

ECONOMIC IMMIGRATION TO POLAND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

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Introduction

Poland, as other countries of the Central-Eastern Europe, has been perceived for decades as a country producing both political and economic immigrants. Since 1989, the beginning of the process of political and economic transformation, the role of Poland in the migratory movements has been gradually changing; from sending, to transit and, eventually, destination country. This refers both to persons arriving in Poland for economic purposes, as well as individuals enjoying international protection, which since 1991—the year of the accession to the Geneva Convention and the New York Protocol—is institutionalized in Poland.

Each year dozens of millions of foreigners cross the Polish border. In 2002, over 51 millions incomers entered the territory of Poland, while in 2005 this number increased to over 65 millions.¹ Some of those foreigners wish to and undertake employment in Poland. In the first half of 2003, 13 313 non-citizens applied for the work permit and 9 798 of them succeeded. In the first half of 2005, 9 048 foreigners expressed the will to work legally in Poland and 5 270 obtained the permit to take up employment in Polish enterprises.²

The demand for a foreign labour force in Poland may seem to be a strange phenomenon, taking into consideration the situation on the labour market. The unemployment in Poland is constantly high. The registered unemployment rate in 1991 amounted to 9,7%; in 1995 it equalled to 14,9% and in 2002 – 18,1%. In the first quarter of 2006, the unemployment reached the level of 16,1%. Simultaneously, the number of working persons decreases. In 1990, the rate amounted to ca. 65%; in 1995 it was slightly below 60% to reach 54% in 2001.³

Foreigners are present in the Polish labour market, both in its legal and the “grey zone”. Legal economic migration to Poland is low; the number of incomers among the working persons in Poland amounts to

¹ Statistics of border crossings obtained from the reports published on the official website of the Polish Border Guard, http://www.strazgraniczna.pl/statys/stat_02; accessed on: 10.01.2007.

² data of the Ministry of Economy and Labour. It is necessary to note that the difference between 2003 and 2005 results, to a great extent, from the fact that as of the date of Poland’s accession to the EU, majority of employees coming from Member States did not have to possess a work permit to work in Poland.

³ Data for 2006: *Analiza sytuacji gospodarczej Polski w okresie I-IX 2006 r* (Analysis of Economic Situation of Poland in the Period I-IX 2006), Ministry of Economy, November 2006, p. 16; data for previous years quoted after: S. Golinowska, *Rynek pracy a procesy imigracji zarobkowej. Polska i kraje Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*, (Labour Market vs Economic Migration Processes. Poland and CEE States), << Polityka społeczna >> (Social Policy), No 3, March 2004, pp. 3-4.

0,1%.⁴ In the years 1990-2000 a total number of 115 000 work permits was issued.⁵ Despite the lack of official statistics, it is generally accepted that the illegal economic immigration is considerably higher. The estimated number of foreigners working in Poland illicitly ranges from 150 to 500 thousand yearly.⁶

This paper is devoted to the issue of economic immigration to Poland. The phenomenon of migration is multilayered – it can be examined in economic, demographic, social, political or cultural contexts – and, thus, it is difficult to talk about one theory of migration. Because of the limited volume of this paper, it is necessary to omit theoretical considerations on this matter. For the purpose of this article the economic migration shall mean undertaking by a foreigner – migrant – employment or other activities aimed at gaining income in a destination country. The Boehning definition assuming that international migration is a demand-driven flow of human resources⁷, provokes the focus on the examination of the phenomenon of demand for work of foreign labour force, basing on the theory of dual labour market, which links migration with the structure of the labour market and demand in the receiving country.⁸

This paper shall present structural changes in Poland, which determine the demand for the work of foreigners. In the subsequent part, an attempt shall be made at defining main trends in the field of legal employment of foreigners in Poland, basing upon an analysis of work permits issued. Lastly, the article shall briefly demonstrate research findings concerning illegal employment of foreigners in Polish households.

Reasons for the demand for foreign labour force in Poland

The economic immigration to Poland is a phenomenon which results from the process of transformation. The dual labour market, which emerged as a consequence of economic and social changes, is characterized by the demand for foreign labour force. This demand is caused by many factors, some of which are detailed in the subsequent section.

