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## Labour force shortages and the demand for foreign labour

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### **Abstract**

*The phenomenon of labour migration and the demand for foreign workers is one of the points of interest of researchers specialized in contemporary issues of the labour market. Negative demographic trends and changes in the size of labour resources, projected for the future, force us to reflect on the future role of foreigners in the national and regional labour markets. The aim of this paper is to present some results of research on the demand for the work of foreigners in five voivodeships of eastern Poland. Particular emphasis is placed on the issue of labor shortages and their impact on the demand for foreign workers.*

Keywords: Labour force shortages, demand for foreign labour

### **1. Introduction**

One of the characteristic features of economic migration is its specific stability. This has been an object of research in many fields of science into its causes, economic and social consequences and the permanence of the phenomenon.

Analyses of the demand for foreign labour account for a significant amount of research into population movements. If identifying the reasons for economic migrations from the point of view of the migrants or their households is based on rather obvious economic factors, it is more difficult to explain the causes of demand for foreign labour from the perspective of the economy of the host country.

Poland is known for its negative balance of foreign migrations, which is caused by relatively large economic emigration. The phenomenon of economic immigration and the demand for foreign labour associated with it is not a popular research problem. Obviously, there have been a number of papers published as the outcome of research into this phenomenon, but they usually deal with the demand for foreign labour in metropolitan areas.

Changes in the size of the natural and spatial movement, as well as the general availability of different demographic forecasts, make the prospect of a considerable reduction of the labour force in Poland in the nearest future obvious (Organiściak-Krzykowska, Piotrowski 2011). This is a valid reason for taking up studies of the present and future role of foreigners on the Polish

labour market. The outward forces on the peripheral areas, which result in their systematic depopulation and ageing, make such areas an interesting object of research.

The first part of the article explains the basic categories of external migrations and demand for labour in its broad sense, including the demand for foreign labour, based on the literature on the subject.

The next part of the article presents and provides an interpretation of the results of the author's research into the most important factors which affect the scale of demand for foreign labour, especially labour shortages or barriers encountered by employers who intend to hire foreigners<sup>1</sup>.

The article also evaluates the scale of legal employment of foreigners based on aggregate data provided by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. It also focuses on the major legal acts which regulate the employment of foreigners in Poland.

## **2. The nature of demand for foreign labour in Poland**

The labour market in Poland is characterised by two overlapping and interrelated segments: the labour force supply and the demand for labour. The labour force is the part of the population willing and ready to take up work. Demand for labour is the number of jobs which are offered in the economy in specific socioeconomic conditions (Kwiatkowski 2010).

Demand for labour, which is a kind of barometer of the condition of the economy, is not a uniform category. The literature on the subject provides a number of attempts to distinguish and categorise the concept. For this article, it seems necessary to define two types within the category. When the demand for labour is satisfied, it means that a vacant job has been filled. Potential demand is determined by the willingness to hire workers reported by specific employers (Grabowska-Lusińska, Żylicz 2008). When considering demand for foreign labour and the process of hiring foreigners, taking into account the barriers and stimulants which determine the size of such demand, the two components of demand for labour, mentioned and defined above, should be taken into account.

The process of external migration is an inseparable part of the social reality of most countries around the world. The bilateral trade agreements signed by Poland with other countries, liberalisation of the rules of cross-border traffic and accessing the European Union – have all made international mobility common.

The literature on the subject describes a model of socioeconomic changes, called a migration cycle. The cycle consists of three phases, which are:

- a phase of internal mobility;

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<sup>1</sup> Badania zrealizowane w ramach grantu badawczego „Diagnoza i prognoza popytu na pracę cudzoziemców średnich i dużych przedsiębiorstw branży budowlanej w województwach Polski wschodniej”. Projekt został sfinansowany ze środków Narodowego Centrum Nauki.

(The research project „Diagnoza i prognoza popytu na pracę cudzoziemców średnich i dużych przedsiębiorstw branży budowlanej w województwach Polski wschodniej” was funded by the National Science Centre Poland)

- a phase of more-or-less mass foreign migrations;
- a phase in which the import of labour force becomes a necessity (Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2008).

