

Access to Justice in Eastern Europe
ISSN 2663-0575 (Print) ISSN 2663-0583 (Online)
Journal homepage <http://ajee-journal.com>

Research Article

POLISH-UKRAINIAN LEGAL SERVICES: A SOCIOLOGICAL AND LEGAL STUDY

Stanisław Lipiec

stanislaw.lipiec@ewspa.edu.pl

[0000-0002-1014-1208](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1014-1208)

Summary: – 1. Introduction. – 2. Methodology. – 3. Ukrainian Lawyers in Poland. – 4. Polish Legal Matters in Ukraine. – 5. Organisational Cooperation. – 6. Conclusions.

To cite this article: *S Lipiec*, 'Polish-Ukrainian Legal Services: A Sociological and Legal Study' 2021 4(12) *Access to Justice in Eastern Europe* 25–47. DOI: 10.33327/AJEE-18-4.4-a000083

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.33327/AJEE-18-4.4-a000083>

Submitted on 14 May 2021 / Revised 21 Jun 2021 / Revised 13 Jul 2021 / Approved 25 Oct 2021

Published online: 01 Nov 2021 [View data](#)

[Submit your article to Access to Justice in Eastern Europe](#)

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The author declares no conflict of interest of relevance to this topic.

DISCLAIMER

The author declares that she was not involved in any state bodies, courts, or any other organisation's activities related to the discussed views and case-law.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study was conducted by the author without any funding or any projects. I sincerely thank the reviewers and editors for their assistance in the preparation of this article.

POLISH-UKRAINIAN LEGAL SERVICES: A SOCIOLOGICAL AND LEGAL STUDY

Stanisław Lipiec, M. A.

European University of Law and Administration of Warsaw, Poland

stanislaw.lipiec@ewspa.edu.pl

0000-0002-1014-1208

Abstract *The rapid development of contemporary Polish-Ukrainian relations and the emigration of Ukrainians to Poland and EU countries require more and more lawyers to provide cross-border legal services. However, the emerging barriers between the countries effectively limit the possibilities for cooperation. It is particularly important to determine the extent of involvement of Polish lawyers in Ukraine and Ukrainians in Poland and to explain the reasons for their lack of involvement. It is also important to determine the consequences of the observed problem and the development strategy for the future.*

The present research is part of a larger study on the internationalisation of the Polish justice system and the provision of cross-border legal services. Methodologically, the study has been performed through structured interviews among representatives of Polish lawyers and questionnaires among all Polish lawyers. It was supplemented by non-reactive methods: an analysis of statistical data, an anthropomastic analysis, a content analysis of websites, and a functional analysis of legal acts.

The results of the study show that Polish lawyers do not practice in Ukraine at all, and no more than 20 Ukrainian jurists work in Poland. The reasons are the border barriers and the lack of demand for mutual legal services, as well as cultural differences. The low level of involvement of the Polish and Ukrainian Bar Associations also contributes to the low level of provision of cross-border legal services. Nevertheless, Ukrainian immigrants to Poland are increasingly becoming Polish lawyers. Currently, the involvement of Ukrainian lawyers in the Polish legal services market is slowly increasing. This confused situation will likely change later this decade.

Keywords: *cross-border legal services, lawyers, legal advisers, Poland, Ukraine, sociology of law, bar associations, Ukraine's accession to the European Union, legal professions, globalisation of law, Polish law, Ukrainian law*

1 INTRODUCTION

For several years, we have been observing a significant increase in the number of Ukrainian citizens in Poland. Researchers and official statistics estimate that about one million Ukrainians are living in Poland permanently or temporarily, although their number is uncertain during of the COVID-19 epidemic (according to Polish public statistics, in 2021, it was about 300,000 people).¹ Their stay in Poland and the increasingly active Polish-

1 'Statystyki 2021' (Migracje) <<https://migracje.gov.pl/statystyki/zakres/polska/typ/dokumenty/widok/wykresy/rok/2021/kraj/UA/>> accessed 19 June 2021. The number of Ukrainians in Poland changes very quickly and is fluid. Recently, this is mainly due to the pandemic crisis. Studies show different numbers of Ukrainians in Poland and in the EU – from about 500,000 to 2,000,000. Qualitative studies show larger numbers, while public statistics show smaller numbers..

Ukrainian relations have resulted in the intensification of mutual economic initiatives, as well as the growth of various types of cross-border relations. An increasing number of Ukrainian citizens have set up businesses in Poland, and Poles are starting firms in Ukraine. Immigrants are settling down, starting families, working, and learning in Poland. The interest of Poles in their eastern neighbours is also growing. Along with this interconnectedness, advanced social needs arise. People running their own businesses face legal difficulties on a daily basis, and individuals often have to deal with the complexity of Polish and Ukrainian law. Nowadays, it is very difficult for individuals to overcome legal barriers on their own and to navigate the legal world. A particular problem arises when dealing with the laws of different countries.²

Companies and individuals are assisted by attorneys, legal advisers, foreign lawyers, and other legal specialists who provide legal services to citizens and enterprises. Thanks to their involvement, it is much easier to live and work with the multitude of laws and procedures. Polish legal specialists provide legal services to Ukrainians in Poland, while Ukrainians serve Poles in Ukraine. Usually, lawyers work in their country of origin and residence; however, it is increasingly common for Polish or Ukrainian lawyers to work cross-border in two countries. As part of this service, he or she works independently or in a foreign partnership. With the growth in international ties, there are initiatives by lawyers from both sides of the border aimed at providing international legal services. These are services provided across countries, relating to large economic or public initiatives (company law, maritime law, treaties). The rising number of Ukrainians in Poland and Poles in Ukraine is expanding the scope of legal assistance as lawyers adapt to new clients and cases. This has led an increasing number of experts from various legal specialties to enter the field of Polish-Ukrainian matters.³

Lawyers are a specific professional group because they are closely related to their country of origin or practice. It is particularly difficult for them to migrate between Poland and Ukraine because of social, cultural, and legal barriers. Due to cultural differences and the border regime (Ukraine is not a member of the European Union), difficulties in providing legal services in both countries are significant. In addition, lawyers stand out from other professional groups, as they play a dual role as legal service providers and judicial actors. The first role is related to the provision of private services (business activity), while the second concerns providing legal aid in the context of the administration of justice. The specificity of the provision of legal services in several countries is not without significance because, in each of them, a jurist must have a license to provide services (e.g., be entered on the list of advocates or legal advisers). If they operate in Poland and Ukraine, lawyers must hold separate licenses in both countries.⁴

- 2 M Chłopaś, 'Ilu Ukraińców jest w Polsce? Ilu wyjechało w pandemii? Mamy wiarygodne dane' (*Newsweek.pl*, 2021) <<https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/spoleczenstwo/ilu-ukraincow-jest-w-polsce-ilu-ukraincow-wyjechalo-z-polski-w-pandemii/9b0gxc6>> accessed 5 April 2021; M Kursa, 'Już 10 Procent Krakowian to Cudzoziemcy. Wśród Nich: Ukraińcy, Białorusini, Włosi i Inni' (*wyborcza.pl Kraków*, 8 April 2020) <<https://krakow.wyborcza.pl/krakow/7,44425,24626716,juz-10-procent-krakowian-to-cudzoziemcy-wsrod-nich-ukraincy.html>> accessed 11 April 2020; M Lubicz-Miszewski, *Imigranci z Ukrainy w Polsce: potrzeby i oczekiwania, reakcje społeczne, wyzwania dla bezpieczeństwa* (AWL Wydawnictwo 2018) <<https://depot.ceon.pl/handle/123456789/16668>>; 'Mapa migracji' (*Urząd do spraw Cudzoziemców*, 2021) <<https://migracje.gov.pl/statystyki/zakres/polska/typ/dokumenty/widok/mapa/rok/2020/>> accessed 6 April 2020; K Pędziwiatr, M Stonawski, J Brzozowski, *Imigranci w Krakowie w Świetle Danych Rejestrowych* (Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie 2019) 6-63 <https://www.academia.edu/41818133/Imigranci_w_Krakowie_w_%C5%9Bwietle_danych_rejestrowych?auto=download> accessed 29 April 2020.
- 3 M Baranowska (ed), *Świadczenie pomocy prawnej w państwach europejskich. 2, Niemcy, Ukraina, Węgry, Irlandia*, vols 2, Niemcy, Ukraina, Węgry, Irlandia (Ośrodek Badań, Studiów i Legislacji Krajowej Rady Radców Prawnych 2012) 34-42; S Lipiec, 'Świadczenie Międzynarodowych Usług Prawniczych. Studium Socjologiczno-Prawne Polskich Prawników' (PhD thesis, 2020) 418-424, 532-535.
- 4 A Kosyło, *Dostęp do zawodu adwokata w prawie polskim, ukraińskim, białoruskim i rosyjskim* (Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek 2010) 34-87, 156-193.

Problems related to Polish-Ukrainian legal cooperation increase in proportion to the number of Ukrainians in Poland and Poles in Ukraine and with the degree of mutual economic ties. The different types of cases involving lawyers of both nationalities also change according to the extent of migration, economic development, and mutual integration. Also, the number of lawyers and their law firms specialising in the cases of Poles in Ukraine and Ukrainians in Poland increases with the migration of people and capital. However, it seems that the involvement of lawyers from both sides of the border is not consistent. More Polish lawyers deal with the cases of Ukrainians in Poland than their Ukrainian colleagues deal with those of Poles in Ukraine. Thus, the number of foreign Ukrainian lawyers in Poland and Polish foreign lawyers in Ukraine is small and growing very slowly. Ukrainian citizens in Poland avoid getting involved in legal disputes, which results in a limited need to engage lawyers in Ukrainian matters. As a consequence, there is an uneven distribution of cases of clients from Ukraine in Poland and of lawyers in Poland who specialise in Ukrainian cases. Customers from Poland appear in Ukraine only sporadically, mainly in western Ukraine. There are no significant legal business initiatives between Poland and Ukraine, and the cross-border cooperation of Polish and Ukrainian lawyers is extremely rare. In addition, there is a lack of large corporate legal initiatives dealing with international affairs between Poland and Ukraine. We observe a number of serious barriers to the provision of cross-border and international legal services, which make it very difficult to provide effective legal aid.

