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EMPLOYERS' OPENNESS TO LABOUR IMMIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT. The paper presents the elucidation of the concept of migration and theories describing the process of migration, determinestheissueofopennessto immigration and presents its theoretical explanation. The analysis of theempirical studies conducted in Lithuania assessing the openness of employers to labour immigrants was performed including the analysis of immigration trendsinthiscountry. The factors determining the attitudestowards immigration and immigrants arepresented being divided into the main groups of economic and social-cultural factors.

Introduction

In the modern world, which has been affected by globalization processes, international migration has been growing, significantly changing demographic structures and raising new social and economic problems. Emigration has been widely examined by both foreign and Lithuanian scientists, as it is a fairly old and frequent phenomenon. The focus in Lithuania has also been on the analysis and explanation of emigration processes. However, taking into consideration the consequences of emigration in Lithuania, such as declining demographic situation, labour force shortages, and economic instability, it is expected that over the next decade, as the globalization processes continue, net migration in Lithuania will turn positive and the flow of immigrants, in addition to re-emigrants (returning emigrants), will increase substantially. One of the main problems in this regard is openness to immigration. This phenomenon is relatively new and underexplored by both foreign and Lithuanian scientists. However, as migration levels and migration of people of different religions, cultures and races keep growing, the local residents' openness to immigration has been observed to be restricted

by certain factors that determine their attitude to immigrants and their integration into the labour market.

The aim of the paper is to evaluate the factors determining the attitudes of employers towards labour immigrants as well as openness to labour immigrants in Lithuania. Seeking to achieve this aim the following tasks have been posed:

- To present theoretical background of labor migration defining the main causes for migration;
- To present theoretical analysis of the openness to immigration and its main drivers;
- To analyse immigration trends in Lithuania and the empirical studies conducted on this issue in the country;
- To define the key drivers of attitudes towards labor immigrants.

1. Theoretical analysis of the concept of migration

In general, migration (from Latin 'migratio' – moving, travelling) is the mobility of people that is determined by a variety of factors. Many authors sought to formulate a definition that would best describe migration (Streimikiene *et al.*, 2016; Calabuig-Moreno *et al.*, 2016; Jasinskas *et al.*, 2015). Different attitudes toward migration have resulted in different definitions of it as a phenomenon (*Table 1*).

Table 1.Definitions of migration

Author	Definition
Dictionary of International Terms	Migration (from Latin 'migratio' – moving, travelling), moving, travelling, advancing from one location to another; relocation of residents from one place to another.
Dictionary of Economic Terms	Migration is movement of people into the country (immigration) and from it (emigration).
E. G. Stockwell, H. T Groat (1984)	Migration is the movement of people from one place of residence to another, by crossing the administrative boundaries of a location.
B. Brazauskienė, G. Kazlauskienė (2002)	Migration is a change of the place of residence of people which chiefly results in changes of the number and structure of the population both in the country of origin and in the host country.
E. Urbonaitė (2007)	Migration is defined as departure from a country or arrival in a country from another foreign state in pursuit of better quality of life.
Economic Migration Regulation Strategy of the Republic of Lithuania (2007)	Economic migration is defined as departure from Lithuania with the goal of settling in a foreign country (i.e. economic emigration) or arrival from a foreign country with the goal of settling in Lithuania (i.e. economic immigration) in pursuit of better quality of life, higher wage, and better working conditions.

Source: compiled by the authors based on Rudžinskienė, R., Paulauskaitė, L. (2014); Damulienė, A. (2013).

Two trends can be observed in *Table 1*: migration is defined in the narrow and the wide sense. In the narrow sense, migration is defined as the movement of people from one location to another (Stockwell, Groat, 1984). In the wide sense, possible causes and consequences are presented, for instance, the definition by B. Brazauskienė and

G. Kazlauskienė (2002) specify the result of migration: population change (from the perspectives of both the country of origin and the host country). To summarize, it could be stated that *migration is departure or arrival in another country in pursuit of personal economic prosperity*.

Scientific literature also recognizes the aspect of migration in terms of time. Migration is divided into long-term (from one year) and short-term (from 3 months to 1 year long). According to A. Damulienė (2013), from the perspective of the economy in the country of origin, the more harmful migration is long-term, as most of those who leave for a long period of time usually do not return, investments into education are lost and finally specialists of a specific field are given up (brain drain). Thus, one could claim that two dimensions are important in the search of a united definition: dimensions of space (relocation, movement to live elsewhere) and time (long-term, short-term). For this reason, it would be sensible to update the previously presented definition with the dimension of time: *migration is a long-term departure or arrival in another country in pursuit of personal economic prosperity*.

Scientific literature distinguishes separate types of migration that depend on various aspects which determine migration (*Table 2*). Usually migration is divided into separate groups (Rinkevičius, Kazlauskienė, 2006, Sipavičienė 2006):

- *Direction.* In terms of direction, migration can be internal and external. Internal migration is confined within a country's borders and does not cross them, e.g. relocation of individuals from a rural area into a city and vice versa. Conversely, external migration occurs on a global scale, as it is relocation from one country into another, which changes the population composition and level in the involved countries.
- *Departure/arrival.* This aspect encompasses immigration (arrival in a country), emigration (departure from a country), re-emigration (return of emigrants), and also, as defined in the post-war period, repatriation (the return of citizens (exiles, prisoners, diaspora) into the homeland).
- *Duration.* In terms of duration, migration is divided into 4 sub-groups: permanent (long-term), temporary, seasonal, and daily. Permanent migration occurs when an individual relocates to another country for a long period of time and settles in it permanently. Temporary migration involves a short period of time, even though in literature the short period is not precisely defined. Nevertheless, it is estimated to range from one day to several years. It is a temporary relocation to live in another country with the aim of returning. Seasonal migration, which is very popular among students and young people, is migration for a certain season, e.g. for agricultural summer jobs. Daily migration is not a common phenomenon, as it takes less than 24 hours but occurs every day.
- *Format.* By format, migration is divided into voluntary and forced. Voluntary migration is done by an individual freely, at his own choice, whereas forced migration is related to the use of force and when individuals have no choice, e.g. war, natural disasters, religious persecution etc.

Table 2.Classification of migration into groups

Direction	*Arrival/departure*	*Duration*	*Format*
Internal	Emigration	Permanent	Voluntary
External	Immigration	Temporary	Forced
	Re-emigration	Seasonal	
	Repatriation	Daily	

Source: compiled by the authors based on Rinkevičius, Kazlauskienė (2006), Sipavičienė (2006).

