

# STUDIA I MONOGRAFIE

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## **The Wage-Earning Immigration Into Opole Province. The Scale, Conditions and Prospects**



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## Introduction

The unprecedented, on the nationwide scale, emigration – either permanent or periodical – of inhabitants of Opole Province (Voivodeship)<sup>1</sup> has for many years now caused this region to be an area of penetrating research relating to this phenomenon, its causes and social and economic effects, also entailing formulation of prognoses for the future.<sup>2</sup> Opole Region is one of the few (if not the only one) provinces, in which this phenomenon has been and is still being examined in a complex manner. It has been established, among others, that about 118 thousand inhabitants of the Province are working abroad.<sup>3</sup> This causes a gap to form in the labour market, which – more and more often – is filled in with foreign workers. Thus, one of the laws concerning migrations, which was formulated by Ernest Ravenstein who observed that emigration-related outflow induces a compensating immigration inflow, evidently finds its proof in Opole Region.

Despite the significance and topicality of the problem, the phenomenon of wage-earning immigration into Opole Province has not been the object of extensive research so far. There is a lack of relevant knowledge about the factors that are decisive as regards foreigners' taking up employment in Poland and in Opole Region, conditions of their work, including wages earned, difficulties related to taking up employment, and also prospects for further employment of foreigners in the Region. Therefore, in the research, whose results are presented in this work, the following goals were set:

1. Determining the branches and occupations in which foreigners most often find employment,

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<sup>1</sup> *Voivodeship* is the original and official name of one of the 16 main administrative units of Poland, which corresponds to a 'province', 'district', 'land', 'canton' and the like, used with reference to administrative units of other states. In the present work, for reason of universal recognition, I will use the term 'Province' in the place of '*Voivodeship*'. Furthermore, the following notions: Opole Province, Opole Region and Opole Silesia will be treated as identical and will be used interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> Extensive research in this field has been conducted by, among others, R. Jończy (the economic aspect). The subject has also been dealt with in the works by R. Rauziński (the demographic aspect), K. Heffner, B. Solga (the geographical and sociological aspect)

<sup>3</sup> This assessment comes from the following work: R. Jończy, D. Rokita, *Zagraniczne migracje zarobkowe z województwa opolskiego w latach 2008–2010 oraz ich wpływ na opolski rynek pracy i sferę fiskalną samorządów terytorialnych. Diagnoza i rekomendacje w kontekście rozwoju regionu*, Opole 2011.

2. Determining the reasons why foreigners decide to go on wage-earning migration and the factors which determine their choice of Poland and Opole Province as the place of employment,
3. Finding out about the work conditions offered to foreigners, including their pay,
4. Finding out whether foreigners would still like to work in Opole Province.

The main source of the data used in the work are results of the research conducted among a group of foreigners in legal or illegal employment in Opole Province<sup>4</sup>.

The work consists of eight chapters, of which the first three ones are of the theoretical character.

Chapter One begins with defining and categorizing the notion of migration. The typology of migrants is also presented here, as well as factors which influence the decision to migrate are discussed, focusing on the foreigners' labour market.

In Chapter Two, some selected theories of migration and open labour market are discussed. Their synthetic characteristics and making use of, mainly in the context of influx of foreign workforce, are presented.

Chapter Three presents the research output in the scope of wage-earning immigration into Poland from the beginning of the period of the socio-political system transformation of 1989. In the first sub-chapter, the research conducted before 2004 is discussed, that is that preceding Poland's accession to the European Union. In the second sub-chapter, the knowledge in the field of wage-earning immigration, which was gained after 2004, is presented.

The formal-legal conditions of the employment of foreigners, as well as available sources of data relating to workers' immigration into Poland are presented in Chapter Four.

The next chapter – Chapter Five – is devoted to the specific character of migration in Opole Province. The influence of the emigration process of inhabitants of the Region on the state of the regional labour market, as well as eventual transformation of Opole Region into an immigration-targeted province is discussed. An attempt is also made at showing the relation between

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<sup>4</sup> The selected research results which are presented in this monograph, come from my doctoral dissertation entitled *Czynniki zatrudnienia cudzoziemców w województwie opolskim (The Factors Behind the Employment of Foreigners in Opole Province)*, which was defended at the Economics-Engineering Department of the University of Economics in Wrocław (under the supervision of Assistant Professor Romuald Jończy, Prof. UE). In view of the fact that the content of the chapters in the present work is the same as that of some fragments of the above-mentioned dissertation, I – in order to avoid using an excessive number of citations – have resigned from inserting relevant references in this work.

the situation in the labour market of Opole Region and the structure of the employed foreigners.

The last three chapters are based on the results of the conducted research. In Chapter Six, the methodology of the empirical research which was carried out is discussed. Difficulties accompanying the research are presented and the way of selecting the research sample is determined. Accordingly, the course of the research and the content of the research questionnaire are presented as well. Further, the examined foreigners in legal or illegal employment are characterized. Motives which foreign employees are directed by while deciding to take up employment outside the borders of their own countries, in Poland and in Opole Province, are presented.

Chapter Seven includes the results of the research relating to work conditions and pay obtained by foreigners. This chapter contains also a presentation of pay levels which are possible to attain in the countries of the examined foreigners' origin.

Chapter Eight is devoted to an analysis of the factors which hamper – in the opinions of foreigners – taking up employment in Poland. Here, postulates of changes to regulations concerning employment of foreigners, which were submitted by foreign workers, are discussed. Conclusions are also formulated with regard to prospects of employing foreigners in Opole Province.

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The conducting of the research, whose results are presented in this monograph, would not have been possible without the help of, among others, Opole Commerce Chamber, the Union of Silesian Farmers and the Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany. Comments from the Reviewer – Professor Zofia Hasińska – influenced the final shape of the work, and a number of valuable suggestions came from – the unfailingly kind – Professor Romuald Jończy.

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## Chapter 1

### Basic categories and measures to determine migrations

#### 1.1. Migrations – basic notions

The word ‘migration’ derives from the Latin *migrare*, meaning ‘to wander’, ‘to re-settle’, that is ‘to change the place of abode or stay on either the permanent or temporary basis.’<sup>5</sup> This consists in leaving – by either individuals or whole communities – their place of permanent abode and moving to settle in other areas.<sup>6</sup> Migration does not recognize any limitations as far as distances, voluntary or forced character, external or internal nature are concerned. Sociologists define migration as a permanent or periodical transfer from one sociocultural environment into another, one that differs from that lived in to date.<sup>7</sup>

Reasons behind migration can include finding employment, pursuit of education, entertainment (tourism); the decision to migrate can also be connected with the need to escape from danger. Nevertheless, one of the main reasons why people relocate is the desire to better their existence.

John Lewis defines ‘a migrant’ as “a person staying in or leaving a certain place in a way other than birth or death”.<sup>8</sup> Migrations belong to the demographic phenomena which are difficult to assess. They cause significant changes to the demographic structure of continents, countries or individual regions and areas. They bring about economic, social, political and cultural transformations.<sup>9</sup>

The notion of migration includes two processes: an influx of population to a city, region or country, called immigration, and an outflow of population, referred to as emigration. The terminology applied by the *Główny Urząd Statystyczny* (Central Statistical Office) distinguishes the following:

- emigrants – citizens leaving their native country and moving abroad on the permanent or temporary basis,

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<sup>5</sup> *Encyklopedia PWN*, Warszawa 1999, p. 653.

<sup>6</sup> P. Kraszewski, “Typologia migracji”, [in:] W.J. Burszta and J. Serwański (eds), *Migracja, Europa, Polska*, Poznań 2003, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> K. Iglicka-Okólska, *Analiza zachowań migracyjnych na podstawie badania etnosondażowego migracji zagranicznych w wybranych regionach Polski w latach 1975–1994*, Warszawa 1998, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> J. Lewis, *Human migration. A Geographical Perspective*, London 1982, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> M. Latuch, *Demografia społeczno-ekonomiczna*, Warszawa 1985, p. 308.

- immigrant – citizens arriving in a country from abroad, on the permanent or temporary basis.<sup>10</sup>

In Poland, a good number of researchers define immigrants with the term ‘foreigners’ or ‘resident aliens.’<sup>11</sup> Also, in the present monograph, the terms will be used interchangeably. In the light of the Polish law, a *resident alien* is a person who does not hold the citizenship of the state in which they have arrived.<sup>12</sup>

According to the definition provided by the United Nations Organization, a migrant is a person who changes the country of usual residence, that is the place where they normally stay, live and spend most of their time. Long- and short-time migrations have been distinguished. We come to deal with the first type of migration when the change of the country of residence lasts at least 12 months. Short-term migration concerns movements longer than 3 months but not exceeding 12 months (excluding visits of recreational or medical treatment-related character, visits paid to relatives or acquaintances, business trips, pilgrimages).<sup>13</sup>

In turn, the definitions proposed by the Central Statistical Office distinguish migrations which do not bear any relation to tourism and concern periods over 2 months and can last up to 10 years. They are long- or short-term migrations. The long-term ones are defined as inhabitants’ leaving for or arriving in another country with the aim to settle down or sojourn there for a period shorter than one year.<sup>14</sup>

Both institutions, acknowledge the time of stay outside the country to be the basis of migration. The choice of the period of 12 months, on the basis on which the periods of long- and short-term stay abroad are differentiated, is coincidental.

Also, the following notions serve the purpose of analysing migration processes:

- migration streams – the number of migrants leaving the country or arriving in the country over a certain period of time;

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<sup>10</sup> *Migracje zagraniczne ludności 2002*. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań, Warszawa 2003, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> S. Golinowska and E. Marek, “Procesy migracji zagranicznych w Polsce”, [in:] S. Golinowska and E. Marek (eds.), *Charakterystyka procesów migracyjnych*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1994, p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> R. Woźniak, *Socjologiczne implikacje migracji cudzoziemców w Polsce*, Szczecin 1999, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *Uwarunkowania i mechanizmy migracji zarobkowych w świetle wybranych koncepcji teoretycznych*, Warszawa 2003, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> L. Nowak (ed.), *Migracje zagraniczne ludności w Polsce w latach 1988–1997*, Warszawa 1998, p. 31–32.

- immigration resources – the number of immigrants in the country at a given moment of time;
- migration inflow – the number of people who have come to the country over a given period of time;
- migration outflow – the number of people who have left the country over a given period of time;
- migration balance – the difference between the migration influx and outflow.<sup>15</sup>

The UNO recommends that intensity of migration should be measured with the use of factors of influx, outflow as well as migration accretion.<sup>16</sup> The influx factor ( $F_i$ ) reflects the ratio of the number of people arriving in the given country to take permanent residence to the number of inhabitants of this country:<sup>17</sup>

$$F_i = \frac{P_i}{P} C \quad (1)$$

The outflow factor ( $F_o$ ) is constructed in an analogous way to that of influx: this is the ratio of the number of people leaving the given area to that of inhabitants living in it:<sup>18</sup>

$$F_o = \frac{P_o}{P} C \quad (2)$$

On the other hand, the migration accretion factor ( $F_{ma}$ ) is the difference between the influx factor and that of outflow:<sup>19</sup>

$$F_{ma} = \frac{P_i - P_o}{P} C \quad (3)$$

where:

$P_i$  – number of people who have come to take permanent abode,

$P_o$  – number of people who have left on a permanent basis,

$P$  – number of inhabitants,

$C$  – constant (1,000).

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<sup>15</sup> Ibidem, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> *Refugee Information and Statistics 1995–2003*, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva 2004.

<sup>17</sup> J.Z. Holzer, *Demografia*, Warszawa 2003, p. 273.

<sup>18</sup> Ibidem, p. 274.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 274.

## 1.2 Classification of migrations

Migrations can be divided with respect to a variety of features, applying a series of criteria, among others, motives and circumstances, quantities, duration time, legal aspects, distances (in the geographical sense), manner of organization. Below, some exemplary classifications of migrations are presented with regard to:

1. The situation in the native country:
  - a) for political reasons – wars, restriction of citizens' rights, discrimination on the ground of nationality;
  - b) for economic reasons (this type is characteristic of most migration movements), including all kinds of people's movements with the aim to better the living conditions;
  - c) for emotional reasons – persecutions on the ground of ethnicity and religion;
  - d) for environmental reasons – ecological disasters.
2. Personal goals (the motivation strictly relating to the target country):
  - a) to take paid work;
  - b) to gain education, raise qualifications, learn the language;
  - c) reasons of tourism;
  - d) to bring families together.
3. Time of stay:
  - a) unlimited (permanent) – this is, most frequently, permanent emigration when the emigrant does not intend to return;
  - b) limited (temporary, periodical) – short- or long-term emigration, often of the rotational character; this type of emigration does not affect the change in the number of inhabitants acknowledged to be residing in the given area. Migrations of this type can be related to leaving home to take up studies, take up periodical employment, and with time can transform into permanent emigration.

Periodical migrations, especially the external ones, are divided into:

- short-term, which include the stay in a new place lasting from two months to up to one year;
- long-term, which occur in the case of a stay abroad lasting longer than one year.

The notion of periodical migrations is also connected with the following three categories of migration:

- seasonal, which refer to migrations that intensify at certain seasons of the year, e.g., with reference to work in agriculture;
- shuttle-like, which are systematic trips and returns (e.g., commuting to work);



- transit, which consist in staying – for some time – in one state, in the situation where the emigrant’s target place of settlement is another country.
- 4. Distance and geographical properties:
  - a) external migrations (inter-state):
    - trans-continental migrations, which occur between states lying on the same continent;
    - overseas migrations (inter-continental), which occur between states lying on different continents;
    - macro-migrations, which take place between economically, politically, culturally unified commonwealths of states;
  - b) internal migrations (nationwide), which occur within one state, between administrative units of different levels, the basic forms of which are as follows:
    - migrations from settlement units of different administrative character (e.g., from the country to cities, from cities to villages);
    - inter-regional migrations (in Poland – inter-province), which concern transfers of citizens between individual provinces;
    - regional migrations (in Poland – within a province), which relate to transfers within an individual province;
  - c) frontier migrations.
- 5. Quantitative aspect:
  - a) individual, which relates to individual citizens;
  - b) groups – contingents;
  - c) mass – with the participation of a very large number of people.
- 6. Manner of organization:
  - a) organized emigration;
  - b) unorganized emigration.
- 7. Legal aspect:
  - a) legal emigration, which occurs in the case of possessing a permit for a stay in the given state;
  - b) illegal emigration;
  - c) uncontrolled sojourn, which occurs in the case when the validity of a legal stay in the given country has expired and the emigrant has not regulated this situation.
- 8. Circumstances of taking the decision to emigrate:
  - a) voluntary migrations – the trip that is connected with a migrant’s free personal decision;
  - b) forced migrations – migration results from pressure, most often on the part of the authorities, exerted out of political, nationality-related or religious causes.

The following are linked to the last type, i.e., forced migrations:

- deportation – expulsion of a person beyond the borders of the given country or transportation to a distant isolated place of forced sojourn,
  - expatriation – forced or voluntary leaving of one's native country;
  - extradition – delivering – by the state authorities to those of another state – of a person suspected of committing a crime or convicted for one in the state that demands the deliverance;
  - displacement – removal – by the authorities – from the place of origin;
  - evacuation – transfer from the given area with the aim to protect, e.g., against military actions, ecological disasters or natural calamities.
9. Frequency:
- a) one-time migrations;
  - b) repeated (serial) migrations.<sup>20</sup>

Charles Tilly, in the typologies that he proposed himself, distinguished the following:

- cyclical migrations, which are mainly connected with periodical wage-earning trips,
- chain migrations, which are connected with departures of groups of people, e.g., from one place,
- migrations connected with professional careers, which are mainly characteristic of people holding high qualifications.<sup>21</sup>

A particular type of migration is the return emigration, i.e., re-emigration. A most interesting typology of migrations was presented by Francesco Cerase, who took into account the motives that are decisive as regards returning to one's mother country. He distinguished three types of re-emigration:

- *return of failure* – the migrant was not able to function in the new environment;
- *return of conservatism* – the migrant managed to cope with new conditions, however, they felt too unhappy to stay abroad;

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<sup>20</sup> The typology was elaborated on the basis of: R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności autochtonicznej z województwa opolskiego. Studium ekonomicznych determinant i konsekwencji*, Opole 2003, p. 17 ff.; E. Hönekopp, *Migration in Zentral und Osteuropa – Beitrag für SOPEMI'99*, Nürnberg 1992; E. Hönekopp, „Migracje Wschód–Zachód” [in:] S. Golinowska and E. Marek (eds), *Charakterystyka procesów migracyjnych*, vol. 1, p. 111–112; A. Maryański, *Migracje na świecie*, Warszawa 1984, p. 7 ff.; P. Koryś, M. Okólski, „Świat w podróży. Globalny kontekst współczesnych polskich migracji” [in:] *Przegląd Polonijny* 2005, p. 20; P. Kraszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 12–15; M. Latuch, *op. cit.*, p. 308–316.

<sup>21</sup> D. Przaszłowicz, „Teoretyczne koncepcje procesów migracji” [in:] *Przegląd Polonijny* 2002, p. 16–17, and also C. Tilly, „Migration in Modern European History” [in:] W. McNeill and R. Adams (eds), *Human Migrations. Patterns and Policies*, Bloomington 1978, p. 48–72.

- *return of innovation* – relating to individuals who obtained capital, gained professional experience or education and want to develop in their native environment;
- *return of retirement* – the migrant – after having spent years working abroad – returns to their own country, with savings and retirement benefits which are on higher purchase levels; very often such a return home on retirement is the effect of emotional motives.<sup>22</sup>

In turn, Reinhard W. Lohrmann dealt with kinds of immigration. According to him, they differ, among others, as regards motives that individuals who decide to leave their country of origin are driven by. On the basis of the typology which that author proposed, it is possible to differentiate the following types of immigration:

- permanent immigration (settlement-oriented);
- undertaken by workers employed for a specified time, who stay in the host country only during the time of employment;
- specialist workforce, comprising mental and physical workers being transferred from one country to another, who stay in the host country and are usually employed by international or joint-venture companies;
- connected with the need to leave their country of origin due to persecution or conflicts.<sup>23</sup>

It needs to be observed that migration-related movements of the economic character are conditioned by two basic factors: the first is a technological one, which means relatively easy, inexpensive and quick transfer of people between countries and continents. The other is a socioeconomic factor by which one understands the existence of substantial disproportions in the level of economic development, in technological advancement, as well as in standards and quality of life which exist between countries.<sup>24</sup>

A specific form of migration that requires broader explaining are wage-earning migrations. They are trips of the economic nature, whose aim is to obtain an income through taking up employment. Maria Skoczek considers wage-earning migrations to be “spatial transfers of population available to work, undertaken with the aim to improve the life situation of their own and that of members of their families, or with the aim to obtain financial means in-

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<sup>22</sup> D. Prasałowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> R.W. Lohrmann, „Ogólnoświatowe ruchy migracyjne w latach dziewięćdziesiątych. Analiza współczesnych i przyszłych trendów”, [in:] S. Golinowska and E. Marek (eds.), *Charakterystyka procesów migracyjnych*, vol.1, Warszawa 1994, p. 56–57.

<sup>24</sup> W. Anioł, „Migracje w Europie”, [in:] S. Golinowska and E. Marek (eds.), *Charakterystyka procesów migracyjnych*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1994, p. 91.

dispensable to maintain the forms of living and management to date, perceived as a condition to preserve the cultural identity”<sup>25</sup>

According to researchers, by wage-earning migrations one should understand periodical trips – on principle – made with the intention of coming back, whose decisive cause is the wish to improve the economic situation of the migrant and their family (remaining in the migrant’s country of origin). These migrations are also described as incomplete (bivalent), since they assume rotational mobility of one family member (or a few).<sup>26</sup> These migrants, despite the fact that they are physically staying in a given place, do not function within the local community but within the environment formed by migrants of the similar character, sojourning in the given area.<sup>27</sup> The most important aim of the trips is to find a job which would allow obtaining a higher pay than in the country of origin (or other benefits beside pay).<sup>28</sup> Several types of wage-earning migrations can be differentiated:

- migrations of highly-qualified workers representing the so-called free-lance professions;
- migrations of workers holding secondary vocational education;
- migrations of individuals with no vocational skills (most often concerns youth who look for jobs outside the place of abode, being convinced that in this way they will satisfy their lives’ aspirations faster);
- migrations of unskilled workers looking for employment as there are no jobs available in the area of their residence.<sup>29</sup>

Wage-earning migrations can also be divided into the following with regard to:

1. Migration area:
  - internal migrations,
  - external migrations.
2. Duration:
  - short-term migrations (up to 3 months),

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<sup>25</sup> M. Skoczek, „Migracje zarobkowe i ich rola w rozwoju lokalnym. Studia porównawcze Ameryka Łacińska i Europa”, [in:] *Working Paper* 1994, No. 13, p. 30.

<sup>26</sup> M. Okólski, „Nowe uwarunkowania, nowe migracje? Współczesne migracje Polaków a rynek pracy”, [in:] P. Kaczmarczyk and M. Okólskie (eds.), *Polityka migracyjna jako instrument promocji zatrudnienia i ograniczania bezrobocia*, Warszawa 2008, p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> M. Okólski, *Demografia zmiany społecznej*, Warszawa 2004, p. 209.

<sup>28</sup> R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności...*, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> M. Skoczek, „Współczesne migracje zarobkowe. Regionalne studia porównawcze”, [in:] J.E. Zamojskiego (ed.), *Migracje i społeczeństwo. Zbiór studiów*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1997, p. 16–17.

- long-term migrations (from 3 months up to one year),
  - permanent migrations (over one year).<sup>30</sup>
3. Legality of employment:
- legal migrations,
  - illegal migrations.
4. Frequency of returning to the place of residence:
- everyday returns,
  - returns at weekends,
  - weekend employment,
  - returns rarer than every week,
  - no returning throughout the time of employment abroad.
5. Number of trips:
- one-time visits,
  - periodical (several trips during the same period),
  - seasonal trips (repeated in certain periods of time),
  - shuttle-like (cyclical returns to the place of abode while the very wage-earning migration itself can last even a few years).
6. Factors to attract or push out:
- forced wage-earning migrations (e.g., by a lack of jobs in the place of abode),
  - extra-income migrations (the so-called complementary, undertaken to obtain higher income), which can be sub-divided into: extra-income and exclusive (the migrant does not take up employment in the place of origin), complementary migrations (the migrant takes up employment in the place of origin and the obtained income from the work done in the period of migration is of the complementary nature),
  - migrations of individuals taking up employment abroad, for whom obtaining pay is not the basic goal of the trip (students, refugees, evacuated people, etc.).<sup>31</sup>

However, defining wage-earning migrations, which R. Jończy draws attention to in his works, should begin with answering the question: Should wage-earning migration be distinguished due to the aim and motive or – maybe – due to the effect it brings about? In the first case, it is vital to establish motives of migration. Thus, wage-earning migrations are not these trips abroad when work and wage-earning are not a decisive reason for the trip. To part of

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<sup>30</sup> Sources are not unanimous as regards the length of time of short-term migrations. As it was mentioned earlier, according to some authors, wage-earning migrations fall within the category of short-term migrations lasting up to two months: cf. M. Kędelski, J. Paradysz, *Demografia*, Poznań 2006, p. 233.

<sup>31</sup> The division is drawn from R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności...*, p. 24–26.

the people who work abroad the basic motives of the trips are, for instance: studying, learning a language, visiting relations, tourism, while taking up employment and obtaining an income is of lesser (additional) significance. In compliance with this understanding, deportees, evacuated people or refugees are not included in the group of wage-earning migrants, even though – in the case of these groups – economic aspects are of vital importance. In the second case, it is just sufficient for a person to undertake paid work and obtain an income to be classified as a wage-earning migrant.

Therefore, R. Jończy arrives at the conclusion that wage-earning migrations which are distinguished due to the motive and goal of earning wage are a form of trans-border movements of population, whose decisive motive most frequently is betterment of the economic situation of the migrant and their family. Generally, such migrations are decided on with the intention of coming back and their paramount goal is to obtain work that offers greater (with reference to pay and extra-pay matters) economic gains than those available in the country of origin. The motive of earning wage does not have to be, at the same time, the sole reason for migration, yet it should be decisive. Applying this manner of interpreting, foreign wage-earning migrants are acknowledged to be such individuals that would not decide to migrate if they were bereft of the possibility of obtaining pay which comes from taking up the employment.

If we were to distinguish wage-earning migrations due to the effect, that is – obtaining an income – they would have to refer to people who take up employment and obtain an income abroad irrespective of the dominant motives for leaving homes and circumstances of undertaking employment. Then, the group of wage-earning migrants would include also individuals for whom earning wages does not hold any importance while taking the decision to leave. What is indeed vital is that they finally did take up employment, which resulted in obtaining an income.

It needs to be underlined that the two ways of treating wage-earning migrants will be of different significance to the sphere of economic analysis of migration. Distinguishing wage-earning migrants due to the motive (goal) of migration will turn out to be more useful in an analysis of causes and determinants of wage-earning migrations; in turn, differentiation which takes into account the wage-earning effect of migrations will be more justified in an analysis of consequences of migrations (it will allow, for instance, taking into consideration changes which occur in labour resources, as well as transfer of income back to the country of migrants' origin).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The differentiation of wage-earning migrations due to the motive and effect was drawn from the work: R. Jończy, *Migracje zagraniczne z obszarów wiejskich województwa opolskiego po akcesji Polski do Unii Europejskiej. Wybrane aspekty ekonomiczne*

### 1.3. Typology of migrants

William Petersen distinguished two, basically different, types of migrants. The first, defined by him as innovative – is related to a drive towards achieving something new. The aim of the other one – a conservative one – is preservation of the *status quo*.<sup>33</sup> In turn, Anthony Richmond divided migrants into reactive (e.g., victims of wars, political refugees) and proactive (e.g., economic migrants)<sup>34</sup>. Still another author, Ewa Jaźwińska, in the typology proposed by herself (concerning the pre-accession period), divided migrants into four categories:

1. Trade-oriented migrants – their migrations consist in short – lasting less than two-three weeks – trips, whose basic aim is to purchase or sell goods. A migrant of this kind does not risk losing their position in their own country, either professional or one inside the local community. Re-selling of articles brought from outside or the money obtained for the goods sold allow completing the current budget of the household.
2. Settlement-oriented migrants – they take part in the classical form of emigration that aims at settling down in another country; those who represent this type are rather unavailable to researchers in the country of origin.
3. Contracted migrants – temporary legal migrants, in which case legality relates to the situation abroad and – first of all – the legality of the work done there (this includes also people taking part in academic scholarships); the basic distinguishing feature of the group are not the character of the work or the length of stay, but the legally regulated character of their employment.
4. Temporary migrants – people who go abroad on the temporary basis, with the aim to take up employment that is arranged by family members, acquaintances, generally bypassing the procedure of its legalization. They keep in touch with their families, regularly visit places of their permanent abode. The money earned serves the purpose – in the first place – of maintaining their household in the country of origin and making investment.<sup>35</sup>

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*i demograficzne*, Wrocław–Opole 2010, p. 29–31.

<sup>33</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>35</sup> E. Jaźwińska, „Migracja niepełna ludności Polski: zróżnicowanie międzyregionalne”, [in:] E. Jaźwińska and M. Okólski (eds.), *Ludzie na huśtawce. Migracje między peryferiami Polski i Zachodu*, Warszawa 2001, p. 112–114. This subject is also dealt with by J. Balicki, P. Stalker, *Polityka imigracyjna i azyłowa*, Warszawa 2006, p. 43–47.



It is worth mentioning – in relation with the subject of this monograph – that different types of immigrants distinguished on the basis of: length of time of migration, legality of stay and employment, character of undertaking economic activity, are also indicated by other researchers from *Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami* (Centre of Migration Research) based in Warsaw. Accordingly, they have differentiated the following four basic groups:

1. Foreigners doing simple jobs – individuals employed in agriculture, construction industry, industry, household maintenance services, whose common feature is temporariness (seasonal character) of the migration and taking jobs of low prestige and – consequently – of a relatively low pay;
2. Foreigners providing specific services – people working in trade, gastronomy, teachers of foreign languages (native-speakers);
3. Foreigners doing jobs requiring qualifications – for instance, skilled workers employed in metal industry (welders) or construction industry (bricklayers, planking carpenters), whose stays are, however, longer and more regular than in the case of foreign workforce performing simple jobs, as they take advantage of the gaps existing in the Polish job market;
4. Foreign managerial personnel and highly-qualified specialists – people of this category occupy high positions in big companies (directors, members of management boards, managers, specialists), whose mobility is regulated by internal mechanisms of functioning of enterprises.<sup>36</sup>

Additionally, researchers into migrations introduce two groups of economic migrants into the typology:

1. Survival migrants – forced to move because of being reduced to beggary;
2. Mobile migrants – the main reason for their transferring is not poverty, and their decision to do so is motivated by the situation in the labour market and differences in incomes, as well as by economic opportunities in particular countries; they are referred to as the so-called ‘guest-workers’.<sup>37</sup>

Janusz Balicki and Peter Stalker have introduced a definition of illegal immigrants, according to which they are individuals staying on the territory of another state with no legal right of sojourn. Part of them have been smuggled or brought in illegally, others have crossed the border as tourists, still others have taken jobs although they were granted tourist visas only, which do not

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<sup>36</sup> For more information see: the research project realized by the Centre of Migration Research: „Polityka migracyjna jako instrument promocji zatrudniania i ograniczenia bezrobocia”, in the part of „Metodologia badania popytu na pracę cudzoziemców”, p. 22, available on: <http://mplm.pl/produkty/MODUL%20II/Metodologia%20badania%20popytu%20na%20prac%C4%99%20> [17.08.2008].

<sup>37</sup> „Handel zagraniczny, technologia i migracja”, [in:] S. Golinowska and E. Marek (eds.), *Ekonomiczne aspekty procesów migracyjnych*, Warszawa 1994, p. 33.



permit foreigners to seek employment. They are often referred to as *unauthorized immigrants* (staying without a permit) or *undocumented workers* (non-registered workers).<sup>38</sup>

#### **1.4. Labour market and wage-earning migrations**

The labour market is a place where demand for work is confronted with supply of it. Its main function is to maintain, among others, a balance between the two, thus – making it possible for employers to acquire workers who hold suitable qualifications,<sup>39</sup> and for workers – to obtain employment. Considerations concerning mutual dependences should be then started with defining the notions of demand for work and supply of work.

Demand for labour denotes given economy's need of persons available to work (at the given time and at the given level of real pay).<sup>40</sup>

$$D = E + V \quad (4)$$

where:

D – demand for work,

E – the employed,

V – vacant positions.

The size of demand is influenced by the following: volume of production and services, productivity of labour, average time of work (type of technological progress, work organization), rate and structure of investment.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, labour supply denotes people available to work and ready to take up work in the conditions existing in the economy.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> J. Balicki, P. Stalker, *op. cit.*, p. 47–48.

<sup>39</sup> M. Muczyński, „Rola państwa w stymulowaniu popytu na pracę”, [in:] R. Horodeński and C. Sadowska-Snarska (eds.), *Rynek pracy w Polsce na progu XXI wieku. Aspekty makroekonomiczne i regionalne*, Białystok–Warszawa 2003, p. 246.

<sup>40</sup> E. Dolny, J. Meller, Z. Wiśniewski, *Popyt i pracodawcy na rynku pracy w Polsce*, Toruń 1998, p. 9.

<sup>41</sup> D. Kotlorz (ed.), *Ekonomia rynku pracy*, Katowice 2007, p. 14–15.

<sup>42</sup> E. Kryńska, „Podstawowe pojęcia”, [in:] E. Kryńska, J. Suchecka and B. Suchecki (eds), *Prognoza podaży i popytu na pracę w Polsce do roku 2010*, Warszawa 1998, p. 16–17.

$$S = E + U \quad (5)$$

where:

S – supply of labour,

E – the employed,

U – the unemployed.

The size of labour supply (labour resources) depends on the following: number of population, structure of population according to age, volume of professional activity factors.<sup>43</sup>

Several categories of demand for labour can be distinguished:

1. Potential demand – employers' willingness to employ workers,
2. Effective demand – employers are not only willing to employ workers, but possess means to do so, as well,
3. Realized demand – factual employment of workers,
4. Unrealized demand – vacant work places,
5. Current demand – the current need for workforce relating to existing job offers,
6. Future demand – the need for workforce, which can occur in future (connected with investments, appearance of new professions, outflow of workforce),
7. Global demand – the need for workforce in economy,
8. Specific demand – takes into account the need for concrete professions, specializations.<sup>44</sup>

Janusz Meller has distinguished two types of demand, which – in particular – refer to the need for foreigners' work, which are as follows: the so-called successive demand and invasive demand. The former concerns filling up existing and newly-created work places with foreign workers. This means that foreigners are employed on such posts that are not taken by native workers or have been left by the latter (due to emigration or a drop in interest on the part of native workforce in certain branches or professions). The other – invasive demand – means 'pushing' domestic workers out of the labour market by foreigners. This denotes the situation where the employer prefers to employ a foreign worker and by doing so resigns from taking on domestic workforce.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Ekonomia rynku pracy...*, p. 11.

<sup>44</sup> I. Grabowska-Lusińska, „Koncepcja i metodyka badania popytu na pracę”, [in:] I. Grabowska-Lusińska and A. Żylicz (eds.), *Czy polska gospodarka potrzebuje cudzoziemców?*, Warszawa 2008, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 9.

The appearance of demand, in particular, referring to the demand for foreigners' work, is connected with transformations in the labour market. The specific situation related to employment of foreign workforce can be seen in open job markets which are characterized by strong outflows of domestic workforce, the latter being caused by wage-earning emigration. Two consequences of opening of a labour market can be distinguished: firstly – there will follow an outflow of labour resources, hence – a decrease in labour supply; secondly – there will appear shuttle-like wage-earning migrations which will enhance the demand in the state (or in a region) by means of incomes transferred from abroad. The appearance of opportunities of selling a greater number of goods and services will cause employers to be willing to increase employment, and thus – the demand for work will increase. It is partially due to a relatively advantageous pay keeping on a stable level that jobless persons can get employed and also some emigrants can be willing to return to the country, attracted by a fairly substantial pay.<sup>46</sup> However, these resources can prove insufficient. Then, the deficiency in the labour market can be complemented with foreign workforce. It should be observed that the relation between migration and labour market can be of the two-sided nature. Firstly, emigration (transfer) of population can influence the situation in the job market. Secondly, conditions in it can stimulate migration streams.<sup>47</sup>

It should be noted that the existence of two types of demand for foreigners' work – successive and invasive – causes opinions on employment of foreigners to be split into two groups. The first acknowledge using immigrants to be a threat to the domestic job market. There is a fear that foreign, often cheaper, workers will take over work places on offer to domestic workforce. The other group see a chance of development just owing to employment of foreigners. A state that admits foreign workforce can benefit by engaging knowledge and qualifications of these people. It also takes advantage of the fact that they accept jobs which tend to be of little attractiveness to domestic workforce. This is connected with education of the sphere and areas of concentration and specialization of certain groups of alien citizens.<sup>48</sup> To claim that immigrants 'oust' local workforce from the domestic labour market is to take a simplified approach, as it is based on the assumption that the number of work places in a given country is constant. One cannot assume that the more people come from abroad, the fewer work places are left to local workers. The number of work

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<sup>46</sup> R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności...*, p. 158–159.

<sup>47</sup> *Ekonomia rynku pracy...*, p. 81.

<sup>48</sup> E. Domaradzka, „Cudzoziemcy na polskim rynku pracy”, [in:] *Polityka Społeczna* 2000, No. 5/6, p. 18.

places and employment rises or drops, yet the fluctuation is connected with cycles in economy and with the economic structure of a given state.<sup>49</sup>

### 1.5. Conditionings of migration-oriented decisions

From the point of view of supply of foreigners' labour, both the conditionings existing in the country emigrated from (*push factors*) and those in the country immigrate into (*pull factors*) are significant. A juxtaposition of major conditions to influence the migration-oriented decisions is presented in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1**

Factors occurring in the country emigrated from and immigrated into which influence migration-related decisions

Factors	Conditionings in the country emigrated from (push factors)	Conditionings in the country immigrated into (pull factors)
Legal	Liberalization of law in the sphere of availability of passports, making it possible for citizens to travel	Non-restrictive requirements regarding visas, immigration-friendly law, including that related to unifying families, simple regulations concerning granting work permits or the right of asylum
Economic	Unemployment, shortage of jobs in given professions, poor living conditions, stronger purchasing power of foreign currencies	Relatively low unemployment rate, possibility of employment on the basis of bilateral agreements or fairly easy employment in 'black market' in agriculture, construction industry or service
Demographic	High birth rate, overpopulation, surplus of citizens available to work	-
Socio-political	Discrimination due to nationality, religion, etc., conflicts, restriction of human rights	Positive attitude of society towards foreigners, abilities to absorb other cultures, lack of nationalistic tendencies
Historical	-	Existence of old centres of refugees or large centres of new emigration, which favours arrival of new immigrants as it facilitates their assimilation

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of: W. Anioł, „Migracje w Europie”, [in:] S. Golinowska and E. Marek (eds), *Charakterystyka procesów migracyjnych*, vol.1, Warszawa 1994, p. 92–94.

<sup>49</sup> J. Balicki, P. Stalker, *op. cit.*, p. 89. The authors cite the research covering 15 European states with reference to the years 1991–1995. The economic analysis reveals that per each 1% of the population growth due to migration, the recorded increase in the rate of GDP amounted to between 1.25% to 1.5%. They draw attention, however, to the fact that it is not migration itself that leads to an increase in the affluence of the country. It proves rather that immigration does not inhibit development but – on the contrary – augments it.

