



Eurofound

Ethnic entrepreneurship

Case study: Wrocław, Poland



[Click for contents](#)



Contents

About CLIP	1
1. Introduction	3
2. Profile of Wrocław	4
3. Wrocław's urban economy	6
4. Profiles of ethnic entrepreneurship	11
5. Policies, rules and regulations	18
6. Key challenges and lessons for CLIP	25
Bibliography	26
List of persons interviewed	27

About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) formed the ‘European network of cities for local integration policies’, henceforth known as CLIP.¹ This network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops, the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres, as well as between policymakers at local and European level.

The CLIP network currently brings together more than 30 large and medium-sized cities from all regions of Europe: Amsterdam (NL), Antwerp (BE), Arnsberg (DE), Athens (EL), Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirklees (UK), Liège (BE), Lisbon (PT), Luxembourg (LU), L’Hospitalet (ES), Malmö (SE), Mataró (ES), Newport (UK), Prague (CZ), Strasbourg (FR), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Turin (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zeytinburnu (TR) and Zürich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres in:

- Bamberg, Germany (European forum for migration studies, efms);
- Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research, ISR);
- Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, IMES);
- Turin (International and European Forum on Migration Research, FIERI);
- Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);
- Swansea, Wales (Centre for Migration Policy Research, CMPR).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation, access to, quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants’ integration into their host society. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module was intercultural policies and intergroup relations. This final module looks at ethnic entrepreneurship.

The case studies on ethnic entrepreneurship were carried out in 2010.

¹ See also <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm>

Acknowledgements

The researchers of the Institute of International Studies are responsible for this report and the author would like to thank all the interviewees for the time they have devoted, particularly Włodzimierz Patalas from the Municipality of Wrocław for his support.

The author is fully responsible for the content of this report, the copyright of which remains with Eurofound.

The fourth module of the CLIP network focuses on ethnic entrepreneurship, its role in the local economy and the policy created to facilitate setting up and developing small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Following the ‘mixed embeddedness’ logic, as has been explained in the concept paper for this fourth CLIP module (see Rath, 2010), it is posited that various components of the urban economy interact to produce a complex but dynamic ecological system, dramatically affecting the political economy of cities and, in so doing, entrepreneurial opportunities. The study therefore focuses on the emergence of ethnic entrepreneurs in the sectors and cities involved and the role of governmental and non-governmental regulations in it.

The basic research questions are as follows.

- What are the characteristics of the urban economy and what openings have emerged in a number of cities since 1980? How has the political economy of these cities evolved? More specifically, how has the SME sector in general developed in terms of number of businesses, volume of workforce, value of sales, variety of products and market segmentation and what has been (i) the spatial distribution, (ii) the distribution over the various sectors of the urban economy and (iii) the ethnic, gender and age composition?
- What kind of profiles of ethnic entrepreneurship can be identified? How does the emergence of ethnic entrepreneurship fit into the specific dynamics of the wider urban economy? Which general and specific barriers do ethnic entrepreneurs encounter and what are their competitive advantages? What are the structural determinants of the observed trends? What are the employment effects of ethnic business? How many and what quality of jobs have been generated on the local labour market?
- What state and non-state rules and regulations govern the SME sector in general and the ethnic SME sector in particular at the national and local levels and how have they shaped ethnic minorities’ self-employment trajectories? How have policy debates and interventions on (ethnic) entrepreneurship influenced the emergence of entrepreneurial opportunities, real or discursive, and further development of ethnic businesses? What policies can be found supporting the access to employment for migrants in ethnic businesses? (Rath, 2010)

The reports from the cities are based on existing data, research in this area and information from the common reporting scheme collected by the cities and from the field visit and interviews with the actors involved.

Wrocław is the capital of the Lower Silesia region and the fourth-largest city in Poland, with 634,000 inhabitants in the city and approximately one million when suburban areas are included. In terms of a geographical location, the city authority often uses the term ‘genius loci’, which refers to the city’s proximity to five European capital cities (Figure 1). The city’s thousand-year-old tradition stems from a variety of nations, religions and cultures. Throughout its history, Wrocław (also called Breslau or Vratislavia) was inhabited by a number of nationalities (Germans, Czechs, Poles, Jews) and was an important historical capital of Silesia. The city was lost by some sovereigns and regained by others, and the diverse cultures and traditions have left their mark on the city. For a long time, Wrocław was a peaceful home to different religions, including Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodox Church and Judaism. The historic district in the city centre, the District of Four Religions, is invariably the result of this period.

After the Second World War, the populace of Wrocław changed completely in the process of post-war resettlement due to border changes in this part of Europe. During this period, the German city of Breslau was transformed into the Polish city of Wrocław. Following the country’s transformation to a post-communist state in 1989, the city authorities began creating a local identity and the feeling of belonging to the city based on the different traditions and cultures that are a part of its history.

Figure 1: *Location of Wrocław*



Source: *Wrocław Agglomeration Development Agency (ARAW), 2008*

Wrocław has undergone different structural, political and social changes in the past 20 years as a result of the political transformation to a market economy and democracy. In contrast to other Polish cities, in the past 20 years, Wrocław was governed by the same political group and the development strategy was realised without any dramatic changes. The strategy of building the image of Wrocław as a friendly, open city – ‘the meeting place’ – has also been realised on a continuous basis. There are two messages in the local-level policy in Wrocław: developing an economy based on investments (mainly foreign direct investments) and a local identity-building process, creating a friendly place for both locals and people from outside the city.

Wrocław is currently one of the fastest-developing cities in Poland. In recent years, many economic and political factors have contributed to the increase in foreign direct investments in the surrounding districts of the city and the decrease of the unemployment rate (Table 1).

Table 1: *Registered unemployed persons*

Year	2000	2007	2008
Total	21,731	13,544	10,614
of which women	12,760	7,680	5,998
Unemployment rate (%)	7.3	4.5	3.5

Source: *Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2009*

Due to its convenient proximity to Germany, the Czech Republic and the A4 motorway connecting Germany with Ukraine, Wrocław may become the leading logistics centre in this part of Europe. Table 2 illustrates the 10 largest investments in the Wrocław area. Apart from the factories of a range of businesses, there has also been growth in the knowledge-based sector. Major companies such as Google, Hewlett-Packard, Siemens and UPS, to name a few, have opened branches in Wrocław.

