

# **Costs and benefits resulting from employing foreigners as perceived from the labour market segments perspective (based on the data from Opolskie Voivodeship in Poland)**

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The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the employment costs and advantages of employing a foreign labour force. The analysis was made based on the dual labour market theory, whereas employers were divided into employers of foreigners in occupations from the primary and secondary labour market.

The analysis was based on 263 semi-structured interviews with employers from the Opolskie Voivodeship (Poland). The respondents were contacted in several ways. Firstly, the CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interview) and then PAPI (Paper & Pen Personal Interview) methods were used. The study showed that there is a significant statistical relationship between the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreign employee, and the advantages gained by the employer. On the other hand, the study demonstrated no statistical relations between the labour market segment and the barriers for employing foreigners and their evaluation made by employers.

**Key words:** dual labour market, segmentation, foreigners, employers, employment costs, employment benefits

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## **Koszty i korzyści wynikające z zatrudnienia cudzoziemców z perspektywy segmentów rynku pracy (na podstawie badań z województwa opolskiego w Polsce)**

Celem artykułu jest pokazanie kosztów i korzyści wynikających dla pracodawców z zatrudnienia cudzoziemców. W rozważaniach wykorzystano teorię dualnego rynku pracy, a pracodawców podzielono na zatrudniających cudzoziemców w zawodach z pierwotnego i wtórnego rynku pracy.

Analiza opiera się na 263 częściowo ustrukturyzowanych wywiadach z pracodawcami pochodzącymi z województwa opolskiego. Do respondentów docierano, korzystając z kilku możliwości. Najpierw wykorzystano metodę CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interview), a następnie metodę PAPI (Paper & Pen Personal Interview).

Badanie pokazało, że istnieje istotny związek statystyczny pomiędzy segmentem rynku pracy, w którym pracodawca zatrudnia zagranicznego pracownika, a uzyskiwanymi przez niego korzyściami. Natomiast nie potwierdzono istnienia związków statystycznych pomiędzy segmentem rynku pracy, a barierami zatrudnienia obcokrajowców oraz ich oceną przez pracodawców.

**Słowa kluczowe:** dualny rynek pracy, segmentacja, cudzoziemcy, pracodawcy, koszty zatrudnienia, korzyści zatrudnienia

### **1. Introduction**

According to the concept of the global migration market (Borjas, 1990), people migrate when the net migration benefits outweigh its costs. Undertaking migration generates costs which are, firstly, related to settling the required formalities (passports, permits), secondly – travel costs, and thirdly – the costs related to residing in the immigration country (sustenance, accommodation) (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, & Pellegrino, 1999). Hence, the most important aspect are the possible amounts of remuneration that would cover the costs, whereas the remaining amount available to the migrant would still be higher than the amount he or she would earn in their country of origin.

However, wage differences are not the only reason for migration. Migration is mainly driven by the mechanisms of the labour market (McGovern, 2007), which contributes to the deepening of the segmentation process. Foreign workers do not compete with the domestic workers for work places, but rather assume those abandoned by them. This was observed by Piore, who noticed that a job does not only constitute occupational tasks, but its type is also a certain social status. Unsatisfied demand for certain types of jobs is an inseparable feature of developed economies. An effect of the above is the division of the labour market into more prestigious (primary market) and less prestigious (secondary market) occupations. Migrants focus rather on the latter type because, at least in the initial stages of immigration, they are more interested in obtaining higher wages (in comparison to the wages in their country of origin) than prestige (McGovern, 2007).

8 One of the results of the economic transformation in Middle and Eastern European countries is labour market segmentation (Cazes & Scarpetta, 1998: 113). Fields (2009)

observed that in the developing countries, similarly to developed countries, migrants have limited access to 'good' work places and are usually employed in less appealing places, in which they play a substantial role. In Poland, similarly to Western European countries, economic immigration is starting to gain in importance. The number of immigrants arriving in the Polish labour market to seek employment is increasing. Immigration is viewed as an opportunity to diversify human resources and gain a series of advantages resulting from hiring employees that differ from one another in social and demographic terms, i.e. nationality in this case (Maj, 2012). Many advantages of diversity management lead to a financial profit, thus diversity management may influence the financial condition of an organisation (Bębenek, 2018).

The purpose of the paper is to demonstrate the costs and advantages of employing a foreign labour force for employers. The deliberations featured the use of the dual labour market theory, whereas employers were divided into employers of foreigners in occupations from the primary and secondary labour market. In this article, segmentation is understood as a division into 'better' (primary) and 'worse' (secondary) work places. It was deemed that the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreigner affects the employer's perception of a foreign labour force. The studies discussed in the paper were intended to demonstrate whether there is a statistical significance between the labour market segment in which the employer hires a migrant and the employer's evaluation of the difficulties of acquiring foreign labour force, offered employment conditions, expected benefits from migrant work and the employer's opinion about a foreign worker.