The factors which incline to wage-earning migration are, among others, not complicated regulations (e.g., concerning employment) and a relatively high chance of obtaining work (a low employment rate or a demand for work done by people possessing given qualifications). Additionally, the pro-emigration decision is also influenced by society's attitude to foreigners, as well as native inhabitants' perception of culturally differing people. Moreover, it is also vital that there should exist historical or contemporary bonds between the immigrant's country of origin (or a region where they come from) and the place of the migrant's stay. The easiness of transferring and globalisation,<sup>50</sup> which facilitates economic contacts, are gaining a greater and greater significance in taking the decision to migrate.

The inter-dependence of national economies, which is becoming more and more noticeable, causes the model of workforce transfer to be changing. Wolf Rüdiger Böhning<sup>51</sup> explains that in the past, industrialization used to entail mainly movements of peasants and workers, who migrated – primarily – to the United States and Western Europe. Nowadays, due to a drive towards obtaining higher and higher effectiveness of work, developed countries are more and more willing to open their borders to people who are capable of contributing to the effectiveness, thus – consequently – to those better educated.

There exist two models of policy related to workforce transfer. The first, typical of small developing countries, with a relatively small number of population and modest industrial base, is characterized by facilitations offered to foreigners with reference to accessibility of local job markets. These facilitations concern a broad range of qualifications, since these countries do not have a suitable number of domestic workers holding required skills at their disposal (Figure 1.1).

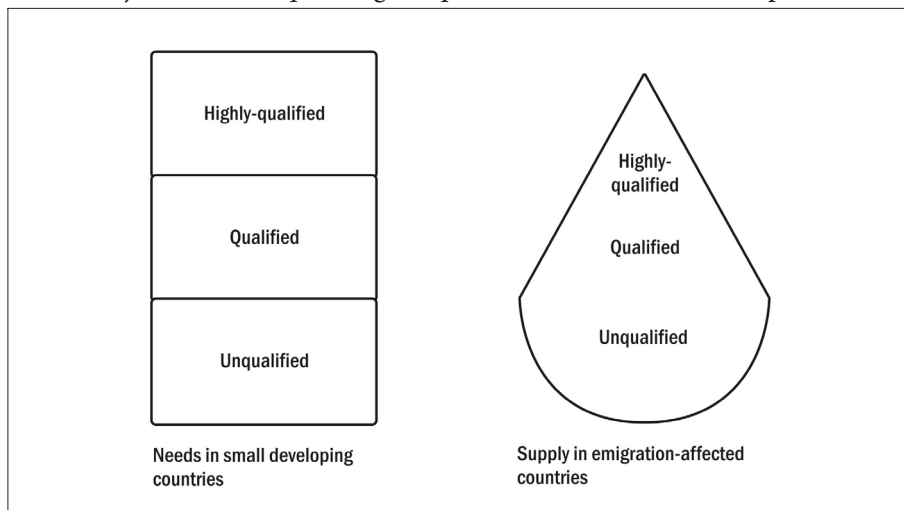
Economic development (second to demographic factors) is one of the most important determinants to shape the demand for workforce. Industrialized countries are characterized by a strong demand for highly-qualified workforce. They are ready to make use – to a possibly greatest extent – of their knowledge and experience. They also need to fill up the gap in the workforce

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<sup>50</sup> Under the notion of globalization we understand phenomena extending beyond the sphere of economy. The following are included in it: free information and capital flow, concerns going international, standardization of production entailing unification of consumption models, free workforce and technology transfers, see: R. Drozdowski, *Rynek pracy w Polsce. Recepcja. Oczekiwania. Strategie dostosowawcze*, Poznań 2002, p. 93–94.

<sup>51</sup> More extensively: W.R. Böhning, „Ekonomiczne i społeczne aspekty przewidywanych ruchów migracyjnych i ich wpływ na procesy przemian w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej”, [in:] *Polityka Społeczna* 1995, No.3: Supplement: *Procesy migracyjne w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, p. 9–11.

resources on the lowest level of the employment hierarchy. This concerns jobs which citizens of these countries shun (work in agriculture, communal service, etc.). In industrialized (developed) countries, dangerous, arduous jobs are offered to workers from poor states.<sup>52</sup> Citizens of affluent states are more willing to choose jobs which require higher qualifications and are better-paid.<sup>53</sup>



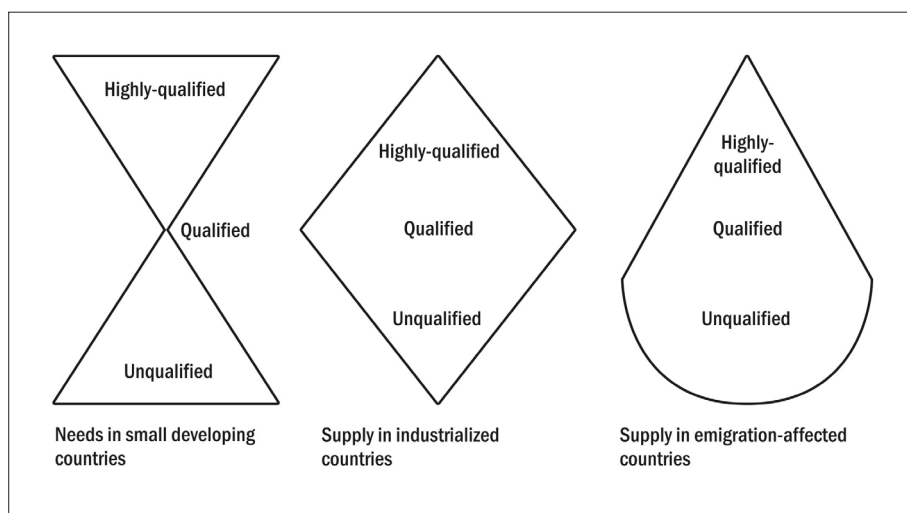
Source: W.R. Böhning, „Ekonomiczne i społeczne aspekty przewidywanych ruchów migracyjnych i ich wpływ na procesy przemian w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej”; [in:] *Polityka Społeczna* 1995, No. 3: Suppl.: *Procesy migracyjne w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, p. 11.

**Fig. 1.1.** A typical model of demand for migrants in small developing countries in comparison with a typical model of workforce in emigration-affected countries

In these countries, despite maintaining a relatively high level of unemployment rate, there exist plenty of occupations, niches in the market, which are not filled up by domestic workers. Thus, there occur structural shortages in the job market.

<sup>52</sup> A. Polańska, “Known and unrealized questions on unemployment in Poland”; [in:] *Argumenta Oeconomica* 1998, No.1/2, p. 119.

<sup>53</sup> Such a situation was visible in the EEC countries in the 1960s, where together with the economic development, the demand for not only mental and skilled workers, but also ones of relatively low qualifications increased. The economic transformations, increase in productivity of labour, as well as technological progress caused the workforce to flow to sectors which were less labour-consuming. In the 1960s and the 1970s, in Western Europe, the number of vacant positions surpassed the labour supply. For instance, in 1970, in the FRG, there were five job offers per one person seeking work. The unwillingness to take jobs commonly thought to be ‘of worse standard’ can persist even in the situation of occurrence of unemployment in an industrialized country; on the basis of: J. Rymarczyk, *Migracja siły roboczej do krajów EWG i jej konsekwencje społeczno-gospodarcze*, Wrocław 1982, pp. 24 and 34.



Source: as in Fig. 1.1.

**Fig. 1.2.** A typical model of demand for workforce available from migration in industrialized countries in comparison with the model of domestic workforce and the typical model of workforce in emigration-affected countries

In the opinion expressed by W.R. Böhning, countries of Central-Eastern Europe are industrialized states and their model of demand for workforce will – with time – resemble a rhomb characteristic of the demand for workforce related to migration in industrialized countries<sup>54</sup> (Figure 1.2).

It is worth underlining that immigration brings about effects of the demographic, economic, political or cultural nature. They can be different as regards a country affected by an outflow and that experiencing an inflow. The effect of the demographic character for the immigration-hosting country is an influx of the most active people – since it is such individuals who are the first to decide to leave their mother country, rejuvenation of the population, as well as an increase in the number of the population as such.

The economic effects which are felt to the greatest extent by the host country is an inflow of cheap, very often well-educated, workforce who fill in vacant work places, a rise in the level of consumption and an increase in the supply of certain services. In the immigration-hosting country there occurs a greater outflow of money, which is connected with transfers of foreign workers' pay.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> W.R. Böhning, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>55</sup> R. Majewski, „Imigranci jako kategoria polityczna współczesnej cywilizacji”, [in:] *Imigranci i społeczeństwa przyjmujące. Adaptacja? Integracja? Transformacja?*, Warszawa 2000, p. 27–28.

In turn, in the country affected by emigration there occurs an outflow of population, usually at the working age, very often well-educated. Still, thanks to migrations there are transfers of financial means made, which stimulates demand in the market of the emigration-affected country. This shows that migrations can have different consequences – both positive and negative ones.



## Chapter 2

### Selected theories of migration and open labour market

#### 2.1. Ernest Ravenstein's laws of migration

Ernest Ravenstein is regarded as the pioneer of research into migrations. His conclusions narrow down migration movements to seven fundamental rights:

1. The size of the migration stream is a converse function of the distance, which means that migrations are the more frequent, the shorter the distance is.
2. Migrations run in stages, towards regions (centres) attaining a higher and higher level of development (e.g., migrations of population from rural areas to cities, and then – on to better-developed centres, and – finally – abroad).
3. Each flow induces an equivalent reverse stream.
4. City-dwellers are characterized by a lower inclination to migrating than countrymen.
5. Women make the majority of migrants who cover short distances.
6. Technological development favours migrations.
7. Wrong or burdensome law, high taxes, unattractive climate, inconvenient social surrounding motivate people to migrate, yet the intensity cannot match that of migration which results from people's drive towards improving their material living conditions.<sup>56</sup>

Most of the principles formulated by Ravenstein have not lost their topicality and are readily made use of in contemporary research into migrations. This concerns, primarily, the conclusion that it is mainly economic reasons that are decisive in undertaking migration, being the key factor in this case. Moreover, establishments relating to differences between migrations to cities and ones to villages, as well as those between women and men are also universal. The principle of immigration (re-emigration) following emigration and also that of the relation between economic development (and technological progress), and the inclination to emigrate have still been topical as well.

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<sup>56</sup> E. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration", [in:] *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 1989, No. 52, p. 286.

## 2.2. Differences in wages earned as a determinant of migrations

John Hicks, in his concept, treats about the phenomenon of migration as a cause of differences in wages. In this author's framework, migrations are treated – on the one hand – as a result of differentiating wages; on the other one – as a force which enables levelling the differences. Hicks based himself on conclusions submitted by Adam Smith, who drew attention to the fact that labour market functions as a homogeneous whole, where the allocation of workforce is regulated by the price mechanism (value of work).<sup>57</sup>

Arthur Lewis also made references to differences in wages earned as a motive behind emigration. He claimed that in each economy – at a given period of its development – there may exist two sectors: modern and traditional (the existence of a dual economy). The first attracts people from the traditional sector. Thanks to that it has access to workforce, it develops more and more dynamically. Labour supply causes this sector to be able to retain a relatively lower pay, which – anyway – is attractive to immigrants. Arthur Lewis determined the limit of difference in wages amounting to 30% to be a sufficient source of motivation to immigrants and benefits to producers in the modern sector.<sup>58</sup>

Similar mechanisms are presented by the theory of foreign trade which deals with migrations in the context of mobility of production factors. An example of such an approach is Heckscher-Ohlin model (H-O), according to which trade exchange follows as a result of the fact that countries are equipped in production factors to a varied degree. In this model, migration is not a sole form of reconciling differences in the levels of income: flows of capital from highly developed countries can also be taken advantage of with this end in view.

## 2.3. Migration as an effect of the play of demand and supply in the labour market

Michael Jandl underlines that examining the phenomenon of wage-earning migration, one should take into account both the supply of workforce on the part of potential migrants and the structure of demand for work in highly developed countries. He avails himself of the notion of *migration pressure* that can be treated as the difference between *migration potential* and demand for migrants' labour (*migration demand*), which denotes the number of the

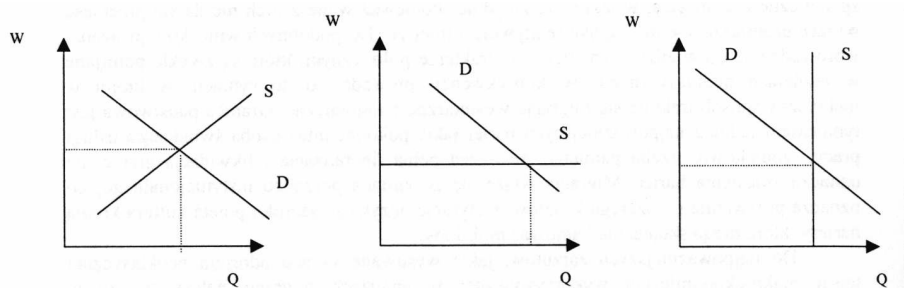
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<sup>57</sup> E. Dolny, J. Meller, Z. Wiśniewski, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>58</sup> A. Lewis, "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour", [in:] *Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies* 1954, No. 22, p. 139–191.

‘admitted’ to the labour market, making provision for the principles of migration policy and rules of labour market (since usually we come to deal with illegal immigration).<sup>59</sup>

Making references to these observations, Agata Górny and Paweł Kaczmarczyk observe that in the situation where the migration potential is greater than the demand, there occurs migration pressure, which creates conditions for the whole process to be governed by the demand (a typical migration-related situation). Such a situation would occur when the supply of migrants’ workforce were unlimited. A consequence of this state of things would be the workers-foreigners’ readiness to accept any work conditions (the curve of supply would be flat – see Fig. 2.1). Then, the scale of migration would be determined solely by the size of the demand, as well as – eventually – by principles of migration policy. A reverse case would occur when the supply were wholly independent of the conditions offered in labour markets of host countries (the vertical curve of supply). This phenomenon could occur when the migration stream were created by events in the sending country, such as wars, religious or political persecution, or natural calamities. In this situation, the demand for labour would not have any influence over the influx of immigrants. Agata Górny and Paweł Kaczmarczyk underline that “it is usually migration conditions that locate the mobility process between these extreme cases. This means that both the side of supply and that of demand are significant”.<sup>60</sup>



Migration depends on demand and supply    Migration demand-conditioned    Migration supply-conditioned

where: W – wage value; Q – quantity of migrants; D – demand for labour; S – supply of labour

Source: A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *Uwarunkowania i mechanizmy migracji zarobkowych w świecie wybranych koncepcji teoretycznych*, Warszawa 2003, p. 26.

**Fig. 2.1.** Migration conditioning factors

<sup>59</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 25. More extensively: M. Jandl, “Is Migration Supply- or Demand-Determined? Some remarks on the ideological use of economic language”, [in:] *International Migration* 1994, No. 32.

<sup>60</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

## 2.4. Theories of segmentation of the labour market

Theories of segmentation concern, primarily, conditions related to the structure and activity of labour markets in host countries. One of them is the concept of internal and external job markets, which was developed by John T. Dunlop, Peter B. Doeringer and Michael Piore. According to them, the labour market is divided into two areas: inner and outer, which differ with workers' mobility and – in many cases – with regulations.<sup>61</sup>

Inner job markets are units offering employment (e.g., companies), whose activity is regulated by given norms and procedures. The most significant features of the inner labour market are the following:

1. Limitation of accessibility;
2. Long-term, systemically regulated, stable work relations;
3. Path of professional promotion (e.g., the hierarchy of work places at the company);
4. Complementing of the value allocation with non-value one (beside wages there are also non-financial assets, such as freedom to manage one's work time, type of work).<sup>62</sup>

The concept of a dual job market, which was developed by Michael Piore,<sup>63</sup> is a detailed representation of the concept of internal and external labour markets. This theory, making reference to migration, concentrates on the situation in host countries and analyses the demand for foreigners' labour. Piore maintained that the reason why the demand becomes strengthened is segmentation of the labour market. This means that in each country, there exist segments in which employment of native workers decreases irrespective of their supply. People reject certain job offers since they consider them unattractive. This group includes lowly-paid jobs, ones not requiring qualifications, of low prestige, dangerous, offering low prospects of promotion.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, immigrants prove an indispensable element of the contemporary job market, as they can secure its stability. What is important – their employment does not lead to a rise in the unemployment rate, but adds to the economic stability of the immigration-hosting country.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> A. Musiał -Paczkowska, „Segmentacja rynku pracy”, [in:] D. Kopycińskiej (ed.), *Kapitał ludzki w gospodarce*, Szczecin 2003, p. 78; available on: <http://mikro.univ.szczecin.pl/bp/pdf/4/5.pdf> [10.09.2007].

<sup>62</sup> E. Kryńska, *Mobilność zasobów...*, p. 25.

<sup>63</sup> M. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*, Cambridge 1979.

<sup>64</sup> K. Iglicka-Okólska, *Analiza zachowań migracyjnych...*, p. 18.

<sup>65</sup> W. Janicki, „Przegląd teorii migracji ludności”, [in:] *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska* 2007, Sectio B, “Geographia, Geologia, Mineralogia et Petrographia” 2007, Vol. 62, No. 14, p. 290.

The theory of a dual labour market distinguishes the primary and secondary job market (known also as: basic and secondary segment of the job market). To a broader extent, each of them has been presented in Table 2.3 below.

**Table 2.3**

Characteristics of the job market segments in the concept of a dual labour market

Primary segment	Secondary segment
Covers work places perceived as attractive; employees are determined as 'privileged', admission to work places is limited	It is created by work places perceived as unattractive, citizens manning them are identified with those of poorer conditions
Work places in firms that are large, market-strong and significant for economy	Covers positions in small and medium-sized companies from the outskirts of economy
Includes subjects interested in possessing a stable team of workers	Concerns firms which relatively easily feel the fluctuations of the demand dependent on the economic situation
Strong position of trade unions in their endeavours to have employees' rights and privileges respected	Lack of visible influence of trade unions or other organizations taking care of workers' interests
Strong identification of employees with their company and occupation which they have	Lack of identification with the work place or occupation held
Workers hold qualifications (occupations), which make them more attractive to employers	Workers with low qualifications, migrants, young persons and individuals at the pre-retirement age
Stability of employment	Lack of stability of employment, strong fluctuation of personnel
Prospects of promotion and professional development	Does not offer chances of professional development
Offers high pay, requires outlays on training, raising qualifications and professional skills	Offers relatively low pay, does not require raising qualifications
Requires satisfying accepted norms, customs, demands	Does require engaging in matters pertaining to the company, does not take advantage of workers' potentials

Source: A. Musiał-Paczkowska, „Segmentacja rynku pracy”, [in:] D. Kopycińska (ed.), *Kapitał ludzki w gospodarce*, Szczecin 2003, p. 74-75, available on: <http://mikro.univ.szczecin.pl/bp/pdf/4/5.pdf> [10.09.2007].

The primary market includes, among others, persons holding freelance professions, as well as certain groups of qualified workers (e.g., foremen). Therefore, there has been an additional sub-division introduced into *upper primary segment* (independent) and *lower primary segment* (subordinated). The first of them includes work places which require creativity; the other one covers those which demand discipline and reliability.<sup>66</sup>

Piore has proposed four explanations of the demand for migrants' labour in highly-developed countries. Firstly, the shortage of domestic workforce re-

<sup>66</sup> E. Kryńska, „Statystycznie dyskryminowani”, [in:] *Personel* 1998, No. 7/8, p. 68.

sults from its concentration in branches and sectors that offer better wages, and – what follows – there occurs a shortage of workforce in those sectors of economy that are considered less attractive. Employers may thus compete for workers by offering them higher wages and better work conditions or look for another solution, which is aiding themselves by taking on imported workforce.

Secondly, wages pay an important social role, as they determine the social status and prestige. This means that employers do not have a complete freedom to shape the pay as an instrument to attract workers. If they raise wages in sectors of the secondary labour market, in consequence – wages within the other sectors will have to rise as well.

Thirdly, a factor that motivates people to take up employment is the occupational hierarchy. In Piore's opinion, people work, among others, because they wish to move up on the professional ladder. Work in secondary sectors of economy does not offer such an opportunity. Therefore, a solution to the problem of lack of hands to work in this sector are migrants, who – for the fact that they come from outside – remain on the margin of the social structure of the host country.

Fourthly, in economy, there exists economic dualism: capital is a constant factor of production, whereas labour outlays change. This means that when the demand drops – workers are laid off, that is the so-called human factor bears the brunt of unemployment. The presence of foreign workforce allows domestic workers to avoid dismissals, since – as a rule – it is foreigners who are the first to lose jobs.<sup>67</sup>

The theory of a dual labour market, while referring to migration, explains a few questions, among others, why there exist segments in economy in which wages and capacity are low and what the reason is why native workers shun employment in sectors of higher labour-consuming character. At first, this theory referred to the work relations in the United States, in particular to Afro-Americans. Piore drew attention to the fact the immigration from poorer countries into the USA was greatly promoted by a heavy recruitment action which aimed at satisfying the demand for work in selected sectors, which confirms the conclusion that differences in the incomes of hosting and sending countries do not always make the basic migration causative factor. Migrations should be considered in a broader context of the functioning of immigrants.<sup>68</sup>

In turn, Burkart Lutz and Werner Sengenberger have formulated a three-element division of the labour market. The main premise behind this differ-

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<sup>67</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 32–33.

<sup>68</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 53–54.

entiation were employees' qualifications: universal, vocational and specific of a single job market.<sup>69</sup> The first segment is the market of unqualified workforce (*Unspezifische, Jedermanns – Teilarbeitsmarkt*). This concerns workers with elementary skills, who can take up employment on posts that do not require vocational knowledge. This type of qualifications is characteristic of school graduates who have not acquired professional experience yet. The workforce in this market is characterized by a high degree of mobility; however, the market itself offers a greatly limited opportunity of promotion.

The other segment is the market of qualified workforce – a professional labour market (*Fachliche – Teilarbeitsmarkt*). It includes workers holding universal vocational qualifications, ones that can take up employment in chosen enterprises which put up similar requirements for certain work posts. Vocational skills are subject to regulations, control and granting concession which extend beyond companies. This permits to standardize qualifications and thanks to it workers can – without any greater difficulty – choose and change their employers.

The third segment is the market of workforce with qualifications adapted to the needs of individual companies – a company-related labour market (*Fachliche – Teilarbeitsmarkt*), the boundaries of which are marked out by precisely defined requirements with respect to qualifications assigned to concrete enterprises. Workers cannot take advantage of these specialist skills in another economic subject and – what this entails – their mobility outside the company is greatly limited. In view of the fact that the employer must bear indispensable outlays so that their employees could acquire necessary knowledge and skills, there forms between them a long-term bond. Running the personnel policy is based on the principle of seniority – the longer the time of employment, the lower the risk of dismissal.<sup>70</sup>

## **2.5. Everett Lee's push-pull theory and its development – a sociological framework**

Theories of economy do not suffice to explain the occurrence of migration processes. That is why, researchers also reach for concepts deriving from different sciences, among others, sociology. They make a complement of economic theories and allow indicating additional factors which influence decisions to migrate.

One of the most significant concepts of this trend is the theory formulated by Everett S. Lee, referred to as the 'push-pull' theory. He distinguishes

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<sup>69</sup> A. Musiał-Paczkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 84–85.

<sup>70</sup> Ibidem, p. 84–85. See: E. Kryńska, *Mobilność zasobów...*, p. 31–36.



the following factors, which are taken account of while deciding to migrate:

1. push factors – connected with the place of origin;
2. pull factors – connected with the target destination area;
3. intervening obstacles;
4. personal factors.<sup>71</sup>

Lee claims that a decision concerning migration is taken on the basis of comparing features of the place of origin and those of the destination. They can be neutral, favourable or discouraging with reference to selection of a given area. It is worth indicating that the significance of individual factors is of the subjective character. This means that their reception depends on the concrete individual (identification of groups of people who react in a similar manner is also possible). There are differences, too, in perception of the conditions existing in the places of origin and destination.<sup>72</sup> Migration, according to Lee, is not as much a result of certain factors which are at play as a manner of their perception. He is of the opinion that migration is not merely a bill of “pluses and minuses [...] there must occur a sufficiently strong stimulus for the movement, able to overcome the natural heaviness which always exists”<sup>73</sup>

The ‘push-pull’ theory has been developed by other researchers. One of them was Donald J. Bogue who extended it with potential costs and benefits of migration<sup>74</sup> (Table 2.4).

**Table 2.4**

Potential costs and benefits of migrations

Potential costs of leaving the country (inhibiting factors)	Potential benefits of leaving the country (pull factors)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- transport to the new place,</li> <li>- uncertainty of finding a job, problem with accommodation while seeking employment,</li> <li>- maintenance while being without a job,</li> <li>- necessity of changing the external image (e.g., purchase of clothes),</li> <li>- a feeling of a state of alienation,</li> <li>- lack of recognition and acceptance,</li> <li>- necessity of knowledge and using of a foreign language,</li> <li>- necessity of changing the behaviour, preferences to date, etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- higher wages,</li> <li>- possibility of selecting a work place,</li> <li>- improvement of housing conditions,</li> <li>- possibility of raising the level of education, a chance of self-realization,</li> <li>- possibility of development and educating children,</li> <li>- higher level of services, higher quality of life,</li> <li>- attractions of socialising and social life,</li> <li>- favourable ethnic, racial, religious, political and social conditions.</li> </ul>

<sup>71</sup> Citation taken from: P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 14.

<sup>72</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 31; D. Prasałowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 20–22.

<sup>73</sup> E. Lee, “Theory of migration”, [in:] *Demography* 1966, No. 3, p.16.

<sup>74</sup> J. Balicki, P. Stalker, *op. cit.*, p. 37.



Potential costs of remaining in the country (push factors)	Potential benefits of remaining in the country (inhibiting factors)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- difficulty finding jobs in the domestic labour market, lack of a suitable work place satisfying individual's aspirations,</li> <li>- unsatisfactory social and political relations,</li> <li>- unsatisfactory activity of different types of social and political institutions,</li> <li>- lack of respect for fundamental human rights,</li> <li>- social, ethnic, political, religious inequalities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- inexpensive accommodation already owned (or a relatively stable housing situation),</li> <li>- fixed supply of food, relatively easy life,</li> <li>- support of the family, direct relations with the nearest family members and closest friends,</li> <li>- life in the environment of the nearest people,</li> <li>- holding established social status,</li> <li>- comfort resulting from the possibility of preserving the native tongue, traditions, customs, ways of dressing, certainty of 'some' job.</li> </ul>

Source : J. Balicki, P. Stalker, *Polityka migracyjna i azyłowa*, Warszawa 2006, p. 37–38. See also: K. Slany, *Między przymusem a wyborem. Kontynentalne i zamorskie emigracje z krajów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (1939–1989)*, Kraków 1995, p. 45–46.

Among the potential costs of leaving for another country (inhibiting factors) one should enumerate, among others, uncertainty connected with finding a job or accommodation, costs of transport to the new place of abode, necessity of learning a new language and using it, including the sense of alienation, lack of recognition and acceptance. The benefits of leaving one's country of origin (pull factors) include, among others, higher wages, possibility of choosing a work place, bettering the living conditions, possibility of obtaining education, higher life quality. Potential costs of staying in one's native country (push factors) have also been indicated. They may include, among others, difficulty in finding a job, unsatisfactory political, social and economic relations. On the other hand, benefits of staying in the country (inhibiting factors) include, among others, stability in terms of housing, family and social life, living in the environment of familiar people, possibility of remaining within the familiar circle of culture and language.

In turn, Hans-Joachim Hoffman-Novotny, in the theory of structural tensions, proposes to take a look at migrations as one of the ways to ease tensions within social systems. With reference to a concrete individual this phenomenon may occur when they hold determined qualifications, yet do not obtain wages that would be satisfying to them.<sup>75</sup> Migration is thus more probable in societies in which the structure is undergoing rapid and drastic changes, e.g., in countries subjected to socioeconomic transformations.<sup>76</sup> Hoffman-Novot-

<sup>75</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 33.

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, p. 33–34.

ny bases his observations on theories formulated earlier by, among others, W. Langenheder, who analysed behaviours of the individual from the point of view of appearance of given forces that influence their life space.<sup>77</sup>

## 2.6. Political-scientific theories

In political science, the explanation of migration processes is an attempt at finding an answer to the question: Why does the intensity of migration differ in individual states although they are characterized by similar economic conditions? The theory of the global system endeavours to elucidate these problems. Its author, Immanuel Wallerstein,<sup>78</sup> builds a model, in which there exist countries of different levels of development – centres, peripheries, semi-peripheries. In a centre – the economic activity is varied. There dominate sectors of high effectiveness and those producing highly-processed goods. Peripheral areas are characterized by mono-culture (mainly agriculture, although a fairly important role is also played by extraction of natural resources). Semi-peripheries are an intermediate formation between peripheries and centres. Semi-peripheries – as a rule – strive to protect the internal market and – basically – do not compete against centres and peripheries (these theories did not make provision for the existence of socialist countries).<sup>79</sup> Political instability is one of the more significant factors that push people out of their native countries, since poor economic development is often connected with it.<sup>80</sup> Migrations are one of the effects of the dominance of highly-developed states over countries of lower economic positions (peripheries). The influx of workforce causes rich countries to develop even more, which makes the distance between states or regions greater.<sup>81</sup>

Foreign workers staying in countries of the so-called centre are treated as a kind of buffer. In the phase of economic growth, immigration increases and the hosting country takes advantage of the inflowing workforce. In turn, in the situation of worsening of the economic tide it is workers-aliens who are the

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<sup>77</sup> H.J. Hoffman-Novotny, „Paradygmaty i zmiany paradygmatów w socjologicznych badaniach nad migracjami. Szkic teorii migracji”, [in:] J. Polakowska-Kujawa *Migracje. Mniejszości. Nacjonalizm. Problemy teoretyczne i realia społeczne*, Warszawa 1994, p. 10.

<sup>78</sup> I. Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World – Economy*, Cambridge 1997.

<sup>79</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 27–28.

<sup>80</sup> P. Koryś, M. Okólski, „Świat w podróży. Globalny kontekst współczesnych polskich migracji”, [in:] *Przegląd Polonijny* 2005, p. 10.

<sup>81</sup> W. Janicki, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

first to stay out of work.<sup>82</sup> Attention is drawn to the fact that linking migration policy with realizing an interest of a given group of entrepreneurs is not a rare phenomenon. It is frequently their approval or a lack of it which determines the possibility of legal employment of foreigners. In states where finding a native employee is hard, in certain branches of economy a selective invitation to work is used. Thanks to this practice, employers obtain workforce and the state does not have to be afraid of workers-foreigners flooding all sectors.<sup>83</sup>

### **2.7. Theories making reference to the role of the individual in the decision-making process**

Larry Sjaastad is looked on as the pioneer of microeconomic theories. He claimed that it is not only differentiation between wages and income levels which are decisive as regards migrations. To him migration is an investment which increases human productivity.<sup>84</sup> This means that identification of costs and benefits connected with people's transferring are of paramount significance in this respect. They are not limited solely to costs related with money, but include the so-called non-fiscal costs as well, that is they are, among others, linked to the fact of changing the surrounding or can be of the psychic nature. On the other hand, advantages, in the opinion of L. Sjaastad, include a growth in revenues, which may be brought about not only by a change in the income, but also by a change in the costs of employment, changes in prices, or by a combination of these factors.<sup>85</sup>

Expanding the concept proposed by Sjaastad has led to the appearance of a micro-economic approach based on the concept of human capital. This theory assumes that a migrant compares the expected prospective return in the place of their eventual destination with that possible to obtain in the present place of their stay. Usability of both of the incomes is not equivalent. The probability of migration is greater among people possessing a larger temporal horizon, in which this calculating takes place, i.e., simply among the younger.

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<sup>82</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 29. Such a way of filling up the gaps in their job markets was made use of, among others, in Holland, where – before the labour market was opened to citizens of the new member-states of the EU, the possibility of quicker obtaining a work permit, among others, by people wanting to take up employment as butchers or lorry drivers in the international movement had been introduced. In turn, beginning with 1 November 2007 Germany opened its labour market to computer scientists from the new EU states. It was closed to representatives of other professions.

<sup>84</sup> L. Sjaastad, "The costs and returns of human migration", [in:] *Journal of Political Economy* 1962, No. 70, p. 83.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 85–86.

This model neglects the influence which the family may have over individuals' decisions to migrate.<sup>86</sup>

Also, according to the concept of Michael Todaro – the theory of net benefit – migration is an expression of the relevant resolution made by an individual who is motivated by a wish to better the level of their living conditions. Making such a decision, one takes into account not only benefits connected with the prospects of prosperity, but also direct expenses and alternative costs (meaning profits lost because of the migration).<sup>87</sup> The individual takes the decision to get employment in the place where the balance is the most favourable.<sup>88</sup>

M. Torado's theory corresponds to the model of value-expectancy, proposed by Gordon de Jong and James Fawcett. They have accepted that the drive towards bettering the material and social situation is of the most vital significance in migration, whereas the chief reason for a lack of mobility is the wish to maintain the given social status. According to them, migration is an endeavour to improve the quality of life. The individual can be directed by various categories of motivation: a chance of raising the state of possession (wages, stability of employment, availability of work, increase in wealth), status (education, career, lifestyle), comfort (an easy and pleasant job, well-furnished apartment), stimulation (possibility of meeting new challenges, meeting new people), autonomy (financial independence, self-reliance), affiliation (family, friends, marriage), or morality (a good life, community creating a positive moral climate).<sup>89</sup>

In turn, from the theory of human capital there follows an important conclusion which influences any individual decision to migrate: educated people show a greater inclination towards emigration provided that the chance of obtaining wages which would meet their expectations in their own country is low. These people bear lower expenses relating to their adaptation in the host country, since they know foreign languages or are capable of learning them faster. The sending country takes advantage of such emigrants thanks to the fact that they transfer home part of their incomes which they obtained abroad and – following their return home – make use of the experience which they gained there. The advantage of the host country consists in that it can easily compensate – thanks to migrants – for shortages in the domestic labour supply. Such a state receives professionals and does not incur expenses on education of specialist personnel. In each case advantages are not symmetrical: the host-

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<sup>86</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 62–63.

<sup>87</sup> A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>88</sup> R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności...*, p. 56.

<sup>89</sup> For a more extensive discussion see: J. Balicki, P. Stalker, *op. cit.*, p. 31–32.

ing country has an advantage. Poorer states are deprived of the most-talented individuals and therefore they miss an opportunity for a quick development, at the same time having to bear costs of educating specialists.<sup>90</sup>

According to James Beshers, the decision making process is treated as an effect of a great number of individual decisions, on the assumption of striving for maximizing benefits. The researcher suggests that individuals should be divided due to their age, education, profession and others. The following types of orientation which are established on the unit level are of the key importance:

- purposeful-rational (assumes full rationality and ability to gather and process information),
- traditional (customs and habits bear a great deal of significance for it),
- hedonistic (acts on the spur of the emotions).<sup>91</sup>

The psychological theory of migration which treats migrations as a particular case of human activity has been formulated by Monica Vanberg. It follows from it that each individual desires to shape the situation, in which they find themselves, in such a manner that there should be an agreement between the obtained wages (or other factors that are satisfying to them) and those obtained by them in reality. The lack of harmony between them is a motive to act, including undertaking migration.<sup>92</sup>

## **2.8. New Economics of Labour Migration and the social context of migrations**

The starting point for the theory of New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) is the assumption that labour should not be treated like any other production factor. Work is of the specific character. This results – first of all – from the fact that workers have to translocate, following labour, and – secondly – they possess free will, feelings and motivations which incline them to migrating. This theory suggests that the wages-related argument is not always the main one to settle the question of deciding to migrate. Sometimes migration can result from a desire to change the position in a concrete reference system, in which the migrant functions.<sup>93</sup> One of the key notions in the NELM is the so-called relative deprivation, that is the phenomenon consisting in the fact that the satisfaction of the individual with the obtained income is

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<sup>90</sup> S. Golinowska, „Teorie wyjaśniające występowanie zjawiska popytu na pracę cudzoziemców”, [in:] S. Golinowski (ed.), *Popyt na pracę cudzoziemców. Polska i sąsiedzi*, Warszawa 2004, p. 20.

<sup>91</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 66.

<sup>92</sup> H.J. Hoffman-Novotny, *op. cit.*, p. 10–11.

<sup>93</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 69.

not merely a function of their own income, but also a distribution of incomes of other people (in the reference group)<sup>94</sup> Persons and households, whose incomes locate in the lower part of the distribution of incomes of the reference group, engage in the wage-earning mobility.<sup>95</sup> It is accepted that the decision to migrate is not motivated solely by the desire to improve the absolute income but also by striving to raise it in relation to other households.<sup>96</sup>

The NELM, as Paweł Kaczmarczyk indicates in his work, enriches the migration theories to date by two conclusions: firstly – there is no alternative between activity in the country of origin and migration (both forms are generally connected since this can yield a better result); secondly – the same income is of different significance to various individuals and households.<sup>97</sup>

Each potential migrant functions within a certain system, therefore one can safely accept that the decision to migrate is not of the individual character. According to the theory, an important role in the process of taking such a decision is played by the family (thus persons who do not participate in migration). It is particularly vital in traditional societies, where the family is the basic social unit. People, in the context of migration-related processes, cannot be treated as self-reliant, independent units. Their decisions should be looked at through the prism of the family, within which they function.<sup>98</sup> The aim behind taking the decision related to migration of one of the members of their households, is not only to obtain a maximum income, but also to lower the risk thanks to diversification of the family's incomes. This theory allows therefore explaining reasons for migrating even when levels of wages in the country of origin are comparable with those in the immigration-sought country, or they differ to a very insignificant extent.<sup>99</sup>

In view of the above-mentioned observations, researchers have arrived at the conclusion that pro-migration decisions cannot be analysed in separation from the family. One of them was Jacob Mincer who analysed the phenomenon of migration in the context of the family structure. He formulated the concept of *tied stayers* and *tied movers*. An assumption behind the concept is the statement that it is the net profit to the whole family rather than an individual's net profit that is decisive to making family members migrate. Migration appears when profits derived from it are greater than the related costs.

