

## **Ukrainian labour migrants in the Czech Republic: forms and structures of a new East-West migration**

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### **Abstract**

Ukrainian labour migration in the Czech Republic could develop during the 1990s under the influence of several factors. The following contribution concentrates upon the major forms of temporary and circular migration in Central Europe as quasi-legal strategies of economic mobility, namely “false tourists” and “quasi-businessmen”. Furthermore informal Ukrainian migrant-networks and commercial intermediaries will be analysed as main structures of a new immigration to the Czech Republic. Both, networks and intermediaries will be introduced as important accesses to jobs and accommodation, which could maintain the inflow of Ukrainians to the Czech Republic despite reinstalled restrictions and regulations of immigration in the course of the 1990s. Interviews with Czech officials, Czech migrant experts and Ukrainian labour migrants form the empirical basis of this contribution.

**Key words:** labour migrants, Ukrainian, migrant-networks

### **1 Introduction**

The political and economic liberalisation following the political changes of 1989/90 and the unequal economic situation in Central and Eastern Europe led to an economically motivated immigration in Czechia which never existed before (Horáková, Drbohlav 1998:27). Statistics and estimates assume up to 500,000 international migrants in Czech Republic at the end of the 1990s, including unregistered migration (Drbohlav 2000:172). 160,000 of these migrants are considered as (registered) economic migrants. Due to the numbers of registered immigration in Czech Republic Ukrainian labour migrants can be regarded as the most important migrant group in the course of the past decade (1999: 58,093 long-term residence permits for Ukrainian citizens were issued) (ČSU 2001:15; Horáková 2002a). Moreover Ukrainian migrants can be distinguished from other migrant groups in Czechia (like Asians, western elite migrants etc.). as typical representatives of the low-skill sector of Czech economy and an secondary Czech labour market concerning low wages, hard working conditions, often being excluded from access to social insurance and labour legislation because of missing work permits and/or residence permits (Bedzir 2001:283; Drbohlav 1997:56; Drbohlav 2000:179).

Nevertheless the presence and the amount of economic migrants from Ukraine in the Czech Republic throughout the 1990s could develop constantly on the basis of several

factors. The relatively liberal Czech legislation and liberal practises towards immigrants in the beginning of the 1990s, the general conditions of a Czech secondary labour market, the geographical position of both countries and the social and economic situation in Ukraine led to an inflow of Ukrainian labour migrants dominating all migrant groups in Czech Republic (Drbohlav, Lupták 1999; Drbohlav et al. 1999:33). Particularly temporary and circular forms of Ukrainian labour migration could developed due to the erosion of restrictions of exit and entry, which were an essential part of the former communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe (Stola 2001:84; Okólski 2001:105). Concerning the short-term character of temporary and circular migration processes in Central Europe the repeated periods abroad do not last longer than three or six month (Bedzir 2001:277; Frejka et al. 1999; Okólski 2001:116).

This contribution will show, that despite the recently reinstalled restrictions and regulations immigration in Czech Republic (above all visa for several countries in 2000 including Ukraine) temporary and circular migration from Ukraine to Czechia continues. The focus of the following analysis stresses at first the particular forms of migration, which could develop under the influence of Czech migration policies during the 1990s. Further informal migrant-networks and commercial intermediaries will be described as important parts of the structure of Ukrainian labour migration in Czech Republic, emphasizing their importance to the access to jobs and accommodations.

## 2 Research method and sample

The empirical material of the following analysis is based on interviews with experts of the Ministry of Work and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic, the Czech Foreign and Border Police and Czech migration experts (Dušan Drbohlav, Milan Lupták) as well as on 8 interviews with Ukrainian labour migrants in Czech Republic, which were carried out during a research on functions of informal networks in the Czech-Ukrainian migratory context from September to November 2002 in Prague and Kladno (see quotations below).

The major topics of the non-standardised interviews were concerning motives and course of migration, personal ties and contacts (before and during the migration, as well as at present) and current living conditions.

The respondents were chosen by theoretical sampling concerning two assumptions: First, the aim was to find economically motivated migrants, second, it was assumed that most of Ukrainian labour migrants work in low-skilled jobs. The respondents were found via three different and independent contacts. The recent nature of the Ukrainian migratory flow to Czech Republic and the limitations in the availability of studies on the particular topic of network phenomena contributed to the methodological opened procedure. Due to the small amount of only 8 respondents the results are discussed in the following chapter under the light of a first systematic classification of the network phenomenon of Ukrainian labour migrants in the Czech Republic.