When analysing the spatial mobility of Poles from a historic perspective, it is easy to distinctly identify the first two phases of the cycle. These involved an initial phase of internal migrations of the rural population to cities and a phase of large-scale external migrations, observed after borders were opened by some EU countries as a consequence of the Polish accession in 2004.

It is noteworthy that the foreign migrations of Poles have lost their mass character. The balance of external migrations with an intention of settling down abroad remains negative, but its size has been approaching zero in recent years. This makes one wonder if a transition from the second to the third phase of the cycle will take place in the nearest future.

Obviously, one must be aware of the fact that a change in the number of foreigners arriving in Poland annually, as a component of the foreign migration balance, cannot be thought to be a direct equivalent of the changes of the foreign labour supply – the data on work permits granted to foreigners in Poland every year are presented further in the article. However, it must be emphasised that most neo-classical theories of migration regard immigrants as a homogeneous community with limited socioeconomic resources. Such a community arrives in a country to find a job and to improve the quality and conditions of their lives. Therefore, finding a job is the foundation of migration (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Łodziński 2006).

The authors of the report entitled “Migration policy of Poland – current state and proposed actions” emphasise the uniqueness of the migration-related situation in Poland compared to most of the other EU countries – including the inflow of foreigners to the Polish labour market. This is a significant challenge for the national migration policy, while at the same time restricting the possibility of implementing solutions which have been tested in other countries (Polityka migracyjna Polski...2011).

One of the important factors determining the specific migration-related situation in Poland has been the mass nature of foreign travel in the post-accession period. Several important consequences of the scale of those emigrations for the migration policy have been pointed out. These include:

- the need for intensifying actions aimed at protecting citizens abroad;
- the need for promoting return migration, which is a consequence of the considerable capital owned by the emigrants;
- the need for adapting the labour market to the anticipated increase in the inflow of foreigners (Polityka migracyjna Polski...2011).

While focusing exclusively on the last of the consequences mentioned above, one should identify the main factors which – according to the authors of the report – may result in the increasing importance of employing foreigners in Polish companies. One of them is the increasing socioeconomic differentiation between Central and Eastern Europe. Poland, as one of the leaders of transformations and a country whose economy has been growing quite rapidly in recent years,

has become a relatively attractive destination for immigrants from countries not as well developed. Poland's accession to the EU is also one of the factors which attract foreigners. Another was Poland's accession to the Schengen area, which resulted in the free movements of people and freedom to conduct business activities. It has also been emphasised that post-accession mass movements of Polish migrants may have resulted in staff shortages in many Polish enterprises (Polityka migracyjna Polski...2011).

One of the reasons for the forecast increase in the inflow of foreigners to the Polish labour market is its segmentation. Several studies have indicated that the process of socioeconomic progress results in the isolation of new professions and jobs which are more or less attractive for employees, which may result in an intensified inflow of workers from other countries, for whom getting even such a less-attractive job may be a way of improving their living conditions (Piore 1979).

Most scientific circles have accepted the forecasts which anticipate an increase in the inflow of foreigners to the Polish labour market. The authors of a publication entitled "Does the Polish economy need foreigners?" presented various opinions expressed during an expert panel. According to most of the experts, the demand for foreign labour in Poland in the next decade will be growing, which will be associated with an increase in the supply of such labour. An important thing that the specialist said was also that they expect the foreign labour inflow to be rather constant (Grabowska-Lusińska, Żylicz 2008). Considering this, a number of recommendations for Polish migration policy have been developed on the ministerial level. The most important of them are:

- preferential legal regulations regarding foreign residency and working in the territory of Poland for selected groups of foreigners, including: people of Polish descent, students, scientists, people who graduated from Polish universities; foreigners who conduct business activities; economic immigrants with valuable qualifications; EU nationals and their families; members of the families of Polish nationals and foreigners who have settled in Poland; minors, especially minors who have no guardians; foreigners with potential for integration; people covered by protection in the territory of Poland; humanitarian and medical cases, victims of human trafficking and other categories which can be identified based on international agreements, partnerships for mobility, etc.;