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<sup>94</sup> Ibidem, p. 70.

<sup>95</sup> O. Stark, E. Taylor, *Migration incentives, migration types: The role of relative deprivation*, „The Economic Journal” 1991, No. 101, p. 1165.

<sup>96</sup> K. Iglicka-Okólska, *Analiza zachowań migracyjnych...*, p. 16.

<sup>97</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 80.

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem, p. 73.

<sup>99</sup> W. Janicki, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

J. Mincer concludes, however, that the analysis of costs and profits concerns each of the persons belonging to the given household. A result of this can be subordination to the decision taken by one of the partners.<sup>100</sup>

Other researchers accentuated other factors that have an influence on the migration-related decision. Sarah Harbison draws attention, among others, to the size of the family, structure of age and gender, as well as to the phase of life cycle of individual household members. She claims that different decisions will be taken by people who have not set their families yet – they will be more willing to migrate, still other decisions will be taken by those who have already had duties relating to a family and children. Harbison pays attention to a few functions of the family. Firstly, she perceives the family as an economic unit, thus – as a system, in which decisions relating to consumption and production of its members are made. It is here that the access to labour resources and technology is analysed and it is on this level that a discussion about engagement in mobility abroad takes place. Secondly, a family is a socializing group, that is it is an ‘institution’ which prepares for functioning in society, and this concerns various spheres of life, among others, mobility. Thirdly, it is a social group and a constituent of a network, that is it defines interactions with relatives, determines duties and becomes an important criterion while forming migration networks (a family can facilitate obtaining information about work, accommodation).<sup>101</sup> A schema of the factors influencing the migration-related decision is presented in Figure 2.2.

Douglas Massey links wage-earning migrations with the situation in the local labour market: the greater the recession, the structural changes and – in consequence – the risk of losing jobs (the material situation of the family is under threat), the more optimal the solution of employment outside one’s country seems to be. Migration becomes then an alternative source of obtaining an income, which – eventually – can turn out a permanent component of the family budget.<sup>102</sup> Thanks to wage-earning migration the family lowers the risk related to obtaining financial means.

In order to fully discuss the motives which people are governed by in the migration process it is necessary to discuss the social context that determines the former. This idea was developed by Philip Nelson who created the theory of migration based on migration and information networks. He noticed that migrants prefer to live near their relatives and acquaintances, and the acces-

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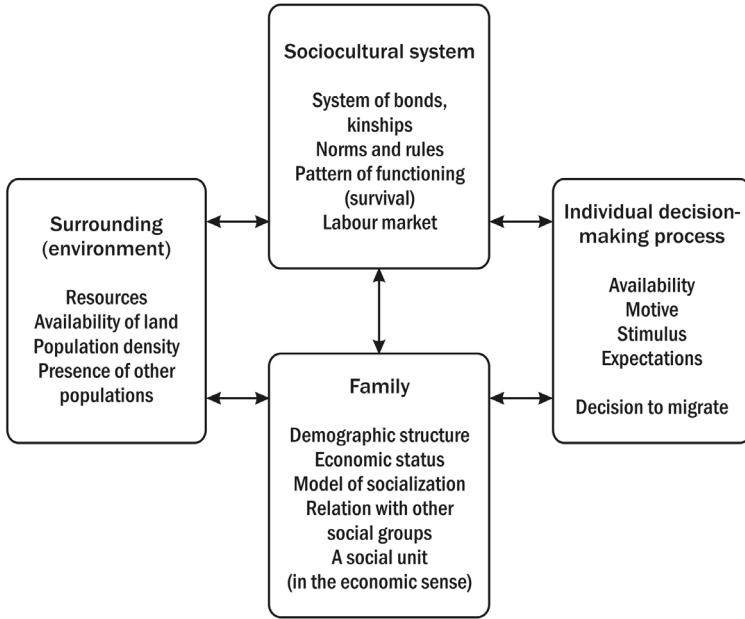
<sup>100</sup> J. Mincer, “Family migration decisions”, [in] *Journal of Political Economy* 1978, No. 86, p. 750.

<sup>101</sup> More extensively: A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 57–58; also: P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 75-76.

<sup>102</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków...*, p. 78.



sible information matters greatly while taking migration-related decisions. In his opinion, “more than half of the information comes from relations and acquaintances”. This means that the factor that attracts people to a potential place of migration, which encourages them to change the place of abode, is the fact that their relations and acquaintances live there.<sup>103</sup>



Source: A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *Uwarunkowania i mechanizmy migracji zarobkowych w świetle wybranych koncepcji teoretycznych*, Warszawa 2003, p. 57.

**Fig. 2.2.** Schema of factors influencing the decision to migrate

Douglas Massey developed his observations in the theory of migration which relies on the role of social capital founded on migrants’ networks. According to it, migrants-pioneers who give rise to migrants’ networks, play a particular role in the migration process. Returning to the countries of origin, they provoke in their compatriots a desire to imitate them. Networks are a reliable ‘hinterland’ which secures, among others, information, accommodation, and – by providing those – cause the individuals who migrate within a network to develop a stronger sense of safety.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności...*, p. 57.

<sup>104</sup> More extensively: E. Jaźwińska and M. Okólski (eds.), *Ludzie na huśtawce. Migracje między peryferiami Polski i Zachodu*, Warszawa 2001, Chapter VI.



The dynamics of migration processes between countries depends on social networks. This is “a structured set of social bonds between individuals”.<sup>105</sup> Therefore successive researchers: Douglas Gurak and Fe Caces identified the most significant functions of migration social networks which:

1. Save migrants from bearing expenses and prevent difficulties connected with migration.
2. Separate migrants from the host society and keep up their relations with the sending community.
3. Determine, to some degree, who migrates from the given community or household.
4. Influence the choice of areas of target destination and of the sending ones.
5. Influence the migrants’ integration within host societies.
6. Provide an information channel.
7. Shape the size and intensity of migrations.<sup>106</sup>

It can be concluded, thus, that the access to a migration network and the number of the latter increase the probability of individual migration. Migrants usually choose areas in which they have the best personal contacts and where there are the most of them. The existence of migration networks facilitates – at the first moment – adaptation in the new place. Thanks to relations and acquaintances it is easier to find a job, accommodation and information about the new country, although – in the long run – it makes integration with the community of the host country more difficult. The theory allows explaining the differentiation of migration as regards centres, regions and countries of identical attractiveness. It does not, however, make it possible to point out the causes of the first migration and does not take account of economic factors which can be decisive to the intensity of people’s flow.<sup>107</sup>

The concept of social capital is connected with migration networks. Pierre Bourdieu has defined it as “a sum of real or virtual resources that are available to an individual or a group due to possessing a durable network of – to a lesser or greater extent – institutionalized relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition”<sup>108</sup>. This normally concerns social relations within the given group, which facilitate acting both to the whole group and its members. Alejandro

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<sup>105</sup> D.T. Gurak, F. Caces, “Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migrations Systems”, [in:] M.M. Kritz, L.L. Lim, H. Zlotnik (eds.), *International Migrations Systems*, Oxford 1992, p. 152.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 153.

<sup>107</sup> W. Janicki, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>108</sup> P. Bourdieu, L.J.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Cambridge 1992, p. 119.

Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner described the processes of forming the social capital in the context of migration. They are as follows:

- a) instilling values – passing values and norms on to the individual, which incline the latter to being directed not only by a desire of making profit;
- b) exchange of reciprocity – expecting benefits in the future in return for the aid that was extended;
- c) solidarity – unity within a group arises as a result of its members experiencing a similar situation, similar experience and the conviction of the commonwealth of interests;<sup>109</sup>
- d) credit of trust – a motive behind offering help is not as much a norm or a sense of solidarity as respect for the group’s opinion and a fear of being disliked, in the case when someone evades offering help.<sup>110</sup>

In practice, it manifests itself, for instance, as offering aid in looking for a better job. Researchers in migration (e.g., D. Massey) have observed that in the case of an intensive migration between selected countries, at a certain moment, this process starts being governed by its own rules. At extreme points, even disappearance of differences in incomes obtained in the given countries does not stop people’s leaving their homes. The reason for this is their internal dynamics.<sup>111</sup>

A vital contribution to the theories of migration is determination of a cycle in migration processes. The concept of supranational social space formulated by Thomas Faist can be considered to be the most universal here. He has distinguished three basic stages of migration (dependent on the degree of its intensity):

- commencement and acceleration – migration of pioneers leads to formation of migrants’ social networks,
- culmination – development of chain migration, which leads to self-propelling of migration,
- slowing down – migration becomes a way of living in the sending community, which is accompanied by termination of migration.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Ibidem, p. 165.

<sup>110</sup> Ibidem, p. 165.

<sup>111</sup> More extensively: A. Górny, P. Kaczmarczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

<sup>112</sup> T. Faist, *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford 2000, p. 146.

## Chapter 3

### Employment of foreigners in Poland in the light of selected results of scientific research

#### 3.1. Scientific output relating to the immigration and the wage-earning immigration in the years 1989–2004

There are great disproportions noticed between the knowledge to date with reference to immigration processes in comparison with materials relating to emigration from Poland. The literature and research exploring the phenomenon of influx are relatively scanty. This confirms the fact that questions connected with immigration have not made the subject of broader analyses so far. In this subchapter I am presenting some selected publications, initiatives and research projects which have contributed to broadening the knowledge about immigration, chiefly the wage-earning immigration to Poland.

Poland, which – until the 1980s – had been a typical emigration country, after 1990 became a state of both the emigration and immigration character.<sup>113</sup> The economic transformations in Poland have caused the country to become attractive to foreign workforce. This has concerned (and still does) both citizens of the former EEC (at present the EU) and other countries,<sup>114</sup> mainly from Eastern Europe. Katarzyna Głąbicka has observed that Poland has been acknowledged to be an emigration-transit state, which is often chosen as the target destination. The author has also drawn attention to the growing percentage of immigrants who – initially – in a casual way – and later – more and more consciously – chose Poland to settle down for longer, the process having been in progress since 1998.<sup>115</sup> Poland has been selected mainly as an attractive place of shuttle emigration – immigrants have been undertaking work or dealing in trade over a relatively short period of time. In the case of immigrants from the countries – former republics of the USSR it has been relatively higher wages

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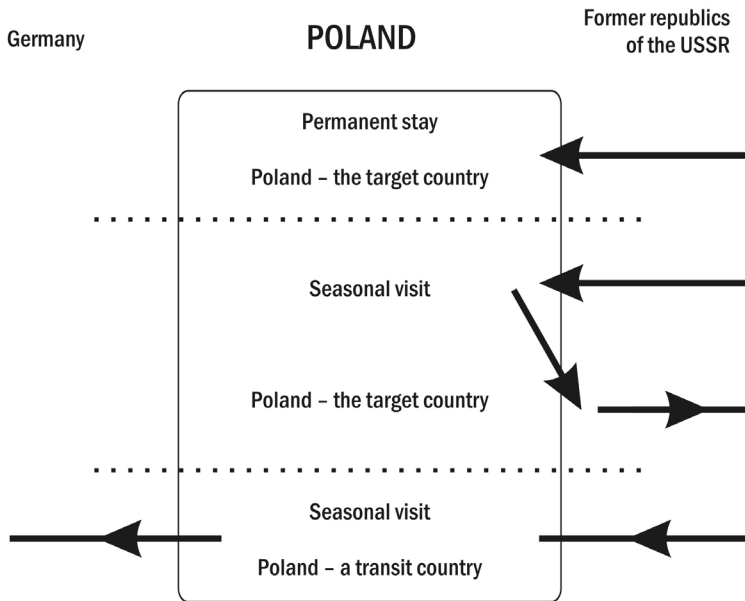
<sup>113</sup> S. Łodziński, “Guarded welcome a review of new legalisation and institutions dealing with migration and foreigners”, [in:] K. Iglicka, K. Sword (eds), *The Challenge of East – West Migration for Poland*, London 1999, p. 67.

<sup>114</sup> M. Wojtan, *Proces akcesji Polski do Unii Europejskiej w zakresie przepływu osób a doświadczenia Niemiec*, Wrocław 2004, p. 108.

<sup>115</sup> K. Głąbicka, „Założenia i przesłanki polskiej polityki migracyjnej”, [in:] K. Głąbicka, M. Okólski, D. Stola (eds), *Polityka migracyjna Polski*, Warszawa 1998, p. 8.

and rather short distance between their native countries and their target destination which have worked in favour of Poland as the latter type.<sup>116</sup>

The intensifying process of immigration into Poland has led to differentiating three groups of migrants (Fig. 3.1). The first are people who treat Poland as a target country. The second group are those who arrive in Poland for some time, and later return to their native countries. The third one comprises people who also come here for a certain period of time. Their aim, however, is not to stay in Poland, but to depart to wealthier countries in Western Europe.<sup>117</sup> M. Jerczyński claimed that as many as 65% of the people arriving in Poland from the East in the 1990s declared occasional employment and petty trade as the reasons for their coming.<sup>118</sup>



Source: M. Jerczyński, “Patterns of Spatial Mobility of Citizens of the Former Soviet Union”, [in:] K. Iglicka, K. Sword (eds), *The Challenge of East – West Migration for Poland*, London 1999, p. 108.

**Fig. 3.1.** Types of migration to Poland from former republics of the USSR

<sup>116</sup> Ibidem, p. 9.

<sup>117</sup> M. Jerczyński, “Patterns of spatial mobility of citizens of the former Soviet Union”, [in:] K. Iglicka, K. Sword (eds), *The Challenge of East – West Migration for Poland*, London 1999, p. 107–108.

<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, p. 115.

Towards the end of the 1990s, researchers began to deal with foreigners who came to Poland not only in the context of taking up paid employment. A group of immigrants was noticed, for whom the wage-earning migration meant trading. Keith Sword observed that in 1994 the worth of the commodities sold by Ukrainian tourists in Poland made 46% of the value of all goods officially exported to Ukraine.<sup>119</sup> This shows how significant the role of the so-called suitcase trade was. Nearly in each bigger town there appeared a bazaar, where visitors from the East were trading. The best-known and largest of those used to be the big bazaar functioning in the Stadium of the Decade in Warsaw, which provided a perfect location for Poles and citizens of the former republics of the USSR to trade. With time it was also visitors from Asia who used the stadium for the trading purpose. Eventually, it was possible to divide the bazaar into three sectors: Polish, Russian (citizens of former Soviet republics used to trade there), and Asian (later called Vietnamese, since citizens of this state prevailed there).<sup>120</sup>

In the 1990s, earning money in bazaars by trading in sundry small articles was becoming more and more popular with visitors from the East. Krystyna Iglicka observed that there functioned specializing groups of immigrants who came to Poland for a few days, sold the goods they brought along and departed. They were frequently well-educated people, young, who – in this way – obtained extra incomes to add to their low salaries at home.<sup>121</sup> Poles had acted similarly in the 1980s, when – on the occasion of visiting countries of the Eastern Block – they earned extra money by selling goods they had brought from Poland.

Broader analyses concerning foreigners in the Polish labour market were made by research workers of *Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych* (Institute of Labour and Social Matters) based in Warsaw.<sup>122</sup> Ewa Domaradzka focused on the nationalities of the foreigners who took up employment in Poland in the years 1994–1995 and also reviewed the most frequently chosen occupations.

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<sup>119</sup> K. Sword, “Cross-border ‘suitcase trade’ and the role of foreigners in Polish informal markets”, [in:] K. Iglicka, K. Sword (eds), *The Challenge of East – West Migration for Poland*, London 1999, p. 151.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 161–163.

<sup>121</sup> K. Iglicka, “The economics of petty trade on the Eastern Polish border”, [in:] K. Iglicka, K. Sword (eds), *The Challenge of East – West Migration for Poland*, London 1999, p. 120–142.

<sup>122</sup> One can mention here, among others, the research project managed by A. Rajkiewicz, under the title “Wage-earning activities of foreigners in Poland, with the inclusion of ‘informal sector’ employment” or the one conducted by E. Domaradzka, “The regional differentiation of external migration processes. The dynamics, structure and system of costs and benefits”.

The analysis was also aimed at showing the height of the wages the foreigners earned in Poland, as well as the structure of their spending. At that time, 80% of the questioned foreigners intended to come to Poland again.<sup>123</sup> Questionnaire-based research among foreigners working in Poland was repeated in 1998.<sup>124</sup> It only confirmed the findings of the earlier research. Among the foreigners working in Poland the dominant group were men (70%). The research subjects were divided into three groups: representatives of West-European countries and North America, citizens of states formed after the disintegration of the USSR, and inhabitants of Asian countries. The researchers found that the largest group of wage-earning immigrants came from the former Soviet republics. It was also noticed that there were forming areas of concentration and specialization of certain groups of foreigners. The research proved that in the period under examination there dominated seasonal, illegal employment of foreigners in Poland. Attention was drawn to the role of the state, whose task was to be not as much to control immigration processes as to create conditions for their legalizing.

Analyses concerning wage-earning immigration into Poland were (and still are) prepared by *Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami* (Centre of Migration Research) based in Warsaw. In 1995, the research project under the title “Immigrants: causes of the influx, demographic-social features of functioning within Polish society” was launched, as commissioned by *Biuro ds. Migracji i Uchodźstwa w Ministerstwie Spraw Wewnętrznych* (Office in charge of Migration and Exile at the Ministry of the Interior).<sup>125</sup> The research concerned the process of immigration into Poland after 1990 and covered three categories of immigrants: return immigrants (re-emigrants), immigrants (taking advantage of the permanent residence card) and seasonal immigrants (using visas, including wage-earning immigrants). The research was conducted in three regions of Poland: Upper Silesia, Warsaw and in the Eastern provinces of the country. A number of publications were prepared on its basis, of which the

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<sup>123</sup> More extensively: E. Domaradzka, „Polacy zatrudnieni za granicą i cudzoziemcy pracujący w Polsce”, [in:] *Polityka Społeczna* 1996, No 11/12, p. 15–18. The research involved 350 foreigners. The author dealt with issues related to foreigners in the job market also in her subsequent publications: E. Domaradzka, „Cudzoziemcy na polskim rynku prac”, [in:] *Polityka Społeczna* 2000, No. 5/6, p. 17–18, and Z. Morecka, E. Domaradzka, „Zatrudnienie obcokrajowców w polskich gospodarstwach domowych”, [in:] *Polityka Społeczna* 2004, No. 3, p. 17–19.

<sup>124</sup> The research was carried out within the project of KBN (Scientific Research Committee) “External wage-earning migrations in contemporary Poland”, the manager of the project being A. Rajkiewicz.

<sup>125</sup> The research project was realized in the years 1995–1997. It was managed by Marek Okólski.

ones discussed below are of particular importance as regards establishing the determinants of the wage-earning immigration into Poland, as well as pointing to consequences of foreigners' coming to Poland.

Marek Okólski, in his work *Statystyka imigracji w Polsce (The Statistics of Immigration into Poland)*, deals with problems related to the correctness of the statistics of immigration into Poland. He pays attention to several sources, from which it is possible to obtain information on foreigners staying in Poland. They include, among others, national census, population register, register of permits of residence. He underlines, however, that none of the sources is universal, each being useful at providing slightly different items of information concerning immigrants.<sup>126</sup> The author points to the necessity of ordering the data. He also stresses the fact that the standard and completeness of the information on migration, which is gathered in Poland, is not of the best quality: as regards the migration statistics there is a need to take into account data connected with workers' migrations. Such data are indispensable to run an effective migration policy.<sup>127</sup>

The work published jointly by Katarzyna Głąbicka, Ewa Kępińska, Piotr Koryś and Barbara Sakson, entitled *Imigracja do Polski w świetle urzędowych statystyk (Immigration into Poland in the Light of Official Statistics)*,<sup>128</sup> provides a valuable source of information collected on immigrants in general. It includes sub-chapters containing data on foreigners working in Poland with a division into provinces, countries of origin and employment of foreign workers. In turn, information on the foreigners' labour market in Central-Eastern Europe is contained in the work by Krystyna Romaniszyn, entitled *Current Migration in Central and Eastern Europe*.<sup>129</sup>

Thanks to the participant observation conducted by Ruslan Antoniewski, which was described in the work *Przyczynek do badań nad nieformalnym rynkiem pracy cudzoziemców. Funkcjonowanie „giełdy pracy” w jednej z podwarszawskich miejscowości (A Contribution to the Research on the Informal Foreigners' Job Market. The Functioning of the 'Job Exchange' in a Town Near Warsaw)*,<sup>130</sup> the knowledge of wage-earning immigrants has been widened by casting more light on some aspects of their illegal employment. The author, during his 11-day-long field research, got to know the functioning of the unofficial 'job exchange' in Piaseczno near Warsaw. In consequence, he was able to

<sup>126</sup> M. Okólski, *Statystyka imigracji w Polsce*, Warszawa 1997, p. 10.

<sup>127</sup> Ibidem, p. 29.

<sup>128</sup> K. Głąbicka et al., *Imigracja do Polski w świetle urzędowych statystyk*, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>129</sup> K. Romaniszyn, *Current Migration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>130</sup> R. Antoniewski, *Przyczynek do badań nad nieformalnym rynkiem pracy cudzoziemców, Funkcjonowanie „giełdy pracy” w jednej z podwarszawskich miejscowości*, Warszawa 1997.



supply characteristics of the employment offered there and persons who take up jobs, as well as to determine wages that are possible to be obtained.

There were also other authors who wrote about foreign illegal workers, like Krystyna Iglicka, Ewa Jaźwińska, Ewa Kępińska and Piotr Koryś, who published their collective work *Imigranci w Polsce w świetle badania sondażowego* (*Immigrants in Poland in the Light of Survey Research*).<sup>131</sup> The work included information on immigrants staying in Poland on the basis of the permanent residence card and the sojourn visa. Survey researches were conducted among foreigners and the authors of the report paid attention to methodological difficulties which carrying research among immigrants encounters, including not only those who were staying in Poland illegally.

The problem of wage-earning migrations into Poland has also been dealt with by Dariusz Stola. His research consisted in carrying out penetrating interviews with visitors from countries – the former USSR republics, which were included in the publication *Mechanizmy i uwarunkowania migracji zarobkowych do Polski* (*The Mechanisms and Conditions of Wage-Earning Migrations to Poland*).<sup>132</sup> The work provides plenty of information on the types of employment of immigrants from the East in Poland, wages earned by them and reasons why they chose to work in Poland. Moreover, the author describes the reasons why – in the opinion of the workers-immigrants taking part in the survey – they felt safe or, on the contrary, had only a weak sense of safety while staying in Poland. Apart from the worries mentioned by the examined subjects stemming from unwanted contacts with the police, municipal wardens, customs officers or officers of the labour inspection department, there appears, in their utterances, the threat of the so-called ‘racketeering’, that is extortion executed mostly by Russian-speaking criminals.

On the basis of the conducted research, directions of the development of the Polish immigration policy have been indicated, which can be read about in the work by Wojciech Łukowski, under the title *Czy Polska stanie się krajem imigracyjnym?* (*Will Poland Become an Immigration Country?*).<sup>133</sup> The author reveals the motives behind taking up employment in Poland by three groups of immigrants: citizens of countries that came to existence following the disintegration of the USSR, Asians, and citizens of Western Europe. This question is also dealt with by Katarzyna Głąbicka, Marek Okólski and Dariusz Stola in their work entitled *Polityka migracyjna Polski* (*The Migration Policy of Poland*),<sup>134</sup> where the development of the policy is discussed, among others,

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<sup>131</sup> K. Iglicka et al., *Imigranci w Polsce w świetle badania sondażowego*, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>132</sup> D. Stola, *Mechanizmy i uwarunkowania migracji zarobkowych do Polski*, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>133</sup> W. Łukowski, *Czy Polska stanie się krajem imigracyjnym?*, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>134</sup> K. Głąbicka, M. Okólski, D. Stola, *op. cit.*



in the context of making the labour market in Poland accessible to foreigners. Furthermore, the publication contains information on non-registered immigrants. Their spending in Poland and reasons for choosing Poland as the country of wage-earning immigration are described as well. The survey research, whose results are presented in this particular work was conducted among immigrants staying in Warsaw.

Within the above-mentioned project realized by the Centre of Research into Migrations there were also prepared publications which explained the sociological aspects of the appearance of immigrants in Poland, including wage-earning ones. They are the following works: *Postawy Polaków wobec cudzoziemców* (*Attitudes of Poles Towards Foreigners*) by Agata Pawelec-Górny<sup>135</sup> and *Obraz imigranta na łamach prasy polskiej* (*The Image of the Immigrant in the Columns of the Polish Press*) by Maciej Mrozowski.<sup>136</sup> Marek Okólski's work entitled *Imigranci: przyczyny napływu, cechy demograficzno-społeczne, funkcjonowanie w społeczeństwie polskim* (*Immigrants: Causes of the Influx, Demographic-Social Features, Functioning within Polish Society*)<sup>137</sup> offers a summary of the project.

SOPEMI reports,<sup>138</sup> elaborated by workers of the Centre of Migration Research, supply valuable information on the statistics of migration in Poland. The first appeared in 1997. A SOPEMI report is a publication of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, devoted to the most significant migration-related trends. It concerns both emigration from and immigration into Poland, including immigration of foreign workers.

Another work, Ryszard Czyszkiewicz, Włodzimierz Durka and Bronisław J. Kozłowski's *Obcokrajowcy na polskim rynku pracy* (*Foreigners in the Polish Labour Market*)<sup>139</sup> deals with issued work permits and presents an analysis of branches and countries of origin of alien workers. The numerical data concern the years 1993-1996 and the first half of 1997. The publication is complemented with examples of using foreign workforce in Poland. Employment of foreigners in Szczecin Shipyard and of employees being investors at the same time in Szczecin (Stettin) Province is described in it. In turn, the work by Katarzyna Głąbicka *Zatrudnienie obywateli polskich za granicą i cudzoziemców w Polsce*

<sup>135</sup> A. Pawelec-Górna, *Postawy Polaków wobec cudzoziemców*, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>136</sup> M. Mrozowski, *Obraz imigranta na łamach prasy polskiej*, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>137</sup> M. Okólski, *Imigranci: przyczyny napływu, cechy demograficzno-społeczne, funkcjonowanie w społeczeństwie polskim*, Warszawa 1998.

<sup>138</sup> SOPEMI means Continuous Reporting System on Migration of the OECD, known under the French acronym SOPEMI – Système d'Observation Permanente sur les Migrations.

<sup>139</sup> R. Czyszkiewicz, W. Durka, B.J. Kozłowski, *Obcokrajowcy na polskim rynku pracy*, Gdańsk 1998.

(*Employment of Polish Citizens Abroad and Foreigners in Poland*)<sup>140</sup> presents, in a fairly broad manner, formal-legal questions that make it possible for foreigners to take up legal employment in Poland.

The series of penetrating and focused group interviews and participant observations carried out by Rusłan Antoniewski and Izabela Koryś has provided relevant knowledge of the functioning of wage-earning migrants from the East in Poland. The conclusions have been collected in the work *Imigranci o nieuregulowanym statusie: społeczne i ekonomiczne aspekty funkcjonowania w Polsce* (*Immigrants with the Unregulated Status: Social and Economic Aspects of the Functioning in Poland*),<sup>141</sup> in which illegal migrants are the object of researchers' interest. The research has become a source of interesting information on the migrants' lives and employment in Poland by offering precious knowledge of the informal job market, mechanisms of foreigners' employment, housing and wage earning conditions. Moreover, it has revealed opinions by Polish society relating to the perception of wage-earning immigrants, as well as the chief motives which the foreigners were directed by when taking the decision to come to Poland.<sup>142</sup>

Research concerning concrete national groups who take up employment in Poland has been rare. If it has been done, it included mainly citizens of states formed after the fall of the USSR and visitors from Asian countries. Therefore, the work by Izabela Koryś and Olimpia Żuchaj under the title *Turkish Migratory Flows to Poland: General Description*<sup>143</sup> appears only too interesting as it contains results of research conducted among immigrants from Turkey. It is connected, among others, with problems pertaining to the functioning of these people in the labour market.

A great deal of information on foreigners working in Poland has also been obtained thanks to the questionnaire (OMNIBUS type) which was applied on the nationwide scale by *Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej* (Centre for Polling Public Opinion) in 2001. It comprised six questions relating to employing

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<sup>140</sup> K. Głąbicka, *Zatrudnienie obywateli polskich za granicą i cudzoziemców w Polsce*, Warszawa 1999.

<sup>141</sup> R. Antoniewski, I. Koryś, *Imigranci o nieuregulowanym statusie: społeczne i ekonomiczne aspekty funkcjonowania w Polsce*, Warszawa 2002. A shortened description of the research is also found in the following publication: R. Antoniewski, I. Koryś, „Kraj perspektyw realnych” – migranci zarobkowi o swoim życiu i pracy w Polsce”, [in:] *Przegląd Polonijny* 2005.

<sup>142</sup> Participant observation is a tool which is rather rarely made use of in Poland. This results probably from the lack of right persons who could stay such observers. In the case of that particular research it was possible since R. Antoniewski is a citizen of Ukraine.

<sup>143</sup> I. Koryś, O. Żuchaj, *Turkish Migratory Flows to Poland: General Description*, Warszawa 2000.

house workers in Polish households. It follows from the questionnaire that domestic help was hired by 7.1% of households in Poland, and in one out of ten of those the workers were foreigners. This means that nearly 90 thousand Polish households can make use of this kind of help; nevertheless, the size of the employment does not correspond to the number of the employed. For one thing, this kind of work is of the temporary character; the other fact is that one foreigner usually takes jobs at more than one household.<sup>144</sup>

An attempt at making the knowledge of foreign workers more detailed was undertaken by workers of the Centre of Migration Research, who – within the project “Warsaw and its inhabitants” – carried out analyses connected with foreign workers, both specialists and unskilled immigrants, employed in the Warsaw agglomeration. The final result of the research effort is the collective work published jointly by Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska, Krystyna Iglicka, Ewa Jaźwińska, Paweł Kaczmarczyk, Ewa Kępińska, Marek Okólski and Agnieszka Weinar, entitled *Wpływ migracji zagranicznych w Warszawie na sytuację na stołecznym rynku pracy (The Influence of Foreign Migrations to Warsaw on the Situation in the Capital's Labour Market)*.<sup>145</sup> Additional information on foreign workers in Poland has been available in the work under the title *Imigracja do Polski w świetle wyników Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego 2002 r. (Immigration into Poland in the Light of the Results of the National Census of 2002)*, edited by Ewa Jaźwińska.<sup>146</sup> The publication contains descriptive data relating, among others, to the character of jobs taken by foreigners.

Researches on the demand for foreigners' work in Poland have been continuing at *Instytut Polityki i Spraw Socjalnych* (Institute of Social Policy and Matters). The work entitled *Popyt na pracę cudzoziemców. Polska i sąsiedzi (The Demand for Foreigners' Labour. Poland and Her Neighbours)* was prepared there, edited by Stanisława Golinowska. The analysis contained in it concerns, first of all, the demand for alien workers, which is submitted by domestic employers. The authors concentrate on problems of migration from the point of view of the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors that are decisive to people's going abroad, with especial taking into account wage-earning immigration.

Examinations of the processes of wage-earning immigration into Poland and its consequences have also been carried out within projects launched by *Środkowoeuropejskie Forum Badań Migracyjnych i Ludnościowych* (Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research). Among the works

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<sup>144</sup> Z. Morecka, E. Domaradzka, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>145</sup> A. Grzymała-Kazłowska *et al.*, *Wpływ migracji zagranicznych w Warszawie na sytuację na stołecznym rynku pracy*, Warszawa 2002.

<sup>146</sup> E. Jaźwińska (ed.), *Imigracja do Polski w świetle wyników narodowego Spisu Powszechnego 2002*, Warszawa 2006.

dealing with this problem area one can mention the publications by Anna Kicingier, entitled *Unia Europejska wobec zagadnienia integracji imigrantów* (*The EU and the Problem of Integration of Immigrants*)<sup>147</sup> and *Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989–2004*.<sup>148</sup>

### 3.2. Research concerning the immigration and the wage-earning immigration into Poland after 2004

More and more research into foreigners' labour market and the demand for employment of foreigners has been conducted and publicised after 2004, that is following Poland's accession to the EU. At that time, due to the considerable outflow of domestic workforce, the question to what extent wage-earning immigrants, coming mainly from the former republics of the USSR and Asia (Vietnam and China), were able to fill in the void in the Polish labour market was more and more seriously and widely debated.

Research into immigration into Poland has been continued at *Instytut Spraw Publicznych* (Institute of Public Matters), where the project "Immigration, as a strategy of the development of the New Europe, that is the presence of immigrants in the labour market in Poland after the extension of the EU" was realized. Within the project there were 20 interviews conducted with migrants and Polish workers employed in four sectors of the job market: education, gastronomy, domestic help and construction industry. The following works, among others, were published as a result of that research project: *Migranci na rynku pracy w Polsce. Wyniki badań przeprowadzonych wśród migrantów ekonomicznych i pracowników polskich* (*Migrants in the Labour Market in Poland. Results of Research Conducted Among Economic Migrants and Polish Workers*)<sup>149</sup> by Hanna Bojar, Anna Gąsior-Niemiec, Mirosław Bieniecki and Mikołaj Pawlak, and *Imigranci na polskim rynku pracy w świetle opinii pracodawców* (*Immigrants in the Polish Labour Market in the Light of Employers' Opinions*)<sup>150</sup> by Katarzyna Gmaj.

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<sup>147</sup> A. Kicingier, *Unia Europejska wobec zagadnienia integracji imigrantów*, Warszawa 2005.

<sup>148</sup> A. Kicingier, *Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989–2004*, Warszawa 2005.

<sup>149</sup> The project was realized between December 2005 and December 2006, with the aim, among others, to point to actions for improvement of immigrants' situation in the Polish labour market. Co-organizers of the project were, among others: Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research, Centre of International Relations, and Foundation „Klub Obywatelski”. The information available on: <http://www.isp.org.pl/files/15564235680343222001119876573.pdf> [14.11.2008].

<sup>150</sup> K. Gmaj, *Imigranci na polskim rynku pracy w świetle opinii pracodawców*, Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych, Raporty i Analizy, Nr 3, Warszawa 2005. Available on:

Maciej Kalski and Paweł Łazarczyk are the authors of a publication dealing with the demand for workers coming from member-states of the European Economic Area. Their empirical research, on the basis of which the publication was prepared, was conducted among employers in the following five Poland's provinces: Opole, Pomerania, Lublin, West-Pomerania, Kujawy-Pomerania.<sup>151</sup>

The appearance of "A report on the migration policy of the state" testifies to the fact that creating a policy to effectively shape migrations has become vital for Poland. The report was presented at a meeting of *Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa* (Governmental Council for Population-related Matters). In the document, attention was drawn to the conclusion that it does not suffice to merely monitor and examine immigration into Poland – its scale and branches where alien workers are employed, but it is necessary to consider in what direction migration is to develop. An attempt at delineating the directions for the development of Polish migration policy after 2004 has been made by Joanna Korczyńska and Maciej Duszczyk.<sup>152</sup> The authors notice that there has arisen a bipolar labour market in Poland, as regards employment of foreigners – a legal and illegal one. The decisive majority of foreigners find employment in construction industry, agriculture, gastronomy and as domestic workers. Foreigners are admitted to the Polish job market on the basis of complementary employment, not that of the 'ousting' type.<sup>153</sup>

Research workers of the Centre of Migration Research have also been dealing with the problem of Polish migration policy to a broader extent,<sup>154</sup> drawing attention to the fact that in view of the shortage of domestic workforce growing more and more troublesome, Poland should open its labour market to foreign workers. What is more, in the opinions of the researchers, foreigners should be encouraged to choose Poland as the place to seek employment.<sup>155</sup>

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<http://prohumanum.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/imigranci-na-polskim-ryнку-pracy.pdf>

<sup>151</sup> M. Kalski, P. Łazarczyk, *Zapotrzebowanie na pracowników z Europejskiego Obszaru Gospodarczego w Polsce. Studium pięciu województw*, Opole 2005. Available on: [http://www.eures.praca.gov.pl/pliki/raport/raport\\_zapotrzebowanie\\_na\\_pracownikow\\_z\\_panstw\\_eog\\_w\\_polsce\\_opole.pdf](http://www.eures.praca.gov.pl/pliki/raport/raport_zapotrzebowanie_na_pracownikow_z_panstw_eog_w_polsce_opole.pdf) [12.11.2008].

<sup>152</sup> J. Korczyńska, M. Duszczyk, *Zapotrzebowanie na pracę obcokrajowców w Polsce. Próba analizy i wniosków dla polityki migracyjnej*, Warszawa 2005.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 3–4.

<sup>154</sup> In 2005, there appeared the first issue of *Biuletyn Migracyjny (Migration Bulletin)*, containing current information relating to immigration and emigration. It is addressed to a broad circle of receivers. Successive issues of the bulletin are available from the Internet archives on the following website: [www.migration-news.uw.edu.pl](http://www.migration-news.uw.edu.pl).

<sup>155</sup> P. Kaczmarczyk, A. Weinar, „Czas wielkiej imigracji?”, [in:] *Biuletyn Migracyjny* 2006, No. 10, p. 7–8. Available on: <http://www.migration-news.uw.edu.pl/BiuletynMigracyjny10.pdf> [3.04.2008].