The sample consists of 6 male and 2 female respondents. The origin of all respondents are the western parts of Ukraine (Lviv, Transcarpathia and Ivano-Frankovsk). All

respondents stayed several weeks or even months in Ukraine before they came back for one or more additional stays to Czechia. Only 1 respondent has been older than 26 years (36) at the time of his first stay in the Czech Republic. 3 of 8 respondents had a residence permit and a work permit, whereas 5 had only a residence permit but no work permit or no permit at all. During several stays in Czechia the respondents were employed in different low or non-skilled jobs: construction work, craft and industry, cleaning business, temporary help in restaurants, or street vendor.

As assumed, economic motives were for all respondents the most important or even the only motive to work abroad. In the first place the respondents stated the improvement of their living standards as a motive, followed by the motive of securing their economic survival in Ukraine and the motive unemployment/underemployment.

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Apart from transit migration as migration of persons, who do not plan to settle in Central Europe, but who want to reach a more western destination, quasi-legal forms of migration from Central and Eastern Europe have appeared on the Czech migratory-scene, above all the so called 'false tourists'. 'False tourists' are understood as economic migrants, who operate as small scale and 'suitcase traders' or as labour migrants, crossing borders as tourists. After a legal entry they often follow illegal activities (illicit work, black marketeering etc.) (Bedzir 2001; Okólski 2001; Stola 2001). Those migrants, who during the 1990s took the advantage of a visa-free travel (between Poland and Ukraine until October 2003), could be described as temporary and circular migrants or commuters (Bedzir 2001:280; Drbohlav 1999:240; Stola 2001:94).

#### **3.1 Quasi-Legality: Forms of a new East-to-West Labour Migration**

Temporary or 'quasi-migration' (Okólski 2001) in Central Europe can be seen as a substitute for regular emigration. 'False tourism' as a strategy of border crossing mobility can secure and improve economic incomes of migrants (and often also of their families in the places of origin), without forcing them out of their social environment for a not easy to plan and uncertain period of time (Frejka et al. 1999; Stola 2001:95). With the introduction of visa in the Czech Republic in 2000 the numbers of registered labour migrants from Ukraine decreased dramatically (see table 1). The distinct decline of long-term residence permits (17,500 persons) is apparently reflecting the success of the restrictive measures of the new Czech migration policy. However, experts do not suppose the absence of those migrants, but assume particularly for Ukrainian labour migrants a switch to illegal or quasi-legal migration strategies from the year 2000 on.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A new visa-regime concerning several Non-European-Union-countries (and Ukraine) distinguishes since 2000 between '90-day short-term visa' (or tourist-visa) and 'Long-term visa above 90-days' (at most 1 year). Since 2000 foreigners can only apply for visa before entering territory of the Czech Republic. The long-term visa can be granted for different reasons (studies, trade, employment etc.). Before 2000 a short-term residence permit lasted 180 days. (ČSU 2001:8-11)

*Table 1* Economically motivated Ukrainians and Ukrainians with permanent residence (15 years) in the Czech Republic from 1991 to 2001 (Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>)

year	work permit	trade license	total	long-term residence permit/ visa over 90 days	permanent residence permit (15 years)	total
1991	240	–	240	–	–	–
1992	4607	–	4607	–	–	–
1993	7745	–	7745	–	–	–
1994	12 682	–	12 682	12 667	1563	14 230
1995	26 748	809	27 557	26 038	2120	28 158
1996	42 056	2670	44 726	43 534	2769	46 303
1997	25 166	8696	33 862	38 770	4632	43 402
1998	19 255	9942	29 197	46 444	6240	52 684
1999	16 646	19 521	36 167	58 093	7790	65 883
2000	15 753	21 402	37 155	41 438	8774	50 212
2001	17 473	21 590	39 063	41 916	9909	51 852

Sources: ČSU 2001:21; Horáková 2002b.