## 2. Literature review

Labour market segmentation is a process in which parts with specific characteristics are separated under the influence of political and economic forces (Reich, Gordon, & Edwards, 1973; Eichhorst & Kendzia, 2016: 298). The division into labour market segments may result from several issues, such as the demographic characteristics of the employee (gender, ethnic origin, and resident status), the nature of the contract, or education level.

Segmentation theories and the perception of the segmentation of the labour market and the labour resources on it have evolved over the years. The dual labour market applies when the flow of employees between segments is hindered or even impossible (Leontaridi, 1998; Nemoto & Zuo, 2017). This barrier may be a result of, e.g., the necessity to have certain qualifications due to the implementation of specific formal and legal conditions, the presence of obstacles of a cultural or moral nature, or changes in employees' aspirations. The reasons for segmentation can be on the side of both employers and employees. The segments created on the labour market are characterised, among others, by different salaries and expectations regarding

employees' qualifications, different employment stability, and promotion opportunities. Therefore, the result of labour market segmentation is the division into so-called 'better' and 'worse' jobs.

One of the oldest theories that refers to the divisions on the labour market and preceded the classical segmentation theories is the theory of perfection. Dean W. Morse (1969) noted that generally low-status demographic groups work in the 'worse' professions and in the 'worse' industries. Nowadays, for example, immigrant employees may be treated as such a group. According to this theory, there is a relation between employees and industries. This means that, on the one hand, a profession or industry can lower the status of employees, and on the other, certain categories of employees can lower the status of a profession or industry. Peripheral jobs, as they are called, are characterised by low wages, small company benefits, and part-time employment (they are focused in agriculture, trade, services). In turn, peripheral employees are, according to Morse, people undertaking seasonal and occasional part-time work.

However, Peter Doeringer and Michael Piore (1970), who distinguish two structures, i.e. the internal and external labour market, are recognised as the precursors of the dual labour market theory. In their work, they mainly analysed the first one, which they defined as "administrative unit, such as a manufacturing plant, within which the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures" (Doeringer & Piore, 1970: 8). In turn, in the external labour market "pricing, allocating, and training decisions are governed directly by economic variables". They base their considerations on two theories – the queue theory and the dual labour market theory. The first assumes the division of employees based on specific features. They are selected by employers based on their needs and the employees' qualifications and skills.

The second theory assumes the division of the labour market into primary and secondary sectors. Employment in the primary sector is associated with high wages, good working conditions, employment stability, and promotion opportunities. On the other hand, employment on the secondary labour market is usually low paid, working conditions are difficult, there is very little opportunity for promotion, and high variability (or lack) of rules. Piore divided the primary market into an upper (white collar workers, e.g. CEOs and managers) and lower tier (blue collar worker, e.g. foreman) (Harrison & Sum, 1979). Piore (1979) used the theory to analyse migration behaviour and the demand for migrants' work. He noted that there are areas in the economy (industries, professions) in which the employment of native workers is falling, irrespective of their supply. The dual division of the labour market shows the existence of groups of people who are more exposed to adverse (related to the secondary labour market) employment.

The labour market segmentation was also analysed by other American researchers. Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973) defined labour market segmentation as a "historical process whereby political-economic forces encourage the division of the

labour market into separate submarkets or segments (...). They noticed that there is a division within the primary labour market into 'subordinate' and 'independent' segments. The first are works "routinised and encourage personality characteristics of dependability, discipline, responsiveness to rules and authority (...)". These are current factory and office jobs. The second group requires "creative, problem-solving, self-initiating characteristics (...)" (Reich et al., 1973: 360). They also drew attention to the presence of segments related to race (ethnic origin) and gender on the labour market. They noticed that some jobs were race-typed and that certain groups of professions were reserved only for men or women.

Divisions in the labour market were also analysed by Lutz and Sengenberger (1974) who formulated a three-part division of the labour market. The main premise for such a division was the qualifications of employees – universal, professional and specific for a single labour market. Also, the German researchers Köhler and Preisendörfer (1988), specified which criteria determine which workplace may be qualified into which segment. In their opinion, 'better' jobs are those occupied by a key part of employees, and 'worse' are intended for a group of marginal importance for the company. They divide the labour market in internal and external labour market. The first group is usually better paid; the second receives lower wages. In the first one, employees know the promotion rules and have the opportunity to move up in the hierarchy. In the second one, the opportunities for promotion are limited. The risk of losing the job lies primary with the external employees and they usually lose employment in the event of an economic downturn. Therefore, external labour markets are perceived as unattractive and are usually reluctant to be filled by the native labour force, which creates a place for immigrants.