As demonstrated in *Table 2*, numerous types of migration exist, along with numerous causes and factors that determine it. The presented *Table 2* and the described kinds of migration highlight the main causes of migration which have the greatest influence: the economic and political reasons.

G. Kasnauskienė (2006) divides migration into 3 kinds based on yet another aspect:

- *Forced migration* – decision to migrate is made by other individuals, regardless of the person's willingness. Usually this is politically motivated migration (repressions, war);
- *Labour force migration*– economically dictated. Migration in pursuit of better economic opportunities and living conditions;
- *Family migration*– component of labour force migration and forced migration. Family members come to the migrants

After examining the causes of migration, S. Bell *et al.* (2010) determined other kinds of migration which have manifested notably in recent decades. The authors divided migration into three main groups: *labour force*migration, *forced* migration, and *international retirement* migration. Labour force migration is divided into migration of *qualified* and *unqualified* labour force. Migration of qualified labour force is seen as very positive and even encouraged by the accepting country. However, from the perspective of the country of origin, this kind of migration promotes brain drain. The majority of the attractive countries, such as the USA, Canada, or Australia, use a kind of point system when classifying and rating migrants who express a wish to enter the country. Still, in spite of the favourability, migration of this type constitutes a very low percentage of migration as a whole. The amount of unqualified labour is the highest, since usually cheap labour force comes from economically underdeveloped or developing countries (Gallardo *et al.*, 2016; Miłaszewicz *et al.*, 2015). A great example is the European Union and the free movement of labour, when attractive countries like the UK or Ireland are overcrowded with migrants and as a result face social issues and migrant support with state funds (Simionescu *et al.*, 2017). Additionally, this kind of migration causes problems in the host country and is usually illegal (the case of USA and Mexico). According to the authors, forced migration includes not only refugees and asylum seekers who are running away from war or repression, but also people who migrate because of projects, such as dam construction, or natural disasters. Migration because of retirement is a phenomenon of the Northern EU member states, such as Germany, the United Kingdom, or the Nordic countries. The factor that is the most typical of this migration type is retired individuals who have enough savings to be able to purchase property in a foreign country. The driving factor in this case is the retirement, while the attraction factor is favourable weather. The benefit of this migration is the most observable and perceivable in Portugal and Spain, where the mass construction on the coasts is aimed at the migrant market.

Thus, the authors have established a large number of types of migration, as well as migration as a concept. However, notably, the main recurring types that are mentioned by most authors are the labour force migration (both qualified and unqualified) and forced migration. After analyzing the classification of migration and after determining the general types mentioned by the authors, it can be concluded that the main factors influencing migration are economic and political.

3. Theories on migration causes

Research of migration as a phenomenon began only in the 1980s. However, as its scale keeps growing massively and it is becoming a global phenomenon, the interest in the process has been increasing as well. A lot of research has been done in an attempt to define the factors that cause this phenomenon. In the explanation of these factors, the main theories of migration have been distinguished (*Table 3*).

Table 3. The theories and factors of migration

Theory	*Factors*
The neoclassical economics theory	Affected by the factors of pushing and pulling. The pushing factor is a poorly paid job. The pulling factor is the sale of one's labour for a greater income in newly emerging markets.
The relations theory	There are migrant networks and interpersonal connections between the current, former and future migrants. Migration is likely because it has lower settlement costs.
The segmented labour market theory	Labour market consists of two segments. The first one (or the upper one) is the segment (labour market) of educated, local high income earners and the second one (the lower one) is the poorly paid segment (labour market) of local unfilled jobs which is filled up by immigrants.
The new economic migration theory	Explored at the level of family and household instead of the individual. Migration is a rational choice and is a family/group strategy. Under complicated economic conditions, some of the group's employees are relocated abroad in order to retain the economic stability of the household.
The world systems theory	The labour potential of the world is divided into three zones: the main one, the semi-peripheral, and the peripheral. The labour force is moving from the peripheral zone (developing countries) into the main zone (rich capitalist post-industrial countries). This is the migration of cheap labour into stronger countries where a larger wage is paid for the same unqualified labour.
The neoclassical macroeconomics theory	Balance must be achieved in the society between the 2 main economic resources: labour and capital. The labour force is moving into countries of large wages, while the invested capital will move into a country of low wage, in order to maximize profit.
The neoclassical microeconomics theory	Individuals make conscious decisions on migration. If the profit after relocating into another country is expected to be positive, individuals tend to migrate. When calculating the likely profit, the following is considered: the likelihood of getting a job, the material and psychological expenses of relocation, and in case of illegal work – the possibility of being tracked down and deported.

Source: compiled by the authors based on Sipavičienė A., Stankūnienė V. (2011); Maslauskaitė A., Stankūnienė V. (2007); Douglas S., Arango J., Hugo G. (2011).

The theories presented in *Table 3* explain the causes of migration and the factors that result in migration. The following general factors that cause migration of the population can be distinguished from the theories:

- Economic (wage, economic stability, unemployment etc.);
- Demographic (marriages);
- Social (traditions, intolerance, culture);
- Political (conflicts, repressions, liberalization of migration, election results);
- Psychological (personal decisions);
- Geographic (climatic conditions).

All theories presented in *Table 3* seek to explain the origin of migration and the factors that cause it. The theories do not contradict one another, unless a theory accepts the factor of

migration as the only one and functioning at a single level. However, usually, a combination of these factors is accepted. It is claimed that individuals count the economic benefit, households diversify the division of labour, and the socioeconomic context, in which decisions are made, is determined by the present national and international forces (Papademetriou, Martin, 1991)

According to A. Damulienė (2013), who researched migration theories, an individual who is not influenced by any additional forces will base his decision to migrate on the assessment of the benefits and drawbacks of two locations (countries) – a comparison of the destination country and the departure country. It can be concluded from the theories presented in Table 3 and the insight by Damulienė that migration is caused by two main factors (this is best explained by the neoclassical economics theory): *pushing*(push factors) from the location where one lives and *pulling*(pull factors) into the location where one wishes to live. Individuals migrate to where pull factors are functioning. R. Čiarnienė and V. Kumpikaitė have grouped the factors that encourage migration into 4 groups (*Fig. 1*). Aside from the already mentioned pushing factors (scientists use the term 'demand') and pulling factors ('supply'), the researchers distinguish chain reaction factors and psychological factors.