Note: Until 1993 the numbers refer to ČSFR. For the hyphen marked fields numbers are not available

Table 1 shows a distinct increase of the number of persons with work permit (and long-term residence permit) only until 1996. However, the increase of holders of a trade licence (and long-term residence permit) begins to grow since 1997. The decrease of work permits and the increase of trade licences at the same time indicates a switch from work permit to trade licence.

Several reasons underline the switch to trade licences: A bilateral agreement on the mutual employment of Ukrainian and Czech citizens came into force in 1997. The aim of this agreement was to control the number of Ukrainian labour migrants and to reduce the number of ‘false tourists’ (Horáková 2000:15). The agreement states that depending on the situation on the Czech labour market the workforce of Ukrainian citizens should be annually adjusted. For the year 2002 a limit of 30,000 persons was fixed, however only 15,000 Ukrainians took this advantage for a regular stay in Czechia. The years before the respective limit was not ladled out too.

Two reasons for the non-functioning of this agreement (even on the background of a constant demand for cheap workers in the Czech Republic) is the bureaucratically long lasting procedure while applying for a work permit, which as a rule takes six month, “and furthermore, the whole process of asking about a permit is accompanied with corruption in the Ukraine” (Drbohlav, Lupták 1999:40).

Particularly the long lasting procedure forms a contrast to the short-term character of Ukrainian labour migration, which is subject to a secondary Czech labour market demanding a highly flexible workforce. “It was clearly stated by respondents, that problems due to this, non-functioning agreement’ lead Ukrainians to either switch to a ‘trade licence’ which is much easier for a foreigner to obtain, or to simply enter the black market and operate illegally in the country“ (Drbohlav, Lupták 1999:40).

Apart from ‘false tourists’ ‘quasi-businessmen’ can be identified since the middle of the 1990s. ‘Quasi-businessmen’ can be understood as those migrants entering the

Czech Republic on the basis of a long-term residence permit in order to work illegally. "Ukrainian quasi-businessmen are those workers who were provided with trade licences, but whose working regimes in fact resemble what is typically considered that of classical employees (these are really 'hidden employees') They are active in the same kind of occupation ('unqualified employees' in various sectors of economy) as 'normal employees'" (Drbohlav 2002:17). 'Quasi-businessmen' and 'false Tourists' can be defined as quasi-legal forms of migration.

After the introduction of visa the number of 'false tourists' and 'quasi-businessmen' did not decrease, but instead these quasi-legal forms of migrations could gain importance. One reason is, that Ukrainian citizens who work with a work permit (and a visa) in Czechia cannot change their job. If their job comes to an end, they have to leave the Czech Republic and can only apply for a new work permit outside the Czech territory (Horáková, Čerňanská 2001:13). Above all this limited access to the regular Czech labour market can be seen as an important argument for a growing informal labour market.<sup>2</sup> Moreover – despite any new visa-regime – a continuous inflow of Ukrainian labour migrants has to be expected because of the constant demand for cheap, flexible workers on the Czech secondary labour market (Bedzir 2001:291; Drbohlav 2000:181). The entry into the Czech Republic seems to be of greater importance than the access to a legal job. Costs and duration to receive a so called tourist-visa (until 90 days) are relatively low. As long as 'false tourists' leave the country within the 90-days-period and are able to cover their illicit work, they can repeat this form of temporary and circular migration as often as they like. As a 'quasi-businessmen' labour migrants can travel as often within one year to the Czech Republic as they want, not depending on deadlines or fearing problems while entering or leaving the country<sup>3</sup>.

### 3.2 Networks and intermediaries: Structures of a new East-to-West Labour Migration

An important factor for origin and course of labour migration is the individual access to jobs abroad. This access is influenced by networks of social relations in countries of origin and destination (Fassmann et al. 1995; Gurak, Cases 1992:153). Migratory researchers agree that neither differences in wages nor the supply of jobs can explain why the majority of a population stays in their country of origin under the conditions of under- and/or unemployment and low incomes, while only few migrate (Treibel 1995:30). Only if the factor 'information' is taken into account can be explained why so many people do *not* migrate. From this point of view 'non-migrants' only have access to deterrent, inconsistent, insufficient or no information about the destination or at least have the feeling of being under- or uninformed. While the incentives to migrate often have an economic nature, the way of transmitting information about the conditions of a labour migration and the destination are influenced by social relations (Bührer 1997:37). Apart from information concrete

<sup>2</sup> Up to now there is no empirical evidence to prove this assumption.