The present research report has been prepared on the basis of larger studies on the internationalisation of the Polish justice system and the provision of legal services and has been supplemented with specific research elements.⁵ We divide the report into several parts, presenting all aspects of the study: the methodology, Ukrainian lawyers in Poland, Polish legal matters in Ukraine, and institutional cooperation of bar associations, and conclusions.

2 METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted from 7 August 2017 to 22 January 2019 and then supplemented from November 2020 to March 2021. Several research methods were used. Through triangulation, the obtained results were mutually checked, supplemented, and extended. The following research methods were used:

1. Questionnaire method: A survey conducted via the Internet with a correspondence survey technique. The research population consisted of all active Polish attorneys (*adwokaci*) and legal advisers (*radcowie prawni*) during the research period. The population was established at the level of 54,176 people, and the research sample was selected as 148 people, with an 80% confidence level. In a two-stage process, the first was the selection of district bar association councils, followed by selecting specific elements of the sample through simple sampling without returning. Out of the 148 advocates (*adwokaci*) and legal advisers (*radcowie prawni*), 87 people returned the questionnaire; the sample is representative of the population of Polish advocates and legal advisers. The purposes of this method were, among others, to define the basic characteristics of Ukrainian-origin lawyers in Poland and lawyers of Polish origin in Ukraine; to define mutual connections; and to discover the exact connections between Polish and Ukrainian bar associations.⁶

⁵ Lipiec (n 3).

⁶ R Maćik, 'Ankiety internetowe w percepcji osób korzystających i niekorzystających z nich w pracy zawodowej' [2014] *Metody ilościowe w badaniach marketingowych* 125, 125-139; P Siuda, 'Ankieta Internetowa: Zalety i Wady – Rekapitulacja', *Metody badań online* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Katedra 2016) 28-81 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308556918_Ankieta_internetowa_zalety_i_wady_-_rekapitulacja>.

2. Semi-structured in-depth interviews (SSI) were conducted with a group of 43 representatives of district councils of bar associations (*Okręgowa Rada Adwokacka*, ORA) and councils of district chambers of legal advisers (*Okręgowa Izba Radców Prawnych*, OIRP). The interviews were conducted in person, with one researcher and participant; conversations were recorded, then transcribed, coded, and categorised, using the Skrybot and Atlas.ti software.⁷ The research was strictly qualitative in nature,⁸ and the interpretation of the results was meaning-oriented. The aims of this research method were to deepen the results obtained from the survey, emphasise the issue of Polish-Ukrainian institutional cooperation, and reveal an external and formal perspective on the activities of Polish and Ukrainian lawyers.
3. Study of non-reactive materials: This consisted of the analysis of Polish and Ukrainian lists of advocates, legal advisers, and foreign lawyers; analysis of the websites of Polish lawyers participating in the survey (148 websites); analysis of national and regional websites of Polish and Ukrainian bar associations; analysis of official lists and search engines of lawyers dealing with Polish-Ukrainian matters; and functional analysis of legal acts and in addition an anthropomastic analysis.⁹ The aim of the non-reactive research was to deepen the results of the first two research methods and to resolve any ambiguities that were not explained in the empirical research.

Detailed methodological considerations are available in the research report prepared for the entire study. Source data were stored for further use.¹⁰

The conducted research concerns law and lawyers, but it is a sociological study and fits the paradigm of the sociology of law and legal anthropology; more precisely, the sociology (anthropology) of the legal profession. The research works of Richard Abel and Adam Podgórecki greatly influenced the construction and conduct of the study.¹¹ Contemporary studies by Arkadiusz Bereza were also important.¹² The general theoretical assumptions were based on the principles of grounded theory, as interpreted by Kathy Charmaz.¹³ The guide for the interviews was Steiner Kvale.¹⁴ In the case of non-reactive research, the scientific

7 'ATLAS.ti' (ATLAS.ti, 2021) <<https://atlasti.com/>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'SkryBot' (Skrybot, 2021) <<https://skrybot.pl>> accessed 6 March 2019.

8 J Horton, R Macve, G Struyven, 'Qualitative Research: Experiences in Using Semi-Structured Interviews' in C H, B Lee (eds), *The Real Life Guide to Accounting Research* (Elsevier 2004) <<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B9780080439723500220>> accessed 20 May 2020; MJ McIntosh, JM Morse, 'Situating and Constructing Diversity in Semi-Structured Interviews' [2015] *Global Qualitative Nursing Research* 1; M Nicpon, R Marzęcki, 'Pogłębiony wywiad indywidualny w badaniach politologicznych', *Przeszłość, teraźniejszość, przyszłość : problemy badawcze młodych politologów* (Libron 2010) 246-251 <<http://przemek.wammoda.com/polis/ksmp/book/IIKSMMPmarzecki.pdf>> accessed 6 March 2019; I Przybyłowska, 'Wywiad swobodny ze standaryzowaną listą poszukiwanych informacji i możliwości jego zastosowania w badaniach socjologicznych' [1978] *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 62, 62-64; SQ Qu, J Dumay, 'The Qualitative Research Interview' (2011) 8 *Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management* 238, 238-61; S Kvale, S Brinkmann, *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (SAGE 2009) 97-219.

9 ER Babbie, *Podstawy Badań Społecznych* (W Betkiewicz tr, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2008) 342-360; C Frankfort-Nachmias, D Nachmias, *Metody Badawcze w Naukach Społecznych* (Zysk i S-ka 2001); D Kędzierski, 'Metodologia i Paradygmat Polskich Szczegółowych Nauk Prawnych' [2018] *Transformacje Prawa Prywatnego* 5, 34-46.

10 Lipiec (n 3).

11 RL Abel, *Lawyers and the Power to Change* (Blackwell 1985); A Podgórecki, J Kurczewski, *Zarys socjologii prawa* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1971).

12 A Bereza, *Zawód radcy prawnego: historia zawodu i zasady jego wykonywania* (Ośrodek Badań, Studiów i Legislacji Krajowej Rady Radców Prawnych 2017) <http://kirp.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Zaw%C3%B3d-radcy-prawnego_wyd.5_592_.pdf>.

13 K Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory* (SAGE 2014) 1-341.

14 Kvale and Brinkmann (n 8).

activity of Bernard Barelson, as interpreted by Walery Pisarek, had a great influence on their shape.¹⁵

The exact characterisation of the population and the sample is presented in the main research report of the comprehensive study. Here only the essential features are highlighted. The empirical research involved in Poland:

1. 148 advocates (*adwokaci*) and legal advisers (*radcowie prawni*) entered on the list of advocates and legal adviser, who were professionally active during the study; 87 people returned the survey;
2. 43 advocates and legal advisers who are members of councils (boards) of District Bar Chambers (ORA) and District Chambers of Legal Advisers (OIRP).

The characteristics of the research group are examined jointly for both types of empirical research due to the similarity of their essential features. The profession of legal advisor and advocate is the same as that of a licensed professional lawyer, although, in Polish legislation, there is a strong division into two professional groups. Due to the lack of major differences, both professional groups are treated jointly.

An equal number of legal advisers and advocates took part in the study (21 advocates and 22 legal advisers). The geographical distribution of participants in Poland was even. Lawyers represent all bar associations in Poland, and the supreme bodies of bar chambers (*Naczelna Rada Adwokacka* and *Krajowa Rada Radców Prawnych*).¹⁶ Men are still dominant in the population of Polish lawyers. This is particularly visible among members of the OIRP and ORA boards, and indeed this characteristic is reflected in the research sample. Nevertheless, there is a noticeably strong trend of women's increasing participation in the legal professions. The most active group of lawyers in Poland are people aged 30 to 50, in which men dominate (74%). This is a typical phenomenon related to the cycles of human life and professional activity, as well as a decline in the professional activity of women related to raising children. Importantly, within the authorities of bar associations, there are people over 50 years old. It seems that the research carried out is based on the opinions of the most professionally active lawyers. The study, conducted using the questionnaire interview method, also includes lawyers in the pre-retirement age. Due to the participation of younger and older lawyers, men and women, advocates, and legal advisers (*radcowie prawni*), the survey is representative of the entire population of Polish jurists. The deficiencies are supplemented by qualitative interviews with the most experienced jurists in individual bar associations.

In the observed population, all lawyers speak at least one foreign language. English is the dominant language (62%), followed by Russian (29%), with the latter being the prevalent language in the 50+ age group. Knowledge of foreign languages is strongly correlated with birth in the period of the Polish People's Republic (Russian) or the Third Polish Republic (English). Despite the declarative knowledge of foreign languages, only 2% of respondents indicated that they speak at least one foreign language at a level that allows them to appear before foreign courts (C1 level or higher). A characteristic feature of the surveyed population of lawyers is the complete lack of knowledge of the Ukrainian language. This suggests that no Ukrainian or a person of Ukrainian origin is a licensed Polish lawyer or that the number of such people is so small that they are 'hiding' within a statistical error. The lack of knowledge of the language of Poland's eastern neighbours also indicates a low need for Polish lawyers to establish relationships with Ukrainian

15 B Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Hafner 1971) 26-154; W Pisarek, *Analiza Zawartości Prasy* (Ośrodek Badań Prasoznawczych 1983).

16 'Krajowa Izba Radców Prawnych' (*Krajowa Izba Radców Prawnych*, 2021) <<http://kirp.pl>> accessed 3 March 2019; 'Naczelna Rada Adwokacka' (2021) <<http://www.nra.pl>> accessed 3 March 2019.

clients or lawyers or to work in Ukraine. Poor knowledge of Russian, which is the second language of the population in this country, confirms the lack of Polish involvement in Ukrainian affairs.¹⁷

3 UKRAINIAN LAWYERS IN POLAND

Lawyers from abroad (including Ukrainians) have several opportunities to practice in Poland. First, they can apply for the status of a foreign lawyer on the basis of the Polish Act on the Provision of Legal Aid by Foreign Lawyers.¹⁸ Such jurists have their headquarters in another country, e.g., in Ukraine, while in Poland, they provide only part of their practice. However, they are not entitled to provide all types of legal services. Especially in the case of lawyers from outside the European Union, the scope and possibilities of working in Poland are limited.