⁴ T. Kwiatkowski, ed., Chapter III, *Przemiany pracy w Polsce* (Employment Changes in Poland), in: *W trosce o pracę. Raport o Rozwoju Społecznym Polska 2004* (Caring for Work. Social Development Report Poland 2004), Warsaw, UNDP p. 76.

⁵ Quoted after: K. Iglicka, *The Foreign Labour Market in Poland*, in: *Migration and Labour Market in Poland and Ukraine*, edited by K. Iglicka, Warsaw, 2003, pp. 42-43.

⁶ Stanisława Golinowska mentions the number ranking from 150 to 500 thousand as an estimate of the Ministry of Economy and Labour (in: S. Golinowska, *Rynek pracy a procesy imigracji zarobkowej. Polska i kraje Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*, cit., p. 9. Andrzej Stachurski cites the number of 300-500 thousand (A. Stachurski, *Zatrudnienie cudzoziemców w Polsce (Employment of Foreigners in Poland)*, in *Dylematy Polityki Migracyjnej Polski (Dilemmas of Polish Migration Policy)*, Prace Migracyjne No 58, Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW, Warsaw, June 2005, p. 46).

⁷ A. Górný, P. Kaczmarczyk, *Uwarunkowania i mechanizmy migracji zarobkowych w świetle wybranych koncepcji teoretycznych* (Determinants and Mechanisms of Economic Migration in the Context of Selected Theoretical Concepts), in *Prace Migracyjne* (Migration Works), No 49, Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW, Warsaw, November 2003, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp.29-32.

One of the factors determining the demand for foreign labour force in Poland, as transformation country, were the changes in the employment share in particular sectors of the economy. The employment in agriculture and industry decreased in relation to the services sector. Employment in the latter grew from 43% in 1993 to ca. 50% in 2001, and ca. 55% in 2006, while the employment in agriculture dropped from 26% in 1993 to 19,2% in 2001 and to ca. 17% in 2006. In industry employment diminished from 31,1 % in 1993 to ca. 28% in 2006.⁹

Domestic labour force does not adjust adequately quickly to the new situation, so foreigners work both on the primary and secondary market. In industry, foreigners find employment both at posts that require high qualifications, which lack in Poland, and as general operatives – positions which are not attractive for the Polish workers. Despite high employment of domestic workers, the demand for foreign labour exists also in agriculture. Work in this sector involves, to a great extent, seasonal jobs, which are not attractive for Poles due to the lack of stability, low prestige and low remuneration. The highest demand for foreign labour is noted in the services sector. Highly-specialised workers are needed e.g. in banking and finance, education and consulting. There is also a high demand for care and nursing works. In this case considerable importance may be attributed to foreign workers' flexibility with regard to working time and form of employment (most often in a household), which do not suit the domestic labour force. The same refers to unqualified workers, dealing with renovation and construction services or catering business.¹⁰

The increase in productivity is also an important factor. In the years 1992-1999 work productivity in Poland was rising by 5% yearly on average – new work places which require the application of new technologies are more productive. This phenomenon involves the demand for highly-qualified workers.

Since the nineties, an increase in labour resources is noted in Poland, which is related to demographic trends. In the years 1990-2001 the population in productive age grew from 57,5% to 61,9% of total population. The beginning of the twenty-first century is a period when individuals born during the demographic peak of the eighties enter the market.¹¹ Despite this fact there are serious problems connected with the lack of adjustment, in terms of education, of this potential to the needs of the labour market.

In recent years, an increase in the field of higher education was observed in Poland. In the years 1993-2001 the share of professionally active people with higher education grew by almost 7 percentage points – from 10,5 to 17,1.¹² In 2003, the number of individuals admitted to higher education

⁹ S. Golinowska, *Rynek pracy a procesy migracji zarobkowej. Polska i kraje Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*, cit. pp. 3–4; data for 2006: *Polska 2006. Raport o stanie gospodarki* (Poland 2006. Report on the Condition of Economy), Ministry of Economy, Warsaw, 2006, pp. 324-325; <http://www.mgip.gov.pl/NR/rdonlyres/05AD8997-E00A-4D15-89A3-FC516AE7EB40/26760/raportostaniegospodarki.pdf>

¹⁰ *ibidem*, pp. 4-5; S. Golinowska, *Przemiany pracy i sytuacji na rynku pracy* (Changes in Work and Situation of the Labour Market), in: *Raport społeczny Polska 2005 (Social Report Poland 2005)*, Fundacja im. Friedricha Eberta, 2005, p. 90.

