



Pedagogická  
fakulta  
Faculty  
of Education

Jihočeská univerzita  
v Českých Budějovicích  
University of South Bohemia  
in České Budějovice

Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích

Pedagogická fakulta

Katedra společenských věd

## Diplomová práce

Ukrajinská pracovní migrace do zemí Evropské unie:  
příklad České Republiky se speciálním zřetelem na  
„klientský systém“ jako dominantní způsob  
organizování pracovní migrace z Ukrajiny

Vypracovala: Mgr. Jana Remenárová

Vedoucí práce: PhDr. Salim Murad, Ph.D.

Praha 2013



Pedagogická  
fakulta  
Faculty  
of Education

Jihočeská univerzita  
v Českých Budějovicích  
University of South Bohemia  
in České Budějovice

University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice

Faculty of Education

Department of Social Science

Master Thesis

Ukrainian Labor Migration to European Union  
Countries: The Case of the Czech Republic, with Special  
Attention to “Client System” as Predominant Way of  
Organizing Labor Migration of Ukrainians

Author: Mgr. Jana Remenárová

Supervisor: PhDr. Salim Murad, Ph.D.

Prague 2013

## Partner Institutions

UNIVERSITY OF STAVANGER, NORWAY  
FACULTY OF ARTS AND EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF OLDENBURG, GERMANY  
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF NOVA GORICA, SLOVEINIA  
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB, CROATIA  
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY

PORTUGUESE OPEN UNIVERSITY, PORTUGAL  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES

Prohlašuji, že svoji diplomovou práci jsem vypracovala samostatně pouze s použitím pramenů a literatury uvedených v seznamu citované literatury.

Prohlašuji, že v souladu s § 47b zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. v platném znění souhlasím se zveřejněním své diplomové, a to v nezkrácené podobě - v úpravě vzniklé vypuštěním vyznačených částí archivovaných Pedagogickou fakultou elektronickou cestou ve veřejně přístupné části databáze STAG provozované Jihočeskou univerzitou v Českých Budějovicích na jejích internetových stránkách, a to se zachováním mého autorského práva k odevzdanému textu této kvalifikační práce. Souhlasím dále s tím, aby toutéž elektronickou cestou byly v souladu s uvedeným ustanovením zákona č. 111/1998 Sb. zveřejněny posudky školitele a oponentů práce i záznam o průběhu a výsledku obhajoby kvalifikační práce. Rovněž souhlasím s porovnáním textu mé kvalifikační práce s databází kvalifikačních prací Theses.cz provozovanou Národním registrem vysokoškolských kvalifikačních prací a systémem na odhalování plagiátů.

30. července 2013

.....

REMENAROVA, J. *Ukrainian Labor Migration to European Union Countries: the Case of the Czech Republic, with Special Attention to “Client System” as Predominant Way of Organizing Labor Migration of Ukrainians*. Prague 2013. Master thesis. University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice. Faculty of Education. Department of Social Science.

**Key words:** Labor migration, Ukrainians, The Czech Republic, migration business, social networks, “client system”, organized crime, immigration, emigration, push and pull factors

The Czech Republic is one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants. In 2012, there were 114 481 Ukrainian persons there and thus Ukrainian community in the Czech Republic is one of the largest in Europe, even though after the economic crisis around 30 000 Ukrainians left the county. Therefore, I will examine in this thesis, why is the Czech Republic so tempting for Ukrainian labor migrants. In other words, I will focus on main pull factors, which motivate Ukrainians to come to the Czech Republic. Because the majority of Ukrainian migrants are labor migrants, I will pay special attention to so-called “client system”, a special system involved in organizing employment, accommodation and documents for Ukrainian labor migrants. I will discuss why the “client system” was established in the Czech Republic and why Ukrainian labor migrants use its services to such an extent.

My main research questions will be the following: Why is the Czech Republic one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants? What are the main pull factors, which draw Ukrainians to come to the Czech Republic? Why is the majority of Ukrainian labor migrants coming to work into the Czech Republic through the so-called “client system”, a special semi-legal system of intermediation of employment, documents and accommodation?

For analysis of this thesis, I used combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, with emphasis on the latter. Main tool for/source of data collection were semi-structured in-depth interviews with Ukrainian labor migrants and NGO workers, which aim to assist migrants. However, I use also quantitative data such as various statistics and secondary sources dealing with the discussed issue.

# Table of Content

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>2. Methods .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>3. Findings .....</b>	<b>19</b>
3.1 Recent Labor Migration from Ukraine .....	19
3.1.1 General patterns of Ukrainian Labor Migration.....	20
3.1.2 Causes of Ukrainian Labor Migration.....	25
3.2 Czech Republic as One of the Most Attractive European Destinations for Ukrainian Labor Migrants .....	34
3.2.1 History of Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic before 1989 .....	35
3.2.2 General Characteristics of Immigration to the Czech Republic after 1989 .....	36
3.2.3 General Characteristics of Ukrainian Immigration to the Czech Republic.....	37
3.2.4 Why the Czech Republic? .....	42
3.2.5 “Client system” as Predominant Way of Organizing Labor Migration of Ukrainians in to the Czech Republic .....	52
3.2.5.1 Development and Functioning of “Client System” in the Czech Republic .....	55
<b>4. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>5. References .....</b>	<b>77</b>

# 1. Introduction

In my thesis, I will discuss recent features of labor migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic. Results of surveys made by Pozniaka and Libanova (2002) show that the Czech Republic became, after the radical economic and political changes in 1989, one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants (Malynovska, 2008). At the end of the greatest economic growth in 2008 there were 131 998 legally residing Ukrainians in the Czech Republic of which majority were labor migrants (80%) (CSO, 2012). It should not be forgotten that this figure does not include extensive illegal migration. According to estimates of some Czech scholars, the number of illegal migrants can reach up to the number of legally residing Ukrainians (Drbohlav, 2004; Leontiyeva, 2005). Although after the economic crisis, which started in the Czech Republic in the end of 2008, the number of legally residing Ukrainians decreased to 114 481 individuals in 2012 (CSO, 2012) and it can be assumed that similar trend took place also among illegal residing migrants, Ukrainian community in the Czech Republic remained one of the largest in Europe. Therefore one of the goals of my thesis is to find out why is the Czech Republic so attractive European destination for Ukrainian labor migrants, even after the economic crisis, in other words, what are the main pull factors which motivate Ukrainians to migrate there. Because the majority of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic, as it was mentioned, are labor migrants, I will pay special attention to way of organizing their employment. During the last 20 years of Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic, Ukrainian migrants have developed several strategies to access the Czech labor market. One of them, so called “client system”, forms a predominant way of organizing labor migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic, both for legal and illegal labor migrants (Nekorjak 2009, Černik, 2005). Therefore my second main goal will be to examine why majority of Ukrainians are coming to the Czech Republic through this system, how this system has developed, why it was established there, how it works, which migrants are involved in the system and what is their personal experience with it.

There had been several reasons why I decided to focus on this topic. Firstly, in this way I can build up on my master thesis which I had written while studying Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of West Bohemia in Pilsner and which I successfully

defended in 2006. In the above-mentioned thesis, similarly as I do now, I was dealing with the phenomenon of labor migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic. However, in the former thesis, I had focused on legal framework of residency permits for foreigners from non-EU countries in the Czech Republic, including labor migrants from Ukraine, and on influence of immigration policy on adaptation of Ukrainians working in the Czech Republic. While in the currently submitted thesis, as mentioned above, I aim my attention at finding out why is the Czech Republic one of the most attractive destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants and why the so called „client system“ had been established there. Findings, which I had gathered while working on former thesis, had served only as a starting point for my currently submitted thesis.

Results of my thesis are based on primary qualitative data gathered especially from so-called semi-structured in depth interviews, which I had carried out with labor migrants from Ukraine but also with workers of nonprofit organizations (NGO) aiming to help migrants in the Czech Republic. While I had been working on the former thesis (2006), I carried out seventeen such interviews, ten of which could be used for new analysis within the currently submitted thesis. All these interviews in 2006 were conducted with labor migrants. For the purpose of this thesis, I had conducted twelve further interviews in 2013 (two of them in 2010 in Portugal), in this case not only with labor migrants, but this time also with mentioned NGO workers. I have carried out three interviews with social workers from organizations which help migrants living in the Czech Republic, such as Sdružení pro migraci a integraci (Association for migration and integration - SIMI), Inbaze Berkat and Slovo 21 (Word 21), and another interview with a lawyer of Inbaze Berkat organization. In the submitted master thesis I generally put more emphasis on information given by the respondents and my conclusions are predominantly based on the analysis of interviews (more information on the interviews can be found in chapter on Methods). The fact that partially - although from a different point of view - I returned to the phenomenon of Ukrainian labor migration that I had already dealt with before allowed me to follow the development which took place in the given area within the last seven years. At the same time I had the opportunity to get information from academic literature and research regarding the Ukrainian migration in the Czech Republic that had not been available seven years ago, such as, above all, academic literature and researches published by the Department of Social Geography and Regional Development at the Charles University in Prague (Drbohlav, Jánská, Čermáková), works made at the Faculty of Social



Sciences at the Masaryk University in Brno (Nekorjak, Hofírek) or works published by the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Science of the Czech Republic (Leontyieva).

Further reason why I had decided to examine this topic was my recent working experience in the community centre for migrants of Inbaze Berkat in Prague, where I had organized integration activities programs for teenagers/young people (2010 – 2011). I was also influenced by my three-month working internship in the Portuguese organization Solidariedade Imigrante, where I had been within my study of MA in Migration and Intercultural Relations (2010).

In fact, 40 per cent of clients of InBaze Berkat community centre come from Ukraine. While seeking help with residence permit issues, Ukrainian migrants often came there also to deal with problems regarding „clients“ - intermediaries who provide them with labor opportunities, residence permits and accommodation. This is how I found out that the „client system“ issue was still present and at the same time I learned certain information which was unknown to me before, especially from social workers and lawyers working in the community centre. I also became interested in some of the reasons (pull factors) why the Czech Republic in particular became their destination country, mainly when I was speaking with parents of the teenagers attending our integration programs. Especially in case of the parents, one of the reasons why they had chosen the Czech Republic as a destination country is for instance its geographic proximity of the Czech Republic. Labor migrants from Ukraine in most cases come there as temporary migrants and commonly leave their children with grandparents in Ukraine. That is why they prefer to stay not too far from their children so that, if necessary, they can get back home to Ukraine in relatively short time. The experience of “abandoning“ their children had also been common among most of the migrants, with whom I spoke with in the community centre. These migrants had already settled in the Czech Republic permanently bringing their children there as well. However, it was common that before the migrants could settle there, they spent first few years without their children. Only when they managed to integrate more into the receiving society, they brought their children to the Czech Republic to stay with them.

While I was staying on the working internship in Portugal I discovered to my great surprise that one of the biggest immigration communities there at that time (2010) were Ukrainians and that Ukrainian migrants often arrived to Portugal, mainly on the turn of the millennium (when the large legalization program took place), using the so called „client system“.

Meanwhile I was working in the organization; I had the opportunity to conduct two semi-structured in depth interviews with Ukrainian women living in Portugal, both of which I had included in the analysis of this thesis<sup>1</sup>. However, I could also obtain some knowledge about Ukrainian labor migration from short internships, which I did in IOM Prague and in Liga lidských práv (League for Human Rights). All this personal experience with migrants awakened my increasing interest in the topic, i.e. in the reasons of labor migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic (as well as to other European countries) and its specific characteristics, therefore I decided to focus on it in more detail.

The last but certainly not least important reason why I had chosen this topic is the fact that even though the Ukrainian minority has been one of the largest in the Czech Republic and at the same time one of the biggest in the EU countries, the Czech general public has little or no awareness of the living conditions of Ukrainians in this country. On the contrary, it is still common here to come across mostly negative stereotypes such as „the Ukrainians are stealing jobs of Czech people“ or „all Ukrainians are just (manual) workers,“ and so forth. According to the Center for Empirical Studies (STEM) only 34% of Czech respondents would not mind having Ukrainians as neighbors, for 38% it would not be pleasant, 20% would feel uncomfortable and for 8% it would be unacceptable (STEM, 2011). Therefore, I hope this thesis can be a small contribution to the process of explaining and understanding why Ukrainians arrive to the Czech Republic and how they live here.

In this thesis, I apply several migration theories. Firstly, because one of my research questions focuses on pull factors that attract Ukrainians to come to the Czech Republic, I apply the classical economic *push and pull theory*. This classical economic theory sees the roots of migration in combination of push and pull factors. Push factors drive people to leave the areas of origin and pull factors on the other hand attract them to particular destination country (Castles, Miller, 2003). This theory will help me to understand why Ukrainians leave their country and why they choose the Czech Republic as their destination country. Because majority of my respondents came to the Czech Republic through social networks another theory which I intend to apply is the *migration network theory*. This theory emphasizes sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in receiving and destination countries through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin. The

---

<sup>1</sup> I include these two interviews especially to analyses dealing with push factors.

social networks increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the cost and risk of movements (Massey et al., 1993). Inevitable aspect of social networks is development of migration industry. This term embraces many people who earn their livelihood by organizing migratory movements as travel agents, brokers, mediators or housing agents. I use the *migration industry theory* to explain functioning of the “client system”. The last theoretical concept which I apply is the “*culture of migration*” which conceptualizes migration as a livelihood strategy (Nekorjak, 2009).

## 2. Methods

Considering the nature of the topic of my thesis, I used a combination of *qualitative* and *quantitative research* with emphasis on the former. I decided to mix qualitative research, which is the basis of my paper, with quantitative data to put the results in broader context. Therefore, I used various research methods. Because the main weight was put on qualitative methods, I was gathering the data especially from primary empirical sources. The main tool for primary data collection was carrying out *semi – structured in depth interviews* with Ukrainian labor migrants (and workers of NGOs that assist migrants, but the major emphasis was placed on interviews with labor migrants). In some parts of my field work I also used a method of *participant observation*, especially during my stay in NGOs where I was working in recent past. I used quantitative data such as different official statistics regarding Ukrainians (for example total numbers of Ukrainian migrants or numbers of holders of permanent residence in the Czech Republic etc.), but also statistics relating to average wages, GDP and unemployment in different European destinations. I also analyzed secondary data from several qualitative researches and academic literature relating to the field of immigration and labor migration, especially in the Czech Republic.

According to Bryman there are several main characteristics of qualitative research: “*Most obviously, qualitative research tends to be concerned with words rather than with numbers, but three further features are particularly noteworthy: an inductive view of the relationship between theory and research, whereby the former is generated out of the later, an epistemological position described as interpretivist, meaning that, in contrast to the adoption of natural scientific model in qualitative research, the stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants, and ontological position described as constructionist, which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena “out there” and separate from those involved in its construction (Bryman, 2004, 266).*”

In analyzing the available data, I gave emphasis to qualitative method. As may be deduced from Bryman’s definition of qualitative research above, this kind of research is not based on predefined hypothesis. Thus, I had only two following research questions at the beginning of my research:

1) *Why is the Czech Republic one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants? What are the main pull factors which draw Ukrainians to come to the Czech Republic?*

2) *Why is the majority of Ukrainian labor migrants coming to work into the Czech Republic through the so-called “client system”, special semi- legal system of intermediation of employment, documents and accommodation?*

As I mentioned before the main tool for primary data collection were the interviews. I was using semi – structured in depth interviews. Bryman defines semi – structured interview as such interviews where the researcher “*has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to replay. Questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined on the schedule. Questions that are not included in the guide may be asked and similar wording will be used from interviewee to interviewee (Bryman, 2004, 321)*”. My interviews carried out for the purposes of this thesis were led in a similar way. Before I had started contacting potential respondents I created an interview guide; one for labor migrants and another for workers of NGOs (I created one interview guide for labor migrants already in 2006 when I was writing my last thesis, however I changed it for the purposes of this thesis). When I made several initial interviews I made a preliminary evaluation and based on this evaluation I added new questions to the guide which enabled me to analyze certain other topics originally not included within the research or to deepen the analysis already included in the research from the beginning. During the interviews I always tried to ask all of the questions however, especially when I was speaking with labor migrants, I was trying not to look into the guide too much and to conduct the interview more as a usual conversation.

To answer my research questions I had to divide the topics of interviews with labor migrants into several groups. First group of topics was related to life in Ukraine before the respondents decided to migrate. Into this group I included questions about respondents’ employment, family and overall situation in their home village or town in Ukraine. Questions in this area helped me to understand why respondents decided to emigrate from Ukraine (main push factors). Second group was connected to questions investigating why respondents decided to immigrate particularly to the Czech Republic (pull factors). Third group was associated with everyday life of migrants in the Czech Republic and topics such as employment or accommodation. The last, but certainly not the least important, group was the one dealing

with the functioning of the “client system” where I included questions such as: Did you use services of clients? Which services of clients did you use? How did you find your client? Etc.

Questions in my interview guide designed for employees of NGOs had of course a little bit different character than those for labor migrants and they differentiated also according to respondents’ positions in their organizations. I prepared different questions when I was speaking with a social worker and others when speaking with a lawyer. However, in general, I asked the following questions: How many of your clients come from Ukraine? What are their main characteristics (age, gender, education, part of Ukraine they are coming from etc.)? What are the most common problems they needed help with? How do you help your clients to solve their problems? Etc. Interviews with employees of NGOs were supposed to illustrate the overall situation of the Ukrainian community in the Czech Republic.

It was a little bit difficult to find a representative sample of labor migrants for my research. Normally it is important to “*devise a sample frame that seeks a proportional selection of population*” (Newcombe 2004). I had problems to comply with this rule not only because of the limited time and resources I had, as a non-professional individual, for this kind of research, but also because Ukrainian labor migrants working in the Czech Republic are difficult to contact, especially due to the fact that many of them are illegal migrants and they are often very busy (some of them work 12 - 16 hours almost every day) thus they do not have any free time left. In my experience, it is usually very difficult and sometimes impossible to persuade respondents to trust a person totally unknown to them which would allow them to speak openly about their personal stories and experience. Therefore, I was looking for my respondents through the snowball sampling technique. I am aware of the fact that this method may “*not guarantee the most representative sample*” but, as Newcombe mentioned in her paper, “*this is the most effective and sometimes the only option for finding hard to reach or hidden groups (Newcombe 2004: 10)*”.

Concerning labor migrants, I defined the ideal participant for my research as an Ukrainian who came to the Czech Republic as labor migrant after 1989. Concerning chosen NGO employees, their main characteristic was that they had to work in an NGO dealing with immigrants.

At the end, I managed to carry 22 interviews with 26 respondents for the purpose of this research. Two interviews were carried out with two and one with three persons at once. One

respondent was interviewed twice. I conducted the first interview with this respondent in 2006 and the second in 2013. As I already mentioned, I did 10 interviews in 2006, 2 in 2010 and remaining 10 in 2013. The two interviews in 2010 were made during my internship in Portugal. Overall, I interviewed 22 labor migrants of whom one was so called “client” (although the respondent didn’t want to admit it) and 4 employees of NGOs that aim to help migrants.