The second possibility that allows persons from other countries to provide legal services in Poland is obtaining the status of a legal advisor (*radca prawny*) or advocate (*adwokat*). This is the fully-fledged status of a Polish lawyer, obtained on the basis of the Act on the Bar (*ustawa Prawo o Adwokaturze*) or the Act on Legal Advisers (*ustawa o radcach prawnych*).¹⁹ Among the numerous access criteria, it is necessary to have a legal education obtained in Poland or recognised in Poland, or the requirement to use the Polish language. These two criteria are a particularly difficult barrier for people from outside the European Union, especially Ukraine.²⁰

The third possibility for providing legal services in Poland is activity alongside the law, i.e., providing legal services as an unlicensed lawyer. Most often, people working in this way are called 'law masters', and provide services within larger enterprises, freedom of business within associations, and work in diplomatic missions or otherwise. This practice is not illegal in Poland, but such persons usually cannot represent clients in courts. There is a small group of foreigners among the unlicensed lawyers. Their number and scope of activity are unknown, and it is very difficult to establish and define the framework of activity. Another possibility is to practice paralegal professions, such as a receiver (*doradca restrukturyzacyjny*), tax advisor (*doradca podatkowy*), or patent attorney (*rzecznik patentowy*). No foreigner works in this diverse professional group. Additionally, in Poland, there is a relatively large group of people preparing to practice

- 17 J Cholewa, 'Jak język polski i francuski odzwierciedla wzajemne postrzeganie Polaków i Francuzów?' in P Guzowski, M Kamecka (eds), *Anglosasi, Francuzi i Polacy: wzajemny wizerunek dawniej i dziś* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku 2005) <https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/4650/1/Joanna_Cholewa_Jak_jezyk_polski_i_francuski_odzwierciedla_wzajemne_postrzeganie_Polakow_i_Francuzow.pdf>; K Kloc, 'Język obcy a praca w zawodzie prawnika' (*Goldenline.pl*, 2020) <https://www.goldenline.pl/grupy/Przedsiębiorcy_biznesmeni/prawo/jezyk-obcy-a-praca-w-zawodzie-prawnika,1770622/> accessed 16 April 2020; I Wyszumłek, O Oleksiyenko, *Strukturalne zróżnicowanie znajomości języków obcych: wybrane wyniki Polskiego Badania Panelowego POLPAN 1988-2013* (Zespół Porównawczych Analiz Nierówności Społecznych, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk 2015) 1-10 <http://polpan.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/POLPAN_raport_Znajomosc-jezykow.pdf>.
- 18 Ustawa z dnia 5 lipca 2002 r. o świadczeniu przez prawników zagranicznych pomocy prawnej w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Dz. U. z 2020 r. poz. 823) <<http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20021261069>> accessed 5 April 2021.
- 19 Ustawa z dnia 6 lipca 1982 r. o radcach prawnych (Dz. U. z 2020 r. poz. 75 z późn. zm.) <<http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19820190145>> accessed 5 April 2021; Ustawa z dnia 26 maja 1982 r. Prawo o adwokaturze (Dz. U. z 2020 r. poz. 1651 z późn. zm.) <<https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19820160124>> accessed 5 April 2021.
- 20 K Kłaczyńska, M Kłaczyński, *Świadczenie przez prawników zagranicznych pomocy prawnej w Polsce: komentarz* (Lexis Nexis 2004) 12-124.

the profession of a lawyer, i.e., law students, trainees, or interns. Among them, there is a large percentage of foreigners, especially from Ukraine.²¹

The databases of the bar associations indicate that in January 2021, over 57,000 professionally active legal advisers, attorneys, and foreign lawyers (37,845 legal advisers, 19,932 advocates, and 172 foreign lawyers) practiced in Poland. These data are reliable, although some of the jurists entered on the lists do not actually practice (these are mainly foreign lawyers).²²

An analysis of the registers of foreign lawyers working in Poland shows that only two foreign lawyers from Ukraine officially practice in Poland. It is important to establish whether persons of Ukrainian origin operate in Poland as advocates or legal advisers (*radcowie prawni*) entered on the basic professional lists. The bodies of the bar and legal advisers do not disclose the origin of their members. Therefore, an anthroponomic analysis was used to approximate the origin of Polish lawyers.²³ The conducted analysis of the names and surnames of advocates and legal advisers showed that only seven lawyers entered on the list of advocates and legal advisers undoubtedly have Ukrainian surnames and first names. In the case of another 12 people, it can be suspected that they are Ukrainians, but the same surnames and first names also appear in Belarus and Russia. However, it seems that according to the official data of Polish bar associations, the total number of advocates, legal advisers, and foreign lawyers practicing in Poland is close to 20 people.

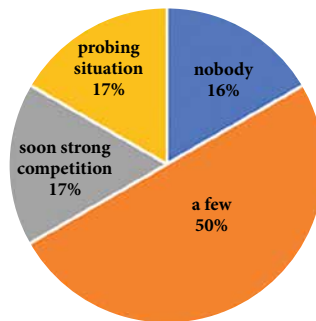


Figure 1 Ukrainian lawyers in Poland according to the opinion of Polish lawyers

Due to the limitation of data on lawyers of Ukrainian origin in Poland, private (commercial) records, registers, and lawyers' search engines were also used. They are not a fully authoritative source for learning about the situation of lawyers in Poland, but they do allow supplementary information to be obtained from other sources. After analysing the data from the four largest commercial lawyers' search engines, we note that the number of lawyers of

21 'Przybywa adwokatów, radców prawnych i doradców podatkowych. Eksperti: to nie jest dobra wiadomość' (www.money.pl, 23 February 2020) <<https://www.money.pl/gospodarka/przybywa-adwokatow-radcow-prawnych-i-doradcow-podatkowych-eksperti-to-nie-jest-dobra-wiadomosc-6481063823005825a.html>> accessed 10 April 2020; RK Tabaszewski, 'Aplikanci jako uczestnicy profesjonalnego obrotu prawnego w Polsce' in U Czyżewska and T Siewierski (eds), *Multum, non multa. Młodzi badacze w poszukiwaniu prawdy* (Wydawnictwo KUL 2012) 295-308 <<https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/864/Robert%20K.%20Tabaszewski,%20Aplikanci%20jako%20uczestnicy%20profesjonalnego%20obrotu%20prawnego%20w%20Polsce?sequence=1>> accessed 23 February 2019.

22 'Krajowy Rejestr Adwokatów i Aplikantów Adwokackich' (*Naczelna Rada Adwokacka*, 2021) <<https://rejestradwokatow.pl/adwokat/ewidencja>> accessed 10 March 2019; 'Rejestr Radców Prawnych' (*Krajowa Izba Radców Prawnych*, 2021) <<https://rejestradcow.pl>> accessed 10 March 2019.

23 A Cieślakowa, 'Metody w onomastycznych badaniach różnych kategorii nazw własnych' [1996] *Onomastica* 5, 5-19.

Ukrainian origin is also very small. Only four people advertised in these search engines indicate their Ukrainian origin. Furthermore, three out of four business cards of Ukrainians coincide with the official data.²⁴

On the basis of lawyers' registers and commercial databases, it was not possible to discover more lawyers of Ukrainian origin practicing in Poland. Therefore, the study was deepened by analysing the content of websites. The searches conducted using the Google search engine did not bring tangible results. Only eight websites were found that were run by individual law firms of Ukrainian lawyers or larger law firms employing Ukrainian jurists. Only in one case was a Ukrainian lawyer not entered on official lists or absent from commercial search engines.²⁵

The characteristics of Ukrainian lawyers operating in Poland were investigated during the empirical study. It emerged that no participant in the survey or interviews was a lawyer of Ukrainian origin. Also, none of the study participants spoke Ukrainian. However, the interviewees emphasised more than once that the number of lawyers of Ukrainian origin is increasing. There was even a growing pressure and anxiety among the representatives of the Polish bar, caused by the potential increase in competition from the Ukrainians. Furthermore, the respondents highlighted that the increase in the number of Ukrainian lawyers is still in the future. Currently, Ukrainian specialists are only preparing to provide services and work in Poland. The interviewees emphasised that a small number of lawyers from Ukraine already practice in Poland, but most interviewees did not have any further information about these people. The Ukrainian lawyers also did not participate in the work of the bar associations. However, it seems that some Polish lawyers, especially from Wrocław and Kraków, have some information about their Ukrainian colleagues. Hence, it should be concluded that in these cities, the number of Ukrainian legal specialists may be greater than in other regions. A representative of the bar council from Krakow described Ukrainian lawyers in Poland as follows:

There are several Ukrainian lawyers already operating in Poland. I do not know on what scale, but I know that they are in such cities as Przemysł and Rzeszów. First of all, there are announcements that we speak Ukrainian and they are Ukrainians [...]. There are many Ukrainian lawyers. In my opinion, this is the future of the legal market. Very soon, there will be a group of lawyers of Ukrainian origin or Poles from Ukraine. In my opinion, this will be a very significant group on the legal market. We are a border country. [...] We will have a market of legal services related to individual Ukrainian clients. [...] On the other hand, there will be a large group of small cases, that is, there will be lawyers or lawyers who will collect small cases, but in large numbers, Ukrainian will be here throughout southern Poland, or even further.²⁶

24 'Adwokaci, Kancelarie Prawne. Adwokaci z Miasta Krakowa, Warszawy, Wrocławia, Gdańska i Innych' (*WyszukiwarkaPrawnikow.pl*, 2021) <<http://wyszukiwarkaprawnikow.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'Mecenas - Adwokaci i Radcy Prawni w Polsce' (2021) <<https://www.mecenas.pl/>> accessed 21 May 2020; 'SpecPrawnik.pl' (*Specprawnik*, 2021) <<https://www.specprawnik.pl/prawnik/?q=Ukraina>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'SzukajRadcy.pl - Znajdź radcę prawnego dla siebie' (2021) <<https://szukajradcy.pl/search/?query=ukraina>> accessed 5 April 2021.