Analysing the German secondary labour market, it was found that mainly people from the so-called problem groups are being employed within it. Problem groups included women, youth, disabled people, older workers, people coming from the countryside, and immigrants. Those people are easy to replace, do not require investment in training and have weak resistance to the employer (their resistance is lower than that of qualified employees and unskilled native employees (Offe & Hinrichs, 1977).

Further research developed the approach of labour market segmentation. Atkinson (1985) presented a more complex dual labour market theory. Based on the definitions of core and peripheral labour force, he specified three types of flexibility that a company aims for through its employees, i.e. functional, numerical, and financial flexibility. The first type relates to the labour force core, which concerns full-time company employees who are hard to substitute and well remunerated. The second type refers to temporary and seasonal employees hired depending on the needs. The third type – financial flexibility – is not related to a specific group of employees, but refers more generally to a company that attempts to lower its costs through a flexible approach to remuneration (Atkinson, 1985: 14; Eberts & Randall, 1998: 404–405). Thurow (1975), in the job competition model, shows the importance of on-the-job

training in determining pay and employment levels in the labour market. The workers are ranked on the basis on their 'trainability.' Due to the fact that employees have different characteristics regarding, among others, their personality, level of education, or habits, there are different costs of training preparing them to take up work (Leontaridi, 1998). In case of companies that need specific (definite) human resources as well as in certain sectors and occupations, higher job retention is more profitable than investing in their qualifications.

In turn, Dickens and Lang (1993), while analysing the division into the primary and secondary sectors, took into account, among others, salary levels and race. They pointed out that, based on the theory of the dual labour market, it is difficult to determine *a priori* who is in a given sector. Even in the same company, there can be employees from the primary and secondary labour market.

Hudson (2007) clarified the labour market segments and isolated three labour market parts with reference to combinations of occupations, disciplines, and employee features, i.e. primary independent (PI), primary subordinate (PS), and secondary. The first market is characterised by freedom from complex procedures, it requires creativity and problem solving skills. It ensures high remuneration and promotion opportunities. The second market also concerns relatively well-paid work places, but the work in this segment requires more routine and is subject to direct supervision. The last market refers to low-pay work places with employment in harsh conditions, usually without promotion opportunities (Howell, 2011: 202). Labour market segmentation began to be perceived as a social division of employees into qualified, having secure employment, being the elite and the unskilled, employed on unstable principles, performing non-elite activities (Jacqueline et al., 2007).

Belonging to the 'better' or 'worse' segment of the labour market may also depend on the nature of employment – whether it is permanent or temporary (Garz, 2013; Rubery & Piasna, 2016). Research from the United States, stating that non-standard employment increases the likelihood of bad work, i.e. lower pay, lack of access to health, and pension insurance, confirms that statement (Kalleberg, Reskin, & Hudson, 2000).

Nowadays, labour market segmentation results primarily from globalisation, the development of international corporations, and growing migration (Kryńska, 2017: 139). It is mainly the latter process that deepens divisions in the labour market. The latest research notes that segmentation is a multi-dimensional concept; it necessitates a complex measurement approach combining several indicators. This concept analyses segmentation not only through the perspective of the employment relationship. The division line was based on uncertainty and insecurity, which are primarily responsible for the differences present on the labour market (Lukac, Doerflinger, & Pulignano, 2019). Liberalisation of labour markets caused stronger competition to contribute to employment uncertainty and changed the dualistic understanding of the labour market. These changes are also driven by technological progress which

substantially affects the demand for skills and work diversity (Weller, 2017) and advances innovation (Bębenek, 2017). Immigrants, “despite the studies demonstrating that they occupy work places mainly in the secondary market (...), are also present in the primary segment” (Collins, 2006; Barrett, Bergin, & Duffy, 2006). There is global competition in attracting human capital, the effect of which is migration of persons with higher education, who take up employment in occupations classified as part of the primary labour market. This concerns, among others, medical employees, engineers, managerial staff, and persons with competencies in the field of education. Between 2008 and 2015, the OECD countries recorded increasing employment in these areas of persons born outside the immigration country (native born workers) (OECD 2017: 66).