From 22 interviewed labor migrants 6 were men and 16 were women. Their age ranged from 15 (daughter of labor migrants) to 55 years. Most of them had secondary education. Length of stay of the interviewees in the Czech Republic at the time of the interview ranged from 2 to 17 years. Both respondents who I interviewed in Portugal had stayed there already 10 years when I spoke with them. At the beginning of their emigration all of my respondents intended to stay in the Czech Republic only temporarily, however at the time when I was conducting the interviews 7 respondents were already decided to stay in the Czech Republic permanently and 4 were thinking about this possibility. Most of the respondents came from Western Ukraine and arrived to the Czech Republic through services of “clients”. One respondent from Portugal came there also through services of a “client”.

I obtained my first contact to a potential respondent, representative of labor migrants, from my friend. A Ukrainian lady was helping my friend with housekeeping. My friend and the Ukrainian lady knew each other very well and my friend recommended me to the respondent and guaranteed that all information she gives me will be kept in confidence and used only anonymously. Thus, the lady wasn’t afraid of an interview with unknown person and even my first contact with her was immediately very open. We did our first interview and started to see each other from time to time. After a while she became my key informant and I often discussed the collected data with her in order to verify that my understanding of certain issues is correct. She gave me more contacts to potential respondents; however I got several contacts also through my other friends. I thought that I would be able to contact more respondents through the organization where I was working at that time, but in the end only one client from the centre InBáze Berkat was willing to speak with me. Maybe it was due to the fact that clients of the centre were shy to speak with me in detail about their personal life. Although all the interviews with the labor migrants were strictly anonymous the level of trust of the respondents I managed to earn was very different. It was the most complicated to carry out the interviews with respondents who had illegal status and were dependent on more services of a

“client”. It is well understandable that these respondents were not much open and were very suspicious with regards to me and the purpose of the whole interview. In most cases these individuals, even though I had a recommendation, refused to speak with me when I contacted them by phone. However, despite these problems, I managed to do several interviews with semi illegal migrants. I wanted to tape all the interviews, however mainly due to the abovementioned reasons it happened twice that the respondents refused to be recorded. In these cases I was only making notes during the interview. In all other cases I had the possibility to tape the interviews. All the interviews, except those made in Portugal, were conducted in Czech language and were transcript for further analysis. Interviews in Portugal were carried out together with translator, who translates them in English. The average duration of one interview was one hour.

As I already mentioned I did 4 interviews with employees of NGOs dealing with migration. I made an interview with the head of social workers from Association for migration and integration which focuses, among other things, on problems of labor migrants. Then I did two interviews with social workers, one from Inbáze Berkat and the other from Word 21. I made also one interview with a lawyer from Inbáze Berkat. Also in these cases, except one interview, I taped the interviews and transcript them for further analysis. In one case I didn't have the tape recorder with me because the interview was not planned and was conducted randomly.

I decided to use *qualitative content analysis* to interpret the interviews. According to Zhang and Wildemuth, “*qualitative content analysis emphasizes an integrated view of speech / text and their specifics contexts. Qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in particular text. It allows researches to understand social reality in subjective but scientific manner (Zhang, Wildemuth, 2009)*”. This is why I strongly believe that the most suitable analytical tool for interpretation of qualitative interviews is the qualitative content analysis, and I used this method within this research.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter in some small parts of my fieldwork I also used *participant observation* as a tool for data collection. According to Bryman participant observation is a “*research in which the researcher immerses him- or herself in a social setting for an extended period of time, observing behavior, listening to what is said in conversations between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions (Bryman, 2008, 697)*.” Putting



emphasis on the participant observation during my fieldwork wasn't possible for me, especially because I couldn't live with labor migrants for longer time due to my personal circumstances. However, I could at least apply the participant observation during my work in Inbáze Berkat, especially during my stay in a summer camp with immigrant teenagers and their parents. I also had the possibility to conduct participant observation during my internship in the organization Liga lidských práv (League for human rights) where I was involved in a research project "Application of immigration law in practice". This project examined relationship between the Foreign Police and immigrants. Within the six week research I visited one of the offices of the Foreign Police (nowadays almost all of the agenda of the Foreign Police belong to the Ministry of Interior) where I collected the questionnaires and conducted interviews with immigrants. The main goal of the project was to identify the experiences of immigrants with the process of obtaining visas. Therefore, I had a great opportunity to observe what was happening in public areas of this Foreign Police office. Within few days, I was able to recognize several "clients" who were operating there every day. I saw how the "clients" helped immigrants to fill different forms and documents, how they received closed envelopes from immigrants and how they entered offices of Foreign Police officers without having to wait in long lines as all others. Some of the immigrants told me their personal experiences with these "clients". (See chapter 3.2.5.1).

As I already mentioned, in my research I also used secondary quantitative data, mainly to put the research into broader context. I did not divide the parts operating with quantitative and qualitative data into different chapters, I combined them where appropriate.

I am also aware of the fact that is nowadays emphasized concerning qualitative research, namely, "*that researchers need to take a reflexive approach to their positionality in relation to the research subject. However, this is not all that easy to recognize or act in practice (Newcombe, 2004, 12).*" For example, my gender, age, personal and professional experience, education and ethnicity had essential consequences on my interpretation of the data and on the research design. Simultaneously, "*whatever research tools are used findings can never be anything more than snapshot of a particular time and place, taken by particular person (Newcombe, 2004, 12)*". Therefore, especially the conclusions made on the basis of primary data are nothing more than my own interpretations of narratives of different people; despite I hope that those interpretations were obtained by using the above-mentioned methodology with scientific manner. As suggested, I did not intend to generalize, however I think that my

findings presented in this paper may serve as an illustrative picture of specific patterns of Ukrainian immigration to the Czech Republic in the European context.

### **3. Findings**

In this part, I interpret the data I collected through my fieldwork, analyzing the relevant literature and official statistics. First chapter of this part, “Recent labor migration from Ukraine”, is divided into two subchapters – “General patterns of Ukrainian labor migration”, in which I try to characterize the most important general patterns of Ukrainian labor migration, and “Causes of Ukrainian labor migration”, in which I am trying to describe characteristic push factors of Ukrainian labor migration, especially from the point of view of the respondents I interviewed. Next chapter Czech Republic as one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migration attempts to answer one of my research questions and focuses on causes that influenced the decision of Ukrainian labor migrants to come particularly to the Czech Republic. This chapter is composed of subchapters “History of Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic before 1989, General characteristics of immigration to the Czech Republic after 1989, General characteristics of Ukrainian immigration to the Czech Republic, and Why the Czech Republic?”, contents of which gradually leads to an answer to my first research question. A separate chapter ““Client system” as predominant way of organizing labor migration of Ukrainians to the Czech Republic” is devoted to development and functioning of this system in the Czech Republic and tries to answer my second research question.

#### **3.1 Recent Labor Migration from Ukraine**

This chapter is divided into two subchapters. The first subchapter focuses on general patterns of recent Ukrainian labor migration. It presents the numbers of Ukrainians abroad, most popular destinations of Ukrainian immigrants, types of migration (temporary, permanent), dominant fields of employment of Ukrainian labor migrants in their destination countries, rang of sending remittances, education and other main characteristics of Ukrainian labor migrants. The second part discusses particular push factors which impel Ukrainian labor migrants to work abroad. Findings in this chapter are based especially on primary sources, statements of my respondents, complemented by statistics and other secondary sources. The purpose of both subchapters is to form an introduction to the topic examined in this thesis and

to provide better understanding of the whole context of Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic which is a necessary precondition for addressing my research questions.

### 3.1.1 General patterns of Ukrainian Labor Migration

After collapse of the USSR and declaration of independence of Ukraine in 1991, Ukraine has become a mass economic emigration country. It had been particularly factors such as change of the political system and opening of the borders at the beginning of the 90s together with economic reasons including high wage differences between Ukraine and destination countries and also unemployment and underemployment (delayed or even unpaid salaries) which contributed to the phenomenon of increasing international labor migration from Ukraine. According to World Bank data (2010) Ukraine is today the fifth country in the world (after Mexico, India, Russian Federation and China) in terms of numbers of international migrants of which the vast majority are labor migrants (Kubal, 2012). World Bank estimates that there were 6,5 million Ukrainian citizens living abroad in 2010, which equals to 14,4% of the entire Ukrainian population (Kubal, 2012). If this estimate is correct, then given the size of Ukrainian population Ukraine is a country with the largest percentage of citizens living abroad in the world (see table no. 1).

Table 1: Top five migrant sending countries worldwide

Country	Population size	Population abroad	Population abroad (%)
Mexico	114 793 341	11 859 236	10
India	1 241 491 960	11 360 823	1
Russia	141 930 000	11 034 681	7
China	1 344 130 000	8 344 726	0,6
Ukraine	45 706 100	6 525 145	14

Source: World Bank 2010

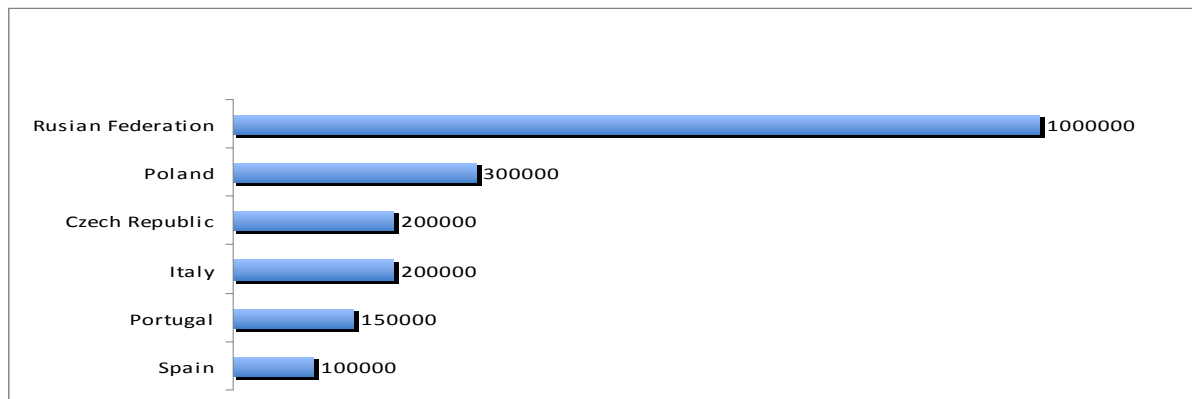
However, the real number of Ukrainian international migrants is hard to estimate, especially due to extensive undocumented migration, which is a widespread phenomenon among Ukrainian labor migrants. In general, estimates of numbers of Ukrainian migrants range from 2 to 7 million (Malynovska, 2004). While most, especially Ukrainian, scholars put forward rather conservative numbers, others, especially Ukrainian political opposition, use higher numbers to support their criticism of government's social and labor policies that fail to

prevent people from leaving Ukraine (Zimmer, 2007). Irrespective of those discrepancies the numbers of immigrants can be described as high in any case because work-capable population of Ukraine is 28 million people only (Kotusenko, 2007). Because the vast majority of Ukrainian international migrants are labor migrants all these estimates show that labor migration abroad is widespread phenomenon through which many Ukrainian families secure their livelihoods.

The most attractive destination for Ukrainian labor migrants is the Russian Federation. Almost 40% of Ukrainian labor migrants are working in post-soviet republics, vast majority of them in Russia (Malynovska, 2008). This destination is attractive especially for migrants from the southern part of Ukraine with dominant pro-Russian orientation of the population.

The second most significant destination are, after the fall of the USSR, European countries (today already European Union countries), mainly Poland, Italy, the Czech Republic, Portugal, Spain and Hungary, where Ukrainian immigrants constitute one of the biggest foreign minorities (Malynovska, 2008). Ukrainian embassies estimated several years ago that approximately 300 thousand Ukrainian workers were employed (legally and illegally) in Poland, 200 thousand individuals worked in the Czech Republic and the same number in Italy, further 150 thousand were employed in Portugal and 100 thousand in Spain (see Graf no. 1) (Malynovska, 2004). Unlike Ukrainian migrants to Russia, majority of Ukrainians arriving to European Union countries come from Western Ukraine, as it historically has had more links and interactions with Western Europe compared to Eastern Ukraine (Montefusco, 2008). This fact was confirmed also by results of my field research, as it turned out that vast majority of respondents and their friends come from Western Ukraine.

Graf, no. 1 - Numbers of both legal and illegal residing Ukrainian labor migrants in destination countries according to estimates of Ukrainian embassies (2003)



Source: Malynovska, 2008

Western Ukraine, especially regions of Transcarpathia, Bukovina, Ivano - Frankovsk or Lviv, from which the majority of migrants, as it was mentioned, are, leaving to European Union countries, are at the same time regions with the highest number of Ukrainians working abroad in general. For example about 10% of population in Transcarpathia, over 6% in Ivano-Frankovsk region and over 5% in Lviv region are migrants (Kothusheno, 2007). This is influenced, among other factors, by economics divergence between particular Ukrainian regions. For example per capita monthly income in Donetsk region in the first quarter of 2001 was 683 USD which was 20% higher than the average income in Ukraine as a whole at the same time – 550 USD, while the average income in Bukovina was only 352 USD which was 37% less than the average (IOM, 2011). Other factors which influence probability of emigration from Western Ukraine to especially the European countries include: proximity of the EU borders, established migration networks, long tradition of moving because of employment (so called culture of migration), and already mentioned cultural and historical ties which are strong especially with Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary. I will analyze these factors later in this paper in connection with the case of the Czech Republic.

Dominant employment areas of Ukrainian labor migrants in receiving countries are within the secondary labor market<sup>2</sup>: construction (54%) which is more common among men, followed by domestic care (17%), more prevalent among women, agriculture (9%), wholesale and retail

---

<sup>2</sup> According to dual labor market theory the secondary labor market is characterized by low wages, little or no benefits and poor or hazardous conditions of work. Precisely within this type of labor market labor migrants are often employed. On the other hand primary labor market is characterized by well-paid positions, high qualified employees with prospect of career growth and is primarily for domestic population.

(9%) and industry (6%) (Siar, 2008). The type of employment varies in different countries, depending on the needs of individual labor markets. For instance, according to the State Statistic Committee of Ukraine, almost 90% of Ukrainian women in Italy worked in domestic work. In Poland, majority of female Ukrainian migrants are employed in agriculture (66%), while more than a third of female Ukrainian migrants in Russia are employed in retail trade. Construction is the main sector of employment of male Ukrainian migrants in all receiving countries; and large proportion of migrants worked in transports in Russia (11, 1%) (Siar, 2008).

Although majority of Ukrainian labor migrants are employed within secondary labor market in low – paid unskilled jobs, which are not intellectually demanding, their educational level is quite high. 59% of migrants working abroad completed at least secondary education and 14% have higher education (Siar, 2008). High educational level is not very usual among other immigration population in all European Union countries. For example according the Italian Census from 2001, 60% of labor migrants from Ukraine (in case of Italy mostly women) have higher education degrees, much higher number than that of immigrant population in Italy in general which is 40% (Montefusco, 2008). Similar situation is in Portugal where, within the surveys, conducted by Baganha, Marques, Góis (2002), 69% of respondents had secondary education, 10% had bachelor degrees and 21% had graduate studies. These numbers are much higher not only compared to other immigrant groups in Portugal but also compared to active Portuguese population (Baganha, Marques, Góis, 2004, 2007). According to nationwide surveys conducted in the Czech Republic among legally residing Ukrainian migrants (2001), the number of Ukrainian labor migrants with secondary and higher education is little lower. 26% had secondary education and 12% had bachelor or graduate studies. However it is still alarming if we consider that within low skill jobs on secondary labor market, every tenth Ukrainian labor migrant had university degree (Leontiyeva, 2009). Similar situation could be expected also in other European countries with large Ukrainian communities.

Dominant type of Ukrainian migration into European Union countries is temporary or circular labor migration. From all labor migrants abroad 80% plan to come back to Ukraine one day, they maintain relationships with their families and friends; they send home remittances, visit home quite often and realize investments in Ukraine (Kotusenko, 2007). Departures for periods from one to six months prevail (43, 8%). However, one out of every five trips is longer, lasting in average 1, 5 years. Short term trips (shorter than one month) constitute

35,9%. The length of migrants' stay also differs according to which country migrants choose as their final destination. For example Ukrainians stay in Poland between one to six months; on the other hand migrants to Portugal, Spain and Italy practically always stay for a period longer than six months (Malynovska, 2004). According to a survey of Libanová and Poznyaka (2002) Ukrainian migrants who stay in the Czech Republic shorter time than one year constitute 17,1% of all Ukrainians abroad. 16,7% of all Ukrainian migrants are staying in the Czech Republic longer than one year which is the second highest number after the Russian Federation with 32,3% of all Ukrainians migrants who stay abroad longer time then one year. Regarding long-term stays (more than one year), after Russia and the Czech Republic there follows Italy with 14,6%, Poland with 12,5 % and Portugal with 6% (Malynovska, 2008). However it is necessary to mention that although the majority of migrants are staying in destination countries only temporarily, numbers of those with permanent residence or with an intention to settle down in receiving country permanently is growing (as will be shown later in the case of the Czech Republic). For example according to surveys of Pirozhkov, Malynovska, Homra (2003) at the beginning of the 90s there were only 10% of respondents who wanted to settle down in their destination country but in 2003 their number grown to 23% (Malynovska, 2008) .

Significant character of Ukrainian labor migration, which is often associated with temporary or circular migration, is sending of remittances. Because as it was mentioned, majority of Ukrainian migrants in general are temporary migrants and do not intend to stay in their destination countries, they send the money they earn to Ukraine to their families. Because a large share of income earned by labor migrants is transferred through unofficial channels it is difficult to estimate the real scale of remittances. According to the World Bank the remittances sent home by Ukrainians working abroad in 2007 amounted to more than 600 million USD. However other studies show that labor migrants sent home something in between 4 – 6 billion USD per year which is ten times more then shown in the available official data (Siar, 2008). Hypothetical models estimate that the Ukrainian economy would lose approximately 7% of its potential without the stimulating effects of migrants' money transfers (Siar, 2008). The biggest share of remittances is used for living expenses (73%) and consumer goods (26%), whilst only 3,3% are used for setting up new businesses in Ukraine (IOM, 2011).



Various factors such as temporary or circular type of migration, bureaucracy and immigration policies in different destination countries, and long tradition of Ukrainians to move for work within former USSR in specially structured groups, contributed to development of specific system of organizing jobs and other necessities in some European countries. Labor migrants involved in this system can obtain, for a fee, in particular destination countries whether legally or illegally, visas and other necessary documents, employment (usually, as it was mentioned, low paid unskilled job within secondary labor market), and accommodation. It seems that this specific system occurs only in some European countries which are popular among Ukrainian labor migrants, such as the Czech Republic (where this system is known as “client system”) or Portugal (where the system was already suppress). I will focus on this phenomenon in further text of this paper.

After analyzing general characteristics of Ukrainian migration, I would like to focus on particular causes of Ukrainian migration, especially as noted from the point of view of respondents, which I interviewed.

### **3.1.2 Causes of Ukrainian Labor Migration**

Before answering the research question “*Why is the Czech Republic one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants?*” it is first necessary to understand why Ukrainians leave their homeland in such extent, in particular what are the main push factors impelling them to look for employment abroad. The most important push factors are described in this subchapter.

According to a classical economic push and pull theory the causes of migration lie in the interplay of push factors which motivate people to leave the country of origin and pull factors which attract them to certain receiving country. Push factors usually include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and in the worst cases political repressions, military conflict or natural disaster (Castles, Miller, 2003). With regards to Ukraine and push factors impelling people to leave this country; population continues to decline and recently there were no military conflicts or natural disaster, therefore the decision to migrate abroad is rather a result of free choice which is caused, as it was indicated in the chapter above, especially by severe socioeconomic circumstances and by the political situation. To be more specific, according to International Organization for Migration (IOM)

main socioeconomic and political push factors which impelled people to leave Ukraine after 1991 are unemployment (both official and so called hidden), low incomes and high prices of goods, delayed or unpaid wages, political changes and large corruption (SIAR, 2008). At least one of these factors was stated as the main reason for seeking employment abroad also by all 22 respondents (labor migrants) whom I interviewed. Most often they mentioned as a reason to emigrate low incomes and inability to pay all necessary expenses (8 respondents), unemployment and underemployment (in both cases 6 respondents). One respondent left the country because of studies and overall situation at Ukraine, and one respondent stated social and political reasons as the main impulse to emigrate. Majority of respondents mentioned social and political situation in their country, although not on the first place as one of the reasons why they had decided to migrate.

Because the economic situation in Ukraine is one of the main reasons why respondents (and Ukrainian migrants in general) migrated abroad, I will shortly describe the economic development of the country after its independence for better understanding of this issue. Within the former USSR, Ukraine was, after Russia, one of the most economically developed Soviet republics (Lupták, 2008). Ukrainian fertile black soils produced more than one-fourth of Soviet agricultural output, and Ukrainian farms provided significant amount of meat, milk, grain and other vegetables to other Soviet republics. Similarly Ukrainian diversified heavy industry supplied equipment and raw materials to industrial cities in the whole USSR (Index mundi, 2013). In 1991, many experts estimated on the basis of economic, social and geopolitical factors that Ukraine will be, among other former Soviet republics, the one with the best perspectives for economic development. However, these predictions did not turn into reality. Just the opposite, soon after the independence of Ukraine (December 1991) deep decline in industrial production began. For example if we compare the year 1992 with the first nine months of the year 1993 we see that the industrial production fell by 21%. In 1999, the level of production was less than 40% of the 1991 level. In the same time the prices increased by 1605%. Monthly inflation rate at the end of 1993 approached 80% and increased even over 100% in the first months of 1994. In early 90s, the average standard of living decreased almost five times (Lupták, 2008). Between the years 1995-1999 thousands of enterprises were closed, which led to unprecedented workplace losses with local business infrastructure not yet established (Kotusenko, 2007). While in 1989 only 2% of population were affected by poverty, in 1999 it was already 65% (Bezdir, 2001). In 1999, at the lowest point of the economic crisis, Ukraine's per capita GDP was about half of the per capita GDP it achieved

before independence (Economy of Ukraine, 2013). Worsening of the economic situation was accompanied by large – scale theft of state property, activation of organized crime and omnipresent corruption (Lupták, 2008). In 2000 the GDP started to grow and was continuing to grow till 2008. However, in 2008 Ukraine was heavily affected by the economic crisis. That year Ukraine's GDP fell by 15,1%. Reaction of Ukrainians to the socio-economic uncertainty in their homeland was the increasing temporary labor migration abroad, especially after 1994, when the big economic recession started, and it didn't change even after the beginning of the millennium when the economic situation improved (Lupták, 2008).

One of the push factors of Ukrainian labor migration indicated above text is *unemployment, both official and hidden (underemployment)*. For example in 1997, when there was mass economic emigration, official unemployment rate was 12%, which is not so high compared to other European countries (Lupták, 2008). However, there were and still are big numbers of unregistered unemployed or underemployed individuals in Ukraine. According to expert estimates the numbers of really factually unemployed Ukrainians could reach from 40% to 60% of the whole labor force (Bezdir 2001, Lupták 2008). In the end of 2012 official unemployment rate decreased to 8, 5%, however the hidden unemployment was still a big problem, although not in such intensity as before (Index mundi, 2012). Ukrainian state has always had, especially during the 90s, large budget deficits, and tried to compensate them by not paying salaries to employees in the public sector which still accounts for the most of the economy. This means that people who have been formally employed and working have not been necessarily receiving their salaries or have been receiving them only with substantial delays. In some cases, public employees have been paid only by goods produced by the company for which they have been working. For example, Červinka mentions in his article a case of a young man who worked in a factory which produced yogurts. He was working there from 8 to 10 hours per day. Each day he was paid by goods produced by the company in which he worked, which means that he received certain number of yogurts (Červinka 2004). In order to have at least some cash, he had to sell yogurts every day after work on a local market. Other widespread tactic of adaptation of state-owned companies to bad economic situation has been to force employees to take several months' unpaid leave or to allow them to work only 2-3 days per week, in both cases paying employees much smaller salaries as a result. For example in 1996 more than 3 million people were on long-term unpaid leave in Ukraine (Drbohlav, 1999)

As was mentioned above, unemployment and hidden unemployment were one of the most often mentioned reasons of labor migration abroad also among my respondents. In replying a question “*Why you decided to emigrate from Ukraine?*” from 22 labor migrants whom I interviewed six migrants told me that they migrated because of hidden unemployment and six because of unemployment. Typical example of hidden unemployment was given by a respondent nowadays living in Portugal together with her father, when she described the experience of her father:

*“My father worked in the Soviet army as aerospace engineer. After the collapse of the USSR, the economic crisis started in Ukraine, causing public employees to stop receiving their salaries. This happened also to my father. After he hadn’t received the salary for eight months, he decided to change the job. My mom was a teacher, her salary was really low and we couldn’t live from it. So my father started to work as manager in a bigger shop, however in few months the situation repeated, and he stopped receiving the salary again. After this experience he decided to emigrate (Woman, 27 years, Interview no. 15).”*

Other respondents answered the question as followed:

*“I had to leave Ukraine because I didn’t get salary for half a year. I was working half a year for free (Man, 55 years, Interview no. 6).”*

*“I migrated because of money. In that period of time (when the respondent decided to migrate) there was a big unemployment in Ukraine. Living standards decreased. Before, I always had a good job. However, in the last company where I worked for 10 years and where I was very satisfied, big financial problems started. Management had to cut working week to two days. It meant that we were supposed to get even less money. And it was hard to live already with the money earned working full – time. Moreover, I wanted my son to go to study at a university. And in Ukraine you have to pay a lot of money for it (Woman, 45 years, Interview no. 16).”*

However, those who have been working and getting their salaries on time are not in much better situation than those who are unemployed or underemployed. Wages which they were getting were usually *not sufficient to cover even basic living needs*. According to calculations of the Federation of Unions of Ukraine the minimum wage prescribed by law in 1999, when

there was a massive outflow of labor migrants, was 256 HRN per month. However according to the Ukrainian Ministry of Statistics only 7,6% of the population earned at least this amount per month in those times (Drbohlav, 1999). As I mentioned above, among the respondents who I interviewed, low income was the most common reason for migration (8 respondents). To the above mentioned question some of them answered.

*“(...) I was on maternity leave; however my husband had a good job. But he was paid very poorly. We were able to buy the food, but we were not able to buy or to save anything extra. (Woman, 35 years, Interview no. 12).”*

*“In Ukraine I was a pediatric surgeon. (...). Wages in healthcare were very low during 90s (the respondent emigrated in early 90s) and the situation is the same till nowadays. There are no health insurance companies. Healthcare is paid from the state budget and is heavily undervalued. So I couldn't choose. I couldn't feed my family from the money which I earned as a doctor in Ukraine (Man, 52 years, Interview no.4).”*

*“In Ukraine I worked as an accountant. I had to work for several companies. If I had been working only for one company I would not have been able to pay even just the rent for my apartment. I had to work in three companies to be able to survive. However, I still didn't have enough money for living. That is why I decided to migrate (Woman, 47 years, Interview no. 14).”*

Low incomes at Ukraine are even more alarming if we compare wage differences between Ukraine and European countries, which are the most popular among Ukrainian labor migrants. Table no. 2 shows average wages in 2008 in Ukraine and in European countries where Ukrainians migrants constitute one of the biggest minorities. Simultaneously it is necessary to mention that the prices in Ukraine are not so different compared to prices in selected European countries.

Table no.2

<b>Country</b>	<b>Average wage per month in the national currency in 2008</b>	<b>Average wage per month in Euro in 2008</b>
Ukraine	1806 Hryvna	155 EUR
Czech Republic	22623 CZK	940 EUR
Poland	2944 Zloty	745 EUR
Hungary	198 942 Forint	751 EUR
Italy	1155 EUR	1155 EUR
Portugal	1008 EUR	1008 EUR

Source: Fileva 2011

As may be seen from the Table no.2, the wage differences are impressive, especially if we compare average wages between Ukraine and Italy where the difference in 2008 was equal to 1000 EUR. In Portugal the difference was 853 EUR, in the Czech Republic 785 EUR and in Poland 590 EUR.

It is obvious that under the conditions that have existed in Ukraine as described above, to have a job doesn't mean to have guaranteed that one will not fall into poverty. Among families classified as poor there are 85% of families where at least one member of the family is working. According to sociological surveys conducted in 2007, 7% of Ukrainians do not have enough finances to buy food; one fifth does have sufficient amount of money for food however they do not have enough money for clothes and shoes; 34% do have money for food, clothes and shoes, but do not have money for anything else; 26% do have money for small purchases of household equipment; nevertheless they cannot afford to buy a computer, refrigerator and other electronics; 11% stated that they have money for all household equipment, but they are not able to buy a car or an apartment without long-term savings; and only 2% of Ukrainians are able to afford everything they need (Lupták, 2008).

Besides the fact that majority of Ukrainians suffer from almost complete lack of finances, they have to cope with large corruption which is pervasive throughout all society. For example according to several of my respondents, when they wanted to enroll their children to a university, they had to pay not only the official fees, which were several times higher than the average monthly salary, but also bribes, one for admission of the child to school and others for each exam. Newly graduated Ukrainians wanting to start to work somewhere have

to pay for being offered employment. If somebody wants to go to the doctor, he has to pay for every medical examination, if anybody needs something from any state authority he has to pay a “facilitation fee” to ensure positive processing of his application etc.

One of the respondents mentioned that corruption was the main reason why she decided to emigrate:

*“I had a good job. However, the overall situation in Ukraine was bad. For example, universities are only for children who have rich parents. I was a good student at secondary school. But my mum didn’t have money to pay my studies at a university. You can study only if you pay (bribes). And I don’t like this. It is the same everywhere. If you need anything, you have to pay. If you need “small paper” at any office, they don’t give it to you if you do not pay. I really don’t like this (Woman, 27 years, Interview no. 10)”.*

Other example illustrates the situation around universities, which is the often mentioned example of corruption. One of my respondents told me about a young Ukrainian who worked in the Czech Republic and at the same time studied at a university in Ukraine. She worked in the Czech Republic to pay all necessary costs connected with her university studies and attended the university only during exam periods. If she had not been working in the Czech Republic, she wouldn’t have been able to pay the “*study expenses*”. The fact that she had not attended the school regularly and had not have enough time to study because of her work abroad “was not a big problem”. In the Czech Republic, she said, she earned enough money to pay all bribes necessary to pass all exams (Woman, 48 years, Interview no. 1).

The abovementioned push factors however do not explain why the Ukrainian labor migration is so extensive (as shown in previous chapter) and especially why it continued with such intensity between years 2000 and 2008 when the economic situation in the country got better. According to push and pull theory any economic improvement should decrease the number of labor emigrants which, in the case of Ukrainians, didn’t happen. That’s why we have to look at this phenomenon in a broader context. Ukrainians, particularly those from western part of the country, are a nation with *long lasting tradition of labor migration*. From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ukrainians reacted to widespread poverty in their county by mass economic migration. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century 470 000 people migrated to the United States and 170 000 to Canada (Fileva, 2011). Labor migration continued also

during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it is especially interesting that it wasn't interrupted even at the time of former USSR, when the borders were closed, only the international migration changed to internal, i.e. to other Soviet republics within the USSR.

During the socialism, when the Soviet borders were closed, people especially from western Ukraine, the poorest region of the country, were often moving to industrial parts of southern Ukraine or to other parts of the USSR as seasonal workers (Uherek, Valášková, Plochová, 2004). For example, some of the respondents which I interviewed mentioned Kazakhstan or Siberia as popular destinations for seasonal jobs during the socialist era. According to Nekorjak especially in Siberia salaries were above average to attract people to come to work in inhospitable and very little populated areas rich for oil, gas and minerals (Nekorjak, 2009). One of the respondents confirmed this, when she stated, that in Ukraine she was able to earn 70 Rubles per month, while in Siberia she was able to earn during the season 1400 Rubles per month (she had special benefits for good work, however the average salary for her position was around 800 Rubles which is still very high compared to the average salary in Ukraine). Moreover according to several respondents in these times it was not exceptional that whole villages migrated temporarily because of employment (similarly as it is until nowadays, however the destinations are more diversified). Some of the respondents remembered the tradition to migrate for seasonal work during the socialist era as follows:

*“I think we (Ukrainians) have it in our blood (seasonal, temporary labor migration), already my parents commonly left our village because of work. They worked in Russia or in Kazakhstan. They had schools and they had jobs at home, nevertheless they didn't have any money. When I was a child it was normal for me that my parents left home for several months and I stayed in our village with my grandparents (Woman, 35 years, Interview no. 8).”*

Identical situation repeated in the family of this respondent's husband, whose parents were seasonal workers on plantations in western Ukraine. They were leaving their village each year for several months and when respondent's husband reached 13 years he started, during his holidays, to migrate for seasonal work with his parents. According to the married couple, approximately half of the households in the village where they come from were earning money for living by similar means.



Another personal experience with labor migration within the USSR came from a respondent who worked 13 years in Siberia. Majority of her co-workers were also Ukrainians. This is what she said about migration from western part of Ukraine during the existence of the USSR:

*“I had a job in our village, but it was really poorly paid (that is why respondent decided to work in some other region of the USSR). (...) I worked 13 years in Siberia. I was collecting resin from the trees. (...) It was during the season. During the winter I worked as a shop assistant. (...) People from western part of Ukraine always moved because of work. They moved to Russia but also to southern part of Ukraine. There were seasonal jobs when there was a harvest of grain or of sugar beets. People from western part (of Ukraine) have been moving (because of job) already for a long time. There was never enough employment (Woman, 48 years, Interview, no. 1).”*

Short term trips to other regions of Ukraine or to other parts of the USSR, with the purpose to improve economic situation of the family through seasonal, temporary employment, became widespread practice and were considered as a natural way of living. Labor migration became the main source of income for many Ukrainian households already before 1991 (Bezdir, 2001). Some experts (Nekorjak 2009; Baghana, Margues Góis, 2004, 2007) even speak about establishment of so-called “*culture of migration*” to describe extensive and stable Ukrainian migration, which has lasted for several generations. “*The culture of migration is being established by the normalization of emigration as a livelihood strategy. The experiences, stories and practical knowledge gained by migrants are becoming part of the generally shared knowledge and patterns of behavior, institutions and transnational networks are being established and made available to participants of the system (Nekorjak, 2009: 13).*” This increases the probability that migration may be chosen from other possibilities of how to make a living. The long lasting tradition to migrate as one of the strategies of how to make a living could explain why Ukrainian migration is so extensive and why it continues even in times of economic growth in Ukraine.

All push factors described above explain why Ukrainian labor migrants are leaving their homes in such extent. Especially the long tradition to migrate which could be seen as the “*culture of migration*” explains why Ukrainian labor migration continues to emigrate even in times of economic growth in Ukraine.

In the following chapter, I will focus on particular pull factors, which draw Ukrainian labor migrants into the European countries, particularly into the Czech Republic.

### **3.2 Czech Republic as One of the Most Attractive European Destinations for Ukrainian Labor Migrants**

After analyzing why Ukrainians usually decide to emigrate from their home country it is to be examined, why they decide to immigrate particularly to the Czech Republic and to answer the research question *why is the Czech Republic one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants?* According to classic economic push and pull theory pull factors, which attract people to come to certain receiving country, include for example demand for labor, availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedom (Castles, Miller, 2003). Which pull factors characterize the Czech Republic? First of all, since early 90s the Czech Republic has been enjoying relative *economic and political stability* associated with *demand for cheap labor force* and *growth of job opportunities* (except the period of economic crisis which started in late 2008). However, these economic factors by themselves do not explain why the Czech Republic is more attractive for Ukrainian migrants than some other European countries that are in similar or even better economic situation. According to the respondents I interviewed and surveys carried out in this field (Leontiyeva, 2009; Nekorjak 2009) further important pull factors which attract Ukrainian labor migrants to the Czech republic include: *liberal immigration policies* which differentiated, at least until 2001, the Czech Republic especially from Western European countries, *establishment of strong migration networks and subsequent institutionalization of migration* - formation of migratory business or in the Czech environment so called “client system”, *geographic and language proximity, cultural and to some extent also historical similarity*, especially in case of Transcarpathia which formed part of the Czechoslovakia for several years, and already mentioned *formation of so called “culture of migration”*, especially in the western part of country.

Before focusing on particular reasons of Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic, I will shortly describe the history of Ukrainian immigration to Czechoslovakia during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such historical introduction is necessary because Ukrainian immigration into Czechoslovakia before 1989 influences to some extent the current form of Ukrainian

migration to the Czech Republic and is one of the reasons why some of Ukrainian immigrants are coming there. Afterwards I will make short introduction of general characteristics of immigration to the Czech Republic after 1989.