25 'Adwokat Ukraiński w Warszawie, Dugil Olga' (2021) <<http://dugilolga.eu/pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'Iryna Myzyna Adwokat Rep. Ukrainy' (2021) <<https://adwokatukrainski.pl/>> accessed 17 June 2020; 'Kancelaria Adwokacka Adwokat Galina Gajda' (2021) <<http://www.galinagajda.pl/>> accessed 17 June 2020; 'Kancelaria Adwokacka Warszawa - Oxana Piątkowska' (2021) <<https://www.adwokatpiatkowska.pl/>> accessed 1 May 2020; 'Kancelaria Prawna Kosyło i Partnerzy' (2021) <<http://kosylo.com/pl/>> accessed 1 May 2020; 'Kancelaria Radcy Prawnego Tatyana Koryakina' (*Virtus*, 2021) <<https://virtuslegal.net/polski/>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'Katarzyna Litwin - tłumacz przysięgły języka ukraińskiego' (2021) <<http://www.litwin.rzeszow.pl/>, <http://www.litwin.rzeszow.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021.

26 All translations from Polish and Ukrainian into English are by the author of the present work.

Although it has few fully qualified Ukrainian lawyers, Poland has a large number of law students and trainee lawyers of Ukrainian origin. It seems that young Ukrainians come to Poland and study law with the intention of becoming a Polish attorney or legal advisor. From the very beginning, they are educated according to Polish principles and in the scope of Polish law. As a result, they become standard Polish lawyers who are indistinguishable from other jurists. Nevertheless, they should have a competitive advantage over Poles due to their knowledge of the Ukrainian language, culture, and customs. This group is a serious competition for Polish law professionals. Their numbers and activity are noticed by representatives of Polish bar associations, as well as academic teachers from Krakow and Lublin.²⁷

I also work at the university. There are a lot of students from Ukraine at the Faculty of Law. They attend and enrol in subjects related to the provision of legal aid.

They are very ambitious; they are eager to learn the Polish language. Legal, linguistic nuances are noticed very quickly. There are entire fields of law studies aimed at students from Ukraine. It's not like they'll return home later. They want to settle down here. Even in Krakow, there are universities that educate large numbers of Ukrainian law students. People want to go further in their careers, so they follow all formalities for attorney apprenticeship; after all, they can be attorney trainees, right? Or, for example, be entered on the lists of foreign attorneys in Poland.

Generally, Polish lawyers, including representatives of legal professional councils, have little knowledge of the practice of Ukrainian lawyers in Poland. Those who have dealt with Ukrainians emphasise that their colleagues' main form of foreign activity is running a legal practice 'behind the scenes,' often known as 'in-house.' The majority of Ukrainian lawyers prepare documents and contracts for Ukrainian enterprises entering the Polish market, and they explain to Ukrainian entrepreneurs the legal and economic realities in Poland. They also make preparations for Ukrainian investments on the Vistula River. However, this form of activity is not clearly emphasised. A large number of cases involving lawyers of Ukrainian origin in Poland concern legalisation of the residence of citizens of Ukraine and other countries of the former USSR in Poland. There are also so-called border affairs (smuggling, customs), cases of Ukrainians employed in Poland, and interstate public affairs (public international law). However, Polish lawyers have only sparse and imprecise information on their activity in the country.

Based on data from empirical research, eight websites of law firms that include Ukrainian jurists were examined in detail. The information displayed on their websites cannot be considered as fully objective, as it is a marketing representation of the activities of individual lawyers. However, these data can be a guide for further research.²⁸

Ukrainian lawyers who have websites indicate that they are licensed Polish lawyers or foreign lawyers; only one case is an exception. Consequently, they target their offer at both Polish and Ukrainian customers. What is significant for Polish lawyers is that almost all Ukrainians conduct general practice, i.e., they direct their services to every client in both criminal and civil cases. However, two Ukrainian lawyers are aiming their offer more toward Polish

27 A Kwiatkowska, 'Studenci prawa udzielają porad prawnych w języku ukraińskim. Skorzystać z nich mogą wszyscy chętni' (*gazetapl*, 21 November 2019) <<https://poznan.wyborcza.pl/poznan/7,36001,25433301,studenci-prawa-udzialaja-porad-prawnych-w-jezyku-ukrainskim.html>> accessed 5 April 2021; P Szewioła, 'Ukraińscy studenci wypełniają lukę po polskich żakach' (1 July 2019) <<https://serwis.gazetaprawna.pl/edukacja/artykuly/1419824,uczelnie-studenci-obcokrajowcy-ukraincy-studia-w-polsce.html>> accessed 5 April 2021.

28 B Butryn, M Laska, 'Analiza porównawcza witryn e-sklepów w ujęciu branżowym: propozycja metody badań' [2014] *Informatyka Ekonomiczna* 340, 340-350.

businesses that would like to invest in Ukraine. Importantly, no Ukrainian lawyer addresses their offer exclusively to Ukrainians in Poland. With the exception of one law firm, they are run as small, one- or two-person law firms. Noteworthy is the law firm Kosyło and Partners, which almost exclusively deals with cross-border Polish-Ukrainian economic matters; it is a small law corporation that employs 12 Polish and Ukrainian lawyers, including half of the lawyers of Ukrainian origin in Poland.²⁹ Contrary to the popular opinion of Polish jurists, Ukrainian lawyers do not direct their offers at their compatriots and do not deal with migration issues, border issues, labour law, or petty crimes. Nor do they have their professional headquarters only in the east of the country. Rather, their professional offices are located in Kraków, Poznań, Wrocław, Warsaw and Rzeszów. Commonly, Ukrainian economic specialists also have second offices in Ukrainian cities.

Some of them present their professional experience on websites. We can see that everyone first studied in Ukraine and then migrated to Poland for supplementary training in Polish law. It is a common phenomenon, but at the same time very burdensome for the lawyers. Ukrainians are also trying to translate their websites into Polish, Ukrainian, and Russian; this demonstrates their potential readiness to deal with the affairs of clients from various countries, especially the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). In this context, lawyers often emphasise that they deal not only with Polish and Ukrainian matters but also with cases in other CIS countries. They aspire to become a significant intermediary in contacts between Poles and eastern Europe, including Russia, Belarus, etc. Furthermore, all lawyers of Ukrainian origin in Poland are young people under 45 years of age.

In addition to law firms run by Ukrainians, there are also international corporate law firms operating in Poland; in these companies, no individual lawyer stands out because tasks are carried out in a collective manner. Such corporations provide legal, accounting, and HR services to many markets, including Poland and Ukraine. They employ lawyers from all over the world, including Ukraine. However, it is not possible to precisely determine who works in such companies. Also, the work style of international law corporations does not recognise or emphasise national differences. Thus, although Polish-Ukrainian affairs are undoubtedly conducted within the framework of supranational initiatives, it is difficult to establish the details.³⁰

As about one million Ukrainians live and work in Poland, it would seem that their presence requires the support of native lawyers who know their problems best: migration, border, cross-border family law, labour law, or minor criminal matters. Such issues might appear to be a potential area of cooperation between Ukrainian citizens and Ukrainian lawyers. The reality is different. Despite the increased population of Ukrainians in Poland, the number of Ukrainian jurists has not increased. Interestingly, a small proportion of them usually do not serve their compatriots. We have to accept the popular opinion of Polish lawyers that Ukrainians avoid getting involved in court and legal relations; they do not want to enter into any relations with state structures but prefer to work and transfer their earnings to their homeland. The necessity to get involved in legal matters is most often caused by their leaving Poland. Apparently, serious cases involving Ukrainian citizens in Poland are handled by Polish legal specialists who do not emphasise this activity.

29 'Kancelaria Prawna Kosyło i Partnerzy' (n 25).

30 'Dudkowiak Kopeć Putyra' (2021) <<https://www.dudkowiak.pl/>> accessed 1 May 2020; 'Law Firm Contacts. Lawyer's Office. Lawyer Abroad. Law Firm Abroad' (*Rubicon*, 2021) <<https://tcg.net.ua/en/contacts-abroad>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'Ranking Kancelarii Prawniczych' (2021) <<https://rankingkancelarii.rp.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'PLP Law Group' (*PLP Law Group*, 2021) <<http://plp.kiev.ua/pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021.

The small number of Ukrainian lawyers practicing in Poland testifies to weak Polish-Ukrainian ties. The barrier of the European Union's external border is so strong that there are still no increased cross-border relations. Consequently, there is little need for lawyers to operate on both sides of the border to look after businesses or individuals. It can be concluded that Polish entrepreneurs are afraid of moving their economic initiatives to the east, and such individuals avoid contact with Ukraine. Only 20 active Ukrainian lawyers in Poland testify to the natural movement between the two countries, and no dynamic changes can be observed.³¹

It seems that the situation will change over time. Ukrainians who have completed their legal education in Poland are slowly entering the legal services market in Poland. Already today, Polish lawyers are afraid of potential competition from them. Young Ukrainian lawyers are a consequence of economic migration, but it is only in the second or third generation that they will find their home in Poland and want to practice law. Probably, more and more people from the east will benefit from legal aid in Poland. It can be predicted that within five years, the number of lawyers of Ukrainian origin in Poland will increase significantly. Currently, there are few of them, but by 2025 the number of legal specialists from the east may even increase tenfold. Undoubtedly, Polish lawyers and legal associations will also notice a greater presence of Ukrainian colleagues in the bar.

4 POLISH LEGAL MATTERS IN UKRAINE

The very small number of lawyers from Ukraine who practice in Poland, and the Polish jurists' limited expertise in Ukrainian matters, demonstrate the restricted cross-border Polish-Ukrainian relations. Apparently, the number of cases of entrepreneurs and individual clients occurring at the junction of two countries is so small that they do not require the involvement of many legal specialists. Thus, the current practices fully meet the needs of both parties. The common border and permanent relationships require ongoing legal services, although to a very limited extent. It seems that in Ukraine, similarly to Poland, there should be dozens of Polish lawyers or lawyers specialising in Polish-Ukrainian matters, as only in this way can cross-border legal problems be properly addressed.

