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GENDER, MIGRATION AND THE FORMATION OF ETHNIC NICHEs IN THE LABOR MARKET: THE CASE OF UKRAINIAN WORKERS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

SUMMARY

The post communist developments in the region of Central and Eastern Europe have generated new trends in international migration. Migration flows within the region led to the emergence of new receiving states in Europe. Ethnic, social and gender divisions are produced as a result of these new kinds of mobility and the changes of the labor markets in both receiving and sending countries. This paper will illustrate gender division of Ukrainian migrant workers in the Czech Republic.

KEY WORDS: migration, ethnic niches, gender, labor market, Ukrainian workers, Czech Republic
KLJUČNE RJEČI: migracija, etničke niše, spol, tržište rada, ukrajinski radnici, Češka Republika

1. Introduction

The opening of borders and the process of transition towards market economy resulted in new patterns of migration flows from Eastern European countries and led to the emergence of new receiving states in Europe. Discrepancies in the development of post-communist countries predetermined their division in terms of generating and attracting migration flows. Several states of Central Europe are to be no longer described as a mere "waiting hall" for the people willing to get

further west, to mostly recognized destination countries. Such countries as Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Republics have become destination countries for many migrants in their own right. Together, these countries form a new "buffer zone" between East and West (Wallace, Chmouliar and Sidorenko, 1995). Higher standard of living, more stable economy and relative social stability constitute the main attractions for the newcomers from less developed former Soviet-bloc countries. However, describing mobility within the region only in terms of "push-pull" model is not sufficient to explain the forms in which this process takes place. The new patterns of migration within the region should be understood as a result and significant feature of a transitional process which differs in its implication from country to country. Therefore, examining the new kinds of mobility could help to reveal some important social changes in the region.

In the process of transition, when the very foundations of the society are to be reshaped, the whole change in social and political order entails changes in gender relations as well. The main theoretical point of departure is that the economic and social factors determining women's participation in the temporary labor migration in "buffer zone" have to be considered interrelatedly.

This paper will focus upon gender division amongst Ukrainian immigrants in the Czech Republic. Although there are many ethnic groups worth examining, and the comparative study of different migrant groups has yet to be conducted, Ukrainian workers will be the main object of the present paper. This group of migrant laborers was chosen for several reasons. First of all, it outnumbers other groups classified according to nationality (see Fig. 1 showing the share of Ukrainians among other groups of foreigners with legal work status in the Czech Republic). A rapid increase of the migration between these two former communist states (see Fig. 2) exemplifies possible migration trends in the region of Central Europe. Second, the group of Ukrainian migrants constitutes a distinctive enclave within the host labor market. Since the personnel composition of such enclave-like groups is based predominantly on ethnic and kinship networks, their socio-demographic characteristics are reflecting, in one way or the other, the social relations existing in the home country, including gender relations. Third, Ukrainian migrants, unlike refugees, asylum seekers and those propelled by the indirect influence of war or ethnic conflicts can be generally categorized as "vol-

untary” economic migrants. It can be assumed, therefore, that for this group of migrants the economic considerations are the main factor in the decision to migrate, and that the gender composition of Ukrainian migrants is determined by the economic situation and gender relations back home, rather than other external factors ascribed to the “forced” movement of people across national boundaries.

Given the fact that women are particularly vulnerable to the impact of increasing unemployment in the transitional economy,¹ as well as the traditionally high rate of economic activity among women in socialist countries, there is a surprisingly low level of female participation in the new kind of mobility which migration offers. Official statistics available in the Czech Republic show a quite stable low level of women’s representation among Ukrainian labor migrants (see fig. 3). As economic incentives for migration can be assumed to be high in our case, in order to explain women’s low activity in the increasing opportunities to find a work “abroad”, the paper will examine the broader social and economic context.

2. The Research

The proposed study stems from the qualitative research conducted by the Migration Project of the Central European University. The research which has been carried out since November 1993 was based on official statistics and newspaper reports on migration patterns in the region, and interviews with officials dealing with migration issues. The main stress, however, was on collecting in-depth-interviews to understand the life-stories and experiences of migrants. These were collected as part of a “snowball” method, given the impracticability of finding a systematic sample in a situation where large numbers of migrants are illegally resident.

In collecting data by this method the team of the Migration Project has had the advantage of the assistance of polyglot research students of the CEU from a

¹ In Ukraine women constituted nearly three-quarters of all unemployed in early 1994 (*The Ukrainian Challenge...*, 1995).

variety of former Eastern-bloc countries who were able to locate their own countrymen most easily and to assess their situation.

Besides the life-story method allowing to acquire first-hand information from the migrants, two other qualitative techniques were used. The *covert participant observation*, aimed to gain the information on illegal labor market in a Prague market place, operating as informal job exchange where the recruitment process itself takes place. The other method, the *collaborative triangulation* with two Ukrainian women labor migrants presents the modification of collaborative approach technique initially developed to conduct research in the sociology of education (Pollard, 1987).²

Finally, we attempted to make use of statistical information available in the Czech Republic. Although unable to portray illegal patterns of migration, statistical data could highlight certain tendencies in the formation of migration patterns. It should be stressed here that the insufficiency of official data sources for understanding women's participation in international migration is widely recognized by the researchers in the field (Bilsborrow and Zlotnik, 1994). Due to the underdeveloped information system on migrants in general, this is even more relevant in the case of the Czech Republic, being a newly emerged receiving state. While helpful, official statistical data can say little about women's specific experiences as migrants.

Our research and those of others, carried out over the last four years in this region (Carter, French and Salt, 1993; Verhaeren, 1993) indicate that there are new types of mobility which take a variety of complex forms and involve ethnic groups in different ways (Wallace, Chmouliar and Sidorenko, 1995).