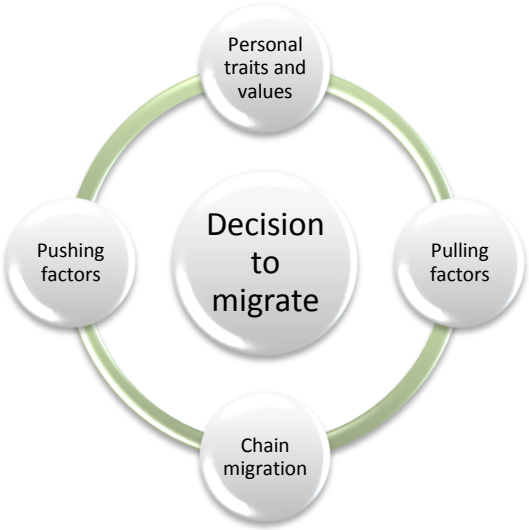


Fig. 1. Factors of decision to migrate
Source: Čiarnienė, R.; Kumpikaitė, V. (2011).

Demand factors (pulling) (*Fig. 1*) involve relocating to a country which is economically stronger than the country where the individual lives. The factors assigned to this group include more favourable taxation system, higher average wage, larger labour market, better education system, more developed healthcare system, political stability, and higher tolerance. *Supply*factors (pushing) are related to the internal situation of the country in which the individual presently resides. Possible factors include war or other kinds of armed conflict in the country, poverty, unemployment, low average wage, severe social exclusion, absence of the middle class, and poor political situation of the country. The third group of factors is *chain migration*. The individuals who have relocated earlier inform the remaining people about the living conditions and the standards of living and provide the most important background information about the accommodation, work, transportation, and arrival. As a result, individuals evaluate the feedback and make a decision, causing a wave of emigration. The final group of factors is *personal qualities and values of the individual*(psychological

factors). The main connections which link the individual to the homeland are emotional relations with parents, friends and relatives, motivation, and language barriers.

Scientific literature also highlights three levels of migration-promoting factors: micro, macro, and mezzo level. The first level includes factors related to the individual's personal decision and motives, such as education and language. The second level encompasses the differences between the labour supply and demand and the wages in the destination country. The third level involves the personal environment of the individual: family and relatives. According to R. Čiarnienė, V. Kumpikaitė, and A. Taraškevičius (2009), an individual's decision regarding migration is the most influenced by economic factors.

Additionally, a new migration-promoting factor has emerged in the modern world: globalization. According to R. Rudžinskienė (2014), as a phenomenon, globalization does not have a direct effect on migration, but it facilitates the migration process through free movement of persons and technological development which allows communication with the entire world. Thus, globalization could be classified as one of the factors which facilitate the migration process. However, at the same time, globalization can also play the role of a suppressor of migration in separate cases, e.g. when companies hold off migration by creating new jobs in the countries of cheaper labour. Then, yet another phenomenon emerges: "arrival" of the job to the employees, which results in the absence of the main need for migration: job search.

Two types of migration are dominant in the world: emigration and immigration. Accordingly, at the global level, migration raises such concepts as migrant, immigrant, and emigrant. A. Giddens (2005) argues that emigration is the departure of people from one country in order to settle in another, while immigration is defined as arrival in a country with the aim of settling in it. Accordingly, an emigrant is a person who seeks to depart from a country and settle in another one, while an immigrant is an individual who has arrived in another country and seeks to settle in it. In the Lithuanian context, it is common to examine a much more massive aspect of migration: emigration. However, as the demographic situation has changed and the labour shortage emerged in Lithuania, emigration has become an important problem in the country today, which is discussed not just by Lithuanian businesspeople but also by investors of foreign capital. At the moment the Lithuanian labour market is severely lacking in qualified employees. As standards of living in Lithuania are rising and the labour force shortage is increasing, while stable rate of economic growth is sought to be ensured, immigration has become an inevitable and even desirable phenomenon (Janušauskas *et al.*, 2009).

4. Theoretical examination of the issue of openness to immigration

Immigration is the movement to live coming from another country, relocation (Dictionary of International Terms). As was presented in *Table 3*, the theories that explain migration are helpful in dividing the main factors that influence and determine migration. Since migration consists of immigration and emigration, the factors that cause migration can be also generally applied to immigration. Thus, the main groups of factors that influence the decision to immigrate are presented in *Fig. 2*.

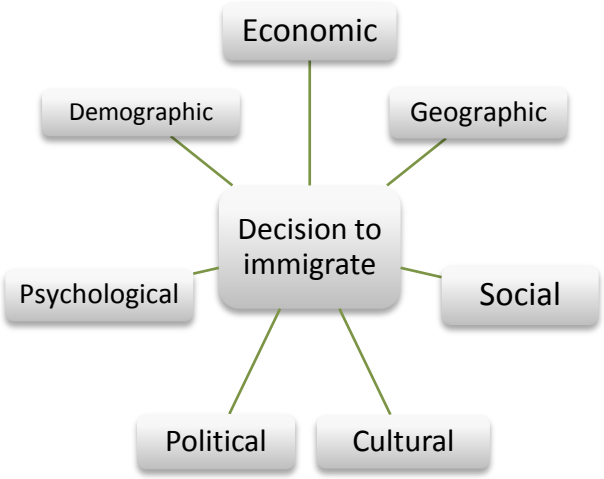


Fig. 2. Groups of factors that influence immigration
Source: created by the authors based on R. Čiarnienė, V. Kumpikaitė and A. Taraškevičius (2009).

The presented figure demonstrates that just a small portion of the factors are at the level of local government and are impactable by government measures, such as economic and political factors. Also partially impactable are social, demographic, and cultural factors. The greatest and the strongest influence on immigration comes from economic factors. There are theoretical considerations that an individual will immigrate when personal benefit will exceed the costs. Investments into immigration include many components, such as relocation costs, psychological costs (of separation from family and homeland), loss of pension etc. (Čiarnienė *et al.*, 2009).

Some of the greatest economic influences on immigration, as well as emigration, are the *labour market opportunities*, shortage of unqualified labour, and wage. Highly qualified workers will immigrate to countries where the wage difference between qualified and unqualified labour is high, while the unqualified workers will immigrate more to the countries where wage differences are small and as a result unqualified work is better paid.

*Legal*factors are important as well. In the countries where immigration is not restricted and legal residence permits (e.g. the European Union) are not required, immigration will be greater. Meanwhile, in the countries where permits or visas are required, immigration will be weaker.

The influence of all these factors is different on each immigrant and manifests itself through personal strategies. O. Stark and D. E. Bloom (1985) distinguished the main personal strategies.

