

# Ukrainians on the Polish labour market

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Report of the european migration network





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Niniejszy raport krajowy został przygotowany przez Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji pełniące funkcję koordynatora Krajowego Punktu Kontaktowego Europejskiej Sieci Migracyjnej w Polsce (PL KPK ESM). Raport stanowi aktualizację raportu „Zaspokajanie potrzeb polskiego rynku pracy poprzez migracje. Raport krajowy PL” opracowanego w 2009 roku. Powstał w związku z dynamicznie zmieniającą się sytuacją na polskim rynku pracy, z kryzysem migracyjnym a także z uwagi na sytuację na Ukrainie.

Europejska Sieć Migracyjna została powołana na mocy Decyzji Rady 2008/381/EC z dnia 14 maja 2008 r. w celu dostarczania aktualnych, obiektywnych, wiarygodnych i porównywalnych informacji na temat migracji i azylu instytucjom UE, władzom i instytucjom Państw Członkowskich oraz opinii publicznej, w celu wspierania procesu kształtowania polityki w UE. Pracę ESM koordynuje i współfinansuje Komisja Europejska we współpracy z wyznaczonymi przez każde państwo członkowskie UE, a także Norwegię, krajowymi punktami kontaktowymi (KPK ESM).

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# Table of Contents



Introduction  
> 4

# 1

Labour migration of Ukrainians  
to Poland  
> 15

# 2

Integration of Ukrainians  
in Poland  
> 23

# 3

Forecasts  
> 31

# Introduction

There are three main factors determining the continued high demand for immigrants, particularly Ukrainian citizens, in Poland: the first is demography, second the pension scheme, and third – the Polish labour market. All these factors are interconnected. The demographic situation affects the deficit in the labour market as well as the Polish pension scheme, whereby the current workers work towards the pensions of post-working age individuals. This interrelated system generates demand for workforce which for various reasons remains scarce in the Polish labour market.

With respect to demography, to start with, it is worth analysing the trends which have developed in Poland over the recent years<sup>1</sup>. Since 2012, Poland has been dealing with a population decline – the real decline rate in mid-2018 was -0.03 % (in the first half of 2018 the natural decline was 21 thousand persons). The main reason for the decrease in population was the negative rate of natural increase – there was a loss of 11 individuals per each 10 thousand persons. Upon analysing the data, a conclusion can be drawn that Poland has currently entered a period of demographic crisis. On top of this come the birthrate decline which has persisted for the past 30 years – in 2017 there were 145 children born per 100 women (fertility rate of 1.45), which, despite an increase in the number of births by 20 thousand relative to the year before, places Poland in one of the last positions in the world. At the same time, 2017 once again saw an increase in average life expectancy of Poles – a boy born in that year will, on average, live for 74 years, while a girl for 81.8 years (an increase of 7.5 years in a 25-year period). This phenomenon is related to the process of ageing of the Polish population. The share of post-working age population is increasing each year, now exceeding 20 % for the first time in history (20.2 % in 2017). With immigrants the balance of long-term foreign migrations was positive and

amounted to 1.4 thousand persons. At end-2016, over 2.5 million Poles resided abroad – based on temporary residence permits. It means a large shortage of workers for the Polish labour market.

The pension scheme is also linked to the currently unfavourable demographic situation. In Poland, the pension system is largely founded upon the pay-as-you-go scheme based on an intergenerational contract – the pensions paid out are financed by contributions of the current workers. The problem Poland is currently facing is the increasing life expectancy, with a growing negative population loss. As a result, workers' contributions towards the system are insufficient to pay benefits to the current pensioners. Immigrants from Ukraine may help here, enabling the current pensioners to receive full payout of their benefits. In 2018, 420 thousand Ukrainian citizens paid their social insurance contributions, which is a considerable number, although, given the estimated number of 2 million Ukrainian migrants, it also reflects the phenomenon of a relatively extensive grey market.

The labour market is another aspect affected by Ukrainian migration. Today we have the lowest unemployment in 28 years, approximately 3.4 %. Many workplaces remain vacant. Candidates are either physically missing in Poland – due to high emigration rates or a decline in the number of workers on the labour market – or they are not willing to undertake work for the rates offered by employers. Ukrainian immigrants to a large extent fill that gap. Employers are content – they can report profit while paying less to employees with the same qualifications. Employing Ukrainian workers raises discontent among some domestic workers who complain about squeezing rates. It might be worth considering whether the return of 2.5 million Poles from emigration as well as the resulting increase in their remuneration would lead to more measurable effects. However, this would be a long-term process and the effects would spread

1. Sytuacja Demograficzna Polski – Raport 2017-2018, report by the Government Population Council, Warsaw 2019.

over time. The deficit workforce is needed fast to prevent any negative impact on the economy. One should also bear in mind the demand side created by the immigrants who, to a large extent, spend their remuneration in Poland.

The 2018 Communication by the National Bank of Poland states: "Labour supply is also positively affected by the presence of immigrants, in particular Ukrainian citizens, on the domestic labour market. Simultaneously, lowering the retirement age as of 1 October 2017 limits labour market participation growth in the oldest age group (60/65+). Moreover, the

continued negative demographic processes leading to a decline in the number of Polish working-age population will limit the production potential growth in the projection horizon<sup>2</sup>."

Despite the historical resentment derived from the Wołyń and eastern Lesser Poland events, cultural and ethnic similarities remain an important aspect for Poles. This makes the assimilation process easier for Ukrainian citizens, although it is still unsatisfactory. The Christian denomination also contributes to the increased fondness towards our eastern neighbours.

2. <https://businessinsider.com.pl/finanse/makroekonomia/bezrobocie-w-polsce-prognoza-nbp/9zx1kqf> retrieved on 13.11.2018.





# 1

## Labour migration of Ukrainians to Poland

1.1

Conditions for entry and stay of Ukrainians in Poland > 8

1.2

Ukraine's push factors and Poland's pull factors > 13

## 1.1 Labour migration of Ukrainians to Poland

The Act of 12 December 2013 on foreigners is the fundamental legal act regulating third-country nationals' stay (including Ukrainian citizens) in the territory of Poland. Ukrainian citizens may – as a rule – stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland based on a visa, a residence permit or biometric passports. Moreover, the residents of border areas may cross the common border between Poland and Ukraine as part of local border traffic, if they meet certain conditions: present a valid permit; are not registered as persons denied entry in the Schengen Information System (SIS); are not considered a threat to public order, internal security, public health or international relations of the contracting parties.

A milestone for the stay of Ukrainian citizens in Poland was the decision of the Council and the European Parliament, which, as of 11 June 2017, waived the requirement to obtain visas in Schengen area countries for Ukrainians if their stay lasts up to 90 days within a 180-day period. One should, however, remember about a number of limitations which, apart from the short stay period, characterise the aforementioned liberalisation. First of all, this privilege concerns only biometric passport holders, whereby approximately 1 million out of 40 million (ca 2.5 %) entitled citizens of Ukraine held such passports as of the day when the provisions entered into force. Secondly, the visa-free entry to the EU territory cannot be work-related. It may only take place for tourist purposes, visiting relatives or friends and for business purposes. This creates serious limitations, although it allows Ukrainians e.g. to seek employment in the territory of European Union. However, the number of Ukrainians settling in Poland has not changed. Only the number of trips for tourist purposes increased slightly<sup>3</sup>.

Visas are still issued to individuals who do not hold biometric passports or whose stay exceeds 90 days. These take the form of Schengen visas or national visas. A Schengen visa entitles its holder to transit

through the territory of the Schengen area countries or to stay in the territory of these countries for a period not exceeding 90 days within each 180-day period. A national visa, on the other hand, entitles its holder to enter the territory of the Republic of Poland and continually stay there or to several consecutive stays in that territory for no more than 90 days in total within the visa validity period. The period of stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland based on a national visa is determined within the limits set out in paragraph 1 of the aforementioned Act according to the purpose of the stay indicated by the foreigner. The validity period of a national visa begins 3 months as of the day of its issuance the latest and does not exceed 1 year.

The Act on foreigners regulates issuing residence permits, such as a temporary residence permit, permanent residence permit and long-term EU-resident permit.

A temporary residence permit shall be granted to a foreigner or – in specified cases – may be granted upon their request, if they meet the requirements set out with regard to the declared purpose of their stay, and the grounds for applying for a permit justify his/her stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland for a period longer than 3 months. A temporary residence period shall be granted for a period necessary for the accomplishment of the purpose of the foreigner's stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland, no longer, however, than 3 years. At the same time, it is worth noting that the aforementioned Act on foreigners introduced as of 1 May 2014 the category of a uniform temporary residence permit and work permit. Pursuant to the provisions of the Act, a temporary residence and work permit shall be granted where the purpose of the foreigner's stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland is to perform work, and when each of the following conditions is met:

- the foreigner:

3. Wpływ liberalizacji wizowej na kraje docelowe imigrantów, EMN Report, M. Wrona, NCP EMN, p. 10.

a) holds a health insurance within the meaning of the provisions of the Act of 27 August 2004 on healthcare benefits financed from public funds or a document confirming that the insurer shall cover any medical expenses incurred in the territory of the Republic of Poland,

b) has a source of stable and regular income which suffices to cover their living costs and the living costs of their family dependants;

- the foreigner has a secured accommodation in the territory of the Republic of Poland;
- the entity entrusting work does not have any possibility to meet their human resources needs in the local labour market;
- the amount of remuneration specified in the contract between the foreigner and the entity entrusting work, which is a basis for performing work, concluded in writing, is not lower than the remuneration of employees who perform comparable work or are in a comparable position within the same working time.

Specific issues related to issuing work permits to foreigners are regulated in the Act of 20 April 2004 on employment promotion and labour market institutions. A work permit is issued by a voivode upon request of the entity entrusting work to a foreigner or – in case of a temporary residence permit and work permit – upon request of a foreigner already residing legally in the territory of the Republic of Poland. It is issued for a fixed period of no more than 3 years and may be prolonged. The permit is valid for work for a specific employer and for a specific position. Changing an employer requires obtaining a new permit.