The system of providing legal services in Ukraine is similar to the Polish system. However, in this country, there is a unified legal profession, that of the advocate. They are compulsorily associated with the regional bar associations, which together form the Ukrainian bar. Essentially, there is an obligation to obtain a state legal license. The most important requirement is to have a legal education and a minimum two-year internship (attorney apprenticeship). The bar system in Ukraine is uniformly regulated by the Ukrainian law on the Bar and Practice of Law.³²

Currently, approximately 130,000 lawyers practice in Ukraine; this is a very significant number.³³ Specifically, Ukrainian law does not prohibit legal practice by persons who are not

31 B Pankowska-Lier, 'Jaka jest Ukraina dla polskich przedsiębiorców' (*Rzeczpospolita*, 25 May 2018) <<https://www.rp.pl/Firma/305249956-Jaka-jest-Ukraina-dla-polskich-przedsiębiorców.html>> accessed 5 April 2021; O Vysochan, K Vlodek, *Raport: Analiza relacji polsko-ukraińskich za prezydentury Wołodymyra Zeleńskiego* (Fundacja Instytut Studiów Wschodnich 2020) 10-32 <<https://www.forum-ekonomiczne.pl/raport-analiza-relacji-polsko-ukraińskich-za-prezydentury-wolodymyra-zelenskigo/>> accessed 5 April 2021.

32 *Zakon Ukrainy Pro advokaturu ta advokat-s'ku diyal'nist'* <<https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/5076-17>> accessed 5 April 2021.

33 'Ministerstvo yustytstiyi prezentuye statystychnye doslidzhennya «Stan yurydychnoyi osvity»' (18 March 2019) <<https://minjust.gov.ua/news/ministry/ministerstvo-yustitsii-prezentue-statistichne-doslidzhennya-stan-yuridichnoi-osvity>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'Min"yust vyklav zvit pro stan yurydychnoyi osvity v Ukraini. Spoyler: yurystiv nadto bahato' (20 March 2019) <<https://happymonday.ua/minjust-vyklar-zvit-pro-stan-jurydychnoi-osvity>> accessed 5 April 2021.

licensed lawyers. As in Poland, this action is alongside the law, but it is not illegal. Therefore, the exact number of all persons providing legal services in Ukraine is unknown. It is also possible for foreign lawyers to obtain a Ukrainian legal license, and they have the same competences as their Ukrainian colleagues. Thus, there are 26 licensed foreign lawyers in Ukraine. Both Ukrainian and foreign lawyers are compulsorily entered in the Single Register of Advocates of Ukraine (ERAU).³⁴

We divide legal specialists in Polish matters in Ukraine into two groups. The first are Poles and people of Polish origin working in that country or cross-border; the second are Ukrainians dealing with Polish and Polish-Ukrainian matters. The Ukrainian register of foreign lawyers, out of a total of 26, includes no Poles.

In order to analyse the register of Ukrainian lawyers, we must use the anthroponomic method because the Ukrainian bar does not reveal the nationality or origin of the lawyers. However, using this method poses particular difficulties because the Ukrainian replaces the original sound of Polish surnames with the Ukrainian version. Hence, it is difficult to unequivocally establish whether a particular person has a Polish name and surname, and thus, this research method is not completely reliable. However, when carrying out the analyses, it was found that 24 Ukrainian lawyers have Polish names and surnames. Almost all (20/24) are members of the bar in the district chambers in L'viv, Lutsk, Chernivtsi, and Ivano-Frankivsk. This means that they have their professional headquarters in western Ukraine, which is a border area. However, it seems that these are not immigrants from Poland who provide cross-border services. Most likely, they are representatives of the Polish diaspora: Poles who have lived in Ukraine since World War II.³⁵

An in-depth search for Polish lawyers in Ukraine was also conducted, given the high level of distrust related to the use of the anthroponomic method. Polish diplomatic missions tend to publish details of local lawyers who provide legal services to Poles. This information is also uncertain, as there is no rule of thumb for specific lawyers to be included in these publications. Nevertheless, the consular information is another indicator that makes it possible to evaluate Polish legal involvement in Ukraine.³⁶

Information on lawyers of Polish origin in Ukraine and Ukrainian lawyers dealing with Polish affairs was prepared by Polish consulates in L'viv, Kharkov, Odessa, Kiev, and Lutsk. These data indicate lawyers practicing in all districts of Ukraine, including those occupied by Russia: Luhansk, Donetsk, Crimea, and the city of Sevastopol. The number of lawyers is illustrated in the table below:

Consulate	Lawyers of Polish origin	Ukrainians specialising in Polish affairs	Other recommended Ukrainians
Lutsk	1		18
L'viv	1	5	
Kiev	3		3
Kharkov	1	2	22
Odessa	1		4

Figure 2 Number of lawyers recommended by Polish consulates in Ukraine

As in the case of data obtained from the register of Ukrainian lawyers, Polish diplomatic missions also do not notice many lawyers of Polish origin. According to them, there are

34 'Yedynny Reyestr Advokativ Ukrayiny' (2021) <<https://erau.unba.org.ua/>> accessed 2 April 2021.

35 H Krasowska, *Mniejszość polska na południowo-wschodniej Ukrainie* (Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy 2012) 25-71, 247-305.

36 'List of attorneys, notaries and translators - Poland in Ukraine' (*Ambasada RP w Kijowie*, 2021) <<https://www.gov.pl/web/ukraina/lista-adwokatow-notariuszy-tlumaczy>> accessed 9 June 2020.

only seven jurists of Polish origin practicing in all of Ukraine. All persons recommended by consulates are the same persons listed in the ERAU register. It seems that in Ukraine, there are practically no Polish immigrant lawyers, lawyers representing the Polish community abroad, or other Polish-speaking lawyers. Their number is similar to that of Ukrainian jurists in Poland.

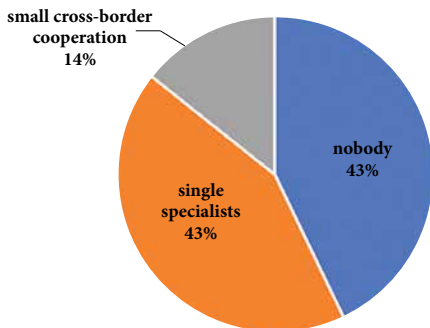


Figure 3 Lawyers specializing in Polish-Ukrainian cases in Ukraine according to Polish jurists

The data presented by consulates also show that there are only seven Ukrainian lawyers in Ukraine who declare that they deal with Polish cases or Polish-Ukrainian cross-border cases. Importantly, most of them practice in L'viv. This is understandable because L'viv is traditionally associated with Polish tourism and is the city closest to the Polish border. Despite the ties between western Ukraine and Poland, the number of Ukrainian lawyers specialising in cross-border cases is negligible. The lack of Ukrainian lawyers dealing with international affairs is also confirmed by the ERAU register, which indicates that no Ukrainian lawyer specialises in such areas as public international law, international economic law, private international law, international arbitration, human rights, maritime law, and cross-border cases. The scarcity of specialists shows that the Ukrainian bar is closed to international affairs and cross-border relations, including with Poland.

An exception to this statement arises from the existence of several larger law firms with headquarters in both Poland and Ukraine, which deal exclusively with cross-border business cases. These law firms are not noticeable in Ukraine due to their negligible number among all 130,000 lawyers. Some of them were mentioned during the analysis of Ukrainian initiatives in Poland. Four Polish and Ukrainian-led law firms dealing with Polish-Ukrainian cases were identified, which have their headquarters or branches in L'viv and in Jaslo, Wrocław, Kraków, and Warsaw.³⁷

In Ukraine, apart from identified Ukrainian lawyers who run smaller or larger law firms, there are also large law corporations dealing with international affairs. Most of them are based in Kiev and also deal with Polish-Ukrainian issues. These companies work collectively, often managing matters in Ukraine and Poland from outside the territories of both countries. The scope and forms of their handling of Polish-Ukrainian affairs are not fully known. However, such initiatives usually deal with big economic cases involving companies, mergers, acquisitions, maritime law, and affairs between the state and private property. This is not a daily practice of Ukrainian lawyers, but something completely different from typical

³⁷ 'First Chair Legal' (2021) <<https://www.firstchair.legal>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'Kancelaria Prawna Kosyło i Partnerzy' (n 25); 'Kancelaria Prawnicza Andrzej Gotfryd' (2021) <<https://www.gotfryd.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021; 'Law Firm Contacts. Lawyer's Office. Lawyer Abroad. Law Firm Abroad' (n 30).

legal work. It is largely alienated from domestic and cross-border affairs and does not divide people into particular nationalities.

Polish advocates and legal advisers (*radcowie prawni*) cautiously speak about the work of Polish lawyers in Ukraine and possible cooperation with Polish-Ukrainian specialists who have professional offices in a neighbouring country. Essentially, Polish jurists do not know much about Ukrainian and Polish lawyers who specialise in Poland and Poles in Ukraine. None of the survey participants indicated cooperation with lawyers in Ukraine, nor did they mention that they planned to move eastwards personally to set up a branch in Ukraine. Also, during their free speech, no participant stated any connections with or knowledge about the lawyers residing in Ukraine.

Among those interviewed in the study, Polish lawyers who are members of district councils of bar associations also have limited experience in this area. Almost half of them have never heard of this type of legal practice. However, there is a certain group of representatives of barristers' councils who sometimes meet with lawyers of Polish origin who constantly practice in Ukraine. So far, no one has met Ukrainians, i.e., specialists in Polish-Ukrainian affairs operating in Ukraine. Lawyers with knowledge of lawyers of Polish origin in Ukraine are mainly represented by bar associations based in Kraków, Lublin, Kielce, Rzeszow, Wrocław, Gdansk, and Poznan. This means that they are appreciated by customers, and knowledge of this is widespread. There are also a limited number of Polish jurists who notice Poles and Ukrainians initiating small cross-border initiatives. It seems that the knowledge of the Kosyło and Partners law firm is relatively widespread also among senior advocates (*dziekani*) and members of local councils. Despite some interest in the affairs of the Polish community in Ukraine, these cases are still of a niche nature: they do not play a role in the practice of Polish lawyers or in the activities of bar associations.

The conducted study shows that there are few lawyers of Polish origin or Ukrainian lawyers dealing with Polish-Ukrainian cross-border cases who practice in Ukraine. As in Poland, their number is less than 20 people. As expected, most of them are grouped in western Ukraine, mainly in Lviv. This is due to the traditional ties between Poland and western Ukraine and the borderland nature of this region. The increase in the number of Ukrainians in Poland and the tourist migrations of Poles to Lviv do not result in an increased need for legal protection from Ukrainian lawyers. It seems that Polish business is not moving to Ukraine collectively; consequently, lawyers are not asked to provide legal services to entrepreneurs and individuals. The current number of lawyers of Polish origin and Ukrainian specialists is therefore sufficient to satisfy mutual cross-border and international relations. Certainly, the increasing integration of both countries and the education of young Ukrainian lawyers in Poland will result in an increased number of legal specialists in Ukraine in the future; this can be expected in the next few years.

5 ORGANISATIONAL COOPERATION

One of the emanations of cross-border legal activity is the institutional cooperation of bar associations. Essentially, the need to provide cross-border legal services forces them to become more involved in facilitating the transnational work of lawyers. Sometimes the regional lawyers' between corporations results in individual lawyers increasing the provision of cross-border services. In both cases, the quality and scope of the bar associations' activities indicate the existence of closer relationships between lawyers from different countries.

The organisation of Polish bar associations (both advocates and legal advisers) and the Ukrainian bar association is similar. In both cases, there are regional lawyers' associations that bring together all regional licensed lawyers, facilitate the organisation of their work,

fulfil various legal obligations, and conduct their own international activities. Additionally, at the central level, there are supreme organisations and other self-governing bodies whose task is to supervise, support, and coordinate regional organisations. Nevertheless, it is the regions that carry out most of the tasks and responsibilities. In both Poland and Ukraine, lawyers and legal advisers are obliged to become members of the bar association. Regional and supreme corporate bodies conduct activities of an international nature, which result from the provisions of national or international law (e.g., maintaining lists of foreign lawyers, cross-border disciplinary proceedings), or the ambitions of members of boards of directors (councils) of regional associations (e.g., organisation of international training, conferences, internships, representation in international organisations, promotion of cross-national issues, or international social events).³⁸



Figure 4 Cooperation of Polish-Ukrainian bar associations

The most accurate information on the institutional cooperation of Polish and Ukrainian bar associations is provided by members of the management bodies (councils) of supreme and regional bar associations. Heads and other members of Polish councils of legal associations emphasise that there is no special bond between the two countries' bar associations. In only 8 out of 43 cases, lawyers emphasised that the Polish bar had established or currently maintains some contacts with the regional professional self-governments of Ukrainian lawyers. Only deans from Wrocław, Poznań, Kraków, Rzeszów, Lublin, Opole, and Kielce indicated that their chambers currently maintain or have maintained contacts with the Ukrainian bar association or regional bar councils. Usually, these are bar associations from the eastern regions of Poland, bordering with Ukraine. In the case of Wrocław, the motivation for maintaining cooperation are old reminiscences, and in Poznań, the personal involvement of one of the Ukrainian lawyers.³⁹

All representatives of Polish bar associations emphasise that cooperation with colleagues from Ukraine is ephemeral. Usually, it starts and ends with the signing of the cooperation agreement; specific actions are no longer taken. If there are any joint activities, they are usually of a social nature (e.g., meetings, sports events, trips). Indeed, specific collaborative activities are so rare that they tend to be 'apocryphal'. Working together is usually one-sided and very limited; in fact, only Poles direct their professional and social interests towards Ukraine. Institutional contacts are established exclusively with the regional legal associations in L'viv and Lutsk. Activists of Polish professional organisations from Rzeszów, Kielce, and Lublin characterise their contacts with Ukrainian counterparts as follows:

38 A Kosyło, 'Nowa ustawa o adwokaturze na Ukrainie' (2013) 58 *Palestra* 162, 164-167; W Bujko, 'Zawód radcy prawnego i samorząd zawodowy radców prawnych w orzecznictwie Trybunału Konstytucyjnego' in A Bereza (ed), *Zawód radcy prawnego: historia zawodu i zasady jego wykonywania* (Ośrodek Badań, Studiów i Legislacji Krajowej Rady Radców Prawnych 2017) 539-575 <http://kirp.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Zaw%C3%B3d-radcy-prawnego_wyd.5_592_.pdf>; A Kosyło, 'Ustrój adwokatury i zasady dostępu do zawodu adwokata na Ukrainie' [2004] *Studia Iuridica Lublinensia* 143, 143-150; 'Ukrainian National Bar Association' (2021) <<https://en.unba.org.ua/>> accessed 5 April 2021.

39 A Górny, *Nowe obszary docelowe w migracji z Ukrainy do Polski przypadek Bydgoszczy i Wrocławia na tle innych miast* (Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2019) 6-59 <<http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/WP118176.pdf>> accessed 5 April 2021.

There is no necessary cooperation. Because if it were, they would have entrusted us with some matters. And there aren't any. My office is in Jaroslaw, so close to the border, and I receive news. There are no such situations; there aren't. A situation where we need help.

We once tried to establish cooperation with the Lviv Bar Association, but there was no special response there. There is a difficult situation in general because the advocacy is a bit strange there. They are a bit on the same level of development that we used to be under communism. This level is completely different.

Former contacts with the Luck Bar Association, Ukraine. And it was probably the kind of contact I noticed when I was with the dean because he was coming here and there was a visit. But that's it. But it was very informal, more like a neighbourly contact than a legal agreement or full cooperation. As for other bar associations, I am not aware of any such cooperation.

Verification of the accounts by representatives of Polish bar associations is provided by information on the cooperation of local governments, obtained from the websites of regional and supreme Polish and Ukrainian professional associations. After analysing the content of materials published on the websites of Polish bar associations (all together), we note that out of 791 announcements for 2017-2019, only two concerned cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian bar associations (one in Lodz and one in Warsaw). Similarly, in the case of supreme bodies of advocates and legal advisers (in total), out of 255 advertisements, only four concerned such cooperation (for advocates).⁴⁰ The websites of all Ukrainian local bar associations and the Supreme Bar Association were analysed in a similar way. In this case, all entries (news, invitations, etc.) published between 2017 and the end of March 2021 were examined. Only one piece of information on Polish-Ukrainian cooperation was found from the spring of 2021. Even in Lviv, Lutsk (Volhynia), Kharkov, and the Supreme Bar Association, no information was found regarding institutional cooperation between Polish and Ukrainian legal councils.⁴¹

Therefore, we must conclude that Polish-Ukrainian cooperation between bar associations is practically non-existent. Information about working together is rudimentary and accidental. Despite several attempts to establish cooperation by western Ukrainian and eastern Polish law corporations, it was not possible to maintain permanent partnerships. Both sides have made no efforts to inform, promote, and propagate mutual relations. Apparently, lawyers from both countries also do not urge their fellow activists to establish mutual relations. The borderland nature of the Lviv bar association and the bar chambers of Lublin and Rzeszow are not appropriate motivators for maintaining closer relations. Most likely, it is the lack of the need to provide cross-border services that results in the reluctance to maintain institutional contacts. Polish and Ukrainian associations of lawyers do not see any benefits from conducting common affairs, even in the form of social contacts; therefore, they cease. We will notice a change in relations between the bar associations only if the number and importance of cross-border cases, clients, and the group of interested lawyers increases. Then, the members of the bar will put pressure on the authorities of professional self-governments in order to facilitate, improve, and expand mutual professional relations.

40 'Krajowa Izba Radców Prawnych' (n 16); 'Naczelna Rada Adwokacka' (n 16).

41 'Natsional'na Asotsiatsiya Advokativ Ukrainy' (2021) <<https://unba.org.ua/rada-advokativ-regionu>> accessed 5 April 2021.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Centuries-old relationships between Poland and Ukraine and the new social and economic reality should make Polish and Ukrainian lawyers actively participate in mutual development. With about a million Ukrainian citizens present in Poland, Poles like to visit western Ukraine, and historical memories consolidate the relations between the two countries; thus, lawyers and legal advisers should develop their cross-border business relations. In fact, jurists from both sides of the border do not work in the neighbouring country, do not deal with their neighbours, and do not specialise in interstate matters. It seems that the existing relationships are so weak that they do not translate into cooperation between lawyers.

It might seem that the million Ukrainians in Poland would require legal protection. Statistically, in such a large group of people, at least a small percentage will require assistance. Immigrants to Poland might also be expected to maintain close relations with their compatriots. However, the reality is different: the multitude of Ukrainians in Poland does not result in the influx of Ukrainian lawyers, nor in the Poles' specialisation in Ukrainian matters. Ukrainians still avoid contact with legal institutions and lawyers; hence, there is no increased need for jurists to get involved in Ukrainian affairs. In addition, difficulties in acquiring Polish professional qualifications effectively make it difficult for Ukrainians to become Polish lawyers and practice in another country. The high level of competition from Polish advocates and legal advisers is also an important factor.⁴²

A similar situation applies to Poles who emigrate to Ukraine, with the proviso that Ukraine still is not regarded by Poles as an attractive country to invest in and migrate to. Currently, there are no legal specialists in Polish matters in Ukraine. Ukrainian citizens of Polish origin, living in L'viv, Podolia, or Volhynia, have partially forgotten their origins, and young lawyers do not see the need to specialise in Polish matters. Poles are simply absent from Ukraine, and therefore do not need legal assistance. For Poles, emigration in that direction is very limited.⁴³

In most cases, entrepreneurs excel in going abroad and launching business ventures there. In the case of Polish-Ukrainian relations, it is not apparent that large companies are willing to move from west to east, or vice versa. As a consequence, there are relatively few commercial cases that would require legal assistance. Furthermore, the Ukrainian market is perceived by many European entrepreneurs as unstable, while the serious barriers to entering the EU market are difficult for Ukrainians to overcome. In addition, both Polish and Ukrainian entrepreneurs mainly believe that they can handle business on their own without the assistance of a lawyer. The result of such thinking is the lack of lawyers' involvement.⁴⁴

Of course, there is a group of lawyers who deal with Polish-Ukrainian matters, but their number is very small on both sides of the border. Their activity is natural, not related to the actual market and migrations. Although there are always cases to be dealt with, such a small number of specialists would be able to serve very few migrants. Therefore, specialists mainly deal with large economic initiatives or the most serious Polish-Ukrainian criminal cases.

42 P Rojek-Socha, 'Specjalizacja sposobem na konkurencję - prawnicy widzą konieczność zmian' (Prawo.pl, 30 January 2020) <<https://www.prawo.pl/prawnicy-sady/czy-prawnik-moze-tytulowac-sie-jako-specjalista-w-danej,497553.html>> accessed 16 April 2020.

43 K Dwornik, 'Polacy wśród mniejszości narodowych współczesnej Ukrainy' in K Bortnowska, A Chyckowska (eds), *Wschód oczami młodych. Rosja. Ukraina. Białoruś* (Uniwersytet Warszawski 2010) 169-173 <<https://depot.ceon.pl/handle/123456789/16719>> accessed 5 April 2021.

44 R Harasym, *Bariery polsko-ukraińskiej współpracy gospodarczej oraz perspektywy płynące z utworzenia strefy wolnego handlu między Unią Europejską a Ukrainą* (Wyższa Szkoła Informatyki i Zarządzania w Rzeszowie 2014) 37-102 <http://workingpapers.wsiz.pl/pliki/working-papers/Raport_Ukraina_raport.pdf>.

The activity of Polish and Ukrainian bar associations is part of this picture. Due to the lack of active cross-border corporations, lawyers do not motivate the legal professional structures to maintain relations at the individual or institutional level; and the legal societies do not see any benefits in doing so. The lack of legal compulsion for establishing relationships also dissuades corporations from specialising in international work. Professional self-governing bodies have thus become uninterested and powerless with regard to bilateral relations.

The current state of Polish-Ukrainian legal cooperation does not seem very encouraging. However, it will undoubtedly change. We can already see that large numbers of Ukrainian law students in Poland are entering the domestic services market and are starting to compete with Poles. Thus, in a few years, we will see a flood of young specialists in Ukrainian law in Poland. Many of them will return to Ukraine and conduct their legal practice there as well, and some will take the risk of creating Polish-Ukrainian law corporations dealing with cross-border cases. Furthermore, the large number of Ukrainians in Poland will force Polish and Ukrainian lawyers to deal with cross-border family law. In particular, childcare issues may be the specialty in family law that will legally connect the two countries. It is difficult to ignore family matters, and not necessarily all practitioners want to avoid them. The consequence of this will be the specialisation of lawyers on both sides of the border; they might then also look for niches in other areas and legal specialties.

The future of legal involvement in economic matters depends on the state and supra-state policy. As long as Ukraine is an unstable country with major structural problems, European business will not increase its involvement; consequently, there will be no need for greater participation of Polish and EU jurists. The situation will change when Ukraine becomes more integrated with the European Union, mainly through proper implementation of the already existing association agreement. Then, the gradual reduction of barriers to the cross-border provision of services will result in Ukrainian lawyers finding professional niches in Poland. Indeed, it must be remembered that on both sides of the border, the number of lawyers significantly exceeds the market needs. The changes will take place quite quickly, and perhaps by 2025, we will not be writing about only around 20 Polish-Ukrainian legal specialists, but a number maybe 20 times greater.

REFERENCES:

1. Abel RL, *Lawyers and the Power to Change* (Blackwell 1985).
2. 'Adwokaci, Kancelarie Prawne. Adwokaci z Miasta Krakowa, Warszawy, Wrocławia, Gdańska i Innych' (*WyszukiwarkaPrawnikow.pl*, 2021) <<http://wyszukiwarkaprawnikow.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
3. 'Adwokat Ukraiński w Warszawie, Dugil Olga' (2021) <<http://dugilolga.eu/pl>> accessed 5 April 2021.
4. Andrij Kosyło, 'Nowa ustawa o adwokataturze na Ukrainie' (2013) 58 *Palestra* 162.
5. 'ATLAS.ti' (*ATLAS.ti*, 2021) <<https://atlasti.com/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
6. Babbie ER, *Podstawy Badań Społecznych* (Witold Betkiewicz tr, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2008).
7. Baranowska M (ed), *Świadczenie pomocy prawnej w państwach europejskich. 2, Niemcy, Ukraina, Węgry, Irlandia*, vols 2, Niemcy, Ukraina, Węgry, Irlandia (Ośrodek Badań, Studiów i Legislacji Krajowej Rady Radców Prawnych 2012).
8. Berelson B, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Hafner 1971).

9. Bereza A and others, *Zawód radcy prawnego: historia zawodu i zasady jego wykonywania* (Ośrodek Badań, Studiów i Legislacji Krajowej Rady Radców Prawnych 2017) <http://kirp.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Zaw%C3%B3d-radcy-prawnego_wyd.5_592_.pdf>.
10. Bujko W, 'Zawód radcy prawnego i samorząd zawodowy radców prawnych w orzecznictwie Trybunału Konstytucyjnego' in Arkadiusz Bereza (ed), *Zawód radcy prawnego: historia zawodu i zasady jego wykonywania* (Ośrodek Badań, Studiów i Legislacji Krajowej Rady Radców Prawnych 2017) <http://kirp.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Zaw%C3%B3d-radcy-prawnego_wyd.5_592_.pdf>.
11. Butryn B and Laska M, 'Analiza porównawcza witryn e-sklepów w ujęciu branżowym: propozycja metody badań' [2014] *Informatyka Ekonomiczna* 340.
12. Charmaz K, *Constructing Grounded Theory* (SAGE 2014).
13. Chłopaś M, 'Ilu Ukraińców jest w Polsce? Ilu wyjechało w pandemii? Mamy wiarygodne dane' (*Newsweek.pl*, 2021) <<https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/spoleczenstwo/ilu-ukraincow-jest-w-polsce-ilu-ukraincow-wyjechalo-z-polski-w-pandemii/9b0gxc6>> accessed 5 April 2021.
14. Cholewa J, 'Jak język polski i francuski odzwierciedla wzajemne postrzeganie Polaków i Francuzów?' in Piotr Guzowski and Małgorzata Kamecka (eds), *Anglosasi, Francuzi i Polacy: wzajemny wizerunek dawniej i dziś* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku 2005) <https://repozytorium.uwb.edu.pl/jspui/bitstream/11320/4650/1/Joanna_Cholewa_Jak_jezyk_polski_i_francuski_odzwierciedla_wzajemne_postrzeganie_Polakow_i_Francuzow.pdf>.
15. Cieślukowa A, 'Metody w onomastycznych badaniach różnych kategorii nazw własnych' [1996] *Onomastica* 5.
16. 'Dudkowiak Kopeć Putyra' (2021) <<https://www.dudkowiak.pl/>> accessed 1 May 2020.
17. Dwornik K, 'Polacy wśród mniejszości narodowych współczesnej Ukrainy' in Katarzyna Bortnowska and Aleksandra Chyckowska (eds), *Wschód oczami młodych. Rosja. Ukraina. Białoruś* (Uniwersytet Warszawski 2010) <<https://depot.ceon.pl/handle/123456789/16719>> accessed 5 April 2021.
18. 'First Chair Legal' (2021) <<https://www.firstchair.legal>> accessed 5 April 2021.
19. Frankfort-Nachmias C and Nachmias D, *Metody Badawcze w Naukach Społecznych* (Zysk i S-ka 2001).
20. Górny A and others, *Nowe obszary docelowe w migracji z Ukrainy do Polski przypadek Bydgoszczy i Wrocławia na tle innych miast* (Ośrodek Badań nad Migracjami Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2019) <<http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/WP118176.pdf>> accessed 5 April 2021.
21. Harasym R and others, *Bariery polsko-ukraińskiej współpracy gospodarczej oraz perspektywy płynące z utworzenia strefy wolnego handlu między Unią Europejską a Ukraina* (Wyższa Szkoła Informatyki i Zarządzania w Rzeszowie 2014) <http://workingpapers.wsiz.pl/pliki/workingpapers/Raport_Ukraina_raport.pdf>.
22. Horton J, Macve R and Struyven G, 'Qualitative Research: Experiences in Using Semi-Structured Interviews' in Christopher Humphrey and Bill Lee (eds), *The Real Life Guide to Accounting Research* (Elsevier 2004) <<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/B9780080439723500220>> accessed 20 May 2020.
23. 'Iryna Myzyna Adwokat Rep. Ukrainy' (2021) <<https://adwokatukrainski.pl/>> accessed 17 June 2020.
24. 'Kancelaria Adwokacka Adwokat Galina Gajda' (2021) <<http://www.galinagajda.pl/>> accessed 17 June 2020.
25. 'Kancelaria Adwokacka Warszawa - Oxana Piątkowska' (2021) <<https://www.adwokatpiatkowska.pl/>> accessed 1 May 2020.