In the literature, the theory of the dual labour market referred to the presence of the foreign labour force. In principle, the primary market excludes employing immigrants, whereas the secondary market offers employment to a foreign labour force (Waldinger, 1992). This usually stems from the fact that the domestic labour force is not interested in taking up low-pay employment. Due to the above fact, and in order to ensure employment stability, employers would be forced to raise earnings to attract employees, but this would cause an increase in production costs. Some researchers attribute the existence of labour market segmentation to employers and their endeavours to “minimise costs and maximise performance” (Gordon, 1995; Peck, 1996) There is a noticeable relation between employee migration processes and the reinforcement of the level of the labour market segmentations (Howell, 2011). This is confirmed by research conducted, among others, in Finland, where in response to the economic crisis of 2008–2009, foreigners were employed due to their lower associated costs (Lillie, 2012: 162)

The alternative would be to import a foreign labour force which would be eager to take up employment for the remuneration offered (Juska & Woolfson, 2015). Over-representation of migrants on the secondary labour market and foreigner difficulty in cross-sectoral mobility were confirmed in numerous studies (McLafferty & Preston, 1992; Gordon, 1995; Bauder, 2001; Constant & Massey, 2005). This stems, among others, from the fact that the main migration driver is the expectation of higher pay than in the country of origin. Migrants, who are separated from their environments, care less for their social status than domestic employees (Nordin, 2011; McGovern, 2007) and agree to take up jobs deemed as less appealing, but providing attractive earnings from their point of view.

Classifying a respondent into a proper segment can pose many problems. Hence, the research featured the application of statistical analyses based on using hierarchical grouping which allocates occupations in the correct segment with a consideration of the wages or professional work (Howell, 2011). This method, however, is not without its flaws. Based on their own segmentation research, (Anderson, Butler, & Sloan, 1987) acknowledged that the allocation of an occupation in a specific segment

should include “factors leading to employment by sectors and barriers to worker moves between or among sectors”.

Based on a systematic literature review, it can be stated that the primary labour market includes prestigious industries and occupations – the so-called ‘good’ jobs. On the other hand, the secondary labour market includes non-skilled jobs, which are generally perceived as unattractive – the so-called ‘bad’ jobs (Bibb & Form, 1977: 977). Qualification for a particular segment depended on the profession in which the company employed or would be willing to employ a foreigner. Assignment to the primary market meant that the company was employing (or would employ) a foreigner qualified in a white-collar profession (such as foreign language teachers, doctors, IT specialists, sales representatives, sports trainers, chemists, technologists, mechanical engineers, marketing specialists, automation specialists, or office workers). Companies assigned to the secondary labour market employed, or were willing to employ, a foreigner qualified in a blue-collar profession (including skilled and unskilled workers, i.e. construction workers, welders, chefs, drivers, carpenters, mechanics, locksmiths, electricians, barbers, hairdressers, or cleaners). Regardless of the sector, organisations employing foreigners in ‘white-collar’ positions are included in the primary sector while those employing foreigners in ‘blue-collar’ jobs were included into the secondary labour market.

### 3. Research methods and hypotheses

This paper discusses the selected results of a survey conducted among 263 entrepreneurs from the Opole Voivodeship. The choice of the research area is not accidental. The Opole Region is referred to as *migrational* (Heffner & Solga, 2013: 43) – characterised by a long tradition of departures (usually foreign ones), with their accompanying social, demographic and economic consequences (Heffner & Solga, 2017). The Opole Province has become a kind of ‘laboratory’ for the study of migration processes, in particular emigration – outside (Heffner & Solga, 2016; Solga, 2017) and inside the country (Rokita-Poskart, 2018; Rokita-Poskart, Mach 2019). This is a region with an aging population, which will result in staff shortages (Heffner, Klemens & Solga, 2019). For several years now, it has also been a region where research related to the process of foreign immigration has been conducted – mainly labour-market related (Kubiciel-Lodzińska, 2017; Kubiciel-Lodzińska, Maj 2017), but also educational (Kubiciel-Lodzińska & Ruszczak, 2016). The regional research supplemented the knowledge about immigration to Poland (Górny, 2017; Górny, Grabowska-Lusińska, Lesińska, & Okólski, 2010; Organiściak-Krzykowska, Piotrowski, Nyklewicz, Skórska, & Kucharski, 2013).

In 2015, when the fieldwork in the Opole Voivodeship was carried out, over



were medium enterprises, and 0.15% – large enterprises. Enterprises from the trade and repair sector (enterprises in total: 26.9%, employment in total: 20.8%) were the largest group, followed by construction (enterprises in total: 15.3%, employment in total: 13%), industry (enterprises in total: 12.4%, employment in total: 36.8%), transport and storage (enterprises in total: 5.8%, employment in total: 6.4%), accommodation and food service (enterprises in total: 2.8%, employment in total: 2.9%), human health and social work activities (enterprises in total: 8.3%, employment in total: 4.3%), education (enterprises in total: 2.3%, employment in total: 0.9%) (CSO, 2016).

For comparison, in the year the survey was conducted, employers from construction (approx. 32%), agriculture (approx. 18%), industrial production (approx. 15%) and representing services (approx. 11%) made the most declarations of employing immigrants. In turn, the highest number of work permits were obtained by immigrants taking up employment in construction (17.2%), transport (11.2%), hotel and catering (9.8%) as well as in agriculture (5.5%) and industry (2.2%).

The survey of enterprises was not expected to be representative of all companies in the region. Although it is possible to draw up representative samples both of those that employ foreigners and of those that do not, convincing employers to participate in the study is, in most cases, ineffective and the response rate in such surveys is usually very low (Golinowska, 2004: 167). Therefore, the sample was defined more broadly to include all enterprises which were, at the time of the research, employing and not employing a foreign workforce, regardless of the industry and the size, i.e. micro, small, medium and large enterprises.

The analysis is based on 263 semi-structured interviews (conducted in 2015) with employers selected between members of the Opole Chamber of Commerce, Klub 150, participants of the international research project pursued by the Opole University of Technology and the University of Opole, and those featured in the database of the Opole Province Office as entities that obtained work permits for foreigners in 2014 – together over 900 companies. Respondents were contacted in several ways. First, a CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interview) was used. However, less than 5 per cent of the group took part in the survey. Therefore, contacting respondents by email was found to be ineffective. The second method used in the study was PAPI (Paper & Pen Personal Interview), conducted at meetings and in training sessions organised for the enterprises.

It is worth noting that not all enterprises taking part in such meetings agreed to participate in the study. On average, about one third (in some cases, half) of all participants refused to talk to the interviewer in order to complete the questionnaire. The fieldwork was difficult because the entrepreneurs were not interested in providing answers related to their employment. Among the reasons mentioned, apart from the lack of time, was also a reluctance to talk about the company's internal employment policy. This shows that studies in the business community constitute a challenge. Finally, 263 employers were included in the study, i.e. managers, firm

owners, directors or supervisors responsible for the human resources management policy in the particular organisations. From the 263 interviewed organisations 42.97% were microenterprises, 33.46% were small enterprises, 17.11% were medium enterprises and 6.46% were large enterprises. The organisations represented a variety of sectors: construction (26.6%), services (25%), metal industry (11.8%), food industry (10.7%), furniture industry, transport, and logistics (4.9%), wood and paper industry (4.7%), agriculture (3.8%), medical services and rehabilitation (2.7%), chemical industry (1.9%), fuel and energy industry, and tourism (1.5%).

Four research hypotheses were formulated based on the analysis of the literature. It was decided to analyse whether the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreigner affects the difficulties encountered by the entrepreneur using a foreign labour force. The following hypothesis was posed:

*H1: There is a stochastic relationship between labour market segmentation and difficulties in the utilisation of migrant workforce.*

It was decided to analyse whether the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreigner is related to additional employment conditions offered by the employer, i.e. offering housing, help in case of sickness, or contact with the authorities. As a result, the following hypothesis was posed:

*H2: There are significant differences between labour market segments with respect to additional non-wage benefits offered to the immigrant.*

It was deemed important to give an answer to the question of whether the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreign employee affects the employer's evaluation of the benefits gained by employing a foreigner.

*H3: The labour market segment relates to the nature of benefits gained by the employer thanks to hiring migrant workforce.*

It was also analysed whether the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreign employee affects the employer's perception of foreign labour force on the Polish labour market. Hence, the following hypothesis was posed.

*H4: The labour market segment relates to the employer's perception (evaluation) of migrant workforce.*

In the research, qualification for a particular segment depended on the profession in which the company employed or would be willing to employ a foreigner. The segmented approach to the labour market is mainly focused on work place characteristics, i.e. on the demand side (O'Connell & Gash, 2003: 75). Assignment to the primary market meant that the company was employing (or would employ) a foreigner qualified in a white-collar profession (such as foreign language teachers, doctors, IT specialists, sales representatives, sports trainers, chemists, technologists,

