source: Author's findings.

Źródło: Badania własne.

Table 2. Education background of travellers crossing the border by border section in Poland in 2001

Tabela 2. Wykształcenie podróżnych przekraczających granicę według odcinków granicznych w Polsce w 2001 roku

Border section	Education						Total
	Unspecified	Refusal	Primary	Secondary	University degree	Technical/ /Profesional	
	%						
Unspecified	97.80	–	–	1.10	–	1.10	100.00
Belarusian	11.98	0.05	3.55	49.29	22.38	12.76	100.00
Czech	6.98	0.06	4.69	44.62	16.45	27.20	100.00
Maritime	8.55	2.23	3.72	44.61	21.19	19.70	100.00
Air	7.11	–	1.18	39.81	45.02	6.87	100.00
Lithuanian	14.81	–	2.23	46.02	23.57	13.38	100.00
German	10.95	0.17	3.50	42.50	16.09	26.79	100.00
Russian	6.89	0.21	6.47	49.95	11.41	25.08	100.00
Slovak	10.40	4.08	4.38	37.56	19.16	24.41	100.00
Ukrainian	7.73	–	3.53	55.07	19.33	14.34	100.00
Total	9.50	0.49	4.02	45.27	18.15	22.56	100.00

Source: Author's findings.

Źródło: Badania własne.

percentage of secondary school graduates was highest at the Polish-Ukrainian border (55.07%), as well as at the Polish-Russian border (49.95%), Polish-Belarusian border (49.29%) and Polish-Lithuanian border (46.02%). Persons who had technical or professional diploma prevailed at the Polish-Czech border (27.20%), Polish-German border (26.79%), Polish-Russian border (25.08%) and Polish-Slovak border (24.41%). University graduates prevailed among respondents at the air border (45.02%), as well as at the Polish-Belarusian border (22.38%) and at the Polish-Lithuanian border (23.57%). The smallest number of the respondents who held university degree was reported at the Polish-Russian border (11.41%).

The analysis of the frequency of travels to Poland (see Table 3) shows that the largest number of persons crossed Polish borders less frequently than once in a month (41%) and once in a month (36%). Fifteen percent of travellers came to Poland once a week and only 3% visited Poland every day. On a nationwide scale, the percentage of people crossing the border several times a day was very small (less than 1%). The largest percentage of travellers crossing the Polish border less frequently than once in a month was recorded at airports (85.78%), maritime crossing-points (73.98%), and at the Polish-Slovak border (55.66%). Travellers coming to Poland once in a month prevailed at the Polish-Lithuanian border (46.02%) and at the Polish-Russian border (41.83%), whereas those coming once in a week prevailed at the border crossing-points with Russia (37.10%), Ukraine (26.13%), Belarus (20.95%) and Germany (16.90%). At the same time, the number of weekly crossings of the air border (0.24%) and of the maritime border (1.49) was very small. Daily travels to Poland were primarily undertaken by travellers coming from Ukraine (4.99%), Czech Republic (3.91%) and Belarus (3.35%).

Table 3. Frequency of travels by border section in Poland in 2001 [%]

Tabela 3. Częstość odbywania podróży według odcinków granicznych w Polsce w 2001 roku [%]

Border section	Frequency						Total
	Unspecified	Every-day	Several times a day	Once a month or more frequently	Once a week or more frequently	Less frequently	
Unspecified	97.80	–	–	2.20	–	–	100.00
Belarusian	5.22	3.35	0.30	40.61	20.95	29.57	100.00
Czech	3.24	3.91	0.59	36.83	12.03	43.38	100.00
Maritime	8.55	0.37	–	15.61	1.49	73.98	100.00
Air	4.74	0.47	–	8.77	0.24	85.78	100.00
Lithuanian	6.21	0.64	–	46.02	8.28	38.85	100.00
German	5.00	2.49	0.12	33.96	16.90	41.53	100.00
Russian	2.16	1.85	–	41.83	37.10	17.06	100.00
Slovak	3.52	0.51	0.05	36.90	3.36	55.66	100.00
Ukrainian	1.84	4.99	0.53	36.56	26.13	29.95	100.00
Total	4.26	3.00	0.32	36.01	15.72	40.69	100.00

Source: Author's findings.

