

Non-Salary employment conditions offered to foreigners legally employed in Poland (study based on the Opole Voivodeship data)

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Abstract: The paper discusses selected results of a study carried out among 263 enterprises in the Opole Province. The study involved, among others, non-salary employment conditions the enterprises offer or would be willing to offer to foreigners. These included e.g. housing, meals, payment for travel costs. The issue of non-salary employment conditions is part of studies focusing on economic migration as employment of foreign labour often involves additional costs and obligations for employers. It was determined that, when asked about additional employment conditions that they would be willing to offer to foreign workers apart from the salary, more than 1/3 of the enterprises mentioned the help in finding housing. However, a similar number (27.5%) of respondents also claimed they did not intend to offer (or did not offer) any additional conditions. More than 9% would offer free or subsidised meals, while a similar group (8.9%) – free housing. 7.6% of respondents would fully (or partially) pay for travel costs of foreigners coming to Poland.

Keywords: Nonwage benefits, Foreigners, Poland, Labour market
JEL: J15, J23, J32

1. Introduction

There is a growing interest in employment of foreign workers in Poland. This is noticeable in e.g. data regarding the number of documents permitting foreigners to take up legal work. For example, just over 12,000 work permits were issued to foreigners in Poland in 2004, while in 2016 the number considerably exceeded 120,000. An even more dynamic growth was reported in respect of filed declarations of the intention to employ foreigners. Their number

increased from 21,000 in 2007¹ to more than over 1,3 million in 2016², showing an increasing need in respect of foreigner labour. The "Polska 2030" report brought attention to migration as an important factor affecting Poland's development. The document recommended that, in a short-term perspective, an appropriate migration policy should be ensured, mainly on local labour markets. In a long-term perspective, the migration policy should prepare Poland for a situation where it became a net immigration country (Polska 2030: 84, 86).

The purpose of the article is to discuss selected results of the study carried out among 263 enterprises from the Opole Province that included, among others, non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign workers. In the article, non-salary employment conditions offered to foreigners are understood as offered bonuses, e.g. in the form of guaranteed free housing, help in finding housing, payment of travel costs or other benefits making it easier for foreign workers to stay in the host country. The questions raised in the research paper are as follows: Do employers offer foreign employees non-wage employment conditions? If yes, what are they? Do they depend on the company size, the sphere of the labour market or the experience of entrepreneurs in hiring foreigners?

2. Non-salary conditions of employment of immigrants: selected examples

The issue of non-salary employment conditions is part of studies focusing on economic migration as employment of foreign labour often involves additional costs and obligations for employers. The "bonus" system is available mainly in the case of organised recruitment processes, i.e. those carried out directly by employers or employment agencies. Non-salary employment conditions are often offered out of necessity. Foreigners coming to work very often have a poor command of the host country's language (or do not know the language at all); therefore, it is difficult for them to find their place in the new state. Thus, a common practice is the introduction of an informal or formal system of "care" over such economic migrants. Legal provisions determine, among others, the amount of salaries, range of offered health care, the party paying for travel and housing costs, and recruitment fees (Ruhs, Martin 2008; Donato et al.

¹ Declarations of the intention to employ foreigners were introduced in 2006.

² Statistical data came from reports of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy: <http://psz.praca.gov.pl/rynek-pracy/statystyki-i-analizy/zatrudnianie-cudzoziemcow-w-polsce> [5.06.2017].

2008; Anderson 2010; Cangiano, Walsh 2013). In some countries, e.g. in Jordan, a standardised migrant employment contract has been officially introduced; the contract sets out, among others, that the employer pays for foreigner's travel costs and costs related to obtaining a work permit and residence permit; provides life insurance and accident insurance, appropriate housing and even meals, health care and the equivalent of 15-day salary after the end of the two-year period of employment (d'Cunha 2012). On the other hand, in the United Arab Emirates, agencies recruiting foreign workers are obliged to deposit specified amounts of money in a bank (in 2011, the amount was USD 270,000 and USD 540 for each foreign worker) to ensure that foreign workers receive their salaries if their employer turned out to be insolvent (Pittman 2015: 277).

