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**Abstract.** Our paper sheds the new light on the existence of structural channels in pushing Ukrainian migration along occupational lines to the Czech Republic. We argue that the integration of the Czech and Ukrainian construction sectors has generated international 'channels' that enhance the process of labour migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic. Our novel analysis is based on a unique dataset obtained via questionnaire surveys in Zakarpat'ye region of Ukraine and multivariate models linking prior work experience in the Ukrainian construction sector and the likelihood of working in the Czech construction sector, net of other theoretically important controls. Thence, we test whether prior work experience in the Ukrainian construction sector increases the probability of obtaining a job in the Czech construction sector. The results provide strong empirical support for the "channelling" hypothesis by showing that integration of the Czech and Ukrainian construction sectors has created international "structural channels" along which migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic moves.

**Keywords:** international migration; labour market; occupational channelling; Czech Republic; Ukraine.

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**Анотація.** Обґрунтовано існування структурних каналів в просуванні української міграції за професійним принципом в Чехії. Ми стверджуємо, що інтеграція чеського і українського будівельного секторів сформувала міжнародні "канали", які посилюють процес трудової міграції з України в Чехію. Наш аналіз заснований на унікальному наборі даних, отриманих за допомогою анкетного опитування в Закарпатському регіоні України і різноманітних моделей, що пов'язують попередній досвід роботи на українському будівельному секторі та ймовірність роботи в чеській будівельній галузі, за винятком інших теоретично важливих елементів управління. Перевірено, чи збільшує попередній досвід роботи на українському будівельному секторі ймовірність отримання роботи в чеській будівельній галузі. Результати забезпечують солідну емпіричну підтримку гіпотези "ченнелінг", показуючи, що інтеграція чеського і українського будівельного секторів створені через міжнародні "структурні канали", за якими міграція з України в Чехії рухається.

**Ключові слова:** міжнародна міграція; ринок праці; професійний канал; Чехія; Україна.

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**Аннотация.** Обосновано существование структурных каналов в продвижении украинской миграции по профессиональному принципу в Чехии. Мы утверждаем, что интеграция чешского и украинского строительного секторов сформировала международные "каналы", которые усиливают процесс трудовой миграции из Украины в Чехию. Наш анализ основан на уникальном наборе данных, полученных с помощью анкетного опроса в Закарпатском регионе Украины и различных моделей, связывающих предыдущий опыт работы на украинском строительном секторе и вероятность работы в чешской строительной отрасли, за исключением других теоретически важных элементов управления. Проверено, увеличивает ли преды-

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*душый опыт работы на украинском строительном секторе вероятность получения работы в чешской строительной отрасли. Результаты обеспечивают солидную эмпирическую поддержку гипотезы "ченнелинг", показывая, что интеграция чешского и украинского строительного секторов созданы через международные "структурные каналы", по которым миграция из Украины в Чехии движется.*

**Ключевые слова:** международная миграция; рынок труда; профессиональный канал; Чехия; Украина.

**Urgency of the research.** International migration is characterized not only by the increased volume of movement, but also by an unprecedented diversity in the sources and destinations of migration. Migration patterns have broadened and now include a wider list of both sending and receiving countries with migrants moving between all the regions of the world, even between the former socialist countries

**Target setting.** Over the past decades, both immigration countries, such as the United States, the Russian Federation, Germany, Saudi Arabia, and Canada, as well as emigration countries, such as Mexico, India, the Russian Federation, China, and Ukraine have emerged as the new source and target countries of migration. In the 2000s and the 2010s, migration to the CEE countries (Central and East European countries) gained a special significance. There exists an observable pattern of East-West migration, on the one hand from New Member States (NMS) of the EU to Western Europe, on the other hand from Newly Independent Countries (NIS) to NMS of the EU.

**Actual scientific researches and issues analysis.** The issue of migration and migration policy the subject of scientific research of many domestic and foreign scholars. Of particular interest to our research work with Canales, A [1], Gryshova, I. & Mityay, O. & Kryukova I. [2], Delgado-Wise, R., and Covarrubias, H. M.[4], Hernandez-Leon, R. [5], Massey, D. S. Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., and Taylor, J. E. [6], Siar, Sheila [8] and others. Devoted to the evaluation scale analysis of Ukrainian international labor migration, highlighting the impact of working abroad on the economy and social sphere in Ukraine, review of state policy on labor migration.

**Uninvestigated parts of general matters defining.** However, there are still unexplored aspects of the problem: to determine global trends and national characteristics international labor migration; identify priority areas of migration policy.

**The research objective.** Analyzing the migration situation and forecasting the effects of international migration as conditions improve Ukraine's migration policy.

**The statement of basic materials.** Migration to the CEECs has increased considerably. Typically, there is a pattern of East-West migration, both from New Member States (NMS) of the EU to Western Europe, and from Newly Independent Countries (NIS) to NMS.

Due to its favourable geographical position in the centre of Europe, the Czech Republic became a very important immigration country – both as a final destination for migrants and as a transitive point for further migration. It has a notably large foreign labour force from all post-Communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe which is almost exclusively comprised of Ukrainian immigrants [10]. In 2009 Ukrainians comprised 21% of all immigrants and in 2006 their share was even larger – over 30 thousands of immigrants from Ukraine constituted 46% of overall immigration [3]. Generally, immigrants from non-EU countries comprise 68% of all foreigners in the Czech Republic, from which 43% are originally from Ukraine. Additionally, immigrants from non-EU countries constitute 68 % of all foreigners in the Czech Republic, from which 43 % are originally from Ukraine (124 281 Ukrainians in 2011). Other major groups of migrants include Slovaks and Poles (EU nationals), as well as Vietnamese and Russians (nationals of third countries).

Most of the immigrants in the Czech Republic are attracted by the labour market opportunities (higher wages, better working conditions, effective social and health insurance).

Ukrainian migration in the Czech Republic started as early as at the beginning of the 1990s and coincided with the transformation of the Czech economy and the fast development in the Czech construction sector. Moreover, the specifics of the Czech housing market the regulation of house rents in the case of state-owned housing stock added up to the picture. Rigid housing market regulated by the

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state even after 1991 provided cheap state housing with regulated rents. However, the new emerging middle class called for the modern functional housing similar to the one available in the West. Moreover, the development of the financial sector and the availability of mortgages to the general population realised people's dream of owning a house or an apartment.

All these resulted in a spree of new housing developers (often owned by the multinational companies) that offered affordable housing for everyone. The largest construction boom started in the Czech Republic in the mid-1990s [7]. However, this boom did not last for long. The first demand for new housing was fast saturated by the end of the 1990s, although many housing projects are still being offered on the market today. The biggest decline in the GDP structure was recorded in the construction sector. Following the construction boom of the early 1990s, the construction sector was gradually declining and its labour productivity is now dropping by as much as 3% annually.

Ukrainian labour migrants in the 1990s and the early 2000s constituted the pool of cheap labour used mostly in the sector of construction. No wonder that the largest waves of inward Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic coincided with the boom in the country's construction sector.

In this paper, we use a unique dataset constructed from primary data collected in Ukraine to estimate a multivariate model that tests whether prior work experience in the Ukrainian construction sector increases the likelihood of working in the Czech construction sector on a migration to the Czech Republic, net of other controls.

Occupations are important sites in which structural factors articulate with individual agency. At work, individuals experience the broader political-economic context as a set of opportunities and constraints for action [2].

Cultural linkages are augmented by labour market integration between the origin and destination country, which makes it easier to translate work skills and education between labour markets. Unskilled Mexicans with work experience in the Mexican agricultural sector have been migrating to work in the U.S. agricultural sector for decades [6]. There is also evidence, however, that skilled Mexican labour migrates along occupational lines. Hernandez-Leon [5] describes the emergence of skilled migration streams from Monterrey, Mexico to Houston, Texas, where migrants found work in the oil sector. While migrant networks and labour demand were important factors structuring the migration process, occupational background was crucial to explaining the orientation of these migration flows [5]. Notably, skilled emigration streams from Mexico's urban-industrial sector have emerged precisely in the context of economic restructuring in Mexico.

Occupations also promote the development of social networks that decrease the costs and risks of movement and direct migrants to particular destinations. Once initiated, migration streams have a strong internal momentum that results from the development social networks, a dynamic known as 'cumulative causation' [6]. Migrant social networks cumulatively cause migration in several manners, but with respect to occupations, it often begins with employer recruitment. Employer recruitment has been long used by U. S. firms as a strategy for procuring Mexican labour [2] but it is particularly important for employers in the U. S. food-processing sector, which augment recruitment strategies by tapping into family-based social networks. It is well documented that the U.S. meat-processing firms rely on workers to refer family members as potential employees. Food-processing workers in the U.S. therefore become the part of the linkage for potential emigrants, in this case, from Mexico.

Thus, it is quite possible that occupations provide structural channels through which, in the context of economic restructuring and cross-national integration, migrants gain access to employment in similar sectors of the economy of the target country.

This study uses data from the Ukrainian Migration Project (UMP) collected in Zakarpatye region in Western Ukraine. In total, 500 questionnaires in households having currently at least one member as a migrant in the Czech Republic were carried out. Households in the sample were chosen by random sampling in particular cities in Zakarpat'ye region. