

Economic immigration in the secondary segment in Poland taking the example of employees from Ukraine

Marzena Sylwia Kruk¹

Abstract

The article aimed to analyse the labour market in Poland in relation to the employment of foreigners, especially immigrants from Ukraine, showing not only the dimensions of economic immigration over the period 2009-2019 but also the impact on the Polish economy. An analysis of the changes in the situation of foreign workers in the labour market over the last decade shows that despite an increase in employment among foreigners, they are not competition for native employees, which means that they “do not take jobs”, on the contrary – they fill the gap where there is a shortage of native employees, because, for example, they went abroad or do not want to take niche, low-paid jobs.

The method is based on statistical analysis of existing data contained in reports and at the Ministry of Labour from 2009 to 2019. This allowed an analysis of the dynamics of the process and the capturing of trends in the employment of immigrants in individual years and industries. The results of the research analysis indicate that foreigners ensure compatibility of service and production levels (e.g., no breaks in production or trade). Simplified procedures for employing foreigners, especially in the field of issued declarations on entrusting work to foreigners result in a further inflow of employees, mainly from such countries as Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. In addition, the number of long-term immigrants undertaking their own business activities is increasing. Legally employed foreigners are taxed on their work which, increases the PKB in Poland.

Keywords: *Second labour market; immigrants; development*

Introduction

Today, globalization is defined as an integrated global socio-economic system, associated with large corporations, characterized by supranational and transnational diffusion of capital and the adoption of the principle of free trade in the field of economics (economic globalization) and the imitation of cultural patterns, especially on a mass scale (cultural globalization). Globalization takes many forms and affects the entire economy of the countries involved. In the era of globalization, migration processes have gained special significance, as removing barriers to the free flow of financial capital and goods leads to the free movement of people (Miłaszewicz, Siedlikowski 2016:110).

Globalization brings many changes in both the technological and social dimensions (Kowalski, Figiel, Halamska 2011:2). According to D. Gabor, innovations do not have to be only technical, they can be of a different nature, e.g., biological or social. It is important that they work to improve the new harmony, the new balance, otherwise, they fail. Social innovations are often called reforms because they relate to various problems that society -

¹ Marzena Sylwia Kruk, Department Sociology, University Maria Curie Skłodowska, Lublin, Poland.
E-mail: msylwia.kruk@poczta.umcs.lublin.pl



wanting to survive - should solve. These include environmental, financial, educational, peace-keeping, and other problems (Gabor 1970).

According to R.K. Merton, the aim of innovation is not so much the accumulation of knowledge as the change of process, product, and organization (Merton 1982). The change in the organization of work concerns the growing migration of seasonal workers as well as the deficit of employees in various service industries. This process requires, first and foremost, the definition of an effective migration policy that prevents illegal migration. Knowledge of external conditions, especially demographic changes and the demand for employees of certain economic sectors, allows for avoiding the economic deficit, and thus - stabilizing the economic situation. Due to the rapidly growing number of employed foreigners (especially, e.g., in the Śląskie and Mazowieckie voivodships), it is important to constantly monitor this group of employees as well as support them in many situations of economic emigration. Labour market institutions face new challenges not only to mediate employment but also to provide support in, for example, professional or legal counselling. In a family reunification situation, such help becomes indispensable for entire migrating families in Poland.

Migration and The Labour Market - Theoretical Background

One of the earliest theories of migration is the classical theory created in the mid-nineteenth century, which considers migration as a means to achieve spatial economic equilibrium, while migration is a factor balancing labour markets (Janicki 2007: 285-304). The study of labor migration in EU countries raises many issues related mainly to:

- transfer of employee power (work performance, especially from poor countries to more economically developed countries and in those professions with deficits, e.g. social welfare, medical services, IT and construction industries;
- Development of social networks in new countries;
- Transfer of resources (tangible and intangible) (Voloshyn 2011).

The pioneer of this theory, Arthur Lewis, distinguished traditional and modern sectors in the economies; the latter attracts people from the former, which means that it can maintain relatively lower wages (still attractive to migrants), and its effect is faster development. These relationships were transferred internationally, where migrations take place towards countries with higher wages, however, with full freedom of migration, the benefits are mutual: a decrease in unemployment and an increase in wages in the sending country, as well as a reduction in wage growth and capital creation in the receiving country (Kacperska 2018: 147). Work migration varies from country to country and there are other factors that encourage transit, such as employment contracts, seasonal work or simply social security on the part of employers. Factors stimulating and discouraging economic migration depend on the migration policy, the economic situation, the deficit of native workers in particular industries or occupations, as well as social relations: both among the diaspora and the host society (Sadova, Kniaziev, Andrusyshyn, 2013). We can indicate here the factors (environment) of the sending country and factors (environment) of the receiving country. This theory is based on push and pull factors, assuming, in macroeconomic terms, that migration movements are a process that compensates for the differences in pay levels resulting from existing differences in the volume of labour demand and supply (Todaro 1976). Push factors are high unemployment and low wages while attracting higher wages and a lower unemployment rate.



The assumption of this theory is full employment as well as the exclusive influence of the labour market on the migration process and mutual benefits (Massey 1993). The neoclassical theory at the microeconomic level assumes that the decisions of individuals to undertake migration result from the individual calculation of profits and costs of moving from one country to another (Janicki 2007: 4).

The new economic theory of migration maintains the rationalism of choice postulated by neoclassical theory as the basis for the decision to migrate, but the basic unit under consideration is the household. The main goal of the household is not to maximize profit, while minimizing risks; the new economic theory of migration assumes that one of the most important determinants of migration is the environment, which is a reference point for the household. The decision to migrate is conditioned by certain structural factors in the sending country, e.g., insufficient development of the market economy, and an underdeveloped financial market and insurance system (Stark 1991). The advantage of this theory is the ability to explain internal migration in low-level countries (Janicki 2007:4). In addition, the migration networks are subject to change both in terms of quality, e.g. the level of social trust, everyday life practices of immigrants, etc., and quantitatively, e.g. the amount of resources and transfers, data on the demand for individual occupations or the number of employees in the primary and secondary labor market (Buchel, Van Ham, 2003: 482-493).

One of the main theories, the concept of a dual labour market, is particularly important from the point of view of the undertaken issues. The basic hypothesis of the dual labour market concept assumes that the labour market is divided into two parts, in which employees and employers operate on the basis of completely different rules of conduct, characterized by different identifiable features (Krynska 1996:95). The labour market is not perceived as a single area, but rather as a multitude of markets with different structures and characteristics. In sociological explanations, this division of the labour market is a decisive result of employees having certain characteristics (race, gender, age) that affect their work and living environments (Krynska, Kwiatkowski 2013). According to this concept, the labour market is divided into two parts: the first (*primary*) and second (*secondary*) segments. As a consequence of this division, the primary sector of the economy is assigned to the primary sector of the labour market, while the boundary sector is assigned to the secondary sector. This concept distinguishes between “good jobs” - essentially attributed to the first sector, and “bad jobs” - related to the secondary sector (Krynska 2007:1).

The first segment offers jobs in large, profitable enterprises, which are largely covered by the supervision and influence of trade unions. Employees in this sector are protected against the arbitrariness of employers, have a guarantee of job stability, conditions for promotion, opportunities to expand professional knowledge, and stable working conditions. The available jobs are better paid and strongly preferred by employees (Krynska, Kwiatkowski 2013). Free access to jobs in the primary market is limited by strictly defined criteria of employment, precisely defined levels of professional promotion, etc. Access to the primary labour market is made in order to avoid employing persons who are unable to perform their tasks properly in a manner imposed by the characteristics of this segment.

The secondary market jobs are at the opposite extreme. They are unattractive, offer relatively low wages, modest working conditions, low career opportunities, do not provide opportunities to raise qualifications, and do not guarantee permanent employment. The described jobs are characterized by high employee fluctuation and ease of transfer from one

job to another. In analyses focused on the employed groups, the second segment is identified as a group of “victims”, about whom one can speak of a worse job (Bednarski 2012: 45). The essence of the problem, however, is not the mere existence of two labour markets, but their low permeability to employees; starting a job in the worse segment at the beginning of a career can largely determine the entire career of an individual (Bednarski 2012: 45).

According to Michael Piore, the reason for the strengthening of demand for foreigners to work is a deep segmentation of the labour market (Piore 1979). In each of the most developed countries, there are segments of the labour market to which the employment of native workers falls regardless of their supply. Even with high unemployment rates, domestic employees reject certain unattractive offers for them, and this also applies to women and young employees who undertook these jobs in earlier periods. First of all, these are less-paid jobs with low productivity, a large range of seasonality, do not require high qualifications, are dangerous, and with low prestige (Golinowska 2004: 23). In addition, foreign workers, agreeing to a low-paid and low-prestigious job, are “a godsend” for the economy of the host countries (Golinowska 2004: 24). Why do foreign workers agree to such conditions and low prestige? Taking the example of employees from Central and Eastern European countries, consent to the conditions offered in the host countries is primarily due to the possibility of obtaining higher wages in low-paid sectors abroad (where there is demand for them) compared to the sector in which they obtain or can get a job [in their home country?]. Reconciling with low prestige can be easier when the work is periodic, when you can go home and have higher prestige than before leaving (Golinowska 2004: 23). The conceptual basis for the theory of the world system was Wallerstein's (1974) attempt in the 1970s to group countries with different levels of development into concentrically arranged circles consisting of core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral areas.