26. 'Kancelaria Prawna Kosyło i Partnerzy' (2021) <<http://kosylo.com/pl>> accessed 1 May 2020.
27. 'Kancelaria Prawnicza Andrzej Gotfryd' (2021) <<https://www.gotfryd.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
28. 'Kancelaria Radcy Prawnego Tatyana Koryakina' (*Virtus*, 2021) <<https://virtuslegal.net/polski/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
29. 'Katarzyna Litwin - tłumacz przysięgły języka ukraińskiego' (2021) <<http://www.litwin.rzeszow.pl/>, <http://www.litwin.rzeszow.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021
30. Kędzierski D, 'Metodologia i Paradygmat Polskich Szczegółowych Nauk Prawnych' [2018] *Transformacje Prawa Prywatnego* 5.
31. Kłaczyńska K and Kłaczyński M, *Świadczenie przez prawników zagranicznych pomocy prawnej w Polsce: komentarz* (Lexis Nexis 2004).
32. Kloc K, 'Język obcy a praca w zawodzie prawnika' (*Goldenline.pl*, 2020) <https://www.goldenline.pl/grupy/Przedsiębiorcy_biznesmeni/prawo/jezyk-obcy-a-praca-w-zawodzie-prawnika,1770622/> accessed 16 April 2020.
33. Kosyło A, 'Ustrój adwokatury i zasady dostępu do zawodu adwokata na Ukrainie' [2004] *Studia Iuridica Lublinensia* 143.
34. Kosyło A, *Dostęp do zawodu adwokata w prawie polskim, ukraińskim, białoruskim i rosyjskim* (Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek 2010).
35. 'Krajowa Izba Radców Prawnych' (Krajowa Izba Radców Prawnych, 2021) <<http://kirp.pl>> accessed 3 March 2019.
36. 'Krajowy Rejestr Adwokatów i Aplikantów Adwokackich' (Naczelna Rada Adwokacka, 2021) <<https://rejestradwokatow.pl/adwokat/ewidencja>> accessed 10 March 2019.
37. Krasowska H, *Mniejszość polska na południowo-wschodniej Ukrainie* (Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy 2012).
38. Kursa M, 'Już 10 Procent Krakowian to Cudzoziemcy. Wśród Nich: Ukraińcy, Białorusini, Włosi i Inni' (*wyborcza.pl Kraków*, 8 April 2020) <<https://krakow.wyborcza.pl/krakow/7,44425,24626716,juz-10-procent-krakowian-to-cudzoziemcy-wsrod-nich-ukraincy.html>> accessed 11 April 2020.
39. Kvale S and Brinkmann S, *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (SAGE 2009).
40. Kwiatkowska A, 'Studenci prawa udzielają porad prawnych w języku ukraińskim. Skorzystać z nich mogą wszyscy chętni' (*gazetapl*, 21 November 2019) <<https://poznan.wyborcza.pl/poznan/7,36001,25433301,studenci-prawa-udzialaja-porad-prawnych-w-jezyku-ukrainskim.html>> accessed 5 April 2021.
41. 'Law Firm Contacts. Lawyer's Office. Lawyer Abroad. Law Firm Abroad' (*Rubicon*, 2021) <<https://tgc.net.ua/en/contacts-abroad>> accessed 5 April 2021.
42. Lipiec S, 'Świadczenie Międzynarodowych Usług Prawniczych. Studium Socjologiczno-Prawne Polskich Prawników, Rozprawa Doktorska' (rozprawa doktorska, 2020).
43. 'List of attorneys, notaries and translators - Poland in Ukraine' (*Ambasada RP w Kijowie*, 2021) <<https://www.gov.pl/web/ukraina/lista-adwokatow-notariuszy-tlumaczy>> accessed 9 June 2020.
44. Lubicz-Miszewski M, *Imigranci z Ukrainy w Polsce: potrzeby i oczekiwania, reakcje społeczne, wyzwania dla bezpieczeństwa* (AWL Wydawnictwo 2018) <<https://depot.ceon.pl/handle/123456789/16668>>.
45. Mącik R, 'Ankiety internetowe w percepcji osób korzystających i niekorzystających z nich w pracy zawodowej' [2014] *Metody ilościowe w badaniach marketingowych* 125.

46. 'Mapa migracji' (*Urząd do spraw Cudzoziemców*, 2021) <<https://migracje.gov.pl/statystyki/zakres/polska/typ/dokumenty/widok/mapa/rok/2020/>> accessed 6 April 2020.
47. McIntosh MJ and Morse JM, 'Situating and Constructing Diversity in Semi-Structured Interviews' [2015] *Global Qualitative Nursing Research* 1.
48. 'Mecenasi - Adwokaci i Radcy Prawni w Polsce' (2021) <<https://www.mecenasi.pl/>> accessed 21 May 2020.
49. 'Min"yust vyklav zvit pro stan yurydychnoyi osvity v Ukraini. Spoyler: yurystiv nadto bahato' (20 March 2019) <<https://happymonday.ua/minjust-vyklav-zvit-pro-stan-jurydychnoi-osvity>> accessed 5 April 2021.
50. 'Ministerstvo yustytisiy prezentuye statystychnye doslidzhennya «Stan yurydychnoyi osvity»' (18 March 2019) <<https://minjust.gov.ua/news/ministry/ministerstvo-yustitsii-prezentue-statistichne-doslidjennya-stan-yuridichnoi-osviti>> accessed 5 April 2021.
51. 'Naczelna Rada Adwokacka' (2021) <<http://www.nra.pl>> accessed 3 March 2019.
52. 'Natsional'na Asotsiatsiya Advokativ Ukrainy' (2021) <<https://unba.org.ua/rada-advokativ-regionu>> accessed 5 April 2021.
53. Nicpoń M and Marzęcki R, 'Pogłębiony wywiad indywidualny w badaniach politologicznych', *Przeszłość, terażniejszość, przyszłość: problemy badawcze młodych politologów* (Libron 2010) <<http://przemek.wammoda.com/polis/ksmp/book/IIIKSMPmarzecki.pdf>> accessed 6 March 2019.
54. Pankowska-Lier B, 'Jaka jest Ukraina dla polskich przedsiębiorców' (*Rzeczpospolita*, 25 May 2018) <<https://www.rp.pl/Firma/305249956-Jaka-jest-Ukraina-dla-polskich-przedsiębiorcow.html>> accessed 5 April 2021.
55. Pędziwiatr K, Stonawski M and Brzozowski J, *Imigranci w Krakowie w Świetle Danych Rejestrowych* (Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Krakowie 2019) <https://www.academia.edu/41818133/Imigranci_w_Krakowie_w_%C5%9Bwietle_danych_rejestrowych?auto=download> accessed 29 April 2020.
56. Pisarek W, *Analiza Zawartości Prasy* (Ośrodek Badań Prasoznawczych 1983).
57. 'PLP Law Group' (*PLP Law Group*, 2021) <<http://plp.kiev.ua/pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
58. Podgórecki A and Kurczewski J, *Zarys socjologii prawa* (Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1971).
59. Przybyłowska I, 'Wywiad swobodny ze standaryzowaną listą poszukiwanych informacji i możliwości jego zastosowania w badaniach socjologicznych' [1978] *Przegląd Socjologiczny* 62.
60. 'Przybywa adwokatów, radców prawnych i doradców podatkowych. Eksperci: to nie jest dobra wiadomość' (*www.money.pl*, 23 February 2020) <<https://www.money.pl/gospodarka/przybywa-adwokatow-radcow-prawnych-i-doradcow-podatkowych-eksperci-to-nie-jest-dobra-wiadomosc-6481063823005825a.html>> accessed 10 April 2020.
61. Qu SQ and Dumay J, 'The Qualitative Research Interview' (2011) *8 Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management* 238.
62. 'Ranking Kancelarii Prawniczych' (2021) <<https://rankingkancelarii.rp.pl/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
63. 'Rejestr Radców Prawnych' (*Krajowa Izba Radców Prawnych*, 2021) <<https://rejestradcow.pl/>> accessed 10 March 2019.
64. Rojek-Socha P, 'Specjalizacja sposobem na konkurencję - prawnicy widzą konieczność zmian' (*Prawo.pl*, 30 January 2020) <<https://www.prawo.pl/prawnicy-sady/czy-prawnik-moze-titulowac-sie-jako-specjalista-w-danej,497553.html>> accessed 16 April 2020.

65. Siuda P, 'Ankieta Internetowa: Zalety i Wady – Rekapitulacja', *Metody badań online* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Katedra 2016) <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/308556918_Ankieta_internetowa_zalety_i_wady_-_rekapitulacja>.
66. 'SkryBot' (*Skrybot*, 2021) <<https://skrybot.pl>> accessed 6 March 2019.
67. 'SpecPrawnik.pl' (*Specprawnik*, 2021) <<https://www.specprawnik.pl/prawnik/?q=Ukraina>> accessed 5 April 2021.
68. 'Statystyki 2021' (Migracje) <<https://migracje.gov.pl/statystyki/zakres/polska/typ/dokumenty/widok/wykresy/rok/2021/kraj/UA/>> accessed 19 June 2021.
69. Szewiwoła P, 'Ukraińscy studenci wypełniają lukę po polskich żakach' (1 July 2019) <<https://serwisy.gazetaprawna.pl/edukacja/artykuly/1419824,uczelnie-studenci-obcokrajowcy-ukraincy-studia-w-polsce.html>> accessed 5 April 2021.
70. 'SzukajRadcy.pl - Znajdź radcę prawnego dla siebie' (2021) <<https://szukajradcy.pl/search/?query=ukraina>> accessed 5 April 2021.
71. Tabaszewski RK, 'Aplikanci jako uczestnicy profesjonalnego obrotu prawnego w Polsce' in U Czyżewska and T Siewierski (eds), *Multum, non multa. Młodzi badacze w poszukiwaniu prawdy* (Wydawnictwo KUL 2012) <<https://depot.ceon.pl/bitstream/handle/123456789/864/Robert%20K.%20Tabaszewski,%20Aplikanci%20jako%20uczestnicy%20profesjonalnego%20obrotu%20prawnego%20w%20Polsce?sequence=1>> accessed 23 February 2019.
72. 'Ukrainian National Bar Association' (2021) <<https://en.unba.org.ua/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
73. Wysochan O and Vlodek K, *Raport: Analiza relacji polsko-ukraińskich za prezydentury Wołodomyra Zeleńskiego* (Fundacja Instytut Studiów Wschodnich 2020) <<https://www.forum-ekonomiczne.pl/raport-analiza-relacji-polsko-ukrainskich-za-prezydentury-wołodomyra-zelenskigo/>> accessed 5 April 2021.
74. Wyszumłek I and Oleksiyenko O, *Strukturalne zróżnicowanie znajomości języków obcych: wybrane wyniki Polskiego Badania Panelowego POLPAN 1988-2013* (Zespół Porównawczych Analiz Nierówności Społecznych, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk 2015) <http://polpan.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/POLPAN_raport_Znajomosc-jezykow.pdf>.
75. 'Yedyny Rejestr Advokativ Ukrainy' (2021) <<https://erau.unba.org.ua/>> accessed 2 April 2021.
76. *Zakon Ukrainy Pro advokaturu ta advokat-s'ku diyal'nist'* <<https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/5076-17>> accessed 5 April 2021.
77. Ustawa z dnia 5 lipca 2002 r. o świadczeniu przez prawników zagranicznych pomocy prawnej w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Dz. U. z 2020 r. poz. 823) <<http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20021261069>> accessed 5 April 2021.
78. Ustawa z dnia 6 lipca 1982 r. o radcach prawnych (Dz. U. z 2020 r. poz. 75 z późn. zm.) <<http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=wdu19820190145>> accessed 5 April 2021.
79. Ustawa z dnia 26 maja 1982 r. Prawo o adwokaturze (Dz. U. z 2020 r. poz. 1651 z późn. zm.) <<https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19820160124>> accessed 5 April 2021.