Table 2: *Largest investment companies in Wrocław area*

Investor	Investment (€ million)	Country of origin	Sector
Allied Irish Bank	750	Ireland	Banking
Crédit Agricole	740	France	Banking, finance
Électricité de France International	600	France	Heating
LG Philips LCD	430	Korea	Consumer electronics
LC Corp	400	Poland	Real estate
Toyota	250	Japan	Automotive
Prologis	125	US	Logistics
Heasung Electronics	120	Korea	Consumer electronics
LG Electronic	105	Korea	Consumer electronics, white goods
Echo Investments	100	Poland	Real estate

Source: *ARAW (2008)*

In connection with the economic situation after EU accession, it is important to emphasise that due to the growth of cheap flight connections, Wrocław has experienced a boom in the tourist industry. In 2006, about two million foreign tourists visited (the third most visited city in Poland after Warsaw and Kraków), which also contributed to the reduction in unemployment in the city. Over the past 20 years, Wrocław has invested in cultural life, supporting different forms of cultural events like opera performances, theatre and cinema reviews.

Historical development of the urban economy

After the transformation in 1989 and the collapse of communism in Poland, the country experienced rapid structural and socioeconomic changes. First of all, the economic system changed to a market economy and the private sector and SMEs started to increase in importance. In an economy that was undergoing deep reforms after many years of central planning, setting up a business was a risky task, but thousands of entrepreneurs took the chance. However, they had to struggle with corrupt bureaucracy and an unclear legal system and most entrepreneurs were unable to obtain bank loans.

In communist Poland, the majority of the working population was employed in industries. Starting from the early 1990s, this percentage changed due to the decrease of employment in industry and the increase of employment in the private sector, mainly in services. The big government companies closed down, which also affected the increase in unemployment.

From the mid-1990s, the local government of the city of Wrocław emphasised attracting foreign investors as a catalyst for local economic development and for reducing the high unemployment rate. In the case of Wrocław and its surrounding districts, some specific factors were important for foreign direct investments: the city's geographical location, which is close to the Czech Republic, Germany and the crossroads from western Europe to eastern Europe (Ukraine, Belarus) and from northern Poland to southern Europe; a stable political situation in the city (the same political group has been in power for the past 20 years, which is surely an exception in the young democracies in the central and eastern European countries); and the local authority's attempts to create an investment-friendly atmosphere.

For a long time, the department responsible for contacts with potential investors was part of the city administration structure. To improve the approach to investors, the city authority established the Wrocław Agglomeration Development Agency (ARAW) in 2006 as a partnership of the local governments.

The role of the agency is to stimulate economic growth and to attract investors to the region. According to the agency's website, for strategic investors, the City of Wrocław is able to:

- appoint a personal project manager to guide investors through all procedures;
- provide exemption from property tax;
- assure a professional recruitment process together with the Local Labour Office;
- initiate and support collaboration between Wrocław business and academic centres (ARAW, 2008).

In the last 10 years, city authorities have been promoting the knowledge-based economy and attempting to promote cooperation between universities and large companies located in the Wrocław area. Wrocław is an academic city with many universities and secondary schools. Based on the initiative of the city of Wrocław, foreign companies started to cooperate with the secondary schools in many different projects. The first action addressed towards migrants was organised by the city authority in cooperation with its universities and the information technology corporation Hewlett-Packard (the company was looking for qualified workers for future development) in seven Ukrainian cities. The campaign encompassed 100 billboards, 50 citylight panels and a website in the Ukrainian language (<http://www.teperwroclaw.pl>). These events were meant to encourage young people to study in Wrocław and to find a place to work and live there in the future. The campaign began in December 2006 and was continued, with some modifications, until 2008. In January 2008, the city signed a cooperation agreement with the universities of Wrocław on the collaboration and promotion of study in Wrocław among potential students from central and eastern Europe, mainly from Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine. These kinds of recruitment campaigns have been important for the investors in

Wrocław due to the post-accession outflow from the Wrocław labour market. Some companies, such as LG Philips, faced problems with recruitment due to this process.

Main industries and services

As already mentioned, in the last 20 years, Poland and Wrocław have moved from the industry-based, central planning economy that was characteristic of communist countries to a market economy. There was a significant increase in SMEs in the services sector, and according to experts and interviewees, this sector is going to develop in the coming years to reach a comparable level with other European cities. At present, due to the foreign direct investments, the information technology, financial services and automotive production industries are the driving factors for the local economy. Another growing sector where foreign investments are visible is construction. The hotel, restaurant, bar and entertainment sectors, which were almost nonexistent, have also been rapidly growing in the city.

Size of workforce

In 2009, Wrocław consisted of 632,200 people, which is 22% of the total population of the Lower Silesia region. At that time, for every 100 people of working age there were 51 of post-working age, which is high in comparison to other cities in the EU. The unemployment rate at the end of 2008 was at a low level of 3.5%, which was a result of the booming economy after Poland's EU accession. At the end of 2009, the level of unemployment in the city increased to 4.8%, which was influenced by the global economic crisis. In the past two years, the highest increase in employment was in the real estate, logistics, services (restaurants, hotels) and construction sectors (Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2010).

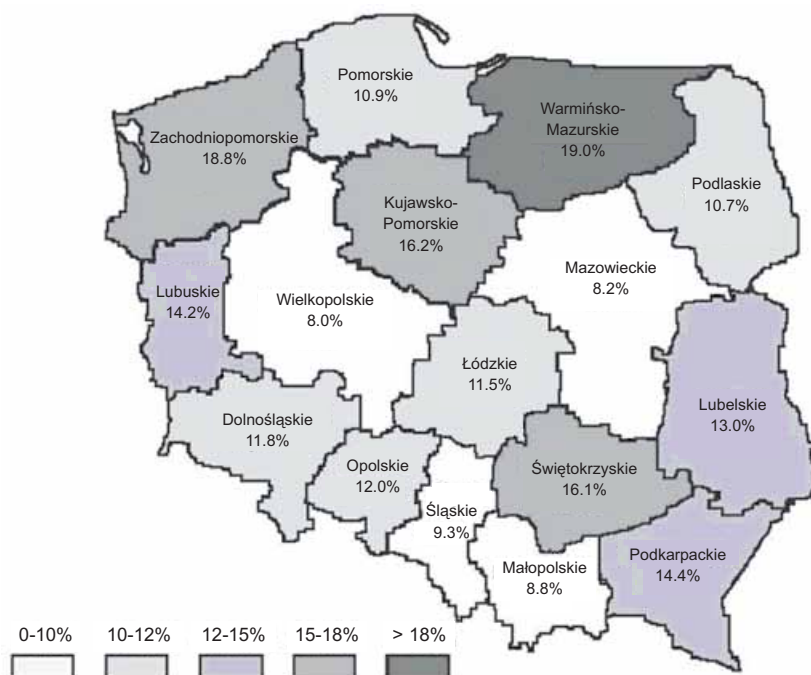
Table 3: *Population of Wrocław in 2000, 2007 and 2008*