One of quite popular bonuses is the help in finding housing or even offering housing to foreigner (against payment or-for free). It is often a necessity as foreigners do not know how and where to find housing, and have no sufficient funds to pay the necessary fees early during their stay in a foreign country. For example, in Germany in 1962, 2/3 of new *gastarbeiter* lived in workers' housing. In Frankfurt in 1971, 49% of 2,000 citizens of Yugoslavia taking part in the study carried out by Maria Borris lived in flats offered by the employer (Treibel 1990: 97-98). In Australia, there were hostels and campsites for immigrants, while in Switzerland, the employer provided foreigners with housing in barracks (Castles, Miler 2011: 311). Similar bonuses are also offered by Dutch employers who recruit e.g. workers from Poland. Job offers include a guarantee of workers' housing against payment. Housing costs are deducted from the salary. However, the standard of housing offered to foreign workers, irrespective of the target country, is often low (Housing for EU labour migrants). The issue of workers' housing seems to be so important that the International Labour Organisation has developed documents containing requirements that housing offered by employers should meet (Workers' Housing Recommendation, 1961). However, it should be noted that the institutionalisation of housing for foreign workers is conducive to their segregation (relevant mainly in the case of regular immigration) and isolation from the society of the host country. Foreigners, even after leaving workers' housing, look for accommodation mostly nearby the first housing (Castles, Miller 2011: 311).

3. Labour immigration to Opole Voivodeship in figures

The scale and structure of the foreigners employed in the Opole Voivodeship should be characterized using the analysis of work permits and the Declarations of Intention to employ a foreign citizen. It should be highlighted the study of those documents is the only information source about the subject, due to the employer having no obligation to even have those documents. As it was described earlier in this paper, there are some categories of foreigners, e.g. UE citizens, refugees and students, who do not have to have those documents (see Kubiciel-Lodzińska, Ustrzycki 2013).

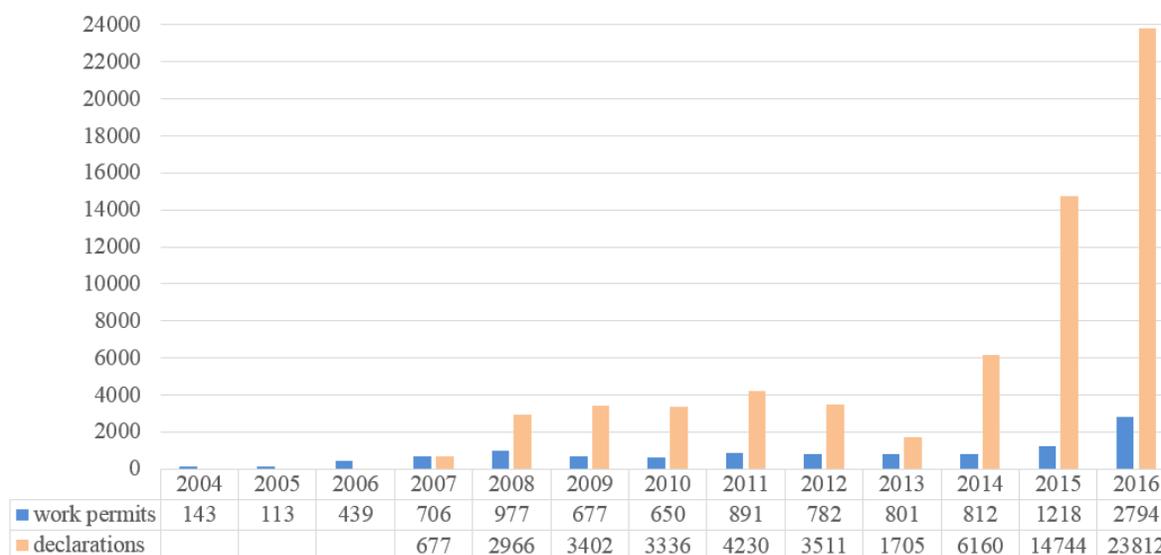


Figure. 1. The scale of the foreigners employed in the Opole Voivodeship (the number of work permits and the declarations)

Source: data compiled based on the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy data:

<http://psz.praca.gov.pl/rynek-pracy/statystyki-i-analzy/zatrudnianie-cudzoziemcow-w-polsce> [accessed: 5.06.2017].

In 2004 in the Opole Voivodeship there were only 143 documents issued, and in 2005 even less (113). This is due to an extension of the group of foreigners released from the registration obligation (after access to Poland was opened to the EU citizens). Still, in 2006 the number of work permits had tripled compared to 2004, in 2007 there were 5 times more (706 work permits), and in 2008 the number had increased to nearly 7 times the documents issued in 2004 (977 work permits). In the following years, 2009 and 2010 there were less documents of

that kind issued. The number raised again in 2011 to reach 891. In 2015 the number of work permits in the Opole Voivodeship exceeded one thousand (1200) and in 2016 it showed a significant increase reaching 2800 - for more details see Figure 1.