Because one of the findings of our research points to the creation of ethnic niches within the Czech labor market, which itself undergoes a process of segmentation, the Theory of Labor Market Segmentation served as the main theoretical framework of the study.

² People involved in this research were chosen rather by occasion, mostly because of their willingness to collaborate. They received two short sessions of training that stressed interviewing and observation techniques. Most important, they shared with us their experience of being women-migrants, searching for illegal employment. Their thoughts and feelings significantly contributed to our understanding of reasons and experience of labor migrants.

3. The Theory of Labor Market Segmentation and the gender aspect of migration

The dual market theory - explaining the extent of adjustment of different ethnic migrant groups - seems to be the most promising theoretical basis for understanding Ukrainian labor migration into the Czech Republic. Rather than focusing only on cultural aspects of the contacts between newcomers and host societies, this theory describes patterns created by recent migrations in terms of migrants' access to the labor markets (Schmitter Heisler, 1994). Basing themselves on Piore's dual or segmented labor market hypothesis, the advocates of the theory argue that newcomers primarily enter the secondary labor market characterized by unstable and unpleasant working conditions and little chance of promotion. For the Czech Republic, where migration policy gives little opportunity for migrants to be politically or economically integrated into the host society, seeking for employment through ethnic channels might be the easiest way for migrants to pursue their interests.

The model of labor market segmentation, as applied to migrant labor, reveals the ethnic division among the potential employees, but it is important to notice that this theory, in general, is gender-blind. Its limitation is that it does not take into account how migrants' access to the labor market can be gendered additionally. In other words, it seems to stress the view on migration as a predominantly male experiences. In fact, migrants are described as a disadvantaged group in terms of their market vulnerability, in the same way as ethnic minorities and native women (Portes, 1988).³ Although the importance of social ties, and the economic planning at the individual and family level have been pointed out as factors of great importance for explaining migrants' level of adjustment to the host labor market (Piore, 1979; Portes, 1988), the way how it was done actually supports a male breadwinning conceptualization of the family, and of migration. Indeed, Piore's concept of migrant as an initially purely economic man - "probably the closest thing in real life to the Homo economicus of economic theory" - whose social identity is located in the place of origin, reduces the validity of the role played by social determinations in job choices in the case of temporary migrants (Piore, 1979).

³ While the host society is divided along both ethnic and gender lines, migrants are considered in this theory as a homogeneous group.

Since the late 1970s, interest on women's labor market participation has gained significance, and has indicated a deeply-rooted socially-constructed sexual division of labor among native workers (Roberts, 1984). However, there was little interest to analyze the intersecting ethnic and sexual division of the labor market which would attempt to look at women as independent employment-seekers. The relevant studies on female participation in migration are either concerned with inter-regional mobility within national labor market, or between European Union countries (Ackers, 1995). As concerning non-European migrants to Western Europe, most studies on migrant work force traditionally assign non-economic roles to female migrants and see women's entrance to the host country as spouses or daughters. Moreover, there is a considerable lack of data sources allowing to estimate and analyze women's participation in the labor market as independent workers (Bilsborrow and Zlotnik, 1994).⁴

Since the Segmented Labor Market Theory can be successfully applied mainly in the analysis of the host country, where the segmentation itself takes place, the next part of the work will be devoted to the analysis of how the Czech economic situation and migration policy shape the immigration trends.

4. The legal and economic context of the Ukrainian migration into the Czech Republic

The regulations governing migration in both receiving and sending countries are believed to determine the extent of women's participation in the different types of migration flows. The selective rules governing migration in the countries of destination establish the conditions which determine who can be admitted and under which circumstances. These conditions are formulated according to the decision-makers' perception of "desirable migrants", and can serve as eventually

⁴ For example, Sales' and Gregory's study on the implication of the European integration for migrant women (Sales and Gregory, 1995) sheds some light on the interrelationship between gender and racial disadvantage in the labor market. However, while stressing the double constraint imposed on female migrants' access to employment, on the one hand by the racism within the host labor market and, on the other hand, by their own ethnic community in the country of destination, it says little about women who migrate in their own right (it only mentions that they "have by definition extremely high activity rates"). Therefore, the study has little implication for the short term labor migration to the "buffer zone" countries where there are no established patterns of women's migration as dependants.

gendered gateways or obstacles for migration. This perception is mostly based on the “stereotypical assumption that those who migrate are young, economically ambitious, males” (Ackers, 1995). On the other hand, restrictions imposed on emigration in the country of origin can also influence the selectivity of female emigration. Therefore, the analysis of the determinants and consequences of female migration involves the understanding of the regulatory mechanisms used to control migration (Bilsborrow and Zlotnik, 1994). It can be assumed that the higher the extent of the state’s contribution into migrants’ selection, the more influence of the migration policy can be expected to impact the gender selectivity. On the contrary, in the countries with little state penetration into migrants’ admission (the analysis of the Czech policy towards migration gives ground to argue that the Czech Republic belongs to this category), the extent of women’s position in migration flows tends to be governed by labor market criteria.

To demonstrate that the legal procedures regulating the stay and employment of foreigners in this country do not influence directly the gender composition of migrants, the following aspects of the Czech migration policy have to be pointed out:

- there is no quota system determining which categories of migrants can be accepted and in which sectors of the economy;⁵
- it leaves no space for the settlement and naturalization of alien laborers, therefore it encourages individual short term migration and hinders the immigration of families;⁶
- it does not facilitate family reunification for migrants.⁷

⁵ It is declared on the governmental level that the Czech state, unlike neighboring Western-European countries, will not restrict the number of foreigners working in local enterprises. Sanctions against the employers hiring workers illegally and procedures ensuring the priority of natives in access to vacancies are supposed to serve as a sufficient protection of the national labor market.