Migrations are perceived here as one of the effects of the domination of highly developed countries forming the nucleus over less developed countries with a peripheral location. Thanks to migrations, the nucleus can grow even faster, which results in a development distance between it and the periphery which is constantly growing (Arango 2000). According to J. Brzozowski (2011), none of the analysed economic concepts of migration, in isolation from others, fully explains the migration process in an international way. “Furthermore, even an attempt to combine the use of neoclassical migration theory, new economic theory of migration, and dual labour market theory does not fully explain the phenomenon of migration.” (Brzozowski 2011:71). Research analysis on the issue of migration, especially the labour market, should be interdisciplinary (Grzymała- Kazłowska 2013:46).

Impact of Economic Immigration on The Labour Market in Poland Taking The Example of Immigrants From Ukraine

Economic immigration for the host country can be complementary or substitutive. In the case of the complementarity of employment, there is a positive effect on the economy and the labour market. Employment of foreigners as a supplement to the labour market shortages may include affecting the stimulation of labour demand. However, if we are dealing with the substitutive nature of employment of foreigners, then there may be instability of employment for native employees and a reduction in wages in a given profession or industry (Smith, Edmonston 1997: 137-139).



In the coming years, the structure of the economy and the technologies used will remain unchanged, so the main impact of migration will be to increase the supply of labour. Thus, in the short term, immigrants tend to lower wages, and thus incomes, for similarly qualified native labour. Instead, they have a positive impact on the earnings of local employees with complementary skills. In addition, by bringing about a situation that favours employers (increasing labour supply), in the short term, immigrants also contribute to increasing the profits of owners and employers (Wysieńska, Karpiński 2011: 4).

The positive effect of immigration on the results achieved by native workers depends on how much they differ in their experience and skills on average (social capital possessed) from immigrants (Ruhs, Vargas-Silva 2012). In the long term, both the structure of the economy and its technologies can fully adapt to long-term immigrants, which will reduce their impact on earnings and profits (Di Pietro 2002). We are then dealing with a characteristic reverse process: immigration drives the profits of owners and employers who, therefore, increase investment, which in turn reduces profits. For example, the purchase of new machines, technologies, etc. increases the demand for operators, which increases the demand for work and the offered level of remuneration. Once the economic system has fully adapted to immigration, it will have a negligible impact on the wages of the native labour force (labour supply and demand will again reach equilibrium). The positive migration effect will only be maintained if the skills of migrants and local workers remain different. The more they become similar, the smaller the positive impact of immigration on productivity and earnings will become (Wysieńska, Karpiński 2011: 4).

Estimation of the level of intensity of migration processes in a specific transit of the labour force.

- a. The coefficient of the intensity of mechanical movement - the ratio of the number of migrants in a particular territorial-administrative area to the total population of this area (specific locality, region, country) for the same period.
- b. The coefficient of the intensity of population departure - the ratio of the number of those who left a certain territorial-administrative area (state, region) in a certain period to the average annual population of the area from which migrants left.
- c. The coefficient of the intensity of the arrival of the working population - the ratio of the number of the arrived working population to a certain territorial-administrative area (country, region) to the average annual population of a certain country (region to which migrants arrived).
- d. Migration balance (net migration) - the difference between the number of arrivals and the number of departures of the working population by a certain territorial-administrative area (state, region) in the analysed period.
- e. Net migration ratio - the difference between the arrival and departure ratios.
- f. Gross coefficient of mechanical movement of the working population - the ratio of the number of ethnic Ukrainian migrants in a particular period in a particular territorial-administrative area to the total population of that territory.
- g. Net coefficient of mechanical movement of the working population - the ratio of the number of migrants in a particular period in a particular territorial-administrative area to the total population of that territory. This indicator does not take into account migrants who have renounced their citizenship in favour of the

citizenship of the host country and are considered citizens of another country with roots in the donor country.

- h. Effective migration growth rate - the share of the economically active population in total migration growth.
- i. The coefficient of quality of migration growth - the share in the migration growth of skilled labour, which has significant work experience (at least five years) in the speciality, and also has a certificate of professional training in the speciality (diploma, certificate, etc.).