In the Opole region the increasing demand for the Declaration of Intention to employ a foreign citizen documents was observed as follows. There were 677 documents issued in 2007, 4 times more the next year, and in the years 2009 – 2012 the number of registered declarations oscillated around 4000, then began to fall in 2013. In the last two years there were many more such documents issued, over 14,700 in 2015 and nearly 24,000 in 2016.

4. Research area, method and structure of respondents

The study the selected results of which are discussed in this article has been carried out in enterprises in the Opole Province. This region is characterised by a long-standing tradition of departures (usually abroad) having social, demographic and economic consequences. One of its effects is the growing depopulation of the region. According to demographic forecasts of the Central Statistical Office (GUS), the Province may expect the most extensive decline in the population throughout Poland. The number of inhabitants of the region in 2050 will drop by $\frac{1}{4}$ in comparison with 2013. The Opole Province has become a kind of a "laboratory" for studies of migratory processes, in particular economic migration. For several years, this has also been a region where research work on foreign migration, mainly economic, has been carried out (Jończy, Kubiciel 2010, Kubiciel – Łodzińska 2011a, Kubiciel – Łodzińska 2011b, Kubiciel - Łodzińska 2012, Kubiciel – Łodzińska, Ustrzycki 2013, Kubiciel – Łodzińska 2014, Kubiciel – Łodzińska 2016) and also about immigration of foreign students (Kubiciel - Łodzińska, Ruszczak 2016).

The understanding of determinants and effects of foreign economic migration into the Opole Province is being constantly broadened. In late 2014 and in early 2015, there were also studies regarding the demand for foreign labour in enterprises in the Opole Region. One of their objectives was to determine non-salary employment conditions offered to foreigners. This issue is considered as important because previous studies carried out in the region (in 2008-2009) showed

that employers offered various bonuses to foreign workers, e.g. free housing or help in finding housing, subsidised meals, payment of travel costs (Jończy, Kubiciel 2010: 97).

When the sample was selected, it was not expected to be representative in relation to the generality of enterprises in the region. In the case of the study of migration involving employees, it is possible to draw a representative group of companies that employ foreigners and a group that does not use foreign labour; however, forcing employers to participate in the study is, in most cases, ineffective (Golinowska 2004: 167). This is the first study carried out in the Opole Region including both employers having experience with foreign labour and employers without such experience. Previous analyses carried out in the region incorporated only those entities that employed foreign labour (Jończy, Kubiciel 2010).

Respondents were contacted in several ways. First of all, via an on-line survey sent to all members of the Opole Chamber of Commerce (479 companies), Klub 150³ (199 companies), participants of the international research project pursued by the Opole University of Technology and the Opole University (200 companies)⁴, and those featured in the database of the Opole Province Office as entities that obtained work permits for foreigners in 2014 (30 entities). The survey was sent to over 900 companies. However, only 44 filled out and returned it, i.e. less than 5% of the group. Contacting respondents by email was found to be ineffective. The second method used in the study was the direct contact with enterprises at meetings and training organised for them⁵. It is worth noting that not all enterprises taking part in such meetings consented to participating in the study. On average, about 1/3 (in some cases 1/2) of participants refused to talk to the interviewer in order to complete the questionnaire. This showed that any study in the business community was quite difficult. Finally, the study included 263 employers.

The largest group of respondents were micro-enterprises (43%, i.e. 113 entities). Over 1/3 were small companies (88 respondents). Medium and large enterprises comprised a much smaller part of the group: 17.1% (45 companies) and 6.4% (17 companies), respectively.

The respondents were divided according to the segment of the labour market they represented, in line with the theory of dual labour market. A distinction was made between

³ This is an initiative that brings together the biggest and most important companies from Opole Province.

⁴ It refers the EU-funded project called "Effective Transfer of Knowledge from Science to Industry in the Opolskie Voivodeship".