Year	2000	2007	2008
Total (thousands)	640.6	632.9	632.2
Men	301.5	295.6	295.0
Women	339.1	337.3	337.1
Pre-working age	117.6	93.2	92.7
Working age	414.3	422.9	420.5
Post-working age	108.7	116.9	119.0

Source: *Based on data from the Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2009*

Comparing the unemployment in Wrocław and the level of unemployment in the whole Lower Silesia region, it must be stressed that a low level of unemployment is characteristic for the city and its surrounding districts, while other parts of the region suffer from higher unemployment, mainly in the rural areas (which were public farms during the communist era) and former coal mine areas, which were closed down due to the structural changes in the economy. In general, unemployment in the region is about 11%. To compare this with other regions in Poland, see Figure 2.

Figure 2: Unemployment rate in Poland



Source: Based on data from the Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2009

Characteristics of the workforce

In the middle of 2009, the working population of Wrocław was 419,478, of which there were 211,385 men (aged 18–64) and 208,093 women (aged 18–59). As mentioned above, the increase in employment in the past three years applies to construction, services, real estate and logistics and the decrease in unemployment was related to administration and industry. Table 4 presents the number of employed persons in the various sectors of the economy in Wrocław.

Table 4: *Employed persons in the national economy as of 31 December 2008**

Year	2000	2007	2008
Industry	42,958	38,941	40,778
Construction	17,904	12,447	13,860
Trade	24,121	34,652	35,109
Hotels and restaurants	4,015	4,407	5,236
Transport, storage and communication	16,787	17,135	15,915
Financial intermediation	9,484	11,817	18,988
Real estate, renting and business activities	21,556	27,876	39,234
Public administration	10,953	14,372	14,517
Education	24,608	26,712	26,924
Health and social welfare	21,869	16,941	17,735
Other community, social and personal services	5,276	5,148	5,432
Total	200,260	211,156	234,481

Note: * Concerns economic entities employing more than nine people (excluding private farmers) by actual workplace.
Source: Based on data from the Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2009

Development of SMEs

The development of the SME sector was strongly related to the change in the political and economic system in Poland after 1989. According to a European Commission fact sheet for Poland (2008):

...there are approximately 37 SMEs per 1,000 inhabitants in Poland, which is more or less in conformity with the EU27 average. Nonetheless, available data suggest that Polish SMEs do not reach the same relative importance that their peers do elsewhere in Europe. Although in employment terms they offer relatively more jobs than the EU average, their share in the country's overall value-added creation is substantially lower than the EU average. The less favourable figures refer to the micro and small business segments, while the medium-sized business segment matches the EU average.

Table 5: Companies in the national economy by number of employees as of 31 December 2008

Year	2000	2007	2008
Total	90,622	93,781	95,602
< 9 people	87,697	90,273	91,951
10–49	2,122	2,748	2,850
50–249	620	609	641
250–999	155	117	129

Source: Based on data from the Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2009

It is important to add that the relatively short history of the Polish market economy and the rapid change from the planned economy with deep reforms in all sectors of entrepreneurial life makes it impossible to compare western European urban economies with cities from the central and eastern European region. According to experts from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): ‘In comparison with more established EU Member States, private enterprises in Poland are significantly smaller in size, with a vast majority of micro enterprises and very few firms that are technology-based and/or engaged in high value-added activity.’

From the beginning of the 1990s there was a boom in the development of business education on different levels due to the expansion of the private sector, which attracted young people aiming at a quick career and high wages. Business education still attracts many young people but based on indicators presented by the European Commission, there has been no impact on developing entrepreneurial attitudes (see fact sheet mentioned above).

Figure 3: Number of active SMEs per 1,000 inhabitants in Polish voivodeships, 2007



Source: Polish Agency for Enterprise Development (PARP), 2008

Sectoral and spatial distribution of SMEs

The sectors employing the most people in Wrocław are construction, trade, real estate and business activities (Table 6).

Table 6: Entities of national economy by sections in 2008

Section of economy	Percentage
Industry	7.8
Construction	10.3
Trade	26.5
Hotels and restaurants	2.2
Transport, storage and communication	6.7
Financial intermediation	4.1
Real estate, renting and business activities	27.1
Education	2.3
Health and social welfare	5.3
Other sections	7.4

Source: Statistical Office in Wrocław, 2009

Recent changes

The impact of the recent world economic crisis has not yet been analysed by the Statistical Office. It is important to add that the economic crisis has not affected Poland as much as other European Union countries. According to governmental data, there has been a small slowdown in the booming economy, but in general there is still growth in the Polish economy. The economic crisis has been seen at the local level in Wrocław, with a slight increase in unemployment in some sectors.

Definition of ethnic entrepreneurship

The terms ‘ethnic entrepreneurs’ or ‘immigrant entrepreneurs’ do not exist in any official document or in common use. Due to the low number of long-term immigrants in Poland, the terminology use in everyday life is very limited. The most commonly used terms are ‘foreigner’ or ‘foreign person’, which describes a person from another country. This term describes neither the reason for staying in Poland nor the time of the potential stay. In the official documents about SMEs, the term ‘foreign physical or juridical person’ is used to describe a person without Polish citizenship. The development of immigrant entrepreneurs is at an early stage in Poland and businesses run by immigrants are not very visible or targeted at immigrant groups. The most visible are ethnic restaurants, but in most cases they are run by Polish owners and sometimes employ foreign staff (as in the case of Chinese bars in Wrocław). The biggest market is in Wólka Kosowska near Warsaw, where immigrants from Asia run businesses selling different goods.

Development of ethnic entrepreneurship

At the beginning of the 1990s, there was very little inflow of foreigners to the Lower Silesia region and the city of Wrocław. At that time, Poland was a ‘sending’ country and the close proximity to Germany influenced the outflow from this region. Poles undertook legal employment in agriculture (based on a bilateral agreement with Germany) and illegal work in areas such as construction and household work.

At present, the number of foreigners living in Wrocław is still very low. Table 7 lists the number of permits for temporary stay and residence in Wrocław.