- adapting migration policy to the priorities of labour market understood as the implementation of the mechanisms of systematic monitoring of supply and demand on the labour market, making foreign labour force complementary to native employees, implementing changes to make investments easier, developing a mechanism which facilitates getting a job in Poland, developing a system of active acquisition of foreign workers, simplifying regulations regarding the possibilities of foreigners working in Poland (Polityka migracyjna Polski...2011).

### **3. Factors which affect the hiring of foreigners**

This part of the article attempts to answer the question about the most important factors which encourage entrepreneurs to hire foreigners and about the most important barriers encountered by entrepreneurs who consider hiring them. It presents and interprets some of the findings of the research conducted on a sample of N=250 enterprises in five provinces in eastern Poland

(Warmia and Mazury, Podlaskie, Lubelskie, Świętokrzyskie, Podkarpackie). The table below presents the distribution of the study sample over the provinces (tab.1).

Tab. 1

Distribution of the study sample by province

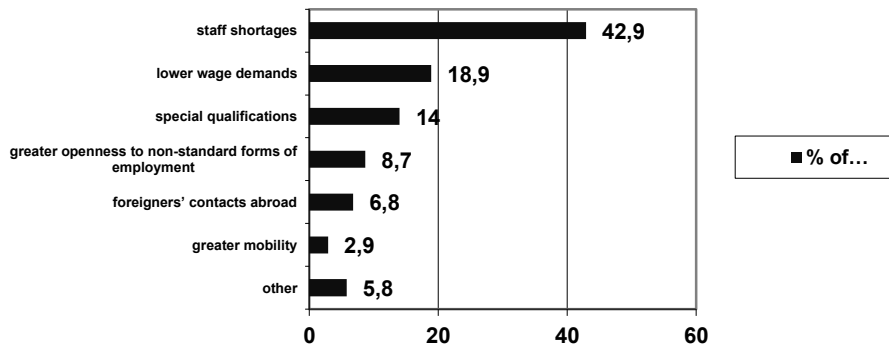
Province	Number of respondents in the study
Warmia and Mazury	45
Podlaskie	38
Lubelskie	55
Świętokrzyskie	44
Podkarpackie	68
Total	250

Source: Author’s study.

The study was conducted by a telephone survey CATI in 2012. Respondents, who were usually human resource specialists, mentioned several factors which provide considerable encouragement to hire foreigners. They were asked multiple-choice questions, so each respondent could mention more than one factor which – in their opinion – was a significant encouragement to hire foreigners (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1

Factors which encourage entrepreneurs to hire foreigners



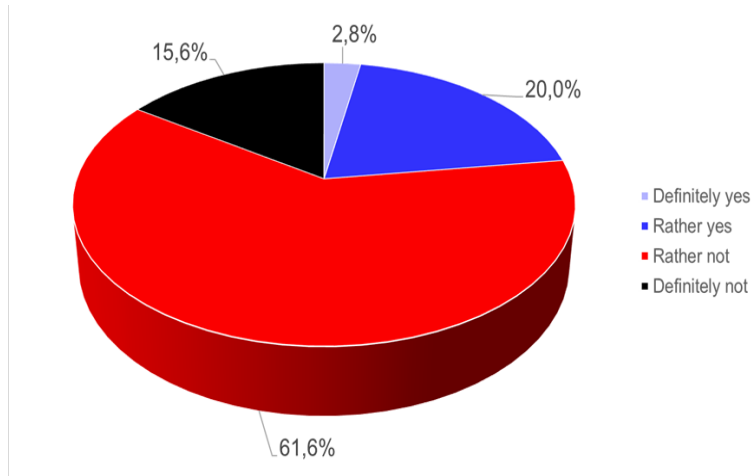
Source: Author’s study.