Regardless of the measure adopted, however, the impact of immigrants on the economy of the host country and the economic situation of its inhabitants depends primarily on the characteristics of those immigrants as well as the state and type of the economy of a given country. A positive or negative economic effect depends on such variables as a combination of the professional and social skills of immigrants and members of the host society, the host country's economic system (capital structure and economic institutions), and the flexibility of economic entities necessary to accommodate migrants (e.g., making changes in the employment system or the technologies used). That is why most economic analyses of the impact of immigration distinguish the effect of the inflow of low-qualified immigrants, highly-qualified immigrants, and the long- and short-term effect (Wysieńska, Karpiński 2011: 4).

The precariat is most often associated with the situation of people who have to make a living from low-quality, insecure, temporary, low-paid jobs, with no prospects of promotion, without security, and most often also without a contract. People taking precarious work share the uncertainty of tomorrow, which does not allow anything to be planned as well as such low pay as to not allow for a dignified life.

Precarious is a man suspended between prosperity and poverty, deprived of material security and constantly threatened by social marginalization. "They all share the feeling that their work is instrumental (to survive), opportunistic (take whatever comes along), and precarious (uncertain). Standing (2014): 55. "Precarious work is a combination of various practices related to "feeling the lack of something", e.g., stable working conditions, adequate and stable salaries, labour protection and protection against unjustified dismissal, etc., which are associated with the phenomenon of progressive degradation of employment status.

The results of a survey conducted in 2015 on a group of 46 Polish employers employing workers from Ukraine (Kupczyk (2017): 27) indicate that the most important reason for employing immigrants from Ukraine has become the lack of Polish workers ready to undertake the job. As much as 91% of employers indicated this reason, while in the research from 2009-2010 it was 60% of employers (Kupczyk 2017: 27). The analysis of data also leads to the conclusion that an important reason for employing immigrants from Ukraine has become the need to reduce staff turnover because they are less likely to change jobs (Kupczyk (2017: 27). Employers stated that despite high unemployment, native workers do not want to work; and if they do, they are not satisfied with their work and they quit more quickly, which means that employers do not want to employ native workers. Foreign entrepreneurs constitute an important group influencing the economy of Poland.

According to K. Andrejuk, recent years have brought a dynamic increase in the number of Ukrainian enterprises (sole proprietorship) registered in Poland. It is worth noting that



entrepreneurs from Ukraine who run their own businesses have already had experience in the Polish labour market, mainly in the form of civil law contracts (Andrejuk 2016: 235). It can be stated that immigrants make up for the shortages of employees in individual sectors of the economy. At the same time, it should not be expected that the industry structure of immigrant employment will not change radically. However, the number of immigrants with higher competencies may gradually increase as a result of foreigners starting studies at Polish universities more often (Kowalówka 2015).

Forms of Employment, Structure of Origin, and Sectors in Which Immigrants in Poland Work

The quantitative method is based on the data contained in labour market reports from 2009-2019 at the Ministry of Labour in Poland. Statistical analysis enables capturing the trends in labour immigration from Ukraine to Poland. There is currently no comprehensive analysis of existing data. The author has synthetically compiled hard quantitative data indicating the most important immigration variables from Ukraine. Since Poland acceded to the European Union, an increase in the employment of immigrants has been noticeable, see *Table 1*.

Table 1. Types of contracts registered in the first half of 2018 by citizenship

Country	Belorussia	Russia	Ukraine	Moldova	Georgia	Armenia	Total
Job contract	12 398	1 180	227 575	4 434	3 804	328	249 719
Contract of mandate	16 588	1 359	436 615	13 891	7 163	382	475 998
Contract work	1 533	123	23 990	641	294	50	26 631
Other	127	14	4 286	17	18	2	4 464

Source: own elaboration based on MRPiPS [tps://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-rynku-pracy](https://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-rynku-pracy) (18.09.2018).

Employment of foreigners in Poland is regulated by the Acts on foreigners of December 12, 2013 (Journal of Laws 2013, item 1650) and employment promotion and labour market institutions of April 20, 2004 (Journal of Laws 2016, item 645). Recent changes in the regulations governing the employment of foreigners in Poland intend to open the labour market for foreigners, which is reflected primarily in the expansion of the group of people who can work without a permit as well as simplifying the procedure for obtaining permits (Kacperska 2018: 147).

The number of work permits issued for foreigners in Poland is steadily increasing. In 2017, 235.6 thousand of them were issued, almost twice as many as in 2016 and almost four times more than in 2015. In turn, in the first half of 2018, there were more than 147 thousand permits issued *Table 2*.

Table 2. Number of work permits issued in Poland in 2011-2018 (first half).

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Work permits	40 808	39 144	39 078	43 663	65 786	127 394	235 627	147 981

Source: Own elaboration based on MRPiPS [tps://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-rynku-pracy](https://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-rynku-pracy) (18.09.2018).