On 1 January 2018, an amendment of the Act of 20 July 2017 amending the Act of 1 January 2018 on the promotion of employment and labour market institutions entered into force. It implements, among other things, the provisions of Directive 2014/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on the conditions of entry and stay of third-country nationals for the purpose of employment as seasonal workers. The existing provisions on work permits have changed and a new work permit type was introduced concerning performance of seasonal work by foreigners. The simplified procedure of work legalisation which is based on the declaration of entrusting work to foreign citizens from Armenia,

Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine also changed.

Regarding seasonal work permits, it is the starosta competent for the place of business or residence of an entity entrusting work to a foreigner who issues them. Citizens of all third countries may apply for seasonal work permits. An employer has to conduct a so-called local labour market test to demonstrate that no Poles are willing to fill a specific workplace as a condition to employ a foreigner based on a seasonal work permit (citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine are exempt from the requirement to conduct the labour market test).

Seasonal work permits are issued for a period of maximum 9 months in a calendar year and, following the provisions of the Directive, concern tourism, agriculture and horticulture.

The above procedure is carried out in two stages: first, the employer is obliged to obtain a certificate of entry in the register of applications for seasonal work. Subsequently, after the foreigner obtains a visa, an employer has to present a document legalising the foreigner's stay in Poland and provide information on the accommodation address of the foreigner during their stay in Poland. Once the above requirements are met, starosta issues a seasonal work permit.

The Act allows the citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine to work based on a simplified procedure without any necessity to apply for a work permit, i.e. based on a declaration on entrusting work to a foreigner subject to entering in the register of declarations. The period of performing work based on a declaration cannot exceed 6 months within 12 consecutive months.

A declaration may be acquired only if a foreigner performs work in sectors other than those specified for a seasonal work permit. Furthermore, an employer is obliged to:

- inform the starosta about the fact that a foreigner takes up employment at the latest on the day of commencing work;
- inform the starosta about the fact that a foreigner did not take up employment within 7 days as of the planned date of commencing work as specified in the declaration;
- pay for the issuance of the declaration on entrusting work to a foreigner.

It is particularly noteworthy that under the

provisions of the new act a foreigner may legally continue working in Poland even after the the declaration expires, if they apply for a temporary residence permit and work permit within a statutory deadline. Should this be the case, employment will remain legal despite the expiry of the declaration's validity, until a competent voivodeship authority issues a decision allowing to work and stay in Poland.

The Act also introduced a number of lesser changes. As of 1 January 2018, the obligation to hold a work permit concerns also foreigners who are general partners conducting business of a limited partnership or a limited partnership with share capital and proxies, if the foreigners' stay in the territory of the Republic of Poland exceeds 6 months in total within 12 consecutive months. Thanks to the amendment of the Act, an ICT system for recording declarations is being developed. Voivodes, consuls, the Border Guard and the National Labour Inspectorate are among those authorised to use the register. Another change gives the possibility to introduce limits for the issued declarations on entrusting work to a foreigner and work permits in a given calendar year (these may concern particular voivodeships, professions, types of contracts or activities of an entity entrusting work). The final change involves stricter fines for entities illegally employing foreigners – the upper limit of a fine for employer violations related to illegal employment was raised to PLN 30,000.

In order to transpose Directive (2014/66/EU) into the Act on foreigners, two new types of temporary residence permits were introduced on 12 February 2018 to be issued by voivodeship offices:

- for the purpose of performing work as part of an intra-corporate transfer;
- for the purpose of long-term mobility, also as part of an intra-corporate transfer.

Provisions forming the basis for the stay and work in Poland under the so-called short-term mobility of foreigners holding residence permits issued by other European Union Member States holding an "ICT" mark were also added.

The purpose of a stay of a foreigner holding one of those permits or enjoying short-term mobility is to work as a management-level employee, specialist or an intern at the so-called host entity with a seat in the territory of Poland. They shall temporarily be delegated by a parent employer with a seat outside

the territory of the European Union Member States, European Free Trade Association (EFTA), parties to the European Economic Area agreement or the Swiss Confederation.

The host entity must have a capital and organisational relationship with that entity – in particular be a branch or a representative of a parent employer or belong to the same group of enterprises as the parent employer. The term "group of enterprises" was defined separately in the Act.

The maximum duration of an intra-corporate transfer is 3 years (in the case of managerial employees and specialists) and 1 year (in the case of interns). Previous employment within the same enterprise or the same group of enterprises for at least 12 months – in the case of managers and specialists, and 6 months – in the case of interns is required.

One of the characteristics of the new types of temporary residence permits is the rule that only the receiving entity for which a foreigner shall perform work may apply to a voivode for granting those permits. This entity is also the sole party to any proceedings on granting those permits. A separate application template is envisaged, adapted to the specifics of the new type of permits. In the case of a temporary residence permit to perform work in the framework of an intra-corporate transfer, a foreigner will need to stay outside the territory of European Union Member States. Upon acquiring the permit, they may obtain a visa to execute that permit and after arriving in Poland they shall be issued a residence permit with an "ICT" mark.

Obtaining a temporary residence permit in Poland for the purpose of performing work in the framework of an intra-corporate transfer entitles a foreigner to work (as a managerial employee, a specialist or an intern) in other host entities in other EU Member States under the mobility framework. This will be possible within the permit validity period.

Two forms of mobility are envisaged: short-term – up to 90 days within any period of 180 days per each EU Member State – and long-term – for a period exceeding 90 days in a given EU Member State. The aforementioned mobility forms are possible in the EU Member States applying Directive 2014/66/UE (it is not applicable in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark). How mobility is used in the different Member States depends on the directive-implementing solutions adopted in those countries.

Likewise, if a foreigner holds a residence permit bearing the "ICT" mark issued by another European Union Member State, they may take advantage of mobility in the territory of Poland in the period not exceeding the permit validity period. In order to exercise short-term mobility (up to 90 days in any 180-day period) in the territory of Poland, one is required to notify the Head of the Office for Foreigners about the intention to do so. Information is provided by the receiving unit of the so-called first Member State which issued the "ICT"-marked document. The Office for Foreigners serves as a national contact point for exercising mobility. Exercising long-term mobility in Poland requires obtaining a new type of temporary residence permit.

A permanent residence permit is granted upon request of a foreigner in cases exhaustively listed in the Act on foreigners. Hence, a permanent residence permit is granted to a foreigner who:

- 1) is a child of a foreigner who has a permanent residence permit or a long-term EU-resident permit, remaining in the parental custody of the foreigner:
  - was born after that foreigner was granted a permanent residence permit or a long-term EU-resident permit, or
  - was born during the period of validity of the temporary residence permit granted to that foreigner, or
- 2) is a child of a Polish citizen in parental custody of the citizen, or
- 3) is a person of Polish origin and intends to permanently settle in the territory of the Republic of Poland, or
- 4) has been married to a Polish citizen in a marriage recognized by Polish law for at least 3 years prior to filing the application for a permanent residence permit and has stayed in the territory of the Republic of Poland without interruption immediately before filing the application for at least 2 years pursuant to a temporary residence permit issued pursuant to marriage with a Polish citizen or to obtaining a refugee status, subsidiary protection or consent for a stay issued due to humanitarian reasons, or
- 5) is a victim of human trafficking within the meaning of Article 115(22) of the Penal Code and:
  - lived in the territory of the Republic of Poland immediately before filing the application for permanent residence permit for a period of at least 1 year pursuant to a temporary residence permit

issued to victims of human trafficking,

- has co-operated with law enforcement organs in criminal proceedings related to the criminal offence referred to in Article 189a(1) of the Penal Code,
  - has justified concerns regarding the return to the country of origin, confirmed by the prosecutor conducting proceedings related to the criminal offence referred to in Article 189a(1) of the Penal Code, or
- 6) has stayed in the territory of the Republic of Poland uninterruptedly immediately before filing an application for a permanent residence permit for at least 5 years pursuant to a refugee status, subsidiary protection or consent for a stay issued due to humanitarian reasons, or
  - 7) has stayed in the territory of the Republic of Poland uninterruptedly immediately before filing an application for a permanent residence permit for at least 10 years immediately on the basis of a tolerated residence permit granted under Article 351(1) or (3), or
  - 8) has been granted asylum in the territory of the Republic of Poland, or
  - 9) has a valid Pole's Card and intends to permanently settle in the territory of the Republic of Poland.

A long-term EU-resident permit may be granted to a foreigner for an indefinite period, on their request, if they have been staying in Poland legally and uninterruptedly for at least 5 years prior to submitting the application and collectively meets the following conditions:

- 1) has a source of stable and regular income which suffices to cover their living costs and the living costs of their family dependants;
- 2) holds a health insurance within the meaning of the Act of 27 August 2004 on health care services financed from the public funds, or a document certifying that the costs of treatment in the territory of the Republic of Poland shall be covered by the insurer.

A permanent residence permit and long-term EU-resident permit entitle a foreigner to an indefinite stay in Poland.

Moreover, Ukrainian citizens may legalise their stay in the territory of Poland based on the provisions of the Act of 14 July 2006 on the entry into, residence in and exit from the Republic of Poland of nationals of the European Union Member States and their family members, if they are family members of a European

Union citizen and accompany them during their stay in the territory of Poland (the scale of that phenomenon is very small).

Foreigners who have a refugee status, were granted subsidiary protection, enjoy temporary protection, have a consent to a stay for humanitarian reasons or a consent for a tolerated stay are also entitled to stay in the territory of Poland.