According to the responders, the greatest incentive to hire foreigners involved staff shortages (42.9% of the responses). Other important factors include lower wage demands (18.9% of the responses) and the specific nature of their professional qualifications – including their knowledge of foreign languages (14.0% of the responses). Factors with lower response rate included: greater openness to non-standard forms of employment, foreigners’ contacts abroad, their higher mobility and other factors perceived as an incentive to hire them – those mentioned above accounted for less than 10% of all the responses each.

Respondents were also asked to express their opinions on whether their enterprises experience staff shortages, which were regarded as the most important factor which encouraged entrepreneurs to hire foreigners (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2

Shortage of highly qualified workers as seen by entrepreneurs (% of responses)



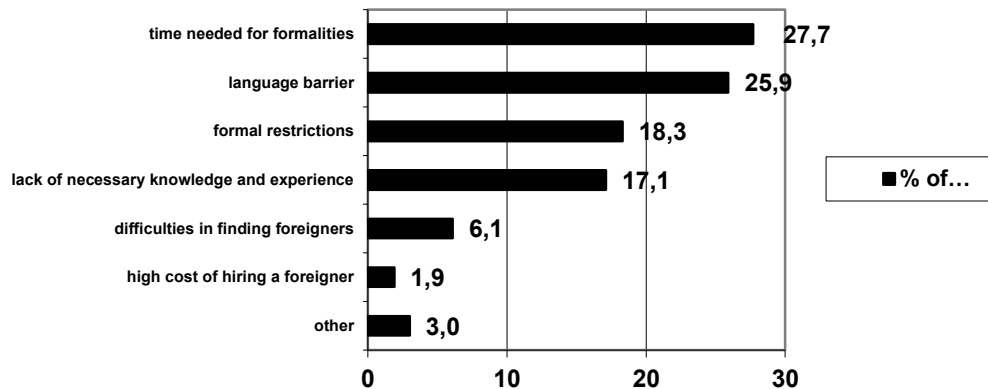
Source: Author's study

Nearly 23% of the responders said that their enterprises were experiencing shortages of qualified personnel. Over 15% of the responders claimed that their enterprise did not have any staff shortages; nearly 62% said that such shortages are rather not encountered at their enterprises. It seems that the entrepreneurs from the peripheral part of eastern Poland have considerable freedom in choosing their personnel and the relatively large scale of economic emigration from the area observed in recent years has not contributed to the creation of considerable staff shortages.

Respondents also expressed their opinions about the factors which restrict the possibility of employing foreigners, thereby specifying the list of the most important barriers encountered by entrepreneurs who are interested in employing foreign labour. As in the survey on incentives to employ foreigners, each respondent could indicate more than one answer (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3

### Barriers in employing foreigners



Source: Author's research.

Nearly 28% of all the responses to barriers in hiring foreigners mentioned the time needed for formalities. It is a factor which – according to the responders – is the most restrictive in hiring foreigners. What is important, the time needed for formalities was mentioned more frequently than the language barrier (25.9% of the responses) and, understood broadly, formal restrictions (18.3%). A relatively high percentage of responders indicated the factor described as the “lack of the necessary knowledge and experience in hiring foreigners” (17.1%). For this reason, the public authorities may want to organise an information campaign targeted to entrepreneurs with the aim of providing them with the necessary knowledge to reduce this barrier. The entrepreneurs less frequently indicated such factors as: difficulties in finding foreigners (6.1%), high costs of employment (1.9%) and other factors perceived as barriers to their employment (3%), which included mainly:

- unfavourable situation on the labour market and the consequent will to employ only the native labour force;
- no supply of foreign labour force;
- lack of knowledge of foreign culture and customs;
- no professional experience in foreigners searching for jobs.