mechanical engineers, marketing specialists, automation specialists, or office workers). Companies assigned to the secondary labour market employed or were willing to employ a foreigner qualified in a blue-collar profession (including skilled and unskilled workers, i.e. construction workers, welders, chefs, drivers, carpenters, mechanics, locksmiths, electricians, barbers, hairdressers, or cleaners). Regardless of the sector, organisations employing foreigners in ‘white-collar’ positions are included in the primary sector, while those employing foreigners in ‘blue-collar’ jobs were included into the secondary labour market. For the purposes of simplicity, we will henceforth refer to organisations employing foreigners in ‘good’ jobs as being in the primary labour market and those employing foreigners in ‘bad’ jobs as being in the secondary labour market (Kubiciel-Lodzińska & Maj, 2017). In many cases, the transition from the secondary to the primary labour market is very difficult for foreigners and possible only through entrepreneurship (Brzozowski, 2017). In the studied group, there was no situation in which one employer would employ employees in professions included in the secondary and primary labour market.

The structure of the sample due the labour market segment is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

The structure of the sample due the labour market segment

<b>Companies employing a foreign workforce in jobs from the primary labour market</b>	<b>Companies employing a foreign workforce in jobs from the secondary labour market</b>	<b>Total</b>
50	213	263
19%	81%	100%

Source: Own elaboration

The vast majority of respondents were companies employing a foreign workforce in jobs from the secondary labour market – 81 per cent of the respondents (213 in total), while those in the primary labour market accounted for 19 per cent of the sample (50 in total). The significant statistical relation was assumed at the level  $p = 0.05$ .

## 4. Findings

The research showed that the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreign employee can in some cases affect the employer’s perception of the foreign employee. The first analysed issue was the determination of the impact of the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreigner on the difficulties en-

countered by the employer when using a foreign labour force. The most frequently indicated barrier by both employers of immigrants on the primary and secondary labour market were the complicated formal and legal conditions.

Table 2

Labour market segment and the difficulties encountered by the employer when using foreign labour force

	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>Complicated formal and legal conditions</b>	25	30.5	103	26.2	128	26.9
<b>Finding the right employee (with desirable skills)</b>	24	29.3	86	21.9	110	23.2
<b>The necessity of “taking care of” them – finding an apartment, helping, for example, in dealing with health services, offices</b>	8	9.8	72	18.3	80	16.8
<b>Language and cultural barriers</b>	14	17.1	53	13.5	67	14.1
<b>The need to prepare a foreigner to work</b>	5	6.1	24	6.1	29	6.1
<b>Lack of trust in the employee who comes “only for a moment”</b>	5	6.1	51	13.0	56	11.8
<b>Other problem</b>	1	1.2	4	1.0	5	1.1
<b>Total</b>	82	100	393	100	475	100

\* This was a multiple choice question.

Source: Own elaboration

Table 3

The dependence between the labour market segment and the difficulties encountered by the employer when using a foreign labour force

	$\chi^2$	df	p-value	V Craméra
<b>The difficulties encountered by the employer when using foreign labour force.</b>	50.49857	38	0.08444	0.4011704

No significant statistical relation between difficulties in hiring foreigners and the labour market segment (Table 3) in which they were hired was confirmed. It was established that in the case of both respondents from the primary and secondary labour market, the most commonly specified factor that could hinder the use of foreigner work were complicated formal and legal conditions. However, this factor was more commonly indicated (over 30% of responses) by an employer that hired foreigners in occupations from the primary labour market than from the secondary market (26%). It is worth emphasising that with a  $p=0.05$  significance level, there was 'no relation;' however, at  $p=0,1$  significance level, there would be a relation. The conclusion is far from obvious. It is interesting and confirmed by theory that there are more problems with the recruitment of workers to jobs that require more skills (primary labour market).

Regardless of the labour market segment, employers were also afraid of whether a foreign employee would have the skills required to do their job properly. The focus was mainly on occupational competencies (indicated by 29% of respondents from the primary labour market and 22% of respondents from the secondary labour market) as well as linguistic and social (17% and 13% of respondents, respectively). Research conducted, among others, in the United States demonstrated that the adaptation of migrants' skills depends, among others, on their background and the migration motive. Persons that come from cultures similar to the culture of the destination country cope better in the labour market (Zimmermann, 1994: 264). According to the research of (Waldinger & Lichter, 2003), employers that hire foreigners find it important for the employee to have the 'right attitude', which is understood as the ability to learn from other employees. It was observed that this is especially useful in the case of unqualified employees. In order to execute occupational tasks, it is also important to rely on contact networks – this concerns both employees and employers. When having open work places, employers firstly seek employees from among the acquaintances of foreigners already hired by them. Thanks to this, they save on recruitment costs and employ persons whose value is 'verified' to some extent. This can, however, cause the employer to move within a specific national group (McGovern, 2007: 227). Proficiency in the destination country's language is also important for employers. Proficiency in the immigration country's language is also important for the immigrant him- or herself, because immigrants who are able to communicate can also find employment more easily.