Krystyna Iglicka has discussed the lines of development of the Polish migration policy. She has observed that the EU is preparing for an increased inflow of legal immigrants, chiefly from countries lying east of Poland. Poland's passive approach may deprive us of chances of obtaining legal foreign workers, whose qualifications are indispensable for our economy. In a report issued by the Centre, it is claimed that the opening of the Polish job market to seasonal workers, among others, from Ukraine, came a few years too late.<sup>156</sup> In a questionnaire-based survey carried out by the Centre for Polling Public Opinion, the attitude of Poles towards foreigners taking up employment in Poland was verified. In 2006, the research project "Foreigners working in Poland"<sup>157</sup> was realized, confirming, among others, that the decisive majority (over 80% of the respondents) of the Polish approve of the presence of foreigners in the domestic labour market, and over one third agree to have no limitations imposed in this respect.

Information on the situation and behaviour of immigrants in the labour market of Masovia can be found in the work by Agata Górny, Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska, Ewa Kępińska, Agnieszka Fihel and Aneta Piekut, under the title *Od zbiorowości do społeczności: rola migrantów osiedleńczych w tworzeniu się społeczności imigranckich w Polsce (From a Collection to a Community: the Role of Migrants-Settlers in Forming Immigrant Communities in Poland)*.<sup>158</sup>

In view of the growing interest in employment of foreigners, it seems indispensable to carry on considerations connected with Poland's migration policy and factors that create the demand for foreigners' work. Therefore, the scientific publications *Imigracja wykwalifikowanych pracowników do Polski (Immigration of Skilled Workers into Poland)*<sup>159</sup> edited by Maciej Grabowski and *Migranci na polskim rynku pracy: rzeczywistość, problemy, wyzwania (Migrants in Polish Labour Market: Reality, Problems, Challenges)*<sup>160</sup> by Witold

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<sup>156</sup> K. Iglicka, „Kierunki rozwoju polskiej polityki migracyjnej w ramach obszaru legalnej migracji pracowniczej na lata 2007–2012”, [in:] *Biuletyn Migracyjny* 2007, No. 11, p. 2–5. Available on: <http://www.migration-news.uw.edu.pl/DodatekBM11.pdf> [6.10.2008]. More extensively: K. Iglicka, *Kierunki rozwoju polskiej polityki migracyjnej w ramach obszaru legalnej migracji pracowniczej na lata 2007–2012*, Warszawa 2007.

<sup>157</sup> *Obcokrajowcy pracujący w Polsce. Komunikat z badań*, CBOS, Warszawa 2006. Available on: [http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2008/K\\_073\\_08.PDF](http://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2008/K_073_08.PDF) [7.08.2008].

<sup>158</sup> A. Górny et al., *Od zbiorowości do społeczności: rola migrantów osiedleńczych w tworzeniu się społeczności imigranckich w Polsce*, Warszawa 2007.

<sup>159</sup> M. Grabowski (ed.), *Imigracja wykwalifikowanych pracowników do Polski*, Warszawa–Gdańsk 2007.

<sup>160</sup> W. Klaus (ed.), *Migranci na polskim rynku pracy: rzeczywistość, problemy, wyzwania*, Warszawa 2007.



Klaus, must be looked on as especially valuable. The earlier-mentioned annual SOPEMI reports (for the years 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007) contain complex information on migration, including wage-earning immigration into Poland<sup>161</sup> (the annual report for 2008 was not published). They are elaborated by workers of the Centre of Research into Migrations on the basis of data supplied by The Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Office in charge of Foreigners' Matters, and the Ministry of the Interior.

In 2007, the Centre was realizing the project "Migration policy as an instrument of promotion of employment and restriction of unemployment".<sup>162</sup> The project was divided into modules. One of them concerned the job market for foreigners in Poland. As regards the spheres connected with immigration, the scale of the inflow and situation of the alien workforce was determined. In particular, the analysis concentrated on two aspects: the structure of demand for foreigners' work and the economic integration of selected groups of immigrants. The project was completed in 2008 and its effects include a few publications available via the Internet, among others: *Metodologia badania popytu na pracę cudzoziemców* (*Methodology of examining the demand for foreigners' work*), *Uwarunkowania i charakterystyka popytu na pracę w Polsce, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem popytu na pracę cudzoziemców w przekrojach: sektorowym, zawodowym i przestrzennym* (*Conditions and characteristics of the labour demand in Poland, with a special focus on the demand for foreigners' work as regards the sector, occupational and spatial cross-sections*), *Pracodawcy o zatrudnianiu cudzoziemców we własnych firmach. Raport z badania jakościowego* (*Employers on employment of foreigners in own companies. A report on qualitative research*).<sup>163</sup> Part of the conclusions have also been published in the book form.<sup>164</sup>

Research related to immigration into Poland is still being conducted at the Centre. It more and more often extends beyond problems connected exclusively with the labour market. More space is being devoted to integration of immigrants, which finds its realization in works like A. Grzymała-Kazłowska and S. Łodziński's *Problemy integracji imigrantów. Koncepcje, badanie, polityki* (*Problems of Immigrants' Integration. Concepts, Examination, Policies*).<sup>165</sup>

<sup>161</sup> The data concern the scale of wage-earning migration, nationalities of foreign workers and branches in which they find employment.

<sup>162</sup> Publications available on [www.mplm.pl](http://www.mplm.pl), [12.08.2008].

<sup>163</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>164</sup> I. Grabowska-Lusińska and A. Żylicz (eds.), *Czy polska gospodarka potrzebuje cudzoziemców?*, Warszawa 2008; A. Grzymała-Kazłowska (ed.), *Integracja odmiennych grup i kategorii imigrantów w Polsce*, Warszawa 2008; P. Kaczmarczyk and M. Okólski (eds.), *Polityka migracyjna jako instrument promocji zatrudnienia i ograniczenia bezrobocia*, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>165</sup> A. Grzymała-Kazłowska and S. Łodziński (eds.), *Problemy integracji imigrantów*.

Among the publications issued in 2010, which – in a considerable way – broaden the knowledge of the problem area of immigration into Poland – are the following: *Transformacja nieoczywista. Polska jako kraj imigracji (The Non-Obvious Transformation. Poland as an Immigration-Bound Country)*<sup>166</sup> and *Studenci zagraniczni w Polsce. Motywy przyjazdu, ocena pobytu, plany na przyszłość (Foreign Students in Poland. The Motives Behind Coming, Evaluation of the Stay, Plans for Future)*.<sup>167</sup> The Centre also actively participates in realization of international projects dealing with migration (e.g. IDEA, MoHProf).<sup>168</sup>

The problems connected with immigrants' integration have also been dealt with at the Centre of International Relations which realized, among others, the project "iMAP – map of integration-oriented initiatives", the effect of which, among others, is a series of publications, such as *Usługi społeczne a imigranci w Polsce: pomoc społeczna i służba zdrowia (Social services and immigrants in Poland: social aid and health service)*,<sup>169</sup> *Model integracji społecznej imigrantów z krajów trzecich: dostęp do usług społecznych i przegląd polityki społecznej (The model of social integration of immigrants from third countries: access to social services and a review of the social policy)*,<sup>170</sup> *Integracja a kultura i religia imigrantów (Integration and immigrants' culture and religion)*,<sup>171</sup> *Przyznawanie obywatelstwa polskiego jako metoda integracji imigrantów (Granting Polish citizenship as a method of integration of immigrants)*,<sup>172</sup> *Imi-*

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*Koncepcje, badanie, polityki*, Warszawa 2008.

<sup>166</sup> A. Górny, I. Grabowska-Lusińska, M. Lesińska, M. Okólski (eds.), *Transformacja nieoczywista. Polska jako kraj imigracji*, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>167</sup> C. Żołędowski, *Studenci zagraniczni w Polsce. Motywy przyjazdu, ocena pobytu, plany na przyszłość*, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>168</sup> Details are available on the website of the Centre for Research on Migrations: [www.migracje.uw.edu.pl](http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl)

<sup>169</sup> M. Polakowski, „Usługi społeczne a imigranci w Polsce: pomoc społeczna i służba zdrowia”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Us%C5%82ugi%20Spo%C5%82eczne%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Us%C5%82ugi%20Spo%C5%82eczne%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011]

<sup>170</sup> D. Szelewa, „Model integracji społecznej imigrantów z krajów trzecich: dostęp do usług społecznych i przegląd polityki społecznej”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Model%20Polityki%20Integracji%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Model%20Polityki%20Integracji%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011]

<sup>171</sup> M. Fijałkowska, „Integracja a kultura i religia imigrantów”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Kultura%20i%20Religia%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Kultura%20i%20Religia%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011]

<sup>172</sup> P. Kość, „Przyznawanie obywatelstwa polskiego jako metoda integracji imigrantów”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Nadanie%20Obywatelstwa%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Nadanie%20Obywatelstwa%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011]



granci z krajów trzecich a system ubezpieczeń społecznych w Polsce (*Immigrants from third countries and the system of social insurance in Poland*),<sup>173</sup> *Imigracja a Problemy Rodziny* (*Immigration and problems of the family*),<sup>174</sup> *Bezpieczeństwo i porządek publiczny a integracja obywateli państw trzecich* (*Public security and order and integration of citizens of third countries*),<sup>175</sup> *Integracja a prawa i swobody polityczne* (*Integration and political rights and freedoms*),<sup>176</sup> *Imigranci z krajów trzecich na polskim rynku pracy* (*Immigrants from third countries in the Polish labour market*)<sup>177</sup> and *Integracja a Polityka Edukacyjna* (*Integration and the Educational Policy*).<sup>178</sup>

The foreigners' presence in Poland has been on the agenda of the Institute of Public Matters. Among the publications treating about the subject matter the following appear to be the most significant *Bezdomność uchodźców w Polsce – wyniki badania pilotażowego* (*Homelessness of immigrants in Poland – results of a pilot examination*),<sup>179</sup> *Integracja, stygmatyzacja, autosegregacja – tożsamość, preferencje i wzory relacji imigrantów w Polsce* (*Integration, stigmatization, auto-segregation – identity, preferences and relations models of immigrants in Poland*),<sup>180</sup> *Sąsiedzi czy intruzi? O dyskryminacji cudzoziemców*

<sup>173</sup> M. Polakowski, „Imigranci z krajów trzecich a system ubezpieczeń społecznych w Polsce”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Ubezpieczenia%20spoleczne%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Ubezpieczenia%20spoleczne%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011].

<sup>174</sup> D. Szelewa, „Imigracja a Problemy Rodziny”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Rodzina%20Projekt%20iMAP%20.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Rodzina%20Projekt%20iMAP%20.pdf) [10.02.2011].

<sup>175</sup> P. Pawlak, „Bezpieczeństwo i porządek publiczny a integracja obywateli państw trzecich”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Bezpieczenstwo%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Bezpieczenstwo%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011].

<sup>176</sup> M. Zioła, „Integracja a prawa i swobody polityczne”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20prawa%20polityczne%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20prawa%20polityczne%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011].

<sup>177</sup> M. Polakowski, „Imigranci z krajów trzecich na polskim rynku pracy”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Rynek%20Pracy%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Rynek%20Pracy%20Projekt%20iMAP.pdf) [10.02.2011].

<sup>178</sup> D. Szelewa, „Integracja a Polityka Edukacyjna”. Available on: [http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka\\_CSM/Raporty\\_i\\_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Polityka%20Edukacyjna%20P.pdf](http://csm.org.pl/fileadmin/files/Biblioteka_CSM/Raporty_i_analizy/2010/CSM%20Raporty%20i%20Analizy%20Integracja%20a%20Polityka%20Edukacyjna%20P.pdf) [10.02.2011].

<sup>179</sup> K. Wysińska, N. Ryabińska, „Bezdomność uchodźców w Polsce – wyniki badania pilotażowego”. Available on: <http://www.isp.org.pl/uploads/pdf/246292626.pdf> [10.09.2011].

<sup>180</sup> K. Wysińska, „Integracja, stygmatyzacja, autosegregacja – tożsamość, preferencje i wzory relacji imigrantów w Polsce”. Available on: <http://www.isp.org.pl/uploads/pdf/623151179.pdf> [10.02.2011].

*w Polsce (Neighbours or Intruders? About the Discrimination of Foreigners in Poland).*<sup>181</sup>

Another important centre that deals with the problem of immigration is the Central European Forum for Migration and Population Research, where the lines of development of the Polish migration policy, among others, have been elaborated on.<sup>182</sup> The necessity of working out an effective migration policy for Poland can be seen in the governmental institutions, such as the Centre for Development of Human Resources (the institution established by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy), getting involved in doing research related to the subject matter. Important conclusions have been reached thanks to realization of a research project concerning systems of immigration of different migrant groups, as well as their admission to the Polish job market.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> W. Klausa (ed.), *Sąsiedzi czy intruzy? O dyskryminacji cudzoziemców w Polsce*, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>182</sup> Środkowoeuropejskie Forum Badań Migracyjnych i Ludnościowych było realizatorem projektu: *Polska polityka migracyjna: zasady i aspekty prawne*.

<sup>183</sup> The research project was realized by Prof. dr hab. M. Szyłko-Skoczny and Dr M. Duszczuko.

## Chapter 4

### Formal-legal conditions of employment of foreigners and the quality of statistical data

#### 4.1. Formal-legal conditions which make it possible for foreigners to find legal employment

A foreigner can avail himself/herself of the following three basic possibilities of legal taking up employment (the legal state as on 30 September 2011):<sup>184</sup>

1. Employment undertaken without the necessity of holding the work permit,
2. Employment undertaken upon obtaining the work permit,
3. Employment undertaken on the basis of the employer's statement of intention to hire a foreigner.

The first of the possibilities is available to citizens of the member-states of the European Union, European Economic Area and Swiss Confederation, as well as their family members and holders of the Pole's Card. The right to work in Poland without the necessity of applying for the permit is granted, among others, to citizens who:<sup>185</sup>

1. hold the refugee status granted in the Republic of Poland,
2. have been granted complementary protection in the Republic of Poland,
3. have been granted the official permission to settle down in the Republic of Poland,
4. hold the official permission to stay in Poland as long-term residents of European Communities,
5. hold the permit for a tolerated stay in the Republic of Poland,
6. have been granted the right of temporary protection in the Republic of Poland,
7. are eligible on the power of the order of the Minister of Labour and Social Policy, issued on 30 August 2006, on doing employment by foreigners without the obligation for them to obtain the work permit.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> In this subchapter I have analyzed only the most important forms of foreigners' employment. This problem area was dealt with in a more extensive way in the work: R. Jończy, S. Kubiciel (eds.), *Zatrudnienie obcokrajowców w województwie opolskim (w kontekście niedopasowań strukturalnych na opolskim rynku pracy)*, Opole 2010, p. 21–33.

<sup>185</sup> Details are included in the Act on promotion of employment and institutions of the labour market, art. 87, *Journal of Laws* 2009, No. 6, item 33.

<sup>186</sup> *Journal of Laws* 2006, No. 156, item 1116 (with subsequent amendments).

The remaining alien citizens, in order to be able to work legally in Poland, have to hold the valid work permit, that is they fall into the second type of the possibility of taking up employment.

The work permit is issued to the employer by *Urząd Wojewódzki* (the Province Office) relevant as regards the location. There are five types of permits in force – from type ‘A’ through ‘E’, in dependence on the subject that commits execution of a job to a foreign worker and the kind of job. The types of permits are described in more detail in the Order of the Minister of Labour and Social Policy on issuing permits for work of foreigners, of 29 January 2009 and are as follows:

1. Type ‘A’ – issued with reference to the foreigner who performs work on the territory of the Republic of Poland on the basis of an agreement with the subject, whose main office, place of abode, branch, plant or another form of organized business activity is based on the territory of the Republic of Poland;
2. Type ‘B’ – issued with reference to the foreigner who does work which consists in performing a function within the board of a legal subject that is entered in the register of entrepreneurs or being a capital company in an organization for a period exceeding 6 months during successive 12 months;
3. Type ‘C’ – issued with reference to the foreigner performing work for a foreign employer, delegated to stay on the territory of the Republic of Poland during a period exceeding 30 days in a calendar year, in a branch or plant owned by a foreign subject, its dependent subject or one tied to a foreign employer by means of a long-term agreement on cooperation with the foreign employer;
4. Type ‘D’ – issued with reference to the foreigner who performs work for a foreign employer that does not own a branch, plant or any other organized form of business activity on the territory of the Republic of Poland, and who is delegated to stay on the territory of Poland with the aim to realize a service of the temporary and casual nature (export-related services);
5. Type ‘E’ – issued with reference to the foreigner who performs work for a foreign employer, and who is delegated to stay on the territory of the Republic of Poland during a period exceeding 3 months within successive 6 months, to realize other tasks than those mentioned in Points 2–4.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> *Journal of Laws* of 2009, No. 16, item 84. Its records were updated in the Order of the Minister of Labour and Social Policy of 9 December 2010, changing the order defining cases in which the permit for work of a foreigner is issued irrespective of the specified conditions of issuing permits for work of foreigners, *Journal of Laws* of 2010, No. 236, item 1560.

The maximum length of time which the permit can be issued for is 3 years, and in the case when the foreigner performs a function in the board of a legal person who – on the day of submitting the application – employs over 25 people, the Governor of the Province (*Voivode*) can issue a permit covering a longer period, yet not exceeding 5 years.

The Governor – before issuing the work permit – considers the situation in the regional labour market. This means that the document is issued only after obtaining information from the Head of the County Administration (*Starosta*), relevant as regards the seat of the employing company, confirming the lack of possibilities to satisfy personnel-related needs on the basis of the registers of the unemployed and those seeking employment, or the negative result of recruitment organized for the employer.<sup>188</sup> The issuance of the permit does not always have to be preceded by the so-called job market check. There are exceptions to the rule, which are regulated by the Order of the Minister of Labour and Social Policy of 29 January 2009, the document concerning determination of cases in which the permit for work of a foreigner is issued irrespective of the specified conditions of issuing permits for foreigners' work.<sup>189</sup> These facilitations apply to, among others, sports coaches and athletes, medical doctors and dental surgeons doing their specializations, medical nurses, house workers and nurses working for physical persons (concerns citizens of the neighbouring states, Moldova and Georgia), as well as nationals of the neighbouring countries, Moldova and Georgia who – in the period preceding the submission of their applications for the work permit – were performing work for at least 3 months for the same employer on the basis of a statement (principles of taking advantage of this option are discussed below). The fees charged for the issuance of the permit are as follows: the amount of PLN 50 – in the case when the employer intends to employ the worker for the time not exceeding 3 months, PLN 100 – when the period of employment of the foreign worker is to last longer than 3 months, and PLN 200 – when the employer intends to delegate the worker to stay on the territory of Poland with the aim to realize an export-related service.<sup>190</sup>

The third option concerns citizens of Ukraine, Belorussia, Russia, Moldova and Georgia, who can take up employment even if they do not hold the relevant work permit, if they obtain the employer's statement of intention to hire

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<sup>188</sup> For a more extensive discussion of the analysis of the labour market see: B. Pawłowska, T. Major, "Aspekty prawne świadczenia pracy przez cudzoziemców", [in:] M. Jamroży and T. Major (eds), *Praca cudzoziemców w Polsce. Aspekty prawne, podatkowe i ubezpieczeniowe*, Gdańsk 2009, p. 23.

<sup>189</sup> *Journal of Laws* of 2009, No. 16, item 85.

<sup>190</sup> *Journal of Laws* of 2007, No. 195, items 1490 and 1410.

a foreign worker to perform a job. Registering the statement at the county office is free of charge and is the duty of the employer who intends to employ the foreign worker. The condition which needs to be met, though, in this case is that the employment of the foreigner cannot exceed 6 months within successive 12 months.<sup>191</sup> Obtaining the statement entitles the foreigner to apply for a residential visa, which – in turn – entitles them to do work. The regulations were to remain in force until the end of 2010, still their applicability was prolonged with no date set for their termination.

#### **4.2. Range and quality of statistical data relating to employment of foreigners in Poland**

The evidence of legal employment of foreigners in Poland is based on the following three sources:

- Registers of the National Employment Office (it was liquidated in 2002),
- Data supplied by the Central Statistical Office,
- Reports by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

Analyzing the changes going on in the sphere of employment of foreigners in Poland, one needs to take a closer look – primarily – at the changes in the number of issued work permits<sup>192</sup> and also in that of issued statements of intention of employing a foreigner. These data do not, however, reflect the factual resources of alien workforce. They are merely registers of documents, which results from the following:

1. Work permits are issued to a concrete entrepreneur, not to the foreign worker. This means that when the foreigner changes the employer, the permit is no longer valid, which entails the fact that the company which wants to employ the same worker is obliged to apply for new documents. In consequence, in statistics, there function two documents concerning the same person.
2. Part of the permits are issued for a short period of time (e.g., 3 months), and statistics record their prolongations as separate items. As a result, even as many as 2–3 documents may refer to the same person.
3. Registering the statement of intention to hire a foreigner does not necessarily mean the foreigner's taking up employment in Poland.
4. Registers do not include these foreigners who are working in Poland, yet who do not need the work permit (this concerns, among others, citizens

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<sup>191</sup> *Journal of Laws* of 2008, No. 17, item 106; *Journal of Laws* of 2009, No. 21, item 114.

<sup>192</sup> In the Polish law there have functioned different names for documents which enable taking up legal employment to foreigners in Poland. In order to facilitate the reception of the information, the term 'work permit' has been used with reference to the whole of the analysed period.

of the EU member-states, European Economic Area, Swiss Confederation, foreigners holding the card of permanent residence in Poland, the refugee status, permit for tolerated stay, those availing themselves of temporary protection on the territory of the Republic of Poland, as well as being married to a Polish citizen, and a series of other categories of foreign nationals, which has been discussed more extensively in the part devoted to the formal-legal conditions).

Therefore, supplying even an approximate assessment of the inflow of foreign workers into Poland is very difficult, not to say impossible. In Poland, as M. Okólski stresses, there is a lack of data which would, in an explicit manner, allow determining the intensity and the time of duration of both emigration and immigration, including that of wage-earning type.<sup>193</sup>

It is even more difficult to assess the size of the illegal employment in Poland. The assessments made in the 1990s indicated that each year there could be as many as hundreds of thousands of foreigners who took up employment without required documents. They were 'tourists' who prolonged their stays in Poland, transit migrants and also persons waiting for being granted the refugee status. Essays at examining that phenomenon were undertaken at, among others, the Centre of Research into Migrations. According to different sources, assessments relating to the illegal employment range from 50,000 to 500,000 people.<sup>194</sup>

Raising the problem of inadequate statistical data related to the influx of foreign workforce into Poland, it also seems necessary to mention the shortage of information about the number of employers who employ alien nationals. The available data in this respect concern merely the sectors, occupations offered to foreigners and the size of employment of foreign workforce, while data showing the number of subjects employing foreigners are not collected.

Well-run immigration statistics (including the wage-earning immigration) is an indispensable condition of effective realization of research into migration (it concerns especially quantitative research). According to I. Grabowska-Lusińska and M. Okólski, the most popular sources of administrative data in Europe are the following:

- systems of issuing work permits and worker visas;
- data on registration of residence (in some countries registration of residence is not obligatory);

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<sup>193</sup> The lack of suitable quality of statistical data concerning the phenomenon of immigration into Poland is drawn attention to also in: M. Okólski and P. Kaczmarczyk, *Polityka migracyjna jako instrument...*, p. 4.

<sup>194</sup> I. Grabowska-Lusińska, A. Janicka-Żylicz, „Imigranci na polskim rynku pracy”, [in:] *Transformacja nieoczywista...*, p. 131.



- taxpayer identification numbers (e.g., Personal Public Service /PPS/ register in Ireland is a combination of the corresponding VAT Registration Number /NIP/ and Common System of Population Record in Poland /PESEL/, whose obtaining is the condition of taking advantage of Irish institutions of public service and taking up employment. It is not until the tax on personal income is paid that legal employment is acknowledged);
- data supplied by payers of premiums and data on insurance (e.g. the system of National Insurance Number /NINO/ in Great Britain, which provides information about new workers, including immigrants with reference to their age, gender, region of residence and nationality);
- expedient sources of data on migrants (e.g., the expedient record of immigrants in Great Britain, the so-called Worker Registration Scheme which includes exclusively employees from the new EU countries admitted after 1 May 2004; due to the lack of obligation to unregister oneself it is difficult on its basis to assess labour resources);
- data from embassies, consulates and registry offices in host countries (complementary, reviewing sources of data);
- other administrative data (i.e., information obtained from institutions serving other purposes than evidencing, e.g., schools, health service, courts of law, police, army, churches).<sup>195</sup>

Assessing the number of foreigners who undertake to work in Poland would be, to some extent, possible on the basis of their settlement of year's income obtained as a result of performing employment or running business activity (like the Irish PPS system). Still, in the annual tax and wages statement forms PIT 36 and PIT 37 – the types of statements most frequently filled in by physical persons – there is no column relating to the nationality of the person submitting the statement. Isolating foreigners who settle the year's revenue obtained in Poland is possible solely on the basis of connecting the PIT statement with the Taxpayer Registration Number (since the latter includes a column with reference to the nationality). In order to obtain this information, however, it is indispensable to work out a computer-based script capable of linking the relevant data contained in both forms. Unfortunately, such an acquisition of data is very work- and time-consuming and – at the same time – does not always end in obtaining full data.

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<sup>195</sup> A. Sułek, *Ogród metodologii socjologicznej*, Warszawa 2002, p. 105.



## Chapter 5

### The migration-related specific character of Opole Province

#### 5.1. Emigration of inhabitants and its influence on the regional labour market

Opole Province is characterized by an unprecedented, as regards the scale of whole Poland, emigration of its inhabitants. This results, among others, from the great share of people holding German citizenship within the inhabitants' structure of Opole Region.<sup>196</sup> Throughout years the conditions and the character of migration processes have changed and – accordingly – leaving the region to go abroad can be divided into several phases.

The first one covers the period of mass escapes, displacements and expulsions, which were taking place in the years 1944-1948 in connection with the changes to the borderlines, following the Second World War. Those departures were of the ultimate character.

The second period extends up to the second half of the 1980s, when leaving Poland was strictly controlled by the authorities of the People's Republic of Poland. The departures – similarly as in the preceding period – were most often of the ultimate character.

The socio-political system transformation of Poland in the 1980s brought about significant alterations in the sphere of possibilities of population transfers. The state removed the barriers of leaving for West European countries, which – in consequence – led to departures abroad on a mass scale – being the third phase of the emigration process.

The fourth stage of leaving Poland in the 1990s is connected with the introduction of legal regulations by the FRG, which facilitated granting the German citizenship to people residing in Poland. It was also possible to hold both the German and Polish citizenships at the same time. Obtaining the status of a German citizen made it possible to take up legal employment in Germany without satisfying formal requirements, which was indispensable in the case

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<sup>196</sup> People of the German origin (autochthons) are people connected with the territory of the German state within the borders of 1937. People holding solely Polish citizenship (non-autochthons) are those who arrived in Opole Province after the Second World War, and also inhabitants of the Communes of Praszka and Rudniki, whose areas were located within the territory of the Polish state before the War.

of foreigners. As a result, the phenomenon of migration, especially that of the wage-earning type, became popular with Silesian people (having the right to claim their German citizenship). At the same time, those departures were not of the definitive character any longer. One needs to mention, however, that the scale of the phenomenon was tremendous. In 2004, the number of the autochthonous population working abroad was assessed at over 61 thousand.<sup>197</sup> It should be added that jobs abroad were taken up also by part of Opole Region inhabitants who did not hold the German citizenship. They took up employment through the Central Agency of Employment Exchange (*Zentralstelle für Arbeit*) and job offices in Poland. It is estimated that the group numbered about 10–11 thousand people.<sup>198</sup>

Poland's accession to the European Union and the opening of successive labour markets in the 'Old' EU states to Polish citizens created a new migration reality. The possibility of unrestrained taking up employment abroad opened also to non-autochthonous inhabitants of Opole Province. The period after 2004 can be qualified as the fifth phase of the migration from Opole Region. Its distinctive feature is the fact that a large number of young people decided to go abroad, as they had been unable to find satisfying employment in the local labour market. They were mostly educated, with knowledge of foreign languages and not burdened with family-related duties.

The consequence of the processes of emigration from Opole Province, which have continued for a few successive years now, has been the shrinking of labour resources, the problem affecting – first of all – certain branches and professions. It has touched mainly the sphere of service and workers, among others, in construction and metal industries, that are in demand in the countries of the 'Old' EU. Studies carried out among wage-earning emigrants from Opole Province confirm the fact that it is persons holding these qualifications who often decide to emigrate. It follows from the studies that they take up employment chiefly in the services sector (34%), industry (27.2%), agriculture and horticulture (22.4%) and construction industry (16.4%). The conducted research has also shown that it is mainly men who find employment abroad in compliance with the qualifications held, which results from the fact that people in typically 'masculine' occupations, like those related to the industrial and construction branches, have the greatest chances of finding employment in the line of their qualifications.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> The assessments provided by R. Jończy are based on the results of research contained in the work: R. Jończy, *Wpływ migracji zagranicznych na dyszharmonię rozwoju województwa opolskiego (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem rynku pracy)*, Opole 2006.

<sup>198</sup> R. Jończy, *Zewnętrzne migracje ludności wiejskiej...*, p. 19.

<sup>199</sup> R. Jończy, S. Kubiciel, „Branże zatrudnienie migrujących zarobkowo i zgodność

Migrations of Opole Province inhabitants affect the situation in the regional labour market. One can distinguish two types of this influence. The first is the outflow of workers from the regional job market, which leads to deficits in the workforce in certain branches and occupations (in some areas of the Province). Moreover, an effect of the wage-earning migration, as it follows from the research conducted by Romuald Jończy, is a lower real level of the unemployment rate in Opole Province than it follows from the official data. Among the examined autochthons ranging from 18 to 35 years of age, the level of unemployment has been lower than the natural unemployment rate and amounts to merely 3.3%. It has also been established that the great scale of employment abroad makes it possible for other family members, e.g. women, to stay professionally inactive. This causes these people to get registered at job offices in order to be eligible for free health care, but they have no intention of looking for employment themselves. Over half of those employed abroad on the temporary basis do not take up employment in Poland (57.9%). The other type of influence is exerted by incomes transferred by the emigrants, which stimulates the demand in the region. The consequence of this is an increase in production, hence – in the demand for workers. In the area of emigration-related outflow, which is characterized by shortage of labour force, there exists the possibility of replacing the labour resources by the capital. If, however, this is impossible, then satisfying the demand can be done by import of goods and services. However, this does not lead to a rise in production in the region but only causes an increase in sales. In an analogous way, it can be attempted to satisfy the shortage of workers through using workforce from outside the region (from other provinces or from abroad).<sup>200</sup>

The permanent and temporary emigration from Opole Province has considerably influenced the demographic and economic situation of Opole Region. It has also brought about changes within the spheres of labour market and business activity. Therefore, the research conducted until now<sup>201</sup> has dealt mainly with the emigration outflow and its consequences. It has related not only to the scale and structure of the emigration from the region, but to its prospects as well, showing that migration processes constitute a most vital factor which influences society and the economy of the Province.

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ich pracy z posiadanymi kwalifikacjami”, [in:] R. Jończy (ed.), *Migracje zarobkowe z województwa opolskiego. Przyczyny i charakterystyka pracy za granicą oraz warunki powrotu*, Opole 2007, p. 35–38.

<sup>200</sup> For a more extensive analysis see: R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności autochtonicznej...*, p. 151–166.

<sup>201</sup> Among the researchers dealing with wage-earning emigration from Opole Province one should mention, among others, R. Rauziński, K. Heffner, B. Solga, R. Jończy.

## 5.2. The profile of Opole Province as a region of wage-earning immigration

There can be indicated a few causes that make employment of foreigners in Opole Province become a more and more significant problem as regards shaping the situation in the labour market.

The first of them is the progressing process of acquiring the dual character of the job market which is more and more clearly getting divided into that of better jobs (the primary labour market), which concerns work places perceived as attractive, offering chances of advancement and promotion, requiring better education, and the market of worse jobs (the secondary labour market), which includes physical work, repeatable jobs that do not require holding high qualifications.<sup>202</sup>

The second reason for the changes which are connected with the progressing segmentation of the market, are the dynamic transformations within the structure of education of the young. In a few recent years, the share of people completing studies has risen by several times; at the same time, however, the percentage of graduates from basic vocational schools and those taking up employment as skilled workers has decreased substantially.

The problem of the more and more acute shortage of common workers has been on the increase for several years now, especially since Poland's accession to the European Union and the opening of the West-European labour market that is connected with it. Emigration abroad that grows to alarming levels is the third cause of the changes occurring in the job market. Departures from Poland which occurred in the post-accession period and were motivated by wage-earning reasons, through continuing outflow of certain professions, have led to deepening of the problem of structural maladjustments in the labour market.

These transformations have caused the employers to more and more frequently start reaching for foreigners, since in certain branches – particularly in construction and agriculture, but also quite often in industry – it has become a necessity. In Opole Province, as it follows from the survey studies conducted by the Centre of Migration Research in 2007, there occurred a more-than-average potential demand for foreign workforce (employers declared their readiness to employ workers from abroad). The potential demand amounted to 6.4% and was the highest index recorded at that time.<sup>203</sup> This can testify to a fairly high

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<sup>202</sup> I mean here the division of the labour market as proposed in the concept of a dual labour market of Michael Piore. It was discussed in a broader way in Chapter 2 of the present work.

<sup>203</sup> A. Żylicz, „Pracownicy cudzoziemscy na polskim rynku pracy: komplementarni czy substytucyjni”, [in:] I. Grabowska-Lusińska and A. Żylicz (eds.), *Czy polska gospodarka potrzebuje cudzoziemców?*, Warszawa 2008, p. 93–95.

demand for employees, resulting from, among others, wage-earning emigration of the region's inhabitants, which has been going on for years on an unprecedented scale regarding the whole country.

Below, some selected statistical data related to the employment of foreigners in Poland are presented. Table 5.1 includes work permits issued to foreigners in Poland in the years 2005–2010 according to individual provinces.<sup>204</sup>

**Table 5.1**

Work permits issued in Poland in the years 2005–2010 according to provinces

Province	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
<b>Total</b>	<b>10 304</b>	<b>10 754</b>	<b>12 153</b>	<b>18 022</b>	<b>29 340</b>	<b>37 121</b>
Dolnośląskie (Lower Silesian)	712	843	851	1 139	1 674	1 719
Kujawsko-pomorskie (Kuyavian-Pomeranian)	277	278	362	367	557	700
Lubelskie	280	258	272	381	553	619
Lubuskie	297	322	509	1 102	1 528	1 809
Łódzkie	453	534	574	846	1 265	972
Małopolskie (Little Poland)	538	579	672	838	2 000	2 503
Mazowieckie (Masovian)	4 811	4 743	5 372	7 760	13 979	19 301
Opolskie	113	439	701	977	677	650
Podkarpackie (Subcarpathian)	255	211	235	348	450	389
Podlaskie	180	163	209	287	326	350
Pomorskie (Pomeranian)	418	455	613	1 067	2 326	2 391
Śląskie (Silesian)	728	777	690	813	1 345	2 259
Świętokrzyskie	118	88	72	182	386	458
Warmińsko-mazurskie (Warmian-Masurian)	159	139	106	195	267	598
Wielkopolskie (Greater Poland)	538	371	500	1 157	1 387	1 732
Zachodniopomorskie (West-Pomeranian)	427	554	415	563	620	671

Source: Data for 2006 are included in: E. Kępińska, *Recent Trends in International Migration. The 2007 SOPEMI Report for Poland*, Warszawa 2007, p. 86; data for the years 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 come from reports by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy /MPiPS/.

In 2005, the highest number of work permits were issued in Masovian Province (nearly half of all) and in the provinces of Silesia and Lower Silesia. On the other hand, the smallest number was recorded in those of Świętokrzyskie and Opolskie.

<sup>204</sup> The differences between the regions relating to the issued work permits and declarations of intent to hire a foreign worker have been described in the following paper: S. Kubiciel-Lodzińska, „Regionalne różnicowania w zatrudnieniu obcokrajowców w Polsce (w świetle wydanych zezwoleń na pracę oraz oświadczeń o zamiarze powierzenia wykonywania pracy cudzoziemcowi)”, [in] D. Kotlorz (eds.), *Współczesny rynek pracy. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Katowice 2011, p. 465–485.

It is worth noticing that in 2006 the highest (by four times) rise in the number of issued work permits – in comparison with the preceding year (2005) – was recorded in Opole Province.<sup>205</sup> Taking into consideration the absolute numbers, the highest number of permits were issued in Masovia, Lower Silesia and in Silesia. The lowest numbers of the documents were issued in Świętokrzyskie, Warmian-Masurian and Podlaskie.

In 2007, a drop in the number of issued work permits was recorded in the following provinces: Silesian (by 11.2%), Świętokrzyskie (18.2%), Warmian-Masurian (23.3%) and West Pomeranian (25.1%). In the other regions, the number of the issued work permits increased, the highest rise occurring in Opole Province (by 60%), slightly lower in Lubuskie Province (by 58%), Greater Poland and Pomeranian Provinces (by over 34%), Kuyavian-Pomeranian (by 30.2%) and Masovian (13.3%).

In 2008, a growth in the number of issued work permits was recorded in all of the provinces, the highest being those in the following provinces: Świętokrzyskie (152.8%), Greater Poland (131.4%), Lubuskie (116.5%), Warmian-Masurian (84%), Pomeranian (74.1), Łódzkie (47.4%).

This upward trend in the number of issued work permits was maintained also in 2009, with the only exclusion of Opole Province, where there was recorded a drop in the number of the documents in question. On the other hand, the biggest increase occurred in Masovia, where there were twice as many documents issued as in the preceding year.

Also, in the last of the analysed years – 2010 – in the majority of provinces there was a rise in the number of issued work permits. Their number decreased in Opole and Podlaskie Provinces, though.