From January 1, 2018, pursuant to the Act of 20 July 2017 amending the Act on employment promotion and labour market institutions, there were a number of changes in the employment rules for foreigners in Poland. They concern²:

- implementation of the Directives of the European Parliament and of the Council 2014/36/EU of 26 February 2014 on the conditions of departure and stay of third-country nationals for the purpose of employment as a seasonal worker;
- preventing abuses, more efficient management of economic migration, and improvement of employment standards for foreigners. (Act on employment promotion and labour market institutions. Legal status valid as of November 14, 2018. See. Dz. U. 2017.0.1065).

Among the most important changes, seasonal work permits were introduced in accordance with the EU directive. The amendment introduces a new solution in the form of a multi-season permit so that the employer can obtain an entry in the seasonal work record for a period of three years. On this basis, a foreigner may apply for an appropriate visa in subsequent years or enter Poland in the case of foreigners covered by the provisions on visa-free travel without additional formalities. The changes also apply to the so-called simplified declaration procedure³.

Presently, foreigners can obtain a work permit in Poland for a period of up to three years, with the possibility of its extension in five types of employment. Type (A) - applies to a foreigner who works under a contract with an employer whose registered office is in Poland. This type of work permit is issued when there is an insufficient number of Polish workers seeking employment in a given profession in a given area, and the remuneration to be obtained by a foreigner will not be lower than the remuneration received by a Polish citizen in a given position. The labour market test is not required in the case of employing a foreigner in a deficit occupation. The other four types of permits (B to E) relate to foreigners who are executives, advisors, and experts who work for foreign employers⁴ (Kaluza-Kopias 2016: 19) *Table 3*.

Table 3. Structure of work permits for foreigners by type of permit in the first half of 2018.

Type of work permit	Number of work permits	Share (%)
A	141812	95,83
B	202	0,13
C	3541	2,39
D	844	0,57
E	1575	1,06
Total	147981	100,0

Source: Own elaboration based on MRPiPS [tps://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-ryнку-pracy](https://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-ryнку-pracy) (18.09.2018).

² Act on employment promotion and labour market institutions. Legal status valid as of November 14, 2018. See. Dz. U. 2017.0.1065.

³ Declarations on entrusting work to foreigners are registered only in the case of non-seasonal work performed by citizens of six countries: Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine. See. MRPiPS (2018).

⁴ Other employment categories: category (B) - foreigners who are members of management boards; C - employees delegated to work in Poland for a period exceeding 30 days in a calendar year to a branch or plant of a foreign entity, its subsidiary, or entity related by a long-term cooperation agreement with a foreign employer; category (D) - employees who are posted to provide temporary and occasional services; (E) - employees who are posted for a period exceeding 3 months in the next 6 months for a purpose other than for B-D permits.



Analysing work permits for foreigners by employee groups, such as managerial staff (experts), skilled workers, and employees with simple work in the years 2008-2018, there is a noticeable increase in the permits issued in each of the mentioned employee groups, see *Table 4*. Most permits issued in the analysed years 2008-2016 concern skilled workers. In 2016, in general, of 127 394 work permits issued, as many as 51 891 concerned qualified employees, 30 750 permits concerned employees with simple work, and only 5,141 work permits issued concerned management staff and experts. In 2017, according to the classification of professions and specialities, foreigners worked mainly as industrial workers and craftsmen (30.6%), employees performing simple work (28.3%), and operators and assemblers of machinery and equipment (21.5%). In all voivodships, the total share of permits for the above occupational groups exceeded 70% (GUS 2018:4).

Table 4. Work permits in Poland from 2008-2018 by groups of major job and speciality classifications

Year	Number of permits	According to employers' groups		
		Group I	Group II	Group III
2018	147981	4880	96 264	46837
2017	235 626	11776	157226	66624
2016	127394	5141	51891	30750
2015	65786	3592	28555	15039
2014	43663	3106	14917	5830
2013	40827	3026	10700	5761
2012	39144	3253	13015	5731
2011	40808	3305	13304	6491
2010	36622	3856	11106	4974
2009	29340	5700	9143	4829
2008	18022	4923	6219	2426

Source: Work permits for foreigners, <http://www.mrpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-Polsce-statystyki/> (4.04.2019).

Since 2011, the main form of employment of foreigners in Poland has been statements from employers about entrusting work by foreigners, submitted to powiat labour offices and entered in the register of declarations. Since 2011, the number of issued declarations on entrusting work to foreigners in Poland, compared to work permits issued to foreigners, is from six times (in 2011) up to eight times (in 2014) higher *Table 5*. The highest number of declarations were recorded in 2016 (1 314 127) and 2017 (over 1 800 000).