⁶ Since immigration into the Czech Republic did not originate, as in the case of most traditional receiving states, in a formal recruitment policy arranged between employers and the government (Carter, French and Salt, 1993), the Czech state does not feel obliged to provide even minimal conditions for the incorporation of migrant workers which could lead to their permanent settlement. The rules regulating the stay of aliens in the country exclude granting stay permit for a foreigner who has lived in the country uninterruptedly for a long period of time, whereas until recently an 8-year stay was a sufficient condition for demand for Czech citizenship.

⁷ The process of family reunification is applied only for those joining Czech citizens and, being almost the only way to obtain permanent residency and citizenship, excludes the wave of a possible migration of foreign workers’ dependants.

As a consequence, the Czech migration policy excludes any speculation which would trace back the gender composition of migrants to the discriminatory legal system of the host country. Nevertheless, favoring certain patterns of migration (i.e. temporary or short-term labor migration), the state policy towards migration allows other discriminatory criteria to operate (through the demand - supply mechanisms of the labor market). To put it simply, both men and women migrants enter the country on common ground as independent employment-seekers, but their successful employment is determined by the rules of the labor market.

The character of the Czech regulations governing foreign workers suggest that the admission of migrants is based on labor market-driven criteria. As for gender composition of migration flows, it should in principle reflect the host labor market's own sex-selectivity in terms of opportunities encouraging or restricting males' and females' activity in the destination country. Thus, the economic context in which the described movement of people takes place, deserves a closer look.

Despite the insignificant level of unemployment in the Czech Republic, one of the lowest in Europe (only 3,5%), the transitional economy of this prosperous post-communist state creates certain need for imported work force in certain sectors of the modified labor market. First of all, the transition towards a market economy entails the structural modification of the post-communist labor market. While some spheres of the economy experience crises and become sources of unemployment (mainly the heavy industry sector), others begin to develop and require an additional work force: there has been a rising demand for labor in the service industries (as a consequence of the boom of tourism), and in constructions. The processes of the transitional period, such as the decentralization of production, are manifested in the growth of small business and homework, and contribute to the emergence of the secondary labor market sector characterized by high turnover, seasonal employment, short term contract work, and insecure low paid work. While local workers might be reluctant to accept conditions of casual or part-time insecure work, migrants from less developed Eastern Euro-

⁸ Wages in the buffer zone are approximately one tenth to those of the developed industrialized Western countries, and the same ratio is also the approximate difference between wages in the buffer zone countries and those to the East.

pean countries are keen to work for the wages existing in the "buffer zone" countries. Furthermore, some Czech workers go to Germany precisely for those kinds of jobs which are taken by foreigners in the Czech Republic.⁸ This is the case of Czech builders going to Germany for seasonal work who are substituted by Ukrainian construction workers.

It should be stressed, however, that it is evident that many of the jobs being created demand labor from not just male manual workers (as was the case in earlier periods of migration) but also from dexterous women who can work in light industries or service industries. The clothing industry is an example of the feasible opportunity to find work in the Czech Republic. Job vacancies in the Czech Republic are even advertised in Ukraine by local media.

Although any assessment of "gendered" criteria of the access to the Czech labor market needs a deeper analysis on macro-level, the impression after the first look is that the current regulations and the conditions of the developing labor market are not discriminatory towards women migrants per se. Thus, the rather general macro-level approach in the analysis of women's participation should be complemented with a more focused micro-level analysis.

5. Analysis of empirical data

The next part of the paper will try to give a comprehensive explanation to some of the most important and thought-provoking findings of the research. The raw data that represent the focus of attention can be condensed in three graphs, which were built using the limited information provided by official statistics relevant for the gender composition of Ukrainian migrants in the Czech Republic.

Figure 4 shows that Ukrainian migrants occupy overwhelmingly jobs in the secondary sector (manual professions which do not require special skills). This tendency of entering less attractive low-paid jobs is even more striking when compared with the position of other ethnic groups.

Figure 5 demonstrates the small proportion of female workers among Ukrainian migrants. In contrast with this data, *Figure 6a* on gender distribution of Ukrainians in professions fitting to the primary labor market sector, shows that there is small difference in number of males and females, and when compared to general prevalence of men in flow of legal Ukrainian workers (*Figure 6b*), this difference can even seem to be in women's favor.⁹

The legal and economic conditions existing in the Czech Republic does not explain the differences among ethnic groups in their access to the particular sectors of the host labor market. Indeed, it is enough to compare the position of Ukrainian migrants with the occupational structure of American migrants to conclude that the opposite scenario is not excluded (*Figure 4*). The explanation for the migrant group's adjustment to the host society as well as the gender division of migrant workers has to be found, therefore, in the motives and causes of their migration and their situation back home.