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<sup>205</sup> It cannot be ruled out that the rise in the interest in employing foreigners resulted from the more and more alarming shortage of workers in the local labour market in certain branches and occupations, which was caused not only by migrations of the native workforce from the region, but also by the good economic situation at that time, which led to a rise in the demand for work. Studies dealing with the intensification of the migration from Opole Province indicate that the greatest intensity of wage-earning migrations within the group of people holding double citizenship took place in the years 2003–2006. The assessments which were made, point to the fact that the number of Opole Region inhabitants working abroad in those years amounted to from 90 to 130 thousand people, 2/3 of whom worked abroad on the permanent basis. That corresponded to 1/3 of the total number of the employed in Opole Province. Taking into account the fact that the majority of the employed abroad at that time decided to emigrate not because of a lack of work, but due to a chance of obtaining higher wages abroad, had to affect the regional shortages of work resources as regards certain occupations.

Registers including declarations of intent to hire a foreigner,<sup>206</sup> which were issued in the years 2005–2010 (Table 5.2), complement the knowledge about foreigners who take up legal employment in Poland.

**Table 5.2**

Declarations of intent to employ a foreigner registered in the years 2007–2010

Province	2007*	2008	2009	2010
<b>Total</b>	<b>21 797</b>	<b>156 713</b>	<b>188 414</b>	<b>180 073</b>
Dolnośląskie	2 314	13 302	12 997	14 715
Kujawsko-pomorskie	301	2 040	1 265	1 823
Lubelskie	842	18 091	21 059	18 148
Lubuskie	1 834	6 000	4 976	6 016
Łódzkie	800	4 265	6 006	10 797
Małopolskie	720	4 092	4 141	5 522
Mazowieckie	7 155	75 670	106 332	91 881
Opolskie	677	2 966	3 402	3 336
Podkarpackie	543	3 701	2 042	1 453
Podlaskie	495	3 251	1 637	2 326
Pomorskie	1 254	4 585	3 643	3 057
Śląskie	871	3 334	4 296	4 617
Świętokrzyskie	692	2 950	5 608	5 804
Warmińsko-mazurskie	141	480	2 138	315
Wielkopolskie	2 196	8 925	5 537	7 114
Zachodniopomorskie	962	3 061	3 344	3 149

\* in the period between August and December 2007

Source: Elaborated on the basis of data supplied by MPiPS

Like in the case of work permits, the biggest number of the declarations were registered in Masovian Province in 2007, when over 30% of all the documents were issued. The number of declarations issued in the other provinces was much lower. In 2007, the most declarations were submitted in the following provinces: Lower Silesian, Lubuskie, Pomeranian and Greater Poland (in total – 34%), whereas the fewest declarations were registered in Warmian-Masurian and Kuyavian-Pomeranian Provinces.

<sup>206</sup> These registers, similarly as work permits, should be treated as a set of administrative decisions, not ones of individual persons. Still, their numbers can substantially depart from the physical state. Trading with them used to be a fairly frequent practice, for instance, since on their basis a foreigner can apply for a visa and enter the territory of Poland in a legal way, and – then – move on to a EU member state. Besides, a group of foreigners, instead of taking up legal employment, augment the ‘grey zone’ of illegally employed. This relates, primarily, to citizens of Ukraine and Belorussia, who can obtain Polish visas for workers in a relatively easy way on the basis of a statement of the employer intending to hire a foreigner. It is estimated that as many as 30% of the workers never began their work at Polish employers’ or abandoned the employment before the acceptable six-month period of their legal stay came to its end.



In 2008, again, in Masovian Province, the largest number of declarations were registered and the number was by ten times greater than in 2007, making over 48% of all the issued documents. Lubelskie Province, in which an impressive (by over 21 times greater) rise in the number of declarations was recorded, as compared with the preceding year, ranked second, the total making 11.5% of all the documents that year. Considerably large numbers of declarations were submitted also in Lower Silesia and Greater Poland (about 14% in total).

The data for 2009 point to the fact that beside Masovia (where over 56% of the documents were issued), the biggest number of declarations were registered in Lubelskie Province (11.2%). The third place, as regards the number of the documents, was occupied by Lower Silesia (nearly 7%).

In 2010, the number of registered declarations decreased in the following provinces: Masovian (still making for over 51% of all the documents), Lubelskie, Opolskie, Subcarpathian, Pomeranian, and Warmian-Masurian. In the remaining ones, the number of registered documents increased, the most so in Łódzkie Province, where the rise by about 80% was recorded.

In order to compare the number of work permits issued in individual provinces, they were referred to the number of inhabitants in the individual regions (the so-called *per capita* index<sup>207</sup>). The results concern the years 2005-2010 and are presented in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3

Work permits issued as in individual provinces in the years 2005–2010  
per the number of inhabitants (in %)

Province	2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
	index	place	index	place	index	place	index	place	Index	place	index	place
Dolnośląskie	0.025	3	0.029	5	0.029	4	0.040	5	0.058	6	0.060	6
Kujawsko-pomorskie	0.013	8	0.013	10	0.018	9	0.018	10	0.027	12	0.034	13
Lubelskie	0.013	8	0.012	11	0.012	11	0.018	10	0.026	13	0.029	14
Lubuskie	0.029	2	0.032	4	0.050	3	0.109	2	0.151	2	0.179	2
Łódzkie	0.018	5	0.021	6	0.022	7	0.033	7	0.050	7	0.038	11
Małopolskie	0.016	6	0.018	7	0.020	8	0.026	8	0.061	5	0.076	4
Mazowieckie	0.093	1	0.092	1	0.104	1	0.150	1	0.268	1	0.368	1
Opolskie	0.011	10	0.042	2	0.068	2	0.095	3	0.066	4	0.063	5
Podkarpackie	0.012	9	0.010	13	0.011	12	0.017	11	0.021	14	0.018	15
Podlaskie	0.015	7	0.014	9	0.018	9	0.024	9	0.027	12	0.029	14
Pomorskie	0.019	4	0.021	6	0.028	5	0.048	4	0.104	3	0.107	3

<sup>207</sup> While calculating, the number of population in individual provinces and years, as supplied by GUS (Central Statistical Office), was taken into account. The index shows the share of the permits in the total number of inhabitants.



Śląskie	0.016	6	0.017	8	0.015	10	0.017	11	0.029	11	0.049	8
Świętokrzyskie	0.009	11	0.007	14	0.006	14	0.014	12	0.030	10	0.036	12
Warmińsko-mazurskie	0.011	10	0.010	13	0.007	13	0.014	12	0.019	15	0.042	9
Wielkopolskie	0.016	6	0.011	12	0.015	10	0.034	6	0.041	8	0.051	7
Zachodniopomorskie	0.025	3	0.033	3	0.025	6	0.033	7	0.037	9	0.040	10

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of data supplied by MPiPS and GUS (Central Statistical Office)

In 2005, Masovian Province topped the list as far as the number of work permits *per capita* is concerned. Also, a considerable share in the number of the issued documents fell to the following provinces: Lubuskie (2<sup>nd</sup> place), West-Pomeranian (3<sup>rd</sup>) and Lower Silesian (3<sup>rd</sup>). In the same year, the fewest work permits *per capita* were issued in the provinces of Świętokrzyskie, Warmian-Masurian and Opolskie.

In 2006, the largest share in the number of the issued permits in relation to the total number of inhabitants was again recorded in Masovian Province. The second place was taken by Opole Province which, in the preceding year, occupied one of the places at the bottom of the ranking list. The lowest shares in the sphere of individual work permits issued to foreigners in relation to the total number of inhabitants in the region were recorded in the case of the following provinces: Kuyavian-Pomeranian, Lubelskie, Subcarpathian, Podlaskie, Świętokrzyskie, Warmian-Masurian and Greater Poland.

In 2007, Masovia was still the leader and the second place was again taken by Opole Province. The provinces of Świętokrzyskie, Warmian-Masurian, Subcarpathian, Lubelskie, Silesian and Greater Poland took places at the bottom of the list.

In 2008, the first two places, as regards the number of work permits issued *per capita*, were taken by Masovian and Lubuskie Provinces. That year Opole Province took the third place. However, if one takes into account the actually lower number of inhabitants in the region,<sup>208</sup> then the index grows higher (0.106). The last places fell to the following provinces: Świętokrzyskie, Warmian-Masurian, Lubelskie, Subcarpathian and Silesian.

<sup>208</sup> In fact, the total number of inhabitants of Opole Province does not amount to 1,030 thousand, as the official registration data indicate, but only to about 930–940 thousand. This results from the fact that nearly 9% of Opole Region population are the so-called suspended emigrants, that is people who went abroad on the permanent basis still in the 1980s, yet whose names remain in the official registers of residents of Opole Province. For a more extensive analysis see: R. Jończy, *Zewnętrzne migracje ludności wiejskiej Opolszczyzny po wejściu Polski do Unii Europejskiej*, Opole–Wrocław 2008.

Masovia took the first place as far as the number of work permits *per capita* is concerned also in 2009. Considerable numbers of the documents were also issued in Lubuskie and Pomeranian Provinces. Opole Province took the fourth place, which was still relatively high (taking into account the total number of the region's inhabitants). The lowest shares in the number of the issued permits were recorded in Warmian-Masurian, Subcarpathian and Lubelskie Provinces.

In 2010, again, the first three positions were occupied by Masovian, Lubuskie and Pomeranian Provinces, while Opole Province ranked the fifth. A higher number of the issued permits *per capita* was recorded in Little Poland. The Provinces of Subcarpathian, Lubelskie and Podlaskie issued the fewest permits that year.

On the basis of the above-presented data, one can distinguish two groups of provinces. The first, which is characterized by the greatest shares in the number of the issued work permits, includes Masovia and the provinces located in the western part of Poland, i.e., Lubuskie, Opolskie, Lower Silesian and Pomeranian. The other group, in which there were the fewest work permits issued *per capita*, includes: Świętokrzyskie, Warmian-Masurian and Subcarpathian Provinces.<sup>209</sup>

A fairly substantial share of the foreign workforce in Opole Province is also visible with reference to the number of work permits issued in relation to the total number of the employed (relevant details are contained in Table 5.4 below).

**Table 5.4**

Work permits issued according to individual provinces in the years 2005–2010  
as per the total number of the employed (in %)

Province	2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
	index	place	index	place	index	place	index	place	index	place	index	place
Dolnośląskie	0.0807	4	0.07922	5	0.08818	5	0.09921	6	0.17578	6	0.1805	6
Kujawsko-pomorskie	0.04497	10	0.03834	10	0.05526	8	0.05006	11	0.08668	12	0.1089	12
Lubelskie	0.03987	15	0.02777	13	0.03726	12	0.03868	14	0.0759	14	0.0849	15
Lubuskie	0.11118	2	0.0797	4	0.17797	3	0.2649	2	0.54232	1	0.6421	2
Łódzkie	0.05248	6	0.04806	7	0.06225	6	0.06351	8	0.1441	7	0.1107	11
Małopolskie	0.05239	7	0.04295	9	0.06199	7	0.06338	9	0.18087	5	0.2263	5
Mazowieckie	0.20013	1	0.22236	1	0.20558	2	0.31302	1	0.50496	2	0.6972	1
Opolskie	0.04064	14	0.11492	2	0.24172	1	0.25376	3	0.23762	4	0.2281	4
Podkarpackie	0.04169	13	0.02664	15	0.03643	13	0.03986	13	0.07126	15	0.0616	16
Podlaskie	0.04762	9	0.03799	11	0.05304	9	0.05774	10	0.08474	13	0.0910	14

<sup>209</sup> A broader analysis of the problem can be found in the paper by S. Kubiciel-Lodzińska, „Regionalne zróżnicowania w zatrudnieniu...”, p. 473–474.

Pomorskie	0.06506	5	0.06862	6	0.08845	4	0.13421	4	0.33138	3	0.3406	3
Śląskie	0.05058	8	0.04661	8	0.04518	10	0.04464	12	0.08985	11	0.1509	8
Świętokrzyskie	0.02832	16	0.01666	16	0.01651	15	0.03084	16	0.0901	10	0.1069	13
Warmińsko-mazurskie	0.04278	12	0.02683	14	0.02683	14	0.03488	15	0.07048	16	0.1579	7
Wielkopolskie	0.04407	11	0.02987	12	0.0377	11	0.08913	7	0.10574	9	0.1320	10
Zachodniopomorskie	0.09341	3	0.10572	3	0.08504	6	0.09946	5	0.13096	8	0.1417	9

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of data supplied by MPiPS and GUS.

In 2005, Opole Province – as regards the share in the number of the work permits issued per the number of the employed – took one of the last places in the ranking (the 14<sup>th</sup> position among 16 provinces), yet as quickly as a year later it ranked the second and in 2007 – the first in Poland. Since 2008 there has been recorded a drop in the number of the issued documents in relation to the total number of the employed in the region (the 3<sup>rd</sup> place in 2008, the 4<sup>th</sup> in 2009 and 2010). Nevertheless, the index has remained on a high level. To compare, two big regions neighbouring on Opole Province, that is Lower Silesia and Silesia have lower indexes (ranking the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> in 2010, respectively).

Table 5.5 presents the registered declarations of intent to employ a foreigner as *per capita*<sup>210</sup> in individual provinces. The highest indexes were recorded in those situated in Western Poland and in Masovian Province. A fairly high number of the declarations were also certified in labour offices in Lubelskie Province, while – in this respect – Opole Province occupied the 4<sup>th</sup>, the 5<sup>th</sup>, the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> places in the years 2007–2010, respectively.

**Table 5.5**

Declarations of intent to hire a foreigner as in individual provinces in the years 2007–2010 per the total number of inhabitants (in %)

Province	2007		2008		2009		2010	
	index	place	index	place	index	place	index	place
Dolnośląskie	0.080	3	0.462	4	0.452	4	0.511	4
Kujawsko-pomorskie	0.015	13	0.099	14	0.061	16	0.088	14
Lubelskie	0.039	8	0.837	2	0.976	2	0.843	2
Lubuskie	0.182	1	0.595	3	0.493	3	0.595	3
Łódzkie	0.031	9	0.167	12	0.236	7	0.426	6
Małopolskie	0.022	11	0.124	13	0.126	13	0.167	11

<sup>210</sup> The same method as the one used for calculating work permits was applied in this case.

Mazowieckie	0.138	2	1.454	1	2.036	1	1.752	1
Opolskie	0.065	4	0.287	5	0.330	6	0.324	7
Podkarpackie	0.026	10	0.176	11	0.097	14	0.069	15
Podlaskie	0.042	7	0.273	6	0.138	12	0.196	9
Pomorskie	0.057	5	0.207	9	0.163	9	0.136	12
Śląskie	0.019	12	0.072	15	0.093	15	0.099	13
Świętokrzyskie	0.054	6	0.232	8	0.442	5	0.458	5
Warmińsko-mazurskie	0.010	14	0.034	16	0.150	11	0.022	16
Wielkopolskie	0.065	4	0.267	7	0.162	10	0.208	8
Zachodniopomorskie	0.057	5	0.181	10	0.197	8	0.186	10

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of data supplied by MPiPS and GUS.

In 2007, the largest number of declarations of the intent to employ a foreigner counted as *per capita* were registered in Lubuskie Province, followed by Masovian and Lower Silesian ones. The fewest documents of this type were certified at the offices of Warmian-Masurian, Kuyavian-Pomeranian and Silesian Provinces. Opole Province ranked the fourth that year.

In the years 2008 and 2009, Masovia topped the list, followed by Lubelskie Province, which is surprising when one takes into account the fact that in the latter there were fairly few (slightly over 380 work permits) granted officially at that time<sup>211</sup>. The next two positions were occupied by Lubuskie and Lower Silesian Provinces, whereas the lowest number of the declarations in relation to the total number of inhabitants in the region were submitted in the following provinces: Warmian-Masurian, Kuyavian-Pomeranian and Silesian, and in 2009 – also in Subcarpathian one. In the period under analysis, Opole Province took the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> place, respectively.

In 2010, again, the highest number of the declarations as *per capita* were registered in Masovian, Lubelskie and Lubuskie Provinces. Lower Silesia ranked the fourth and Opole Province – the seventh. The smallest number of the documents were officially certified in Warmian-Masurian, Subcarpathian and Kuyavian-Pomeranian Provinces.

<sup>211</sup> It would be worth conducting detailed studies dealing with the presence of foreign workforce in Lubelskie Region. The research could cast more light on the significant divergences between the number of work permits and declarations of intent to hire a foreigner. The first attempts have already been undertaken, see: P. Kaczmarczyk (ed.), *Migracje zagraniczne a procesy rynku pracy – przypadek Lubelszczyzny*, Warszawa-Lublin 2008. It can be thought that if the decisive majority of declarations were issued to those to be employed in agriculture, foreign workers in the labour market are needed only seasonally, at the time of intensive field works. There is no need to employ them over longer periods, thus to apply for work permits.

Reckoning the number of the declarations of intent to hire a foreigner in relation to the total number of the employed in individual provinces (Table 5.6) confirms that the greatest number of the declarations were registered in Masovian, Lubuskie and Lower Silesian Provinces, that is those which were characterized by having considerable shares in the number of issued work permits. It was also established that fairly high numbers (as *per capita*) of the submitted declarations were recorded in Lubelskie, and – in 2009 – in Świętokrzyskie Provinces, where the share of the issued work permits was not high. An analysis of the data proved that Opole Province occupied relatively high places in this category as well: the 4<sup>th</sup> in 2007, the 5<sup>th</sup> in 2008, the 6<sup>th</sup> in 2009 and the 7<sup>th</sup> in 2010.

**Table 5.6**

Declarations of intent to employ a foreigner as for individual provinces in the years 2007–2010 reckoned per the total number of the employed (in %)

Province	2007		2008		2009		2010	
	Index	place	index	place	index	place	index	place
Dolnośląskie	0.2397	3	1.3408	4	1.3648	4	1.5452	4
Kujawsko-pomorskie	0.0459	15	0.3040	14	0.1969	16	0.2837	14
Lubelskie	0.1153	10	2.4297	2	2.8906	2	2.4910	2
Lubuskie	0.6404	1	2.0631	3	1.7661	3	2.1352	3
Łódzkie	0.0867	11	0.4615	12	0.6842	8	1.2300	6
Małopolskie	0.0664	13	0.3661	13	0.3745	13	0.4994	11
Mazowieckie	0.2737	2	2.8455	1	3.8410	1	3.3190	1
Opolskie	0.2334	4	0.9998	5	1.1941	6	1.1709	7
Podkarpackie	0.0842	12	0.5621	11	0.3234	14	0.2301	15
Podlaskie	0.1255	9	0.8142	6	0.4256	11	0.6047	9
Pomorskie	0.1807	6	0.6440	9	0.5190	10	0.4355	12
Śląskie	0.0570	14	0.2152	15	0.2870	15	0.3084	13
Świętokrzyskie	0.1585	8	0.6575	8	1.3092	5	1.3549	5
Warmińsko-mazurskie	0.0356	16	0.1215	16	0.5644	9	0.0832	16
Wielkopolskie	0.1655	7	0.6615	7	0.4221	12	0.5424	10
Zachodniopomorskie	0.1970	5	0.6096	10	0.7064	7	0.6652	8

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of data supplied by MPiPS and GUS.

### 5.3. The situation in the labour market and the structure of employment of foreigners in Opole Province

#### 5.3.1. The structure of the vacant work places in Opole Province in the years 2005–2009

One of the key problems which requires explaining in the context of employment of foreigners in Opole Province is answering the question to what extent the presence of foreign workforce in the province affects the situation in the job market. In order to do so a comparison of the number and the structure of vacant work places in the years 2005–2009 was made. The choice of this period results from the intensity of the process of emigration from Opole Province, which was caused by the opening of part of the West European job markets to the Polish.

It follows from the juxtaposition presented in Table 5.7 that during the analysed period the highest numbers of the vacant positions in Opole Province were recorded in the years 2006, 2007 and 2008, the most severe shortages of workers being felt in 2007. They were nearly twice as high as in 2006 and 2008 and almost four times greater than in 2005 and 2009. Vacant work places concerned primarily industrial workers and craftsmen, and also specialists. Offers of employment directed to operators of machines and installations also proved to be of considerable significance, as well as those – which was particularly evident in 2009 – to unskilled workers in demand for doing simple jobs (relevant details are included in Table 5.7).

**Table 5.7**

Vacant work places in Opole Province as for selected groups of occupations in the years 2005–2009 (as on 31 December)

Groups of professions	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
<b>Total</b>	<b>1163</b>	<b>2331</b>	<b>4432</b>	<b>2120</b>	<b>1261</b>
Specialists	207	291	453	352	210
Technicians and other middle personnel	84	117	328	155	69
Office workers	63	76	376	106	109
Industrial workers and craftsmen	436	1011	1598	652	327
Operators of machines and installations	211	504	812	463	90
Workers doing simple jobs	uc	uc	uc	131	328

uc – uncategorized

Source: Elaboration on the basis of: *Rynek pracy w województwie opolskim w 2006 r.*, [accessible on] [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS\\_rynek\\_pracy\\_2006.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS_rynek_pracy_2006.pdf), *Rynek pracy w województwie opolskim w 2008 r.*, [accessible on] [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS\\_Rynek\\_pracy\\_2008.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS_Rynek_pracy_2008.pdf), *Rynek pracy w województwie opolskim w 2009 r.*, [accessible on] [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS\\_Rynek\\_pracy\\_2009.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS_Rynek_pracy_2009.pdf)

Trying to answer the question with reference to the branches in which there occurred the most evident shortage of workers, a juxtaposition was made of vacant work places with taking into account the division into sections (Table 5.8). In the period under discussion, the largest number of vacant positions were found in units realizing industrial activity and in construction industry, the highest (in the absolute numbers) being recorded in 2007, which made over half of the vacancies reported at that time. However, in the preceding year (2006), their share in the total number of vacant work places was higher and amounted to over 68%, while in 2005 – to nearly 62%. In 2008, it became lower, amounting to 45%, and in 2009 – 40%. A relatively large number of vacancies, as far as the analysed period is concerned, were also found in trade and repairs. In 2005 and 2006, they constituted slightly more than 5% of the total number of vacant work places and in 2007 the percentage increased to almost 13%. In the next two years to come their share was even greater, as it amounted to slightly more than 14% in 2008 and in 2009 – to as much as 27%.

**Table 5.8**

Vacant positions in Opole Province according to sections  
in the years 2005–2009 (as on 31 December)

Sections	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009*
<b>Total</b>	<b>1163</b>	<b>2331</b>	<b>4432</b>	<b>2120</b>	<b>1261</b>
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	14	24	107	66	16
Industry	607	1207	1469	612	304
Construction	111	383	878	345	208
Trade and repairs (Trade and repairing cars)	63	127	570	299	342
Transport, storage management and communications (Transport, storage management)	45	93	432	259	49
Servicing real estate and companies (Servicing real estate market)	85	147	273	16	13
Education	15	54	61	30	17
Health protection and social aid (Health care and social assistance)	62	80	124	100	62
Service activity: communal, social, individual, other	22	46	87	66	uc

\*In 2009, the names of the sections were changed (the new ones are given in the brackets)  
uc – uncategorized

Source: Elaborated on the basis of: *Rynek pracy w województwie opolskim w 2006 r.*, [accessible on] [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS\\_rynek\\_pracy\\_2006.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS_rynek_pracy_2006.pdf), *Rynek pracy w województwie opolskim w 2008 r.*, [accessible on] [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS\\_Rynek\\_pracy\\_2008.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS_Rynek_pracy_2008.pdf), *Rynek pracy w województwie opolskim w 2009 r.*, [accessible on] [http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS\\_Rynek\\_pracy\\_2009.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/opole/ASSETS_Rynek_pracy_2009.pdf)

It can be thought that the influence on the structure of the vacant work places is exerted by transformations in the level of society's education. The number of university and college graduates is growing, yet their education does not always correspond to the needs of the labour market. On the other hand, the number of graduates of basic vocational schools and those holding skills that are in high demand in the job market is decreasing. This can testify to, among others, the society's drive towards taking up employment in professions perceived as more prestigious, the performing of which is not related to doing physical jobs, often in difficult conditions (industry, construction industry).<sup>212</sup>

Wage-earning emigration also has an influence on the structure of vacant positions. It leads to an outflow of workforce from the labour market, which is particularly felt among people holding qualifications so much looked for in Western Europe. They make it possible to undertake work, among others, in construction industry and industry.

### **5.3.2. The structure of work permits and declarations of intent to hire an alien citizen in Opole Province**

Attempting to answer the question whether the presence of foreigners in Opole labour market can be an effect of its segmentation and emigration outflow of the native labour resources, a juxtaposition of work permits issued to foreigners in Opole Province in the years 2005–2009 according to groups of workers and occupations was made (Table 5.9).

In 2005, the largest number of the permits were granted to workers employed as 'experts, consultants and managers' (40.7%). The following year, the most documents were issued to workers taking up employment as 'qualified workers' (74%). Similarly, in 2007, 2008 and 2009. Their share made then 85.5%, 63.8% and 45.3% of all the documents, respectively. If one adds to this number the documents issued to people employed as unqualified workers, the considerable number of which were issued in 2008 and 2009, then the work permits for workers employed on workers' positions amounted to 86.5% of all the documents in 2008 and over 68% of the permits in 2009.

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<sup>212</sup> In the Federal Republic of Germany, the employment of immigrants brought about a wave of professional promotion, including the social advancement, of the native workforce. It is estimated that in the years 1961–1968, about 1.1 million Germans left their common workers' positions and began working in the administration-management sector. Their places were taken over by 500 thousand foreigners – quoted from M. Okólski, "Migracja globalizacja", [in:] *Globalizacja od A do Z*, Warszawa 2004, p. 219.



**Table 5.9**

Foreigners holding work permits in Opole Province according to selected workers' groups and groups of occupations in the years 2005–2009

Years	Total*	According to groups of workers				According to groups of occupations			
		Managerial staff, experts, advisors owners	Qualified workers	Workers doing simple jobs	Computer programmers	Artistic occupations	Medical occupations	Teaching occupations	Delegated workers
2005	113	46	29	4	0	3	4	16	0
2006	439	31	325	4	0	6	4	23	0
2007	706	16	611	5	1	6	3	16	0
2008	977	12	623	222	2	4	1	16	0
2009	677	23	307	154	1	0	4	8	10

\* the rows do not have to totalize

Source: Elaborated on the basis of data supplied by GUS and MPiPS

The data presented in the table above can be a proof that in Opole labour market there is progressing a distinction of groups of occupations in which employers avail themselves of alien workforce. Therefore, an attempt was made at verifying in what branches there occurs the greatest demand for foreigners. Table 5.10 presents the numbers of issued work permits regarding the individual sections.<sup>213</sup>

**Table 5.10**

Foreigners holding work permits in Opole Province according to the sections of the national economy in the years 2005–2008

Sections of the national economy	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	113	439	706	977
Industrial processing	38	150	340	431
Construction industry	12	172	116	85
Trade	22	17	23	37
Hotels and gastronomy	8	9	16	18
Financial service	0	8	46	347*
Education	19	17	11	11
Health care and social assistance	11	4	3	2

\* It has been established that workers recruitment agencies were of the decisive significance in this group

Source: Elaborated on the basis of materials supplied by GUS and MPiPS.

<sup>213</sup> Due to the changes in the Polish Classification of Activity, the available data after the year 2008 are incomparable and therefore they were not included in the juxtaposition.

It follows from the data that in the years 2005–2008 the highest number of the documents were issued to people employed in industry and construction industry. In the years 2006–2008, those working in these branches were granted nearly one third of all the work permits each year. It should be observed that industrial processing and construction industry are sections characterized by the occurrence of the highest numbers of vacant work places. They are also ones of the more important sections of employment of wage-earning emigrants leaving Opole Province for other countries. This becomes confirmed by the results of research conducted among emigrants, which show that over 43% of Opole Province inhabitants working outside the country take up employment in construction industry and industry.<sup>214</sup>

In order to complement the knowledge about employment of foreigners in Opole Province (its scale and structure) declarations of intent to hire a foreigner were analysed. These documents, which are discussed to a broader extent in the chapter devoted to the formal-legal conditions of employing alien workforce, were introduced in 2006, but the possibility of making use of them was restricted exclusively to working in agriculture. In 2007, the branch-related limitation was removed. Thus, the presentation was made with the inclusion of the years 2007–2009.<sup>215</sup> In Table 5.11, declarations of intent to employ a foreigner, which were registered in Opole Province within the examined period, are juxtaposed regarding branches of employment.

Table 5.11

The number of registered declarations of intent to employ a foreigner in Opole Province in the years 2007–2009, including branches of employment

Years	Total	Agriculture	Construction industry	Home service	Trade	Industry	Transport	Gastronomy	Hotel services	Temporary work agency	Others
2007	677	224	231	22	13	99	10	9	2	31	32
2008	2966	1215	928	112	35	322	64	67	14	16	82
2009	3402	1692	956	116	47	257	77	90	4	40	95

Source: MPiPS

<sup>214</sup> R. Jończy, S. Kubiciel, „Branże zatrudnienia migrujących i zgodność ich pracy z posiadanymi kwalifikacjami”, [in:] R. Jończy (ed.), *Migracje zarobkowe z województwa opolskiego. Przyczyny i charakterystyka pracy za granicą oraz warunki powrotu*, Opole 2007, p. 35.

<sup>215</sup> Declarations which make it possible for foreigners to take up employment in all branches have been issued since 2007.

In the period under analysis, the most documents were designed for people who were intending to take up employment in agriculture, construction industry and industry. These three branches concentrated the majority of documents and – what is especially clearly visible in the years 2008 and 2009 – they were issued to foreigners who were ready to work in agriculture. Those declarations made nearly 41% and 50% of all the documents, respectively. This can testify to a very high demand for labourers in agriculture, which – due to its seasonal character – needs flexible workforce ready to take up employment during periods of intensified work (e.g. sowing or harvesting).

Some analogy can be seen between the structure of vacant positions and work permits and declarations which facilitate taking up legal employment to foreigners. It can be thus thought that foreigners can fill in shortages which occur in certain branches and occupations. As it was mentioned in Chapter One, Janusz Meller has distinguished two types of demand which – in particular – refer to the demand for foreigners' labour. They are the so-called successive and invasive kinds of demand. The first concerns filling up the existing and newly-arisen work places with alien workforce, which means that foreigners are offered positions which are not taken up by native workers or have been left by the latter (as a result of emigration or a drop in the interest on the part of the native workforce in certain branches or occupations). The other type – invasive demand – means 'pushing-out' of native workforce from the labour market. In this situation, employers prefer to employ foreign workers and by doing so resign from taking on native workforce.<sup>216</sup>

It can be concluded that demand for foreigners' work in Opole Province is of the successive kind, and that the presence of the alien workers in the region results, primarily, from the necessity of filling in the shortages in the labour market that have been caused by its segmentation, as well as by changes in society's education.

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<sup>216</sup> I. Grabowska-Lusińska, „Koncepcja i metodyka badania popytu na pracę”, [in:] I. Grabowska-Lusińska and A. Żylicz (eds.), *Czy polska gospodarka potrzebuje cudzoziemców?*, Warszawa 2008, p. 9.



## Chapter 6

### General characteristics of the examined group of foreigners in legal or illegal employment

#### 6.1. The aim and methodology of the research

An obvious condition behind a reliable realization of research in migration is acquisition and effective elaboration of relevant statistics. Due to the disparities between the actual number of foreigners who take up employment in Poland and the statistical data relating to the work permits issued to them and declarations of intent to employ a foreigner,<sup>217</sup> studying the migration inflow is rather difficult. Carrying out such research requires taking account of a series of research difficulties which have a decisive influence on selection of the method, as well as the manner of conducting the research.

In the case of studies referring to wage-earning migration it seems necessary to underline that they are of the pioneering character. Until now, in Poland, and especially – in Opole Province – it is research dealing with emigration outflow that has been developed in the first place. Consequently, the present studies of wage-earning immigration into Opole Province have been conducted for the first time on such a scale and to such an extent.<sup>218</sup> The innovative character of the research required taking into account a series of methodological and practical problems.

Firstly, it was considered necessary to introduce the division of the examined foreigners, according to the theory of a dual labour market, into the employed in two segments of the job market – the primary and the secondary ones. The former includes work places regarded as attractive, requiring higher

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<sup>217</sup> Statistics related to work permits and declarations of intent to hire a foreigner are registers of documents but not of people who take up employment. These registers do not include foreigners who can be employed in Poland without formal limitations.

<sup>218</sup> In the years 1995–1996, in Opole Province and in nine other ones, the Institute of Labour and Social Matters conducted questionnaire research among visitors from the East. In Opole Region, it was possible to successfully realize only 38 interviews, while in all of the examined regions – 500 questionnaires in total; for a more extensive discussion see: E. Domaradzka, “Przybysz ze Wschodu. Raport z badań ankietowych 1995/1996”, [in:] S. Golinowska (ed.), *Rozwój ekonomiczny regionów. Rynek pracy. Procesy migracyjne. Polska. Niemcy. Czechy*, Warszawa 1998, p. 266.

qualifications and better-paid; the secondary labour market relates to branches and occupations perceived as unattractive and offering a relatively low pay.<sup>219</sup>

Secondly, for the sake of the course of the research, it was essential to determine the group of foreigners who were to be covered by it. Accordingly, it was decided to include, in the research, people who worked in Opole Region, yet who did not hold Polish citizenship – irrespective of the fact whether or not taking up employment was the main reason for their coming to Poland.

Thirdly, it was assumed that the research should cover both the legal and illegal spheres of employment. In the case of illegal employment the research difficulty consisted, chiefly, in the lack of any registers or statistics (even if providing approximate values) that would relate to this phenomenon.

Furthermore, overcoming the distrust on the part of foreign workers proved a considerable problem while realizing the research. It happened quite often that in order to realize one interview it was necessary to contact even several people. Therefore the actual number of conducted interviews with foreigners was in reality much higher than the number of obtained survey questionnaires which could be included in the process of elaborating the research results.

In view of the above-mentioned difficulties, a non-probabilistic selection of the sample was used in the research. Also, a purposeful selection was applied, which consists in choosing the sample on the basis of the researcher's knowledge about the population and goals of the research.<sup>220</sup> The method of snowball was used. It is characterized by the fact that only several individuals who represent the examined group are reached, and then – using their intermediation – other respondents can be engaged.<sup>221</sup>

The decision to apply a non-probabilistic selection was taken seeing that if the sample were to be representative of the whole community, then – as Franciszek Krzykała writes – “it should cover, in a right proportion by number, all basic categories of membership which occur within the given community”. In order to secure that, it was indispensable to examine this community prior to making the selection by means of observations, interviews and documentation.<sup>222</sup> At present there is no such information relating to foreigners who work in Opole Province.

Bearing in mind that there might appear a language barrier, it was decided to have the questionnaire translated into English, German and Russian before

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<sup>219</sup> The division of the labour market into the primary and secondary segments was discussed in a more extensive way in Chapter 2.

<sup>220</sup> E. Babbie, *Podstawy badań społecznych*, Warszawa 2008, p. 211.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 212.

<sup>222</sup> F. Krzykała, *Metodologia badań i technik badawczych w socjologii gospodarczej*, Poznań 2001, p. 182.

starting the research procedure. In many cases that made it possible to carry out examination at all and certainly facilitated conducting the research.

Reaching foreigners in legal employment was possible through their employers who, in turn, were found on the basis of lists obtained from Opole Province Office (the lists contained data concerning employers who had obtained permits to employ foreign workforce) and from county employment offices in Opole Province (the lists included data on employers who had submitted declarations of intent to hire a foreigner). In order to carry out the examination, individual employers were contacted, whose names were found in both registers. The aid extended by job recruitment agencies also proved to be of great significance as they 'imported' foreign workers to Opole Province and thanks to which it was possible to conduct a good number of interviews. The foreigners who were contacted using the registers and through the recruitment agencies were people employed mainly in jobs classified as ones in the secondary labour market (skilled workers and workers employed to do simple jobs). There dominated persons working in big and medium-sized companies and those employed through recruitment agencies.

In order to carry out the questionnaire-based survey among workers employed in the primary labour market (including, primarily, teachers of the German and English languages, as well as workers of companies with foreign capital), questionnaires of the interview were prepared in English and German. Interviews with language teachers were conducted in private language schools and state elementary and secondary schools. In the case of the other workers, the interviews were conducted in the recruitment agencies which recruited inhabitants of Opole Region to work abroad (part of the personnel of which were Dutch citizens) and also in enterprises with foreign capital (employing mainly German citizens).

There were 217 workers in legal employment who took part in the questionnaire-based survey, including 29 employed in the primary sector and 188 in the secondary one. The actual number of respondents participating in the examination was higher, still 43 questionnaires could not be included in the final elaboration of the results due to the fact that they did not contain answers to the key questions (among others, those concerning the motives of choosing Poland as the country to emigrate to, the height of pay which the respondents were ready to accept to stay on in Opole Region).

So as to complement the knowledge about employment of foreigners in Opole Province it was decided to carry out questionnaire-based interviews among those having illegal employment as well. It turned out to be difficult, however. Respondents were sought for in construction sites and bazaars. Consequently, conducting questionnaire-based interviews with illegally employed

foreigners was possible only thanks to a network of informal contacts which the author of the research had. As a result, the total number of the respondents amounted to 10.

Table 6.1

Number and structure of the employed taking part in the research

Workers in legal employment		Workers employed illegally	Total
Primary labour market	Secondary labour market	Secondary labour market	
29	188	10	227

Source: Author's own elaboration

The anonymous questionnaire of the survey made the research tool. It was divided into two parts: the substantial one (containing 14 questions, including 3 of the open type) and the register-like one. The form contained questions relating, among others, to the following:

- reasons for taking up employment outside the native country and choosing Poland and Opole Province to be the place of employment,
- ways of finding employment,
- the given branch of employment,
- difficulties connected with taking up employment and staying in Poland,
- the height of migration minimal pay (MMP)<sup>223</sup> and that possible to obtain at home,
- benefits obtained beside pay,
- readiness to take up employment in a country other than Poland.

It was possible to give more than one answer to each question.