<sup>3</sup> In contrast with border checks control activities in the Czech inland are relatively rare and non systematic. Despite controls were intensified after 1997 they are considered as inefficient spot checks, which are carried out often only when they are connected to a certain crime in the 'migrant scene' (Foreign and Border Police of the Czech Republic 2002).

support at the destination can either lower the costs of a labour migration or even make it possible at all (Bührer 1997:43).

The flow of Ukrainian labour migrants to the Czech Republic could develop constantly throughout the 1990s because informal networks of Ukrainian labour migrants in Ukraine and Czechia began to form as an important transnational structure of an temporary and circular migration process (Bedzir 2001:283; Drbohlav 1999:240). Two researches by Drbohlav (1997) and Drbohlav et al. (1999) indicate the forming of network structures in the context of Ukrainian labour migration in Czechia: 71 per cent of the Ukrainian respondents could fall back on kin or friends as most important source of information for possible stays in Czechia. 61 per cent recommended kin and friends to go for a work trip to the Czech Republic (Drbohlav 1997). The research of Drbohlav et al. (1999) led to similar results.

All eight Ukrainian labour migrants being as respondents subject to this analysis could fall back on information about job- and accommodation opportunities before their first trip to Czechia. They obtained those information by friends, kin and colleagues. This way all respondents refered to the importance of social relations for their decision to migrate. Social relations between migrants at the destination (or remigrants), potential labour migrants in Ukraine and the resulting connections to jobs and accommodation in the Czech Republic can be illustrated in a simplified manner as follows:

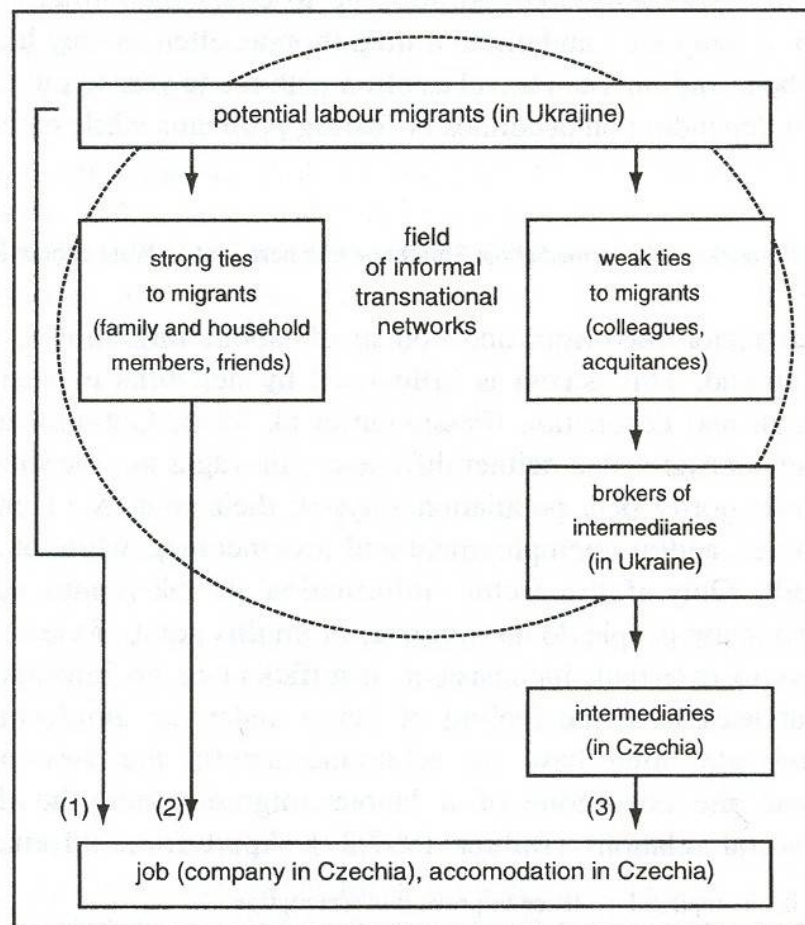


Fig. 1 First access of Ukrainian labour migrants to jobs and accommodation in Czech Republic  
Source: author