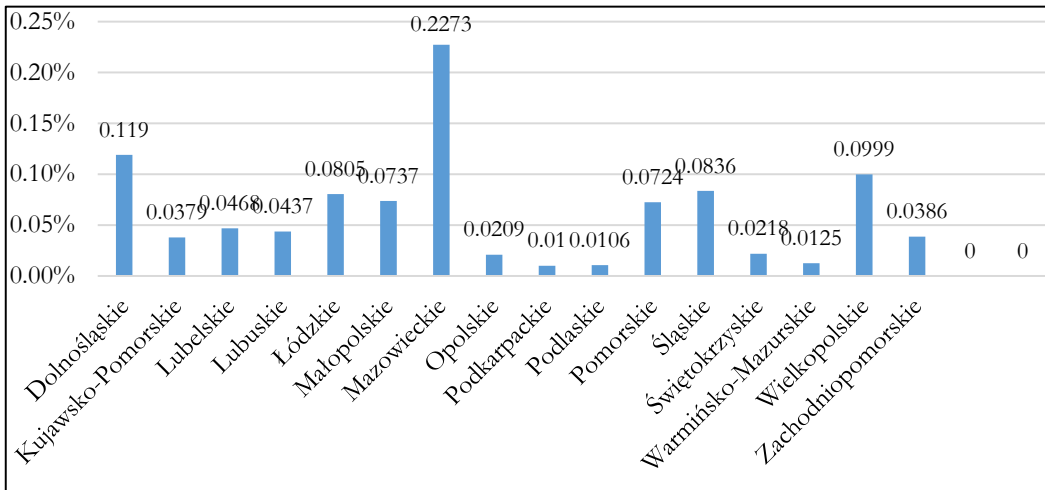
Table 5. The number of declarations of work registered in Poland in the years 2009-2017

Year	Number of declarations	Change (%), relative to the previous year
2009	188 414	20,23%
2010	180 073	-4,43%
2011	259 777	44,26%
2012	243 736	-6,17%
2013	235 616	-3,33%
2014	387 398	64,42%
2015	782 222	101,92%
2016	1 314 127	68,00%
2017	1 800 917	38,83%

Source: Kacperska (2018): 150. Data for 2017 - Own elaboration based on MRPiPS <tps://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-ryнку-pracy> (18.09.2018).

Most work permits for foreigners are issued in the Mazowieckie voivodship, but the share of this voivodship in the total number of permits issued is decreasing. In 2015 it was 49.4% and in 2017 22.73% (GUS 2018:2). In 2017, the largest number of permits after the Mazowieckie voivodship was issued in the Dolnośląskie voivodship - 11.90% of the total number of positive decisions *Graph 1*.

Graph 1. Structure of declarations registered in 2017 by voivodships in Poland (%)

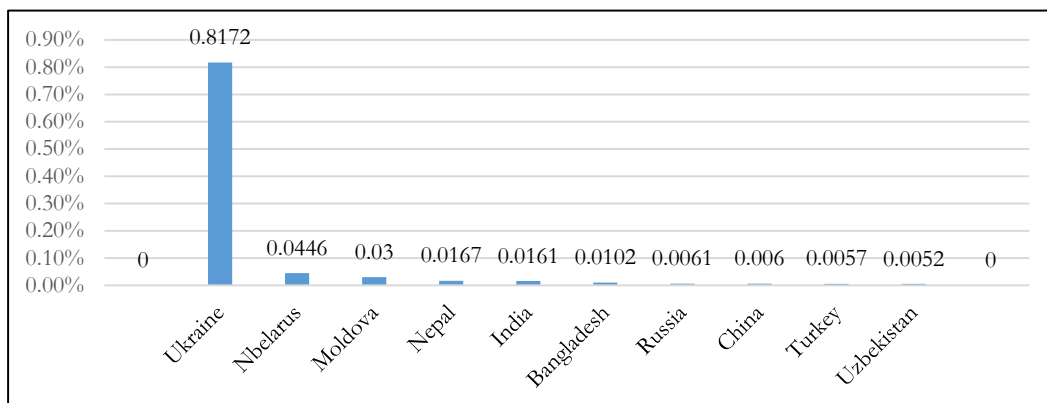


Source: Own elaboration based on MRPiPS [tps://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-ryнку-pracy](https://rynekpracy.pl/artykuly/imigranci-spoza-ue-na-polskim-ryнку-pracy) (18.09.2018).