The relation between additional non-wage benefits offered to foreigners and the labour market segment in which they are employed was determined on the border of statistical significance (Table 4 and 5).

Help for foreign employees in finding housing or a straightforward offer of accommodation (free or payable) were the most common perks used by employers. This stems from necessity. Foreigners arriving to find work are very rarely proficient in the language of the country in which they arrive (they often don't know it at all); they

don't know how and where to find housing and, at the beginning, they do not have the sufficient funds to make the necessary payments. For example, in 1962, 2/3 of new *gastarbeiter* in Germany lived in worker's apartments. In 1971, in Frankfurt, 49% of 2,000 citizens of Yugoslavia, taking part in research conducted by Maria Borris, resided in housing offered by the employer (Treibel, 1990: 97–98). Similar perks are also used by Dutch employers that recruit, e.g. workers from Poland. Employment offers include assurances of a payable worker's apartment. The accommodation fee is deducted from the salary.

Table 4

Labour market segment and the additional non-wage benefits offered to foreign employees

Offer	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
Free housing	7	9.9	22	8.6	29	8.9
Help in finding housing	26	36.6	78	30.5	104	31.8
All or part of travel costs to Poland	10	14.1	15	5.9	25	7.6
Free or subsidised meals	4	5.6	26	10.2	30	9.2
No intention to offer any additional employment conditions	15	21.1	75	29.3	90	27.5
Not applicable (companies do not plan to hire foreigners)	2	2.8	34	13.3	36	11.0
Other	7	9.9	6	2.3	13	4.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>256</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>327</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Own elaboration

Table 5

The dependence between the labour market segment and the additional non-wage benefits offered to foreign employees

	$\chi^2$	df	p-value	V Craméra
<b>The additional conditions offered to foreign employees</b>	38.53722	19	0.00507	0.3872052

Source: Own elaboration

Next, the research featured an analysis of the relation between the labour market segment and the benefits gained thanks to employing a foreigner. The results are presented in tables 6 and 7. A significant statistical relation was ascertained between the studied variables. The relation's strength must, however, be deemed as moderate. Over 1/3 of the primary labour market respondents mentioned acquiring a worker with the required skills as among the most desirable advantages. On the other hand, the secondary labour market respondents deemed three factors as the most important, i.e. lowering the production costs, acquiring a worker with the required skills and acquiring a more efficient worker who is ready to work during overtime (20% in all respects). The study demonstrates that employers hiring foreigners mainly rely on acquiring workers who accept conditions which might be unacceptable for the domestic labour force (Bade, 2008).

Table 6

The labour market segment and benefits gained thanks to employing a foreigner

	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market		Total	
	number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>Reduction of production costs</b>	15	18.1	67	20.9	82	20.3
<b>Stability of employment and continuity of production</b>	8	9.6	55	17.1	63	15.6
<b>Competition in the company between Polish and foreign employees</b>	10	12.0	32	10.0	42	10.4
<b>Acquiring an employee with desirable skills</b>	30	36.1	67	20.9	97	24.0
<b>Acquiring a more efficient employee, ready to work overtime</b>	16	19.3	66	20.6	82	20.3
<b>Not applicable</b>	2	2.4	33	10.3	35	8.7
<b>Other</b>	2	2.4	1	0.3	3	0.7
<b>Total</b>	83	100	321	100	404	100

Source: Own elaboration

Table 7

The dependence between the labour market segment and the benefits gained thanks to employing a foreigner

	$\chi^2$	df	p-value	V Craméra
<b>Benefits gained thanks to employing a foreigner</b>	52.93557	29	0.00428	0.4442304

Source: Own elaboration

There is moderate significant statistical relation between the perception of foreign workers and the labour market segment (tables 8 and 9) determined. The primary labour market respondents mainly emphasised that immigrants are 'better' because they work more often beyond the basic working time (18.2%). Among secondary labour market entrepreneurs, the dominant opinion was the same, i.e. foreigners are 'better' employees because they are more eager to work beyond the basic working time (23%), but it was also emphasises that they have lower pay expectations (18.2%).