Illustration 1 shows three different accesses of Ukrainian labour migrants to jobs and accommodation in the Czech Republic. In two cases (2 and 3) migrants could realise access on the background of informal transnational networks, being connected to jobs and accommodation through weak or strong ties to migrants and/or remigrants. Strong social ties can be described along intensive transactions of the participating persons. According to this family members, members of households, relatives and friends are connected through strong ties, whereas connections between acquaintances, colleagues, neighbours as well as relations through 'friends of friends' can be defined as weak ties (Boyd 1989; Faist 1995, 1997).<sup>4</sup>

The first represented access (1) shows pioneer migrants from Ukraine, who independently obtained a job and a accommodation in Czechia, without an underlying network-structure and support through family and household members, friends or commercial intermediaries. The lack of social ties led to a lack of support at the destination and during the trip to Czechia, and a lack of information about the general conditions at the destination before the first migration took place. According to this pioneer migrants form sources of information and first junctions in an emerging informal network connecting migrants, potential migrants and accesses to jobs and accommodation.<sup>5</sup>

The second access (2) for potential labour migrants to job and accommodation is structured along information and support, both delivered on the basis of an informal transnational network through strong ties between potential migrants and migrants. Strong ties to relatives and friends, who stay in the Czech Republic or returned to Ukraine as remigrants or for a visit, can influence the decision of potential migrants to migrate. Via phone call or in a conversation potential migrants receive information about general conditions at the destination before their first migration.

*"I found the job with the help of my friends, yes. [...] Housing was organised too, I could stay with one of my mates, who was working here" (Michal, 34, bricklayer).*

*"I knew, I would come here, and my parents were already waiting at the station for me, they took me along, I had a place to live, I had a job. The contact to Czechia was only through my parents. I didn't simply arrive here, well, I didn't arrive with my travelling bag, got off the train and what now? No, not like that. [...] So because of that, because I had my parents here, that's just why I can say, that I arrived like in a prepared situation, everything was already prepared, the job, the housing, everything. [...] I didn't have to worry about anything, for example to look for accommodation, or to sleep in a park for a night, no, not like that" (Ivan, 27, studied dentistry, works at building sites).*

*"I decided to come here to Prague, I had relatives here. We arranged that I'll have a job here, that's why I came straight to this job here. [...] My relatives informed me, what*

<sup>4</sup> Granovetter (1973:1361) defines 'strong ties' along the characteristics amount of time, emotional intensity, trust and extent of reciprocal services.

<sup>5</sup> Because of a lack of research concerning pioneers in the Ukrainian-Czech migratory context and a lack of pioneers in the analysed sample no further evidence can be presented about the meaning of pioneers for the forming of informal transnational networks in Ukraine und Czechia.

*it does look like here, also how everything should work with the job and housing, so that I know something about it. So there was no surprise for me, to be in some new city, that worked all OK. [...] Everything was prepared, I only had to come” (Roman, 27, cook).*

*“One of our friends was in Prague, and he told us, that there are jobs, that there you have the opportunity to earn quite good money, and that this Czech employer, where he worked, will help us to get a work permit and will organise everything else” (Oleg, 28, studied theology, employee of the church, works at building sites, cleaning business, watchman).*

*“My brother had called my parents from Czechia and had told them, that there is a job in some pub as a cleaner, and that I can go there for a month. My Brother did know, that this job is only for one month, because some Ukrainian woman worked there as a cleaner and now wanted to go home for a month. Therefore I should go there for a month. My brother told me, that he’ll find something else in this time, some other job for me” (Olga, 29, dressmaker, works in a bakery).*

The third access (3) for potential Ukrainian labour migrants to jobs and accommodation offer commercial intermediaries (usually without the needed licence) with brokers in Ukraine. Intermediary and broker usually are Ukrainians. While intermediaries stay in Czechia and hire out Ukrainian workers in most cases illegally to enterprises in Czech Republic, brokers establish links to potential Ukrainian migrants. Brokers use the structure of informal networks of friends, neighbourhood and colleagues to recruit workers (Bedzir 2001:284). Apart from a ‘fee’ for offering migrants jobs and accommodation in Czechia intermediaries deduct half of the workers hourly wage for the whole period of their stay.