An increased inflow of Ukrainian citizens to Poland

is linked to the recent increase in the number of applications for international protection in Poland. Pursuant to the Act of 13 June 2003 on granting protection to foreigners in the territory of the Republic of Poland, a foreigner who submits an application for international protection shall be entitled to stay in the territory of Poland, however, they cannot take up employment in the first six months of the refugee procedure.

## 1.2 Ukraine's push factors and Poland's pull factors

Poland is an attractive country for Ukrainians for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is their gateway to Europe, a European Union country which is the most similar in terms of culture and language. Secondly, due to economic problems as well as the current war with Russia, Ukrainian economy begun its decline already in 1989. Before that year the Ukrainian economy was more advanced in terms of development than Poland's. Poland is Ukraine's most economically developed neighbour. This may be observed also in the level of remuneration, which is on average threefold higher in Poland compared to its eastern neighbour. Also, historically a large part of the population of Ukraine, especially in the western part, is of Polish descent, hence their fondness of Poland. According to a report by the National Bank of Poland<sup>4</sup>, he reasons for Ukrainian migration to Poland vary. Since 2014, approximately 80 % in total have declared that unemployment or unsatisfactory remuneration level as the reasons for their migration. Compared to previous years (until 2013), the share of individuals stating that they came to Poland due to the political situation increased. This, of course, is connected with a greater influx of immigrants from Eastern Ukraine, where war continues. Pursuant to studies by the National Bank of Poland carried out among individuals who arrived in Poland in 2014 or 2015, over 28 % came from eastern Ukraine, while beforehand their share in the total number of immigrants to Poland was only slightly above 6 %.

The data as of 2014 shows that over 50 % of Ukrainians arriving in Poland are childless. This probably means that they are much more inclined to stay in our country than those who have left their children in their home country. It translates into the

statistics on money transfers to Ukraine – among the immigrants who have arrived in Poland since 2014, over 50 % does not transfer their earnings to their country of origin. However, the aggregate volume of those transfers is large – in 2016 Ukrainians working in Poland transferred over PLN 8.1 billion to Ukraine, in 2017 – PLN 11.7 billion, and in the first half of 2018 – PLN 9.6 billion. What is interesting in that context is that in the period between 2004 and 2016, Polish emigrants transferred on average PLN 16.5 billion to their country, that is twice as much. At the same time, it is noteworthy that currently the trend is reversed and transfers made by Polish emigrants to Poland are lower than the amounts transferred from Poland by immigrants.

Extensive social networks are an important factor attracting Ukrainian citizens to Poland. Ukrainians develop integrated communities. They rent common flats or hostel rooms in the destination country. They are keen to bring over their friends and families as the demand for workers continues to be high. Social networks between Ukrainian citizens function primarily within one sector, e.g. Ukrainians working at construction sites and those working in agriculture are completely separated and do not support each other. This obviously makes the migration process easier and more accessible for new migrants but hinders their integration with Poles, creating specific "ghettos". Moreover, Ukrainians benefit from the Ukrainian and not Polish healthcare. With respect to social networks it is important that their members can expect not only material or information assistance (information necessary to find employment) but also emotional support which is crucial in a new workplace.

4. I. Chmielewska, G. Dobroczyk, A. Panuciak, Obywatele Ukrainy pracujący w Polsce – raport z badania, Statistics Department of the National Bank of Poland, Warsaw 2018.





# 2

## Integration of Ukrainians in Poland

### 2.1

The profile of a Ukrainian worker in the Polish labour market >  
16

### 2.2

Poles' perception of Ukrainians > 23

### 2.3

Perception of Poland and Poles by Ukrainians  
living in Poland and in Ukraine > 25

### 2.4

Ukrainian assimilation > 28

### 2.5

Case studies > 30

## 2.1 The profile of a Ukrainian worker in the Polish labour market

“It is not clear how many Ukrainian migrants stay in Poland. This cannot be counted”<sup>5</sup>. Officially, in 2018 approximately 138 thousand Ukrainians holding a temporary residence permit lived in Poland. This data does not include individuals staying in Poland based on a visa. On the other hand, according to the data from the National Bank of Poland’s Statistics Department, in 2017 approximately 900 thousand Ukrainian citizens resided in Poland<sup>6</sup>.

Large cities constitute the main labour market for Ukrainian workers because this is the location of industrial establishments and construction sites where, to a large extent, Ukrainians constitute the majority of employees. Due to high living and subsistence costs in large cities, Ukrainian citizens choose hostels located in the outskirts of large agglomerations as their primary accommodation. It is so in Warsaw where eastern citizens select outskirt districts (e.g. Białołęka or Ursus) as their accommodation location or in majority Warsaw suburban towns (e.g. Legionowo, Marki, Błonie or Piaseczno). A job market for Ukrainians located in Piaseczno near Warsaw is famous also due to TV series showing the life of newcomers from Ukraine (e.g. „Dziewczyny ze Lwowa” – girls from Lviv). The number of Ukrainians in Polish cities keeps growing. It is noteworthy that in 2014 only 1000 citizens of that country were registered in Warsaw, while in 2018 that number neared 7 thousand<sup>7</sup>. Taking into account the work permits issued, most have been granted by Mazowieckie Voivodeship Office in Warsaw. Next in line are voivodeship offices from Śląskie, Wielkopolskie, Małopolskie and Łódzkie voivodeships. Apart from the dominant Mazowieckie Voivodeship and large cities, the remaining regions are represented fairly evenly, hence it is impossible

to say that Ukrainian citizens are concentrated in any single region.

On the real estate market, the Ukrainians have overtaken the Germans and the British in terms of the apartments bought by foreigners. According to the Ministry of the Interior and Administration’s data, in 2017 foreigners bought 6,385 flats, of which about 27 % were Ukrainians – 16% more than the year before. Kraków came first among the dominating cities, with Warsaw and Wrocław behind it.

The situation is interesting when it comes to the denomination of Ukrainian citizens. Ukrainians are not as strong believers as Poles but almost 60 % of them are Eastern Orthodox. Greek Catholic denomination is popular among Ukrainians living in western Ukraine. Ukrainians staying in Poland were not questioned on faith, however due to the fact that over 70 % of them arrived from western Ukraine, the Greek Catholic denomination is very popular. Therefore, new Greek Catholic parishes have been set up in recent years, where the congregation usually meets for service in chapels of the Roman Catholic Church, like in the case of the Warsaw Roman Catholic parish at ul. Domaniewska<sup>8</sup>.

There is currently a vast deficit of workers on the Polish labour market. This is reflected in statistics – at the end of the first quarter of 2017, the number of vacant workplaces was 119.5 thousand and exceeded the number for the first quarter of the previous year by almost 30 thousand workplaces. Interestingly, most vacant workplaces were reported for entities involved in industrial processing or construction – hence the map of industries which lack workers coincides with the structure of registered declarations on the intention to entrust work to a Ukrainian

5. T. Cytrynowicz, Director of the Head of the Office for Foreigners’ office, <https://www.prawo.pl/kadry/rpo-40-proc-ukraincow-.289179.html> published on 28.03.2018.

6. I. Chmielewska, G. Dobroczyk, A. Panuciak, Obywatele Ukrainy pracujący w Polsce – raport z badania, Statistics Department of the National Bank of Poland, Warsaw 2018.

7. Warsaw City Hall, 2018.

8. Ukraińcy w Polsce – jak wygląda ich życie duchowe, <https://pl.aleteia.org/2017/07/05/ukraincy-w-polsce-2017-kosciol/> published on 5.07.2017.

citizen. At the same time, we are dealing with an exceptionally low unemployment – pursuant to Eurostat methodology at the end of August 2017 the unemployment rate in Poland was only 3.5 %.

When it comes to Ukrainians currently present on the Polish labour market, their number is difficult to estimate, although recently some 2 million citizens of that country have been mentioned. This seems plausible, taking into account that the first half of 2017 saw a registration of almost 905 thousand declarations on the intent to entrust work to a foreigner. It is noteworthy that over the first half of 2017 the number of registered declarations coincided with the estimated number of Ukrainians legally and illegally working in Poland in 2015. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, a vast majority (over 600 thousand) of Ukrainians included in the registered declarations on the intent to entrust work to a foreigner was 40 years old or younger. The biggest number of registered declarations concerned work in the following sectors:

- administrative and support service activities (approximately 326 thousand declarations);
- agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fisheries

(approximately 201 thousand declarations);

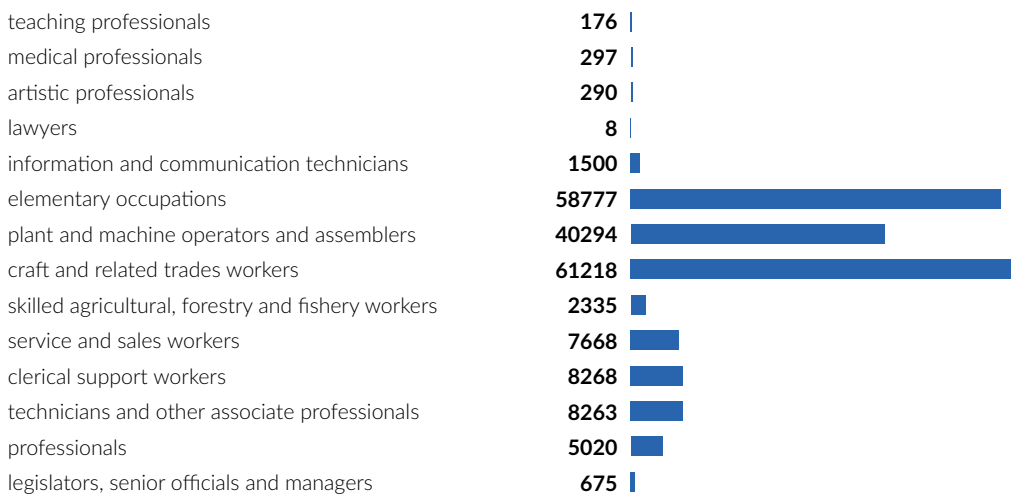
- construction (approximately 116 thousand declarations);
- industrial processing (approximately 105 thousand declarations).

Over half a million declarations concerned the intent to employ a worker to perform simple tasks. Slightly more than 3 thousand declarations concerned employing a specialist, while in almost 40 thousand cases a clerical support worker was sought after. Most immigrants from Ukraine are employed based on a contract of mandate (over 470 thousand), over 210 thousand are offered contracts of employment. It is worth noting that there are certain specialisation areas of Ukrainian immigrants. A good example is passenger transport – many co-workers of the lead player in that economic sector are – at least in the biggest cities like Warsaw – Ukrainian citizens. Immigrants from Ukraine working in the most popular industries differ primarily with respect to gender and size of their accommodation. Men-migrants from Ukraine more often than not work on construction sites and in agriculture, while women much more often work in services in

**Figure 1.**

The number of work permits issued to Ukrainian citizens in 2017 by the Classification of Occupations and Specializations and major groups of occupations

Source: Own elaboration based on the report of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy.



households. Trade and services as well as gastronomy are city and large city industries where both men and women find employment.

An analysis of industries dominated by Ukrainian citizens is desirable with respect to work permits

Two industries were almost equally popular among Ukrainians. A small advantage can be observed in the case of craft and related trades workers, but the number of elementary occupations is smaller by only shy of two thousand. The first category represents 31 % of Ukrainians and the other – 30%. Among the three most numerous represented professional groups of Ukrainians, plant and machine operators and assemblers also constitute a relatively large share – 21 %. These three groups of professions definitely dominate all groups employing Ukrainians. They are followed by such professions as clerical support workers, and technicians and associate professionals. However, they account for only 3 % of the number of all professions. The numbers of service and sales workers are similar. Professionals constitute only 2 %, which is a small percentage in comparison with 30 % of industrial workers, handicraft workers or workers in elementary occupations. There are very few Ukrainians working in other sectors, i.e. forestry, fishing and in offices, especially legally. The main sectors of employment for Ukrainians in Poland are industry and, to a large extent, elementary occupations. Arrivals of educated Ukrainians have been increasingly frequent lately.

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few Ukrainians working in other sectors, i.e. forestry, fishing and in offices, especially legally. The main sectors of employment for Ukrainians in Poland are industry and, to a large extent, elementary occupations. Arrivals of educated Ukrainians have been increasingly frequent lately.

Taking into account the average monthly remuneration of a Ukrainian worker in Poland what may be noticed is a relatively low share of those earning more than the national average, which in Poland in 2018 amounted to more or less net PLN 3,500. Only over 15 % of Ukrainians declared such earnings. However, as many as 75 % of Ukrainians earned net over PLN 2,500 in Poland which, given the advantage of unqualified workers, is a fairly good result. Less than 5 % of workers declared earnings at a minimum wage level, which in 2018 was net PLN 1,530. Almost half of Ukrainians working in Poland earns over PLN 3,000 net. It is worth mentioning that average earnings in Ukraine amount to ca. PLN 1 thousand.

Beautician is one of the most popular occupations among Ukrainian women. Ukrainian citizens often work in Poland in professions for which proficiency in Polish is not required. A taxi driver is such an example. A receptionist at a hotel and a barman/waiter are even more popular professions pursued by Ukrainian immigrants. Seller/cashier is a profession most often chosen by Ukrainian citizens. Ukrainians more and more frequently open shops with Ukrainian food, with "Ukrainoczka" as an example of a shop which operates also online.

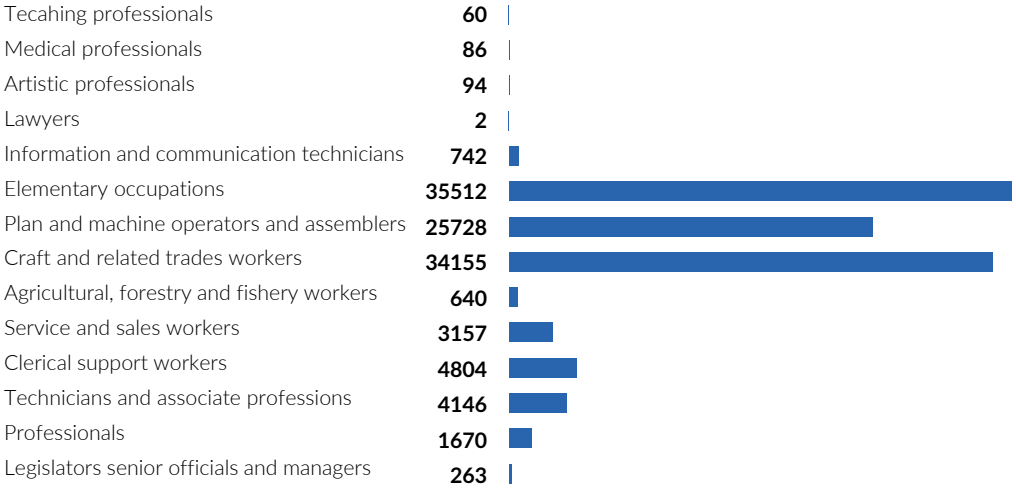
Given the low average income of Ukrainians, it is worth analysing what part they can transfer to their family in their country of origin. It is looking at the data showing how much money Ukrainian citizens transferred on average to Ukraine during their last stay in Poland.

Having analysed the above data, one can reach a conclusion that the largest, almost 35 %, group is made up of those who transfer between PLN 1,001 and 2,000 to their families in Ukraine. Slightly fewer, namely 22 %, transfer income of PLN 501-1,000 to their relatives in their country of origin. Almost every fifth Ukrainian citizen allocates between PLN 2,000 and 3,000 to their family in the sending country. Given that only 15 % of Ukrainian citizens earns net over PLN 3,500, it is worth noticing that almost ¼ of them sends over PLN 3,000 to their families. Only 15

**Figure 2.**

The number of work permits issued to Ukrainian citizens in the first half of 2018 by the Classification of Professions and Specialties and profession groups.

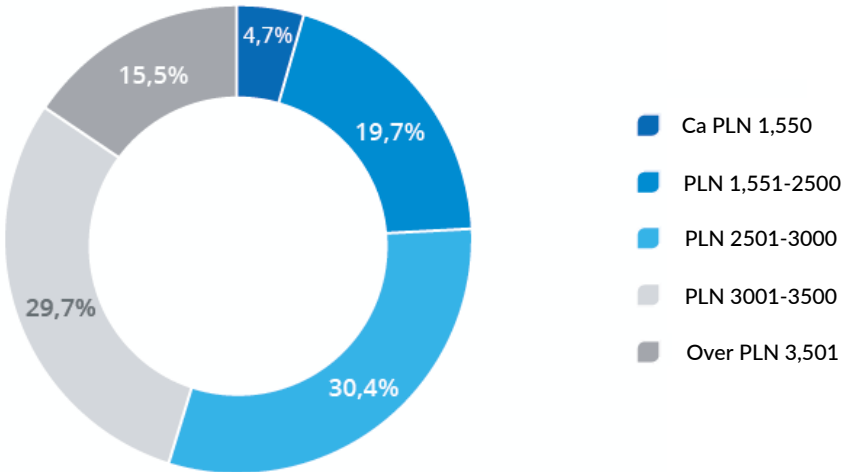
Source: Own elaboration based on the report of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy.



**Figure 3.**

Average monthly net remuneration of a citizen of Ukraine in Poland in the 2nd half of 2018.

Source: "Labour Immigration Barometer – 2nd half of 2018", Personnel Service



% of Ukrainians are able send less than PLN 500 to their families.

The above figure indicates that as much as half of Ukrainian workers in Poland does not send their earnings to family in Ukraine. Taking into account the fact that most of them stay in Poland only for a short period of time – less than 6 months, it is likely that only total income is personally passed on at the time of worker's return or their visit to the country of origin. Ukrainian citizens chose international postal orders most often as means to transfer their earnings to their country of origin. Only 8 % of workers of Ukrainian nationality forward their savings with the aid of friends, while only 3 % of respondents use driver services.

More than half of Ukrainian workers earn over PLN 3,000 net, while the monthly living costs of 60 % of them do not exceed PLN 500. Hence a conclusion may be drawn that Ukrainian citizens in Poland live very modestly, trying to save money and send it to their families in the country of origin. It is noticeable that as many as 1/5 of Ukrainians are able to live in Poland off less than PLN 200 per month. Every third spends between PLN 500 and 1,000 per month on living. Only 7 % of Ukrainian citizens working in Poland spend on living more than PLN 1,000.

Although the above statements sound implausible, they seem realistic – almost half of the companies declares that they offer free accommodation to eastern workers. The 60 % share of Ukrainian workers spending less than PLN 500 on living is in that case reflected in reality. Still, it should be mentioned that accommodation is not of high quality – these are mainly hostels occupied by several Ukrainians. Employers provide Ukrainian workers also with meals, primarily dinners. The living costs born by Ukrainians are in this case low – incurred usually on additional food or service charges of the real estates they occupy.

Ukrainians often stay in Poland based on short-term visas (up to 3 months) or biometric passports which, however, do not allow them to take up employment. As many as 60 % of them had been staying in Poland for less than 3 months at the time of the survey. The share of those staying for over one year was below 3 %. Every fourth worker from Ukraine stayed in Poland for 3–6 months.

Ukrainians do not intend to stay in Poland for too long. More than half of them plan to stay in Poland for only 3–6 months, every third only up to 3 months (32.5 %), while only 11.7 % – for 6–12 months. Only 5.4 % of Ukrainians working in Poland declare that they wish to settle here permanently. Hence, the Ukrainians' intended average stay in Poland is shy of 6 months<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, the answers to the question on Ukrainian workers' wishes to move to Poland look interesting. Over a quarter of Ukrainians would like to move to Poland for a couple of years, while approximately 22 % plan to settle in Poland permanently. Only less than 14 % do not consider settling in Poland, while 38 % do not have an opinion on that matter. More than half of the respondents stated that higher remuneration could prompt them to settle in Poland, further 22 % indicated an unfavourable situation in Ukraine and 18 % – better professional development opportunities in Poland. For less than 9 % marriage would be an incentive factor to settle permanently in Poland. Almost one fifth of Ukrainians consider that nothing could persuade them to settle in Poland<sup>10</sup>.

Over 53 % of migrants from Ukraine declare that they work over 40 hours week. Migrants from Ukraine often work in a number of places for 6–7 days a week, therefore their average working time is significantly longer than the official, weekly working time in Poland (40 hours). Migrants from Ukraine come to Poland for economic reasons, they stay in a foreign environment, hence they limit their free time in exchange for additional work or tasks. The vast majority of migrants find their current working conditions good (79 %). Every fourth (26%) migrant finds their working conditions in Poland very good. Those who find their working conditions bad, constitute only 2 % of the Ukrainian migrant population. The perception of working conditions in Poland is to strongly affected by a comparison with the working conditions in Ukraine which may contribute to better assessment of the working conditions in our country. 42 % of migrants from Ukraine work in Poland based on a contract of employment, every fourth (23 %) – based on a contract of mandate. Other forms of contracts (e.g. contracts for specific work) are marginal on the Polish market. Every fifth migrant from

9. A. Zymnin, V. Kulikov, Y. Taran, Ukraińcy na polskim rynku pracy – doświadczenia, wyzwania i perspektywy. Raport EWL S.A., p. 12.

10. Ibidem, s. 21.

**Figure 4.**

Amount of income sent to family in Ukraine

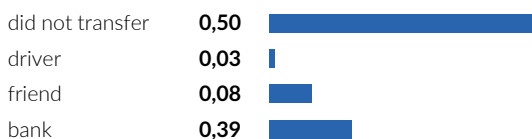
Source: A. Zymnin, V. Kulikov, Y. Taran, Ukraińcy na polskim rynku pracy – doświadczenia, wyzwania i perspektywy. Report EWL S.A., p. 12.



**Figure 5.**

Method of transferring income to family in Ukraine

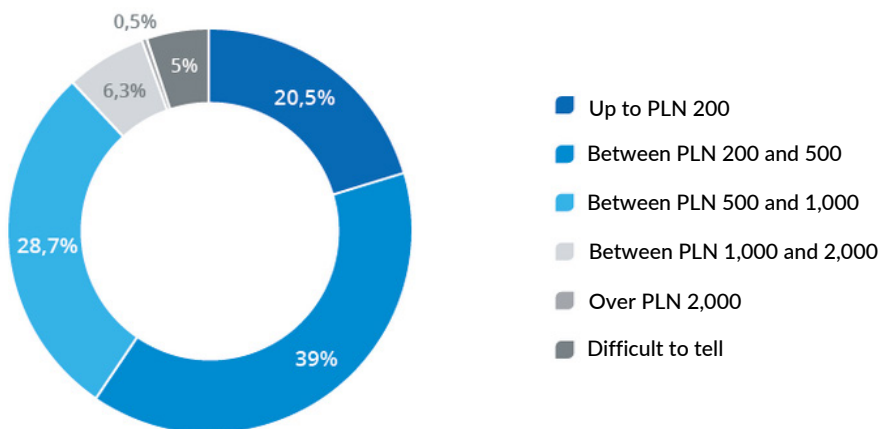
Source: A. Zymnin, V. Kulikov, Y. Taran, Ukraińcy na polskim rynku pracy – doświadczenia, wyzwania i perspektywy. Raport EWL S.A., p. 12.



**Figure 6.**

Average monthly living costs of a Ukrainian citizen in Poland in the 2nd half of 2018

Source: "Labour Immigration Barometer – 2nd half of 2018", Personnel Service



Ukraine (21%) works in Poland without any employment contract. Because migrants often work in more than one place, some people in this group have contracts in one of several places of employment. 71% of migrants from Ukraine work in Poland based on some type of contract.

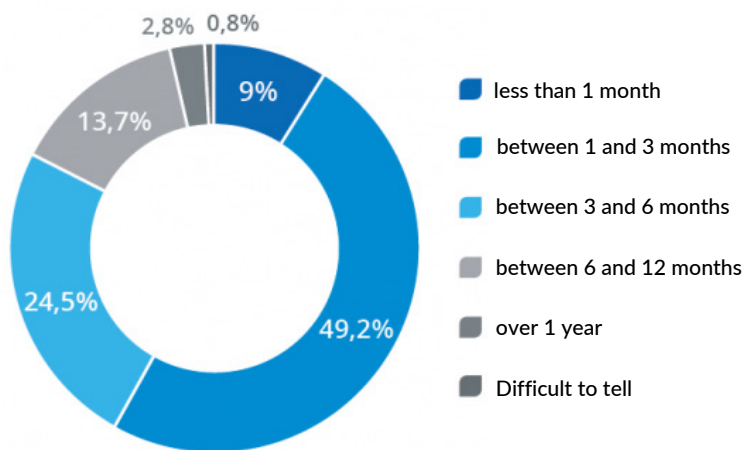
A number of general conclusions for both employers and employees follow from the analysed report on "Labour Immigration Barometer – 2nd half of 2018". With respect to employers, as many as 39% of large companies employ Ukrainians. Significantly, as many as 80% of them work in lower grade positions. Clearly, the number of enterprises increases and has

already reached a high level, still Ukrainians keep working primarily in lower grade positions. The share of companies employing Belarusians begins to increase reaching 10% already in 2018. As many as 91% of employers perceive Ukrainian workers in a positive or neutral way. This contentment with Ukrainian workers results in almost every fourth employer being able to pay a Ukrainian worker more than a Polish one. In their search for workers from Ukraine over a third of Polish entrepreneurs approach family or friends who are already in Poland and often work for these employers.

**Figure 7.**

Average duration of a Ukrainian citizen's stay in Poland in the 2nd half of 2018

Source: "Labour Immigration Barometer – 2nd half of 2018", Personnel Service





## 2.2 Poles' perception of Ukrainians

Ukrainians are perceived in Poland in different ways. Two examples from 2018 are presented to illustrate both positive and negative perception of Ukrainians by Poles.

To begin with, it is worth to describe a case of an opinion about Ukrainian citizens, many of whom work in supermarkets. Therefore, such assessments of Ukrainians by Poles are very common. A story described by one of the internet portals is as follows: "While shopping at Tesco in Gośćów I was a witness to an astonishing situation. A client was loudly explaining to a shop assistant how much she disliked Russians and Ukrainians. She said she was not ashamed of and openly admitted having such views. She described what happened to her body when she even heard the sound of those languages," a reader reports. "The woman went on for several minutes. She emphasised that she hated them. She was speaking with a vast sense of superiority and disdain towards eastern workers. 'Now wherever you go, at each construction site, in every shop – they speak Ukrainian everywhere. We live in Poland, so we should speak Polish language,' she said loudly. The reader does not know what could trigger such emotions in that woman. "Perhaps Ukrainians were employed also at Tesco. It was a very saddening scene, which does not reflect well on some part of Poles. Unfortunately, I encounter this type of views increasingly often," he added. A Białołęka resident told us a similar story, "While shopping at Lidl at ul. Modlińska, one customer did not like the accent of a Ukrainian who worked there as a shop assistant. He yelled at her and told her to 'speak Polish,'" she said, "The woman shrunk and apologised," she added. The customers immediately reacted and reprimanded the outraged man. "The man became angry, muttered something back, left his cart and stormed out," the resident recalled. Another resident of the capital

spoke very warmly about eastern workers, "The lady who works in the local shop is always smiling and chatty. She has recently asked about the book I bought for my daughter. Ukrainian employees are very nice. They bring a completely different atmosphere to the shops"<sup>11</sup>.

Setting up employee lodging in residential buildings often raises numerous objections of their residents. A situation described by *Dziennik Polska. The Times* can serve as an example here. The article informs that residents do not wish to have immigrants living in their building as they disturb peace and trigger crime growth<sup>12</sup>. "One of Saska Kępa residents informed us about the situation. The residents of Marokańska 25 do not want foreigners in their vicinity. In the leaflets distributed to mail boxes they argue that Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians are the reason for 'noise, immense odour, damages and pollution as well as burglaries.' The authors encourage to jointly 'get rid of the problem.' At least this is what follows from the anonymous leaflet signed only 'the neighbours.'

'The building at ul. Marokańska 25 hosts employee lodging currently occupied by over 40 men from Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, etc. Additionally, 15 cars belonging to the clients of the lodging keep being parked here,' the anonymous note reads. Subsequently, the author moves on to list the allegations made by Polish neighbours against their neighbours from eastern and northern Europe. 'Unfortunately, the building's administration is helpless. The residents began to experience problems with immense odour, noise and alcohol parties, damages and pollution as well as burglaries. We kindly ask you to carefully close and lock gates and doors. Please report any disturbing events to the Police immediately. Perhaps together we will be able

11. Coraz więcej Ukraińców pracuje w Warszawie. Nie wszystkim się to podoba?, <https://wawalove.wp.pl/coraz-wiecej-ukraincow-pracuje-w-warszawie-nie-wszystkim-sie-to-podoba-6213531075847809a> published on 26.01.2018.

12. Warszawa: Mieszkańcy ul. Marokańskiej nie chcą sąsiadów z Ukrainy? "Wspólnie damy radę pozbyć się problemu. <https://polska-times.pl/warszawa-mieszkanicy-ul-marokanskiej-nie-chca-sasiadow-z-ukrainy-wspolnie-damy-rade-pozbyc-sie-problemu/ar/13414272> published on 14.08.2018.

to get rid of the problem which arose in our quiet and peaceful settlement,' so the note ends."