¹¹ *Strategia rozwoju kształcenia ustawicznego do roku 2010* (Strategy of Continuous Learning Till 2010), Ministry of National Education and Sport, 2003, website of the Ministry of National Education, http://www.menis.gov.pl/ksztzaw/strategia/strat_ust.php, accessed on: 10.01.2007.

¹² S. Golinowska, *Rynek pracy a procesy migracji zarobkowej. Polska i kraje Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*, cit., p. 5.

institutions was almost 466 thousand, while in 2004 it reached 507 thousand people.¹³ In 1990, the number of academic students per 10 thousand inhabitants amounted to 105, currently reaching the level of 450.¹⁴ However, in qualitative terms there exist problems, one of which is the lack of adequate reorientation of vocational training to market needs, both in relation to the training curricula and on-job-training. Moreover, life-long learning for adults is still poorly developed. In recent years, ca. 8-10% working persons in Poland continue education, while in other European Union countries this number amounts to ca. 20%. The government has undertaken actions in order to change this situation. In 2003, the Council of Ministers adopted "The Strategy on Life-long Learning till 2010". Its execution is aimed at making access to life-long learning universal and improving its quality in order to: <increase professional qualifications of human resources to meet the social and economic needs>, as well as promote active attitudes.¹⁵

An important determinant for the demand for foreign labour force is also a change in the structure of economic entities in Poland. Before the transformation, big state-owned enterprises were dominant. In 2003, private economic entities in Poland constituted ca. 80% of total number of enterprises, of which over 95 % were micro companies. Small enterprises generate the biggest number of work places. Enterprises employing up to 45 people together provided jobs for ca. 50% of labour force in Poland. Small enterprises seek, to a great extent, employees with vocational education to perform simple tasks, who are often not hired on the basis of a work contract (lack of access to social benefits) or illegally. Such conditions are often unacceptable to the domestic labour force. These solutions result mainly from the wish of employers to reduce the costs of work, which are high in Poland.¹⁶

As it was already mentioned, a high demand for the work (most often illegal) of foreigners is observed in households, mainly in nursing services and housekeeping. It results to a great extent from professional activity of women. The share of women in a group of working people in Poland in 2001 amounted to 45%.¹⁷ In 2002, 68% of women in productive age were professionally active, of which 67,8% possessed higher and secondary education.¹⁸ Simultaneously, the provision of nursing services by the state is limited. Working women need affordable help in running the house and care for children or the elderly. This demand is satisfied by foreigners.

¹³ Statistics of the Ministry of National Education, www.men.gov.pl/szk-wyz/statystyka/l-przyjetych.php, accessed on: 10.10.2005

¹⁴ S. Golinowska, *Przemiany pracy i sytuacji na rynku pracy*, cit. pp. 89-91.

¹⁵ *Strategia rozwoju kształcenia ustawicznego do roku 2010*, cit.

¹⁶ *Raport o stanie sektora MSP w Polsce w latach 2003-2004* (Report on the State of SME Sector in Poland 2003-2004), Ministry of Economy, Warsaw 2005, pp. 9, 10, 14, http://www.mgip.gov.pl/NR/rdonlyres/50CEB524-712E-4B1E-9350-670FC2C6B7CE/17329/stan_sektora_20032004.pdf; S. Golinowska, *Rynek pracy a procesy migracji zarobkowej. Polska i kraje Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*, cit., p. 6; A. Stachurski, op. cit. pp. 45-46.

¹⁷ S. Golinowska, *Rynek pracy a procesy migracji zarobkowej. Polska i kraje Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*, cit., p. 7.

¹⁸ I. Bałdyga, ed., *Kobiety w Polsce 2003* (Women In Poland 2003), Centrum Praw Kobiet, Warsaw, 2003, pp. 112-114.