Table 7: *Number of permits for temporary stay in Wrocław, 2002–2008*

Year	Number of permits
2002	1,095
2003	1,421
2004	1,029
2005	1,158
2006	1,061
2007	1,600
January–July 2008	822

Note: Latest data available.

Source: *Lower Silesian Governor’s Office, 2009*

The numbers show that very few foreigners are likely to settle in Wrocław and the majority of the people asking for a permit for temporary stay are students coming for study through various scholarships, mainly for a period of six months to two years. According to data from the Lower Silesian Governor’s Office and universities/secondary schools, foreign students can be divided into three groups:

- students from EU countries coming through the Erasmus programme;
- students from former Soviet countries coming under various scholarships funded by the Polish government, the International Visegrad Fund or other private foundations;
- students from outside the EU coming through the Erasmus Mundus programme or under scholarships funded by various foundations, mainly for masters (MA) programmes in English offered by universities and secondary schools.

The second group asking for a temporary permit for stay is labour migrants coming to the city for temporary work. They are mainly people from neighbouring eastern countries like Belarus and Ukraine and coming to work in farms, construction or households.

When looking at the number of permits for work in the Lower Silesia region from 2007–2009, there is a noticeable increase caused by a change in the law (Table 8). Liberalisation in the employment of foreign workers was implemented in 2008, but according to the interviewees, the process of employing a foreign person is still very complicated, time consuming and discouraging.

Table 8: *Number of permits for work in the Lower Silesia region, 2004–2009*

Year	Number of permits (total)	Number of permits (women)
2004	663	134
2005	712	198
2006	843	279
2007	867	213
2008	1,138	179
2009	1,674	328

Source: *Lower Silesian Governor's Office, 2009*

There was a 60% increase in the number of work permits in 2009 in Poland. It is important to add that according to bilateral agreements, citizens from Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine are allowed to work in Poland for six months in a 12-month period without a work permit. According to the available data, there is a predominance of men, who are employed in construction, agriculture and trade. The majority (57%) of foreigners working temporarily in Poland are employed in micro enterprises (with fewer than 10 employees). When it comes to the number of work permits issued, the Lower Silesia region ranks fourth in Poland.

The bulk of the inflow of foreigners to the city of Wrocław was strongly related to foreign direct investments in the city itself and in the Lower Silesia region. Apart from EU Member States, the main group of highly qualified management staff came from South Korea and Japan (employed, for example, by LG Philips, Toyota, Takata). From 2000, there was a noticeable inflow of families of these contract workers due to the opening of the International School in Wrocław, which gave the families a chance to educate their children in the international system. In 2008, there were about 250 South Korean and Japanese families in the Wrocław area, according to the Lower Silesian Governor's Office and the International Friends of Wrocław Club.

Table 9: *Number of settlement permits for foreigners living in Wrocław, 2002–2008*

Year	Number of permits
2002	44
2003	95
2004	130
2005	122
2006	160
2007	170
January–July 2008	71

Note: Latest data available.

Source: *Lower Silesian Governor's Office, 2009*

Apart from the division of migrants residing in the Wrocław area, which was presented above, migrants may be classified into three basic groups in terms of the type of jobs performed:

- jobs requiring high/specialised qualifications, primarily for managerial positions in big transnational corporations;
- jobs not requiring any qualifications, mainly in agriculture, housekeeping, construction and small local businesses (in most cases these jobs are taken up illegally);
- students from abroad studying in Wrocław and taking up irregular jobs, mostly illegally.

Sectoral and spatial distribution of ethnic enterprises

As noted, the term ‘ethnic entrepreneur’ does not exist in a day-to-day language or in official documents at the local level. There are very few immigrants running micro businesses without cooperating with a Polish partner (different legal forms). It is very difficult to make an exact analysis of foreign entrepreneurs in Wrocław due to the limited data collected by official institutions. According to Polish law, a person has to register their enterprise in the Business Register (*Rejestr Działalności Gospodarczej*) in the local community office. Until 31 March 2009, there was no information about the citizenship of entrepreneurs in the register. The only way to check the legal status of a person was their national identification number (PESEL). Hence, the register was divided into Polish entrepreneurs and foreign entrepreneurs without any specific data about their nationality or the history of the entrepreneurs’ career in Poland.

According to two sources (the Registration Office of Entrepreneurship and the Statistical Office in Wrocław), there are 2,484 enterprises with foreign capital in Wrocław and there are various legal forms: civil law partnership, commercial law partnership, branch of a foreign company or enterprises registered on the ‘physical person’. When looking at the enterprises run by foreigners (so-called ‘physical persons’), there are very few examples in recent years. In 2010, only 15 foreigners registered their companies in Wrocław. Table 10 shows the number of companies with foreign capital registered in Wrocław between 2004 and 2009. In Table 11, the companies registered in 2010 are divided according to their legal status and sector of activity.

Table 10: *Number of registered enterprises with foreign capital in Wrocław, 2004–2009*

Year	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Total	166	236	240	249	175	119
Physical person (foreigner)	28	46	39	35	19	11
Civil law partnership	3	8	6	4	1	1
Commercial law partnership	129	170	176	193	150	98
Branch of the foreign company	6	12	19	17	5	9

Source: *Based on data from the Statistical Office in Wrocław and City of Wrocław, 2010*

The data on sectoral distribution show that the number of foreign entrepreneurs is rather low, even though they are active in many sectors, such as trade, professional services and education (translations, foreign language lessons, consulting). The immigrants living longer in Poland (the majority came to Poland for study, they have a Polish partner, they speak Polish) used their connections in their country of origin and Poland when establishing a business.

Table 11: Number and kind of registered companies with foreign capital in the city of Wrocław, 2010

	Total	Physical person	Civil law partnership	Commercial law partnership	Branch of the foreign company
All sectors	72	15	1	56	0
Mining	2			2	
Food processing	8			8	
Construction	9			9	
Trade	16	4		12	
Transportation	2			2	
Accommodation and catering	5	1	1	3	
Information and communication	3	1		2	
Professional activity (scientific and technical)	17	5		12	
Management	6	2		4	
Education	3	2		1	
Healthcare and social care	1			1	

Source: Based on data from the Statistical Office in Wrocław and City of Wrocław, 2010

In the western European countries, immigrant entrepreneurs are mainly active in the restaurant and bar sector. Poland is very different in this respect. There are some Vietnamese and Chinese restaurants in Warsaw, where these ethnic groups are more present, but in Wrocław, the majority of the Chinese bars are run by Polish entrepreneurs, who sometimes employ Chinese workers. Some 'ethnic' restaurants target immigrants groups; for example, South Korean restaurants mainly opened for Korean families living in Wrocław. These exotic restaurants arouse people's interest in different kinds of food. As mentioned, a majority of the owners of restaurants in Wrocław are Poles, but there are a few examples of immigrant owners, such as two Indian entrepreneurs who own restaurants. It is important to add that they did not start their career in the restaurant business, but came to Poland for study in the 1990s and worked in different sectors.

It was difficult to collect any data about ethnic entrepreneurs from public institutions at the local level and the existing collections of data are of poor quality. In the Business Register in the City of Wrocław, no information about nationality was recorded until 31 March 2009. From that point, it is possible to check data about the citizenship of foreigners with businesses in the city. However, if these people of foreign origin have Polish citizenship, it is not visible in the statistics; and if they are citizens of EU Member States but have immigrant backgrounds, it is also not recognisable (for example, as in the case of Turks from Germany having German citizenship and operating in the bar sector).

Ownership of ethnic businesses

When looking at the ownership of companies with foreign capital, a majority of them are financed by foreigners but managed by Poles and the owners are often not physically present in Poland. After Poland's accession to the EU in 2004, business as an investment became more viable. Partnerships between foreigners and Poles are the second most common type of ownership. Due to the complicated procedure of starting up a business and the language barriers in the contacts with office workers, some foreigners are more likely to register their business in the name of a person with Polish citizenship.

At this point, it should be stressed that immigrant groups living in Wrocław differ significantly from immigrants living in western European cities. The majority of the immigrants living in Wrocław came for study and decided to stay after graduation. They are highly educated with good knowledge of Polish and many have Polish partners, which influences their integration into society. The number of immigrants in the city is low, so it is not possible to limit contacts only to their own ethnic group.

There is a group of individual migrants from both eastern and western countries living in Wrocław and self-employed in different services like translation, foreign language lessons (often teaching in different language schools) and consulting. There is also an interesting tendency for EU citizens with immigrant backgrounds to set up businesses in Wrocław. Among them are two new groups: Turks from Berlin opening kebab shops and former Poles who took German citizenship in the 1980s now coming to do business in Wrocław in various sectors (mainly self-employed and offering their knowledge and skills to various companies as consultants).

Reasons for entrepreneurship

There are no official data about immigrant entrepreneurs and their career in business in Wrocław and there is no scientific research about this process. This fourth CLIP module is the first attempt to analyse immigrant activities in Wrocław's labour market. As per the interviews with both immigrant entrepreneurs and experts from the business world, the reasons for immigrant entrepreneurship are diverse. For investors from other countries, Poland still remains an attractive market with niches to invest in. Some small businesses are contractors for large companies and have moved to Poland as a result of the movement of large companies (as in the case of Fagor Mastercook). For new investors, Poland's accession to the EU was a reason for coming to the country. Germans remain the biggest group of investors in Wrocław not only due to the geographic proximity, but also because of the cooperation between the city and the Saxony region in eastern Germany. It is interesting that the Saxony region has employed a special representative based in Wrocław for their entrepreneurs who are likely to invest there. Other examples might be the Lower Silesian Chamber of Commerce, which has very good business associations in Spain and which has resulted in an increase of Spanish investors in the city.

Going back to the immigrants already living in Wrocław and their reasons for entrepreneurship, the majority came to the city for study and decided to settle down there. The most important factor for starting their own business was economic independence, labour market opportunities (for example, their knowledge of Polish and foreign markets, contacts in the country of origin) and possible profit. For many of the immigrants, a successful business is a visible sign of integration into the receiving society.

Market

Due to the low number of immigrants in Wrocław, the immigrant small businesses do not target a particular immigrant group, but are essentially made to attract Polish customers. Ethnic shops that are widespread in western European cities are not present in Wrocław.

The ethnic diversity of immigrants and their personal experiences influence their decision about entering specific sectors, but because the numbers are so low it is difficult to say which sector is most representative of immigrant businesses. Even in the medical sector, which requires diplomas and qualifications from non-EU immigrants, there are increasing examples of immigrant entrepreneurs (such as doctors and physiotherapists from Ukraine).

Competition

Due to their low numbers, immigrant entrepreneurs have to generally compete with local entrepreneurs. Naturally, the immigrants try to find the niche in the market where they can use their specific knowledge, experiences and contacts.

Workforce

There are no official data about immigrant entrepreneurs and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the exact number of employees in ethnic businesses. There are two groups of small immigrant enterprises:

- self-employed businesses or family businesses employing only relatives;
- immigrant businesses dealing directly with Polish customers (for example, restaurants, catering) employing Poles because of the need for the Polish language.

Once again, there are no official statistical data and the conclusions are based on interviews and observations of the author of this report.

Employment conditions and labour relations

According to the immigrant entrepreneur interviewees, the procedure of employing a foreigner (which is important for the restaurant business, for example in relation to chefs) is a lengthy and difficult procedure, thus immigrant entrepreneurs employ workers from abroad only when it is really necessary.

Problems and barriers

General management

There were no specific problems underlined by immigrant entrepreneurs.

Financial management

The immigrants' businesses are mainly financed by the immigrant's own resources, thus without a bank loan. The interviewees stressed that the procedures in Poland, both in the institutions and banks, are very bureaucratic, even for Poles. Foreigners are considered 'exotic' and this makes it even more complicated. Immigrant entrepreneurs tend to take out a bank loan if they run a family business registered by a Polish partner or if they have Polish citizenship.

Marketing

Immigrant entrepreneurs face the same marketing problems as locals – how to find a niche for the business and how to convince customers about their offering. Some sectors, like ethnic restaurants, still attract customers quite easily, but after the first phase, the owners have to compete for customers.

Rules and regulations

The rules and regulations for setting up and running a business are the same for everyone, as highlighted by the representatives of various institutions dealing with this issue. However, the immigrant entrepreneurs underlined that doing business in Poland is difficult because of the complicated tax system, high cost of employment (due to health insurance and taxes) and a highly bureaucratic institutional system.

Bureaucracy and intermediary institutions

Entrepreneurs with immigrant backgrounds and locals who are active in entrepreneur associations listed the language barrier as the main problem faced by foreigners who would like to set up a business in Poland. Even if there is some information available about how to set up a business in Wrocław or how to deal with the institutions, when a direct contact was made by phone (as an experiment done by the author), it was not possible to get any information in English. Other barriers were the bureaucracy and the complicated tax system. As was mentioned by an entrepreneur doing consulting for investors from outside the EU, big companies use the law office to represent them to contact institutions. Even some small law and tax offices in Wrocław offer to act as self-employed foreigners' representatives in contact with institutions. Of course, the necessity of using such an intermediary in contacts with institutions involves additional costs.

5

Policies, rules and regulations

Overall strategy

There is no explicit policy towards immigrants in the city of Wrocław in the area of economic or social life. As mentioned, due to a very low number of immigrants, the issues related to these processes do not exist in public debate at the local level. For the immigrants who are perceived as highly skilled management staff, there are some projects like the international school for foreign children. According to the immigrant entrepreneur interviewees for this study, the city is always well prepared for negotiations with big international companies willing to invest and create jobs in Wrocław, but there is no project focusing on SMEs run by foreigners. The representatives of the city of Wrocław stressed that ethnicity or nationality is not an important factor for business and that SMEs are all treated equally.

Even though there is some information available on the city administration website in English and German giving step-by-step instructions about how to set up a business, it is very hard to get any information or professional support from the staff in various institutions and city administration departments.

Objectives and dimensions

There is no policy or programme targeted at immigrants/foreigners in small business. However, there are attempts to provide basic information about start-up, taxes, healthcare and social insurance.

Main actors

For the local-level institutions, the ARAW is responsible for foreign investors (but only large companies). Another active institution is the Lower Silesian Chamber of Commerce, which is a contact point for potential investors and entrepreneurs willing to set up a business in Wrocław.

Target groups

Once again, foreign investors are the target group for public institutions at both local and national level if they offer work for locals. There are special support measures such as lower taxes to encourage investors. For the past 20 years, the city of Wrocław has been very active in gaining foreign direct investors, but the SMEs, especially micro enterprises, are not targeted by the administration.

Institutions

Since 2005, the Business Information Point has been operating in the Economic Development Office of the Municipality of Wrocław. The employees provide information on the following subjects:

- establishing a company;
- searching for business partners;
- developing a company.

Access and involvement in policymaking

Immigrant entrepreneurs have access to business associations and some of them are members of the Lower Silesian Chamber of Commerce. Due to the low number of immigrant entrepreneurs and the high diversity of them, there are no associations of foreign entrepreneurs yet.

Formal access to entrepreneurship

To be able to do business in Poland, an immigrant has to fall under one of the categories described in the Freedom of Conducting Business Activity Act (article 13):

'[...]foreign persons from the Member States of the European Union, countries of the European Economic Area which do not belong to the EU and countries not being the parties to the agreement on European Economic Area, which may benefit from the freedom of conducting business activity on the basis of agreements concluded by these countries with the EU and its Member States, [...] foreigners, citizens of countries other than the ones mentioned above, who:

1) possess, in the Republic of Poland:

- a) a permit to reside,*
- b) a residence permit for the long-term resident of the European Communities,*
- c) permit to stay for a specified period of time, granted in connection with the circumstances mentioned in art. 53 section 1 p. 7. 13 and 14 of the Foreigners Act from 12 June 2003,*
- d) permit for tolerated stay,*
- e) refugee status,*

2) enjoy temporal protection in Poland;

3) are family members in the meaning of art. 2 p. 4 of the Act from 14 July 2006 on Entering the Republic of Poland, staying in and leaving its territory by the citizens of EU Member States and members of their families (Journal of Laws No. 144, item 1043), who join the citizens of countries mentioned in sec. 1, or stay with them.

- may establish and conduct business activity in the territory of the Republic of Poland on the same conditions as the citizens of Poland.*

*Other foreigners have the right to establish and conduct business activity only as the following company types: a limited partnership, limited joint-stock partnership, limited liability company and joint-stock company. They may also join such companies and take up or purchase their shares, unless international agreements provide otherwise.'*²

Rules and regulations

The rules and regulations ethnic entrepreneurs must meet are those for regulating business in Poland in general. No additional rules exist for those who are legally able to perform business in Poland.

² <http://www.um.wroc.pl/m78090/p78101.aspx>

Zoning plans

There are no zoning plans.

Sectoral rules and regulations

There are sectors where concessions/licenses are needed to perform business legally. These rules apply to Polish nationals and ethnic entrepreneurs. Information on the type of concession and place to find information about it can be found in English in the bulletin issued by the Municipality of Wrocław, which is available online.

Business acumen

In December 2008, the Wrocław Business Incubator project began. It is designed to support local businesses with financing from the Municipality of Wrocław. The project aims to:

- provide support to small enterprises;
- implement ideas for new business;
- transfer practical knowledge and skills;
- transfer experiences by institutions supporting enterprise development.

*'Persons who have an idea for their own business activity after recruitment process can use at the incubator's grounds the office area, separate telephone line and internet access, consultation room for contacts with clients, accounting and secretarial services, legal and business counselling, as well as special training offer. Owing to municipal co-financing, the monthly cost of participation in the incubator programme is PLN 300. Moreover, the incubator provides free of charge counselling services to people who plan to start their own business, for example by helping in filling the registration form correctly.'*³

Finance

There are several financing tools available for entrepreneurs in the city of Wrocław. However, they are part of the general SME support system and are not specifically for ethnic entrepreneurs.

Funds for commencing business activity

Support and promotion of entrepreneurship and self-employment

Under Priority VI of the human capital operational programme, Measure 6.2 – support and promotion of entrepreneurship and self-employment – is addressed to natural persons intending to commence business activity (excluding persons that had already registered their business activity one year before submission of an application for

³ <http://www.cwp.wroclaw.pl/en/index>

support as part of the project). The key objective of the measure is to promote and support initiatives and solutions aimed at the establishment of new jobs and the development of creative attitudes that ensure the development of entrepreneurship and self-employment. Persons provided with support as part of Measure 6.2 will receive the following forms of support after joining the project:

- consultancy (individual and group) and training providing the knowledge and skills necessary to establish and conduct business activity;
- awarding financial resources for the development of entrepreneurship (also in the form of a cooperative or a social cooperative, provided that all shareholders are persons that commenced their business activity as a result of participation in a project implemented as part of the measure in question), up to the amount equivalent to PLN 40,000 (or PLN 20,000 per person in the case of a cooperative or a social cooperative);
- bridge support in the period from six to 12 months from the date of registering the business activity, including, among other things, consultancy and assistance in the efficient utilisation of grants (only for persons that commenced business activity as part of a given project), including financial bridging support paid out monthly in the amount up to the equivalent of the minimum remuneration binding on the day of grant payment;
- bridging support in the form of counselling and help in the effective use of the grant (exclusively for persons who commenced their business within the framework of the given project). Persons who want to commence their business activity after joining the project will be included in the abovementioned forms of support.⁴

One-off funds for the unemployed to commence a business activity

According to the Act on Employment Promotion and Labour Market Institutions (Journal of Laws 04.99.1001), unemployed persons can apply for non-returnable subsidies for commencing a business activity, in the amount not exceeding the fivefold amount of the average remuneration. Subsidies for unemployed people are granted on the basis of a civil law agreement (which follows an application), concluded by a District Employment Office with an unemployed person.⁵

Development subsidies from the EU

From 2007 to 2013, Poland may make use of two structural funds – the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund – as well as the Cohesion Fund.

European Social Fund (ESF)

The ESF was created to support social policy, which includes preventing unemployment and constantly improving employees' qualifications. The following actions are funded:

- training and courses that activate professionally different social groups that have difficulties accessing the labour market due to low qualifications or difficult situations (for example, disabled people, young people, women, long-term unemployed, refugees, alcoholics, homeless);
- postgraduate studies, language courses and training for employees who want to improve their professional qualifications.

⁴ See http://www.efs.gov.pl/English/Documents/SZOP_wersjaangielska.pdf. More information to be found on the website of the Lower-Silesian Provincial Employment Bureau in Wałbrzych <http://www.pokl.dwup.pl/>

⁵ <http://pup-wroclaw.pl/>

Exemptions from the real estate tax

To support entrepreneurs, the city offers public support in the form of the exemption from the real estate tax, which is a part of aid programmes:

- aid programme for small, medium and large enterprises conducting business activity, as a part of regional support for aiding new investments in Wrocław (Resolution No. III/13/06 of 28 December 2006);
- support programme of de minimis help for micro entrepreneurs and small entrepreneurs commencing their business activity in Wrocław (Resolution No. XXXI/1034/09 of 19 February 2009).

Loan and guarantee funds

Lower Silesia Commercial Fund (guarantee fund)

The fund was established by an agreement signed by the President of Lower Silesia Province, the President of Wrocław and the President of the National Economy Bank. The fund's aim is to remove barriers in accessing external capital by offering guarantees to institutions providing credit, loans or grants. The guarantees secure the payment of such credit, loans or grants by an entrepreneur.

Lower Silesia Subregional Loan Fund

The fund may be used by:

- entrepreneurs who employ up to 50 employees;
- entrepreneurs who have an official seat and their basic activity is carried out in the Lower Silesia province;
- entrepreneurs who have been conducting business activity for at least three months;
- entrepreneurs who have specified the purpose of the loan;
- entrepreneurs who have a good operation strategy but the resources for funding their activities and development are insufficient;
- entrepreneurs who operate in all industries, except agriculture, military and business activity that is considered dangerous for the environment, as well as entrepreneurs whose business activity is commonly deemed unethical.

Mikro Fund

The aim of the Mikro Fund is to support the development of micro entrepreneurship by making capital available in the form of loans granted to the owners of small companies. Entrepreneurs – the customers of the Mikro Fund – have their consultants, who deal with them in 38 offices nationwide. The fund offers permanent access to capital on straightforward conditions without unnecessary complex formalities.

Business locations

Tendering is the basic procedure to lease business premises to business entities. Information on tenders is given in the local press, on the information board of the Municipality of Wrocław (1/8 Nowy Targ Square), in the Municipal Resources Management (257 Grabiszyńska Street, 3 Św. ElŜbiety Street) and on the website of the Municipality of Wrocław (<http://www.wroclaw.pl>).

Staff

As mentioned, the term 'ethnic or immigrant entrepreneurs' does not exist and it is very difficult to select any specific data from the existing statistical data.

Training and management support

Chambers of commerce, institutions and organisations that support entrepreneurs organise various training for the representatives of SMEs. These are often co-financed from Structural Fund resources. News on this subject can be found on <http://www.wroclaw.pl>.

National SME Services Network centres in Wrocław

The National SME Services Network (KSU) is a system of cooperation of non-commercial organisations that provide services for micro entrepreneurs, SMEs and people establishing business activity. These services include consulting, training and financial resources (including giving guarantees and granting loans). KSU is a part of the national system of support for the SME sector. KSU centres in Wrocław operate within the following organisations.

Wrocławska Agencja Rozwoju Regionalnego S.A. (Wrocław Regional Development Agency)
13 Krupnicza Street (4th floor)
Tel: 071 797 04 00, Fax: 071 372 36 85
Email: warr@warr.pl, Website: <http://www.warr.pl>

Wrocław University of Technology – Wrocław Centre of Technology Transfer
48 Smoluchowskiego Street
Tel: 071 320 33 18, Fax: 071 320 39 48
Email: wctt@wctt.pl, Website: <http://www.wctt.pl>

Lower Silesia Chamber of Crafts and Small and Medium Enterprises
13 Solny Square
Tel: 071 344 86 91, Fax: 071 343 38 32
Email: secretariat@izba.wroc.pl, Website: <http://www.izba.wroc.pl>

Chambers of commerce in Wrocław

Entities carrying out business activity, except people for whom such activity is a secondary source of revenue, may form chambers of commerce, which operate on the basis of the Chambers of Commerce Act of 30 May 1989 (Journal of Laws 89.35.195) and statutes. A chamber of commerce is a part of commercial self-government, representing the business interests of entities associated in it in the scope of their manufacturing, trading, construction or service activities, and especially in dealing with national bodies. The most important chambers of commerce in Wrocław are listed below.

Lower Silesia Chamber of Commerce
39 Świdnicka Street
Tel: 071 344 78 25, Fax: 071 343 45 97
Email: biuro@dig.wroc.pl, Website: <http://www.dig.wroc.pl>

Western Chamber of Commerce
41/43 Ofiar Oświęcimskich Street
Tel: 071 795 06 56, Fax: 071 795 06 57
Email: biuro@zig.pl, Website: <http://www.zig.pl>

Wrocław Chamber of Commerce
13 Krupnicza Street
Tel: 071 797 02 03, Fax: 071 797 03 00
Email: biuro@wig.org.pl, Website: <http://www.wig.wroc.pl>

Lower Silesia Chamber of Crafts and Small and Medium Enterprises
13 Solny Square
Tel: 071 344 86 91, Fax: 071 343 38 32
Email: secretariat@izba.wroc.pl, Website: <http://www.izba.wroc.pl>

Polish-German Chamber of Industry and Commerce
20 Solny Square
Tel: 071 794 83 35
Email: imakowiecka@ihk.pl, Website: <http://www.ihk.pl>

British-Polish Chamber of Commerce
2 Oławska Street
Tel: 071 344 14 77, Fax: 071 344 14 77
Email: wroclaw@bpcc.org.pl, Website: <http://www.bpcc.org.pl>

Illegal and informal practices

There are no data available about illegal practices in business involving immigrant entrepreneurs.

Dialogue

As mentioned, there is no explicit policy targeting SMEs' immigrant entrepreneurs.

Migration started in Wrocław after the transformation in 1989, but the number of migrants is still very limited. There are some specific groups that are all very different, as in the western European countries. The main groups are international students; highly qualified managers from western countries working in multinationals and living in the city with their families; and groups of foreign workers, mainly from the eastern neighbouring countries, working in the agriculture, construction and household sectors. There is a tendency among the international students coming from outside the EU to settle in Poland because they are educated in Poland. Most of them speak the Polish language and have a Polish partner, so it is easier for them to set up a business in Poland. They are using their contacts between their country of origin and country of destination to establish businesses in areas such as consulting, trade, transport and education. Setting up a business in Poland is not easy for foreigners due to structural problems such as bureaucracy, limited knowledge of foreign languages among the members of the public administration, the complicated tax system and high costs of healthcare insurance for employees.

The terms ‘ethnic entrepreneurs’ or ‘immigrant entrepreneurs’ do not exist in day-to-day communication or public discourse due to the limited number of immigrants and their good integration with Polish society (in terms of their low numbers, good knowledge of Polish, the fact that they are not visible immigrants as people from neighbouring eastern countries). Even though the city of Wrocław calls itself ‘the meeting place’ and bases its marketing strategy on its multicultural heritage, there is no explicit policy targeted at immigrants on any area of social life. There has been some support for national minorities, but no programmes or actions towards immigrants who truly make this city multicultural and not just historically multicultural.

It is hard to propose any recommendations at this early stage of development, but there are three points to highlight:

- Knowledge of different languages among people dealing with customers in public institutions. It is important to add that the members of EU countries are allowed to set up business in Poland and should have access to information and support.
- Data collection and analysis. The number of migrants is relatively low, but in light of western European experiences, an inflow of immigrant workers, students and entrepreneurs to the city can be expected. To be able to create a successful policy for the integration of foreigners into the local society, the city of Wrocław should carefully collect and analyse data on immigrants, as was done in some cities of the CLIP network such as Helsinki.
- The data available in different public institutions at the local level are not very coherent and there are many difficulties in accessing these data. There are no analyses done about the reasons for setting up business in Wrocław or the barriers faced by entrepreneurs in setting up and running a business in the city.

Books and reports

There are no books or reports dealing with ethnic entrepreneurs or immigrants in the city of Wrocław. This report was based on the data collected during the third and fourth modules of CLIP research, interviews done with immigrants and immigrant entrepreneurs, as well as with experts involved in business in the city. Statistical data were collected in different institutions, such as the Lower Silesian Governor’s Office, City of Wrocław Administration and the Statistical Office in Wrocław. It should be noted that the collected data were not coherent, which resulted in the author’s limited reliability on them.

Bibliography

Davies, N. and Moorhouse, R., *Mikrokosmos. Portret miasta środkowoeuropejskiego*, Kraków, Instytut Wydawniczy Znak, 2002.

Desponds, A. and Lesińska, M., 'Obecność i funkcjonowanie społeczności imigranckich w Polsce. Przypadek Ukraińców i Wietnamczyków we Wrocławiu' [The presence and functioning of immigrants' communities in Poland. The case of Ukrainians and Vietnamese in Wrocław], in Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. (ed.), *Między jednością a wielością. Integracja odmiennych grup i kategorii imigrantów w Polsce* [Between unity and multiplicity. Integration of different groups and categories of immigrants in Poland], Warsaw, OBM, 2008.

Galar, R., Roman, G. and Waszkiewicz, J., *The strategy: Wrocław in the perspective 2020 plus*, Wrocław, Bureau for the Development of Wrocław, 2006.

Encyclopaedia of Wrocław (*Encyklopedia Wrocławia*), Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2000.

European Commission, Department of Enterprise and Industry, *SBA fact sheet: Poland*, Brussels, 2008.

Heckmann, F. and Bosswick, W., *Integration of migrants: Contribution of local and regional authorities*, Dublin, Eurofound, 2006.

Matusz Protasiewicz, P., *Intergroup relations and intercultural policies and intergroup relations – Case study: Wrocław*, Poland, Report from Module 3 of the CLIP project, Dublin, Eurofound, 2009.

Polish Agency for Enterprise Development (PARP), *Report on the condition of the small and medium-sized enterprise sector in Poland in 2007–2008*, Warsaw, 2008.

Rath, J., *Ethnic entrepreneurship*, Concept paper for Module 4 of the CLIP project, Dublin, Eurofound, 2010, available at <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/htmlfiles/ef1039.htm>.

Statistical Office in Wrocław, *Wrocław – socio-economic situation, 3rd quarter of 2009*, Wrocław, Statistical Office, 2010.

Thum, R., *Obce miasto. Wrocław 1945 i potem*, Wrocław, Via Nova, 2006.

Wrocław Agglomeration Development Agency (ARAW), *Driven by knowledge*, Report providing economic information about Wrocław, Wrocław, 2008.

List of persons interviewed

Maciej Potocki, Director of the Department of Information of the City of Wrocław

Zbigniew Sebastian, Lower Silesian Chamber of Commerce

Włodzimierz Patalas, Executive Director of the City Administration

Piotr Gaglik, Economic Development Office City of Wrocław

Agnieszka Piątkiewicz, Lower Silesian Governor's Office

Rozalia Bełezina, Statistical Office in Wrocław

Ethnic entrepreneurs (Turkish owner of a kebab bar, Iraqi owner of a men's clothing store, Indian owner of Indian restaurants, Ukrainian owner of a spa centre)

Marek Wróblewski, researcher, International Economic Relations, University of Wrocław