#### 4. The size and structure of foreigners employed in Poland

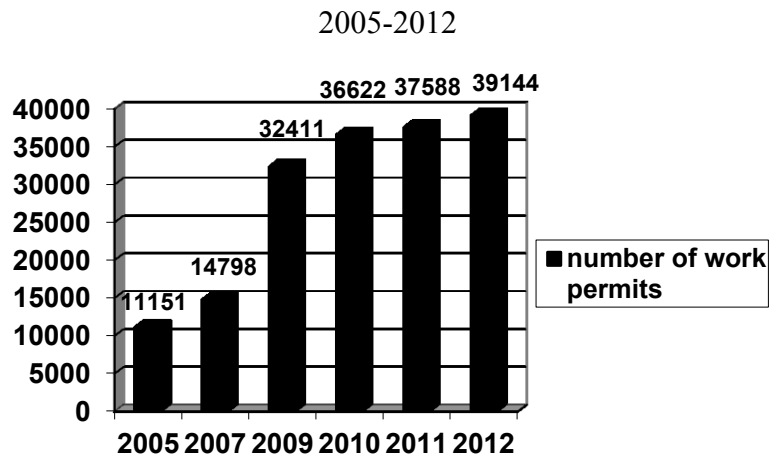
This part of the article is an attempt to define the scale of foreign employment in Poland by its most important indexes. Its aim was also to show the spatial differences in the demand for foreign labour and the foreign labour force supply.

The size of the demand for foreign labour and the scale of foreign employment has been fluctuating in recent years. Since entrepreneurs are increasingly willing to hire foreigners, the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy has started aggregating the most basic indexes in order to

monitor the issue. One of such indexes is the number of work permits granted to foreigners in different years (fig. 4).

Fig. 4

Work permits granted to foreigners in Poland in the years



Source: <http://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/> (17.06.2013); *Rocznik Demograficzny 2010*, Warszawa 2011.

The number of work permits granted to foreigners annually has been growing rapidly for the past seven years, which may be perceived as the ultimate proof of an increase in the attractiveness of Poland to foreigners, as mentioned earlier in this paper. During the first years following Poland’s accession to the EU, slightly over 11 thousand work permits were granted to foreigners. In 2012, the number exceeded 39 thousand. Poland now seems to be increasingly often a destination country, rather than only a transit country.

Extremely important knowledge can be gained from an analysis of the number of work permits granted to foreigners in different provinces (tab.2).



Tab. 2

## Work permits granted to foreigners in 2012 by province

Province	The number of work permits for foreigners
Dolnośląskie	1,961
Kujawsko-pomorskie	621
Lubelskie	1,059
Lubuskie	1,182
Łódzkie	1,016
Małopolskie	1,976
Mazowieckie	22,554
Opolskie	782
Podkarpackie	497
Podlaskie	303
Pomorskie	1,925
Śląskie	1,525
Świętokrzyskie	392
Warmia and Mazury	317
Wielkopolskie	2,182
Zachodniopomorskie	852

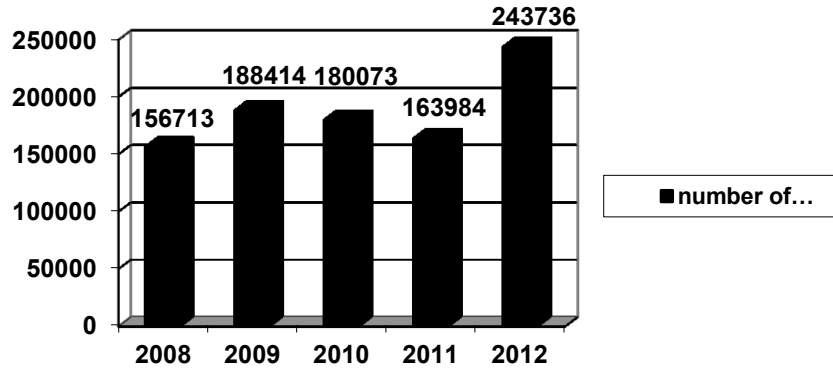
Source: <http://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/> (17.06.2013)

This table shows a significant disproportion in the number of permits granted in different provinces. Work permits granted to foreigners in Mazowieckie accounted for nearly 58% of all the permits. A relatively large number of permits, although much smaller, were granted in the following provinces: Wielkopolskie (5.6%), Małopolskie (5.0%) and Dolnośląskie (5.0%). The lowest percentage of all the work permits were recorded in the following provinces: Kujawsko-Pomorskie (1.6%) and the four provinces in the east of Poland: Podkarpackie (1.3%), Świętokrzyskie (1.0%), Warmia and Mazury (0.8%) and Podlaskie (0.7%).