### **3.2.1 History of Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic before 1989**

Although the number of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic before 1989 wasn't significant, Ukrainian migration into the Czech territories has a long tradition. More considerable immigration started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when part of the current territory of Ukraine, particularly Galicia and Bukovina, formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, similarly as the territory of the present Czech Republic,. It was in this time when origins of Ukrainian labor migration to Czech territories were formed. For example, Czech ironworks located in Ostrava were recruiting cheap labor force in Galicia in these times. Significant immigrant wave occurred during the First World War, when especially intelligence from Galicia was escaping to Czech lands because of political reasons. They established educational institutions such as the Open University in Prague (1921), Polytechnic in Poděbrady (1922) or Ukrainian pedagogic institute in Prague (1923) (Zilynskyj, 2002). They also founded Ukrainian theater and several associations with various cultural or political orientations. During the interwar periods workers from the Transcarpathia, which was part of Czechoslovakia those times, were recruited to build railways in Slovakia and fortifications in Bohemia (Uherek, 2004). During the period of the first Czechoslovak republic (from 1918 to 1938) other Ukrainians were coming to work in coal mines or as seasonal workers in agriculture. It is also necessary to mention that, as it was already indicated, part of the Ukraine; particularly Transcarpathia, formed part of the newly formed Czechoslovak state from 1919 until 1939. This region was densely populated, with undeveloped industry and unfavorable conditions for agriculture, mainly because of the mountainous terrain. It is therefore not surprising that in this period of time many people from Transcarpathia were looking for new job opportunities in Czech lands. It was also usual that people from this territory often, as citizens of the Czechoslovak state, attended Czech and Slovak universities, because there were no universities in Transcarpathia at that time. Unfortunately, during the Second World War and subsequently during the Communism many activities of the Ukrainian community were oppressed. Moreover during the communism, the borders of Czechoslovakia were closed and majority of Ukrainians who were already living in Czechoslovakia were assimilated (Zilynskyj, 2002). Some of the activities of Ukrainian institutions which were forcibly interrupted started to

work again only after the Velvet revolution in 1989 which peacefully overthrown the communist regime.

Shortly after the Velvet revolution, in the period of democratization of Czech society, only 8,000 people living in the Czech Republic claimed to be Ukrainians. In 2001, it was already 22,000 people. This increase cannot be explained only by new grants of citizenship; very important role was also played by increase of Ukrainian cultural activities in the Czech Republic, because such activities usually support Ukrainian national identity. Forum for Ukrainians had been founded in 1990 and as the time passed other Ukrainian societies were founded as well, such as Ukrainian initiative, Association of Ukrainians and friends of Ukraine, and others. However, the richness and diversity of the Ukrainian cultural and social life did not reach the levels attained at the turn of the millennium (Nekorjak, 2009).

After the Velvet revolution in 1989, new big wave of Ukrainian immigration started. This immigration had, unlike the prevailing immigration of Ukrainians intelligence before 1989, mainly economic reasons, was mostly temporary and the numbers of immigrants coming to the Czech Republic were much higher. General development of Ukrainian immigration into the Czech Republic after 1989 is described in the following chapter. At the beginning, it may be worthy starting with a short description of immigration into the Czech Republic after 1989.

### **3.2.2 General Characteristics of Immigration to the Czech Republic after 1989**

Immigration into the Czech Republic is a relatively new phenomenon. During the communist period, which lasted from 1948 until 1989 the borders of Czechoslovakia (which was divided into the Czech and Slovak Republics in 1993), were closed almost for all, either for emigrants or immigrants<sup>3</sup>.

The situation changed after the Velvet revolution in 1989, when the Czech Republic was in the process of transformation from former socialist country into democratic parliamentary

---

<sup>3</sup> Due to closedness of the borders the only more significant influx of immigrants was constituted by temporary workers coming to Czechoslovakia under international agreements between member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Majority of these workers came from Vietnam; the others came from other socialist countries such as Cuba, Mongolia, North Korea or Laos. Numbers of these workers did not exceed several tens of thousands (Barša, Baršová, 2005).

system with free market economy. In 1999 the Czech Republic joined NATO and in 2004 the European Union (Drbohlav, 2005). New political order, fast economic growth and open immigration policies (at least until the end of the 90s) started to attract more and more particularly economic immigrants from less developed countries. According to reports of the OSCE, the Czech Republic is a country with one of the largest growth in numbers of immigrants in Europe (Leontiyeva, 2010). Indeed the numbers of immigrants increased from mid 90s, when the migration flows changed from transit to immigrant. After the split of Czechoslovakia in 1993 there were only 50 000 immigrants in the Czech Republic (Barša, Baršová, 2005). The number had quadrupled to around 200 000 individuals until the end of 90s. Many immigrants arrived during this period because of new job opportunities and open immigration policy. Until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century foreigners were allowed to enter the Czech Republic as tourists and then, when they already were on the Czech territory, they could find a job and legalize their residence quite easily.

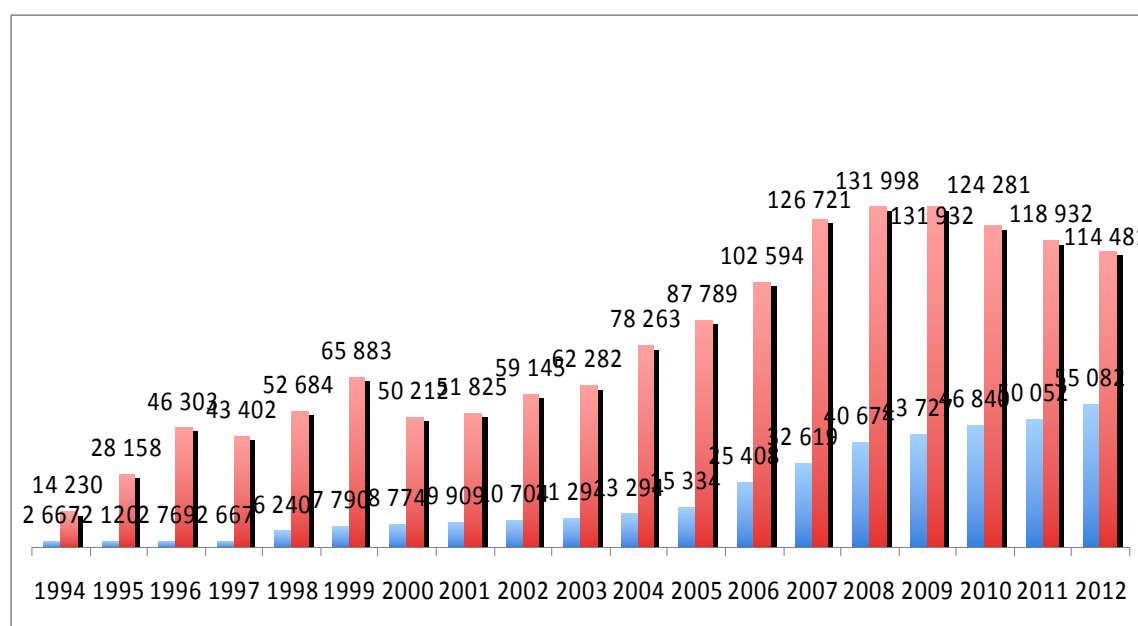
In 2001 the numbers of foreigners in the Czech Republic declined approximately by 30 000 (CSO, 2012). This development was generally attributed to changes in Czech immigration legislation. In 2001, new Aliens Act entered into force and tightened up conditions for entrance and residence for all foreigners. However, after some time the numbers of foreigners started to increase again (with an exception of the years after the economic crisis). In the end of 2004 there were already 254 294 legally residing foreigners, i.e. 2, 5% of population, in the Czech Republic and in the end of 2011 there were 436 319 foreigners, i.e. around 4% of population (CSO, 2011). All abovementioned figures do not contain extensive illegal labor migration. According to estimates there is significant number of illegal migrants in the Czech Republic ranging from 40 000 to 200 000 (Drbohlav et al., 2010). Vast majority of immigrants in the Czech Republic are economic migrants and arrived from so-called third countries, with notable exception of migrants from Slovakia. The main countries of origin are Ukraine (114 481 individuals in 2012), Slovakia (81 256 individuals in 2012) and Vietnam (57 587 individuals in 2012) (CSO, 2012).

### **3.2.3 General Characteristics of Ukrainian Immigration to the Czech Republic**

According to official statistics, Ukrainians are the most numerous immigrant group in the Czech Republic. Already in 1994 there were 14 230 new legally residing Ukrainian

immigrants either with long term residency permit<sup>4</sup> or permanent residency permit, which constituted at that time 14% of all foreigners living in the Czech Republic. In the following year, in 1995, the number of Ukrainians almost doubled to 28 158 individuals. In 1999 their number was 65 883 which was almost 5 times more than in 1994. In 2000 and 2001, due to new immigration policies mentioned above, the number of Ukrainian workers decreased, namely to 50 212 people in 2000, followed by a moderate increase to 51 825 in 2001. From 2001 until the years after the economic crisis the number of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic was increasing. The largest number was recorded in 2008 when there was 131 998 Ukrainians living in the Czech Republic which constituted 31 % of all immigrant population at that time. Already in 2010, due to economic crisis, their number decreased to 124 281 persons. Next years their number continued to decrease and in 2012 dropped to 114 481 individuals, which constituted 26% of all foreigners in the Czech Republic; however Ukrainians still remained the largest immigrant group (CSO, 2012). Graph no. 2 shows development of official numbers of Ukrainian immigrants in the Czech Republic from 1994 until 2012. Nevertheless, as it was mentioned, extensive illegal migration wasn't included in these figures. According to estimates of some Czech scholars, the number of illegal migrants can reach up to the number of legally residing Ukrainians (Drbohlav, 2004; Leontiyeva, 2005).

Graph no. 2, Development of Ukrainian immigration to the Czech Republic, total numbers and numbers of permanent residences



Source: Czech statistical office

<sup>4</sup> Long-term residence is stay above 90 days.

It is interesting to note that the percentage of Ukrainian immigrants with permanent residence permit compared to all Ukrainians in the Czech Republic remained for a long time relatively low compared to other largest immigrant groups (e.g. Vietnamese). In 1994 only 2 667 individuals, 11% of all Ukrainian immigrants, possessed permanent residence permits. In 1996, the number of individuals grown to 7 692 but at that time this figure represented only 6% of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic. After that the percentage started slowly to increase however still in 2005 only 17% of all Ukrainians (15 334 individuals) had permanent residence. This trend started to change in last few years. In 2012 the percentage of Ukrainians with permanent residence increased up to 47% (55 082), while in the same period the total number of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic was decreasing (see Graph no.2) (CSO, 2012).

Low number of permanent residences among Ukrainians in previous years was most probably associated with the phenomenon of temporary or so called circular migration. Majority of Ukrainian labor migrants left their country because they were forced to and returned home when they could. According to a survey carried out by the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute, great part of Ukrainian labor migrants would prefer to have good jobs in their homeland if the salary was sufficient for supporting their families. Many would accept even smaller salaries than they earn abroad to stay home (Bedzir, 2001). This implies that Ukrainians usually did not plan to settle in the Czech Republic in previous years. They wanted to earn money there as fast as possible and invest or spend their earned money in Ukraine, where they had their families and where they owned land and other property. Thus, their motivation to integrate into the Czech society and to obtain permanent residence permit were not great.

However, as I already indicated, the situation began to change in last years. According to some surveys (Leontiyeva, 2009) it is not exceptional that labor migrants who perform circular migration for several years gradually built up stronger ties to Czech Republic, resulting in growing numbers of Ukrainians who are bringing their families to the Czech Republic with them and try to obtain permanent residence permits because they plan to settle there permanently. The increase in numbers of permanent residences among Ukrainians is also connected to liberalization of conditions for obtaining permanent residence permits connected with accession of the Czech Republic to the EU. Namely from 2006 the period after which immigrants who were living in the Czech Republic continuously for the whole

period apply for permanent residence permit was shortened from 10 to 5 years. Another change was equally or even more important, as from 2006 each immigrant who fulfills all conditions prescribed by law has an enforceable right to obtain permanent residency permit, until 2006, it was always at the discretion of relevant authorities (Leontiyeva, 2009). Permanent resident status eliminates important administrative barriers on the Czech labor market. Immigrants who do not have permanent residence must have a work permit which is always issued for particular job only. Each new post must be first offered to Czech citizens, only if no Czech citizen is interested in such post it can be offered to foreigners. Apart from free access to labor market, immigrants with permanent residence are allowed to purchase real estates in the Czech Republic and banks are willing to offer them a mortgage, therefore they can purchase a flats or a house. After accession of the Czech Republic into the Schengen area holders of permanent residence can travel to other Schengen countries without a visa. Therefore, it is logical that many Ukrainians had applied for permanent residence even though they didn't want to settle in the Czech Republic; they only wanted to have all the benefits mentioned above as it would have made their life in the Czech Republic so much easier that it was worthy to apply even if they planned to stay only temporarily (Leontiyeva, 2009).

Growing interest in permanent residences among Ukrainian migrants is not only obvious from the statistics; labor migrants and NGO employees whom I interviewed in 2013 also confirmed it to me. According to the head of social workers from Association for integration and migration, (they had around 1650 clients in 2012 of which slightly less than 50% were Ukrainians), Ukrainian migrants who were recently approaching this organization needed to assist mainly with the procedure of obtaining permanent residence permit. He said:

*“Most often we help them (Ukrainian labor migrants) with things that are related to residence permit for the Czech territory. While it is obvious that the demand for permanent residences is sharply increasing, nobody is interested in long term working visas anymore. Work permits, green and blue cards<sup>5</sup> are already passé. When they (Ukrainian labor migrants) have already permanent residence they often want to help with family reunion (Social worker, Interview no. 18).”*

---

<sup>5</sup> A Green card simplifies the entry to the job market for foreigners from selected countries who have qualifications for which the Czech Republic has a job opening. An EU Blue Card is a new residential status designed for a long-term stay involving the performance of a highly skilled job.



One of the labor migrants said about permanent residences:

*“Nowadays everybody wants permanent residence. Who met the condition of five years applies (for permanent residence). (...) There are two categories of migrants here. Some are those who want to settle here and others who came here only to earn (...). (As regards the last mentioned) After they earn they are going back to Ukraine. However they don’t want to apply for visas every time when they are coming back (respondent speaks about circular migrants who are coming there and back between Ukraine and the Czech Republic and need to arrange for a visa all the time). They don’t want to wait again and again whether they get the visas. That is why everybody (even those who don’t want to settle here) wants to stay here continuously for 5 years<sup>6</sup> in order to qualify for permanent residence. (...) Then they can travel as they want to both countries (Man, 28 years, Interview no. 19).”*

Not many Ukrainians are interested in obtaining the Czech citizenship. The main reason is most probably their unwillingness to give up their Ukrainian citizenship, which is a precondition of obtaining the Czech one, which would mean subsequent complications with traveling to their homeland. It is illustrative that until 2001 only 1 953 Ukrainians gained the Czech citizenship, which is only slightly more than one hundredth of all Ukrainians legally residing in the Czech Republic (Leontiyeva, 2009).

Age composition of Ukrainian immigrants in the Czech Republic is typical for economic migration. In 2005 93% of immigrants were in productive age, 6% were younger than 14 years (for example within Vietnamese community children up to 14 years constitute 20% of the total), and 1% were individuals older than 65 years (CSO).

With regards to the purpose of stay it is logical that the majority of Ukrainians, who are mostly labor migrants, are economically active on the Czech labor market, in the end of 2008 80% of them were employed, with high proportion, as it was mentioned in the chapter before, of employees in the construction industry, where 88% of Ukrainian men were working at the time (Malynovska 2008). Ukrainian women were working most often (45,9% of them) in restaurants and fast food facilities (Malynovska, 2008). The second most often economic activity of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic was business.

---

<sup>6</sup> That is the condition for obtaining permanent visas in the Czech Republic

### 3.2.4 Why the Czech Republic?

It is logical that economic migrants, which formed vast majority of my respondents who migrated into the Czech Republic (18 from 20 respondents), but also vast majority of legally residing Ukrainians in the Czech Republic in general, were attracted mainly by the favorable economic situation in the Czech Republic (particularly by the possibility to earn more money than in Ukraine, better job opportunities etc.). When the respondents were answering the question *why did you decide to immigrate particularly to the Czech Republic?*, other often mentioned reasons were: presence of friends or someone from the respondent's family in the Czech Republic who migrated in recent past (10 respondents), language similarity (7 respondents), geographical proximity (6 respondents), possibility to come to the Czech Republic without complicated visa procedure (liberal immigration policy till late 90s) (4 respondents), that it was cheaper to travel and to live in the Czech Republic than in other European countries (3 respondents), or presence of family members who came to the Czech Republic before 1989 (2 respondents). Although none of the respondents explicitly mentioned the "client system" – system of intermediation of employment, documents and visas and accommodation - among the reasons why they decided to come to the Czech Republic, majority of them (16 respondents) used services of "clients" and some of them openly stated that they wouldn't had been able to come into the Czech Republic without client's "help". In the following text, I will focus on particular pull factors mentioned above.

*Economic and political stability together with favorable immigration policies* are the most important pull factors for all labor migrants in general. As it was mentioned majority of my respondents came to the Czech Republic because of good economic situation (18 from 20 respondents) which is connected to political stability. Associated pull factor for some immigrants were liberal immigration policies (4 respondents).

At the very beginning of the 90s the Czech Republic implemented political reforms and started economic reforms. Because the Czech Republic didn't have any experience with managing immigration flows and integration processes the newly established democracy started implemented very liberal policies and practices applicable to all immigrants. Until mid 90s the country was going through the economic transition relatively successfully and was, in

terms of many economic parameters, on the top among all Central European countries in transition (Drbohlav, 2004). Emerging economy created new job opportunities, especially in the areas of construction and services which were growing compared to other sectors and in which Czechs were not so willing to work. Labor migrants from third countries, such as Ukraine, were prepared to work in the secondary sector of labor market much more than Czechs and for much lower salary (however still much higher than average salary in Ukraine). All these factors contributed to huge inflow of Ukrainian labor migrants arriving to work, whether legal or illegally, to the Czech Republic in this period of time (Drbohlav, 2004). In early 90s the Czech Republic slowly became the preferred European destination for Ukrainian labor migrants (Bedzir, 2001).

Statements of some of my respondents confirmed the above-mentioned facts also. Three of 20 interviewed respondents came to the Czech Republic in mid-90s. Two of them told me that the main reason why they choose the Czech Republic at that time as their destination was its liberal immigration policies and good chance of good earnings.