Piores's (1979) work points that preferences for the character of work accepted may vary due to the differences in time horizon, and especially important is whether the stay is considered as taking place on a temporary or permanent basis. It may be rational from the Ukrainian migrant's point of view to prefer low-skilled and casual job since their *temporary* migration into the Czech Republic is encouraged by the valid regulations. Indeed, differences between migrants who accepted low-paid temporary jobs and those who succeeded in getting work at their level of qualification can be found in their approaches to the desirable level of adjustment to the host labor market. Among those who managed to find highly-paid prestigious jobs, there is higher inclination to permanent settlement, to incorporation into the host society and willingness to obtain a necessary level of language and cultural competence and to establish contacts with natives. There is higher awareness of the need to compete with natives whose rights in the labor market are protected by the state. In the group of those who chose this "competi-

⁹ The data about Ukrainians in primary sector labor market were drawn from the list of professions which are performed by Ukrainian citizens on the basis of obtained work permits in Prague. Because of impracticability to classify these jobs according to mostly recognized characteristics of primary sector professions (those include: high wages, security, prospect of career advancement; definition derived from Adnett (1989), Elliot (1991), King (1990), such attributes of the jobs as their presumed attractiveness and requirement of special skills were chosen. Thus, the following professions were included: architect, artist, engineer, scientist-researcher, lecturer, manager, computer programmer, medical staff, administrative staff, teacher, translator and so on.

tive" strategy (migrants entering the primary sector, whose gender division is shown on Figure 6a) gender differences appear to be of much lower importance than other socio-demographic characteristics (presumably age, social status at home, marital status etc.) Thus, one can assume that the discriminational character of foreigners' acceptance is directed less to gender than to other particular characteristics of workers. As mentioned above, the acceptance of low-paid jobs with poor working conditions can be given more by migrants' own preferences than by the labor market discrimination.

Looking at our respondents' motives and preferred strategies, we can conclude that their initial plans can make them perceive their temporal attachment to the host labor market as a success. Decision to migrate was made under the pressure of difficulties faced at home to maintain the living standard of the family. To go abroad for a short period of time, to save up money and bring savings home is a survival strategy of the household as a reaction to the difficulties of the transitional period. Therefore, such short-term commitment to the host economy and society can be considered a cost- and time-minimizing strategy to improve their situation back home.

This kind of temporary or seasonal work presupposes the maintenance of all ties with the homeland. Since the return in a near future is kept in mind, migrants are likely to preserve their attachment to the official economy in Ukraine. Thus, short-term migration can be seen as searching for additional income in the framework of informal economy.

If short-term labor migration is seen as one of the available ways to maintain the household through informal economies, the low level of women's participation in this movement can strike as contradicting their high rate of activity in informal economy in general. Analysis of survival strategies of the Ukrainian household in the period of transition (survey on Ukrainian household conducted by the New Democracies Barometer, of the Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna) shows that relying upon multiple economies is a widespread practice of a household to survive in conditions when a regular job is insufficient to meet the needs. As data show, only one Ukrainian household out of six is vulnerable because it relies solely upon the official economy. Differences in age are far more important

than differences in gender in determining the portfolio of economic resources on which individuals depend (Rose, 1995). In this respect, the general participation in the informal economy does not manifest significant differences in gender. Nonetheless, there is gender division within specific ways of informal activities.

By pointing out that future plans to return home and the maintenance of ties in the home country are valid for all our respondents, we do not neglect differences between men's and women's attitudes in this respect. The ties that link migrants to their home country can be included in two main categories: attachment to the family left at home, and the maintenance of formal involvement in the economy of the home country. The way these two types interplay, can influence the expectations and the planning of the migration.

All the respondents indicated the poor economic perspective in Ukraine as the main incentive to seek for a job abroad. The respondents were either unemployed or worked for wages below the subsistence level in Ukraine. For men, however, it appeared less important to maintain official status at home than for women. Women express more propensity to combine at least a nominal attachment to the home official economy whatever it might be (registration as unemployed, maternal leave, occupation allowing to be absent for several days per week) with earning money abroad.

Among economic reasons, such as losing job or insufficient salary, the motive to support the living standard of the family back home was pointed out as one of the main reasons for short-term migration. Family plays an important role in the temporal and economic planning of migration. The decision to migrate is made within the family and very often for the sake of the family. In the short-term labor migration, the main goal of going abroad is to accumulate money to bring back home for further investment, or it can be applied as a temporary strategy to provide for the family. For both men and women the separation from the family is perceived as a painful but necessary step to improve the situation of the whole family. For women, in addition, leaving their families back home is conditioned by the availability of informal support. This support is usually provided by the extended family (mostly by mothers of female migrants) and is the main condition for the temporary separation from the family.

Our male respondents express, in general, a high level of responsibility for the family left at home and awareness of their "breadwinner" role. If a job was found and the reward is seen as satisfactory, there is no question whether the respondents' activity is beneficial for the family left at home, or not. For women, it is more difficult to reconcile themselves with being far from the family. Although this step was undertaken for the sake of the family, it can be associated with neglecting the responsibilities in the domestic sphere. Even if a woman has a secure job and is satisfied with her position, her success can be seen by her partner as a violation of social norms. In one of our cases, a wife works in Prague at a clothing company as a seamstress, while her husband, with their 7-year-old son, works in a Czech village. There are also two daughters who stayed at home with grandparents. It was the woman's initiative to go to work to the Czech Republic. It was also her idea to unite, at least partially, her family. Interestingly, while the husband provided her with his support on the initial stage of migration (he helped the elder daughter and the grandmother to take care of the youngest child), now the wife and the husband have entirely opposite plans for the future. Both have higher education, and formerly worked as teachers in a school. While the wife is completely satisfied with her life in Prague and wants to persuade her husband to settle permanently, the husband feels deeply frustrated about his position in the Czech Republic and the wife's reluctance to return home:

"I miss my wife very much. I would be happy to convince her to go back. To tell the truth, the main aim of my being here is to persuade my wife to go back to her children, to her family. You know, she lives a very easy life here. The job is not very hard: just putting metallic pieces into the solution, turn on the electricity and wait for some time. She does not take care of her children, of her household" (Male, 39 years old).

Thus, we can see that family ties (position within the family) at home are the main disincentive for a woman to participate in short-term migration. However, this does not exclude her active economic behavior, but the need to combine her employment with domestic work is an obstacle for spatial movement.

6. Conclusions

Having pointed out some of the features of the rapid growth and acceleration in mobility in the region of post-communist part of Europe, and its implications for ethnicity and gender, we attempted to introduce a sociological dimension to economic interactions in the process of migration by looking at the characteristics of particular ethnic groups. The position of Ukrainian migrants is an example of the new division of ethnicity within the region.

To understand the marked position of this particular group of migrants, we applied the theory of Labor Market Segmentation. However, while successful in explaining ethnic divisions under the conditions of increasing segmentation of the labor market during the transitional period, this theory seems to be insufficient to bring into account the gender division of migrants.

The specific legal and economic circumstances of the development of the migration process in the region caused a gender implication different from that of previous migrations. Specifically, although the majority of migrants are still men, the pattern of new "East-East" migration is more mixed with respect to gender than has been the case of the traditional guest worker system which existed previously in Western Europe (where women came mostly as spouses of guest workers).

Since legal regulations and economic conditions can not be qualified as discriminatory with respect to gender, we tried to consider at micro-level the causes and motives of migration which presuppose gender participation in this kind of mobility. The conclusion is that the gender composition of this type of migration reflects predominantly the existing gender relations in the home country.

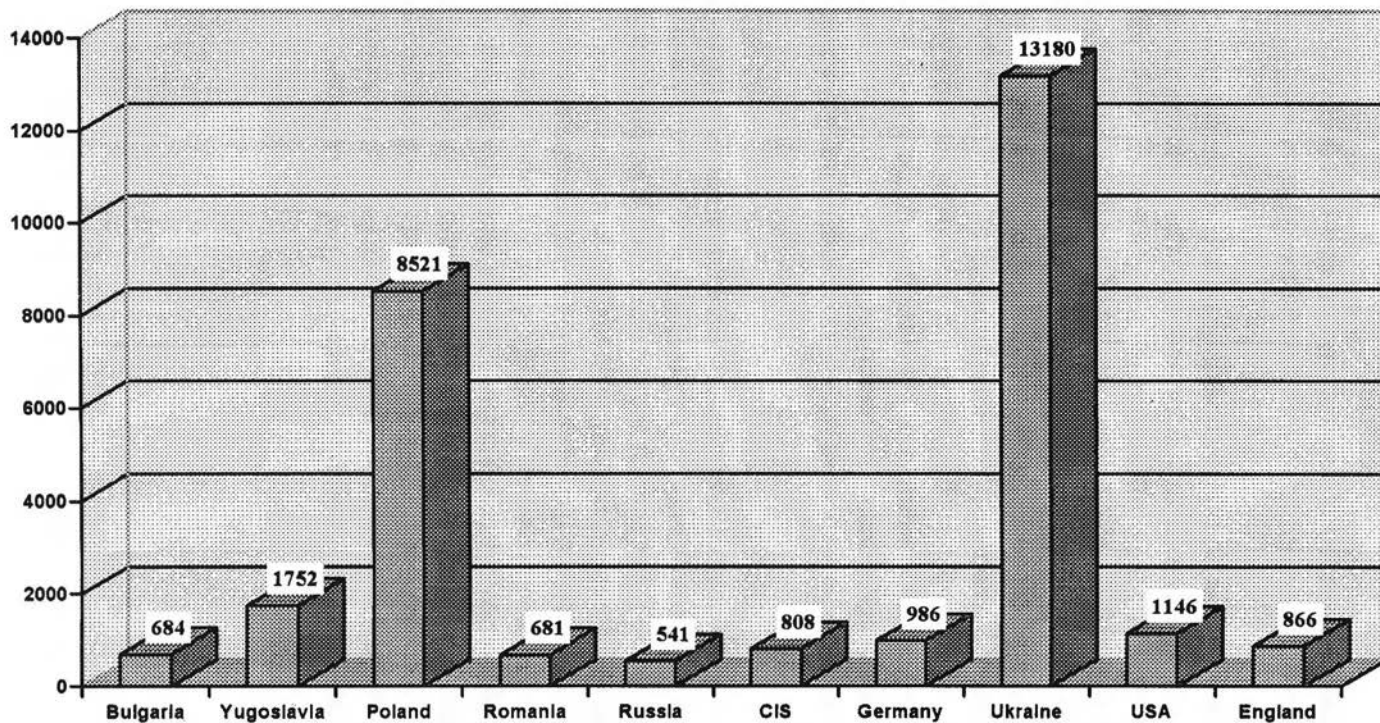
Considering Ukrainian manual laborers in the Czech Republic, we pointed out that their temporary migration is a survival strategy of household. In Ukraine, where almost every household relies on multiple economies, short-term migration is one of the many kinds of informal activities maintaining the household. Women, who are generally active in the participation in various kinds of informal activities complementing the income from the official economy, are less involved

in migration, because this is a spatial movement which does not allow the usual combination of the waged labor with domestic responsibilities.

Our findings can be explained taking into account the inherent feature of the home society with respect to gender relations. The paradoxical combination of patriarchal type of gender relations in the society with the mass involvement of women in the waged labor is being modified in the period of transition. While seeking for additional income for the family involves both men and women in different types of economic activities, it does not free women from domestic responsibilities. The domestic sphere is still seen as predominantly women's domain. The social norms ascribing the gender role within the family, without questioning whether women should or should not work, determine which kinds of jobs are suitable for women. Temporary migration is seen as a beneficial male strategy, but it can be associated with neglecting the family when undertaken by women.