It is worth quoting the results of the analysis of over 1.2 million internet posts by Poles addressed at Ukrainians, performed by sociologist Marek Troszyński, PhD<sup>13</sup>. He considers that the "image created in many internet comments is based on a historical stereotype, primarily on the events of 1940s. The issue of the Wołyń murders as well as the activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and Stepan Bandera shape, to a large extent, the discourse temperature and is still used to build tension in the common relations (...); there is also a vision that Ukrainian nationality was built in opposition to Polish nationality, which relies mainly on a territorial dispute. They took Lviv and Galicia lands and now they are on the watch for Przemyśl. In other words: the dislike is built not only on history but also – according to the authors of those posts – on the rivalry for borders. And it does not matter that there is no mention of any claims in the statements of government representatives neither in Warsaw nor in Kiev". The sociologist compares the manner of writing about Ukrainians to the way of writing about Muslims: "It is the same manner of speaking as with respect to Muslim migrants, stemming primarily from the attitude to something that is different, which makes us see foreignness in them and treat them as a threat. The difference is, however, that Ukrainians are visible in Poland as there are over 1 million of them. There are sufficiently many for an average Pole to encounter them in the street or e.g. at work". The historical aspect of the reasons for hate speech is emphasised: "almost 50 % of posts were negative in the historical aspect, 22.6 % – in the economic aspect (...). In the posts we can read that Ukrainians are worse, because they do not do well at work, are bad salespeople, do not know things or are not aware of the realities of living in Poland. Moreover, there is often a sense of superiority with respect to Ukrainians which derives from the fact that we did cope with the transformation. We are in Western Europe. "They are at a stage, some 200 years behind, and are only dealing with determining themselves as an independent country with its own identity and with building their own statehood". The interviewee also presents

positive statements about Ukrainian citizens: "On the other hand, cultural proximity means that Ukrainians are doing well in Poland. A Polish shop assistant and a Ukrainian shop assistant or a Ukrainian doctor and a Polish doctor are not that different after all. They vary but still they are familiar, despite speaking different languages. They are also ours compared to, e.g., migrants from Africa, people who are an embodiment of strangeness for a Pole – this is one of the positive elements of speaking about Ukraine and Ukrainians in Poland. Ukrainians are often compared to Polish migrants. In the same way that we go to England, Germany or the Netherlands, they come to us. It is hard for them, too, but they do the best they can. "I am not at all proud of my fellow countrymen. But I do understand that you have to make a living somehow. It is better if they work physically, than if they were to live off benefits. Now Ukrainians work in Poland just like Poles in the West, although many of them have higher education, this is the fate of people from poor countries". "What I like about Ukrainians is that they are happy to take up work in Poland and learn fast". For balance there are also many negative opinions: "There are many Ukrainians where I work. One of them recapped on his life. He used to be a police officer. As it turned out, he bought his license. And my other friends say that they take a lot of bribes there. A friend who bought a license has poor eyesight and another friend said that he jumps the lights. They feel like they're getting away with anything here. I can see their attitude at work myself: he will not do that because he did not come here to slave. That's why there is such a raid against nationality, because he's a Ukrainian".

In the analysed report "Labour Immigration Barometer – 2nd half of 2018" we can also find studies on the assessment of the behaviour of Ukrainian workers by their Polish colleagues. 42 % of Poles assessed their co-workers from Ukraine positively, with as many as 89 % not fearing losing their job due to employing a Ukrainian citizen. It is noteworthy that there are also concerns related to the inflow of Ukrainians. Almost four in ten respondents fear that the inflow of workers from the areas east of the river Bug will result in their remuneration not increasing.

13. Troszyński: Wcześniej w użyciu była inwektywa „Ty Żydzie”, wyprowadzana z intencją obrażenia, a teraz „Bo to Ukraińiec jest”, <https://www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/1108240,marek-troszynski-o-stosunku-polakow-do-ukraincow.html> published on 2.03.2018.

[www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/1108240,marek-troszynski-o-stosunku-polakow-do-ukraincow.html](https://www.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/1108240,marek-troszynski-o-stosunku-polakow-do-ukraincow.html) published on 2.03.2018.

## 2.3 Perception of Poland and Poles by Ukrainians living in Poland and in Ukraine

In 2013, as many as 70 % of the Ukrainians surveyed considered the media one of their sources of knowledge about Poland and Poles. As far as other sources of knowledge about our country are concerned, the second most popular source were family and friends, whereby only 29 % of Ukrainian citizens declared that form of learning about Poland. Only 22 % and 23 % of the respondents, respectively, declared getting to know our country through school knowledge, and films and books. After a big wave of migration to our country, surely there was an increase in the group declaring their own experiences of their stay here or information acquired from friends or family as their source of knowledge about Poland and Poles.

As indicated above, information presented in the media constituted the most important source of data on Poland and Poles in 2013. It is worth analysing whether the amount of information about Poland presented there satisfies Ukrainian citizens. Upon analysing the report, one may conclude that 51 % of Ukrainian respondents considered there being too little information on Poland, while 42 % answered that they had enough information. Only 2 % said that there was too much information<sup>14</sup>

It is worth reflecting on the associations Poland evokes with its eastern neighbour. An attempt to answer that question was made in the 2013 report. The method of random associations used with Ukrainians taking part in the survey resulted in answers indicating that 41 % of all associations with Poland were categorised as "intimacy, neighbouring presence, affection". The following associations were included: "Slavs like us", "neighbours", "positive emotions", "friendship, unity", "closest brothers", "friendly relationship", "I have long wanted to visit, see how people there live", "grandfather is buried there, both of them", "fraternal nation", "family, relatives", "my grandfather is Polish, roots", "we feel and think

alike". Only 4 % of answers were associated with the "distance, foreignness, dislike" category. The following descriptions were included: "ill-natured, I do not like Poles, they are tricky and dishonest, not easy to get on with", "attacker", "I am not keen on Poles, they are too bossy", "not unfriendly but they differ from Ukrainians, a different nation".<sup>15</sup> This shows that in 2013 Ukrainians had largely positive associations with Poland.

The perception of Poland and Poles did not alter materially after the inflow of Ukrainian population due to the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. Research indicates that 36 % of Ukrainian respondents consider Poland a friendly country, while 45 % – a rather friendly than unfriendly country. Only 2 % claim that Poland is an unfriendly country and 8 % consider Poland a more unfriendly than a friendly country.<sup>16</sup> The perception of Poland and Poles did not alter materially after the inflow of Ukrainian population due to the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. Research indicates that 36 % of Ukrainian respondents consider Poland a friendly country, while 45 % – a rather friendly than unfriendly country. Only 2 % claim that Poland is an unfriendly country and 8 % consider Poland a more unfriendly than a friendly country. As may be seen, the trend of a positive attitude towards Poland and Poles remains relatively unchanged, largely taking precedence over the negative approach to perceiving Poland. What is important, however, is that for many Ukrainians the source of knowledge about Poland and Poles has changed. Thanks to the intensive immigration of Ukrainians to Poland, the largest source of knowledge about Poland is probably the numerous trips to this country, stories told by friends or family and all the blogs and YouTube vlogs that promote life in Poland and are abundant. Blogs and vlogs addressed to Ukrainian and Polish audience offer a lot of insight

14. Fomina J., Konieczna – Sałamatın J., Kucharczyk J., Wenerski Ł.: Polska – Ukraina, Polacy - Ukraińcy. Spojrzenie przez granicę, Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw 2013; p. 26.

15. Ibidem; s. 28

16. Ibidem; s. 48

17. Stryjek T., Konieczna – Sałamatın J., Zacharuk K.; Ukraińcy o historii, kulturze i stosunkach polsko – ukraińskich; National Centre for Culture, Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Warsaw 2017; p. 63.

to what Ukrainians value in Poland and Poles as well as how they perceive our country. One of the first examples is a blog by Oleksandra Maszyńska where she presents the positive phenomena taking place in Poland – lack of haste, relaxed attitude to child-rearing, Poles' sport activity, lack of work overload on holidays, tidiness of the surrounding, religiousness, care for "one's own" or much higher reading rates than in Ukraine.<sup>17</sup> Another example includes a blog by Anna Nadejko where she presents 36 facts about Poland. Amongst other things, she mentions: good command of English among Polish youth, respect for Polish history, nature and seniors, high share of believers, friendliness, skills of Polish tradesmen, tidiness, bureaucracy, high-speed internet, public transport punctuality or the poor level of online shops development.<sup>18</sup> Based on the example of those two blogs, the Ukrainian internet offers much positive information on Poland and Poles (excluding the few drawbacks enumerated in Anna Nadejko's blog).