Źródło: Badania własne.

The purpose of arrivals in Poland which was most often indicated by the respondents (see Table 4) was shopping (31.19%). Tourist travels constituted 22.98% of arrivals, business trips made up 19.98%, 14.13% of respondents pointed to visiting relatives as the purpose of their arrivals in Poland, and 3.98% of those interviewed pointed to small

Table 4. Purpose of travel by border section in Poland in 2001

Tabela 4. Cel podróży według odcinków granicznych w Polsce w 2001 roku

Border section	Purpose of travel							Total
	Unspecified	Small trade	Other	Visiting relatives	Business trip	Tourist	Shopping	
	%							
Unspecified	97.8	–	–	–	–	2.2	–	100
Belarusian	4.3	6.4	3.1	12.9	22.6	21.2	29.5	100
Czech	1.6	0.9	6.3	13.3	19.2	21.2	37.5	100
Maritime	3.0	–	6.3	23.4	23.8	37.6	6.0	100
Air	0.7	–	10.2	26.1	35.6	27.5	–	100
Lithuanian	4.6	6.9	4.5	7.0	41.6	23.7	11.8	100
German	2.3	1.0	5.6	16.5	18.1	21.6	34.9	100
Russian	1.6	3.7	0.6	9.8	8.9	49.7	25.6	100
Slovak	1.5	1.3	3.1	11.7	21.8	27.2	33.5	100
Ukrainian	0.9	17.6	6.8	15.4	18.9	16.7	23.7	100
Total	2.5	4.0	5.3	14.1	20.0	23.0	31.2	100

Source: Author's findings.

Źródło: Badania własne.

trade. Most travellers who declared shopping in Poland came from the Czech Republic (37.52%), next come the citizens of Slovakia (33.49%) and, finally, visitors from Germany (34.97%). In most cases, the tourist purpose was indicated by visitors from Russia (49.74%), by persons crossing the maritime border (37.55%) and the air border (27.49%), as well as by tourists crossing the Polish-Slovak border (27.22%). Business trips to Poland were most often made via air border (35.55%), Polish-Lithuanian border (41.56%), Polish-Slovak border (21.76%), and Polish-Belarusian border (22.62%). Visiting relatives constituted a significant percentage of respondents crossing the air border (26.07%), maritime border (23.42%), Polish-German border (16.50%) and Polish-Ukrainian border (15.43%).

Among persons interviewed on land border crossing sections the majority was made up by the citizens from the neighbouring countries and by the Polish citizens, while at the maritime and air borders those crossing the border were mainly the citizens of West European countries (see Table 5). Altogether, the majority of the respondents were the

Table 5. Citizenship of travellers by border section in Poland in 2001

Tabela 5. Obywatelstwo podróżnych według odcinków granicznych w Polsce w 2001 roku

Citizenship	Border section										Total
	Unspecified	Belarusian	Czech	Maritime	Air	Lithuanian	German	Russian	Slovak	Ukrainian	
	%										
Unspecified	98.9	4.98	0.87	0.37	–	6.05	1.2	0.21	0.31	1.99	1.99
Non-European countries	–	0.05	0.23	–	15.88	0.16	0.23	–	0.15	–	0.48
Former socialist countries	–	0.74	1.04	0.37	1.18	18.15	0.75	–	5.61	1.8	1.94
West European countries	–	–	2.71	37.92	24.64	0.64	4.25	–	2.5	0.08	3.15
Belarusian	–	66.58	0.17	1.12	0.47	0.8	1.12	–	–	0.04	6.99
Czech	1.1	0.34	27.24	1.49	0.71	0.48	1.58	–	0.36	0.15	9.27
Lithuanian	–	0.59	0.38	3.35	–	49.68	1.8	0.62	0.82	0.34	2.33
German	–	0.49	4.8	0.37	6.16	0.64	48.04	–	1.27	0.26	13.24
Polish	–	17.1	59.74	52.42	46.68	22.61	37.07	46.25	65.95	18.88	43
Russian	–	8.82	0.44	0.37	0.95	0.48	1.22	52.83	0.2	0.6	3.96
Slovak	–	0.1	1.93	1.12	–	0.32	0.21	–	22.32	–	2.85
Ukrainian	–	0.2	0.46	1.12	3.32	–	2.53	0.1	0.51	75.86	10.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Author's findings.