1. *Concentration of capital.*The aim to accumulate capital for a personal business or other important expenses, e.g. a household.
2. *Strategy of a new start*– the possibility to start life anew.
3. *Creating a livelihood for old age*– the aim to ensure a better pay for the retirement period.
4. *Diversification of income* – the aim to gain more income from other activities when income from the main activity decreases.
5. *Education strategy*–immigration of potential students for better education.
6. *Increase of relative prosperity.*The aim is to increase the relative prosperity level in the community. As a result, the overall increase of prosperity does not reduce motivation for migration.

7. *Skills and career strategy*.The aim to exploit the possibilities of the labour market in the host country.
8. *Family reunification strategy.*The aim to live together with the family and relatives.

Thus, each individual's choice of immigration and reasons for it are mostly determined by the personal strategy of personal goals. Personal strategy factors also include other factors, such as economic, social etc.

*Openness to immigration*can be defined as the attitude that immigrants should be allowed in the country. The opposite view is disapproval of immigration, the antagonistic view that immigrants must not be allowed and stricter measures of restricting immigration have to be implemented (Card *et al.*, 2005). A. Telešienė (2013) pointed out that the sociological examination of *openness to migration* has 3 classical directions. *The individual level* is explained with the variables of *socio-economic*interest and *social identity*. It includes such variables as education level, occupation, age, and even gender. The education level, living in a big city and having a higher occupation are considered to be liberating factors, which results in individuals becoming more tolerant and open to novelties (J. Hainmuller, J. Hiscox, 2007). *The mezzo level*is explained with the theories of social contact and group conflict. This criterion can be seen through the lens of marginality, when marginalized groups of society or those that are in an unfavourable social situation are more likely to help or express positive views toward other marginalized groups, e.g. criminals, the disabled, people of other religions. *The macro level*is explained with the variables of the population sizes of foreigners and immigrants. The group conflict theory can be distinguished as the main macrosocial paradigm. This theory can be interpreted to claim that openness to immigration is related to the level of one's perception of the economic and cultural threats associated with the arrival of immigrants. In conclusion, negative view towards immigrants can be said to be a defensive reaction to the rising competition. A. M. Ceobanu and X. Escandell (2010) identified the group conflict theory as the aspect which has the strongest effect on the openness to immigration.

*The group conflict theory*says that openness to immigration is directly related to the level of one's perception of the economic (realistic) and cultural (symbolic) threats associated with immigrants (Telešienė, 2013). The negative attitude is an expression of a defensive reaction to the perceived competition between different groups of society. When the competition increases, a threat arises against access to *goods* and their accessibility by the individual's primary reference group (Ward, Masgoret, 2008). Meuleman *et al.* (2009) identified the main groups of goods for which different social groups are competing: *material goods*(household, a well-paid job) and *power, status*. The group conflict theory states that the perception of economic and cultural threats is explained not just at the level of the individual. The perception of the threats posed by an external group (immigrants and foreigners) is primarily a collective process, when one group defines another group. For this reason, the posed threats are seen not as personal threats to the individual, but as threats posed against a group (Meuleman *et al.*, 2009). Thus, the main threats posed by immigrants are closely related to the conditions of the competition for goods between different social groups. Competition is the main aspect which causes conflicts between groups and, in particular, creates a negative view towards external groups (Blalock, 1967).

Another significant theory which examines openness to immigration is *the theory of social contact*. This theory claims that more frequent encounters with an *external* group (foreigners, immigrants) result in greater openness to immigration. The social contact theory is based on the factor that, in case of greater density of foreigners in a country, a higher percentage of the local population has experience-based knowledge of foreigners (Telešienė, 2013). This knowledge is not theoretical but rather directly received from encounters between neighbouring groups or through social institutions. As a result, the knowledge of external

groups is deeper, clearer, and not stereotypical. On the other hand, in the countries where the density of external groups is lower than that of the country's population, the knowledge is theoretical, not based on experience, and causes stereotyping and social conflicts.

J. Sides and J. Citrin (2007) distinguish a rooted *symbolic view*towards foreigners as a greater influence on the openness to immigration than economic consequences. This partially validates the social conflict theory. The population avoids complete recognition of individuals with different cultural origins in order to preserve national identity. D. Hollinger (1995) defines this phenomenon as the national "circle of we". This threat is escalated by proponents of post-nationalism who seek to depersonalize the political and social rights rather than nationality and nationalism. For instance, the European Union is based on post-nationalism, but nevertheless openness to "others" based on the view of culture and national identity towards migration causes great opposition in the public sphere.

D. Card *et al.* (2005) claim that the view towards immigration is influenced by two directions: *economic* and *cultural*. The economic view is expressed through the fear of losing one's job, competition for salary and expenses for the creation of social programs for immigrants. The cultural view includes fear of cultural alienation and the fear that immigrants will harm the language, the religion, the political views and the overall lifestyle of the locals. Both the economic and the cultural negative view can be based on ignorance or on excessive exaltation of people while ignoring systematic evidence.

Thus, with the help of the examined theories and for the aim of exploring the influence of the openness to immigration on the economy, a scheme of the link between the factors and the consequences of the openness to immigration is presented in *Fig. 3*.