Intermediaries are situated outside the scope of informal networks, because their intermediary functions connecting workers and enterprises focus on business aspects, not on social aspects. Intermediaries offer workers, who can be employed flexible and ‘just-in-time’ and can be also dismissed immediately. According to this intermediaries serve as ‘subcontractors’ towards enterprises in the Czech Republic. As ‘subcontractors’ they also take into consideration to serve the demand for special qualifications when recruiting Ukrainian workers. Three Ukrainian migrants report on their first access to jobs and accommodation in Czechia through brokers and intermediaries as follows:

*“I gave 150 Dollars to that guy, he brought me here and gave me a job as a cleaner in some hotel, he gave me accommodation too, that’s how I started here” (Žaneta, 27, civil servant, works as a street-vendor).*

*“My colleague in the fabric gave me the phone number of that guy. I called him and he said: ‘Come here and then we talk about it, I’ll tell you what day we’ll leave.’ Well, I went to him, we got to know each other briefly and two weeks later I’ve already been in Czechia. I had a concrete job offer, the guy said to me: ‘You’ll go there, to Kladno, in such a company’ [...] Everything has been settled, a room as well, everything” (Oleg, 32, worker)*



*“He so to speak lend out people to work in enterprises through this company in Czechia. [...] And the guy, who worked in Ukraine in our fabric, he is the one, who takes the people to Czechia. And according to the demand he then said, what kind of workers he needed, in which field and so on. [...] And I’ve lived in such a dormitory as well, and we’ve been seven in one room” (Fevzi, 43, welder).*

Both, social relation in migrant networks at the destination and intermediaries can secure access to jobs and accommodation in the Czech Republic over years and several stays. While some migrants report, that since years they call the same intermediary in the Czech Republic when they want to work abroad again, others emphasize the role of mutual support and the importance of received information in informal migrant networks.

*“We do this mutually, so if a girl knows someone who wants to employ a girl, she will tell this, and then I phone someone who doesn’t have any work. I do this, because I want to help, but that doesn’t mean, that everybody behaves like I do” (Žaneta, 27, see above).*

Beyond this a second migrant refers to the transnational character of informal migrant networks. She describes how she received a job in Czechia through a friend from her 250 inhabitants counting home village in western Ukraine.

*“That all worked through those people from our village, because lot of our girls are here in Czechia. One time a friend of mine called telling me a friend of her has a job to offer, as a temporary help in a new restaurant. There I’ve been only two days, then I were told that I won’t get my money, therefore I left immediately, I got mad and called my friend [...] and she found something new, called me and after a few days I began working at another restaurant” (Olga, 29, see above).*

Throughout the 1990s in Prague additionally formed a number of meeting places of Ukrainian migrants as exchange spots for job offers, accommodation and general information. At the former Prague exhibition centre ‘Výstaviště’ met up to 1,000 Ukrainians daily on their search for work through intermediaries or Czech private persons until 1997 when police patrols were intensified and several Ukrainians were arrested regularly. ‘Výstaviště’ was also a place to chat, to receive parcels from Ukraine or to give someone leaving for Ukraine something to take along. Since the end of the 1990s three churches in Prague, where Ukrainian services are being held, function as meeting places as well as some public squares, where smaller migrant groups meet on their search for work and exchanging information.

While Ukrainian pioneer migrants independently and probably under high costs and risks (while job-hunting, looking for accommodation, as illegal or quasi-legal border crossing migrants, at the place of work etc.) could realise the access to jobs and accommodation in Czechia in the beginning of the 1990s, later migrants could fall back on two different accesses to jobs and accommodation in Czechia through strong or weak ties to migrants and remigrants as shown above. According to this informal

networks and commercial intermediaries could reduce the costs and risks of a migration to the Czech Republic for later migrants, as Massey et al. show in other migration contexts in several world regions (Massey et al. 1993:449).