⁵ The author of the study was a business meeting participant, organized in a cooperation with: Opolskie Centrum Rozwoju Gospodarki [Opolskie Center for Economic Development], Opolska Izba Gospodarcza [Opole Chamber of Commerce], consulting company "Zaga". The author received the assistance from Cech Rzemiosł i Przemysłownictwa [Guild of Crafts and Entrepreneurship] in Opole.

employers hiring foreigners in the primary and secondary sector of the labour market. The literature noted that the inclusion in the relevant segment of the labour market was not always obvious and made empirical analysis difficult (Massey et al. 1998:54; Dickens, Lang, 1984). In the completed study, the inclusion in the relevant segment depended on the profession (nature) in which the company hired or would be willing to hire a foreigner. The business profile of the company was taken into consideration in the case of companies that definitely did not intend to use migrant work in the future. Most of the companies involved in the study were included in the secondary labour market. Enterprises from this segment accounted for 81% of the respondents (213 entities), while the share of companies from the primary labour market amounted to 19% (50 entities), as presented in detail in Table 1.

Table 1. Enterprises by the employment size and the labour market segment

Labour market segment	Micro-enterprises		Small enterprises		Medium-sized enterprises		Large enterprises		Total	
	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%
primary labour market	20	17.7	14	15.9	11	24.4	5	29.4	50	19.0
secondary labour market	93	82.3	74	84.1	34	75.6	12	70.6	213	81.0
total	113	100	88	100	45	100	17	100	263	100

Source: own study.

5. Non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign workers by enterprises according to the employment size and labour market segment

The determination of whether or not employers offer non-salary bonuses to foreigners seems to be important because they increase costs of employing foreigners. Therefore, in a way, this also shows whether employers use foreign labour because it is less expensive than hiring Polish workers, or because this results from the necessity as the relevant employer has difficulties finding Polish employees.

When asked about additional employment conditions that they would be willing to offer to foreign workers apart from the salary, more than 1/3 (104 responses) of the enterprises

mentioned the help in finding housing. However, a similar number (27.5%, i.e. 90 responses) of respondents also claimed they did not intend to offer (or did not offer) any additional conditions. More than 9% (30 responses) would offer free or subsidised meals, while a similar group (8.9%) – free housing. 7.6% (25 responses) of respondents would fully (or partially) pay for travel costs of foreigners coming to Poland.

Table 2. Non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign workers by enterprises by the employment size

Offer	Micro-enterprises		Small enterprises		Medium-sized enterprises		Large enterprises		Total	
	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%
Free housing	5	3.9	12	11.3	8	13.1	4	12.9	29	8.9
Help in finding housing	41	31.8	34	32.1	20	32.8	9	29.0	104	31.8
All or part of travel costs to Poland	5	3.9	11	10.4	5	8.2	4	12.9	25	7.6
Free or subsidised meals	10	7.8	10	9.4	6	9.8	4	12.9	30	9.2
No intention to offer any additional employment conditions	39	30.2	28	26.4	18	29.5	5	16.1	90	27.5
Not applicable (companies do not plan to hire foreigners)	24	18.6	9	8.5	3	4.9	0	0.0	36	11.0
Other	5	3.9	2	1.9	1	1.6	5	16.1	13	4.0
Total	129	100	106	100	61	100	31	100	327	100

Source: own study.

In micro-enterprises, more than 31% of respondents (41 responses) declared help in finding housing, 7.8% (10 responses) – free or subsidised meals, and almost 4% (5 responses) – free housing or payment of all or part of travel costs to Poland. More than 30% of respondents (39 responses) did not intend to offer any additional employment conditions to foreigners. In the case of small companies, most respondents (more than 32%, i.e. 34 responses) would offer the help in finding housing, and more than 11% (12 responses) declared free housing, 10.4% (11

responses) – payment for travel costs to Poland, while 9.4% (10 responses) – free or subsidised meals. More than 26% of respondents (28 responses) did not intend to offer any additional employment conditions. Medium companies had the highest share of responses (32.8%, i.e. 20 responses) declaring the help to foreign workers in finding housing and the highest number of responses (more than 13%, i.e. 8 responses) in respect of offering free housing. In addition, almost 10% of respondents (6 responses) expressed the willingness to offer free or subsidised meals, while 8.2% (5 responses) – payment for travel costs to Poland. Nearly 30% of respondents (18 responses) did not intend to offer any additional employment conditions. Furthermore, the group of large enterprises was dominated by declarations regarding the help to foreign workers in finding housing (29%, i.e. 9 responses), while almost 13% of respondents (4 responses each) mentioned free housing, payment of travel costs to Poland and free or subsidised meals. The smallest share of responses involved respondents claiming they would not offer any non-salary employment conditions (16.1%, i.e. 5 responses).

Table 3. Non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign workers by the segment of the labour market

Offer	Primary labour market		Secondary labour market		Total	
	quantity	%	quantity	%	Quantity	%
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
Total	71	100	256	100	327	100

Source: own study.

Employers from the primary labour market were slightly more willing to offer non-salary employment conditions than respondents included in the secondary segment (see Table 3). The first group (a little over 20% of respondents, i.e. 15 responses) definitely did not intend to offer

any additional conditions to foreign workers, whereas the number of responses in the secondary segment amounted to nearly 30% (75 responses).

On the primary labour market, 36.6% (26 responses) of respondents declared help to foreigners in finding housing, whereas on the secondary market, the number was a little over 30% (78 responses). Furthermore, on the primary labour market, more than 14%, i.e. 10 responses) of respondents expressed the willingness to partially pay for travel costs to Poland, whereas on the secondary market – just under 6% (15 responses). On the primary market, nearly 10% (7 responses) of respondents offered free housing, whereas 5.6% (4 responses) free or subsidised meals. The responses on the secondary market were as follows: 8.6% (22 responses) and 10.2% (26 responses), respectively.

6. Non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign workers by enterprises according to the situation of the enterprise

Responses were analysed taking into account the situation of the enterprise, i.e. whether the relevant employer was hiring a foreign worker or not during the period of the study. This was deemed as a factor that might affect the offer of non-salary employment conditions. The study confirmed this assumption (results are presented in Table 4). Companies using foreign labour offered free housing to foreigner workers much more often. Housing was provided by almost 1/5 of the respondents who employed foreigners. Only just over 6% of respondents who had never hired a foreign worker offered this kind of a bonus.

More than 37% of respondents employing foreign workers offered help in finding housing. Interestingly, it was also declared by 1/3 of the enterprises who were not employing foreigners during the period of the study. At the same time, it is worth noting that 1/3 of respondents in the group that was not employing any foreign workers at the time declared that they would not offer any additional employment conditions. This response was selected by much fewer (slightly more than 12%) employers who hired foreign labour.

It was deemed that the willingness to offer additional employment conditions to foreigners could also be affected by the personnel situation of the relevant enterprises (Table 5). The study confirmed that employers having difficulties recruiting workers or expecting such difficulties were more willing to offer non-salary bonuses.

Table 4. Non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign workers by the experience in hiring foreigners

Offer	Employers who have the experience in hiring foreigners		Employers who have not the experience in hiring foreigners		Total	
	quantity	%	quantity	%	quantity	%
Free housing	11	19.6	18	6.6	29	8.8
Help in finding housing	21	37.5	84	30.8	105	31.9
All or part of travel costs to Poland	9	16.1	16	5.9	25	7.6
Free or subsidised meals	5	8.9	25	9.2	30	9.1
No intention to offer any additional employment conditions	7	12.5	84	30.8	91	27.7
Not applicable (companies do not plan to hire foreigners)	0	0.0	35	12.8	35	10.6
Other	3	5.4	11	4.0	14	4.3
Total	56	100.0	273	100.0	329	100.0

Source: own study.

Table 5. Non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign workers by the personnel situation of the relevant enterprises

Offer	Employers having difficulties recruiting workers or expecting such difficulties		Employers who did not face difficulties hiring employees		Total	
	quantity	%	Quantity	%	quantity	%
Free housing	23	10.0	6	6.1	29	8.8
Help in finding housing	81	35.2	24	24.2	105	31.9
All or part of travel costs to Poland	18	7.8	7	7.1	25	7.6
Free or subsidised meals	23	10.0	7	7.1	30	9.1
No intention to offer any additional employment conditions	62	27.0	29	29.3	91	27.7
Not applicable (companies do not plan to hire foreigners)	13	5.7	22	22.2	35	10.6
Other	10	4.3	4	4.0	14	4.3
Total	230	100.0	99	100.0	329	100.0

Source: own study

More than 35% of respondents from the group facing difficulties recruiting workers or expecting such difficulties declared help to foreigners in finding housing, while the same willingness was expressed only by 24% of respondents who did not face difficulties hiring employees. Furthermore, respondents of the first group were keener to offer other bonuses, e.g. free housing (10%), payment of travel costs to Poland (7.8%) and subsidised meals (10%). At the same time, 27% either did not offer, or assumed they would not offer any additional employment conditions. 5.7% of respondents excluded employment of any foreign labour at all. In the group of enterprises having no difficulties recruiting workers, the willingness to offer additional employment conditions was lower. Slightly more than 6% were willing to offer free housing, whereas about 7% – to pay travel costs and subsidise meals. More than 22% claimed that they did not intend to hire foreign workers.