One of the indicators of the potential demand for foreign labour is the number of employers declaring the intent to hire a foreigner. It should be stressed that declared demand for foreign labour, without the need to obtain work permits, has been relatively high in recent years. The following figure shows the changes in the number of employers' declarations of their intent to hire foreigners based on aggregate data provided by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (fig. 5).

Fig. 5

## Employers' declarations of intent to hire foreigners in the years 2008-2012



Source: <http://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/> (17.06.2013)

In 2008, employers made 157 thousand declarations of intent to hire a foreigner. The number of such declarations during the three analysed years lay within the range from 160 to 190 thousand. The year 2012 saw a significant increase in the number of declarations of intent to hire a foreigner, made by employers, by about 32% compared to the previous year. As with the number of work permits granted to foreigners, the number of the employers' declarations varies from province to province (tab.3).

Tab. 3

## Employers' declarations of intent to hire a foreigner in 2012 by province

Province	Number of declarations
Dolnośląskie	28,410
Kujawsko - Pomorskie	2,276
Lubelskie	19,325
Lubuskie	8,506
Łódzkie	6,039
Małopolskie	8,521
Mazowieckie	130,009
Opolskie	3,511
Podkarpackie	1,881
Podlaskie	1,165
Pomorskie	4,252
Śląskie	7,486
Świętokrzyskie	5,867
Warmia and Mazury	686
Wielkopolskie	12,285
Zachodniopomorskie	3,517
Total	243,736

Source: <http://www.mpips.gov.pl/analizy-i-raporty/cudzoziemcy-pracujacy-w-polsce-statystyki/> (17.06.2013)

The highest interest in hiring foreigners was observed in Mazowieckie (53.3%). A relatively high percentage of such declarations were made in the following provinces: Dolnośląskie (11.7%), Lubelskie (7.9%) and Wielkopolskie (5.0%). The lowest level of employers' interest in hiring foreigners was observed in the following provinces: Podkarpackie (0.8%), Podlaskie (0.5%), and Warmia and Mazury (0.3%).

These statistics provide some data on the scale of legal employment of foreigners in Poland and the demand for their work. They also show significant disproportions between different regions of the country.

The literature on the subject indicates that the demand for foreign labour is first felt and voiced by large urban centres. However, it would be a mistake to claim that only the largest cities experience the inflow of foreign labour force. Peripheral regions may encounter difficulties in finding a sufficient number of qualified workers, which justifies the experts' view that the demand for foreign labour will be increasing in the nearest future in these regions (Grabowska-Lusińska, Żylicz 2008).

## **5. Hiring foreigners according to Polish legal regulations**

The scale and nature of economic migrations from the point of view of a host country is greatly affected by its immigration policy, whose principles are implemented by the relevant legal regulations.

This chapter attempts to outline the most important rules followed in the process of hiring foreigners. It shows an analysis of the legal solutions which regulate the process of granting work permits to foreigners in Poland and presents a typology of the permits and discusses some cases in which hiring a foreigner does not require seeking a work permit. An analysis has been conducted of legal acts which regulate the rules of hiring foreigners – including mainly the Act on Promotion of Employment and Labour Market Institutions of 20.04.2004, hereinafter referred to as the Act, and the principal administrative acts. These regulations which establish the rules of granting residence permits to foreigners in Poland provide grounds for further analyses in future studies.

Poland, as a member state of the European Union, is obliged to respect the community legal regulations, which is associated with free access to the Polish labour market by EU citizens, other countries of the European Economic Area and Switzerland.