Employment of foreigners in Poland

Legal employment of foreigners

Issues of employment of foreigners are regulated by the Act of 20 April 2000 on the Promotion of Employment and Institutions of the Labour Market (with amendments). The Act states that a foreigner may take up employment in Poland if he/she possesses a work permit issued by the Voivodship Marshall competent with regard to the employer's residence (art. 87.1).¹⁹ The condition for granting a work permit is obtaining a relevant promise by an employer and getting, by a foreigner, an adequate visa or a permit of stay for a definite period, and in the case of EU citizens – a certificate of stay registration or a card of stay of the EU citizen's family member. The Act defines in general the groups of foreigners that are exempted from the obligation of obtaining the permit; these are *i.a.* persons enjoying international protection, persons possessing the permit for settlement or residence, citizens of the EU and EEA, etc. (art. 87.1).²⁰

What is important, a competent Marshall issues a permit for work in Poland "taking into consideration the situation on the local labour market". The Marshall is entitled, in justified cases, to limit a type of work to managerial or representative functions. While making decision, the Marshall may also examine the usefulness of the entity for the labour market (art. 88.7). This solution is aimed at the protection of the Polish labour market and ensuring the "complementarity", which means that the foreign labour force may supplement solely the demand on the local labour market. At the same time, relevant regulation of the Minister of Economy, complementing provisions of the Act, defines in details professions for which the permit is not necessary or cases in which work permits are issued regardless the situation at the labour market.

Procedures of employing foreigners in Poland are long and expensive. The cost of obtaining the work permit is equal to the minimum remuneration (art. 88, it. 14 of the Act), which in 2006 amounted to 899,10 PLN (ca. 230 EURO).²¹ This impedes obtaining permits for e.g. works on the secondary labour market, which are often of temporary character. Despite high fines for both employers and employees, unprofitability and formal difficulties cause the development of the "grey market".²²

As previously mentioned, it is difficult to measure the real scale of work of foreigners in Poland, mainly due to the lack of data concerning illegal employment. The basis for analysis may be the data concerning issued work permits. Although such analysis provides solely a

¹⁹ Till January 1, 2007, a legal provision was binding that gave the right to issue work permits to Voivod – representative of the central administration, while Marshall is a self-governmental body.

²⁰ *Ustawa z dnia 20 kwietnia 2004 r. o promocji zatrudnienia i instytucjach rynku pracy (tekst ujednolicony)*, (Act of 20 April 2004 on Promotion of Employment and Institutions of Labour Market – unified version), OJ No 99, item 1001; <http://isip.sejm.gov.pl/servlet/Search?todo=file&id=WDU20040991001&type=3&name=D20041001Lj.pdf>, 10.01.2007.

²¹ *Rozporządzenie Rady Ministrów z dnia 13 września 2005 w sprawie wysokości minimalnego wynagrodzenia za pracę w 2006 roku* (Regulation of the Council of Ministers of 13 September 2005 on the Amount of Minimum Wage for 2006), OJ No 177, item 1468 and 1469, www.sejm.gov.pl, accessed on: 10.01.2007.

²² A. Stachurski, op. cit., pp. 42-46; K. Iglicka, op. cit., p. 41.

part of the picture of the employment of foreigners, it demonstrates trends in this respect – main countries of origin, sectors of employment or performed functions. In order to more fully present the situation, data from the first half of 2003 and same period of 2005 were compared.²³

In the first half of 2003 the total number of 9 043 work permits for foreigners were issued, out of which 7 686 for a period longer than 3 months. The most numerous group of permit holders constituted the citizens of Ukraine (1151), Germany (888), France (702) and United Kingdom (639). In the first half of 2005, 5 270 work permits were granted, including 5 023 for a period exceeding 3 months. Ukrainians were the biggest group with 1 188 work permits, followed by the citizens of Vietnam (756), Germany (289) and Belarus (248).

The data demonstrate certain differences between analyzed periods. In 2003, despite the fact that Ukrainians received most work permits, the biggest group constituted still the citizens of the states of the European Union. In 2005, citizens from the former Soviet Union and Asia dominated. Differences result mainly from the fact that the Polish law has changed with the accession of Poland to the European Union, and majority of the UE citizens were not obliged to possess a work permit to be employed in Poland.²⁴ It is note worthy that in both periods permits issued for the period exceeding 3 months were decisively dominant. This may be associated with the previously mentioned fact that because of costs and lengthy procedures employers wishing to hire seasonal workers bypass the law.