#### 4 Conclusion

The particular forms and structures of Ukrainian labour migration to Czech Republic have some major implications regarding the social position of Ukrainian migrants in Czech society. They manifest in the legal exclusion of illegal and quasi-legal migrants. For them the access to the regular Czech labour market is obstructed. Particularly because of their precarious legal status they are regarded as cheap workers without the opportunity to receive labour legislation. Their dependence of their employers on an informal labour market raises the risk of exploitation. Apart from their working conditions the legal exclusion influences all parts of their living in Czechia: While job-hunting, in search of accommodation, medical treatment, or credits legal and quasi-legal migrants depend on support and on information. Their legal exclusion gives others the opportunity to profit from their illegal or quasi-legal status. The 'monopoly' of Ukrainian intermediaries who supply building contractors and middle-class companies nearly all over Czechia with Ukrainian workers from who they demand half of their hourly wages particularly indicates the situation of exploitation in which Ukrainians often regain in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless the numbers of Ukrainian labour migrants were increasing from the mid-1990s. Apart from a more or less steady demand on a Czech secondary labour market and a continuous economic gap between Ukraine and Czechia particularly the forming of migrant networks and the activities of commercial intermediaries can be seen as important aspects for a continuing inflow of Ukrainian workers to Czech Republic, despite the implementation of the new Schengen-regime of an expanded European Union.

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## UKRAJINŠTÍ PRACOVNÍ MIGRANTI V ČESKÉ REPUBLICE: FORMY A STRUKTURY NOVÉ „VÝCHOD-ZÁPAD“ MIGRACE

### Résumé

Příspěvek se zabývá hlavními formami dočasné, cirkulační migrace ve střední Evropě. Na příkladu Ukrajinců v Česku (kvantitativně velmi početná komunita) popisuje a částečně vysvětluje kvazi-legální strategie uplatňované pracovními migranty ať již ve sféře zaměstnání („falešní turisté“) nebo podnikání („kva-zi-podnikatelé“). Jsou analyzovány dva hlavní současné atributy existujících migračních struktur, a to – neformální sociální sítě migrantů – především rodinné vazby (informovanost a všestranné ulehčení přícho- du), jakož i role „profesionálních prostředníků“. Obě tyto struktury a jejich role jsou prezentovány jako důležité přístupové cesty Ukrajinců na český trh práce i bydlení. Jejich důležitost a rostoucí význam vyni- cá zejména na pozadí: 1. na počátku 90. let spíše samonosných tzv. pionýrských migrací Ukrajinců do Čes-

ka a 2. zpřísnujících se, restriktivnějších podmínek přístupu cizinců do Česka v průběhu 90. let. Především díky těmto dvěma faktorům se totiž migrace Ukrajinců do Česka v čase nesnížila, nýbrž naopak, narostla, při pravděpodobně významném nárůstu ilegální, resp. též kvazi-legální složky (zejména přesun z kategorie zaměstnanců ke kvazi-podnikatelům).

Příspěvek využívá kvalitativního přístupu práce s daty a informacemi – základem jsou interview s českými úředníky, migračními experty a osmi Ukrajinci, pracovními migranty (šest mužů a dvě ženy ze západní části Ukrajiny). Sběr dat/informací proběhl mezi zářím a listopadem 2002 v Praze a Kladně (výběr byl činěn na základě doporučení tří nezávislých zdrojů).

Autor zdůrazňuje ekonomickou podmíněnost (jak silné „push“ tak i „pull“ faktory migrace – včetně poptávky na české straně) a cirkulační povahu daných migračních pohybů a také to, že Ukrajinci zauímají na českém pracovním trhu nejnižší pozice typické nekvalifikovanou prací, nízkou mzdou, těžkými pracovními podmínkami. Jejich častá nelegalita (pobytu a/nebo práce) je příčinou častého různorodého vykořisťování.

Z hlediska využívaných migračních kanálů je zdůrazněna nefunkčnost bilaterální smlouvy o zaměstnanosti mezi Českem a Ukrajinou – její „byrokratičnost“ i korupce na ukrajinské straně. Tyto faktory naopak posilují již zmíněný význam sociálních vazeb i rolí prostředníků. V obecnější rovině autor ukazuje, jak neoperativní, resp. též restriktivní migrační politika neústí do poklesu přílivu cizinců, nýbrž pouze do vytvoření nových forem jejich pobytu (flexibilita migrantů). Autor též upozorňuje na vyvíjející se prvky migrační transnacionalizace i stabilizující se „geografii“ ukrajinské komunity v Praze a upozorňuje, že započaté trendy mohou pokračovat i v nově konstituované Evropské unii, a to i po přístupu k Schengenské dohodě.