According to M. Duszczuk, it is one of the two major categories of foreigners which can be identified in analysis of Polish law which applies to hiring a foreigner. The other category includes citizens of third countries, who can be employed in Poland provided they hold a work permit<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, Art. 87.2.1-9 specifies the categories of foreigners who are released from the obligation to seek a work permit (Duszczuk 2012).

A work permit is required if a foreigner:

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<sup>2</sup> Duszczuk M. (2012). *Polska polityka imigracyjna...* op. cit.

- works in the territory of the Republic of Poland under an agreement with an entity whose seat or place of residence or a branch, plant or other form of organised activity, is situated in the territory of the Republic of Poland;

- stays in the territory of Poland in connection with occupying a position in the management board of a legal entity entered in the register of entrepreneurs or one which is a capital partnership under organisation, for a total period of more than 6 months during 12 consecutive months;

- works for a foreign employer and is seconded to work in the territory of the Republic of Poland for a period longer than 30 days during a calendar year in a branch or plant of the foreign entity or a related entity, as understood in the Act on personal income tax, with a foreign employer;

- works for a foreign employer, which does not have a branch, plant or any other form of organised activities in the territory of the Republic of Poland and is seconded to the territory of the Republic of Poland to provide services which are temporary and occasional in nature (export services);

- works for a foreign employer and is seconded to work in the territory of the Republic of Poland for a period not exceeding 3 months during 6 consecutive months with a different purpose than specified in clauses 2–4<sup>3</sup>.

In line with these categories of foreigners, the Minister of Labour and Social Policy, specified the following types of work permits:

1) A – applies to a foreigner who works in the territory of the Republic of Poland under an agreement with an entity whose seat or place of residence or a branch, plant or other form of organised activity is situated in the territory of the Republic of Poland;

2) B – applies to a foreigner who stays in the territory of Poland in connection with occupying a position in the management board of a legal entity entered in the register of entrepreneurs or one which is a capital partnership under organisation, for a total period of more than 6 months during 12 consecutive months;

3) C – applies to a foreigner who works for a foreign employer and is seconded to work in the territory of the Republic of Poland for a period longer than 30 days during a calendar year in a branch or plant of the foreign entity or its subsidiary or a related entity bound by a long-term cooperation agreement with a foreign entity;

4) D – applies to a foreigner who works for a foreign employer, which does not have a branch, plant or any other form of organised activities in the territory of the Republic of Poland, and is seconded to the territory of the Republic of Poland to provide services which are temporary and occasional in nature (export services);

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<sup>3</sup> Dz.U. 2004 nr 99 poz. 1001

5) E – applies to a foreigner who works for a foreign employer and is seconded to work in the territory of the Republic of Poland for a period not exceeding 3 months during 6 consecutive months with a different purpose than specified in clauses 2-4<sup>4</sup>.

A work permit for a foreigner is granted by a provincial governor upon the written request of the employer who intends to hire the specific foreigner indicated in the request; the employer is a party to the proceedings. The procedure of granting a work permit depends on the type of permit requested by the entity.

If a permit for a type A foreigner is requested, the provincial governor – in order to avoid wage dumping and substitution of labour resources in the registry of the unemployed and job-seekers with foreign workers, considers the wage which is offered to the foreigner and orders the county head at the place of residence or the seat of the employer to conduct a “labour market test”. It involves an analysis of the registry of the unemployed and job-seekers, which may become the basis for the process of recruitment among the unemployed and job-seekers. Depending on whether such recruitment was organised or not, the county head informs the requesting employer about the test result within 14 or 7 days<sup>5</sup>.

A type A permit may also be issued without the need to conduct the labour market test. This is the case for deficit professions, if the work permit of a foreigner is extended for the same job and if it is not required under separate regulations<sup>6</sup>.