In the register-like part, questions relating to age ranges, gender, country of origin, level of education, and also the name of the commune in which the employer is based were included. The same questionnaire served to conduct research among workers employed in the primary and the secondary labour markets, as well as those in legal or illegal employment.

It was a matter of great importance that the questions included in the questionnaire should be formulated in a simple manner. Moreover, efforts were made to minimize the number of open questions which respondents are normally not willing to answer (this rule was confirmed also in the course of this examination).

<sup>223</sup> The migration minimal pay (MMP) is the pay for which the respondent is still ready to work abroad. For a more extensive discussion see: R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności...*, p. 234.



## 6.2. Characteristics of legally employed foreigners

### 6.2.1. Demographic-social features

As it was mentioned, there were 217 foreigners in legal employment in Opole Province, who took part in the research. Among them, 29 were workers employed in the primary labour market, while the others – 188 respondents – had jobs in the secondary sector.<sup>224</sup>

The presentation of the results begins with characteristics of the examined in the scope of demographic features, which include the gender and age. Table 6.2 contains numbers and shares of respondents – male and female – taking part in the research. The data show clearly that men dominated among the examined foreign workers, with the share 76.5% (166 respondents). Women made 23.5% of the examined. The domination of male workers can mean that it is easier for this group of foreigners to find employment in Opole Province in traditionally masculine occupations.

**Table 6.2**  
Examined foreign workers in legal employment as regards the age and gender

Specification		The examined according to their age					
		18–25 years	26–35 years	36–45 years	46–55 years	55–64 years	Total
Male	number	29	52	44	39	2	166
	%	17.5	31.3	26.5	23.5	1.2	100.0
Female	number	8	14	20	9	0	51
	%	15.7	27.5	39.2	17.6	0.0	100.0
Total	number	37	66	64	48	2	217
	%	17.1	30.4	29.5	22.1	0.9	100.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Table 6.2 presents also the number and share of men and women according to the age groups. They display substantial differences. In the group of males, the most numerous was the share of those ranging 26–35 years of age (31.3% – 51 respondents). A slightly lower per cent of the respond-

<sup>224</sup> In order to facilitate making comparisons between the results obtained with reference to the primary and the secondary labour markets, it was decided to apply juxtapositions expressed in per cent. However, due to differences in the numbers of the respondents possessing determined features, the number of the examined who provided answers is given as well. On the other hand, in view of the relatively small number of the examined, mainly in the group of workers in the primary job market and that including the sphere of illegal employment, in part of the tables only the number of answers was given.

ents was recorded in the age group 36–45 years (26.5% – 44 people) and that of 46–55 years (23.5% – 39 respondents). The share of the youngest men (18–25 years of age) amounted to 17.5% (29 respondents). The least numerous proved the age group ranging 55–64 years – 1.2% (2 respondents).

On the other hand, the greatest share among the examined women fell to the age group 36–45 years (39.2% – 20 respondents). The second one, as regards the number, were the respondents of 26–35 years of age (27.5% – 14 respondents). Women at the age 46–55 made 17.6% (9 respondents) of the questioned, and the youngest group (18–25 years) – 15.7% (8 respondents). Among the examined there was no woman at the age ranging 55–64 years.

Nearly 60% of the respondents were people in the age group 26–45, that is being at the best time of their professional capacity. This age group dominates also the group of workers who emigrate from Opole Province.<sup>225</sup>

A division of the examined due to the gender and age, with the inclusion of the primary and secondary labour markets, was also made, which is presented in Tables 6.3 and 6.4. Among the questioned there dominated men (the primary market: 18 in 29 respondents; the secondary market: 148 in 188 respondents).

Insignificant differences in both analysed segments of the labour market appeared in the case of the division by age. In the primary labour market (Table 6.3) there dominated groups ranging 26–35 years of age (10 respondents), as well as 18–25 years and 36–45 (8 respondents each). In turn, as regards the secondary labour market (see Table 6.4) the greatest share was that of the examined ranging 26–35 and 36–45 years (29.8% – 56 respondents each), and also 46–55 years (24.5% – 46 respondents). The youngest age group (18–25 years) was less numerous (15.4% – 29 respondents). The differences can result, among others, from the character of the work done. In the secondary job market, people holding vocational experience in concrete professions are sought for. Such a condition is usually satisfied by workers who have already functioned in the job markets of their own countries of origin, that is foreign workers belonging to older age groups.

**Table 6.3**

Examined foreigners in the primary labour market  
in legal employment as regards the gender

Specification	The examined by age					Total
	18–25 years	26–35 years	36–45 years	46–55 years	55–64 years	
Men	2	7	6	2	1	18
Women	6	3	2	0	0	11
Total	8	10	8	2	1	29

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

<sup>225</sup> Cf. R. Jończy, *Zewnętrzne migracje ludności...*, p. 91–92.

**Table 6.4**

Examined foreigners in the secondary labour market  
in legal employment as regards the age and gender

Specification		The examined by age					Total
		18–25 years	26–35 years	36–45 years	46–55 years	55–64 years	
Men	number	27	45	38	37	1	148
	%	18.2	30.4	25.7	25.0	0.7	100.0
Women	number	2	11	18	9	0	40
	%	5.0	27.5	45.0	22.5	0.0	100.0
Total	number	29	56	56	46	1	188
	%	15.4	29.8	29.8	24.5	0.5	100.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

An analysis of the respondents' education levels was also made, with the inclusion of the division into the primary and secondary labour markets (Table 6.5). Among the examined workers in the primary job market, over 82% (24 respondents) held higher education, whereas 17.2% (5 people) – secondary education. In this group of the questioned there were no foreigners with vocational or elementary education.

Among the ones employed in the secondary labour market there dominated respondents holding basic vocational education – 43.6% (82 people). Respondents with secondary education took the second place as regards the number of those taking part in the survey – 37.8% (71 respondents). Over 13% of the questioned (26 respondents) claimed that they held higher education, and merely 4.8% (9 respondents) – elementary education.

It can be thus concluded with good precision that it is holding higher qualifications (higher education) which is required in the primary labour market, whereas in the secondary one it is necessary to have vocational skills which make it possible to do a given job.

**Table 6.5**

Level of education of foreigners employed legally as regards the primary  
and secondary labour markets

Respondents' education	Employees' indications			
	Primary job market		Secondary job market	
	Number	%	Number	%
Elementary	0	0.0	9	4.8
Basic vocational	0	0.0	82	43.6
Secondary	5	17.2	71	37.8
Higher	24	82.8	26	13.8
Total	29	100.0	188	100.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

In the analysed group of legally employed workers, both in the primary and the secondary labour markets, women turned out slightly better educated (Table 6.6): secondary and higher education was declared by over 60% (31 respondents), whereas in the case of the men the percentage amounted to slightly over 57% (95 respondents). Nearly 40% (65 respondents) of the examined men held basic vocational education. To compare, this level of education was declared by the women on a lower scale (slightly over 33%, i.e. 17 respondents). Lastly, the level of elementary education was indicated by more (in relation to the whole group) women-respondents (5.9% – 3 respondents) than men-respondents (3.6% – 6 respondents).

**Table 6.6**

Level of education of foreigners employed legally as regards the gender

Respondents' education	Employees' indications			
	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Elementary	6	3.6	3	5.9
Basic vocational	65	39.2	17	33.3
Secondary	58	34.9	18	35.3
Higher	37	22.3	13	25.5
Total	166	100	51	100

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The characteristic feature connected with the respondents' education levels, including the branches in which they were employed (Table 6.7), allows concluding that the best educated were the respondents who worked in education – 92.3% of the questioned (12 respondents) held higher education, and 7.7% (1 respondent) – secondary education. A significant number of foreigners found employment in the services sector – 72.7% (8 respondents), among whom 9.1% (1 respondent) held secondary education. The dominant share of those best-educated was also recorded among the employed in health care system, in which case 60% of the questioned (3 respondents) indicated high education and 40% (2 respondents) – secondary education.

Among the respondents who were employed in construction industry, the largest group held secondary education – 43.1% (25 respondents); slightly over 36% (21 respondents) indicated basic vocational education; 15.5% (9 respondents) – higher, and only 5.2% (3 respondents) – elementary education. As regards those employed in industry, the greatest share fell to those with basic vocational education – 45.5% (55 respondents), a lower one to those holding secondary education – 37.2% (45 respondents), higher – 14% (17 respondents) and elementary – 3.3% (4 respondents). Also, in the agriculture sector, the dominant group were those with basic vocational education – 44.4% (4 respondents);

elementary and secondary education was declared by 22.2% of the questioned (2 respondents) each, and higher education by 11.1% (1 respondent)

**Table 6.7**

Level of education of foreigners in legal employment as regards branches

Respondents' education	Respondents' indications													
	Construction		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Education		Health care service		Total	
	number	%	number	%	Number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Elementary	3	5.2	4	3.3	2	22.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	4.1
Basic vocational	21	36.2	55	45.5	4	44.4	2	18.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	82	37.8
Secondary	25	43.1	45	37.2	2	22.2	1	9.1	1	7.7	2	40.0	76	35.0
Higher	9	15.5	17	14.0	1	11.1	8	72.7	12	92.3	3	60.0	50	23.0
Total	58	100.0	121	100.0	9	100.0	11	100.0	13	100.0	5	100.0	217	100.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

### 6.2.2. Countries of foreigners' origin, branches and period of employment

The division of respondents with respect to their countries of origin was also taken into account. In the examined group, as it follows from the juxtaposition included in Table 6.8, the most numerous was the group of foreign workers from Ukraine, who made 44.3% of the questioned (96 respondent). The second largest group were Moldovans – 40.6% (88 respondents). The share of representatives from other countries was decisively lower. Among the respondents were Byelorussians (4.6% – 10 respondents), citizens of Germany (2.8% – 6 respondents), Great Britain (2.3% – 5 respondents), Holland and the United States (1.8% – 4 respondents each), as well as of other countries (Kazakhstan, Ireland, Australia, Russia) – 1.8% (4 respondents).

**Table 6.8**

Examined foreigners in legal employment as regards the country of origin

Country of origin	Share in the group of respondents	
	Number	%
Ukraine	96	44.3
Moldova	88	40.6
Byelorussia	10	4.6
Germany	6	2.8
Great Britain	5	2.3
Holland	4	1.8
The United States	4	1.8
Other	4	1.8
Total	217	100

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Another feature that was analysed were the branches of respondents' employment (Table 6.9). The division was made with the inclusion of the respondents' gender. Among the questioned, those employed in industry had the greatest share (55.8% – 121 respondents), and the number of those working in construction industry was twice as small (26.7% – 58 respondents). In both sectors there were employed over 82% of the examined foreigners. The other branches were represented by about 18% respondents, including education – 6.0% (13 respondents), services – 5.1% (11 respondents), agriculture 4.1% (9 respondents) and health care service – 2.3% (5 respondents).

**Table 6.9**

The gender of respondents in legal employment and branches of their employment

Specification		Branch of employment						Total
		Construction industry	Industry	Agriculture	Services	Education	Health care service	
Men	number	49	96	4	9	7	1	166
	%	29.5	57.8	2.4	5.4	4.2	0.6	100.0
Women	number	9	25	5	2	6	4	51
	%	17.6	49.0	9.8	3.9	11.8	7.8	100.0
Total	number	58	121	9	11	13	5	217
	%	26.7	55.8	4.1	5.1	6.0	2.3	100.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The questioned women were employed mainly in industry (49% – 25 respondents), a lot fewer of them worked in construction industry (17.6% – 9 respondents) and in education (11.8% – 6 respondents). Women worked also in agriculture (9.8% – 5 respondents), health care service (7.8% – 4 respondents), as well as in the services sector (3.9% – 2 respondents).

The relatively high shares of women in branches perceived as 'masculine' (industry – 49% and construction – 17.6%) result from the fact that the women-respondents worked in food processing plants as helpers in stores or as cleaning women.<sup>226</sup>

Industry and construction industry were the main branches of employment of men, providing work places to over 87% of the respondents in total. In the first sector there were employed 57.8% (96 respondents), and in the latter – 29.5% of the examined (49 respondents). The shares of men working in the other branches were a lot lower – 5.4% of the questioned (9 respondents) were employed in services: education – 4.2% (7 respondents), agriculture – 2.4% (4 respondents), and health care service – 0.6% (1 respondent).

<sup>226</sup> This last case is connected with a construction company which – while realizing a serious investment project of building a shopping centre in Opole – employed foreign women-workers to clean rooms after the finishing works.

The shares of foreigners taking up employment in individual branches differed basically in dependence on respondents' country of origin, which is presented in detail in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10**  
Branches of employment of the examined foreigners in legal employment as regards the country of their origin

Branch	Byelorussia		Holland		Moldova		Germany		The United States		Ukraine		Great Britain		Others		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Construction	0	0.0	0	0.0	22	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	36	37.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	58	26.7
Industry	10	100.0	0	0.0	66	75.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	42	43.8	0	0.0	2	50.0	121	55.8
Agriculture	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	16.7	0	0.0	8	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	4.1
Services	0	0.0	4	100.0	0	0.0	2	33.3	0	0.0	5	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	5.1
Education	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	33.3	4	100.0	0	0.0	5	100.0	2	50.0	13	6.0
Health care	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	2.3
Total	10	100.0	4	100.0	88	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	96	100.0	5	100.0	4	100.0	217	100.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Citizens of Ukraine, whose share in the examined group was the highest, were concentrated mainly in two sectors, that is in industry, where 43.8% of the examined (42 respondents) worked, and in construction industry, where 37.5% of the questioned (36 respondents) were employed. The significance of the other branches was far smaller – merely 8.3% (8 respondents) worked in agriculture, and still even fewer (5.2%,) in services and health care service (5 respondents each). It is worth mentioning, however, that as regards the examined group Ukrainians were the only foreigners employed in health care service.<sup>227</sup>

The citizens of Byelorussia who were questioned, worked exclusively in industry (100% – 10 respondents). In turn, representatives of German workers were employed – primarily – in education and services (33.3% – 2 respondents in each branch), and also in industry and agriculture (1 respondent in each branch, respectively). All of the questioned Dutch worked in services<sup>228</sup>. In the case of the British and citizens of the United States taking up employment in Opole Province it was subjects dealing in education who were their employers (100% – 5 and 4 respondents, respectively).

The examined subjects were also asked about the year when they had taken up employment in Poland for the first time. This was meant to help establish whether the questioned had been working in Silesia for a few years or they came here following Poland’s accession to the European Union. The answers provided by the respondents working in the primary labour market are included in Table 6.11.

**Table 6.11**

Respondents in the primary labour market as regards the year when they took up employment in Poland for the first time

Years	Respondents’ indications					Total
	Industry	Agriculture	Services	Education	Health care	
1990–1993	0	0	3	0	0	3
1994–1997	0	1	2	1	0	4
1998–2002	1	0	2	2	1	6
2003–2004	0	0	1	1	3	5
2005–2006	1	0	0	2	1	4
2007–2008	0	0	0	7	0	7

Source: Author’s own elaboration on the basis of research results

<sup>227</sup> Taking advantage of foreign workforce in health care service is becoming more and more frequent nowadays. Among the employed it is no longer only citizens of the states bordering on Poland, like Byelorussia and Ukraine who are employed in the branch, but also ones coming from more distant countries, like Syria. Representatives of the latter did not, however, agree to participate in the questionnaire survey.

<sup>228</sup> They were Dutch workers recruitment agencies which had their offices based in Opole Province, in which citizens of the Netherlands were joint owners or managers.



It follows from the data presented in Table 6.11 that the largest group of respondents took up employment in Poland in the years 2007–2008 (7 out of the 29 questioned). Six of the questioned declared the years 1998–2002, five – 2003–2004, four indicated the years 1994–1997 and 2005–2006 each, respectively. As many as 60% of the examined foreigners (18 respondents) employed in the primary segment began working in Poland before 2005. This means that their employment is of the long-term character, lasting even several years.

The foreigners employed in the secondary labour market – in their decisive majority, i.e. over 70% (132 respondents) – declared that they had been working in Poland since the years 2007–2008 (see Table 6.12). Nearly 15% of the questioned (28 respondents) pointed to the years 2005–2006, while 9.8% (18 respondents) to the period 1998–2002. The share of the other time ranges was significantly lower.

**Table 6.12**

Respondents in the secondary job market in legal employment as regards the year of taking up employment for the first time in Poland

Years	Respondents' declarations									
	Construction		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
1990–1993	2	3.4	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	33.3	4	2.1
1994–1997	1	1.7	2	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.6
1998–2002	8	13.8	8	6.7	1	12.5	1	33.3	18	9.8
2003–2004	0	0.0	1	0.8	2	25.0	0	0.0	3	1.5
2005–2006	7	12.1	18	15.1	3	37.5	0	0.0	28	14.8
2007–2008	40	68.9	89	74.8	2	25.0	1	33.3	132	70.2

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

It can be thus concluded that the decisive majority of respondents employed in the secondary labour market, since as many as 85% (160 in 188 of the examined), took up employment in Poland after 2004, that is following Poland's accession to the European Union. It cannot be excluded that it is connected with a greater interest in foreign work force on the part of Polish employers, which is caused by a growing shortage of their native counterparts, as well as by liberalization in the sphere of offering employment to foreigners.

**6.2.3. Reasons for taking up employment outside the native country, in Poland and Opole Province, and ways of obtaining work**

A very important research task was to find out about the motives which foreigners had while taking their decisions to seek employment outside their native countries. The questioned could indicate six reasons for their migration or offer their own one, which was not provided in the questionnaire. The obtained answers point to a clear difference in the motives declared by the respondents employed in the primary and the secondary labour markets.

In the case of those working in the primary job market the most frequently listed one was the willingness to test oneself, gain new experience. As the research results presented in Table 6.13 show, this reason was chosen in 11 cases. In the second place – 8 declarations – other reasons were given (mostly business- and family-related ones). As regards the number of answers (7 respondents) the third place was taken by the possibility of earning a higher pay outside their own country. Three indications each were recorded in the following options: willingness to work abroad and a wish to get to know Poland. One of the respondents indicated the lack of possibility of finding employment in his profession as the reason.

**Table 6.13**

Reasons for taking up employment outside foreigners’ native countries as indicated by the respondents in legal employment in the primary labour market\*

Reasons for taking up employment outside the native country	Respondents’ indications				
	Industry	Education	Services	Health care service	Total
Possibility of receiving a higher pay abroad	0	2	0	5	7
Lack of jobs in the country of origin	0	0	0	0	0
Lack of possibilities of finding employment in the profession	0	0	1	0	1
Gaining new experience	1	10	0	0	11
I wanted to work abroad	0	2	1	0	3
I wanted to visit Poland	0	2	1	0	3
Other reasons	1	3	3	1	8

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author’s own elaboration on the basis of research results

Gaining new experience dominated in the answers given by the questioned employed in education. As it follows from the research results presented earlier, it was first of all respondents coming from West-European countries, the United States and Australia who worked in this branch. Therefore, they were not typical wage-earning immigrants for whom the main reason for taking the decision to emigrate was the wish to better their material existence. Thus, the results confirm the NELM theory, according to which the pay is not always the main argument to motivate migrations: sometimes it can result from a willingness to change the surrounding or the reference system in which the migrant is functioning. The economic motive (willingness to receive a higher pay) was indicated by 5 respondents employed in health care service and by 2 of the questioned who were employed in education. It needs to be added that they were citizens of Ukraine.

Respondents employed in the secondary labour market most often motivated their decisions to emigrate by the possibility of obtaining a higher pay outside their native countries (Table 6.14). This reason was present in over 84% of the choices (167 respondents' indications). The second, according to the declarations, reason for wage-earning emigration was a lack of employment in the native country (15.2% of the answers – 30 indications), and the third one – taking into account the number of choices made – the lack of taking up employment in the migrants' professions (5.1% – 10 indications). The remaining motives behind the emigration, upon the analysis of the answers provided by the employed in branches of the secondary labour market, were not chosen at all or were of the marginal significance: the wish to visit Poland was declared in 2 cases only and one respondent indicated the wish to test himself working abroad and also gave another reason (not mentioned in the list). None of the questioned foreigners employed in branches of the secondary job market indicated the willingness to gain new experience as the reason to emigrate.

**Table 6.14**

Reasons to take up jobs abroad as indicated by respondents in legal employment in the secondary labour market\*

Reasons for taking up employment outside the native country	Respondents' indications									
	Construction		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%	number	%
Possibility of receiving a higher pay abroad	46	71.9	109	91.6	9	90.0	3	60.0	167	84.3
Lack of jobs in the country of origin	13	20.3	10	8.4	5	50.0	2	40.0	30	15.2
Lack of possibilities of finding employment in the profession	5	7.8	5	4.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	5.1

Gaining new experience	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
I wanted to work abroad	1	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
I wanted to visit Poland	1	1.6	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.0
Other reasons	1	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

In all of the branches, a considerable advantage of the motive of a higher pay over the others can be easily noticed. Another reason – a lack of employment in the native country – occupied the second place as far as the number of indications is concerned: it was mentioned by those employed in agriculture (50% of the answers – 5 indications), in services (40% – 2 indications), in construction industry (20.3% – 13 indications) and in industry (8.4% – 10 indications). As it was already mentioned, only 5.1% of the respondents claimed that it was the lack of jobs in their professions in their native countries which was the reason for the emigration. This reason was listed merely by those employed in construction industry – 7.8% answers (5 indications) and in industry – 4.2% answers (5 indications). Those representing the other sectors did not mention it at all. Other reasons specified in the questionnaire were of much smaller importance to the questioned subjects employed in the secondary labour market.

It also follows from the research that the reasons to take up employment abroad, as indicated by those having jobs in the secondary labour market, are slightly different with reference to the gender (Table 6.15). Although, in both groups, the following were of the dominant significance: possibilities of receiving a higher pay abroad and the lack of jobs in the native country, the analysis of the indications relating to the other answers displays certain differences. Women selected only the two above-mentioned reasons, whereas in the case of men, there were also other reasons for wage-earning emigration given among the answers, such as a wish to visit Poland (1.3% – 2 indications), willingness to take up employment abroad (0.6% – 1 indication) and another reason (0.6% – 1 indication).

**Table 6.15**

Reasons to take up employment abroad as indicated by respondents in legal employment in the secondary labour market as regards the gender\*

Reasons for taking up employment outside the native country	Respondents' indications					
	Women		Men		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Possibility of receiving a higher pay abroad	38	90.5	129	82.7	167	84.3
Lack of jobs in the country of origin	6	14.3	24	15.4	30	15.2
Lack of possibilities of finding employment in the profession	0	0.0	10	6.4	10	5.1

Gaining new experience	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
I wanted to work abroad	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.5
I wanted to visit Poland	0	0.0	2	1.3	2	1.0
Other reasons	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.5

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Summing up, in the context of the decisive advantage of the motive of a higher pay over the other reasons for emigrating, one can make use of the statement expressed by E.G. Ravenstein that, "bad and burdensome laws, high taxes, unattractive climate, inappropriate social surrounding, and even a compulsion [...], all of them have created and still are migration flows, yet none of these flows can match in its mass the one that arises from the desire which is inherent in most people to improve their existence in terms of the material status".<sup>229</sup> In this place, it is worth making reference to another theory presented in Chapter 2, as formulated by J. Hicks who claimed that the mechanism of migration is based not as much on a higher pay as on its greater purchasing power. This results from the fact that migrants frequently take unattractive – from the perspective of the host country – offers of employment. The vehicle of migration is then the difference in the purchasing power of the wages that are possible to earn at home and abroad.<sup>230</sup>

A vital goal of the research was also to obtain information about the reasons for choosing Poland as the target-country of wage-earning visits. Similarly as in the case of the previous question, the respondents could choose from among six answers indicated in the questionnaire or offer their own one(s). The results of the survey confirm the existence of significant differences between those working in the primary and the secondary labour markets.

Respondents in the primary job market – in their majority – did not point to economic reasons (Table 6.16). The largest number of the questioned claimed that the choice of the country of emigration was determined by the fact that they wanted to learn Polish (10 indications). Moreover, it was declared that the decision to choose Poland had been influenced by a relatively short distance between the latter and their homes (the reason being chosen by respondents who came from countries of the former USSR) and by the fact that they found Poland interesting (7 indications each). In the third place regarding the number of indications, there ranked business-related reasons (the questioned had set up business activity in Poland or had been delegated by their employers). The surveyed explained also that they were directed by sentimental reasons (among others, the family of either of the parents came from Poland or they had a Polish spouse).

<sup>229</sup> E. Sojka, *Migracje ludności i rozwój demograficzny Śląska w okresie transformacji*, Katowice 2007, p. 69–70.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73.

**Table 6.16**

Reasons for taking up employment in Poland as indicated by respondents employed in the primary labour market\*

Reasons to take up employment in Poland	Respondents' indications					
	Industry	Agriculture	Services	Education	Health care service	Total
Lack of opportunity to take up employment offering a higher pay in countries other than Poland	0	0	1	1	0	2
Short distance from my country to Poland, low costs or short time of the passage	1	0	2	0	4	7
Knowledge of the Polish language/willingness to learn Polish	2	0	1	2	5	10
Poland is an interesting country	0	0	1	6	0	7
Sentiments	0	1	1	2	0	4
Business-related reasons	0	0	3	2	0	5
Other	0	0	0	0	1	1

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The respondents employed in health care service most often indicated the relatively short distance between their countries of origin and Poland, as well as adequate knowledge of the Polish language as the main reasons for choosing Poland to be the place of their wage-earning emigration. The questioned who were working in education claimed that they had taken up employment in Poland because they found the country interesting (6 indications). Furthermore, the respondents pointed to business- and sentiments-oriented reasons. Among those employed in services, the choice of Poland was determined chiefly by business-related reasons (e.g. the company in which they were employed opened its office in Poland or they themselves commenced a business activity).

The questioned foreigners employed in the secondary labour market chose basically different reasons (Table 6.17). In this case, the choice of Poland was determined – first of all – by the short distance to cover from their countries of origin and relatively low costs of the passage (69.7% – 131 indications). This result would confirm, thus, one of the migration laws formulated by E.G. Ravenstein, which assumes that the size of a migration stream is inversely proportional to the distance covered by migrants.

Over 30% of the respondents' answers (58 indications) stressed the fact that their decision to seek employment in Poland had been influenced by the lack of possibility of finding better (more attractive) job offers in other coun-

tries. Moreover, knowledge of the Polish language was chosen by some respondents (11.2% – 21 indications), as well as other reasons (1.6% – 3 indications).

**Table 6.17**

Reasons for taking up employment in Poland as indicated by respondents in legal employment in the secondary labour market\*

Reasons for taking up employment in Poland	Respondents' indications									
	Construction		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Lack of opportunity to take up employment offering a higher pay in countries other than Poland	22	37.9	36	30.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	58	30.9
Short distance from my country to Poland, low costs or short time of the passage	36	62.1	85	71.4	8	88.8	2	66.7	131	69.7
Knowledge of the Polish language	5	8.6	15	12.6	1	11.2	0	0.0	21	11.2
Other reasons	1	1.7	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	33.3	3	1.6

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The distribution of the obtained answers differs as far as the division into branches of the respondents' employment is concerned. Those working in construction industry, in over 60% of the answers (36 indications) indicated that the choice of Poland was determined by the short distance from their countries of origin. Nearly 38% of the answers (22 indications) related to the lack of opportunities to find employment offering a higher pay in other countries, while 8.6% of the answers (5 indications) implied that it was knowledge of the Polish language that determined the choice of the country to emigrate. Only 1.7% of the answers (1 indication) related to another reason. Also, in the case of those employed in industry, the main reason to choose to come to Poland was the relatively short distance from their homes (71.4% – 85 indications), then – the lack of opportunities to find better-paid jobs in other countries (30.3% – 36 indications) and knowledge of the Polish language – 12.6% (15 indications). Another motive was given in 0.8% of the answers (1 indication). The respondents working in agriculture listed only two reasons for choosing Poland as the country of their wage-earning emigration, that is the short distance (88.2% – 8 indications) and knowledge of the language (11.2% – 1 indication). To those employed in services, similarly as in the other branches, the distance between the new work place and the country of their origin was of the key importance – 66.7% (2 indications).

Another question which was subject to analysis, significant from the point of view of the regional labour market, was identification of the reasons that had influenced the choice of Opole Province as the place to take up employment. The information obtained upon carrying out the survey, even though on a limited scale, allows establishing the factors which attract foreign workers to Opole Region. The distribution of the answers given by the respondents employed in sectors of the primary labour market are included in Table 6.18.

**Table 6.18**

Reasons for taking up employment in Opole Province as indicated by respondents in legal employment in the primary labour market\*

Reasons for taking up employment in Opole Province	Respondents' indications					
	Industry	Agriculture	Services	Education	Health care service	Total
My acquaintances/relatives are working here	1	0	2	1	0	4
I was offered a higher pay here than in other parts of Poland	0	0	0	0	4	4
The demand for workers from firms based in Opole Province	1	0	3	9	0	13
Coincidence	0	0	1	2	0	3
Business-related reasons	0	1	3	0	0	4
Other reasons	1	0	0	1	1	3

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Those employed in the primary labour market declared that their choice of Opole Province had been determined mainly by the demand for workers from employers based in Opole Province (13 indications). Furthermore, reasons such as the respondents' relatives or acquaintances working in the region, offered jobs being more profitable in Opole Province in comparison with those available in other provinces, as well as business-related ones were chosen (4 indications each). As regards the last indication, the questioned explained that the seat of the company they were working for was located in Opole Province (the answer being chosen by representatives of Dutch workers recruitment agencies, whose activity for many years has concentrated in Opole Province). Apart from that, respondents declared that their coming to Opole Province was coincidental (3 indications) or determined by other reasons (3 indications; among others, marriage to a person who comes from this region).

Similar premises which influenced the choice of Opole Province as the region to emigrate were indicated by the surveyed employed in the secondary segment of the labour market (Table 6.19). The respondents, in over 41% of the



answers (78 indications), declared that the main reason why they had chosen Opole Region was the demand for workers from employers based in Opole Province. In the second place (31.6% – 60 indications) the questioned listed higher pay in comparison with that offered in other parts of Poland, then the fact that their relatives or acquaintances were working in the region (28.4% – 54 indications). The coincidental nature of the choice was declared in 1.6% of the answers (3 indications).

**Table 6.19**

Reasons for taking up employment in Opole Province as indicated by respondents in legal employment in the secondary labour market\*

Reasons for taking up employment in Opole Province	Respondents' indications									
	Construction		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
My acquaintances/relatives are working here	13	22.4	34	28.6	4	50.0	3	100.0	54	28.4
I was offered a higher pay here than in other parts of Poland	16	27.6	41	34.5	3	37.5	0	0.0	60	31.6
The demand for workers from firms based in Opole Province	27	46.6	47	39.5	4	50.0	0	0.0	78	41.1
Coincidence	1	1.7	2	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.6
Private reasons	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Other reasons	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Additional information is provided through the analysis of the given answers as divided into branches of the respondents' employment. Demand on the part of firms based in Opole Region, dealing in construction industry, was indicated in 46.6% of the answers (27 choices), a higher pay – in 27.6% (16 choices), and work available in a region where relatives or acquaintances were staying – in 22.4% (13 choices). Still, one person chose to indicate coincidence as the main reason for coming to Opole Province. As regards the branch of industry, the ranking of the given answers (taking into account the number of indications) looked similar. In the first place (39.5% – 47 choices), the respondents selected the demand by Opole-based entrepreneurs, then a higher pay and the presence of relatives and acquaintances (28.6% – 34 choices), as well as coincidence (1.7% – 2 choices). Those employed in agriculture answered to the contrary – while indicating the decisive reasons to choose Opole Province, they mentioned not only the demand for workers, which was declared by Opole-based employers, but also the presence of relatives and acquaintances in the region (50% of the respondents – 4 choices each, respectively). 37.8% of the respondents' answers (3 choices) pointed to their choosing Opole Province

because of a higher pay offered to them here than in other regions. All of the questioned who were employed in services (3 respondents) indicated that their decision to come in Opole Silesia was influenced by the presence of relatives and acquaintances in this region.

Summing up, the obtained survey results can be referred to the theory proposed by M. Jandl, who underlined that while doing research in migration, one should pay attention to the structure of demand for work in the host country as one of the key factors influencing migration flows. Accordingly, the examined foreigners had chosen to be employed in Opole Province mainly for the reason of higher pay, which can also testify to shortages in the local labour market. The survey results confirm also social conditionings behind migration. P. Nelson observed that migrants prefer to stay close to people they know. This causes the presence of relatives and acquaintances to be a factor which attracts potential migration to the given place.

Part of the conducted research also consisted in analyzing ways of obtaining work in Poland. It was confirmed that they differ in dependence on whether the respondents are employed in the primary or secondary labour markets (see Tables 6.20 and 6.21).

The most popular ways among the employed in the primary segment of the labour market included using private contacts (12 indications) or employers' offers (7 indications). Job offers inserted on the Internet (6 indications) and in the press (4 indications) were also made use of. One of the questioned was delegated by his company for which he worked. Three respondents declared other ways of finding employment, which were not mentioned in the questionnaire.

**Table 6.20**

Ways of obtaining work in Poland as indicated by respondents in legal employment in the primary labour market\*

Ways of obtaining work	Respondents' indications					
	Industry	Agriculture	Services	Education	Health care service	Total
Through private contacts	2	0	3	4	3	12
I used the employer's job offer	0	0	1	4	2	7
I was delegated by the company I work for	0	0	1	0	0	1
Via the Internet	0	0	0	6	0	6
Advertisement in the press	0	1	3	0	0	4
Other ways	0	1	2	0	0	3

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

On the other hand, respondents taking up legal employment in the secondary labour market, in their decisive part, had made use of job offers made by employers based in Opole Region (69.5% – 132 indications). They also found jobs thanks to private contacts (28.9% – 55 indications). Moreover, two workers had made use of press advertisements, and one had found his job via the Internet (Table 6.21).

**Table 6.21**

Ways of obtaining work in Poland as indicated by respondents in legal employment in the secondary labour market

Ways of obtaining work	Respondents' indications									
	Construction		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Through private contacts	23	39.7	27	22.7	3	37.5	2	66.7	55	28.9
I used the employer's job offer	34	58.6	92	77.3	5	62.5	1	33.3	132	69.5
I was delegated by the company I work for	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Via the Internet	1	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5
Advertisement in the press	0	0.0	2	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.1
Other ways	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Over 58% (34 indications) of the respondents employed in the construction industry sector declared that they had used the job offer obtained from the employer. Nearly 40% of the questioned (23 indications) claimed that they had found their positions owing to private contacts, and one emigrant had found it via the Internet. As regards the branch of industry, 77.3% of the respondents (92 indications) had used the job offer made by the company, whereas 22.7% (27 indications) – their private contacts; another two respondents found their jobs via press advertisements. Those working in agriculture pointed to the fact that they had taken advantage of two channels only, the most frequent being (like in the case of the other branches) making use of employers' job offers (62.5% – 5 indications) and private contacts (37.5% – 3 indications). In turn, the answers obtained from the respondents employed in services point to exploitation of private contacts in the first place (2 indications) and only then to using job offers made by the employer (1 indication).

It needs to be stressed that in the case of the answer "I used the company's offer", the employees could be recruited directly by their employer or through a workers recruitment agency. It follows from the research conducted among

employers based in Opole Province that today they are more and more often taking advantage of the latter form of seeking work force<sup>231</sup>. On the basis of the collected answers one can observe that the so-called networks of migration links are most vital while taking the decision to migrate, since thanks to them, among others, it is easier to find employment.

### 6.3. Characteristics of illegally employed foreigners

#### 6.3.1. Demographic-social features

There were 10 foreigners working illegally in Opole Province, who took part in the survey. They were exclusively citizens of Ukraine, staying in Poland illegally (without a valid visa) or ‘half-legally’. In the latter case they held a permit to enter (a tourist visa<sup>232</sup>) and stay in Poland, yet did not have the work permit.

Among the examined there were 8 men and 2 women. The most numerous age group were people ranging 26–35 years of age (5 respondents) and 36–45 (4 respondents); one of the questioned foreigners fell into the age group 18–25 years. Older respondents (46–55 and 55–65 years) were not represented at all. The data relating to the gender and age of the respondents are included in Table 6.22.

**Table 6.22**

The examined foreigners employed illegally as regards their age and gender

Gender	The examined by age					Total
	18–25 years	26–35 years	36–45 years	46–55 years	55–65 years	
Men	1	5	2	0	0	8
Women	0	0	2	0	0	2
Total	1	5	4	0	0	10

Source: Author’s own elaboration on the basis of research results

The division into branches of employment allowed explaining the dominant share of men in the group of illegal workers (see Table 6.23): the respondents took up employment chiefly in construction industry (6 indications), much less frequently in agriculture (2 indications) or services (2 indications).

<sup>231</sup> This problem area was described in a more extensive manner in the following: R. Jończy, S. Kubiciel (eds.), *Zatrudnienie obcokrajowców w województwie...*, p. 85.

<sup>232</sup> This particular situation concerned two of the questioned subjects, who had been working illegally in Opole Province for a few years then.

**Table 6.23**

The gender of the respondents working illegally and the branch of employment

Gender	Branch of employment			Total
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	
Men	6	2	0	8
Women	0	0	2	2
Total	6	2	2	10

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The questioned explained that they found it the easiest to get jobs in construction industry and agriculture. In services (among others, helping to run households or taking care of family members: a child or an elderly citizen) it proved harder, which results, most probably, from the fact that work of this nature requires employing a trusty person, most often upon somebody's recommendation. It is thus more difficult for a foreigner to obtain such a job as they normally look for employment on their own.

It should be remembered here that part of those taking up illegal – very often provisional – employment linked it to visits of the trading character. One of the respondents explained that he would first sell the goods he had brought with him and then – sought a job in construction sites or on farms. Combining the two ways of earning income, that is trading and doing provisional work, permitted him to obtain income that was attractive enough to prevent him from looking for a legal job. Thanks to the contacts he had made he was able to get more and more offers to do different jobs (he was 'recommended' to successive employers by persons he had worked for).