*“At that time (mid 90s) the Czech Republic was the cheapest choice and it was without complication with visas. I just bought a bus ticket and I could go. At that time it wasn’t usual to travel to Portugal, Spain or Italy. Many people went to work to Poland, but they got less money there, so I decided for the Czech Republic (...). And it was quite easy to get a job here (Woman, 48 years, Interview no 1).”*

*“At that period, Ukrainians started to make business here (in the Czech Republic). There was a talk that it is possible to make good money in the Czech Republic (that is why respondent decided to come in to the Czech Republic). It was because in 1992 -1993 there was a construction boom in the Czech Republic. (...) I worked in construction sector, in those times it wasn’t possible to do anything else (Man, 52 years, Interview no. 5).”*

The situation changed in late 90s with the arrival of a period of economic instability. Czech government responded to it by, amongst others, more selective and restrictive immigration policies, whose adoption was also influenced by harmonization processes related to preparations of accession of the country to the European Union. The main change was that a new Aliens Act entered into force in 2001, requiring visas for any foreigners arriving from third (non-EU) countries. These measures were introduced especially because of Ukrainians

and Vietnamese who represented the biggest groups of labor immigrants. Although the conditions for immigrants were made stricter and the numbers of labor immigrants decreased for some time, new Aliens Act didn't prevent more immigrants, especially from Ukraine, to enter the country (Drbohlav, 2004). Until the year 2004 further tightening of immigration policies occurred. In the following period from 2005 till 2008 there was moderate economic growth in the Czech Republic which led to increased demand for labor force, especially in secondary labor sector. Large import of low – skilled workers therefore took place in those years. In this period of time, before the crisis, government adopted several measures aiming to protect labor migrants and their rights. An amendment of the Aliens Act was adopted and entered into effect on 1 January 2009. This amendment introduced a withdrawal period of two months in which labor migrants can look for a new job if they are laid off for organizational reasons (before the amendment any loss of a job was a catastrophe because it automatically resulted in a loss of the working permit which was issued for the particular job only, and as a consequence of a loss of the working permit the immigrant's working visa was automatically cancelled). The amendment also prolonged the validity of a working permit from one year to two years. In 2008, the situation on the labor market had changed dramatically due to the economic crisis and restrictive measures started to be applied again (Valentová, 2012).

Majority of the respondents (16 from 20 respondents) came to the Czech Republic from 1998 till 2006. In this period it wasn't so easy to get into the Czech Republic legally because of new visa regime, however wage differentials and job opportunities were still attractive for all respondents. The fact that huge influx of immigrants from Ukraine to the Czech Republic continued even after introduction of the visa regime was also due to both regular and irregular activities of labor migrants, which were originally (in early 90s) based on personal contacts of individuals, mostly on the principle of family or neighbor networks, and were institutionalized from mid-90s (Bedzir, 2001, Nekorjak, 2009). A parallel organized system which was established was encouraging new arrivals of Ukrainians and facilitating access to the labor market for regular, quasi-regular and irregular labor migrants (Nekorjak, 2009). I will describe this system in detail later in this paper. None of my respondents came after 2008. In general there were less new arrivals of immigrants, at least those with regular status, since the start of the economic crisis in 2008 till nowadays. This decrease was caused especially by more and more restrictive immigration policies and less job opportunities. Nevertheless, as it

was already mentioned, Ukrainians are still by far the biggest immigrant group in the Czech Republic.

However, favorable economic and political situation and immigration policies do not explain on their own why the Czech Republic was and still is so attractive for Ukrainian labor migrants. There are other pull factors which intensify those mentioned above. In the case of the Czech Republic *geographic proximity* between both countries plays an important role. All my respondents working in the Czech Republic appreciated that traveling to the Czech Republic is less expensive and takes less time than traveling to other popular European destinations of Ukrainian migrants such as Italy, Spain or Portugal. In average it takes just 10 hours in a bus to get to Prague from West Ukraine from which originated majority of my respondents. Six respondents considered the geographic proximity together with the economic situation even as the main reason why they chose the Czech Republic as their destination. This can be explained by the fact that majority of Ukrainian workers in the Czech Republic are temporary or circular labor migrants and come to work here without their close families (i.e. spouses and children); therefore geographic proximity of the Czech Republic and Ukraine is a very important factor, as labor migrants can visit their families in Ukraine easier, cheaper and more often. According to statements of my respondents it seems that the geographic proximity is the most important factor especially for women who emigrated without their children and left them in Ukraine, usually with their grandparents. It is because parents generally tend to be as close as possible to their kids so that they can help in case of any problems. One respondent stated:

*“My father came here during the 90s, then my mum joined him. My brother and I stayed in Ukraine, because we were studying at those times. They chose the Czech Republic (for economic migration) because my mom didn’t want to be far from us. If something had happened, she could have returned home quite quickly. She could be back home within 10 - 15 hours (Woman, 35 years, Interview no. 11).”*

Other respondent who lived in the Czech Republic for six years and had a 13 years old daughter in Ukraine stated:

*“Firstly (when respondent decided to emigrate from Ukraine) I was thinking to go to Italy, because I had a lot of friends there. But in the end I didn’t like that Italy is so far. The Czech*

*Republic is closer, I thought it would be easier to make visits home (because of respondents' daughter). I thought I would be able to go to Ukraine at least twice per year (Woman, 35 years, Interview no. 12)."*

One of the respondent mentioned that one of her friends, who was working in the Czech Republic seasonally, was always coming for three months during the summer when her children had holidays during which they stayed with their grandmother in Ukraine. She attempted to earn as much as possible and she always returned home after three months because of her kids. This repeated every year. This phenomenon indicates that the Czech Republic is chosen by Ukrainian parents because its geographic proximity not only in case of temporary migration which can last several years but also, as is shown by this story, with respect to seasonal or circular migration which can last only several months. Czech sociologist Petra Ezzeddine also mentioned the fact that Ukrainian mothers (and fathers) chose the Czech Republic for their economic migration because of geographic proximity. She argues that the geographic proximity makes it possible for Ukrainians to conduct circular migration between both states. The life "here" and "there" and the mobility of female labor migrants give Ukrainian parents the possibility to coordinate productive and reproductive activities (Ezzeddine, 2012). It is interesting that according to surveys conducted by Ezzeddine 55% female labor migrants from Ukraine live in the Czech Republic without their children. It means that they constitute the largest group of so-called transnational parents living in the Czech Republic. Regarding the labor migrants which I interviewed (13 out of 20) had at least one child. Children of 6 respondents were living in Ukraine at the time of the interview. Seven respondents had their kids in the Czech Republic, but only one of these children arrived at the same time as its parents. Other five kids were living several months or years in Ukraine with their grandparents before their parents took them to the Czech Republic. One of the respondents explained this phenomenon by the fact that one or both parents of the family had to emigrate because of severe economic situation in Ukraine. They migrated without their kids because the conditions in which they were living in the Czech Republic were, at least at the beginning, insufficient for their children. They were living in dormitories or in flats they shared with many other Ukrainians, were working long hours almost every day and did not have much time in which they could be with their kids. Thus, they left their children in Ukraine with their grandparents and planned to earn money and come back home as soon as possible. According to the respondent this pattern was followed by a half of the village where she came from.

The fact that the Czech Republic is popular for seasonal workers because of its proximity to Ukraine (and not only for parents) was mentioned also by another respondent who answered the question why she or other Ukrainians chose the Czech Republic and not for example Italy for their economic migration as follows:

*“Italy is far away and it is more expensive to get and to live there. You have to go there for longer time, and you have to know in advance where you will work, in which family (80% of Ukrainians in Italy are working in households as caregivers for old people or housekeepers) and you have to go there for longer time. The Czech Republic is closer and it is cheaper, so it is ideal for seasonal work” (Woman, 48 years, Interview no. 13).”*

*The ability to understand Czech language* is another impulse for many Ukrainians when they are deciding if they should migrate into the Czech Republic. Majority of Ukrainian workers are coming to the Czech Republic from Western Ukraine, particularly from Transcarpathia, which was historically part of the Czechoslovakia, from 1918 until the Second World War. (Uherek, Valášková, Plochová, 2004). Until nowadays it is not an exception in this region that Czech or Slovak language courses are offered at primary and secondary schools amongst optional subjects. Many old people are able to speak Czech or Slovak because when they were young they were living in Czechoslovakia (Remenarova, 2006). For example one of my respondent’s grandmother was fluent in Czech because she was attending Czech school in Ukraine at the times of pre-war Czechoslovakia, where the main language was obviously Czech. Another respondent who is from Uzhorod<sup>7</sup> mentioned, that it is usual that people in this town speak Slovak because it is the border crossing between Ukraine and Slovak Republic. I can confirm from my personal experience that many Ukrainians in Uzhorod speak Slovak. When I was speaking to people in Uzhorod during my personal visit there it happened to me many times that when they found out that I was from Slovakia many of them switched to Slovak language. Seven respondents stated that the language is one of the reasons why they decided for the Czech Republic. One of the respondents mentioned:

---

<sup>7</sup> Uzhorod is the capital of Transcarpathia region.

*“(…) and here (in the Czech Republic) it is easier with the language. Here it is possible to understand. One friend was one month in Hungary and he told me that he doesn’t want to go back anymore. He wasn’t able even to buy bread” (Woman, 30 years, Interview no. 8).”*

Moreover, for a long time it has been possible to catch a TV signal of certain Slovak TV stations (Czechoslovak until 1993) in the Western Ukraine, which helps Ukrainians to understand Slovak or Czech language. Two of my respondents mentioned:

*“I remember from my childhood that we were watching (in TV) Czech and Slovak fairytales and other programs in Czech or Slovak language (Woman, 32 years, Interview no. 17).”*

*“At home we can watch Markíza television, the Slovak television. Therefore, we can understand Slovak language. Language is one of the main reasons why we decided to come to the Czech Republic. We were working in Hungary before and we didn’t understand anything. And it is easier to get the job when you understand. The employers need you to understand.” (Man, 55 years, Interview no. 6)*

The language barrier is not so strong even in case of migrants from central and southern parts of Ukraine which never were part of Czechoslovakia. Czech and Ukrainian languages are both Slavic languages with many similar features which make them mutually understandable or at least easy to learn (Černík, 2004).

Besides the language similarity, there is also cultural and historical proximity which can be viewed as another pull factors. Apart from the already mentioned history of Transcarpathia region as part of Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia was part of the Eastern block, group of countries heavily influenced and de facto ruled by the Soviet Union, and Ukraine was one of the countries belonging to the Soviet Union, therefore immigrants from Ukraine can understand certain cultural and social specifics (e.g. value system) of post socialism quite easily (Černík, 2004).

Despite the fact that immigration from the western part of Ukraine, especially from Transcarpathia, to the Czech Republic was forcibly stopped during the communism and existing institutional networks were broken, some historical social ties between both countries which remained encouraged people to come to the Czech Republic. First of all there were



some kinship networks, formed especially during the coexistence of Transcarpathia and the Czech Republic within a common state during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which crossed the borders of both states, and remained to exist even during the communism (Nekorjak 2009). There were some social connections also to other parts of Western Ukraine, from which especially political migrants were coming. Secondly, there is still some sentiment regarding the defunct state in Transcarpathia. Some respondents mentioned that their parents or grandparents believed that when Transcarpathia had been part of Czechoslovakia their standard of living was better. As it was mentioned, it is not an exception until nowadays that many people speak Czech or Slovak. One respondent mentioned that her grandmother grew up in Slovakia during the period of the common state and that they were traveling to Slovakia “all the time”. Till nowadays, when she had to file any documents at the embassy, she went to Ukrainian embassy in Bratislava, because she felt more comfortable there. Other respondent had a Czech grandfather who was working in Transcarpathia during the First Czechoslovak Republic (from 1918 to 1938). The Czech Republic is therefore almost a second home for this respondent. Immigration of Ukrainians into the Czech Republic before 1989 together with the fact that Transcarpathia was part of Czechoslovakia were, even though not the strongest, pull factors for some Ukrainian labor migrants (Remenarova 2006). From all 22 labor migrants who I interviewed only two of them stated immigration of any member of their family before 1989 to the Czech Republic as one of the reasons why they decided to immigrate to this destination country.

One of the respondents replied to the question *why you decided to immigrate in to the Czech Republic?* as follows:

*“It was easy. We have a great-aunt here. She is the main reason why I am here. She immigrated to Czechoslovakia more than 60 years ago because of political reasons. She escaped from Ukraine with her husband, and then they couldn’t come back (to Ukraine) for a long time because the borders were closed. She started to be homesick and later, when it was possible, she traveled home as much as possible, even though she settled here in Pilsner. (...) I remember that when we were kids we were here (in the Czech Republic) several times, we came here for holidays and my sister lived here for half a year when she was three years old. (...) It was hard to get here (to the Czech Republic during the socialism) but it was possible. I think we had to have an invitation... (...) Later (after the Velvet revolution) my aunt was alone here without any family (her husband died) so once she told to my sister and me:*

*“It would be nice if at least one of you studied here”. I thought about it and I liked that idea, (...) I started to study here. I thought I will come here for one year, nowadays I am here already 11 years and I know now that I will not go back to Ukraine (Woman, 32 years, Interview no. 18).”*

It seems that according to the statements of my respondents the most influential pull factor together with economic and political situation and development of immigration policies is the emergence of *strong migration networks and subsequent formation of a kind of so-called migration industry (formation of the client system)*.

From all respondents, 10 decided to migrate to the Czech Republic, among other factors, because they already had had a friend or a family member there who motivated them or at least helped them to come. Some of them stated, among reasons which influenced their decision to migrate to the Czech Republic, the following:

*“I had a husband here (in the Czech Republic). He migrated immediately after our wedding. (...) He was here all the time and I didn’t want to split the family (...) so I decided to migrate because of financial (the respondent had low salary) and family reasons. He had been here already for three years when I joined him. However, I had also many other friends who were here (...). Last year I was counting how many people from our village is here. And I counted that there are 68 persons from us in the Czech Republic and we have only 230 houses in our village (Woman, 30 years, Interview no. 8).”*

*“I had a cousin here. Otherwise, it wouldn’t be possible for me to come. If you don’t have anybody here, how can you come and what can you do here. I lived with my cousin at the beginning and he helped me to find a job (Woman, 30 years, Interview no. 2).”*

*“We (the respondent and her husband) had plenty of (Ukrainian) friends here (in the Czech Republic). When I had lost my job one of my friends who were working in the Czech Republic just came home for holidays (to Ukraine). I asked her if she thinks that I might be able to find a job here (in the Czech Republic). She said, “Yes, it will be no problem I will help you” So I went (to work in the Czech Republic) (Woman, 38 years, Interview no. 9).”*

It is clear from the statements above that for the respondents “social networks” played a significant role in the process of their migration. One can see that friends or family members were not only a motivation for migration but they were also persons who helped new migrants to orientate in new destination country. They helped recent migrants to find employment, accommodation (in case of family members it was automatic), documents and other necessary things. All abovementioned factors of social networks are described by the “network theory”. This theory emphasizes interpersonal relations between family and friends in the migration process. Migrants’ networks are defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non migrants in places of origin and destination through kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. Social ties increase the probability of international migration because they lower the costs and risks of movement. *“Network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment. Once the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold, the expansion of networks reduces the costs and risk of movement, which causes the probability of migration rise, which causes additional movement, which further expands the networks and so on (Massey et al., 1993)”*.

With regard to lower cost and risk of migration process, migration networks based on family, friends and neighbors were significant for Ukrainian migration especially till mid of the 90s as I will describe in the next chapter (however, certain networks based on family and friends have significant role in migration till nowadays). Later on, especially in the second half of the 90s when the immigration policies started to be more restrictive and getting to the Czech Republic became more complicated, the migration networks started to institutionalize which led to constitution of the so called “migration industry”. From mid 90s mediation of employment, housing and documents for Ukrainian labor migrants started to be almost exclusive domain of Ukrainian middlemen, the already many time mentioned so-called “clients”<sup>8</sup> (agents, brokers), who do not need to have any personal relationship to labor migrants. All services of clients were of course performed for a fee (unlike help of friends and family). According to Castles and Miller *“development of migration industry is unavoidable aspect of social networks and transnational linkages which are part of migration process. Whatever its initial causes, once a migration gets under way a variety of needs for special services arise. Even when governments initiate labor recruitment, they rarely provide all the*

---

<sup>8</sup> I will explain the development of the term in further text

*necessary infrastructure. In spontaneous or illegal movement, the need for agents and brokers is all greater. There is a broad range of entrepreneurial opportunities, which are seized upon by both migrants and non-migrants. The role of the agents and brokers is vital: without them, few migrants would have the information or contacts needed for successful migration (Castles, Miller, 2003, 114-115”).*

When I was asking respondents if they use or used services of client during the process of their migration, 16 of them replied in the positive. Even majority of those who had had friends and family in the Czech Republic used some services of Ukrainian middlemen (“clients”). Namely, 7 of 10 such respondents used some services of Ukrainian middlemen. Other nine respondents hadn’t had any family and friends in the Czech Republic when they came there; almost all of them came there through services of Ukrainian middlemen. Only one respondent who hadn’t had any family and friends here and he didn’t use services of middleman when he came to the Czech Republic. However, he came in early 90s, i.e. in the time when no migrants’ networks were established there yet. To sum up, from 20 respondents only one came to the Czech Republic without any help of family, friends or Ukrainian middlemen, 16 of them used, at least sometimes (especially at the beginning of the process of migration) services of Ukrainian middlemen. One can see that according to my respondents but also according to experts in this field (Nekorjak, 2009; Černík, 2005; Čermáková, 2008), role of “clients” is dominant in the process of Ukrainian labor migration to the Czech Republic especially because their services are diverse and extensive (as I will discuss in next chapter). Therefore, I will focus on this system in more detail in the next chapter. I will try to describe the development and functioning of this system in the Czech Republic especially through personal experience of respondents. Simultaneously, in the following chapter, I would like to answer my second research question.

### **3.2.5 “Client system” as Predominant Way of Organizing Labor Migration of Ukrainians in to the Czech Republic**

As it was already mentioned several times in this paper, the “client system” is a system of organizing jobs, visas, accommodation and other necessities for migrants from post – soviet area, especially from Ukraine, roots of which can be traced in rural environment of the Soviet Union (Čermáková, 2008; Černík, 2005). Because the activities within this system are often on the borders imposed by Czech legislation or are even beyond such borders it is hard to estimate how many Ukrainian migrants are involved in this system. According to surveys of

Nekorjak and Čermáková about half of all Ukrainians living in the Czech Republic have some experience with it (Čermáková, Nekorjak, 2009). As it was already mentioned, majority of my respondents within this research (16 out of 20) used at least some services of “clients”. Before explaining the development, functioning and personal experiences of my respondents with this system, it is necessary, for better understanding of the issue, to shortly introduce all main actors within this system and the relationships between them. The system consists of four main groups of actors and two hierarchical levels. The main actors are: (i) so called “clients” (middlemen, intermediaries), (ii) *zarobitčani* (labor migrants), (iii) mobsters (organized crime) and (iv) Czech employers. The names of the groups used above are English translations of terms which are used by Ukrainian labor migrants in the Czech Republic, except the word “*zarobitčani*” which is a Ukrainian word<sup>9</sup>. I decided to keep using the term “labor migrants” in the following text instead “*zarobitčani*” to avoid any confusion. The first level of the system is based on relations between “clients”, labor migrants and Czech employers, the second level is kind of extension of the first one and is based on relations between organized crime and “clients” (Čermáková, Nekorjak, 2009).