If a work permit for a type B foreigner is requested, the provincial governor’s decision depends on the income earned by the requesting entity. The province governor may also arbitrarily decide that although the income criterion is not met, such activities contribute to increasing investment, involve technology transfer, introduce beneficial innovations or job creation, will bear fruit in future and result in an increase in the income to the required level. The precise criteria of granting a type B work permit are provided in Art. 88 c section 4 clause 1-2 of the Act<sup>7</sup>.

If a type C, D or E type permit is requested, the provincial governor may issue such a permit, taking into consideration the criterion of its compliance with the provisions of the Labour Code, the wage proposed in the request and after the employer appoints a person residing in the territory of the Republic of Poland authorised to represent the employer before the province governor, head of the competent fiscal office, the local unit of the Social Security Office, consul, a unit of the National Labour Inspectorate, Customs Service and the Border Guard and Police<sup>8</sup>.

It appears that a work permit request form is not too complicated. Such a request should contain information on the type of permit requested by the employer, the basic information about the foreigner, the employer and on the job being offered, specifying the working hours, obligations and the wage offered to the foreigner. The appendixes to the request are much more complicated. There are 14 appendixes, and their number in a specific case depends on the type of the permit requested.

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<sup>4</sup> Dz.U. 2009 nr 16 poz. 84

<sup>5</sup> Dz.U. 2009 nr 16 poz. 84

<sup>6</sup> Dz.U. 2004 nr 99 poz. 1001

<sup>7</sup> Dz.U. 2004 nr 99 poz. 1001.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

It has been emphasised in the literature that the procedure of requesting a work permit for a foreigner in Poland is relatively liberal. It has also been pointed out that it could be simplified and the number of the appendixes to a request could be reduced (Duszczyk 2012).

Art 90 of the act on promotion of employment and labour market institutions specifies the factors and criteria which oblige to identify situations in which hiring a foreigner in the Republic of Poland is acceptable without having to seek a work permit. These include the specificity of the job, the nature of work and its duration, international agreements or international training and consulting programmes<sup>9</sup>.

Such special cases, mentioned in the regulation of the Minister of Labour and Social Policy, in which a foreigner can be hired without having to seek a work permit, include several specific jobs and social groups. These are:

- teachers of foreign languages, academic teachers, people conducting training sessions;
- foreign media correspondents;
- students in specific cases, listed in the regulation;
- athletes and people who work in connection with sport events;
- people who provides artistic services;
- priests who perform work in connection with their religious function;
- members of military personnel or civil personnel who work in international military structures in the territory of the Republic of Poland;
- personnel on secondment for a period not longer than 3 months;
- people who work for Members of the European Parliament;
- citizens of Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine who work for a period not exceeding 6 months during 12 consecutive months.

A detailed list of the profession groups with precise criteria is provided in the regulation<sup>10</sup>.

## **6. Summary**

The prospect of rapid shrinking of Polish labour resources over the next decades requires an in-depth analysis of the issue of hiring foreigners as one of the ways of alleviating the negative consequences of current demographic trends. Despite its still negative balance of migration, Poland is becoming more and more attractive to foreigners, who increasingly perceive it as more than a transit country. As a consequence, the inflow of foreigners and the number of work permits granted in Poland has been increasing from year to year.

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<sup>9</sup> Dz.U. 2004 nr 99 poz. 1001

<sup>10</sup> Dz.U. 2011 nr 155 poz. 919

What is extremely important is that the scale of the foreign employment varies from region to region, with Mazowieckie clearly dominating. According to the theories discussed earlier, it is the big cities which enjoy the greatest popularity among foreigners. It must also be emphasised that studies of the scale of their employment in Poland and its main determinants as well as the complementary or substitutionary nature of foreign labour force relative to the native labour resources, have so far been limited to the largest cities or the most developed regions. From this perspective, it seems necessary to conduct further studies which will also examine such issues in peripheral regions.

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Rozporządzenie Ministra Pracy i Polityki Społecznej z dnia 29 stycznia 2009 r. w sprawie wydania zezwolenia na pracę cudzoziemca

Ustawa z dnia 20 kwietnia 2004 r. o promocji zatrudnienia i instytucjach rynku pracy