The respondents were also asked about their education (Table 6.24). The largest number of them held basic vocational (5 indications) and secondary (4 indications) education, and one person declared elementary education. The examined men indicated basic vocational and secondary levels of education (4 indications each), whereas women held elementary and basic vocational education.

**Table 6.24**

Education of respondents in illegal employment as regards the gender

Level of respondents' education	Respondents' indications		
	Men	Women	Total
Elementary	0	1	1
Basic vocational	4	1	5
Secondary	4	0	4
Higher	0	0	0
Total	8	2	10

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The levels of respondents' education, taking into account the branches in which they were employed are presented in Table 6.25. The most foreign illegal workers holding secondary education worked in construction industry (4 indications). Those employed in agriculture and services declared basic vocational or elementary education.

**Table 6.25**

Levels of education declared by respondents in illegal employment as regards branches of their employment

Level of respondents' education	Respondents' indications			
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	Total
Elementary	0	0	1	1
Basic vocational	2	2	1	5
Secondary	4	0	0	4
Higher	0	0	0	0
Total	6	2	2	10

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The respondents in illegal employment were additionally asked when – for the first time – they had taken up employment in Poland (Table 6.26). The largest group were those indicating the years 1998–2002 and 2007–2008 (4 indications each, respectively). Two other respondents indicated the period between 2005 and 2006, while the remaining two chose the years 1990–1993 and 2003–2004 (one respondent each).

**Table 6.26**

Respondents in illegal employment as regards the year in which they took up work in Poland for the first time

Years	Respondents' indications			
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	Total
1990–1993	1	0	0	1
1994–1997	0	0	0	0
1998–2002	3	0	0	3
2003–2004	1	0	0	1
2005–2006	0	0	2	2
2007–2008	1	2	0	3
Total	6	2	2	10

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

**6.3.2. Reasons for taking up employment outside the native country, in Poland and Opole Province, and ways of obtaining work**

The representatives of foreign workforce who worked illegally were asked about the reasons which had forced them to emigrate. The answers offered by them are presented in Table 6.27. The respondents basically pointed to two

motives only, which were vital to them while deciding to leave homes and look for jobs outside the countries of their origin. The most frequent statement (7 indications) was that it was the lack of employment at home that forced them to emigrate. The opportunity to receive a higher pay outside the native country ranked the second (5 indications). It follows from the above that the illegal workers, when deciding to seek employment abroad, were directed by similar premises as those who were legally employed in branches of the secondary labour market. In both cases, the main reason to emigrate was the desire to better their material status. However, it must be noticed that the lack of job opportunities at home was mentioned by those in legal employment in the second place, while in the case of those taking up illegal jobs – as the first reason.

**Table 6.27**

Reasons to take up employment outside the native country as indicated by respondents in illegal employment\*

Reasons for taking up employment outside the native country	Respondents' indications			
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	Total
Opportunity to receive a higher pay outside the native country	3	2	0	5
Lack of job opportunities in the native country	3	2	2	7
Lack of opportunities to find employment in the given profession	0	0	0	0
Other reasons	0	0	0	0

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Similarities between the answers given by foreigners employed legally in the secondary sector of the labour market and those provided by respondents working illegally can be shown by comparing the answers to the question about the reason to choose Poland as the country to emigrate (Table 6.28).

**Table 6.28**

Reasons for taking up employment in Poland as indicated by respondents in illegal employment\*

Reasons for taking up employment in Poland	Respondents' indications			
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	Total
Lack of opportunities to find employment offering a better pay in other countries than Poland	5	2	1	8
Short distance between Poland and my native country, low costs or short time of passage	2	1	2	5
Knowledge of the Polish language	1	0	0	1
Other	0	0	0	0

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Three reasons were given: the largest number of respondents indicated the lack of opportunities to find employment which would be better-paid in other countries than Poland (8 indications), then the short distance between Poland and their countries of origin and low costs and short time of passage (5 indications), as well as their knowledge of the Polish language.

In turn, the decision to choose to work in Opole Province (see Table 6.29), according to the questioned, was influenced in the strongest way by the fact that their relatives and acquaintances were working in the same region. This reason was indicated by 9 respondents. Only one person answered that the choice of Opole Province as the region to find employment was the result of the demand from employers based in Opole Province.

**Table 6.29**

Reasons for taking up work in Opole Province as indicated by respondents in illegal employment\*

Reasons for taking up employment in Opole Province	Respondents' indications			
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	Total
My acquaintances/relatives are working here	6	2	1	9
I was offered a higher pay here than in other parts of Poland	0	0	0	0
The demand for workers from firms based in Opole Province	0	0	1	1
Other reasons	0	0	0	0

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

It can be thought that taking up illegal employment, to a great extent, is based on migration networks. Still other people decide to leave their country and take up employment abroad if they can rely on the base formed by relatives or acquaintances. The existence of migration diaspora is a factor in attracting next emigrants. The presence of acquaintances and relatives in the region facilitates finding accommodation, which is especially important when taking up illegal employment as support from the employer cannot be relied on. Besides, it is also very often through private contacts that jobs are much easier to find. Moreover, staying in a group of acquaintances helps to overcome the separation from home.

Basing on migration networks by the questioned in illegal employment, as a factor facilitating obtaining employment, finds its confirmation in the answers given to the next question included in the questionnaire (Table 6.30). As many as 8 respondents declared that they had found work thanks to private contacts. The other way proved to be taking advantage of offers made by employers or direct contacting the latter (2 indications each, respectively).



**Table 6.30**

Ways of taking up employment in Poland as indicated by respondents  
in illegal employment

Ways of obtaining work	Respondents' indications			
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	Total
Through private contacts	6	0	2	8
I used the company's job offer	0	2	0	2
I was delegated by the company I work for	0	0	0	0
In another way	1	1	0	2

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

In the case of the last two answers, during meetings with the interviewer the respondents explained that they had been recruited by the employer in the so-called 'Russian market' (bazaar), in which one can meet foreigners looking for jobs. Two of the questioned called on the employer themselves seeing that he was redecorating the house and they offered their services.



## Chapter 7

### Conditions of pay and work of the examined foreign employees

#### 7.1. Pay offered to foreigners in legal and illegal employment

A problem of the key importance, which was subject to analysis, was the pay earned by the respondents. The experience of the research carried out among emigrants showed that the question about pay rates was a very personal one and hard to get a reliable answer to. Taking advantage of this knowledge, a question about the minimal net pay that the respondent would be ready to accept to continue to work abroad in the same line of profession was included in the questionnaire. R. Jończy called it the minimal migrant's pay (MMP).<sup>233</sup>

The examined foreigners were requested to give the height of their net MMP. During interviews it was established that this included not only the basic pay, but also additional remuneration for extra hours and all possible perks offered to them by employers.

**Table 7.1**

Average monthly net MMP for foreigners employed legally in Opole Province as regards the primary and secondary labour markets and the gender

Respondents' gender	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market	
	Sum in PLN	Number of respondents	Sum in PLN	Number of respondents
Women	2 860.00	11	2 549.41	40
Men	6 831.25	18	3 037.30	148
Average	5 303.85	29	2 933.66	188

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Table 7.1 juxtaposes average minimal migrant's pays earned by respondents in Opole Province as divided into the primary and secondary segments, as well as the gender of the examined.

The mean net MMP<sup>234</sup> of the respondents employed in the primary labour market amounted to PLN 5,303.85, with the provision that there were noted

<sup>233</sup> Cf. R. Jończy, *Migracje zarobkowe ludności...*, p. 234. It follows from R. Jończy's research that, typically, respondents indicate the level that is identical with the actually earned pay.

<sup>234</sup> The average pay was calculated by summing the given pay rates and dividing the result by the number of respondents who gave the answer.

fairly wide differences between the height of pay earned by men and women: the former indicated PLN 6,831.25 on the average, whereas the latter – about twice as little, i.e., PLN 2,860.

It was found that the average migrant’s pay in the secondary job market amounted to PLN 2,933.66. Differences in the height of wages between women and men were not so wide as in the case of the primary market. Men’s average MMP amounted to PLN 3,037.30 and that of women – PLN 2,549.41.

Table 7.2 presents monthly net MMPs as indicated by respondents in legal employment, including branches of employment. The average net MMP given by the examined foreigners – irrespective of the branch – was PLN 3,261.46. The highest net MMP was indicated by respondents employed in services – PLN 7,636.22. This rather high total results possibly from the fact that respondents from the primary labour market were categorized into services – managers of Dutch recruitment agencies based in Opole Province and employees from firms with German capital. Because of their performing key functions in companies their MMPs are high (regarding the Polish reality) and thus considerably raised the average. Respondents employed in education ranked the second with reference to the height of their MMP. In this case the mean wage amounted to PLN 3,307.69. Both branches, i.e., services and education belong to the so-called primary labour market.

The average monthly net MMP in industry, which ranked the third regarding the height of wages, was – according to the research – PLN 3,207.67. Respondents employed in construction industry indicated the pay on the level of PLN 2,948.48 and in health service – PLN 2,720.00. The lowest MMP, according to the survey, was given by those employed in agriculture – PLN 1,587.30.

**Table 7.2**

Average monthly net minimal migrant’s pay (MMP) of foreigners in legal employment in Opole Province, as regards the branch of employment

Branch	Average (in PLN)	Number of respondents who answered questions in the survey
Construction industry	2 948.48	56
Industry	3 207.67	118
Agriculture	1 587.50	8
Services	7 636.22	9
Education	3 307.69	13
Health service	2 720.00	5
Average	3 261.46	209

Source: Author’s own elaboration on the basis of research results

As it follows from the juxtaposition in Table 7.3, average net MMPs differ not only as regards individual branches, but also regarding the gender of employees. Generally saying, the examined men indicated a higher pay than women. In the case of the former, the average net MMP amounted to PLN 3,445.13, whereas among women it was PLN 2,661.76.

**Table 7.3**

Average net minimal migrant's pay (MPM) of foreigners in legal employment in Opole Province as regards the gender and branches

Branch	Men		Women	
	Average (in PLN)	Number of respondents who answered the questions	Average (in PLN)	Number of respondents who answered the questions
Construction industry	3 019.47	47	2 577.78	9
Industry	3 303.24	94	2 833.33	24
Agriculture	1 625.00	4	1 550.00	4
Services	9 185.71	7	2 213.00	2
Education	3 428.57	7	3 166.67	6
Health service	4 000.00	1	2 400.00	4
Average	3 445.13	160	2 661.76	49

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

In the group of examined men, the highest net MMP was indicated by respondents employed in services – PLN 9,185.71 (7 respondents). They were, as it was mentioned earlier, foreigners holding managerial posts in Dutch recruitment agencies and in firms with German capital. To compare, the examined women who were employed in services declared their MMP on the level of PLN 2,213 (2 respondents). The average MMP in education, as regards the examined men, amounted to PLN 3,428.57 (7 respondents) and was not much higher than that of women, who indicated PLN 3,166.67 (6 respondents) on the average. It is not possible to make similar references to the average pay of men in health service, since there was only one respondent who took part in the survey, and who declared his MMP at the height of PLN 4,000. The examined women employed in health service declared their MMPs to amount to PLN 2,400 on the average. Considerable differences as regards the height of wages for women and men can also be seen in such branches as industry and construction industry: men indicated the average MMP at the height of PLN 3,303.24 (96 respondents) and PLN 3,019.47 (47 respondents), respectively. The pay was higher than that declared by women-respondents, in the case of whom the average MMP in industry amounted to PLN 2,833.33 (24 respondents), while in construction industry – PLN 2,577.78 (9 respondents).<sup>235</sup>

<sup>235</sup> The women were not employed directly to do construction work, but to do extra jobs contracted by the employer, for example cleaning buildings before rendering them ready for use.

Juxtaposing the average MMPs declared by the questioned foreigners in legal employment, with respect to the division into professions (Table 7.4), it is possible to notice considerable differences. The highest pay was indicated by business people, the group outstripping – in a markedly visible way – the representatives of other professions taking part in the survey, as regards the height of their MMP. The average net MMP earned by them amounted to PLN 13,700, while the second highest MMP, which was declared by plumbers – according to the respondents’ declarations – remained on the level of PLN 3,875, being 3.5 times lower than that of business people.

**Table 7.4**

Average monthly net minimal migrant’s pay (MMP) earned by foreigners in legal employment in Opole Province according to professions

No.	Profession*/type of job done	Mean MMP (in PLN)	Number of respondents who answered the questions
1	Business person	13 700.00	4
2	Plumber	3 875.00	4
3	Medical doctor	3 750.00	2
4	Turner	3 580.00	3
5	Teacher	3 307.69	13
6	Welder	3 247.27	22
7	Locksmith	3 161.39	36
8	Foundry worker	3 139.29	7
9	Poultry farm-worker	3 032.50	8
10	Builder	2 963.33	12
11	Bricklayer	2 917.67	15
12	Catering worker	2 854.44	9
13	Labourer	2 800.00	7
14	Concreter	2 716.67	3
15	Warehouse attendant	2 700.00	5
16	Cleaning woman	2 250.00	2
17	Medical nurse	2 033.33	3
18	Farm-worker	1 577.78	9
20	Assistant to an older person	1 413.00	2

\*The author included in the table professions which were declared by at least two respondents. Source: Author’s own elaboration on the basis of research results

What is interesting, a net MMP lower than that of a plumber was declared by medical doctors – PLN 3,307.69 and medical nurses – PLN 2,033.33, who are employed in the so-called primary labour market (which is characterized, among others, by attractive pays). A fairly high MMP was indicated by

respondents with jobs in metal branch: turners (PLN 3,580.00), locksmiths (PLN 3,161.39), welders (PLN 3,247.27) and foundry workers (PLN 3,139.29). In the case of construction industry, the MMP amounted to PLN 2,963.33.<sup>236</sup> The average net MMP declared by persons working as bricklayers was PLN 2,917.67, while that of concreters – PLN 2,716.67. Workers (it is in this way that respondents from the branches of construction industry and industry referred to themselves doing the jobs they did) declared average MMPs at the amount of PLN 2,800. The MMPs indicated by those employed as warehouse attendants amounted to PLN 2,700, cleaning women – PLN 2,250, and the above-mentioned medical nurses – merely PLN 2,033.33. However, the lowest average net MMP indicated by respondents employed on farms amounted to PLN 1,577.78 and as assistants to elderly persons – PLN 1,413.

The question about the height of the net MMP was also asked to foreigners taking up illegal employment. The average pay indicated by the questioned is shown in Table 7.5. In view of the small number of respondents, which was mentioned earlier in previous chapters, the data are only of the demonstrative character.

The highest net MMP amounting to PLN 4,000 was indicated by respondents working as the so-called handymen, that is workers capable of doing various jobs, like construction jobs, plumbing, finishing. Those working as bricklayers declared the average MMP on the level of PLN 2,187.50, assistants to an elderly person – PLN 1,700, farm labourers – PLN 1,500, and house aids – PLN 1,000.

**Table 7.5**

Average monthly net minimal migrant's pay (MMP) earned by foreigners in illegal employment in Opole Province, as regards the type of job taken up

No.	Profession/type of job done	Mean MMP (in PLN)	Number of respondents who answered the questions
1	Handyman	4 000.00	2
2	Bricklayer	2 187.50	4
3	Assistant to an elderly person	1 700.00	1
4	Farm labourer	1 500.00	2
5	House aid	1 000.00	1

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

<sup>236</sup> A large part of the respondents did not give a concrete profession since their duties involved doing sundry jobs in construction industry, such as bricklaying, steel fixing, wood-working.

## 7.2. Benefits other than financial remuneration offered to foreigners in legal and illegal employment

Apart from establishing the height of the MMP, a vital part of the conducted research was gathering information relating to benefits other than financial remuneration (perks) which the questioned foreigners obtained. The answers given by the respondents were again distributed into four groups, depending on the type of labour market and legality of employment (Table 7.6).

**Table 7.6**

Benefits besides the financial remuneration offered to foreigners, as regards the labour markets and legality of employment\*

Benefits other than the financial one	Workers' indications							
	Primary job market		Secondary job market		Legally employed		Illegally employed	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Board	0	0.0	57	28.8	53	24.4	4	40.0
Accommodation	3	10.3	171	86.4	171	78.8	3	30.0
Passage to Poland	2	6.9	23	11.6	25	11.5	0	0.0
Other benefits	4	13.8	6	3.0	10	4.6	0	0.0
No benefits besides the pay	21	72.4	17	8.6	33	15.2	5	50.0

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Those employed in the primary labour market most often were not offered benefits besides those relating to regular employment wages – 72.4% of the indications (21 respondents). Accommodation was declared in 10.3% of the answers (3 indications). Among 'other' extra conditions (13.8% – 4 indications) the following were mentioned: company mobile phone (the employer paid telephone bills), company car and laptop. Nearly 7% of the questioned (2 respondents) indicated that the employer covered wholly or partially the cost of their journey to Poland. None of the respondents indicated board as a benefit besides financial remuneration that would be offered by the employer.

On the other hand, the majority of those employed in the secondary labour market (86.4% – 171 respondents) declared that the employer guaranteed accommodation to them (free of charge or partially paid for). Then, nearly 1/3 of the questioned (57 respondents) were offered board (mainly partial, e.g., breakfast). Furthermore, 11.6% (23 respondents) were returned costs of their passage to Poland (or the employer covered them directly). Only 8.6% of the surveyed (17 indications) who represented the secondary job market were not offered any benefits besides the financial remuneration.



**Table 7.7**  
Benefits other than the financial one offered to foreign workers employed legally in the primary and secondary labour markets as regards branches of employment\*

Benefits other than the financial one	Respondents' indications													
	Construction		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Education		Health care service		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Board	9	15.5	42	34.7	2	22.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	53	24.4
Accommodation	53	91.4	108	89.3	7	77.8	1	9.1	2	15.4	0	0.0	171	78.8
Passage to Poland	17	29.3	7	5.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.7	0	0.0	25	11.5
Other benefits	2	3.4	4	3.3	0	0.0	2	18.2	0	0.0	2	40.0	10	4.6
No benefits besides pay	4	6.9	6	5.0	2	22.2	8	72.7	10	76.9	3	60.0	33	15.2

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

It seems that workers employed in the primary job market had to be far more self-dependent in terms of the necessity of finding accommodation and securing the basic needs (purchase of food, paying bills) than those employed in the secondary labour market. In the latter case accommodation and full board (or at least partial) were provided by the employer. The survey results clearly show that employers functioning in the secondary job market bear also additional costs of employing a worker besides the offered pay.

Those in legal employment most frequently did not obtain extra benefits besides the regular wages (50% – 5 indications). If an employer decided to offer them any ‘extras’, then they were as follows: accommodation (30% – 3 indications) and board (40% – 4 indications).

The analysis concerning the branches in which respondents found legal employment is presented in Table 7.7. It allows indicating, in a more precise way, the sectors in which benefits other than financial remuneration were offered to foreign workers.

Over 91% of the respondents employed in the branch of construction industry (53 indications) admitted that apart from the wages the employer offered them accommodation, as well. More than 29% of the surveyed (17 indications) received extra money to cover the cost of their passage to Poland, and 15.5% of the questioned (9 indications) admitted that the employer provided them with board. Lack of any additional benefits was indicated by nearly 7% of the respondents (4 indications). Also provision of lodgings was the most often indicated by the surveyed working in industry (89.3% – 108 indications). Then, provision of meals (34.7% – 42 indications) and refund of fares (5.8% – 7 indications) were selected in the next places. Only 5% of the questioned (6 indications) chose the option of receiving no additional benefits besides the remuneration. The respondents working in agriculture selected accommodation in the first place (77.8% – 7 indications), then – board (22.2% – 2 indications). Over 22% of the respondents (2 indications) were not offered extra benefits. Neither were any benefits besides the financial one received by the majority of those employed in the following branches: services (72.7% – 8 indications), education (76.6% – 10 indications) and health care service (60% – 3 indications). Representatives of the sector of services most frequently declared that their employers offered to them company telephones and cars (18.2% – 2 indications). On the other hand, accommodation was selected by 9.1% of the questioned (1 indication). In turn, foreigners employed in education, besides pay, were offered accommodation (or help in finding lodgings) – 15.4% of the questioned (2 indications), as well as return of the cost of passage to Poland – 7.7% (1 indication). The respondents employed in health care service admitted that their employers provided them with an additional insurance.

An analysis of benefits other than the financial remuneration, as regards branches of employment, was also carried out in relation to foreigners working illegally. The results are shown in Table 7.8.

**Table 7.8**  
Benefits besides the financial one offered to foreign workers employed illegally, as regards branches of employment\*

Benefits other than the financial one	Respondents' indications			
	Construction	Agriculture	Services	Total
Board	1	1	2	4
Accommodation	1	0	2	3
Passage to Poland	0	0	0	0
Other benefits	0	0	0	0
No benefits besides pay	4	1	0	5

\*More than one answer is possible

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Most often benefits besides pay resulting from employment were received by respondents doing illegal jobs in services – being offered both board and accommodation. The same kinds of extras were provided to respondents employed in construction industry (still less frequently) and in agriculture. It follows from the conducted empirical research that the benefits besides the financial one were guaranteed only when a foreign worker was employed over a longer period of time (caring for an elderly person, working on a poultry farm), and not to those doing casual jobs (e.g., redecoration works or seasonal jobs on farms).

### 7.3. Pay possible to earn in the country of foreigners' origin

It was recognized to be significant to establish the height of pay possible to earn by foreign workers in their native countries. The wages given by the respondents are net pays rendered in the Polish currency or converted into it.<sup>237</sup>

The analysis was carried out with distribution into the primary and secondary segments of the labour market, as well as including levels of respondents' education (Table 7.9). The table does not contain a division into the legally and illegally employed, since the latter did not give their answers to this question: they claimed that they had not had jobs in their own countries

<sup>237</sup> To convert the given quota, mean exchange rates of currencies for the first half of the year 2008 were applied. The rates were as follows: US Dollar 1 = PLN 2.28; Euro 1 = PLN 3.49; British Pound 1 = PLN 4.51; Hrywna 1 = PLN 0.46, Moldovan Lei = PLN 0.25.

(7 in 10 respondents gave such a reply) and therefore had no idea what kind of wages was possible to receive.

**Table 7.9**

Average monthly net pay possible to earn in foreigners' countries of origin, as regards the level of education and gender in distribution into the primary and secondary labour markets

Gender and level of education	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market	
	Number	Average (in PLN)	Number	Average (in PLN)
Men	12	8 358.33	118	996.78
Elementary	0	no data available	3	1 683.33
Basic vocational	0	no data available	52	932.12
Secondary	1	5 000.00	49	1 058.57
Higher	11	8 663.64	14	873.57
Women	9	3 800.00	32	615.16
Elementary	0	no data available	1	450.00
Basic vocational	0	no data available	14	687.86
Secondary	4	4 000.00	11	575.00
Higher	5	3 640.00	6	546.67
Mean	21	6 404.76	150	915.37

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

As it follows from the above-presented juxtaposition, the employed in the primary labour market were able to earn a higher pay in their countries of origin than by taking up employment in Poland. The average pay possible to receive at home, as converted into the Polish Zloty, amounted to PLN 6,404.76, whereas the average net MMP oscillated on the level of PLN 5,303.85. However, as it follows from the conducted research, those who decided to emigrate had not been motivated by financial reasons.

Men, in their countries of origin, could earn wages at the amount of PLN 8,358.33 while women declared the average height of the wages possible for them to obtain at PLN 3,800. The distribution which was made regarding the level of respondents' education testifies to the fact that men holding higher education declared potential pay to earn at home on the level of PLN 8,663.64, whereas those with secondary education on that of PLN 5,000. In turn, higher potential pay was given by women holding secondary education (PLN 4,000 on the average) than those with higher education (PLN 3,640). However, as many as 8 in 29 respondents did not answer the question relating to the height of pay which was possible to earn in the country of their origin at all.

In the case of respondents employed in the secondary labour market, the average potential pay that was possible to earn at home was lower than the minimal migrant's pay. The average net pay which the questioned employed in this sector could earn was assessed at PLN 915.37, while the MMP amounted to PLN 2,955.66, which was thus three times as high as the former. The surveyed men declared the potential wages at the height of PLN 996.78 on the average, whereas the women assessed the possible pay on the level of PLN 615.33. A distribution was also carried out as regards the level of respondent's education. Three of the questioned with elementary education declared the potential pay to be as high as PLN 1,683.33, which was more than indicated by foreigners holding basic vocational education – PLN 932.12 (the latter group was much larger, though, since it comprised 52 respondents), those with secondary education – PLN 1,058.57 (49 respondents) and the questioned holding higher education – PLN 873.58 (14 respondents). It follows from interviews conducted with the foreigners holding elementary education that their indicating relatively high sums resulted from the belief that they should earn just that much. Some explained that they could earn such wages by taking up illegal employment, often acting against the law (smuggling, stealing and the like). The other examined foreigners holding basic vocational, secondary and higher education provided more rational assessments of the height of potential pay possible to receive at home.

The disproportions relating to the levels of declared pay possible to earn in the country of origin were not that evident among women. The women-respondents with elementary education gave average wages at the amount of PLN 450, those with secondary education – PLN 687.86, and those holding higher education – PLN 546.67.

As many as 48 foreigners did not give any reply to this particular question. They claimed that they had not had jobs at home and therefore had not been able to earn any wages. The respondents who did answer this question made the provision that they were giving rough assessments as they had not been in employment at home for quite a long time (in some cases for a few years).

An analysis of potential pay possible to earn in the country of origin was conducted regarding the distribution into countries of the respondents' origin (Table 7.10).

Table 7.10

Average monthly net pay which foreigners in legal employment could earn while working in their professions at home, as regards respondents' countries of origin

Pay in PLN	Foreigner's country of origin								
	Ukraine	Moldova	Byelorussia	Germany	Great Britain	USA	Holland	Other	Total
400–600	9	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	28
601–800	12	10	2	0	0	0	0	1	25
801–1000	21	9	5	0	0	0	0	0	35
1001–1200	4	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
1201–1400	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
1401–1600	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
1601–1800	2	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
1801–2000	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2001–4000	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
Over 4001	0	0	0	3	3	4	4	2	16
No answer given	32	29	2	3	2	0	0	1	69
Total of people from the given country	96	88	10	6	5	4	4	4	217

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Citizens of Ukraine most frequently declared that they could earn monthly wages ranging PLN 801–1,000 (21 indications) at home. The second place in the ranking was the range of PLN 601–800 (12 indications). A lower potential pay (PLN 400–600) was indicated by 9 respondents. The possibility of earning wages at the height ranging PLN 1,201–1,400 was given by 7 respondents, while a higher potential pay (PLN 1,401–1,600) – by 5 respondents, and another 4 of the surveyed claimed they could receive a pay ranging PLN 2,001–4,000. As many as 32 respondents out of 96 did not give their answers to this question.

The largest group of respondents coming from Moldova (19 indications) declared that they could earn a pay within the range of PLN 400–600 at home. The range of PLN 601–800 ranked the second (10 indications), followed by those of PLN 801–1,000 and PLN 1,001–1,400 (9 indications each). Seven of the respondents claimed that they could earn PLN 1,601–1,800, three – PLN 2,001–4,000, while another two – PLN 1,401–1,600. Similarly as in the case of the previous group which was analyzed, part of the surveyed did not provide answers to this question. Among the Moldovans it was 29 out of the 88 respondents.

The groups of respondents representing the remaining countries were a lot less numerous so the results are only of the complementary character.

Half of the group of foreigners coming from Byelorussia (5 respondents) declared that they could earn PLN 801–1,000, two – PLN 601–800, and one – PLN 2,001–4,000. Two of the respondents (out of 10) did not answer the question.

Citizens of Germany, Great Britain, Holland and the United States (a total of 14 respondents) who took part in the survey pointed to potential pays obtainable in the countries of their origin only from one, the highest, range, i.e., that over PLN 4,000. This range was not among the ones indicated by respondents from the countries discussed earlier, that is Ukraine, Moldova and Byelorussia.





## Chapter 8

### Difficulties with undertaking work in Poland and suggestions how to overcome them

#### 8.1. Factors which render taking up employment in Poland difficult to foreigners

In the context of using foreign workforce in the future, it is significant to establish barriers which hamper employment of foreigners. The research made it possible to state the fact that irrespective of the labour market segment, the factor that makes it difficult for foreign workers to take up employment is the problem of communication in the Polish language – 63.4% of the responses (144 indications), then it was difficulty in crossing the border and going through the customs clearance – 18.9% (43 indications), complicated and costly procedures relating to arrival and stay in Poland – 15.9% (36 indications). The other factors, as estimated by the surveyed, were of lesser significance. Among others, the following were indicated: complicated and costly procedures of employing workers (8.4% – 19 indications), hard work conditions (7% – 16 indications), bad living conditions (housing) (6.2% – 14 indications), worse treatment of foreign workers than Poles (2.6% – 6 indications), racism/intolerance (1.3% – 3 indications), as well as other difficulties (5.3% – 12 indications). Over 9% of the respondents (21 indications) were of the opinion that there were no factors which made their stay and taking up employment in Poland difficult (Table 8.1).

**Table 8.1**

Factors hampering foreign workers' taking up employment in Poland, as regards the primary and secondary labour markets\*

Factors that make taking up employment difficult	Workers' indications					
	Primary job market		Secondary job market		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Problems with communicating in the Polish language	12	41.4	132	66.7	144	63.4
Complicated/costly procedures of coming to and staying in Poland	6	20.7	30	15.2	36	15.9
Complicated/costly procedures of employing foreigners	7	24.1	12	6.1	19	8.4
Poor housing conditions	1	3.4	13	6.6	14	6.2

Hard work conditions	0	0.0	16	8.1	16	7.0
Intolerance/racism	0	0.0	3	1.5	3	1.3
Worse treatment of foreigners than domestic workforce	0	0.0	6	3.0	6	2.6
Difficulty in crossing the border and going through the customs clearance	1	3.4	42	21.2	43	18.9
Other difficulties	10	34.5	2	1.0	12	5.3
No difficulties	5	17.2	16	8.1	21	9.3

\* There is more than answer possible.

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The analysis of the obtained responses regarding the primary and secondary labour markets (Table 8.1) allows noticing considerable differences between these segments.

Workers employed in the primary job market most often indicated language-related problems. This option was chosen by as many as 41.4% of the questioned (12 indications). That was quite a surprising finding, taking into account the fact that the surveyed in this group, when asked about the reason why they had chosen Poland as the country to emigrate to, mentioned their relatively good knowledge of the Polish language or a wish to learn it. It can be thought, which was confirmed in direct contacts with the respondents, that they believed that their knowledge of Polish would facilitate their unconstrained communication. It turned out that the language skills were insufficient.

In the second place (with respect to the greatest difficulty), the respondents employed in the primary labour market mentioned bureaucracy and cultural/mentality-related differences (defined as 'other difficulties'), which were indicated in as many as 34.5% of the responses (10 indications). The surveyed representing the primary job market listed, among others, difficulty in arranging official matters, the necessity of filling in a great number of documents, which – to some of them – also because of the language barrier – posed a considerable problem. In turn, in the case of the cultural and mentality-related differences, the respondents drew attention to, among others, the fact that the Polish are rather closed and reserved, and unwilling to make contacts (it cannot be excluded that such a perception of Poles results from the language barrier). Then, the complicated formalities concerning employment of workers were indicated in 24.1% of the responses (7 indications) and the complicated procedures related to coming to and staying in Poland – by 20.7% of the respondents (6 indications). In 3.4% of the obtained responses (1 indication), the questioned drew the attention to the difficulty in crossing the border and going through the customs clearance procedures, and also to poor housing. In over 17% of the responses (5 indications), the respondents representing the

primary labour market claimed that they had not come up against any difficulty during their stay and taking up employment in Poland.

Language-related problems made the factor, which – in the opinions of respondents-workers in the secondary labour market – was the one that hampered their staying and taking up employment in Poland to the highest degree. The percentage of the indications was higher than in the case of the respondents in the secondary labour market, since it amounted to 66.7% (132 indications). As regards the number of responses, the second place was taken by the difficulty in crossing the border and going through the customs clearance – 21.2% of the choices (42 indications). The next impeding factor were the complicated procedures related to coming to and staying in Poland – 15.2% (30 indications). In over 8% of the responses (16 indications) the surveyed drew attention to hard work conditions, in 6.6% (13 indications) – to poor living conditions (housing), and in 6.1% of the cases (12 indications) – to complicated/costly procedures of employing foreign workers. Worse treatment of foreigners than domestic workers was indicated by 6 respondents, intolerance and racism – by 3, while other difficulties – by 2 of the questioned. Over 8% of the respondents (16 indications) claimed that they had not met with any difficulties that would impede their staying or taking up employment in Poland.

There were basic differences found between the responses given by the surveyed representing the first and the second labour markets, though. Those employed in the primary job market did not indicate intolerance/racism at all, worse treatment of foreign workforce than domestic employees or hard work conditions. Also, the share of responses relating to: hard living conditions and difficulty in crossing the border was evidently lower. On the other hand, the so-called 'other difficulties' which can impede the stay and taking up employment in Poland was declared by as many as 34.5% of the respondents (10 out of 29 indications) who represented the primary labour market. In contrast, the last option was given in merely 1% of the responses (2 out of 188 respondents) by those employed in the secondary labour market.

In order to obtain a fuller picture of difficulties which the surveyed foreigners encountered in Poland, their responses were analysed with reference to the branches of employment (Table 8.2).

It follows from the results collected in Table 8.2 that difficulties resulting from language competence were the most frequently indicated by those employed in industry (71.1% – 86 indications), education (69.2% – 9 indications) and in construction industry (68.8% – 44 indications). This type of difficulty proved less hampering to those employed in agriculture (27.3% – 3 indications), health service (20% – 1 indication); so did it in the case of foreigners working in services (7.7% – 1 indication).

**Table 8.2**  
 Factors hampering foreign workers' staying and taking up employment in Poland in the opinions expressed by them,  
 as regards the branches of employment\*

Factors which hamper staying and taking up employment	Workers' indications													
	Construction industry		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Education		Health service		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Problems with communicating in the Polish language	44	68.8	86	71.1	3	27.3	1	7.7	9	69.2	1	20.0	144	63.4
Complicated/costly procedures of coming to and staying in Poland	5	7.8	17	14.0	8	72.7	3	23.1	0	0.0	3	60.0	36	15.9
Complicated/costly procedures of employing foreigners	1	1.6	8	6.6	4	36.4	2	15.4	1	7.7	3	60.0	19	8.4
Poor housing conditions	7	10.9	5	4.1	1	9.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	14	6.2
Hard work conditions	4	6.3	12	9.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	16	7.0
Intolerance/racism	1	1.6	2	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.3
Worse treatment of foreigners than domestic workforce	4	6.3	2	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	2.6
Difficulties in crossing the border and going through the customs clearance	16	25.0	20	16.5	4	36.4	2	15.4	0	0.0	1	20.0	43	18.9
Other difficulties	2	3.1	0	0.0	1	9.1	5	38.5	4	30.8	0	0.0	12	5.3
No difficulties	4	6.3	9	7.4	1	9.1	4	30.8	3	23.1	0	0.0	21	9.3

\* There is more than answer possible.

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The difficulty connected with complicated/costly procedures of coming to and staying in Poland was most often chosen by respondents employed in agriculture (72.7% – 8 indications), health service (60% – 3 indications) and services (23.1% – 3 indications). This type of impeding factors was also found in 14% of the responses (17 indications) given by those working in industry and in 7.8% of the options (5 indications) chosen by the foreigners employed in construction industry. Finally, none of the respondents employed in education pointed to this kind of difficulty. The surveyed working in health service (60% – 3 indications) chose complicated and costly procedures relating to employing foreign workforce. This factor was also found in 36.4% of the choices (4 indications) made by those employed in agriculture and in 15.4% (2 indications) – in services. In the other branches this problem appeared a lot less frequently, since it was mentioned only by 7.7% of the respondents (1 indication) in the branch of education, 6.6% (8 indications) of foreigners representing industry and by 1.6% (1 indication) of those employed in construction industry.

The factor of poor living conditions (housing) was indicated by the questioned representing the branches of construction industry (10.9% – 7 indications), agriculture (9.1% – 1 indication) and industry (4.1% – 5 indications), as well as one respondent employed in the sector of health service. Representatives of the remaining branches did not mention this factor at all.

The difficulty relating to hard work conditions was pointed to only by the respondents employed in industry (9.9% – 12 indications) and construction industry (6.3% – 4 indications). Also, it was solely respondents representing the same branches who complained about intolerance/racism – 1.7% of the responses (2 indications) and 1.6% (1 indication), respectively. Moreover, the same respondents chose the factor of worse treatment of foreigners than Poles employed in the same company, as well – 1.7% of the given answers (2 indications) and 6.3% (4 indications), respectively.

The difficulty in crossing the border was most often encountered by those employed in agriculture – 36.4% of the responses (4 indications), construction industry – 25% (16 indications), health service – 20% (1 indication), industry – 16.5% (20 indications) and in services – 15.4% (2 indications). This factor was not chosen by any respondent in the branch of education. Other difficulties (which were described in detail earlier while presenting the analysis of the choices made by the respondents of the primary and the secondary labour markets) were mostly pointed to by the foreigners employed in services – 38.5% (5 indications) and education – 30.8% (4 indications). Also the largest number of the representatives of the same two branches selected the option of no difficulty impeding their stay and taking up employment in Poland.