Źródło: Badania własne.

Polish people (43%), and next came the Germans (13%), the Ukrainians (11%), the Czech people (9%), and the Belarusians (7%), and the smallest number of visitors came from Russia (4%), Slovakia (3%) and Lithuania (2%). Citizens of West European countries constituted 3% of all the respondents, and visitors holding the passports of the former Eastern European bloc totalled 2% of all the persons interviewed.

To sum up, at the Polish-German, Polish-Czech and Polish-Slovak borders shopping was indicated most often as the purpose of cross-border travel; however, at the border crossing-points with Slovakia a sizeable number of visitors came also for tourist and business reasons. Those were secondary school graduates, and less frequently the graduates of technical and professional schools and university graduates, and the lowest percentage of cross-border travellers had primary education. The largest group included people aged between 30 and 50 years. The respondents came to Poland from Germany and the Czech Republic less frequently than once in a month, however a sizeable proportion of the persons interviewed pointed also to more frequent visits (once in a month and once in a week). Among travellers crossing the Polish-German border Germans formed the largest group, but there was also a remarkable number of the Poles. At the Polish-Czech and Polish-Slovak borders, on the other hand, most of the travellers were the Polish people, and the percentage of the Czechs and Slovaks respectively was also fairly high.

At the Polish-Ukrainian, Polish-Belarusian, Polish-Lithuanian and Polish-Russian borders the majority of travellers crossing the border were Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians and Russians respectively. The next largest national group was composed of the Poles. The significant proportion of people crossing the Polish-Belarusian border was also represented by the Russians, and a large group of those crossing the Polish-Lithuanian border comprised the citizens of the countries which emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. People crossing Poland's eastern border were most often secondary school graduates, less frequently graduates of technical/professional schools and university graduates, and the smallest proportion included persons who had primary education. The largest group included people aged between 30 and 50 years. Among the respondents the largest number of people came once in a month or more frequently, and a sizeable group of the persons interviewed pointed also to more frequent visits than once in a week. At the Polish-Ukrainian, Polish Belarussian and Polish-Russian borders respondents pointed to shopping as the most frequent purpose of their travels, just as at the western and southern borders, whilst on the Lithuanian border section people usually reported tourist and business purposes.

At the air and maritime borders the largest groups of travellers crossing the border were the Polish citizens and the citizens of West European and non-European countries. The most frequent purposes of travels indicated in the questionnaires were business and tourist trips and visiting relatives. The air travel was chosen by people who had university diploma and secondary education, whereas graduates of secondary schools, universities and technical and professional schools arrived by sea. The largest group of travellers included people aged between 30 and 50 years. The respondents travelling by air and by sea arrived in Poland less frequently than once in a month.