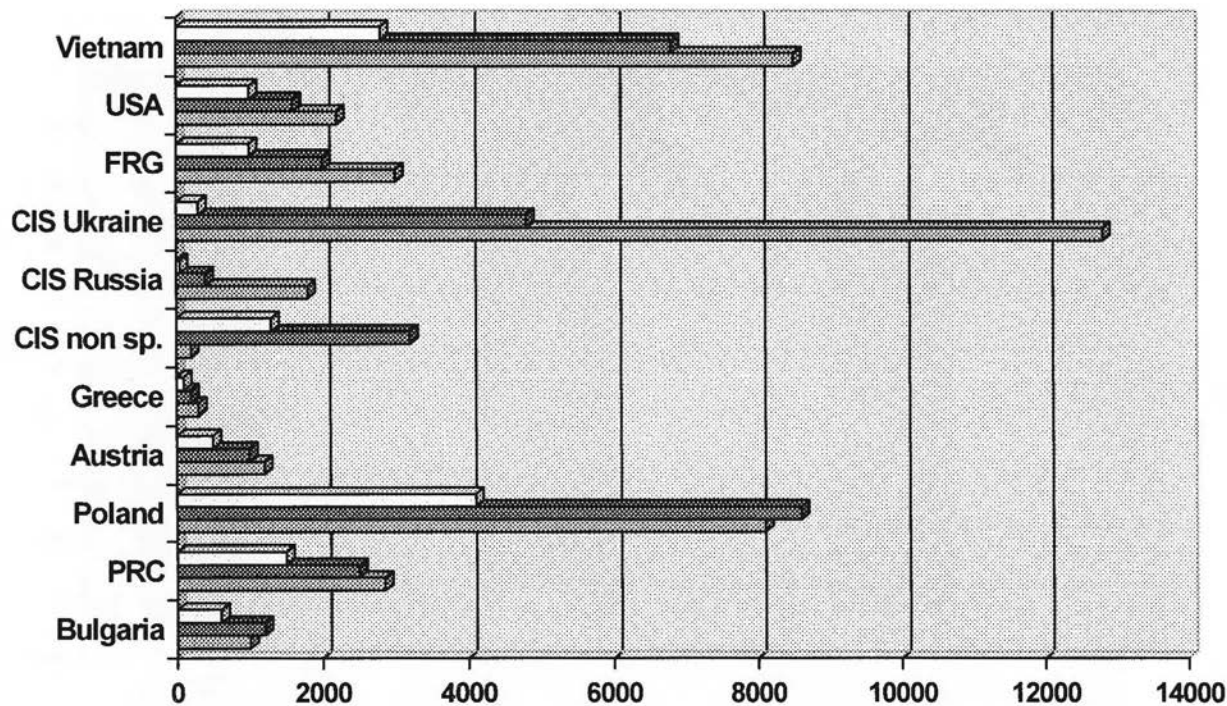
The overrepresentation of men in the migration can be interpreted as a manifestation of the "breadwinner" conceptualization of the family and of the migration. In this sense it can support the conclusion of Western observers about the rise of masculinism accompanying the transition to market economy, and the rise of women's dependency. However, in contrast with European welfare states, constructed on the assumption of a "family wage" (Esping Anderson, 1990), the character of women's dependence is likely to obtain its specific form in post-socialist countries where the high level of dependency is caused by the fact that the official income of any partner is not sufficient to support the family's living standard. The higher proportion of men in migration reflects a new occupational division rather than any fundamental change in gender relations.

*Fig. 1: Number of valid work permits for foreigners in 1994 (by 31.12.94);
the most numerous groups according to nationality*



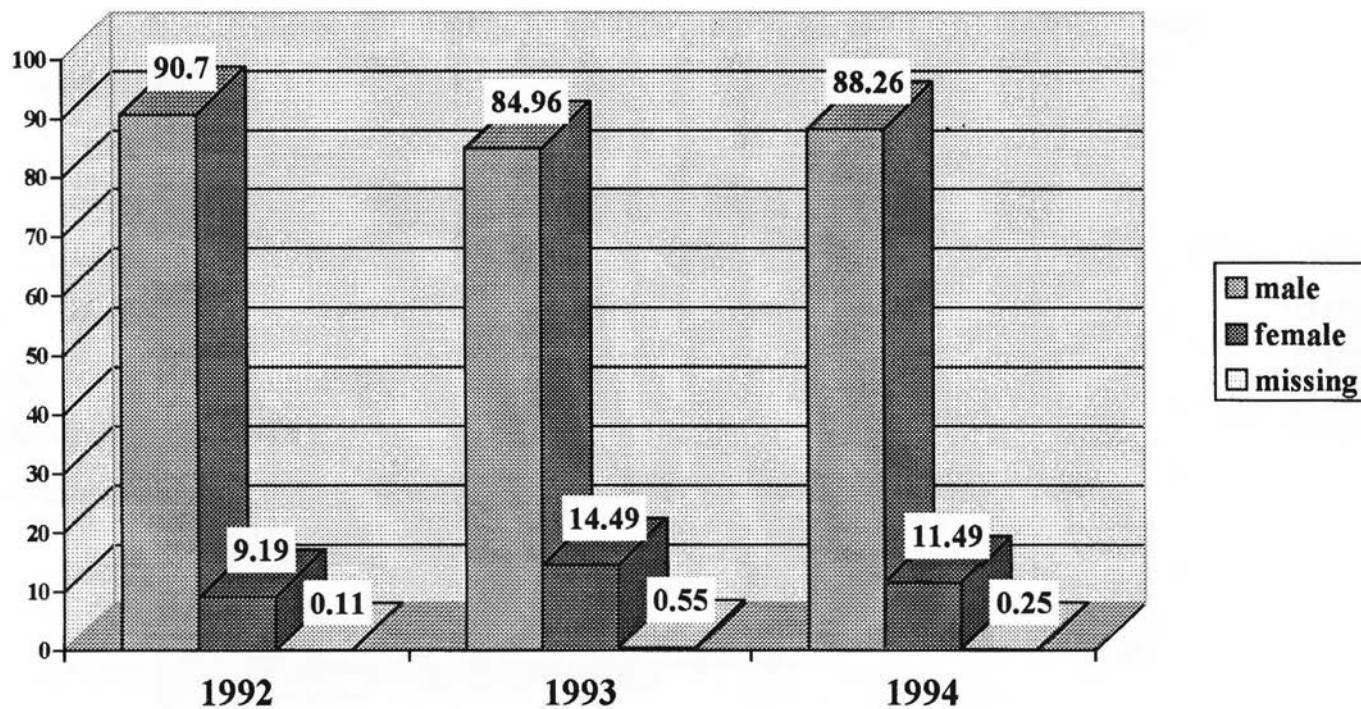
Source: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic

Fig. 2: Foreigners with long-term stay in 1992-1994



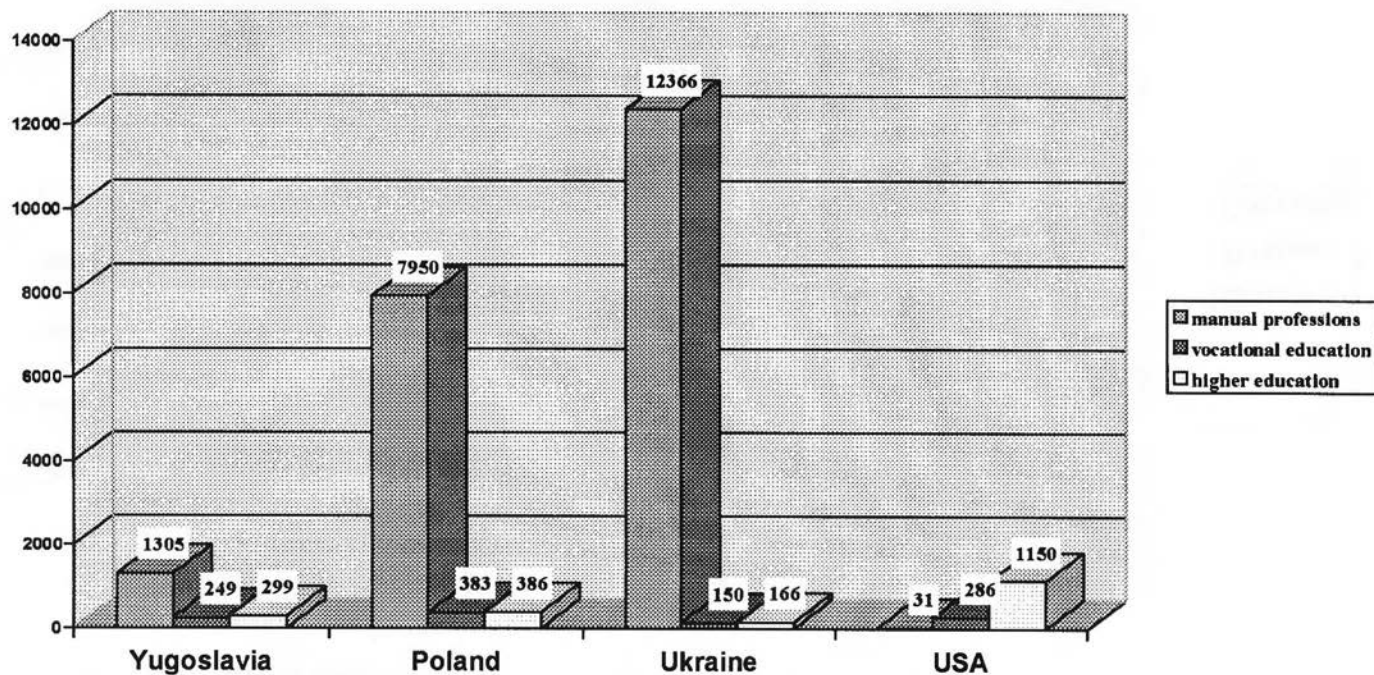
Source: Alien and Border Police, Ministry of Interior, Czech Republic

Fig. 3: Gender distribution of Ukrainians with valid work permit issued in Prague [%]