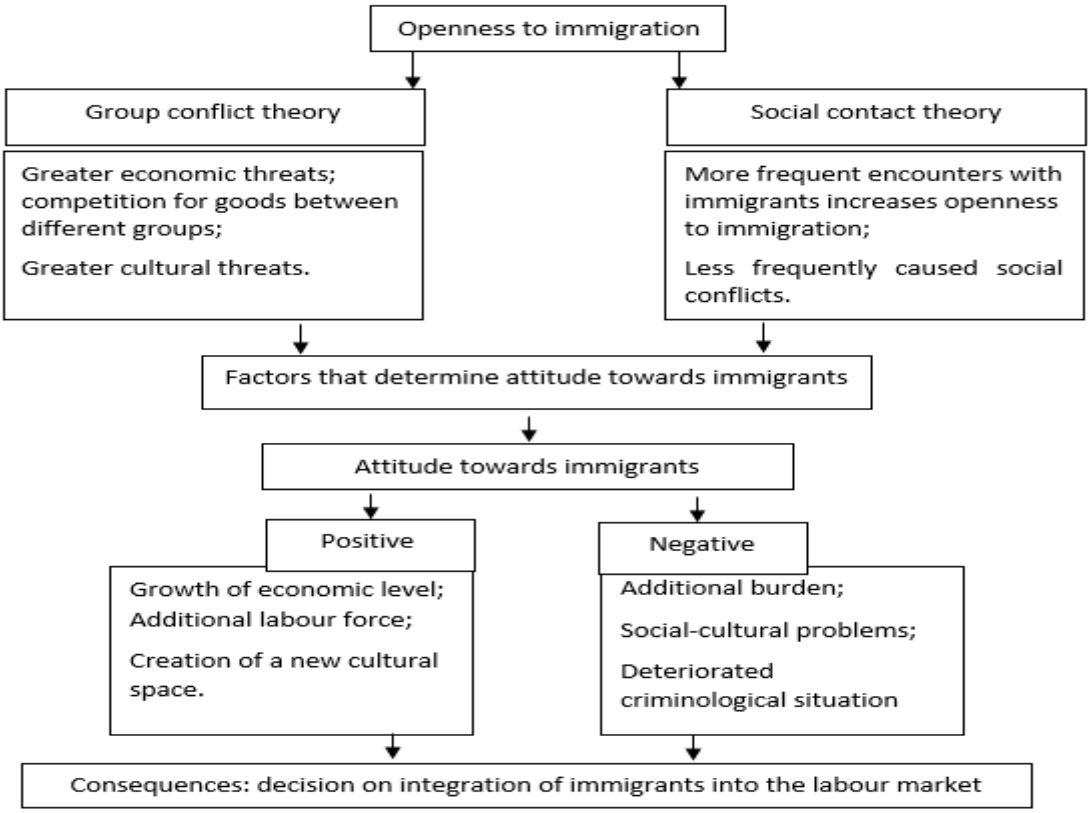


Fig. 3. The scheme of the link between the deciding factors and the consequences of the openness to immigration

Source: compiled by the authors based on Telešienė, A. (2013), Escandell, X.; Ceobanu, A. M. (2010), John S.; Citrin, J. (2007), Ward, C.; Masgoret, A. M. (2008).

The scheme presents the link between the factors and the consequences of the openness to immigration. The openness to immigration is explored through the theories of social contact and group conflict. The group conflict theory presupposes the following preconditions of openness to immigration: greater economic threats, competition for goods between different groups, and greater cultural threats. The social contact theory presupposes the following main preconditions: more frequent encounters with immigrants increase openness to immigration and results in less frequently caused conflicts. Afterwards, the factors that determine the attitudes towards immigrants and the established attitude are examined. The openness to/disapproval of immigration is dependent on the attitude. The attitude towards immigration can be positive or negative. Consequences of positive attitude include the increase of the economic level, additional labour force, and creation of a new cultural space. Consequences of negative attitude are additional burden, social-cultural problems, deteriorated criminological situation etc. After exploring the factors that determine the attitude and the positivity and negativity of the attitude, as a consequence of factors that decide openness, a decision is made on the integration of the immigrant into the labour market (to employ/not to employ).

The summary of the results of the analysed research on the attitude towards immigrants and openness to immigration is presented in *Table 5*.

Table 5. Summary of the analysed empirical research

Research	Result
A.Telešienė (2013)	Openness to immigration is predicted on the basis of the perception of the threats caused by immigrants. If the respondent has a low perception of the threats caused by immigrants, it can be predicted correctly that he is open to immigration.
TMO (2010)	The residents of Lithuania have a hostile attitude towards immigration. Social-cultural factors are prevalent: ethnic origin, denationalization, and criminological situations. Economic factors include legality of work, competition in the labour market, and economic migrants.
A. M. Mayda (2004)	In most countries, the attitude towards immigration is related to the issues of the labour market, aspects of security and culture, and individual view towards political refugees and illegal immigrants. The attitude towards immigrants is mainly influenced by economic variables (labour market, competition). Additionally, the research highlighted the correlation between individual skills (high level of education) and standard of living (per capita GDP).
K. H. O'Rourke (2003)	In the countries of high qualification (education level) and high standard of living, the attitude towards globalization (and thereby immigration) is positive, whereas in the countries where the standard of living is low, individuals oppose globalization (and immigration).
Bilan & Strielkowski (2016), Bilan, 2014ab	The economic theory agrees that immigration either has a positive impact on the economic welfare of the target countries or its effect is relatively small. The overall conclusion is that migration, although it is modest in its volume and scope, is very beneficial for the countries in question and therefore should be considered by the relevant stakeholders as one of the tools for fostering economic development.
G. Facchini, A. M. Mayda, and M. Mendola (2013)	The main factors that determine the attitude towards immigration are social-cultural (nationality, language, culture, ethnic origin, political orientation).

I.N. Gang, F. L. Rivera-Batiz, and M.S. Yun (2002)	The main factors that determine negative attitude towards immigrants are competition in the labour market (economic factors) and concentration of immigrants in the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, the education level of the local residents positively influences the development of the attitude towards immigrants.
T. Paas and V. Halapuu (2012)	The main factors that determine the attitude towards immigrants are personal views and prejudice, the country's economic status, and social economic security.
A. Janušauskas, E. Nedzinskas, A. Uleckas, and P. Vepšta (2009)	Immigration is a sufficiently complex phenomenon: it creates benefit to the country's economy (cheaper labour etc.) but also creates additional costs (social payments, crime, integration expenses).

Source: compiled by the authors.

It can be observed that the summary of the results presented in *Table 5* contains 2 main types of prevalent factors: economic and social-cultural factors. The factors have been grouped, summarized and presented in *Fig. 5*.

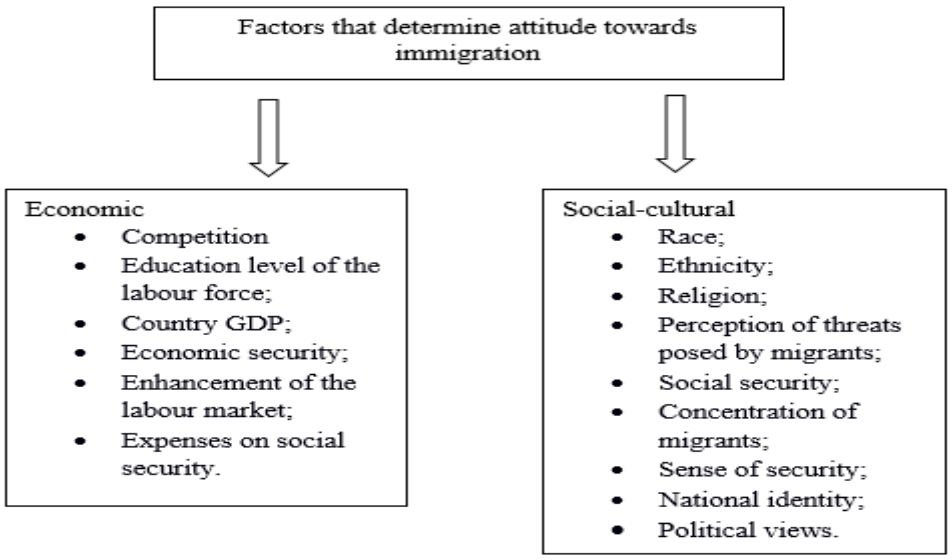


Fig. 5. Factors that determine attitude towards immigration
Source: compiled by the authors.