With respect to the labour market, in 2017 as many as 67 % of Ukrainians were rather satisfied with their work and 27 % claimed they were satisfied. In terms of satisfaction taken from the different work factors, in 2017 as many as 90 % of Ukrainian respondents indicated remuneration. Slightly fewer, 89 %, replied that relations with co-workers and immigrants' attitude to Poles gave them satisfaction and 87 % stated that relations with their superiors satisfied them.<sup>19</sup> Importantly, according to certain studies Poland is, however, treated as a place for gainful employment. According to the report "Labour Immigration Barometer – 1st half of 2018", only 11 % of the Ukrainians surveyed intend to permanently settle in Poland, while 74 % are outright negative about that. On the other hand, as many as 75 % of workers surveyed came to Poland to work more than once.<sup>20</sup>

The attitude of Ukrainians living in Ukraine towards Poland is interesting. Poland received the

most affection of all nations in the public opinion poll of June 2017. As many as 44 % of the respondents replied that they had a "warm" relation with Poland and 14 % – a "very warm". 35 % of the respondents answered that their attitude was "neutral", while only 3 % – "cold" or "very cold". In that study the share of Ukrainians with a positive attitude to Poland (58 %) exceeded the European Union by 4 % and Belarus by 6 %.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from the aforementioned examples from blogs on Poland, there are also examples of conversations with Ukrainians on the internet. For example, Elena, who came to Warsaw from Donetsk, thinks that Poles care more for common areas and that Polish products are of higher quality. She says that people complaining about life in Poland should try living in Ukraine and declares that she wants to stay here forever.<sup>22</sup> Irina, who came to Poland with her husband and daughter, is another example. She says that she values Poles' serenity and carelessness as well as modernity of our transport and road quality.<sup>23</sup> The same article also mentions Wiktor, who says that people in Poland are usually nice and helpful, and comments that money is not as important for a Pole as for a Ukrainian.<sup>24</sup> In an interview from 2016 Ivan Topchyi also says that he likes the way an average Pole's life is organised and thinks that Poles have learned how to live the European way. He also states that Ukrainians and Poles are closer to each other than they used to be in 2009, when he came to Poland for the first time.<sup>25</sup>

The latest studies show that more than six in ten migrants from Ukraine intend to stay in our country for longer, while 74 % of those surveyed have a positive opinion about the friendliness of Poles. 88 % of Ukrainian migrants in Poland praise the living standard and 44 % of those surveyed indicate our country as an emigration destination.<sup>26</sup> Still, Ukrainians do see problems in Poland. Different

18. Polska oczami Ukraińców based on Oleksandra Maszyńska's blog, from [ampua.org](http://ampua.org) website, article from 19.10.2016.

19. Jak widzą nas Ukraińcy. 36 faktów o Polakach based on Anna Nadejko's blog, from [www.wschodnik.pl](http://www.wschodnik.pl) website, article from 17.11.2015.

20. Opinia pracowników z Ukrainy na temat pracy w Polsce 2017, OTTO Work Force, report, p. 6–7.

21. Badanie: Polska jest postrzegana przez Ukraińców jako miejsce do pracy based on the Personnel Service report on „Labour Immigration Barometer – 1st half of 2018” article from 20.03.2018.

22. Ukraińcy najbardziej lubią Polskę. Sondaż opinii społecznej based on the International Republican Institute's survey from June 2017, from [www.jagiellonia.org](http://www.jagiellonia.org) website, published on 25.08.2017.

23. #JestemMigrantem: Elena z Doniecka o swoim życiu w Polsce, from [blog.iom.pl](http://blog.iom.pl) website, published on 13.01.2016.

24. Polacy o pieniądzu nie dbają – opowieści ukraińskich pracowników, from [www.stacjaflipa.pl](http://www.stacjaflipa.pl) website, published on 19.09.2017.

25. Ibidem

26. Polacy i Ukraińcy są sobie bliżsi niż jeszcze kilka lat temu, from [www.expressbydgoski.pl](http://www.expressbydgoski.pl) website, interview published on 9.05.2016.

27. Ukraińcy chcą zostać w Polsce. Chwalą sobie poziom życia

perception of history is the main issue. According to Wołodymyr Wjatrowycz, Director of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, the new Act on the Institute of National Remembrance targets primarily Ukrainians currently living in our country.<sup>27</sup> "Ukrainians in Poland are discriminated to a large extent both in public life and individually," state the authors of the report Ukrainian minority and migrants from Ukraine in Poland ("Mniejszość ukraińska i migranci z Ukrainy w Polsce") published by the Association of Ukrainians in Poland.<sup>28</sup> Crimes on grounds of nationality surely have a negative impact on how some Ukrainians see Poland. Piotr Tyma, President of the Association, pointed out that "physical attacks on Ukrainians are a countrywide phenomenon in Poland"<sup>29</sup> To sum up, it follows from the reports that Ukrainians perceive Poland as a country representing a higher level of economic development and are keen to come here to work seasonally or permanently. A large

inflow of Ukrainian immigrants since Euromaidan has significantly improved the level of knowledge about Poland among Ukrainian nationals. To most immigrants Poland is more modern than Ukraine, offers many more development opportunities, and Poles are friendly, kind and religious people. Ukrainians point to the clean surroundings, care for "one's property", quality roads as well as efficient public transport which is always on schedule. Unfortunately, there are also problems mentioned especially by particular representatives of Ukrainian parties. Those problems involve mainly different perception of "hot spots" in the common history and mostly related discrimination of Ukrainians in public life. Those spots may affect the perception of Poland as an inhospitable or intolerant country, in extreme cases – a hostile country. Still, one may state that Poland and Poles are perceived rather positively or neutrally by the Ukrainian emigration and Ukrainians in Ukraine.

based on an ARC Rynek i Opinia survey, from [www.rp.pl](http://www.rp.pl) website, published on 26.04.2018.

**28.** Ustawa o „banderyźmie” jest skierowana przeciwko Ukraińcom w Polsce – Wjatrowycz, from [www.wschodnik.pl](http://www.wschodnik.pl), published on

2.02.2018.

**29.** Ukraińcy w Polsce są dyskryminowani. Państwo polskie nie robi prawie nic, żeby im pomóc, from [www.oko.press](http://www.oko.press) website, published on 1.04.2018.

## 2.4 Ukrainian assimilation

To begin with, it is worth analysing the thesis about the easy assimilation of Ukrainians. One may agree with the statement that similar culture, language and customs make assimilation easier, however, Ukrainians often function within their social networks both at work and in their place of residence. Ukrainian construction workers are a good example as they constitute a vast majority at some construction sites. In Bielany, in Wrocław's suburbs, the whole staff of a McDonald's restaurant is of Ukrainian nationality, except for the manager, who is Polish. They speak Ukrainian with one another; the same is the case in hostels or houses where they jointly rent rooms. Hence, their contact with Polish is often limited only to shopping. Ukrainians establish trade unions and the younger generations attend events organised just for them.

With regard to Polish-Ukrainian marriages, a 2.5-times increase could be observed in recent years. In 2015, 3,367 binational marriages, i.e. entered into by citizens of two different nationalities (in that case Poles and foreigners), were recorded. In 2017, this number increased to 4,662 – which is the highest value in the last 20 years. In terms of Polish-Ukrainian marriages, their number increased from 400 in 2013 to 1,000 in 2017 which is related to the increased inflow of immigrants from Ukraine. A further raise in that number is expected. Interestingly, while Ukrainian women are the most desirable wives among female foreigners, Polish women marry Britons most frequently with Ukrainians only in fourth position, behind Germans and Italians<sup>30</sup>.

Ukrainian pupils in Polish schools may be divided into 2 groups. The first group includes children who can speak Polish, the second – those who struggle to communicate in this language. Foreign children are provided with 3 hours of Polish language and 2 hours of other subjects per week in their first year,

however teachers complain that they remember very little after those classes. An assistant translating to pupils who do not know the language may distract other pupils. As a solution, teachers suggest an additional year, before the commencement of classes, to teach the children Polish, as is the case in western countries. Even despite using the language at home, specialist terminology – which is not used in everyday conversations – is used in some classes, e.g. biology, that a child will not understand (e.g. photosynthesis or paramecium). Ukrainian pupils assimilate easily and quickly learn the language. Local governments are increasingly appointing multicultural advisors, as is the case in Kraków, for example. In Kraków, Warsaw and Wrocław, teachers teaching Polish as a foreign language are subsidised by city authorities.

More and more pupils from Ukraine choose Polish secondary schools and higher education institutions. Universities in particular are interested in Ukrainian students, because they provide additional income. Currently, over half of foreign students are Ukrainian citizens. Are they really always a positive phenomenon? One of the voices in the discussion is the article titled "Incubation school" ("Szkoła wysiadywania") in one of Polish weekly magazines<sup>31</sup>. In 2018, Poland had 37,683 students from Ukraine – twice as many as in 2013. One of the characters featured in the article says that the inflow of tuition fees is what matters the most to a higher education institution. He obtained the document entitling him to study (a certificate confirming his communicative command of the Polish language) illegally, therefore he does not understand much during the lectures. He is an Uber driver which allows him to earn an average Ukrainian wage in two days and learn about Polish culture. In order to survive in the conditions of demographic decline, universities had to attract students. They achieved that by dumping prices – to levels much lower than

30. Ataki fizyczne na Ukraińców w całej Polsce. Piotr Tyma: to nie jest tylko Internet, published on 9.02.2018.

31. W ostatnich latach 2,5-krotnie wzrosła liczna małżeństw polsko-ukraińskich, <https://www.wprost.pl/kraj/10101114/w-ostatnich-la->

tach-25-krotnie-wzrosła-liczba-malzenstw-polsko-ukrainskich.html published on 31.01.2018.

32. Szkoła wysiadywania, <https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/twojemiasto/1748376,1,skad-nagle-w-polskich-miastach-tylu->

in western Europe. Especially after the legislative changes introduced in 2015, when the students of full-time studies were allowed to work legally, the number of foreigners working in Poland began to increase dramatically. Some higher education institutions did not check language competence of the foreigners, other gave them multiple opportunities to pass tests or applied favourable treatment during exams to avoid crossing them out of student lists; other advertised in Ukrainian markets. Interesting are also the data concerning the earnings of universities connected to foreign students. It was estimated that the income of a higher education institution in Lublin related to having foreign students enrolled, is approximately PLN 53 million. Thanks to purchases, rents, etc. the city profits approximately PLN 80 million per annum from foreigners. In 2012, Lublin introduced internationalisation of its higher education institution to the city strategy and began to materially benefit from that. Lublin's higher education institutions currently offer 50 instead of 4 fields of studies in English; there is also a high demand for IT studies. More and more Ukrainians also start businesses in Poland. They are particularly happy about the fact that there is no need to offer bribes at each step; they complain about attaching too much importance to the history of both nations. In general, Ukrainian citizens praise Poland and the majority of them does not want to return home.