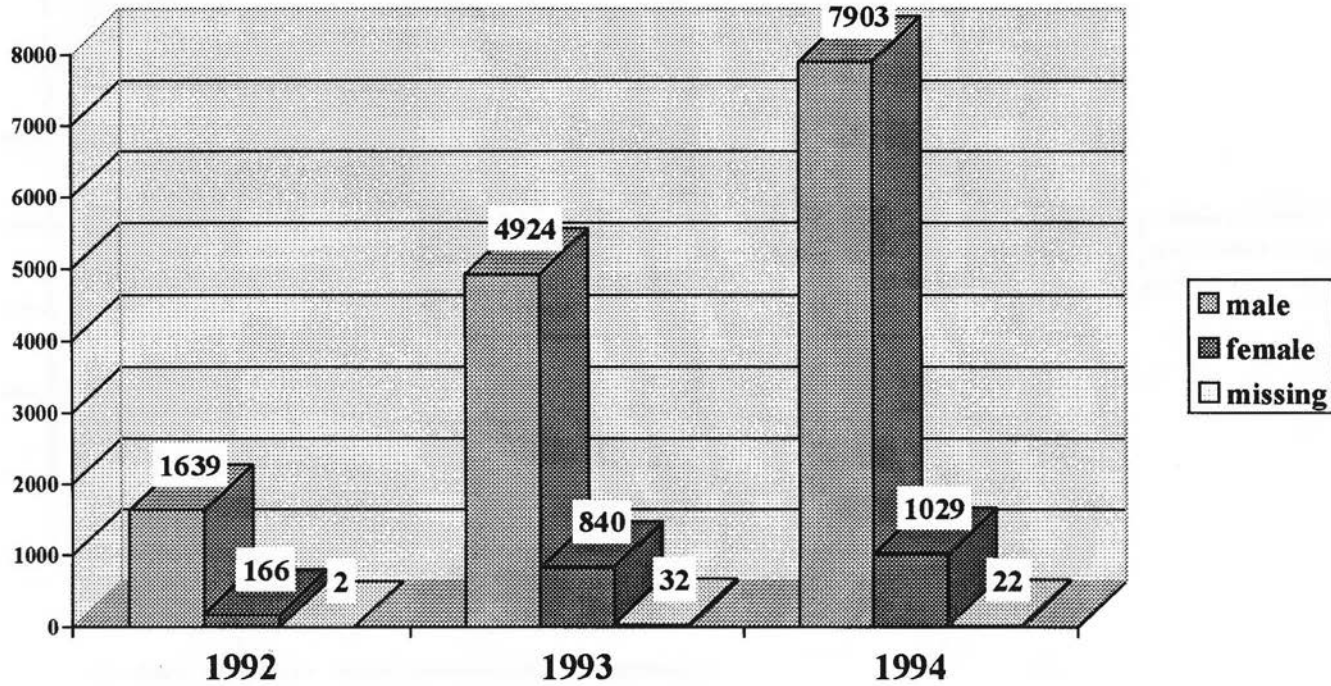
Source: Central Labor Office of Prague

Fig. 4: Number of valid work permits for foreigners in 1994 (by 31.12.94);
the most numerous groups according to nationality



Source: Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic

Fig. 5: Number of Ukrainians with valid work permit issued in Prague according to gender



Source: Central Labor Office of Prague

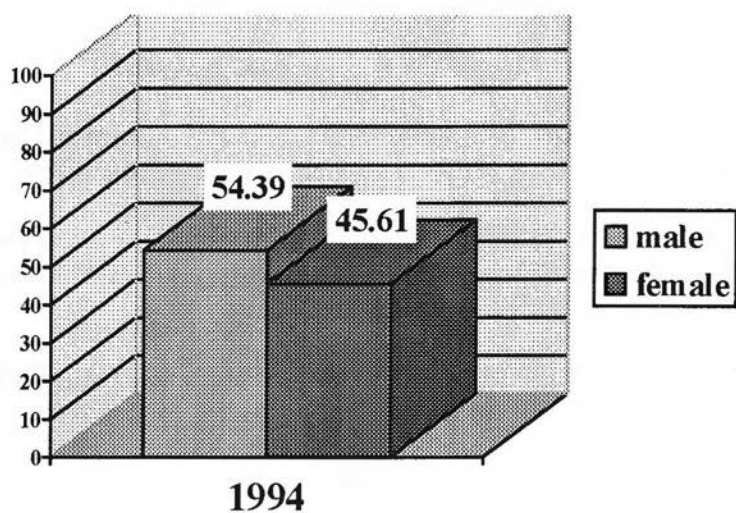
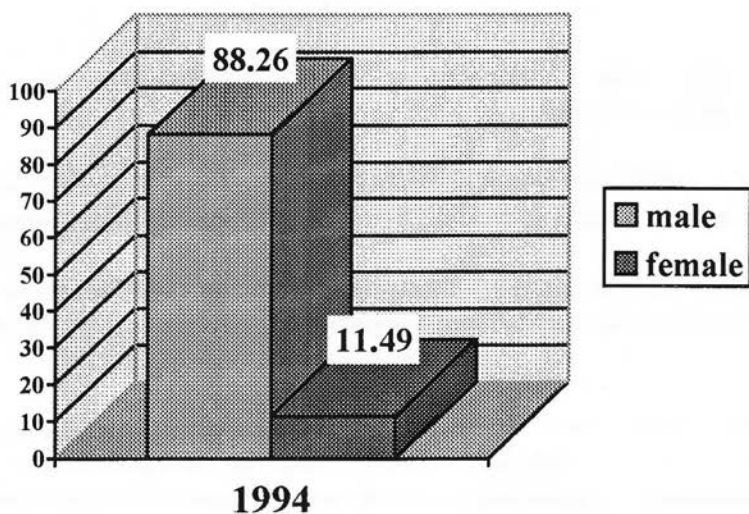


Fig. 6b: Gender distribution of Ukrainians with valid work permit issued in Prague



Source: Central Labor Office of Prague

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SPOL, MIGRACIJA I STVARANJE ETNIČKIH NIŠA NA TRŽIŠTU RADNE SNAGE: PRIMJER UKRAJINSKIH RADNIKA U ČEŠKOJ REPUBLICI

SAŽETAK

U postkomunističkom razvitku Srednje i Istočne Europe pojavili su se novi trendovi u međunarodnim migracijama. Migracijski tokovi unutar regije izabrali su nove zemlje primitka u Europi. Etničke, društvene razlike i podjele prema spolu posljedica su te nove pokretljivosti i promjena na tržištu rada u zemalja primitka i zemalja porijekla. Ovaj rad prikazuje podjelu prema spolu ukrajinskih radnika migranata u Češkoj Republici.