Main actors of the system are so-called “*clients*”. “Client” is usually a man of Ukrainian origin (but sometimes also Moldavian, Bulgarian or of other Eastern European origin) who resides in the Czech Republic since the beginning of the 90s and who orientates himself very well in social, cultural and political environment of the destination country. Client has contacts to local employers and “briable” border and immigration police officials, he knows how to arrange for visas and other documents, both legally and illegally, he knows where to find cheap accommodation and other necessary things. There are many differences among particular clients. Activities of some are fully within the limits imposed by relevant legislation, others overpass the borders from time to time and yet others are clearly beyond the limits. Some specialize in particular issues such as documents and others provide services in all areas mentioned above. “Clients” gradually transform their informal status, which they had during first half 90s, to institutions by setting up different legal entities. For example, many clients established travel or employment agencies through which they employ their compatriots. Regarding the terminology, the client is, paradoxically and counter intuitively, not someone who receives the service, it is the one who offers and performs the services. The

---

<sup>9</sup> Verb “zarobit” means, “to make money”. Therefore, noun “zarobitčan” means somebody who wants to make money.

origin of this term lays in terminology of mobsters who provide “protection” to clients, of course for substantial fees (Remenarova 2006).

Another group within the system are the so-called *zarobitčani* – labor migrants, who are, as it was examined in this paper, pushed by severe economic situation in Ukraine and other factors to look for employment abroad. Due to the fact that they usually do not have enough information about applicable regulations and about job opportunities and to some extent also to the fact that they are usually not familiar with the language and culture of the receiving country (even though the Czech language and, at least to some extent, also the Czech culture are similar to Ukrainian ones, if the migrants have no knowledge of Czech language before their arrival it is hard for them to deal with complicated procedure of applying for visas, especially due to the fact that many officers of the Czech Foreign Police and of the Ministry of interior of the Czech Republic often do not speak any foreign languages), *zarobitčani* use services of “clients” who orientate themselves in the destination country very well. Because “clients” usually operate through companies, which hire migrants and then offer them as cheap labor force on the market, real employers (e.g. those who are using direct results of migrants’ work and who are managing such work) do not pay directly to migrants, they pay to the “client”. The “client” keeps in average 30% – 50% of each salary of each labor migrant who works through him, as remuneration for the services provided to such migrant (Remenarova, 2006).

The *mobsters*, i.e. *organized crime*, form another group in the system. While it seems that currently their influence decreased, on the turn of the millennium their authority within the system was significant. There had been several “mafia groups” operating in the Czech Republic. Each client had to ask one of the groups “for protection”. Then such client had to pay the selected mafia group certain amount of money per month for each labor migrant he employed. If the client regularly paid the “protection fee” to a particular group of mobsters, he and his employees – labor migrants - were “safe”, which means that other mafia groups did not bother them (Remenarova, 2006).

*Czech employers* are the last group belonging to the system, albeit indirectly. From late 90s it has been administratively very complicated for Czech employers to employ any foreigners. Demand for cheap unskilled labor force was high and in order to satisfy this demand, Czech employers used the services of clients, who were operating companies through which they

were offering cheap labor force. As migrants are employed by the client's company and the Czech employer contracts with that company only, not directly with the migrants, the entire responsibility related to working visas, working permits, social and health insurance and other formalities is carried by the client's company, not by the Czech employer. The only thing, which the Czech employer has to do, is to pay the agreed amount to the client, who then keeps for himself, as mentioned above, from 30% to 50% and distributes the rest to his workers (Nekorjak, 2009).

In the following text, I would like to focus on the development of "client system" in the Czech Republic, which is interconnected, with development of economic and political situation and immigration policies mentioned above.

### **3.2.5.1 Development and Functioning of "Client System" in the Czech Republic**

Several authors (Uherek 2004, Černík 2006) see the roots of the "client system", as it was described above, in the long tradition of labor migration especially from Western Ukraine even during the USSR (culture of migration). During the soviet socialism, people were leaving for "sabash". "Sabash" was a type of temporary or seasonal labor migration. Semi – national enterprises, kolkhozes, cooperatives or even individuals hired "sabashniki" – labor migrants - as mobile groups of workers especially for short – term work at constructions. Work of these labor migrants was on the borderline of legality. Each group (called brigade) was headed by so-called brigadier who arranged for the work, paid the wages to other workers, and if needed ensured the formal legal personality of the group. In 1980s, this tradition became part of the cooperative movement within the Soviet economy. At that time "sabash" tradition became part of the domain of organized crime and could be seen as "proto – client system" (Černík, 2006). The tradition of work groups (brigades) was transformed and adapted to particular conditions in the Czech Republic. It seems, as will be explained below, that the development of the "client system" was influenced mainly by development of immigration policies and economic situation in the Czech Republic.

The development of the client system in the Czech Republic can be divided into four stages. The first period lasted from the beginning of the 90s until 1996 and could be called *unrestrained* (Černík 2006). This period of time was characterized by political and economic

chaos and by liberal immigration policies. In those times, first huge inflow of Ukrainian labor migrants started to arrive largely unnoticed by the government (see chapter 3.2.4.). Economic activities of Ukrainians (and other Eastern Europeans) in the Czech Republic were organized spontaneously. Labor migrants who were coming in those times did not have much information about the Czech Republic and they had very little or no idea about their activities there (about their employment, where they will live, etc.). Departures to the Czech Republic became something as an experiment. Three of my respondents came to the Czech Republic during this period. One respondent who came to the Czech Republic in 1992 answered the question whether he had known what he would do in the Czech Republic and if he had known somebody there before he came as follows:

*“Not at all. I came here together with my friend. We didn’t know anybody here and we couldn’t say a word in Czech. We arrived from Ukraine by train to the main railway station in Prague. We got off, but Prague seemed to be too big city for us. Therefore, we sat on the first train, which went to Tábor. It was in the evening and we started to look for accommodation. Fortunately one lady let us live with her for three nights and then we started somehow (Man, 52 years, Interview no. 4).”*

Prevailing pattern of looking for employment among labor migrants was to offer themselves to potential employers on meeting points, something as “job exchanges”, located especially in Prague where Czech employers (or later first “clients”) offered unofficial (illegal) jobs within the secondary labor sector. Most famous “job exchanges” were at Prague fairground (Výstaviště) in Holešovice or at Palmovka (Bedzir, 2001). According to one respondent, one such “job exchange” was placed also on a bus station, most probably Florenc, or later in Kolbenova Street (this particular “job exchange“ is, according to my respondent, functioning till nowadays, however only in a very small extent). Apart from employment, it was possible to find through these “exchanges” also accommodation, bus tickets to Ukraine and other necessities. As one respondent mentioned, *“you could find there really everything”* (Man, 55 years, Interview no.6). He found a job by himself on one such “job exchange” almost 20 year ago. Other respondent said:

*“In those times (first half of 90s) you could find a job at Výstaviště (fairground in Holešovice). The “clients” (or Czech employers) were coming there and hiring workers. For example they started to shout: „Who wants to get a job outside of Prague in a cannery? We*



*need 20 persons!” (...) It was usually a job for few days only. It wasn't serious employment” (Man, 42 years, Interview no. 9).”*

To find employment in this way was free of charge for labor migrants (that aspect changed in next period). At the end of the first half of the 90s, the first “clients” slowly started to run their business, but the system was not established yet. However, simultaneously, Ukrainian organized crime was gradually joining in (Čermáková, Nekorjak, 2009). In this period, it was not exceptional that labor migrants were robbed and blackmailed by Ukrainian mobsters, both on the territory of the Czech Republic and in Ukraine. All the respondents knew that Ukrainian mobsters often robbed labor migrants in those times. Some of them or their family member even had a direct experience:

*“When my husband had been living in a dormitory (the first half of the 90s), it was before I came here, they (husband of the respondent and his friends) were attacked. They (mobsters) came in pupae and took them all earned money. They were happy that they survived (Woman, 30 years, Interview no 8).”*

*“It worked like this: You were going home from work and they (mobsters) came to you and asked you for your money and your phone. If you didn't have any money with you, they took your passport and told you to bring them money next day (usually 5000 CZK) otherwise; they would not give you your passport back. I met such a mobster once at Masaryk station. However, I was lucky. He was alone, so I grabbed him by the throat and he let me go. They were also stopping buses (in which labor migrants were traveling back home from the Czech Republic), usually in Poland or in Ukraine. There were usually 6 or 7 of them and everybody from the bus had to pay. Later each bus driver had to have a ransom ready. If he paid they let the bus go” (Man, 55 years, Interview no. 6).*

The *transformation* period lasted from 1996 until 2000. This was a crucial phase in the formation of the “client system”. Nine respondents who I interviewed came to the Czech Republic in this period. Un-organized labor migration from Ukraine, as it was mentioned in the previous chapter, started to be institutionalized (Černík 2005, Nekorjak 2009). “Clients”, who had come to the Czech Republic in the previous period, became the main organizers of labor migration. They were familiar with the Czech environment, namely for example with complex and complicated laws connected to labor market (which started to be implemented),

they were acquainted with Czech labor market in general and had networks of contacts with all important persons, especially with Czech employers and different officials, which they had built in the past (Čermáková, Nekorjak 2009). There are several reasons why the “client system” started to institutionalize. First of all more restrictive immigration policies started to be implemented<sup>10</sup>, which influenced especially the labor market, until then benefiting from easily accessible cheap labor force from Ukraine. Employers had to deal with the fact that regular recruitment process became administratively difficult, more expensive and time consuming (Nekorjak, 2009). Simultaneously, authorized official bodies increased persecution of those who employed foreigners illegally. Therefore Czech employers needed to externalize the risk and costs of employing foreigners, and the “clients” were able to arrange for a satisfactory solution (as will be discussed later). Secondly, the “job exchanges” where migrants had a possibility to find a job by themselves were significantly reduced by increased controls of Czech Foreign Police. Thirdly, labor migrants had contributed to the formation of the “client system” by themselves. After tightening of immigration policies, they had to start to cope with complicated procedures, such the one of obtaining work permits. Therefore, they started to need someone to help them with this process; moreover, after abolition of “job exchanges”, they also needed someone to help them with job searching (Čermáková, 2008). Formation of Ukrainian organized crime and following reaction of the Czech state to it also played a significant role in establishing of the client system. As described, robbing of labor migrants by Ukrainian mobsters became a widespread practice. However, even though majority of these violent acts took place on the territory of the Czech Republic, the state failed to react by providing adequate protection to Ukrainian citizens. According to Čermáková and Nekorjak the reason is that Czech police considered robbing, and blackmailing as a problem among Ukrainian immigrants only, therefore they did not even try to solve it. The abovementioned authors call this situation “partial de-etatisation” of social field of Ukrainian immigrants. In the sphere of violence and protection performance as well as in the sphere of tax collection, the Ukrainian groups of organized crime successfully compete with the Czech state (Čermáková, Nekorjak 2009, 39)”. This was the moment when organized crime was incorporated into the “client system” (as the second level of the system). As it was already mentioned, from this period all “clients” have had to pay certain amount of money for each labor migrant working through them (according to my respondents it was 1000 Czech Crowns for each labor migrant per month) to one of the mafia groups. In return the selected mafia

---

<sup>10</sup> Visa regime wasn't established yet, however labor migrants had to have work permit.

group provided to the “client” and his labor migrants “protection” against competing groups of organized crime. However, according to Čermáková and Nekorjak mafia has been able to provide to “clients” also other additional services, such as provision of financial loans if the “client” got into financial difficulties or restriction of overly keen competition (Čermáková, Nekorjak, 2009). One respondent mentioned the following about organized crime:

*“Kiev, Lvov and Luhan Transcarpathian mafia groups are here (In the Czech Republic). If you are a “client”, you have to pay to one of the groups. However, they (“clients”) can choose to which group they want to pay. When somebody from other groups comes to a “client”, they ask him “For which mafia group do you work?” He answers “For Luhans”. They tell him “Give us the number” and then they check it” (Woman, 48 years, Interview no. 1).*

“Clients”, until then acting in less formalized structures, for example as informal representatives of groups of workers (brigadiers), started to transform their position into formal institutions through official companies. Their companies started to operate as personal placement services, merely mediating placement of labor migrants into Czech firms. However, “client” companies often functioned as subcontracted firms, especially in the construction and cleaning services (Čermáková, Nekorjak 2009). Nevertheless, as it was already mentioned several times, activities of the “clients” have been much broader than just mediating employment. They were providing other services such as provision of information, processing of work permits (and later visas), transport and accommodation, they also collected migrants’ salaries from Czech employers and distributed them to migrants (keeping in average 30% – 50% of each salary), provided protection and granted loans (Čermáková, Nekorjak, 2009).

Interviews with respondents also show that gradual institutionalization of Ukrainian labor migration was taking place in that period. As mentioned, nine respondents came to the Czech Republic at that time. Unlike in the previous period, during which my respondents (and Ukrainian labor migrants in general) were coming to the Czech Republic spontaneously, during the mid 90s seven out of nine respondents came through services of a “client”. They were usually “recruited” into the system of organized employment already in Ukraine. There were two ways how the labor migrant could get involved in this system. The first was that labor migrants contacted the “client” themselves. Migrants obtained contact information of

the “client” usually from their family members or friends or, in some cases, they were able to contact him directly without any recommendation because “clients” are usually well known persons in their villages or towns (according to my respondents you can recognize successful clients by large nice houses and cars). It was also possible to find agencies which started to mediate employment in the Czech Republic through their advertisements in newspapers, however according to majority of my respondents it was risky to contact an agency without any recommendation. In general, many respondents started to believe that in this period it was not possible to get to the Czech Republic without any help of “clients”. Some respondents replied to my question how they found employment and how they got in the Czech Republic in this period as follows:

*“Ukrainian “mafia” (“client system”) is here. (...) Therefore, I found my job through a “client”. I am working through him already 12 years. (...) Without the “client” I would have no job and no papers (Man, 55 years, Interview no. 6).”*

*“I found my job through friends, they had been living here (in the Czech Republic) for a long time and they had a “client” who was looking for new workers. He mediated my job (from Ukraine). (...) Without him, it would not be possible for me to come. Everything was too complicated. (Woman, 30 years, Interview no. 8).”*

*“I came here through an agency; I contacted them already in Ukraine, through friends. The agency organized everything, documents, employment and accommodation (in the Czech Republic). I had known everything about my stay in the Czech Republic before I came there.” (Woman, 35 years, Interview no.12).”*

Another way in which migrants were incorporated into the system already in Ukraine was, as mentioned, active recruitments by the “clients”. It was not exceptional that clients recruited labor migrants by personal visits in villages or towns. Active recruitment of labor migrants by “clients” also supported the institutionalization of labor migration from Ukraine. One respondent had the following experience with active recruitment:

*“Once, a Ukrainian woman and her husband came to our village. They needed people for hop harvest (in the Czech Republic). She was a “client”. They enticed full bus of people (who*

*went to work in the Czech Republic). In two weeks there was another one (bus) and left full again. I came to the Czech Republic in this bus (Woman, 48 years, Interview no. 1)."*

According to respondents, it was usual that clients were luring labor migrants by promises of large earnings that they can make in the Czech Republic. In cases where potential labor migrants did not have enough money to pay for transportation to the Czech Republic, "clients" provided them with loans. Labor migrants could then repay the loan to the client by allowing him to deduct, besides usual deductions of 30 to 50% of their salaries, individual installments of the loan from the salary, which migrants were receiving from the Czech employer through the client. By this way, labor migrants got dependent on the client already in Ukraine, which was their intention (Černík, 2005). One respondent stated:

*"There are such "clients" who come to a village and when they see that you don't have any money they offer you that you can work in the Czech Republic through them and earn big money. They borrow you money needed to go to the destination country. After you are in the Czech Republic, they deduct the money you owe them from your salary per small amounts. You do not have to pay it back immediately. It is something like a leasing (Woman, 32 years, Interview no. 10)."*

After the labor migrants had been recruited (those recruited in Ukraine), the "client" or an agency commissioned by the "client" started arranging for their documents, jobs and accommodation, in some cases also for transportation and other services, of course in each case for a fee. Respondent statements show that some of them were in contact with more than only one "client". Some "clients" provided them with necessary documents (this type of "clients" had a significant position, especially after introduction of the visa regime in 2001 which will be discussed later), other arranged for employment, transport or accommodation. Other respondents were in close contact with one "client" only who organized everything for them. Within this relationship, labor migrants could easily get into dependence on a particular "client", which made it very complicated for them to change their job or accommodation or to go home at will.

If some migrants, especially those who were dependent on one "client", wanted to escape from the system, they could get into problems. According to the then-current Czech legislation, if a foreigner lost the job he also automatically lost his working permit. With the

introduction of visa regime in 2001 the situation became even worse – not only that the migrant lost his job and his working permit, but loss of a working permit meant automatic loss of a working visa and the migrant had to leave the Czech Republic in three days. It was only recently that an amendment of the relevant regulations gave migrants who lose their jobs and working permits two months to find a new job, thus preserving their working visa. Another form of pressure exercised by certain clients on labor migrants was to pay the wages with several months delay. As the aggregate amount of unpaid wages was usually quite substantial, at least from the migrant's point of view, such migrant rarely decided to leave the "client" as he knew that the client would most probably never pay him the unpaid salary if the migrant left him. Moreover, the "client system" penetrated the Czech labor market to such extent that it was almost impossible for an individual Ukrainian to get a job in the Czech Republic as majority of Czech employers were renting the work force indirectly through client's companies (Leontiyeva, 2005). Czech employers preferred to employ foreigners through intermediating agencies because, as it was already described, it was much easier, less risky and cheaper for the employer. One respondent who tried to find a job without any assistance from a client had the following experience:

*"I wanted to find a job by myself. I had a trade license so I could work legally as a cleaner. I called to the hotel where they were looking for somebody for cleaning. However when the chief found out that I am a Ukrainian she gave me a phone number of certain Roman who was, as she said, "responsible for all Ukrainians and Russians". I called him and it turned out that he was a client. It is easier for Czechs to employ us through clients (Woman, 30 years, Interview no. 8)."*

There were of course labor migrants who were coming to the Czech Republic to work within secondary labor market by themselves and did not use services of "clients", however this was usually limited to those who had friends, family or other contacts in the Czech Republic outside of the system.

*"When we came here my parents were living here for 10 years. They told us what to do. I arranged for a trade license by myself. I am working under a trade license as a cleaner. (...) Nevertheless I found this hotel accidentally (the hotel in which the respondent worked). When we had come here, my son was ill, so I went to a pharmacy. I asked the woman who was working there if she knows about any job. (...) She was a wife of the owner of this hotel. In*

*three days she called me and I got a job here. I am have been here seven years already (Woman, 35 years, Interview no. 11)."*

To sum up, the tightening of legislative conditions during the second half of the 90s together with the establishment of informal networks related to intermediation of cheap labor force from post – Soviet region, namely from Ukraine, led to institutionalization of labor migration from these areas or, in other words, to formation of the migration business as discussed above. The “client system” was established to provide access to labor market to regular, quasi – regular and irregular immigrants. Ukrainian organized crime took part in the process as well and quickly found its ways to profit from the system (Čermáková, Nekorjak, 2009).