To summarize the examined research, the factors presented in *Fig. 5* are grouped into two groups: economic and social-cultural. The economic factors mostly include competition, labour market, the country's economic indicators, and social security expenses. Conversely, the social-cultural factors encompass personal characteristics and such factors as ethnic origin, concentration, security, and identity.

5. Immigration trends in Lithuania

When exploring aspects of migration, it is also important to examine and reveal the modern trends of migration in Lithuania. General trends of the changes of emigration and immigration are presented in *Fig. 5*.

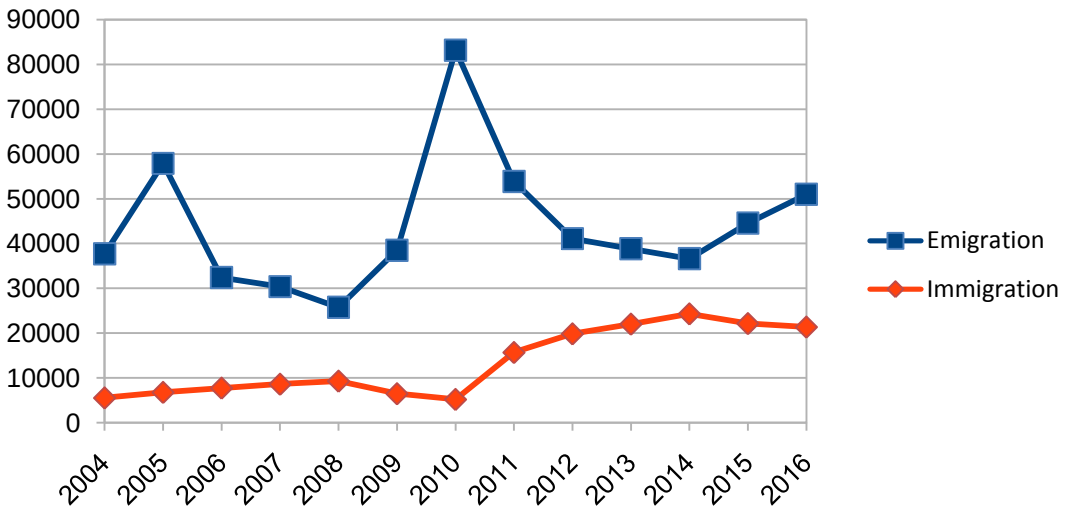


Fig. 5. Migration trends in Lithuania
Source: compiled by the authors based on the data of the Official Statistics Portal.

As can be observed in *Fig. 5*, emigration and immigration have been taking place in Lithuania continuously. Two main waves of emigration have been observed: in 2005, when emigration increased by 53% compared to 2004 (from 37,691 emigrants to 57,885 emigrants), and in 2010, when the growth was 116% compared to 2009 (from 38,500 emigrants to 83,157 emigrants). Possible causes of the growth could include the accession of Lithuania into the European Union and the economic crisis of 2008. In 2016, emigration started growing again and increased by 14.5% compared to 2015 (from 44,533 emigrants to 50,978 emigrants). In the last decade, the numbers of immigration have been growing. After calculating the immigration growth of the decade, the resulting numbers show that from 2006 to 2016, immigration into Lithuania increased by 176% (from 7,745 immigrants to 21,358 immigrants). Over the examined decade, two periods of immigrant decline have been observed: 2009, when the number of immigrants fell by 43% compared to 2008 (from 9,297 immigrants to 6,487 immigrants) and 2015, when the number of immigrants decreased by 9% (from 24,294 immigrants to 22,130 immigrants). The number of immigrants dropped in 2016 as well, but insignificantly, by 3.4%, compared to 2015. The reasons that determined these numbers of immigrants are identical to the reasons of the waves of emigration growth in the corresponding periods. As can be observed in the graph, emigration outpaces immigration considerably. For instance, the net migration in 2015 was negative and amounted to -22 403. However, in 2014, the immigrant rate in Lithuania was 8.3 per thousand inhabitants. Based on published statistics, in 2014, labour immigrants amounted to 22% of all foreigners in Lithuania.

Continuing the examination of immigration, *Fig. 6* demonstrates the change in the number of work permits issued to third-country nationals in Lithuania. Third-country nationals may be employed and the work permit will be issued only in certain sectors that lack employees from Lithuania and the European Union.

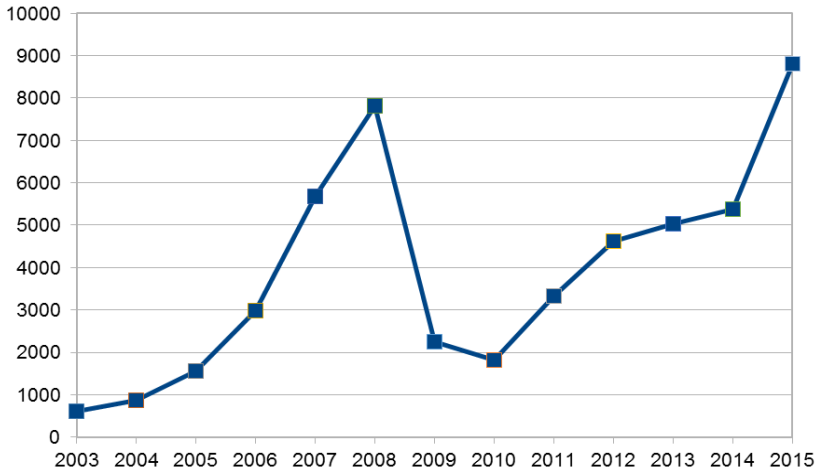


Fig. 6. The number of work permits issued to third-country nationals in Lithuania
Source: compiled by the authors based on the data of the European Migration Network.

The number of labour immigrants experienced the greatest upsurge during the period of economic growth (2005-2008). In the aforementioned period, the number of work permits issued to third-country nationals in Lithuania increased 5 times, from 1,565 permits in 2005 to 7,819 permits in 2008. The issuing of permits slowed drastically during the economic crisis in 2009. In 2008, 7,819 permits were issued, while in 2009 the number of issued permits dropped 3.5 times to 2,239. After this decrease, the number of issued permits started growing consistently: it increased by 84% in 2011, by 39% in 2012, by 9% in 2013, by 7% in 2014, by 28% in 2015, and rose by 63% in 2016, as the economy has been rapidly growing, employee shortages emerged, and the businesses, particularly in construction, expanded quickly.