However, the quoted data regarding the legal employment of foreigners do not show the actual scale of employment of immigrants in Poland. There are three reasons for this; firstly, there are no statistics on the actual number of foreigners employed on the basis of employers' declarations of intention to employ a foreigner. Secondly, there is no data on the size of immigrant employment in the "grey economy". Most estimates of the extent of illegal employment put it at 100-200 thousand people (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk 2007: 11-38). Thirdly, many categories of foreigners may work without a permit, e.g., persons under international protection, spouses of Polish citizens, foreigners with a permanent residence permit, holders of a Pole's Card, and holders of certain types of temporary residence permits (MRPiPS 2018:11).

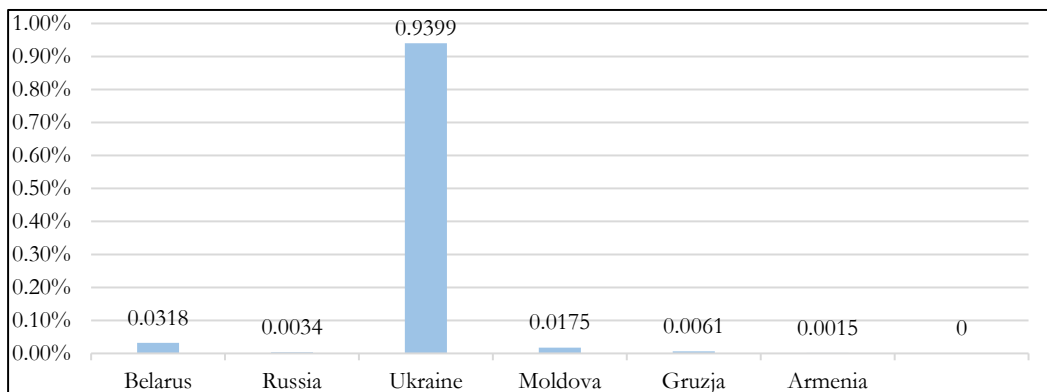
Since 2018, the possibility of using the simplified procedure and the flexible use of test procedures means that the Polish labour market is becoming increasingly full of employees from third countries (Kacperska 2018: 149). Among immigrants employed in Poland, the most numerous group are Ukrainians. This is visible in both statistics regarding work permits and statements. In the first case, Ukrainians constitute 81.72% of the total immigrants (*Graph. 2*), in the second it is as much as 93.99% (*Graph. 3*). The share of this nationality in the labour market in Poland is still growing: in 2009 - 32%, in 2014 - 60.30%, in 2015 - 76.71% and in 2017 - 93.99% (Kacperska 2018: 151).



Graph 2. Structure of work permits for foreigners by citizenship in 2017 (in%).

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy. Labour Market Department. Information on employment of foreigners in Poland. Warsaw 2018.

Legal regulations introducing a simplified procedure allow the employment (employers' declarations on entrusting work to a foreigner) by citizens of six foreign countries: Ukraine - 93.99%, Belarus - 3.18%, Moldova - 1.75%, Georgia - 0.61%, Russia - 0.34%, Armenia 0.15% (GUS 2018: 24).

Graph 3. Structure of statements registered in 2017 by citizenship

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy. Labour Market Department. Information on employment of foreigners in Poland. Warsaw 2018.

The dominant share of employees from Ukraine concerned especially the voivodships of Kuyavian-Pomeranian and Podkarpackie, Podlasie, Lubelskie, Mazowieckie and Warmian-Masurian. In the Podlasie and Lublin regions, foreigners who were granted permission to work in Poland were over 1/3 Belarusian citizens (NBP 2018: 24).

In 2017, the vast majority (74.0%) of work permits issued to foreigners concerned men, who constituted a majority in all the voivodships. The share of women among foreigners for whom employers obtained work permits, above the average for Poland, was recorded in the following voivodships: Dolnośląskie, Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Łódź, and Mazowieckie (approx. 30% each). However, in eastern Poland, on average, only one in eight permits were granted to women (GUS 2018:3).

In the structure of registered declarations, two trends attract attention. One of them is the growing interest in employees from Ukraine among employers from regions other than Mazovia, primarily in Łódź (from 2.9% in 2014 to 7.6% in 2016), Greater Poland (from 5.7% to 9.7%), Silesia (from 2.9% to 6.5%), and Lesser Poland (from 5.1% to 7.7%). Another important change is the growing interest among employees from Ukraine in industries other than agriculture. The interest in working in such industries as construction, industrial processing, transport, trade, and the household sector is systematically growing (NBP 2018:8).