The period from the beginning of new millennium until the economic crisis can be called a *stabilization period*. In this period, the “client system” went through a consolidation. According to Černík, *“up to this point, it was possible to view the phenomenon as part of the institutionalization process. Consolidation of the set of informal rules and manners organizing the community of temporary labor migrants from the former USSR was completed simultaneously with the development of institutional change, with, for instance, the implementation of the visa regime by the Czech republic for citizens from countries of the former USSR”* (Černík, 2006, 26). By the implementation of visa regime (2001) the Czech state on one hand acquired the power to regulate migration flows from Ukraine (at least the official ones) but on the other hand this step helped the “client system” to evolve and stabilize. Visa regime was yet another barrier for labor migrants to access Czech labor market, and it is reasonable to assume that every new obstacle or complex administrative step migrants have to deal with increases the demand for services of “clients”. After 2001 “clients” expanded the range of their services for labor migrants and started to provide assistance with applications for working and business visas and, as a related service, offered migrants membership in statutory bodies of Czech companies and cooperatives (often with thousands of members) which allowed them to apply for a special type of a business visa which was the easiest way of legalizing the migrants’ stay in the Czech Republic at the time. In this period, the “client system” was at its zenith. In this period, eight respondents came to the Czech Republic. Many of them were, due to gradual tightening of migration policies, especially due to problems with arranging and obtaining all documents necessary for the stay in the Czech Republic, in the Czech Republic quasi illegally or illegally, which resulted in their increasing dependence on services of “clients”:

*“In certain time it was good for me that it was working (the client system). When I arrived for the first time, I had a tourist visa (therefore the respondent was working illegally in the Czech Republic). I could not go back home (when someone wanted to apply for a long-term visa he had to apply for it at a Czech embassy in Ukraine or in any other country than the Czech Republic). I was earning 32 CZK (per hour) at that time (around 2002). It was not much. It was too expensive to go home. So I decided to stay here (in the Czech Republic) and to make visas through people (clients) who were here for a long time and were able to do this (arrange for visas)<sup>11</sup> (Woman, 30 years, Interview no 8).”*

*“At the beginning (when the respondent came to the Czech Republic in 2006), it was hard and expensive (to obtain necessary documents). We had to buy (from a client) a health insurance for one or two years and other documents. However, we had a “client” who was not robbing us too much. Once we did also tourist visas for my husband, our son and me. Together we paid 10 000 CZK. It is not much (official fees were around 900 CZK for one person) (Woman, 35 years, Interview no. 11).”*

*We paid (to a „client”) to become members of a statutory body of a Czech company to be here legally. (...) Everybody knows that it is not real. You pay to that person (the “client”) an official fee covering notarization, commercial register fees and his profit. I do not know how much from that amount was for him. However, he took care about everything. (...) There were 6 members of statutory bodies of that company; however we didn’t know each other. (...) I have never seen any of them. When you are member in statutory bodies, you are here legally and you can do business here (in the Czech Republic), that’s what I was interested in (Woman, 32 years, Interview no. 7).”*

It seems that with implementation of visa regime new group of actors emerged, strengthening the position of the “client system”. According to my respondents, in order to be able to arrange for visas for labor migrants “clients” had to have contacts within the Foreign Police by which the visas were issued (nowadays this agenda is in the competence of the Ministry of interior):

---

<sup>11</sup> I was speaking with this respondent in 2006. Nowadays it seems that it is not possible anymore to arrange for these kinds of papers from the Czech Republic even for “clients”. It is because new measures were introduced by the Ministry of Interior and Foreign police who are responsible for issuing visas.



*“When I went to Foreign Police, there were long queues. However, queues didn’t exist for “clients”. There were sequence numbers (through which the foreigners were directed to particular officers), but they did not need them. They just looked at the police officer, who recognized the familiar face, and they were allowed to enter disregarding the queues.(...) They could go to particular office immediately, sometimes with several passports at once (Woman, 32 years, Interview no. 7).”*

A social worker who was working in one office of the Foreign Police (later transformed into a branch of the Ministry of Interior) as a consultant stated about the situation at the Foreign Police:

*“We knew who they were. I saw them there every day (“clients”). There were always many people around them. These people were foreigners who were arranging for their papers through them (Social worker, Interview no. 21).”*

I also had a personal experience with “clients” acting at the Foreign Police. As I mentioned at the beginning of this paper I worked as an intern in League for human rights where I was involved in a research project “Application of immigration law in practice”. This project examined relationships between the Foreign Police and immigrants. Within the six-week research, I regularly visited one office of the Foreign Police where I collected the questionnaires and conducted interviews with immigrants. Therefore, I had the opportunity to observe what was happening there. In few days, I was able to recognize several “clients”. Usually they had meetings with labor migrants at a gas station next to the building of the Foreign Police<sup>12</sup>. It was there where labor migrants were handing over to “clients“ documents and envelopes (most probably containing money for “clients”). In the office of the Foreign Police they never waited in queues as others, usually they went immediately to the officer who dealt with visas. However, it is necessary to mention here that nowadays the process of obtaining visas changed and “clients” do not have a possibility to arrange visas for labor migrants this way anymore.

---

<sup>12</sup> We had a questioners stored here, and every day we pick up them here, so we had an opportunity to see what was happening here.

However, even though the “client system” was on its zenith on the turn of the millennium, at the same time more and more immigrants, as it was described above (see chapter 3.2.3.) applied for and obtained permanent residence permits, either because they wanted better conditions for living and working or because they were planning to settle in the Czech Republic permanently. This new phenomenon led to increased integration of Ukrainian migrants into Czech society and to the beginning of their emancipation from the “client system” (albeit very slow), especially because migrants with permanent resident status do not need any assistance with obtaining visas (as they do not need any visas) or intermediation of employment (as they do not need any work permits and employers can treat them, at least from the legal point of view, as Czech citizens). However, according to the head of social workers from SIMI, even those labor migrants who obtained permanent residence could have problems to find employment without a “client”:

*“There were migrants who had been here for 6 years and could not find a job without a “client”. They had long-term visas with the purpose of employment or business. Every year they had problems with prolongation of their visas (so they had to use services of “clients”). In addition, after they had obtained permanent residence permits, two thirds of them ended unemployed and had to register at the Employment Office within half a year. They wanted to work officially, however, they found out it was not so easy. For example, I had a client (labor migrant) who had permanent resident status. He was good in paving. He told me that he earned around 30 000 per months unofficially. I told him to ask the companies he was working for if they could make him a contract or pay him the invoice. From seven companies five told him that it was not possible. One told him that he would think about it and the last one agreed with it, however they never called him back (Social worker, Interview no. 18).”*

This implies that even when the migrants obtained status of permanent residents and started to integrate into the Czech society, they were not always able, especially because of the attitude of Czech employers, to escape from the “client system”.

The last period of the development of the “client system” is the one from the start of the economic crisis in the end of 2008 until nowadays. It seems that after the economic crisis and after implementation of recent changes of immigration policies the “client system” has not been flourishing in the same way as before, however I suggest it still remains the dominant way of organizing employment, at least for labor migrants who came into the Czech Republic

in recent past. Because there are no current researches or literature dealing with the phenomenon of the “client system” after economic crisis, I draw my conclusions only from the statements of my respondents. It seems that the first reason why the influence of the “client system” started to decline was the economic crisis and its consequences. After 2008, there has been less job opportunities available in general and “clients” have not had enough offers for labor migrants who were working through them. Therefore labor migrants, who had been until then searching job through “clients”, have been trying to find employment by themselves or they left back to Ukraine (after the economic crisis around 30 000 Ukrainian migrants with legal visas left the Czech Republic as it was described above). Secondly, the prices for processing long-term visas through “clients” are increasing, especially due to the obligation for foreigners to pay for complex health insurance, which was introduced by an amendment to the Aliens Act that came into force on 1 January 2011. Before this change, it was sufficient for obtaining or prolonging long-term visas to pay emergency care insurance, which cost around 6000 Czech crowns. Since 2011, complex health insurance must be arranged and paid for, in most cases in advance for two years, what makes something between 18 000 and 26 000 for one person (the exact amount depends on age, health of the respective migrant and other variables). Other problem is that foreigners have not been allowed to participate in public health insurance system and need to use commercial insurances available on the market. Therefore, prices of insurance have not been determined by the state, as it is the case with respect to public health insurance system, but by commercial insurance companies. Respondents, labor migrants and workers of NGOs, confirmed that after introduction of the obligation to pay for complex health insurance “clients” prices long term visas increased to 50 000 - 60 000 Czech crowns. This amount is quite high for immigrants, especially for those who do not want to settle in the Czech Republic. In general, stay in the Czech Republic has been so profitable for temporary migrants anymore, especially for those whose average monthly income ranges around 10 000 Czech crowns. A lawyer from Inbaze Berkat organization summarized:

*“I think that after the economic crisis, the position of the “client system” weakened. “Clients” do not have enough work for their workers. Many of our clients (labor migrants) say that their “clients” do not give them jobs. Then people do not have any reason to stay here, or they try to search for job somewhere else. People are going back home also because it started to be too expensive for them here. Nowadays prices for services of “clients” for processing or prolonging long-term visas are, according to our clients, moving somewhere between 50 000*

*and 60 000 Czech crowns, of course including health insurance. And this amount is too high for some migrants. They would have to work hard for almost a whole year to pay this amount of money (Lawyer Inbáze Berkat, Interview no. 19)."*

When I asked one of the respondents who was not using services of "clients" anymore, how many of her Ukrainian friends use services of "clients" nowadays, she answered as follows:

*Many, many people try to deal with everything by themselves. Nevertheless, "clients" are still here. I think maybe it is about half-and-half, or even more people are working without a "client". (...) It depends on whether you want to stay here permanently or not. (...) For those who come here temporarily, it used to be better before (when only emergency care insurance was necessary). They come to work here as much as possible. They work for 16 hours 7 days per week. They do not want to pay such money for health care. They want to save it and send it home. They are coming for three or six months. It is better for them to work illegally. Therefore, they need services of "clients" (...). If you want to settle here, it is different. If you meet requirements for obtaining permanent residence, it is not so hard to apply for it individually (unlike applying for long-term visa). (...) I did it by myself, I passed the language exam and I applied, without a "client" (Woman, 35 years, Interview no. 11)."*

According to NGO workers whom I interviewed, due to less job opportunities on the market the Employment Office issued new methodological guideline on 1 January 2012. This guideline recommended not issuing any work permits to anybody who does not have at least complemented secondary education (documents certifying the education must be officially validated by Czech authorities) and, simultaneously, the position for which the work permit to such person can be issued, should not require secondary education. In this manner, the secondary labor market should be preserved to residents. Since then, the Employment Office has not been issuing any new work permits for low skilled job positions. Work permits for such positions could only be prolonged, however for half a year only. This guideline on one hand decreased the number of new arriving official labor migrants within the secondary labor market, however, on the other hand, according to the head of social workers from SIMI, the guideline contributed to increase of number of new illegal migrants within the secondary labor market who are dependent on services of "clients".

*“(...) this guideline caused that migrants are more dependent on the “client system”, because they have to pay (to the “client”) every half a year for prolongation of their working visas. I have also heard that from our clients; however, I have not verified it, that when newly arriving migrants need a working permit for which they need the validation of certificate about their education, they need help of a “client” to arrange for such validation, because there is corruption on municipalities (where education certificates are validated). The officials from municipalities issue the validation certificate to one but not to other (however, “clients” can arrange for it) (Head of social workers, Interview no. 18).”*

Moreover, labor migrants and social workers suggested that from 2012, due to the impossibility for labor migrants to get to Czech secondary labor market legally, the numbers of those who were doing it illegally have been increasing. It seems that many Ukrainians have been coming to the Czech Republic recently on the basis of Schengen visas issued in Poland. According to a social worker from SIMI, almost any Ukrainians who applied recently, successfully obtained a long term visa in Poland because, unlike the Czech Republic, Poland has been trying to attract Ukrainian labor migrants. However, many of Ukrainians, immediately after obtaining Schengen visas issued in Poland, move to the Czech Republic where they work illegally through services of “clients” (Schengen visa allows them to enter the country legally but does not allow them to work there). Some labor migrants whom I interviewed mentioned Ukrainians coming illegally from Poland as well:

*“They (Ukrainian labor migrants) go to Poland where they get “Polish visa” (Schengen visa) and then come here (to the Czech Republic). Mostly they are seasonal workers. They come here for two or three months and then go back home. (...) Through “clients” they have arranged for employment in advance. “Clients” are waiting for them. They are coming as a “replacement” for those who are going home. Usually they are coming there and back and they know the “clients” well (Woman, 48 years, Interview no. 13).”*

To sum up, I conclude that after the economic crisis the position of the “client system” has been weakened; however, it is still the dominant way of organizing employment for Ukrainian labor migrants, at least for those who have been coming recently as seasonal or temporary labor migrants. Partial loss of importance of the “client system” was caused in the first place by the economic crisis and subsequent problems of “clients” to successfully mediate jobs because of fewer job opportunities. Secondly, spontaneous emancipation of migrants from the

system started to appear as well, especially of those who had been in the Czech Republic for a longer time, had permanent resident status and wanted to settle there permanently. However in some cases, as it was mentioned, even when migrants had permanent resident status, it was not always easy to find a job without “clients” and thus to break out of the system. Thirdly, after the recent changes of immigration laws, especially those related to introduction of obligatory complex health insurance, which is several times more expensive than the one for emergency care, which had been required until then, the stay in the Czech Republic ceased to be profitable for many migrants. Therefore, they went back to Ukraine or chose a different destination country. Fourthly, in connection with the consequences of the economic crisis, new methodological guideline was issued by the Employment Office. Due to this guideline, official access to secondary labor market was almost entirely closed to foreigners. This caused on one hand that the number of official labor migrants within secondary labor market decreased, however on the other hand it can be assumed that the number of illegal migrants within secondary labor market increased. It seems that “clients” adapted, as they did many times before, to changing legal and administrative environment. Because recently there had been no possibility to get to the Czech secondary labor market legally, “clients” came up with a way to do it illegally. They found out that it is relatively easy for Ukrainians to obtain Schengen visas in Poland and those visas can be used to get seasonal labor migrants to the Czech Republic, where “clients” organize illegal work for them.

## 4. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to find out why is the Czech Republic one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants and why the so-called “client system” was established there as a dominant way of organizing labor migration from Ukraine. I tried to examine these issues especially through qualitative research methods. I collected my data mainly through semi – structured in-depth interviews with Ukrainian labor migrants and employees of NGOs. I did 22 interviews in total, 18 with labor migrants and 4 with employees of NGOs aiming to help migrants. I also used quantitative data such as different statistics and secondary sources dealing with the examined topics. I defined two research questions: *why is the Czech Republic one of the most attractive European destinations for Ukrainian labor migrants?*, in other words *what are the main pull factors that draw Ukrainians to come to the Czech Republic?*, and *why is the majority of Ukrainian labor migrants coming to work into the Czech Republic through the so-called “client system”, special semi- legal system of intermediation of employment, documents and accommodation?*

To answer my research questions I firstly had to understand why Ukrainian labor migrants have been leaving their motherland in such an extent (according to estimates the number of migrants reaches up to 7 million people) (Malynovska, 2008). According to the findings from my interviews, Ukrainians have been leaving their country due to several main reasons. First of all, they have been migrating because of the bad economic situation in Ukraine. Official rates of unemployment in Ukraine (7,2% in 2012) have not been so bad compared to other European states, however there has been large “hidden unemployment” there. “Hidden unemployment” means that people who are formally employed and working are not necessarily receiving their salaries or receive them with substantial delays. This was happening especially during the 90s when the Ukrainian state had large budget deficits and tried to compensate them by not paying salaries to employees in the public sector. Even those Ukrainians who were employed and received their salaries in time, have not been in better situation. Average salary has usually not been sufficient for living. Compared to other European states the average salary in Ukraine has been several times lower (for example compared to the Czech Republic Ukrainian average salary has been 6 times lower), while the prices have been similar. Other frequent reason to emigrate from Ukraine has been bad socio-political situation in this country, especially corruption which is pervasive throughout all

society. However, these factors do not explain why the emigration from Ukraine has been so huge. There is one factor, which has been increasing the motivation for migration. Long tradition to migrate because of employment has existed in Ukraine, especially in the western part of Ukraine. People from this area migrated for work already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, mainly to Canada, continued to do so during the first half of the 20th century and did not stop even during the Soviet era when the borders were closed. During the Soviet period Ukrainian migration changed from international to internal. Ukrainians from the western part of the country were moving as seasonal migrants to industrial regions of Ukraine or other parts of the USSR. In this case, we can speak about so-called “culture of migration”. “Culture of migration” increases the probability that migration is chosen from other possibilities of how to make a living. This explains why migration outflows from Ukraine did not change even in times of economic growth in Ukraine, when according to push and pull theory emigration from origin countries decreases.

All abovementioned factors could be described as main push factors which have encouraged Ukrainian labor migrants to emigrate abroad. However, why Ukrainians have been immigrating particularly to the Czech Republic? What are the main pull factors, which have motivated them to go there? My findings shown that the most significant factors which have been influencing Ukrainian migrants to choose the Czech Republic as their destination country have been good economic (job opportunities and high average salary compare to Ukraine) and political (democratization and stability) situation. This is not so surprising if we consider that labor migrants are usually looking for better economic and political situation than the one existing in their country of origin. Other important pull factor, which also influenced the process of establishment of the “client system”, was liberal immigration policies which were in effect from early until mid 90s. Liberal immigration regime allowed migrants to come into the Czech Republic freely without any administrative obstacles. This caused that still more and more labor migrants had been coming, which led to formation of strong migration networks that were based, at least at the beginning, on interpersonal relations between families and friends. Migration networks became a strong pull factor in the process of migration. According to statements of my respondents majority of them came to the Czech Republic, among other reasons, also because they had a family or friend there. The abovementioned factors were strengthened by specific pull factors characteristic for the Czech Republic such as cultural, historical and language similarity with Ukraine combined with



geographical proximity, which was important especially for those migrants who were leaving their children in Ukraine.