Data concerning employment of foreigners with regard to the company size reflect changes in the structure of economic entities operating in the Polish market. In both periods small and medium-size enterprises employed the biggest number of people. Smaller companies, functioning in the secondary market, employed mainly citizens coming from the former Soviet-Union and Asia. Citizens of the "Western countries" found employment mainly in bigger and biggest companies.

As far as the employment of foreigners according to the sector is concerned, in the first half of 2003, the biggest number of foreigners worked in the wholesale and retail trade (2251 persons). The second biggest group found employment in industrial processing (1806). 1 522 persons were legally employed in finance and real-estate sectors; in education – 987; hotel and restaurant services – 514; in construction – 401 and health care – 219. In the first half of 2005, the biggest number of legally employed foreigners – 1576 - worked in industrial processing sector, followed by employees of retail and wholesale trade businesses (1558). The financial and real-estate sector offered jobs to 504 persons. Restaurants and hotels employed 478 foreigners. In the sector of education – 318, health care and social care – 173 and construction – 167 work permits were issued for foreigners.

In the context of the function performed, the biggest number of work permits issued in 2003 went to employees holding managerial and advisory posts (6630). 1 123 permits were granted to teachers. For qualified workers – 977 and for unqualified ones – 148 permits were issued. In the same period of 2005, over a half of total number of permits (3320) was granted

²³ All data concerning employment of foreigners on the basis of work permits in 2003 and 2005 were obtained from the Ministry of Economy and Labour.

²⁴ In the analyzed period, the Act provided for the application of principles of mutuality towards the citizens of EU Member States that limited the access of Poles to their labour markets.

to managers and advisors. The number of permits issued for qualified workers amounted to 845, and for general operatives – 363.

The presented data demonstrate that foreigners were mainly employed in the sectors of industrial processing, trade and finance. To a great extent they held managerial and advisory functions, as well as those of qualified workers. It may indicate the lack of knowledge of new technologies and specialized skills among the Polish workers. It needs to be stressed also that the transfer of know-how and expertise from highly-developed countries was an important element of the process of transformation (e.g. EU aid programmes). It also needs to be kept in mind that the low number of permits issued to foreigners performing simple tasks may result from the fact that often they worked illegally and were employed directly by households.

Illegal employment of foreigners

The data on employment of foreigners in the “grey market” is practically unavailable. One of scarce sources of information on illegal work of foreigners are reports from inspections carried out by services of control of legality of employment. In 2003, it was discovered that 2 711 foreigners were working illegally in Poland. Majority of them worked in trade, services and construction sectors. Majority of them came from Ukraine (1378), followed by the citizens of Belarus (358), Bulgaria (323) and Armenia (158). It is interesting to note that the number of illegally employed Germans amounted to 37, Americans – 25, Swedes – 24 and the French - 20.²⁵

A valuable set of data was provided by a research executed in 2001 (questionnaire and interviews among employers), concerning the employment of foreigners in Polish households. Results demonstrated that around 90 thousand households employed foreign domestic help. This number does not reflect the number of foreigners employed, as one person might have worked in many households. According to the results only one person working in households examined had a work permit; two persons possessed a card of permanent stay. Around 75 % of domestic helps came from Ukraine, one in eight arrived from Belarus, and one in ten from the Russian Federation. In terms of status in the country of origin, the biggest group constituted the unemployed, and in this group almost 60% possessed higher education. The second biggest group were housewives. A considerable number of foreigners were involved in cleaning (34%), different house tasks (20%), agriculture (19%), followed by renovation works (11%), care for the elderly (10%) and children (6%).

The demand for foreign labour force in this sector results mainly from low work costs. Majority of employers hired a foreign domestic help because of low price of services (74%) and secondly because of good performance (38%). The demand is also shaped, as mentioned before, by the evolution of Polish households and the fact that Polish workers would not take up a job which has such a low prestige and requires flexibility for such low remuneration.²⁶

Conclusion

²⁵ Data come from the service *Pierwsza praca* (First job), www.lpraca.gov.pl, accessed on: 15.07.2005

²⁶ Z. Morecka, E. Domaradzka, *Zatrudnienie obcokrajowców w polskich gospodarstwach domowych* (Employment of Foreigners in Polish Households), in: <<*Polityka Społeczna*>>, No 3, 2003, pp. 17-19.