The conducted research makes it possible to formulate a few conclusions. Firstly, the differences in the distribution of the indications relating to complicated and expensive procedures concerning coming to and staying in Poland result from the fact that foreigners taking up employment in agriculture and health service, as a rule, come to Poland ‘on their own’. Usually they are citizens of states of the former USSR, who – so as to cross the border – must comply with plenty of formalities. In turn, foreign workers in the branches of industry and construction industry more and more often make use of services offered by employment agencies which take on themselves the duty of arranging some or most of the formal matters. Secondly, the high share of foreigners employed in health service who point to complicated and costly procedures related to employing foreigners most probably results from the requirement of their going through the obligatory procedure of recognition of their professional qualifications. Thirdly, the relatively frequent appearance of the choices indicating poor housing and work conditions, as well as intolerance and worse treatment in comparison with native workers, as pointed to by those employed in the branches of industry and construction industry, results from the specific nature of these sectors.<sup>238</sup>

There was also a comparison made between the answers obtained from the foreign workers in legal and illegal employment (Table 8.3).

**Table 8.3**

Factors hampering foreign workers’ taking up employment in Poland, as regards the legal form of their employment\*

Factors that make taking up employment difficult	Workers’ indications					
	The legally employed		The illegally employed		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Problems with communicating in the Polish language	143	65.9	1	10.0	144	63.4
Complicated/costly procedures of coming to and staying in the country	32	14.7	4	40.0	36	15.9
Complicated/costly procedures of employing foreigners	19	8.8	0	0.0	19	8.4
Poor housing conditions	9	4.1	5	50.0	14	6.2
Hard work conditions	16	7.4	0	0.0	16	7.0
Intolerance/racism	3	1.4	0	0.0	3	1.3

<sup>238</sup> Similar problems affected Poles who, in the 1980s and the 1990s, left for Germany to look for work. It was not a rare thing that they were accommodated in containers, worked for most of the day and beyond their capacity, performing jobs in bad weather conditions.

Worse treatment of foreigners than domestic workforce in the company	6	2.8	0	0.0	6	2.6
Difficulties in crossing the border and going through the customs clearance	37	17.1	6	60.0	43	18.9
Other difficulties	10	4.6	2	20.0	12	5.3
No difficulties	20	9.2	1	10.0	21	9.3

\* There is more than answer possible.

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The respondents in illegal employment chose, among others, the difficulty in finding accommodation – 50% of the responses (5 indications). The questioned explained that due to the fact that they were foreigners they met with refusals when looking for a flat or room to rent. It happened that they were forced to live in construction sites where they worked. Finding accommodation was much easier in the case of those working legally. Moreover, 60% of the choices (6 indications) made by the respondents in illegal employment pointed to the difficulty in crossing the border and going through the customs. As many as 40% of the responses given by the illegally employed foreigners (4 indications) concerned complicated/costly procedures relating to their coming to and staying in Poland. On the other hand, those in illegal employment did not point to the options of complicated and expensive procedures of employing foreigners, hard work conditions, intolerance/racism, or worse treatment of foreigners than domestic workforce.

## **8.2. Proposals of changes to facilitate taking up employment in Poland**

The research of wage-earning emigration was also aimed at obtaining information necessary to offer suggestions as to changes which would make it easier for foreigners to take up employment in Poland. Accordingly, in the survey questionnaire designed for workers there was included the following question of the open character: “What would make coming to, staying and working in Poland easier?”

It follows from the general juxtaposition of the obtained responses (Table 8.4) that the most welcome change would be shortening the time of waiting to have visas issued (20.3% – 46 indications). Foreign workers would also welcome a development of personnel recruitment services (15.9% – 36 indications) and limiting the load of formalities connected with employment of foreigners (10.1% – 23 indications). Some other ideas were offered less often, like the need to abolish visas (7.9% – 18 indications), decreasing bureaucracy and simplifying customs clearance (3.5% – 8 indications each), fuller opening of

the Polish labour market (2.2% – 5 indications), improvement of public communication and increasing the amount of information available in the English language in public places (1.8% – 4 indications), or changing the mentality of people (0.9% – 2 indications).

**Table 8.4**

Proposals of changes to facilitate taking up employment in Poland, as regards the division into the primary and secondary labour markets\*

Proposals of changes	Workers' indications					
	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Shorter time of waiting for a visa	4	13.8	42	21.2	46	20.3
Abolition of visas	1	3.4	17	8.6	18	7.9
Development of the sphere of personnel recruitment services	0	0.0	36	18.2	36	15.9
Full opening of the Polish labour market	3	10.3	2	1.0	5	2.2
Limiting formalities when looking for a job	2	6.9	21	10.6	23	10.1
Simplifying customs clearance procedures at the border	0	0.0	8	4.0	8	3.5
Better public communication	4	13.8	0	0.0	4	1.8
More information rendered in the English language available in public places	4	13.8	0	0.0	4	1.8
Less bureaucracy	8	27.6	0	0.0	8	3.5
Changing people's mentality	2	6.9	0	0.0	2	0.9
Other changes	2	6.9	6	3.0	8	3.5

\* There is more than answer possible.

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Nearly one third of the employed in the primary labour market (8 respondents) indicated that employment of foreigners in Poland would be made easier by decreasing the number of impeding factors of the formal nature (bureaucracy). Moreover, a number of foreign workforce (13.8% – 4 indications) would expect improvement in the system of public communication, as well as increasing the amount of information available in the English language in public places (bus stops, train or coach stations, offices, etc.). Four of the respondents would welcome shortening the time of waiting to have a visa issued, and another three suggested full opening of the labour market. The following ideas ranked further, regarding the number of responses: limiting formalities in connection with taking up employment (6.9% – 2 indications), changing people's mentality (6.9% – 2 indications) and abolition of visas (3.4% – 1 indication). Nearly 7% of the respondents (2 indications) chose other changes,



among which they listed lowering the rent of flats and increasing the availability of bank loans available for foreigners to purchase their own flats. None of the respondents representing the primary job market suggested simplifying the customs clearance on the border. The changes proposed by this group of respondents concerned mainly simplifications in everyday life in Poland, and to a lesser extent related to taking up employment.

The respondents representing the secondary labour market declared slightly different expectations. The change that was most often postulated by them was shortening the time of waiting for a visa – 21.2% of the responses (42 indications). It needs noting that a fairly large group of foreign workers would welcome a development of the sphere of personnel recruitment services (over 18% – 36 indications) and limiting the formalities connected with taking up employment (10.6% – 21 indications). Furthermore, the respondents opted for abolition of visas (8.6% – 17 indications), simplification of the customs clearance procedures (4% – 8 indications), as well as full opening of the Polish job market to foreign workforce (1% – 2 indications). As regards other changes suggested by the questioned (3% – 6 indications), the most frequent was that of increasing the access to information on job offers. It can be thought that foreigners' knowledge about the labour market in Poland and, specifically, in Opole Region is not wide. Part of the surveyed had come to Opole Province taking advantage of recruitment agencies or had been recruited directly by Polish employers. The conditions of work, pay and accommodation did not always suit the foreign workers, yet the language barrier and lack of information about job offers made it impossible for them to change the job or look for another employer. Resigning from their jobs and returning home was not always possible for a large number of them, either. In the interviews with the respondents from Moldova it was found out that their coming to work in Poland was tied to substantial expenses, which included not only the fare, purchase of food and work clothes, but also – which they admitted unofficially – obligatory payments made to agents for finding them jobs in Poland.<sup>239</sup> The respondents postulated an easier access to the so-called Pole's Card.

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<sup>239</sup> On the basis of the interviews conducted with foreign workers it was established that in some cases the fee for finding a job amounted to Euro 500, or even Euro 1,000 per capita. Trading in declarations of intent to hire a foreign worker was also drawn attention to by *Okręgowy Inspektorat Pracy w Opolu* (District Inspectorate of Labour in Opole). In the report on the activity in the year 2008, it was mentioned that during an inspection of legal employment of foreigners it was found that foreign workers paid for the declarations in the countries of origin, which made it possible for them to obtain visas and enter the Schengen zone. Later, only part of those people undertook to work for the employer who had issued the declaration. Moreover, it was discovered that some firms were set up solely for the purpose of issuing such declarations.

An analysis of the postulated changes was also made with respect to the legal and illegal forms of employment of the respondents (Table 8.5).

**Table 8.5**

Proposals of changes to facilitate taking up employment in Poland, as regards the legal form of employment\*

Proposals of changes	Workers' indications					
	Legal employment		Illegal employment		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Shorter time of waiting for a visa	45	20.7	1	10.0	46	20.3
Abolition of visas	15	6.9	3	30.0	18	7.9
Development of the sphere of personnel recruitment services	36	16.6	0	0.0	36	15.9
Full opening of the Polish labour market	5	2.3	0	0.0	5	2.2
Limiting formalities when looking for a job	22	10.1	1	10.0	23	10.1
Simplifying customs clearance procedures on the border	6	2.8	2	20.0	8	3.5
Better public communication	4	1.8	0	0.0	4	1.8
More information rendered in the English language available in public places	4	1.8	0	0.0	4	1.8
Less bureaucracy	8	3.7	0	0.0	8	3.5
Changing people's mentality	2	0.9	0	0.0	2	0.9
Other changes	5	2.3	3	30.0	8	3.5

\* There is more than answer possible.

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The respondents in illegal employment pointed to the necessity of abolishing visas (30% – 3 indications), simplifying the customs clearance procedures on the border (20% – 2 indications), shortening the time of waiting to have a visa issued and limiting the number of formalities in connection with taking up employment (10% – 1 indication each). As regards 'other changes', 30% of those employed illegally (3 indications) suggested 'better' treatment on the part of the Polish police.<sup>240</sup>

### 8.3. Prospects of further taking up employment in Opole Province

In order to obtain fuller information concerning the prospects of employment of foreigners in the labour market of Opole Province it was necessary to establish whether foreign workforce gained additional benefits due to the fact that they stayed and worked in Poland. Table 8.6 includes the respective results.

<sup>240</sup> The respondents were often checked by police officers who – most probably – suspected the former of taking up illegal employment in Poland, having crossed the border on the basis of a tourist visa, or holding a visa which permitted them to work but had already expired.

**Table 8.6**

Additional benefits obtained by foreigners in legal employment, as regards the division into the primary and secondary labour markets

Additional benefits obtained by the respondents	Workers' indications			
	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market	
	Number	%	Number	%
Working in Poland, I do not obtain any other benefits than my regular pay.	19	65.5	155	82.5
Working in Poland, I obtain benefits other than my regular pay.	10	34.5	33	17.5

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Those employed in both the primary and the secondary labour markets, in their decisive majority, claimed that working in Poland, they did not obtain any other benefits. This option was chosen by 65.5% of the respondents in the primary sector (19 indications) and 82.5% of the questioned (155 indications) working in the secondary one.

Over 34% of the surveyed (10 respondents) employed in the primary labour market, however, declared that they enjoyed other benefits while working in Poland. They mentioned, among others, making new contacts and acquaintances, getting to know the new country, having a chance for a more dynamic development of their professional careers than it would be possible at home, as well as mastering the Polish language.

On the other hand, among the respondents in the secondary labour market only 17.5% of them (33 indications) declared that they obtained extra benefits while working in Poland. Those which were indicated most frequently included: the possibility of learning the Polish language, an opportunity of learning a profession and emigration as a chance to make new contacts.

The question about benefits obtained while working in Poland was also asked to foreigners taking up jobs illegally. The juxtaposition of the responses given by the latter and those from the respondents in legal employment is contained in Table 8.7.

**Table 8.7**

Additional benefits obtained by foreigners, as regards the legal form of their employment

Additional benefits obtained by the respondents	Workers' indications			
	Legally employed		Illegally employed	
	Number	%	Number	%
Working in Poland, I do not obtain any other benefits than my regular pay.	170	78.3	4	40.0
Working in Poland, I obtain benefits other than my regular pay.	47	21.7	6	60.0

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Most of the respondents (60% – 6 indications) who were taking up illegal employment declared that while working in Poland they obtained extra benefits, which – first of all – included the chance to learn the Polish language and making new contacts and acquaintances, the latter – in turn – facilitating finding successive jobs in the future. For comparison, over 78% of the questioned in legal employment declared that beside their pay they did not have extra benefits. The obtained results once again confirm the importance of networks of contacts in the process of making the decision to go on wage-earning emigration abroad. Consequently, this confirms also the observations by, among others, D. Gurak and F. Caces, who identified the most vital functions of social migration networks.

The surveyed were asked about their intentions to take up employment in Opole Region in the future, as well. The distribution of the answers given by the examined representing the primary and the secondary labour markets is presented in Table 8.8.

**Table 8.8**

Respondents' inclination towards taking up employment in Opole Province in the future, as regards the primary and secondary labour markets

Respondents' inclination towards taking up employment in Province in the future	Workers' indications			
	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market	
	Number	%	Number	%
I do not intend to take up employment in Opole Region in the future	2	6.9	22	11.1
I intend to continue to work in Opole Region	12	41.4	142	71.7
I would like to stay in Poland on the permanent basis	15	51.7	34	17.2

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

Over half the respondents (51.7%) employed in the primary labour market declared the will to stay in Poland on the permanent basis. As many as 41% of the examined (12 indications) intended to continue working in Opole Province, whereas 6.9% of them (2 indications) did not want to stay in Opole Region.

In turn, those employed in the secondary job market, in their decisive majority, wanted to continue working in Opole Province – 71.7% of the respondents (142 indications). Slightly more than 17% of the surveyed (34 indications) would stay in Poland on the permanent basis, and 11.1% of the questioned did not want to work in Opole Region.

The obtained results show differences between workers in the primary and the secondary labour markets. The former chose to work abroad since they looked for a way/place to live. The other group were typical wage-earning

emigrants who – primarily – were interested in the chance to earn money, and – to a lesser extent – were ready to settle in the country they came to.

An analysis concerning the respondents' inclination to continue working in Opole Province as regards the legal form of employment was made as well (Table 8.9).

**Table 8.9**

Respondents' inclination towards taking up employment in Opole Province in the future, as regards the legal form of employment\*

Respondents' inclination towards taking up employment in Province in the future	Workers' indications			
	Legal employment		Illegal employment	
	Number	%	Number	%
I do not intend to take up employment in Opole Region in the future	24	11.1	0	0.0
I intend to continue to work in Opole Region	151	69.6	7	70.0
I would like to stay in Poland on the permanent basis	48	22.1	3	30.0

\* Respondents employed legally marked more than one option.

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

The decisive majority (70% – 7 indications) of the respondents in illegal employment intended to continue working in Opole Region, and 30% of the questioned (3 indications) would stay in Poland on the permanent basis. None of the surveyed in the 'grey zone' declared to cease to take up employment in Opole Province.

Verifying the extent to which the surveyed foreigners treated Poland and Opole Province as the target destination of their wage-earning emigration was of the key importance, from the point of view of Opole and Poland's labour markets. The examined were asked the following question: "Would you take advantage – in case such an occasion materialized – of a job offer in West-European states?" The answers obtained from the respondents employed in the secondary labour market are presented in Table 8.10.

It follows from the overall juxtaposition that over half the examined (53.7% – 101 indications) would take up employment in West European countries if they were offered such an opportunity. Nearly 30% of the surveyed (55 indications) were not able to give an answer to the question, and 17% of the respondents (32 indications) answered in the negative. It can be thus inferred that foreigners working now in the secondary segment of the labour market will not be interested in being employed in Poland if the countries of the old European Union should open their labour markets to them.

The presentation of the answers obtained from the foreigners employed in the primary labour market in the table form has been omitted here, since the majority of respondents (21 in 29) had an unlimited access to employment

**Table 8.10**  
 Inclination of respondents in legal employment in the secondary labour market to undertaking work in countries of Western Europe in the future, as regards branches of employment

The intention to take up employment in West-European countries	Branch of employment									
	Construction industry		Industry		Agriculture		Services		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Yes	26	44.8	71	59.7	4	50.0	0	0.0	101	53.7
No	13	22.4	15	12.6	3	37.5	1	33.3	32	17.0
Hard to tell	19	32.8	33	27.7	1	12.5	2	66.7	55	29.3

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

in West-European countries. Accordingly, asking them this question was of no use. The question was asked exclusively to foreigners from Ukraine (medical doctors and nurses) and Russia (the employed in industry). Six respondents declared that they would seize the opportunity of taking up employment in one of the West-European countries. Only two of them would not decide to do so. This result also points to the interest on the part of foreign workers who held higher qualifications in taking up employment in the countries of the old European Union, where wages are higher than those offered in Poland.

The analysis which was made regarding the branches of employment shows that 44.8% of the respondents (26 indications) employed in construction industry would take up jobs in one of the West-European countries. Over 32% of the respondents (19 indications) were not able to give an answer to this question, and 24.4% of the questioned (13 indications) were not ready to look for employment in Western Europe. In turn, nearly 60% of those working in industry (71 indications) would be interested in getting jobs in the countries of the 'old' European Union, 27.7% of the surveyed (33 indications) were not decided, and 12.6% (15 indications) would not be willing to work in Western Europe. Among the surveyed foreigners employed in agriculture, 50% of the questioned (4 indications) would be ready to take up employment in Western Europe if a chance to do so should occur. As many as 37.5% of the respondents (3 indications) would not do so, and one foreigner in the group could not answer the question in a decisive way.

The answers given by the respondents in illegal employment, concerning their readiness to take jobs in West-European countries, are presented in Table 8.11.

**Table 8.11**

Inclination of respondents in illegal employment to taking up work in countries of Western Europe in the future, as regards branches of employment

Intention to take up work in countries of Western Europe	Branch of employment			
	Construction industry	Agriculture	Services	Total
Yes	6	1	1	8
No	0	0	1	1
Hard to tell	0	1	0	1

Source: Author's own elaboration on the basis of research results

A large majority of the questioned (8 indications) would take up jobs in countries of the Western Europe. Only one respondent answered in the negative and only one was not able to decisively answer the question.





## Conclusions

The research which was carried out made it possible to determine a series of factors that are decisive to taking up employment in Opole Province.

The group of examined foreigners included nearly 60% of people ranging between 26 and 45 years of age, that is being at the height of their professional activity. The group was dominated by men who made over 76% of the respondents, which can mean that in Opole Province it is much easier for foreign workforce to find employment in traditionally masculine jobs. The main branches offering employment to foreigners are industry and construction industry, where over 82% of the surveyed were working.

It was established that as many as 60% of the foreigners in the primary labour market had already worked in the Region before 2005 and also in the 1990s. This can point to the fact that their employment is of the long-term character, resulting from their specific qualifications (e.g. teaching languages). On the other hand, the decisive majority of respondents employed in the secondary labour market (as many as 85%) took up jobs in Poland after 2004, that is following Poland's accession to the European Union. It cannot be excluded that this can be related to the growing deficits in the number of workforce in the labour markets in Poland and in Opole Province.

The research has proved that they are different factors which are decisive to taking up employment by foreigners in the primary and secondary labour markets.

Those employed in the secondary job market decide to go on wage-earning emigration because of the possibility to earn higher wages abroad than at home. The choice of Poland as the country to look for a job is the result of its location at a relatively short distance from their countries of origin, which is naturally connected with relatively low costs of their passage. In turn, to those working in the primary labour market the decisive motive to undertake migration is their desire of gaining new experience and the choice of Poland often comes from their wish to learn the Polish language. Thus, if – in the case of foreigners employed in the secondary labour market – the most significant are economic factors, then to those in the primary segment of the market the most vital is a chance to test themselves in a new situation. Hence, emigration for the other group is a kind of 'adventure', not a strictly wage-earning stay to improve the living conditions at home.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that foreigners working in the primary labour market do not emigrate to earn higher wages, their average monthly net migrant's pay amounts to slightly over PLN 5,303 and is nearly twice as high as that available to their counterparts in the secondary job market, whose average monthly pay is PLN 2,933. This disproportion can be tied to the kinds of jobs performed by the two groups of workforce: the former hold chiefly managerial posts (mainly in companies with foreign capital) or are language teachers, while the latter are employed as regular workers (often unskilled ones). The results of the research concerning mean net pay possible to obtain by the respondents in the countries of their origin point to the fact that those working in the primary labour market could receive about PLN 6,404 (converted into the Polish currency) at home, that is by over PLN 1,100 more than is available to them while working in Poland. On the other hand, the mean net pay which is available to foreign workforce employed in the secondary segment of the labour market at home reached the level of *c.* PLN 915, while their minimum migrant's pay was three times higher.

The research proved also that employing a foreigner in the secondary labour market is connected with additional encumbrances and duties on the part of the employer. Over 86% of the respondents pointed to the fact that their employers secured free housing to them, and over 28% claimed that they were provided with sustenance as well. The employed in the primary labour market were normally not offered additional benefits or perks apart from the regular pay (over 72%). This means that they must be more self-reliant (e.g. to find accommodation), whereas those working in the secondary segment of the labour market are under a greater 'care' of their employers. In many cases such a support is a necessity, since foreigners employed in the secondary labour market – because of the financial and language barriers – would find it difficult to, for instance, find accommodation on their own. It needs to be remarked that the language barrier was indicated by foreign workers (both in the primary and secondary labour markets) as the main factor that hampers their taking up employment in Poland. This can be a signal that it is worth providing foreigners with a chance to learn the Polish language or employing people in offices, whose job would be to extend help to foreigners in case the latter encounter problems with communication.

Most of the foreign workforce in the secondary sector – which was confirmed by the conducted research – treat Poland and Opole Province solely as a stop on the road to countries of Western Europe, where wages – for the time being – are higher. Over half of the examined would take up jobs in one of the countries of the 'old' EU if only such an opportunity should occur. Poland is thus treated as a temporary workplace. It is worth underlining that those employed

in the primary sector of the job market tend to be more willing to stay in Poland on the permanent basis.

The research was extended over foreigners in illegal employment, too. Due to the fact that this group of respondents was fairly scanty the results are of the complementary character. All the respondents came from Ukraine, and the reason why they emigrated was the lack of work in their native country. They had chosen Poland because there were no chances to find jobs in another country offering higher wages and had come to Opole Region because their relations and acquaintances were here. In most cases they found employment through private contacts, which confirms the truth that taking up illegal employment is founded on migration networks. The decision to emigrate is often taken, basing on the 'backup' of the presence of relations and acquaintances.

The majority of foreigners employed illegally indicated difficulty in crossing the border and going through the customs clearance as the main factors hampering their taking up employment in Poland. The examined also declared their readiness to continue to work in Opole Province and the intention of taking jobs in West-European countries if such an opportunity should occur.

The results of the research allow believing that within a span of several years foreign workforce can be a solution (at least partially) to problems faced by the Polish labour market, the most significant of which will be structural maladjustments (already visible at present) resulting from the rise in the number of population holding higher education and a decrease in the number of those with basic vocational education. The second problem are demographic changes consisting in ageing of society and a drop in the number of population available for work. The growing demand for foreign workforce is also drawn attention to by the authors of a research project realized at the Centre of Research into Migrations. It follows from it that currently there are about 70 thousand foreigners working in Poland, while the potential demand is nearly seven times higher, being estimated at 535 thousand people.<sup>241</sup>

Until now a lot of attention was devoted to emigration processes in Poland, while immigration has been treated marginally. The significance of the latter, however, both for Poland and for the whole of Europe can be on the rise, seeing that the demographic prognoses are unpromising.<sup>242</sup> In the light of the

<sup>241</sup> I. Grabowska-Lusińska, „Skala i struktura popytu na pracę cudzoziemców w Polsce w świetle przeprowadzonych badań”, [in:] I. Grabowska-Lusińska and A. Żylicz (eds.), *Czy polska gospodarka potrzebuje cudzoziemców?*, Warszawa 2008, p. 63.

<sup>242</sup> According to demographic prognoses for the EU, in the year 2040 the number of inhabitants of the countries of the European Commonwealth will decrease from 344 million (at the beginning of the 1990s) to 304 million. The number of the population available for work, which in 1990 amounted to 155 million, can amount to merely 118 million people in 2040 – the quote from: K. Iglicka, *Członkostwo Polski w Unii Europejskiej a migracje...*, p. 4.

above, wage-earning immigration can turn out to be of paramount importance to the labour markets of Poland and Opole Province. Therefore, it is indispensable to think how to adjust the law so that foreign workforce could contribute to the economic development. A good step towards this is the document entitled *Polityka migracyjna Polski – stan obecny i postulowane działania* (The migration policy of Poland – the present state and postulated actions) which contains recommendations relating to directing immigration and in which a special emphasis is laid on satisfying the needs of the labour market.

Undoubtedly, the present work does not exhaust the problem area of wage-earning immigration, still it points to the need for conducting further systematic research – especially within the economic sphere. The author hopes that the presented results of her empirical research make a step forward towards establishing the factors behind employment of foreigners and show what role is played by foreign workforce in the labour market of Opole Region.

There appear also other questions concerning foreign workers, among others, ones about the manner of redistribution of wages obtained in Poland, about the height of taxes paid and eventual making use of the system of social security and health protection. An attempt should be made, too, at determining how many foreign workers could be admitted in Poland (or Opole Province) and what qualifications they should hold. It seems necessary to make detailed analyses relating to employment of foreign workforce in individual branches, like construction industry, industry or health service.

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# Annex





## Interview Questionnaire

1. **What is the reason why you decided to take up employment outside your native country?**
  - a. possibility of obtaining higher wages outside my country
  - b. lack of job in my native country
  - c. lack of possibilities of taking up employment in my profession
  - d. another reason (*please state*) .....
  
2. **What is the reason why, having decided to find employment abroad, you chose Poland? (more than one answer possible)**
  - a. lack of opportunity to take up employment in another country offering higher wages than in Poland
  - b. relatively short distance between my home and Poland or low costs, short time of passage
  - c. knowledge of the Polish language
  - d. another reason (*please state*) .....
  
3. **Why did you decide to find employment in Opole Region? (more than one answer possible)**
  - a. my acquaintances/relatives are working here
  - b. I was offered higher wages than in other parts of Poland
  - c. due to the need for workforce on the part of companies based in Opole Region
  - d. another reason (*please state*) .....
  
4. **How did you find the job in Poland? (more than one answer possible)**
  - a. through private contacts
  - b. I found a job offer put up by the company
  - c. I was delegated by the company for which I work
  - d. in another way (*please state*) .....
  
5. **When – for the first time – did you work in Poland?** In the year .....
  
6. **What branch are you employed in (while staying in Opole Province)?**
  - a. construction industry
  - b. industry
  - c. agriculture or horticulture
  - d. services (including household aid, care of children and elderly citizens)
  - e. education
  - f. another (*please state*) .....

- 7. **What has caused you the most difficulty during your stay and taking up employment in Poland?** (*more than one answer possible*)
  - a. language problems
  - b. complicated/costly procedures relating to the coming and staying in Poland
  - c. complicated/costly procedures relating to employment
  - d. hard housing conditions
  - e. hard work conditions
  - f. intolerance/racism
  - g. worse treatment than that of Poles employed in the same company
  - h. difficulty crossing the border and going through the customs clearance
  - i. other difficulty (*please state*) .....
  
- 8. **Do you, working and staying in Poland, obtain other benefits beside your wages?**
  - a. no
  - b. yes (*please state what*) .....
  
- 9. **What expenses relating to your passage to Poland and your stay here are covered by the Polish employer?**
  - a. board
  - b. accommodation
  - c. transfer
  - d. other (*please state*) .....
  
- 10. **How much could you earn while working in your native country?**  
.....
  
- 11. **What is the net monthly wage that you would be ready to accept to continue working in Opole Region?** .....
  
- 12. **What would make your coming and taking up employment in Opole Region easier?** .....
  
- 13. **Do you intend to take up employment in Opole Region in the future?**
  - a. no
  - b. yes
  - c. I would like to stay in Poland on the permanent basis
  
- 14. **Would you use, should such an opportunity occur, an offer of a job in states of Western Europe (e.g. Germany, Great Britain)?**
  - a. yes
  - b. no
  - c. hard to tell

**Personal data:**

Age group (years):

- a. 18–25      b. 26–35      c. 36–45      d. 46–55      e. 56–65

**Gender:**

- a. male      b. female

**The commune in Opole Province, where the respondent is employed**

.....

**Country of origin:**

- a. Ukraine    b. Moldova    c. Byelorussia    d. Germany    e. Great Britain  
f. another (*please state*) .....

**Education:**

- a. elementary    b. basic vocational    c. secondary    d. higher

**Profession learned:**

.....



## WAGE-EARNING IMMIGRATION INTO OPOLE PROVINCE. THE SCALE, CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS

### Summary

The aim of the monograph entitled *Wage-Earning Immigration Into Opole Province. The Scale, Conditions and Prospects* is to establish factors which are decisive to taking up employment by foreigners in Poland and in Opole Province, as well as to find out about the work conditions and wages, and also hindrances to finding employment in Poland. The research which was carried out in Opole Province and whose results have been presented in this work, was meant to realize the following goals:

1. Determine the branches and professions, where foreign workforce most often find employment.
2. Settle the reasons which cause foreigners to decide to go on wage-earning emigration and also the factors which determine the choice of Poland and Opole Province as their workplace.
3. Determine the work conditions offered to foreigners, including the obtained wages.
4. Determine whether foreigners are still inclined to work in Opole Province.

In the work, results of research conducted among foreigners working legally in Opole Province have been presented. They were complemented with results of research carried out among foreign workers doing jobs illegally in this same region.

The monograph consists of eight chapters. The first one opens with defining and categorizing the notion of migration. Then, the typology of migrants is presented and factors influencing the decision to emigrate are discussed, concentrating attention on the foreigners' labour market. In the second chapter, selected theories of migration and open labour market are discussed: their synthetic characteristics and making use mainly in the context of an inflow of foreign workforce are presented. The third chapter deals with research output in the field of wage-earning immigration in Poland from the beginnings of the sociopolitical system transformation in 1989. The first subchapter presents the relevant research conducted before 2004, that is before Poland's accession to the European Union, while the second one includes the knowledge in the area of wage-earning immigration obtained after 2004. The fourth chapter presents the formal-legal conditions of employing foreigners and discusses the scope and quality of statistical data relating to workers' immigration into Poland. The next chapter – the fifth one – is devoted to the migration-specific character of Opole Province. The influence of processes of the Region's citizens' emigration on the situation in the regional labour market, as well as eventual transformation of Opole Province into a migration Region are discussed. An essay is also made at showing the relation between the labour market of Opole Region and the structure of employment of foreign workforce. The last three chapters are based on results of the conducted research. Accordingly, the sixth chapter discusses the methodology of the empirical research: difficulties accompanying the research are presented and the manner of selecting the research sample is

determined. Then, the course of research and the content of the research questionnaire are presented, followed by the characteristics of the surveyed foreigners in legal and illegal employment. The motives which govern foreign workforce while taking the decision to find employment outside their native countries, in Poland and in Opole Province, are presented. The seventh chapter contains results of the research concerning work conditions and wages earned by foreigners. This information is complemented by presentation of the height of wages possible to earn in the respondents' countries of origin. The eighth chapter is devoted to an analysis of factors which – in foreigners' opinions – hamper taking up employment in Poland, as well as to presentation of postulates of changes in regulations concerning employment of foreigners, which were submitted by foreign workers. Conclusions related to prospects of employing foreigners in Opole Province are also formulated.

The conducted research has allowed indicating a methodological conclusion. It has been determined that analyses concerning employment of foreigners should be made, taking into account the division into the primary (the group of 'better/more prestigious and profitable' jobs) and the secondary (the group of 'worse/lower-paid/less prestigious' jobs) segments of the labour market.

On the basis of the conducted research one can point to the following factors that condition the wage-earning immigration into Opole Province:

1. There occurs a shortage of workers in certain branches, which creates the demand for external workforce.
2. There occurs a more and more visible segmentation of the labour market: branches considered to be less prestigious and low-paid, or providing low safety standard, are more and more often avoided by the native workforce, which creates the demand for immigrants' work.
3. There are progressing more and more prominent changes within the structure of inhabitants' education, resulting from the rise in the number of graduates from colleges of higher education and the decrease in that of those completing vocational schools. This causes a drop in the interest in taking up the so-called 'labourers' jobs' and those where qualifications are not required.
4. Development of services relating to recruitment of foreign workers also facilitates taking the decision to migrate.
5. Migration is fueled by the existence of informal migrants' networks. They contribute to a reduction of economic and extra-economic costs of migration, as well as facilitate the inflow of workers.

# IMIGRACJA ZAROBKOWA DO WOJEWÓDZTWA OPOLSKIEGO. SKALA, WARUNKI I PERSPEKTYWY

## Streszczenie

Celem pracy pt: „Imigracja zarobkowa do województwa opolskiego. Skala, warunki i perspektywy” jest ustalenie czynników decydujących o podejmowaniu przez obcokrajowców pracy w Polsce i w województwie opolskim, a także poznanie warunków ich pracy i płacy oraz utrudnień związanych z podejmowaniem zatrudnienia w Polsce. W badaniach przeprowadzonych w województwie opolskim, których wyniki zaprezentowane zostały w niniejszej pracy, postawiono następujące cele:

1. Ustalenie branż i zawodów, w których najczęściej znajdują zatrudnienie obcokrajowcy.
2. Ustalenie powodów, które sprawiają, że cudzoziemcy decydują się na emigrację zarobkową, a także czynników przesądzających o wyborze Polski i województwa opolskiego jako miejsca pracy.
3. Ustalenie oferowanych obcokrajowcom warunków pracy, w tym uzyskiwanych wynagrodzeń.
4. Ustalenie, czy cudzoziemcy nadal skłonni byłiby pracować w województwie opolskim.

W pracy przedstawiono wyniki badań przeprowadzonych wśród cudzoziemców pracujących legalnie w województwie opolskim, które zostały uzupełnione o badania przeprowadzone wśród obcokrajowców pracujących na Opolszczyźnie nielegalnie.

Opracowanie składa się z ośmiu rozdziałów. Rozdział pierwszy rozpoczęto od zdefiniowania i kategoryzacji pojęcia migracji. Przedstawiono także typologię migrantów oraz omówiono czynniki wpływające na decyzję migracyjną, koncentrując uwagę na rynku pracy cudzoziemców. W rozdziale drugim omówiono wybrane teorie migracji i otwartego rynku pracy. Zaprezentowano ich syntetyczną charakterystykę i wykorzystanie głównie w kontekście napływu zagranicznej siły roboczej. Rozdział trzeci obejmuje dorobek badawczy z zakresu imigracji zarobkowej do Polski od początku okresu transformacji ustrojowej w 1989 r. W pierwszym podrozdziale przedstawiono badania prowadzone przed 2004 r., czyli przed akcesją Polski do Unii Europejskiej. Natomiast w drugim zaprezentowano wiedzę z zakresu imigracji zarobkowych uzyskaną po 2004 r. W rozdziale czwartym zaprezentowano warunki formalnoprawne zatrudnienia obcokrajowców oraz omówiono zakres i jakość danych statystycznych dotyczących imigracji pracowniczej do Polski. Kolejny rozdział – piąty – poświęcono migracyjnej specyfice województwa opolskiego. Omówiono wpływ procesów emigracji mieszkańców regionu na sytuację na regionalnym rynku pracy oraz ewentualne przekształcenie się Opolszczyzny w województwo imigracyjne. Podjęto także próbę pokazania związku pomiędzy sytuacją na opolskim rynku pracy a strukturą zatrudnienia obcokrajowców. Trzy ostatnie rozdziały oparto na wynikach przeprowadzonych badań. W rozdziale szóstym omówiono metodykę przeprowadzonych badań empirycznych. Przedstawiono trudności towarzyszące badaniom, określono sposób

doboru próby badawczej, zaprezentowano przebieg badań oraz treść kwestionariusza badawczego. Następnie scharakteryzowano badanych obcokrajowców pracujących legalnie i nielegalnie. Przedstawiono motywy jakimi kierują się cudzoziemscy pracownicy, podejmując decyzję o podjęciu pracy poza granicami swojego kraju, w Polsce oraz w województwie opolskim. W rozdziale siódmym przedstawiono wyniki badań dotyczące warunków pracy i wynagrodzenia uzyskiwanych przez obcokrajowców. Informacje te uzupełniono o prezentację wysokości płac możliwych do uzyskania w krajach pochodzenia badanych obcokrajowców. Rozdział ósmy poświęcono analizie czynników utrudniających, zdaniem obcokrajowców, podejmowanie pracy w Polsce oraz omówiono postulaty zmian w regulacjach dotyczących zatrudniania cudzoziemców zgłoszone przez zagranicznych pracowników. Sformułowano także wnioski dotyczące perspektyw zatrudniania obcokrajowców w województwie opolskim.

Przeprowadzone badania pozwoliły na wskazanie wniosku metodologicznego. Ustalono, że analizy dotyczące zatrudnienia obcokrajowców należy prowadzić, uwzględniając podział na pierwotny (segment pracy „lepszej”) i wtórny segment rynku pracy (segment pracy „gorszej”).

Na podstawie przeprowadzonych badań można wskazać następujące czynniki warunkujące imigrację zarobkową do województwa opolskiego:

1. Występuje niedobór pracowników w określonych branżach, który kreuje popyt na zewnętrzną siłę roboczą.
2. Występuje coraz wyraźniejsza segmentacja rynku pracy. Branże uważane za mało prestiżowe i nisko płatne lub dające niewielki standard bezpieczeństwa są coraz częściej omijane przez rodzimą siłę roboczą, co tworzy zapotrzebowanie na pracę imigrantów.
3. Następują coraz wyraźniejsze przemiany w strukturze wykształcenia mieszkańców wynikające ze wzrostu liczby absolwentów uczelni, a spadku liczby absolwentów szkół zawodowych. Powoduje to zmniejszanie się zainteresowania podejmowaniem tzw. prac „robotniczych” oraz prac nie wymagających kwalifikacji.
4. Rozwijanie się usług związanych z werbunkiem zagranicznych pracowników ułatwia decyzję o podjęciu migracji.
5. Migracji sprzyja istnienie nieformalnych sieci migranckich. Przyczyniają się one do redukcji ekonomicznych i pozaekonomicznych kosztów migracji oraz ułatwiają napływ pracowników.