When writing about the positive aspects of Ukrainian citizens' arrival in Poland one should not forget the negative effects of their coming. In

2017, the number of offences committed by foreigners increased by as much as 40 %. The number of wrongdoings committed by them increased by approximately 80 % over the past 2 years. In 2017, foreigners committed 6,264 offences in Poland, of which half (3,600) were committed by Ukrainian citizens. The most common crimes committed by Ukrainians were those related to drunk driving and road traffic offences – together they accounted for more than 90 percent of all crimes committed by the citizens of this country: 1.6 thousand were related to driving under the influence of alcohol and 1.7 thousand concerned traffic offences. Ukrainians follow the reasoning that if police officers in Ukraine, who are scarce, can be bribed, then the same mechanism works in Poland. Evading tickets is also problematic – the Border Guard cannot give tickets based on speed camera recordings. An example is an intoxicated Ukrainian lorry driver who rammed cars in a traffic jam killing two persons in the Dolnośląskie Voivodeship. The number of the prosecuted Ukrainians is also growing exponentially – in 2017, it was 3,253 citizens of Ukraine, which accounts for 80 % of all foreigners prosecuted. However, given 10 million Ukrainians who crossed the Polish border, it is estimated that the number of offences they commit is proportionate to the number of them staying in Poland.

Another problem Ukraine faced in 2018 was the measles epidemic. In the analyzed year, over 50 thousand people fell ill with this disease. The disease is transmitted to Poland, where for the first time in many years new cases are reported.

## 2.5 Case studies

Advertising campaigns targeting Ukrainians are an interesting case. This is a growing market, taking into account over a million of Ukrainians staying in Poland who transferred more than PLN 9.6 million to their families in Ukraine in the 1st half of 2018. Thus, the first to implement campaigns targeting Ukrainians were banks. BZ WBK came first, offering a website in Ukrainian and subsequently a helpline in this language in 2017. Not much later other banks, including PKO BP and Pekao SA, took similar actions. Play was the first company which began to broadcast mass scale advertising in television in Ukrainian. At the same time, Ukrainian-language advertisements of that network appeared in the streets and a helpline in this language was launched. Apart from banks, also paying agencies opened up to Ukrainians, reaching the clients directly, e.g. by opening a branch on a Polish-Ukrainian border.

Also transport companies saw additional income opportunities. PKP, LOT and Wizzair launched additional connections to Ukraine and so did Ukrainian transport companies. At the moment a train from Przemyśl leaves for Lviv twice a day and the journey lasts two hours. The price of a second-class ticket is approximately 270 Ukrainian hryvnias, an equivalent of less than PLN 37.<sup>32</sup> Connections between Przemyśl and Odessa, and Warsaw/Wrocław/Lublin and Kiev are also popular.<sup>33</sup> Katowice airport created a Ukrainian version of their website already in 2009.

Many cities, e.g. Poznań or Lublin, have Ukrainian versions of their websites. As of March 2019, Warsaw ticket machines, apart from English, Russian and German language versions, offer also a Ukrainian version. McDonald's went a step further and placed job advertisements in Ukrainian in its restaurants,

succeeding in attracting many employees from that country.

Other local governments also try to attract Ukrainian citizens. The example of Gdańsk may be described here. The Gdańsk Labour Office opened its branch in Lviv where the residents can obtain information on job offers in the Pomorskie Voivodeship and learn about the tourist and cultural attractions of the region. The Gdańsk Information Office in Lviv also organises meetings at which one can learn about the up-to-date provisions on legalising a stay in Poland. The Office plans to establish an assistance point for foreigners in the nearest future. As mentioned above, Lublin is also very active in attracting Ukrainians. It is one of the Intercultural Cities of the Council of Europe and belongs to the Team for Migration and Integration of the Polish Metropolises Union, whereby it works to adjust public services to the needs of foreigners. The Lublin City Hall has a Service Point for Foreigners operated by a Ukrainian citizen. Employees of other departments assist Ukrainian students and graduates of Lublin's higher education institutions in finding work and internships. The Lublin Labour Office organised a discussion panel on the procedures for employing foreigners, among other things. It was attended by the representatives of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, the Border Guard, Voivodeship Office, Business Centre Club and powiat labour offices. Powiat labour offices also hosted conferences on the provisions regulating employment of foreigners. Moreover, the offices also distribute information leaflets for both employers (how to employ a foreigner) and foreigners (how to find employment in Poland)<sup>34</sup>.

34. As of 4.02.2019 – the National Bank of Poland's average exchange rate, <https://www.nbp.pl/Kursy/KursyA.html>

35. Pociągi na Ukrainę 2019 – nowe połączenia, rozkład i ceny

biletów, <https://ukrainamarcina.pl/pociagi-na-ukraine/> retrieved on 4.02.2019.



# 3

## Forecasts



## 3.0 Forecasts

The liberalisation of the German labour market only in 2020 is good news for the Polish labour market. Also, those changes will not be as liberal as promised. Therefore, the main task of migration policy creators should be to keep the Ukrainian citizens currently working in Poland through a system of incentives. Ukraine's migration potential is also drying up. The best solution for the Polish economy would be to attract Polish emigrants currently working primarily in the United Kingdom and in Germany. This is approximately 3 million people in total – in such a case no immigration from any country would be required. Polish economy is currently developing very quickly, the lowest unemployment rate in history is reported, wages are also on the rise. All that was possible due to the reforms implemented over the last three years. Remuneration remains problematic – e.g. in Germany, average gross earnings amount to EUR 3,283 per month (PLN 14,123.14), in Poland it is gross PLN 4,973.00, i.e. the amount in Germany is higher than in Poland by 184 %. As already mentioned, average earnings in Ukraine amount to PLN 1 thousand gross, i.e. 5-fold less than in Poland and 14-fold less than in Germany – it reflects the disproportions in development between Poland, Ukraine and Germany. Therefore, conditions should be created for entrepreneurs to return and to encourage the entrepreneurs who are already in Poland to raise wages, hence persuading Poles to return from abroad. On the other hand, there is an outflow of Ukrainian citizens working in the construction sector to German construction sites, where they work in the grey market. Polish entrepreneurs might be a little alarmed by Slovakia's liberalisation of its labour market for foreigners at the beginning of 2019. In this country, a Ukrainian may receive a work permit for a practically indefinite period, if the occupation they pursue is on the list of wanted professions *szukiwanych*<sup>35</sup>. Still,

this is a small labour market, therefore a mass outflow of Ukrainians from Poland to Slovakia is not a threat to us.

The factors positively affecting the labour market in the destination country of an immigrant have a negative impact on the market of their country of origin. According to the estimations by the international organisation for migration, approximately 12 % of labour force has already left Ukrainian market. This will have a negative effect on Ukraine's economic development. Currently, there are no takers for many positions – physically. UN estimates that by 2050 the number of Ukrainians living in Ukraine will fall to 36.4 million, i.e. a level below the current population of Poland.

According to the newest study by the Public Opinion Research Center "Attitude to other nations" ("Stosunek do innych narodów"), Ukrainian citizens do not enjoy too much affection from Poles<sup>36</sup>. Ukrainians, after Arabs, Roma and Russians are the least liked among Poles – as much as 40 % of Poles have a negative attitude towards them. 28 % of Poles have a neutral attitude to Ukrainian citizens. 24 % of Poles are positive about the presence of Ukrainians in Poland. In terms of affection, Ukrainians are perceived more favourably than Arabs, Roma, Russians, Serbs, Belarusians and Vietnamese, ex aequo with Jews, Chinese and Latvians. With respect to the level of affection, in 2018 it fell by 12 percentage points relative to the year before. Currently, it levels with the result for 2006. As far as the level of reluctance is concerned, it was over 60 % in the early 1990s. Since 2008, the level has been around 30 %, rising to 40 % only in the last year. One may wonder whether the increased inflow of Ukrainian citizens led to an increase in reluctance towards them or perhaps other factors contributed. In the early 1990s, Poles' contacts with Ukrainians were not as intense as it is today. The presence of over 2 million Ukrainian citizens may lead to different types of conflicts. Will this situation

36. Ukraińcy w Polsce: Są i będą potrzebni, <https://www.rp.pl/Widziane-z-regionu/307209952-Ukraińcy-w-Polsce-Sa-i-beda-potrzebni.html> article from 20.07.2008, retrieved on 11.02.2019.

37. A. Błaszczak, Trudniej o pracowników zza wschodniej granicy, *Rzeczpospolita* no 31 (11274), published on 6.02.2019.

38. Stosunek do innych narodów, Public Opinion Research Center, communication on research, 37/2018, March 2018.

change in the next several years? Will Ukrainian citizens start a mass exodus from Poland and move to other EU countries characterised by higher demand for workers and remuneration – e.g. Germany or Czech Republic? Surely Poland has an advantage over those countries in terms of proximity, which

results in current very cheap connections, in particular for west Ukrainian residents. Language is another advantage for Poland – like Ukrainian it belongs to the family of Slavic languages as opposed to German. Many Ukrainian citizens are of Polish descent – this is another reason why they might stay in Poland.

# Figures

	Page
<b>Figure 1.</b> The number of work permits issued to Ukrainian citizens in 2017 by the Classification of Occupations and Specializations and major groups of occupations.	17
<b>Figure 2.</b> The number of work permits issued to Ukrainian citizens in the first half of 2018 by the Classification of Professions and Specialties and profession groups.	19
<b>Figure 3.</b> Average monthly net remuneration of a citizen of Ukraine in Poland in the 2nd half of 2018.	19
<b>Figure 4.</b> Amount of income sent to family in Ukraine.	21
<b>Figure 5.</b> Method of transferring income to family in Ukraine.	21
<b>Figure 6.</b> Average monthly living costs of a Ukrainian citizen in Poland in the 2nd half of 2018.	21
<b>Figure 7.</b> Average duration of a Ukrainian citizen's stay in Poland in the 2nd half of 2018.	22