Examining the phenomenon of economic immigration and of the demand for foreign labour force it is worth to pay attention to the migratory situation of Poland. For fifty years, Poland has had a negative balance of external migration. The number of Poles deciding to leave the country is much higher than the one of foreigners wishing to settle in Poland. Data on this topic are divergent. Some estimates say that in the decade 1990-2000, 243 thousand of people left, while 75 thousand immigrated to Poland, majority of which were Polish citizens returning back home.²⁷ Official data of the Central Statistical Office (GUS) mention emigration in the amount of 162 thousand in the years 1996-2001 and immigration of ca. 72 thousand individuals.²⁸ According to the analysis from 2004, Poles leaving the country with an aim of settling abroad are to a great extent people in most-productive age (50% male in the 20-49 age group and ca. 60% of women in the same age). In case of immigrants still the greatest number constitute people in productive age – ca. 50% of men and 44% of women. In the years 1995-2001 an increase of ca. 14% was noted in the immigration of persons under the age of 20. What is interesting, in the analysed period 24 % of legal immigrants possessed higher education.²⁹

Unquestionably there exists the demand for foreign labour force in Poland. This state of affairs is the effect of changes, which took place during the transformation process. These included: changes in the share of employment in particular sectors of economy, increase in productivity, changes in structure of economic entities, lack of adaptation of qualifications of the Polish labour force to the needs of the new labour market, lack of flexibility, as well as social changes happening within households, connected with an increased professional activity of women.

Offering job to foreigners in the situation of unemployment gives rise to the opposition of the society. However, legally employed foreigners are not competitive to Polish employees – in line with legal provisions, in order to obtain a work permit in Poland, they are supposed to possess unique qualifications. In many cases, their skills enable small and medium enterprises' functioning – for example thanks to the ability to operate machinery based on modern technology they guarantee the efficiency of technological process. Also in big enterprises, the presence of foreigners causes better and faster growth of the company, generating new work places. The same refers to foreigners (experts, representatives), employed in foreign companies operating in the Polish market. It is also necessary to remember that thanks to foreign capital new work places are created.³⁰ In addition, it seems that

²⁷ *O sytuacji demograficznej kraju* (On the Demographic Situation of the State), information presented during the 26th session of Sejm (Lower House of Parliament), 17-19 July 2002, <<Kronika Sejmowa>>, No 34 (515)–2002; <http://kronika.sejm.gov.pl/kronika.2002/text/par-34-1.php?par=1&srtd=25#name125>, accessed on: 05.02.2007.

²⁸ *Założenia programu polityki ludnościowej w Polsce. Raport w sprawie polityki migracyjnej państwa* (Basis for the Programme of Population Policy in Poland. Report on Migratory Policy of the State), Instytut Pracy i Spraw Socjalnych, 2003, pp. 5-6. at <http://www.ipiss.com.pl/teksty/raport.doc>, accessed on: 09.02.2007.

²⁹ I. Koryś, *Poland – Dilemmas of a Sending and Receiving Country*, in: *Migration Trends in Selected Applicant Countries*, vol. III, International Organisation for Migration, 2004, pp. 22-23.

³⁰ M. Bednarski, *Polskie przedsiębiorstwa wobec społecznych wyzwań okresu transformacji i akcesji do Unii Europejskiej* (Polish Enterprises vs Social Challenges of Transformation and Accession to the European Union), in: <<E-gazeta>>, e-paper of the Ministry of

employing highly-specialized foreign workers in Poland provides opportunity and motivates Polish employees to improve their skills.

Taking into consideration needs of the Polish labour market and the development of the „grey market” it seems that there exists a necessity, at least, to change the method of work legalization. Procedures of permits’ issue need to be less costly and simple, what should induce employers to observe the law. A step towards this aim seems to be the decentralization of decision-making – since January 2007 the law transferred the competence to issue permits to the Voivodship Marshall, a self-governmental body. Moreover, it has to be remembered that legally employed foreigners pay taxes, generating the state budget revenues. Besides, the employment of foreigners seems to be advantageous taking into consideration the process of population aging, emigration of Poles in productive age, and the migratory situation as a whole. Ultimately, it is necessary to elaborate a consequent and coherent migration policy of the state, policy that shall meet the needs of employers and labour market and those of labour force.³¹

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T. Kwiatkowski, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

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