The Polish legal system guarantees non-salary employment conditions to foreigners to a limited extent. Although legal provisions determine that the amount of the minimum salary has to be specified if work permits are used and that an employment contract has to be entered into with a foreigner (and, beforehand, has to be presented to the foreigner in a language that he/she understands), these obligations are not applicable to employers who hire foreigners under the so-called declarations of the intention to employ foreigners. This means that, to a large extent, non-salary employment conditions offered to foreign labour depend on the employer and are not subject to any control. This is to be partially changed by new provisions on seasonal and short-term employment of foreigners, eliminating the system of the so-called declarations of the intention to employ foreigners⁶. They are to be replaced by two types of work permits: seasonal work permits and short-term work permits. It should be noted that provisions protecting foreigners set forth e.g. That foreigner's salary may not be lower than that of a Polish person on the same position. Furthermore, a tenancy agreement will have to be signed with the foreigner to whom the employer provides housing.

⁶ Legal status for the September 2016.

7. Concluding remarks

A growing number of foreigners employed by Polish employers makes economic migration the part of the labour market that is becoming increasingly important. However, the emergence of foreign workers raises some concerns: whether or not they replace Polish workers because hiring a foreigner is more “cost-effective” for employers. The study carried out in the Opole Province has proven that the lawful employment of foreigners often involves necessary additional costs incurred by employers. The costs are often necessary because foreigners coming to work have poor command of host country’s language (or do not know the language at all); do not know how and where to find housing; and also have no sufficient funds to pay the necessary fees early during their stay. Therefore, helping foreign workers finding housing or offering housing (against payment or for free) are the most common bonuses offered by employers. It has been determined that more than 1/3 of respondents offer or would be willing to offer help to foreigners in finding housing. Some differences in the structure of responses can be noted by dividing the respondents according to the employment size. The study has shown that microenterprises are characterised by the lowest willingness to offer bonuses. However, after dividing respondents according to the market segment, it is noticeable that employers representing the primary labour market are more willing to offer bonuses. It has also been found that greater willingness to offer bonuses is present among employers who have experience in hiring foreigners (it may be assumed these employers simply know that it is necessary to offer certain bonuses) and suffer from staff shortages.

The completed study has shown that enterprises employing foreigners bear or are willing to bear additional cost related to hiring foreign labour. This may confirm the fact that, for a certain group of companies, hiring foreigners is a necessity and, therefore, they accept additional charges in order to find workers.

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Pozapłacowe warunki zatrudnienia oferowane obcokrajowcom podejmującym legalną pracę w Polsce (przykład województwa opolskiego)

Streszczenie:

W artykule omówiono wybrane wyniki badania przeprowadzonego wśród 263 przedsiębiorców w województwie opolskim. Dotyczyło m.in. pozapłacowych warunków zatrudnienia, jakie oferują lub skłonni byliby oferować cudzoziemcom pracodawcy. Chodziło m.in. o oferowanie kwaterunku, wyżywienia, opłacenie kosztów dojazdu. Zagadnienie pozapłacowych warunków zatrudnienia stanowi jeden z elementów badań nad imigracją zarobkową, ponieważ zatrudnienie zagranicznej siły roboczej nierazko wiąże się dla pracodawcy z dodatkowymi kosztami i obowiązkami. Ustalono, że ponad 1/3 badanych przedsiębiorców zapytana o dodatkowe warunki zatrudnienia, jakie poza wynagrodzeniem skłonna byłaby zaoferować zagranicznemu pracownikom wymieniała pomoc w znalezieniu mieszkania. Jednocześnie niewiele mniej, bo 27,5% respondentów twierdziło, że nie zamierza oferować (lub nie oferuje) dodatkowych warunków. Ponad 9% badanych zaoferowałoby wyżywienie lub dopłaty do niego, a podobna grupa (8,9%) – bezpłatne mieszkanie. Z kolei 7,6% respondentów opłaciłoby w całości (lub częściowo) koszty dojazdu obcokrajowca do Polski.

Słowa kluczowe: pozapłacowe warunki zatrudnienia, cudzoziemcy, Polska, rynek pracy
JEL: J15, J23, J32