Sectors in which foreigners find employment indicate rather their employment in the so-called secondary labour market, including physical, repetitive, and low-skilled jobs. The secondary labour market mainly consists of people on lower wages and migrants with low levels of transferable skills (Wysińska, Karpiński 2011: 17).

In the declarations, the most popular profession for which statements were registered in 2017 was that of agricultural worker. After that come workers performing works in general construction, workers performing simple works in industry, other workers performing simple unclassified works, e.g., warehouseman, office aids and cleaners, truck drivers, manual packers, workers in fish processing, workers undertaking simple temporary jobs (Kacperska 2018: 151). The largest number of statements entered in the records in the first half of 2018 concerned the following industry sectors: agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishing - 17%, industrial processing - 11%, construction - 11%, administrative services and supporting activities - mainly temporary employment agencies - 40%. It is worth noting that the number of declarations issued in the field of administration services and supporting activities have increased.

Statistics on the number of permits issued to foreigners in 2017 show that the largest number were registered in the sectors of activity in the field of administration services and supporting activities - 25.29%, then in the construction sector - 19.64%, in manufacturing - 18.59 %, and in transport and storage - 14.46%. It is in them that the most skilled and unskilled workers are found. Only in the first sector is an increase in permits issued noticeable compared to 2016; from 19.28% to 25.29%. Other sectors remain at a similar percentage level of certificates issued in individual segments of the economy.

According to the 2018 National Bank of Poland Report, employees from Ukraine show strong diversity when it comes to employment in different agglomerations. In the case of Warsaw, the largest number of employees is recorded in household services - 34.6%, and construction - 22.7%. In Lublin, the most popular sectors are hotel and catering - 24.2%, wholesale and retail 21.2%, and other services 13.8%. Transport, which is almost entirely absent on the map of the labour market in Warsaw, is also relatively important (11.4%)⁵ (NBP 2018:16-17).

Conclusion

The article aimed to analyse the labour market in Poland in relation to the employment of foreigners, especially immigrants from Ukraine, and to show not only the dimensions of economic immigration over the years 2009-2018 but also the impact on the Polish economy.

⁵ The vast majority of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland perform simple jobs that do not require high qualifications, almost 66% in Lublin and about 73% in Warsaw. In the Mazowieckie voivodship, every fifth migrant from Ukraine was employed as a qualified craftsman / worker - 21.8%. The situation is slightly different in Lublin, where in addition to skilled workers and craftsmen - 12.1%, specialists, doctors, lawyers, etc. also have a significant impact at 12.1% NBP (2108): 16-17.



An analysis of changes in the situation of foreign employees in the labour market in the last decade shows that, despite the increase in employment among foreigners, they are not competition for Polish employees, which means that “they do not take our jobs”, on the contrary - they fill the gaps where there is a shortage of Polish employees, because, for example, they went abroad or do not want to undertake niche, low-paid jobs. Simplified procedures for employing foreigners, especially in the scope of issued declarations on entrusting work to foreigners, result in a further influx of employees, mainly from such countries as Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine (MRPiPS 2018). In addition, the number of long-term immigrants starting their own businesses will increase. Taxes are paid from the work of legally employed foreigners, which increases the country's GDP⁶ (Milaszewicz, Siedlikowski 2016: 113).

In the destination country, migrants very often fill a gap in the labour market by performing activities that the local population does not want to undertake. It is necessary to involve both employers and temporary employment agencies in monitoring conditions, job satisfaction, and the development of immigrants so that they are more interested in working in Poland (Kupczyk 2017:27).

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⁶ Financial transfers. According to the estimates of the National Bank of Poland, from 2004-2013 the transfer of funds to the country from Poles employed in the EU amounted to EUR 36.1 billion (Milaszewicz, Siedlikowski 2016: 113).

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SUMMARY

The article aimed to analyse the labour market in Poland in relation to the employment of foreigners, especially immigrants from Ukraine, showing not only the dimensions of economic immigration over the period 2009-2018 but also the impact on the Polish economy. Analysis of changes in the situation of foreign workers in the labour market over the last decade shows that despite the increase in employment among foreigners, they are not competition for native employees, which means that they “do not take jobs”, on the contrary - they fill the gaps where there is a shortage of native employees, because, for example, they went abroad or do not want to take niche, low-paid jobs. Because of this, foreigners ensure compatibility of service and production levels (e.g., no breaks in production or trade). Simplified procedures for employing foreigners, especially in the field of issued declarations on entrusting work to foreigners, would result in a further inflow of employees, mainly from



such countries as Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine (MRPiPS 2018). In addition, the number of long-term immigrants undertaking their own business activity is increasing. Legally employed foreigners are taxed on their work which, increases the PKB in Poland.

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5067-632X>