Table 8

Labour market segment and the the perception of foreign workers

Response	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market		Total	
	Number	%	number	%	number	%
<b>'Better' employees, because they are more available, willing to work overtime</b>	12	18.2	67	23.0	79	22.1
<b>'Better' employees, because they have lower wage expectations</b>	9	13.6	53	18.2	62	17.4
<b>'Better' employees, because they care more about they job and are less conflicting</b>	10	15.2	33	11.3	43	12.0
<b>'Worse' employees, because they had to learn the job</b>	3	4.5	15	5.2	18	5.0
<b>'Worse' employees, because they arrive for a short period of time and therefore do not engage in the job</b>	5	7.6	28	9.6	33	9.2
<b>'Worse' employees, because of the need to take care of them after working hours.</b>	3	4.5	33	11.3	36	10.1
<b>They are the same as Polish employees</b>	9	13.6	19	6.5	28	7.8
<b>I do not have an opinion</b>	11	16.7	42	14.4	53	14.8
<b>Other</b>	4	6.1	1	0.3	5	1.6
<b>Total</b>	66	100.0	291	100.0	357	100.0



Table 9

The dependence between the labour market segment and the perception of foreign workers

	$\chi^2$	df	p-value	V Craméra
<b>The perception of foreign workers</b>	40.43064	26	0.03538	0.3533660

Source: Own elaboration

The perception of foreigners as ‘better’ employees in comparison to domestic workers, due to the fact that they are more eager to work beyond the basic working time, is not only the opinion of employers from the Opolskie Region. Entrepreneurs from Great Britain have the same opinion and the main advantage of using immigrant work mentioned by them was their greater employability. This was by no means related to lower wages, but – as specified by them – to higher productivity (Somerville & Sumption, 2009: 17), i.e. an eagerness to work beyond the basic working time, among others. This expectation is especially visible in agriculture, hotel industry, gastronomy, and construction engineering. The willingness to hire foreigners resulting from their ‘greater motivation and engagement’ as well as greater willingness to work ‘more hours with more flexibility’ is demonstrated by other research conducted among employers from Great Britain. The data obtained are not broad enough to compare the perception of immigrants in companies employing and not employing foreigners.

## 5. Conclusions

The studies did not confirm H1, i.e. that the labour market segments in which a foreign labour force is hired can impact the difficulties of using foreigner work. This can mean that employers, regardless of the labour market segment, face similar difficulties when reaching for a foreign worker. The studies confirmed H2, which assumed that the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreigner contributes by offering of additional employment conditions to foreigners. The studies also confirmed H3, which assumed that the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreigner affects the benefits gained by the employer thanks to hiring a foreigner. H4, which assumed that the labour market segment in which an employer hires a foreigner relates to the employer’s perception (evaluation) of a foreign labour force, was confirmed.

Despite the fact that not all relations of the labour market segment in which the studied employers hired a foreigner turned out to be statistically relevant in terms of the analysed phenomenon, it is worth considering the division when studying the phenomenon of migration. The research demonstrated a relevant methodological conclusion related to the research on economic immigration. The analysis of

foreigner employment must be conducted with a consideration of the division of the respondents into the primary and secondary labour market segment (according to the dual labour market theory). To be more precise, the respondents must be divided into employers that hire foreigners in occupations classified as being part of the primary market (usually white collar jobs) and employers offering work in occupations classified as part of the secondary labour market (blue collar jobs). This division is necessary due to the potential differences in, among others, the motives for hiring foreigners and the work and salary conditions offered to them (Kubiciel-Lodzińska, 2017). Thanks to such a division of the respondents, it is possible to obtain more precise information about the factors that affect immigration and readiness to hire foreign employees in two separate labour market fields.

The limitation of the study is the relative small sample of employer covered by the survey and the fact that the research was conducted only on employers from the Opolskie Voivodeship. This means that the research results cannot be treated as representative for the whole of Poland. Indicating the directions of further research, it would be beneficial to carry out regional research on a representative sample of enterprises throughout Poland. Further research could be focused on determining whether the labour market in Poland is segmented according to employee inclination. Is there a race-typed (ethnic origin typed) segment in the secondary labour market? It is also possible to point out a practical application of the research. Regardless of the labour market segment, the respondents stated that the greatest difficulties they faced featured, in their opinion, complicated formal and legal conditions. This may provide evidence of the need for training courses in this regard. They also indicated offering additional employment conditions (e.g. provision of housing) to foreigners. It seems that it is an opportunity for the occurrence of demand for other specialist services related to immigrant work and residence (document translation, employment service, tax issues, among others).

Furthermore, the conducted research demonstrates that, regardless of the labour market segment, employers notice the changes occurring in the labour market and are certain that it will soon become necessary to use a foreign labour force in Poland. It therefore seems necessary to conduct more detailed analyses related to immigrants – both periodic and constant – that would enable the determination of the amount of taxes paid, using the social security system or income redistribution.

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