Fig. 7 presents the number of temporary residence permits issued in Lithuania grouped by the specified grounds for arrival.

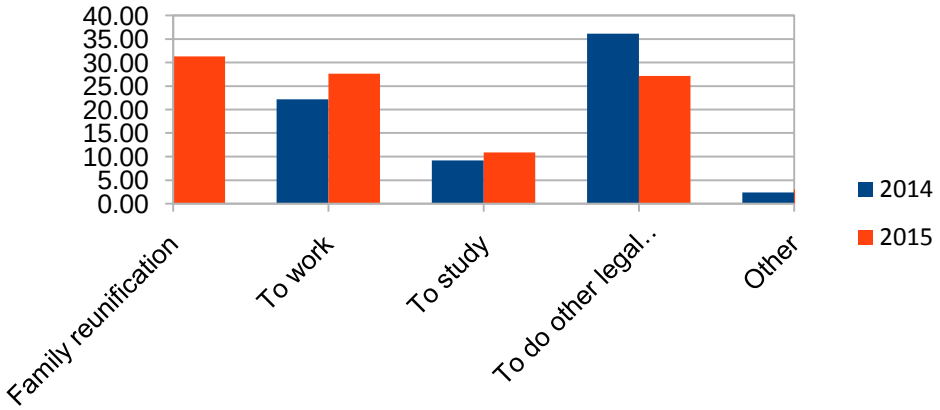


Fig. 7. Number of temporary residence permits issued in Lithuania grouped by the grounds for arrival
Source: compiled by the authors based on the data of the European Migration Network.

In 2015, the greatest number of permits was issued for family reunification (31.31%). Compared to 2014, the number of issued permits of this type grew by 3.2%. The greatest increase was in issued work permits, which constituted 27.64% of all issued permits in 2015

and rose by 5.48% from 2014. Permits for other legal activities decreased by 9%. Doing legal activities signifies that a foreigner desires to do business in Lithuania. Usually this is just the purchasing of companies registered in Lithuania. Foreigners designate themselves as their managers, and on this basis they request a permit to temporarily reside in Lithuania, usually not to live in Lithuania but to enter the Schengen Area. From 1 November 2014, legal amendments came into effect which restricted the requirements to foreigners who wished to do legal activities. As a result, a decrease was observed in the number of issued permits of this kind.

In 2015, the Lithuanian Labour Exchange issued 8,815 permits to work in Lithuania. Based on the presented official statistics, the number of issued work permits increased by 63.79% compared to 2014. *Fig. 9* presents the breakdown of third-country labour immigrants by nationality.

8,815 labour migrants came to Lithuania in 2015. The majority (6,729 or 76%) were long distance drivers. Currently, according to the data of the Lithuanian Labour Exchange, the greatest shortage in Lithuania is of long distance drivers, hull constructors, metal construction installers, bricklayers, concrete finishers, welders, and tailors.

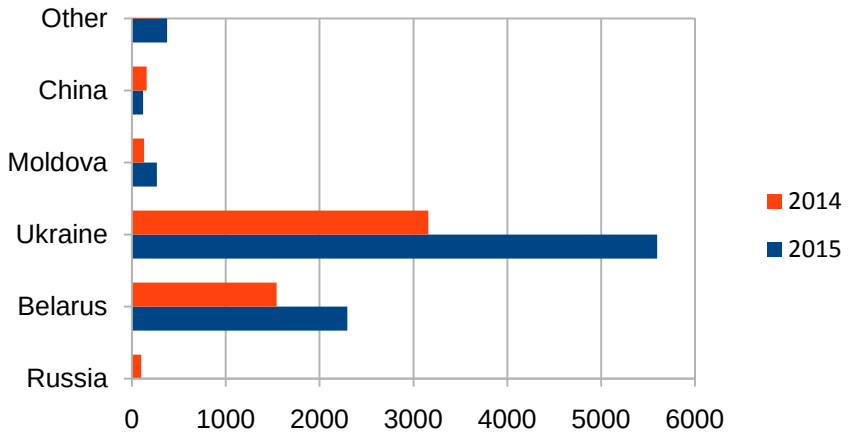


Fig. 8. Breakdown of third-country nationals who received work permits by nationality
Source: compiled by the authors based on the data of the European Migration Network.

Fig. 8 shows that in 2015 the Lithuanian Labour Exchange issued the most work permits to citizens of Ukraine (5,596), Belarus (2,297), and Moldova (266). Over the last 5 years, the number of employees from Ukraine increased the most: from 424 to 5,596 workers (in 2010 and 2015). Occupations that are the most popular among labour immigrants include drivers of transport vehicles for international carriage of goods (76.34%), other occupations (unspecified, 13.90%), metal hull constructors (3.66%), welders (2.78%), restaurant chefs (1.97%), plasterer-finisher (1. 37%).

According to the data of the European Migration Network, the number of foreigners arriving to Lithuania for highly qualified work (requiring Blue Card) increased in 2015. In Lithuania, these specialists usually work in the field of IT, pedagogy, or management of companies or their divisions. According to the organization, 344 foreign citizens with Blue Cards lived in Lithuania on 1 June 2016. 103 of them were from Ukraine, 91 from Russia, 89 from Belarus and 28 from the USA.

Thus, after examining the current situation of labour immigration in Lithuania, the trends of the issuing of residence permits in Lithuania, and the degree of emigration, it can be claimed that the number of labour immigrants and individuals wishing to legally live in

Lithuania will increase, as a result highlighting the problems of their integration, employment, and local residents' openness to immigrants.

Taking into consideration the research conducted by A. Telešienė (2013), Vilnius Office of the International Organization for Migration (TMO) and the Lithuanian National Information Centre of the European Migration Network (2010), A. M. Mayda (2004), K. H. O'Rouke (2003), G. F. Facchini, A. M. Mayda and M. Mendola (2013), I. N. Gand, F. L. Rivera-Batiz and M. S. Yun (2002) and T. Paas and V. Halapuu (2012), as well as the scientific literature analysed in the theoretical section of the paper, connections are determined between the openness to labour immigrants and their acceptance in the labour market (*Fig. 9*).

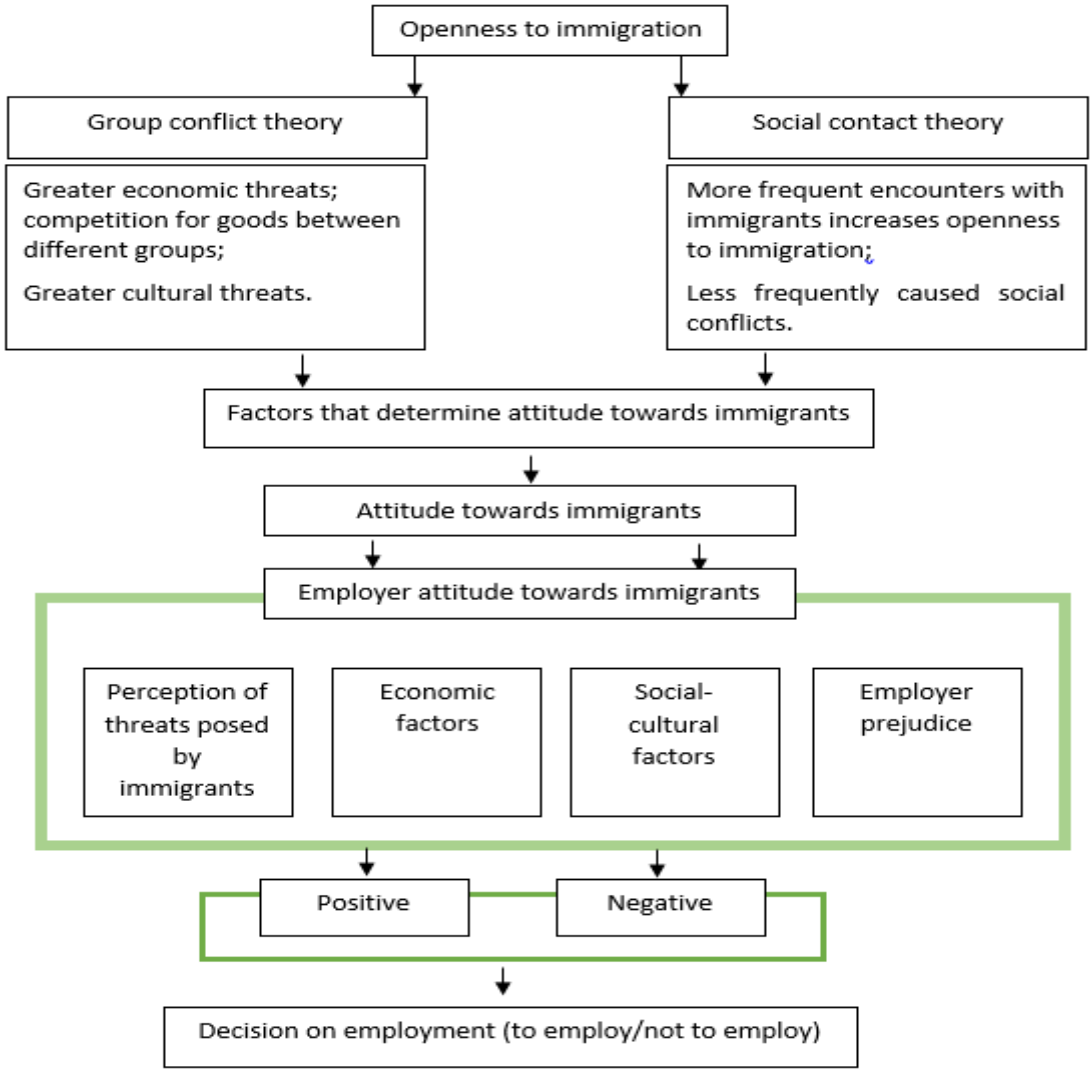


Fig. 9. The model of the employer attitude towards labour immigrants and the factors of their employment/non-employment
Source: own compilation.

Openness to immigration is based on the theory of group conflict or the theory of social contact. Group conflict theory is manifested through expressed threats: economic, competition for goods, and cultural. Social contact theory is grounded on the increase of openness based on more frequent encounters with immigrants and fewer occurrences of

incited social conflicts. After examining and invoking certain theory, it is possible to analyse the factors that determine the attitude towards immigrants (openness). Based on the analysed scientific literature and the empirical data, the factors that determine the attitude towards labour immigrants are grouped into perception of threats posed by immigrants, economic factors, social-cultural factors, and, as a separate factor, employer prejudice (preconceived opinion on a particular issue). After evaluating all these factors and their combination, the result is the attitude (openness) towards immigrants, which is either positive or negative. In the case of positive attitude, openness to immigrants is high and the employment of the immigrant is possible. Conversely, if the attitude is negative, disapproval prevails, and as a result the immigrant's employment is impossible.

This model could purposefully evaluate the attitude of a particular company towards immigrants, if the manager wished and sought to employ a labour immigrant. With the help of this model, it is possible to assess whether company employees are open or not regarding the issue of immigrants. Additionally, it is possible to evaluate the openness to labour immigrants of certain groups of people, formal and informal organizations, and social groups. The model presented in *Fig. 9* can also be applied when determining a country's residents' openness to labour immigrants.

Conclusions

Two trends were observed during the analysis of the concept of migration: migration is defined in a narrow and wide sense. In the narrow sense, migration is defined as a relocation of people from one place to another, while in the wide sense, possible reasons and consequences are presented. In conclusion, migration could be said to be departure or arrival in another country in pursuit of personal economic prosperity. Usually migration is categorized by aspects of arrival/departure: immigration, emigration, re-emigration, and repatriation. Openness to immigration is defined as the attitude that immigrants should be allowed to enter the country. Openness to immigration is explored by theories of social contact and group conflict.

After analysing the chosen empirical research on the attitude towards immigrants and immigration, the factors that determine the attitude towards immigrants and immigration can be grouped into economic and social-cultural factors and the factor of the perception of threats posed by labour immigrants. Economic factors include competition, education level of the labour force, country GDP, economic security, enhancement of the labour market, and expenses on social security. Social-cultural factors include race, ethnicity, religion, social security, immigrant concentration, national identity, and political views. The perception of threats posed by immigrants includes sense of security and conflicts between representatives of different groups.

An empirical model has been composed of the factors that determine the employers' attitude towards labour immigrants and the resulting openness to immigrants as a consequence. Openness to immigration is analysed using theories of group conflict and social contact. From these theories, factors are drawn which determine the employers' attitude towards labour immigrants: economic, social-cultural, and the aspect of the perception of threats posed by immigrants. All these factors influence the employers' attitude and openness (positive or negative attitude). As a result, a decision is made on the employment of the labour immigrant. The made decision demonstrates whether the employer is open to labour immigrants or not.

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