Institutionalization of migration based on migration social networks had begun after tightening of immigration policies in mid 90s and until the turn of the millennium the “client system”, or in other words migration business, was formed. The “client system” was established to provide, for a fee, access to secondary labor market to legal, quasi-legal and illegal Ukrainian migrants. The system consists of 4 main groups of actors. The main actors are the so-called “clients” who mediate employment, documents, accommodation, transport etc. to labor migrants, another group of actors in the system. Third group of actors are Czech employers who want to employ cheap foreign labor force without any risk and time consuming administration. Last group participating in the system are mobsters who joined the system and started to benefit from it a little bit later. According to some migration experts (Nekorjak, Čermáková) around 50% of labor migrants from Ukraine came to the Czech Republic through this system. However, why has the “client system” been a dominant way of organizing labor migration from Ukraine from mid 90s until nowadays? As my findings show the basis for formation of the “client system” lies in the tradition of Ukrainians to migrate because of work. Especially during the Soviet era it was usual for Ukrainians to migrate within the USSR in mobile work groups with unofficial leaders (brigadyrs) who organized work and other necessities. This tradition later transformed and adapted itself to specific Czech circumstances. During early 90s, when liberal immigration policies were in effect, first labor migrants were coming spontaneously, among them first future “clients”. Those future “clients” started to build informal personal contacts with Czech employers and other important persons such as different state officials. However, the “client system” started to be established from mid 90s, when the implementation of restrictive immigration policies begun. Access to labor market became more difficult for labor migrants, especially because they had to have a working permit, which was very complicated to obtain. Simultaneously Czech employers had to deal with the fact that regular recruitment process became administratively difficult, more expensive and time consuming, moreover authorized official bodies increased persecution of those who employed foreigners illegally. Therefore, labor migrants started to need someone who would help them to obtain the working permit, and after decline of the “job exchanges” where they could find jobs spontaneously, they needed also someone who would help them to find employment. Moreover, labor migrants were accustomed to use services of “brigadyrs” in relation to working trips from the Soviet times. Therefore, I suggest

that when the first “clients” emerged it was natural for labor migrants to use their services. Czech employers also welcomed the services of “clients” who were able to externalize the risks and costs of employing foreigners, by establishing companies which worked on the principle of subcontracting. In this period “clients” started to formalize their position from unofficial leaders to official companies. In this period, the organized crime joined the “client system”. All “clients” were forced to pay to selected mafia group. In return, such mafia group provided its “clients” and labor migrants who worked through them with “protection” against other mafia groups.

In 2001 the Czech Republic had implemented the visa regime which caused that the “client system” came to its zenith. The procedure of obtaining visas became so complicated that majority of respondents ceased to believe that it was possible to get to the Czech Republic without help of a “client”. At that time the system penetrated the labor market to such an extent that it was almost impossible for individual labor migrants to find employment without a “client”. Therefore, leaving the “client system” was almost impossible for labor migrants.

After the economic crisis in 2008 the importance of the “client system” started to decrease. Nevertheless, it still forms a dominant way how to organize employment for labor migrants from Ukraine at least with respect to newly arriving labor migrants. The decrease in importance was caused by the economic crisis and resulting disappearance of job opportunities which could be mediated by the “clients”, and also by higher number of labor migrants who gained permanent resident status and thus did not need any assistance with visas and employment and could therefore easily leave the system. In connection with the economic crisis and less job opportunities a new methodological guideline was issued in January 2012 by the Employment Office. According to the guideline work permits were not supposed to be issued to anybody who did not have at least completed secondary education and at the same time the position for which he/she was applying for was not supposed to require secondary education. By this way the secondary labor market was deemed to be protected. However, on one hand the number of official labor migrants within secondary labor market decreased, but on the other hand according to the statements of my respondents it seems that the number of illegal migrants within secondary labor market increased. I suggest that the “clients” adapted to new administrative restrictions and when it was not possible to bring new migrants legally they were doing it semi-legally or illegally, most notably through Schengen visas issued in Poland. After obtaining such visas, Ukrainian labor

migrants went immediately to the Czech Republic where they were working illegally through services of “client”.

To sum up I think that formation of the “client system” or, in different words, formation of the migratory business together with specific economic, political and legal conditions were the main factors behind intensive influx of Ukrainian labor migration into the Czech Republic. Those factors were strengthened by other specific pull factors for the Czech Republic such as cultural, historical and language similarity, and geographical proximity. The reasons why the “client system” is a dominant way of organizing employment of labor migrants in the Czech Republic were explained in detail in this text. It seems that the “client system” did not develop to a similar extent in other European countries with large Ukrainian communities. According to available academic works (Fileva 2001, Montefusco 2008) there are strong migration networks in Italy, however those networks are not as institutionalized as those in the Czech Republic. According to my respondents, the system does not exist in Slovakia, Hungary or Poland, however I could not confirm these statements from any academic sources because no literature on this particular topic in these particular countries was available in English, Slovak or Czech languages. Nevertheless, the “client system” developed in Portugal. The “client system” had appeared there quite suddenly and Portugal police suppressed it after several years. The system emerged in reaction to a large legalization program, which took place in 2001. According to my respondents whom I interviewed in Portugal, but also according to available literature (Bagnha, Margues, Góis, 2004, 2007), the system worked very similarly to the one in the Czech Republic. There were mediators who organized work, documents and accommodation for Ukrainian labor migrants within informal labor networks. However, as it was mentioned, according to my respondents and also the head of the organization Solidaridade Imigrante, where I worked as an intern, the Portugal police started to suppress the system quite early after its establishment. Moreover, the National Immigrant Support Center was established in Portugal, providing a number of services related to immigration under one roof in an effective and immigrant friendly way. Thus, migrants did not have to apply for various documents each of which is issued by a different office, as is the case in the Czech Republic. The National Immigrant Support Center also employs so called cultural mediators, who are themselves migrants. Their role is helping new migrants with processing visa applications. It seems that these effective assistance services organized by the state were another important reason why the “client system” was successfully suppressed in Portugal. Labor migrants, unlike in the Czech Republic, never needed assistance of “clients” with

processing of visas because they were able, thanks to the new Center, to manage the process by themselves.

I think that the Czech Republic should get inspired by Portuguese practices related to immigration. I believe that restrictive immigration policies implemented in the Czech Republic, which attempt to regulate migration inflows, paradoxically do the opposite - strengthen the functioning of the “client system” and increase the number of illegal migrants there. Even after the economic crisis, when the position of the “client system” weakened a little bit, it is still true that more obstacles created to restrict access of labor migrants to accesses the labor market mean their higher dependence on services of “clients”. I think that in order to prevent dependence of labor migrants on the “client system” immigration legislative should be clarified and simplified and, if possible, all immigration agenda should be concentrated in one office to decrease the bureaucratic burden. It would be also helpful to employ cultural mediators in all offices of the Ministry of Interior that deal with migrants, as was done in Portugal. Cultural mediators would assist migrants with processing visa applications, arranging all other documents, would translate and interpret to their languages as necessary, but would also help with the so-called “cultural” translation. In general, labor migrants should be better informed by the state about procedures of applying for visas and how and where to find employment. Legal restrictions on employing foreigners should be lifted or at least simplified also for the Czech employers so that they do not need to use services of “clients” to shield themselves from potential liability. It should be in the interest of the Czech state to solve the problem posed by the “client system”, not only due to large tax evasions and other breaches of law that occur regularly within the system, but mainly because a democratic state should not allow any abuse of labor migrants on its territory, either direct by the “clients” or indirect by the Czech employers who participate in the system.

## 5. References

Baganha, M.I., Marques, J.C., Góis, P., (2004). The unforeseen wave: Migration from Eastern Europe to Portugal. In: Baganha, M.I., Fonseca, M.L. (Eds.). *New Waves: Migration from Eastern To Southern Europe*. Lisbon: Luso – American Foundation, p. 23 -39.

Marques, J.C., Góis, P. (2007). Ukrajinská migrace do Portugalska: Jak se z ničeho zrodila jedna ze tří největších skupin přistěhovalců. (Online) Migraceonline.cz. Available at: <<http://www.migraceonline.cz/cz/e-knihovna/ukrajinska-migrace-do-portugalska-jak-se-z-niceho-zrodila-jedna-ze-tri-nejvetsich-skupin-pristehovalcu>> (Accessed: 14 May 2013).

Baršová, A. and Barša, P. (2005). *Přistěhovalectví a liberální stát. Imigrační a integrační politiky v USA, západní Evropě a Česku*. Brno: Masaryk Univerzity.

Bedzir, V. (2001). Migration from Ukraine to Central and Eastern Europe. In: Wallance, C. & Stola, D. (Eds.). *Patterns of Migration in Central Europe*. New York: Palgrave, p. 277 - 292.

Bryman, A. (2004). *Social Research Methods* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Castles, S. and Miller, M. J. (2003). *The Age of Migration* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn). New York: Guilford Press.

CSO (2012a). Czech Statistical Office. Cizinci. *Počet cizinců - datové údaje*. Available at: <[http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/datove\\_udaje/ciz\\_pocet\\_cizincu#cr](http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/datove_udaje/ciz_pocet_cizincu#cr)> (Accessed: 6 May 2013)

CSO (2012b). Czech Statistical Office. *The Number of foreigners*. Available at: <[http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/kapitola/ciz\\_pocet\\_cizincu](http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/kapitola/ciz_pocet_cizincu)> (Accessed: 6 May 2013)

Čermáková, D. (2008). Klientský systém a jeho specifika. In: Drbohlav, D. (Ed.). *Nelegální ekonomické aktivity migrantů (Česko v evropském kontextu)*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova – Nakladatelství Karolinum, p. 167-175.

Čermáková, D. and Nekorjak, M. (2009). Ukrainian Middleman System of Labour Organisation in the Czech Republic. *Journal of Economic & Social Geography*, 100 (1), p. 33-43.

Černík, J. (2004). Migrační potenciál SSSR, Ukrajina, Moldavsko, Bělorusko, problematika ekonomické migrace. In: Uherek, Z., Weinerová, R., Plochová, K., Valášková, N., Černík, J., Červinka, O., Mušinka, M. *Migrace do České Republiky, sociální integrace a lokální společnosti v zemi původu*. Praha: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, p. 68-90.

Černík, J. (2005). Klientský systém jako quasi-feudalismus v Česku. (Online). [www.migraceonline.cz](http://www.migraceonline.cz), Multikulturální centrum Praha. Available at: <<http://www.migraceonline.cz/cz/e-knihovna/klientsky-system-jako-quasi-feudalismus-v-cesku>> (Accessed: 19 April 2013).

Černík, J. (2006). Of Clients and Chereps: The Organisational Structures of Ukrainian Labour Migration. In: Szczepanikova, A., Canek, M. and Grill, J. *Migration Processes in Central and Eastern Europe: Unpacking the Diversity*, p. 25 – 29. (Online). Available at: <<http://www.migrationonline.cz/en/migration-processes-in-central-and-eastern-europe-unpacking-the-diversity>> (Accessed: 3 May 2013).

Červinka, O. (2004). Ukrajinská pracovní migrace v České republice: případová studie. In: Uherek, Z. and Weinerová, R. (Eds.). *Migrace do České republiky, sociální integrace a lokální společnosti v zemích původu*. Praha: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, p. 111 – 161.

Drbohlav, D., (1999). Ukrajinská komunita v České republice. Prague, Grant of the Ministry of the Interior, No. U-2116/99.

Drbohlav, D. (2004). Migration Trends in Selected Applicant Countries Volume II - The Czech Republic: The Times They Are A-changin (Online). Available at: <[http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/MigrationTrends\\_EU\\_2.pdf](http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/MigrationTrends_EU_2.pdf)> (Accessed: 10 April 2013).

Drbohlav, D., (2005). The Czech Republic, from liberal policy to EU membership. (Online). Available at: <<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=325>> (Accessed: 4 March 2013).

Drbohlav, D. (Ed.) (2008). *Nelegální ekonomické aktivity migrantů (Česko v evropském kontextu)*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova – Nakladatelství Karolinum.

Drbohlav, D., Medová, L., Čermák, Z., Janská, E., Čermáková, D. and Dzúrová, D. (2010). *Migrace a (i)migranti v Česku: Kdo jsme, odkud přicházíme, kam jdeme?* Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Economy of Ukraine (2013). Wikipedia article, May 2013. Available at: <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy\\_of\\_Ukraine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Ukraine)> (Accessed: 30 April 2013).

Ezzeddine, P. (2012). Mateřství na dálku. Transnacionální mateřství ukrajinských migrantek v České republice. *Gender, Equal Opportunities, Research*, 13 (1), p. 24 – 32.

Fedyuk, O. (2006). *Ukrainian Labor Migrants: Visibility through stereotypes*. (Online). [www.migrationonline.cz](http://www.migrationonline.cz). Available at: <<http://www.migrationonline.cz/en/ukrainian-labour-migrants-visibility-through-stereotypes>> (Accessed: 1 April 2013).

Fileva, D. (2011). Reasons of Ukrainian migration to Italy: a sole interplay of the economic benefits and social networks? Master's thesis, University of Tampere (Online). Available at: <<http://tutkielmat.uta.fi/pdf/gradu05231.pdf>> (Accessed: 10 April 2013).

Index mundi. (2013). Ukraine unemployment Rate. Available at: <[http://www.indexmundi.com/ukraine/unemployment\\_rate.html](http://www.indexmundi.com/ukraine/unemployment_rate.html)> (Accessed: 15 May 2013).

IOM (2011). Migration in Ukraine: Facts & Figures. International Organization for Migration. Available at: < [http://iom.org.ua/en/pdf/Facts&Figures\\_b5\\_en\\_f.pdf](http://iom.org.ua/en/pdf/Facts&Figures_b5_en_f.pdf)> (Accessed: 8 May 2013).

Kotusenko, V., (2007). Labor migration from Ukraine and its Ethical Implications. (Online) Study, Pontificia Università San Tommaso d'Aquino. Available at: <[http://pust.it/oikonomia/pages/2007/2007\\_Ottobre/pdf/03\\_studi\\_kotusenko.pdf](http://pust.it/oikonomia/pages/2007/2007_Ottobre/pdf/03_studi_kotusenko.pdf)> (Accessed: April 20, 2013).

Kubal, A. (2012). Facts and Fabrications: Experiences of law and legality among return migrants in Ukraine. Oxford: International Migration Institute (IMI), University of Oxford.

Leontiyeva, Y. (2005). Ukrajinci v ČR. (Online). SOCIOweb - Sociologický ústav AV ČR. Available at: <<http://www.socioweb.cz/index.php?disp=temata&shw=200&lst=111>> (Accessed: 22 April 2013).

Leontiyeva, Y. (2009) Ukrajinci v ČR. In: Hirt, T. (Ed.). Vietnamci, Mongolové a Ukrajinci v ČR: Pracovní migrace, životní podmínky, kulturní specifika. (Informační příručka Policie ČR). The Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, p. 59-78. Available at: <[http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/uploads/file/1367397604-metodika\\_cizinci\\_web.pdf](http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/uploads/file/1367397604-metodika_cizinci_web.pdf)> (Accessed 4 May 2013).

Leontiyeva, Y., (2010). The Socio-Economic Impact of Admission Policies and Admission Related Integration Policies in the Czech Republic. (Online). Migrationonline.cz. Available at: <<http://www.migrationonline.cz/en/the-socio-economic-impact-of-admission-policies-and-admission-related-integration-policies-in-the-czech-republic>> (Accessed: 4 April 2013).

Lupták, M. (2008). “Push” faktory pracovní migrace do zahraničí z území dnešní Ukrajiny. In: Drbohlav, D. (Ed.) (2008). *Nelegální ekonomické aktivity migrantů (Česko v evropském kontextu)*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova – Nakladatelství Karolinum, pp. 225 - 232.

Malynovska, O. (2004). International Labor Migration from the Ukraine: The Last Ten Years. In: Baganha, M.I., Fonseca, M.L. (Eds.). *New Waves: Migration from Eastern to Southern Europe*. Lisbon: Luso – American Foundation, pp. 11-21.

Malynovska, O. (2008). Migrace z Ukrajiny (s důrazem na Česko jako cílovou zemi). In: Drbohlav, D., (Ed.) *Nelegální ekonomické aktivity migrantů (Česko v evropském kontextu)*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova – Nakladatelství Karolinum..

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal, *Population and Development Review*, 19 (3), Sep. 1993, p. 431-466.

Montefusco, C. (2008). Ukrainian Migration to Italy, *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 6 (3), p. 344-355.

Nekorjak, M. (2009). Mezišvěty: organizované zaměstnávání migrantů z Ukrajiny v České republice. PhD thesis, Masaryk University in Brno.

Newcombe, E. (2004). Temporary migration to the UK as an ‘Au Pair’: Cultural exchange or reproductive labour? Master thesis, University of Sussex. (Online) Available at: <<https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=mwp21.pdf&site=252>> (Accessed: 9 May 2013).

Remenárová, J. (2006). Pracovní migrace z Ukrajiny do ČR. Master thesis, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen.

Siar, S. (Ed.) (2008), Migration in Ukraine: A Country Profile. Geneva: International Organization for Migration. Available at: <[http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/Ukraine\\_Profile2008.pdf](http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/Ukraine_Profile2008.pdf)> (Accessed: 8 May 2013).

STEM (2011) Informace z výzkumu STEM Trendy 4/2011. Available at: <<http://www.stem.cz/clanek/2195>> (Accessed: 20 April 2013).

Uherek, Z., Valášková, N., Plochová, K. and Mušinka, M. (2004). Pracovní migrace ze Zakarpatské Ukrajiny do ČR. In: Uherek, Z., Weinerová, R., Plochová, K., Valášková, N., Černík, J., Červinka, O., Mušinka, M. *Migrace do České Republiky, sociální integrace a lokální společnosti v zemi původu*. Praha: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, p. 91-110.

Valentová, E. (Ed.). (2012). Zvýšení role neziskového sektoru v oblasti sociální integrace pracovních migrantů v České republice: Srovnání praxe v Portugalsku a Rakousku. (Online) SIMI - Sdružení pro integraci a migraci (Association for Integration and Migration), ESF. Available at: <[http://www.migrace.com/docs/130220\\_simi\\_publicace\\_ke\\_cteni\\_dvoustrany.pdf](http://www.migrace.com/docs/130220_simi_publicace_ke_cteni_dvoustrany.pdf)> (Accessed: 24 April 2013).

World Bank (2010). Top World Bank Bilateral Migration Matrix 2010. Available at: <<http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTDECPROSPECTS/0,,contentMDK:22803131~pagePK:64165401~piPK:64165026~theSitePK:476883,00.html>> (Accessed at: 2 May 2013).

Zimmer, K. (2007) *How Labor Migration is changing Ukraine*. (Online). Available at: <<http://www.businessweek.com/stories/2007-01-22/how-labor-migration-is-changing-ukrainebusinessweek-business-news-stock-market-and-financial-advice>> (Accessed: 3 May 2013).

Zhang, Y. and Wildemuth, B. (2009). Qualitative Analysis of Content. In Wildemuth, B. (Ed.), *Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library Science*. Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, p. 308-319.

Zilynskyj, B., (2002). *Ukrajinci v Čechách a na Moravě*. Praha: Sdružení Čechů z Volyně a jejich přátel.

I have used also 22 interviews which I conducted as primary sources.