COMMODITIES BROUGHT TO POLAND MOST FREQUENTLY

The most important group of goods in cross-border shopping in Poland in 2001 comprised alcoholic beverages and cigarettes (see Table 6). Next came foodstuffs, clothing as well as washing agents and chemical agents. Almost 36% of all the travellers questioned carried vodka or other high-proof alcohols, that is to say those having pure alcohol content above 38%. The next nineteen percent of travellers brought beer or wine into Poland, and almost sixteen percent imported cigarettes or tobacco products. Foodstuffs were imported by more than 17% of people. Washing agents were found in travelling bags and luggage of some 3% of the persons interviewed. The remaining commodity groups were less important and were brought in by less than 1% of the respondents. It should be emphasized that within the framework of cross-border shopping vodka was imported mainly from the Czech Republic (almost 36%), and in lesser amounts from Belarus (about 16%), Ukraine (about 15%), Slovakia (more than 12%) and Germany (5.5%). Spirits, on the other hand, were mainly brought from Ukraine (44%), Belarus (29%) and Germany (17%), and lesser amounts of this beverage were imported to Poland from the Czech Republic (7%) and Slovakia (4%). Cigarettes came primarily from Ukraine (32%), Belarus (30%) and Russia (25%), whilst tobacco products were imported mainly from the Czech Republic (72%), and in smaller amounts from Belarus (22%). Foodstuffs were brought most often from the Czech Republic (56%), Germany (28%) and Slovakia (13%). The list of countries from which clothes and footwear were brought included Germany (51%) and the Czech Republic (33%), and less goods were bought in Slovakia (5%). Of some importance in this field was also the maritime border (3%) and the air border (4%). Washing agents and chemical agents were mainly brought from Germany (69%) and the Czech Republic (28%). It should be pointed out that from among the remaining commodity groups which were not brought to Poland on a large scale the major countries of unrecorded imports were Germany and the Czech Republic. The main commodities brought from those countries were cars and their spare parts, tractors and agricultural appliances, furniture, works of art, ceramics and other goods.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of statistical material leads us to the following conclusions. Goods which were imported most frequently by cross-border shoppers were excise goods, including vodka and other high-proof alcohols (38% and more), cigarettes, wine and beer. In addition, some foodstuffs were also purchased abroad. Thus, it can be concluded that the most important factor affecting the scope and intensity of cross-border shopping in Poland was the difference in prices and in the income of the population. This conclusion has also been supported by the analysis of the conditioning of the phenomenon, since it shows that shopping is the main purpose of travels of a remarkable number of respondents. On the other hand, this survey of cross-border shopping did not reveal any illegal import to Poland of large quantities of fuels from her eastern neighbours. Since, however, it is regarded as smuggling, it is not within the scope of the phenomenon analysed in the present study.

Table 6. Commodities brought to Poland within the framework of the cross-border shopping by border section in 2001 [in %]

Tabela 6. Przewożone do Polski w ramach handlu przygranicznego towary według odcinków granicznych w 2001 roku [w %]

Commodity	Border section									Total
	Belarusian	Czech	Maritime	Air	Lithuanian	German	Russian	Slovak	Ukrainian	
Alcohols above 38%	15.47	35.76	1.31	0.98	1.40	5.44	12.40	12.55	14.69	100.00
Other foodstuffs	0.17	55.67	0.77	0.74	0.97	27.44	1.11	12.63	0.49	100.00
Cigarettes	29.75	1.73	1.50	0.29	5.97	3.69	24.66	0.91	31.51	100.00
Beer	1.30	57.05	0.36	0.07	1.01	12.11	2.27	25.55	0.29	100.00
Wine	5.70	42.30	0.84	1.87	1.31	16.06	3.45	25.40	3.08	100.00
Other articles	2.05	27.59	3.37	4.70	3.61	50.36	–	4.10	4.22	100.00
Clothes and footwear	1.02	32.86	3.06	4.49	0.82	51.02	0.20	5.31	1.22	100.00
Washing agents	–	27.85	0.48	–	–	68.52	–	3.15	–	100.00
Spirits	28.83	6.76	–	–	–	16.67	–	4.05	43.69	100.00
Other tobacco products	21.77	72.11	0.68	–	2.04	3.40	–	–	–	100.00
Household appliances	0.73	10.22	1.46	–	1.46	83.94	–	–	2.19	100.00
Electronic appliances	0.60	14.97	1.20	9.58	1.20	68.86	–	2.99	0.60	100.00
Alcohols below 38%	8.73	52.38	2.38	0.79	3.17	4.76	–	26.19	1.59	100.00
Perfumes	–	18.35	9.17	20.18	0.92	50.46	–	–	0.92	100.00
Cars	–	6.94	–	–	–	88.89	–	4.17	–	100.00
Other appliances and machinery	1.47	19.12	–	1.47	–	75.00	–	1.47	1.47	100.00
Car spare parts	–	16.67	–	–	–	81.82	–	1.52	–	100.00
Others	13.33	24.44	4.44	–	4.44	20.00	4.44	8.89	20.00	100.00
Building materials	2.38	30.95	–	–	–	54.76	–	2.38	9.52	100.00
Furniture	2.33	4.65	–	–	–	90.70	–	–	2.33	100.00
Glass and ceramics	6.06	57.58	–	–	3.03	21.21	–	6.06	6.06	100.00
Fuels	–	34.78	–	–	–	4.35	56.52	4.35	–	100.00
Wood products	11.11	–	11.11	11.11	16.67	22.22	–	5.56	22.22	100.00
Meat	–	50.00	–	–	16.67	16.67	–	16.67	–	100.00
Dairy produce and eggs	–	45.45	–	–	–	36.36	–	9.09	9.09	100.00
Medicines	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	100.00	–	100.00
Leather products	–	60.00	20.00	–	–	20.00	–	–	–	100.00
Works of art	–	–	–	25.00	–	75.00	–	–	–	100.00
Precious metal products	–	–	–	–	–	100.00	–	–	–	100.00
Total	10.92	36.03	1.23	1.12	2.01	17.15	8.67	12.06	10.81	100.00

Source: Author's findings.

Źródło: Badania własne.

The demographic analysis of the cross-border shoppers has shown that shopping is carried out mainly by people aged between 30 and 50 years who have secondary education, less frequently university degree and technical/professional diploma, and most rarely primary education and who come to Poland once in a month or more frequently. It can be concluded that cross-border shopping in Poland was a local activity since it was undertaken primarily by Polish citizens and by the citizens of countries bordering Poland on the given border section.

Certain regional differences regarding the citizenship of the cross-border shoppers have been revealed. At Poland's western border Germans prevailed among citizens crossing the border, and Polish citizens, too, constituted a sizeable proportion. Poland's southern border was mainly crossed for shopping purposes by Polish citizens, and Czechs and Slovaks also came in large numbers. Among persons crossing the eastern border the largest group consisted of the citizens of the neighbouring countries (Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Lithuania); there was also a certain number of the Poles and persons from the remaining countries which emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Among persons crossing the air and maritime borders the most sizeable group consisted of the Poles and of the citizens of West European and non-European countries.

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HANDEL PRZYGRANICZNY W POLSCE NA POCZĄTKU XXI WIEKU

Streszczenie. Zjawisko handlu przygranicznego było szczególnie intensywne w pierwszych latach okresu transformacji, a w miarę zmniejszania się różnic ekonomicznych między Polską a sąsiednimi krajami jego natężenie było coraz mniejsze. W analizowanym okresie uwidoczniły się pewne różnice regionalne w zakresie obywatelstwa uczestników handlu przygranicznego. Na granicy zachodniej wśród przekraczających granicę obywatele dominowali Niemcy, znaczący był również udział Polaków. Granicę południową przekraczali

w celach handlowych głównie obywatele Polski, odnotowano również znaczny udział Czechów i Słowaków. Na granicy wschodniej wśród przekraczających granicę największą grupę stanowili obywatele kraju sąsiadującego, był również pewien udział Polaków oraz osób z pozostałych państw powstałych z rozpadu ZSSR. Na granicy powietrznej i morskiej wśród przekraczających granicę obywateli wyraźnie dominowali Polacy oraz obywatele państw Europy Zachodniej i państw pozaeuropejskich.

Słowa kluczowe: handel przygraniczny, towary w handlu przygranicznym, zróżnicowanie regionalne

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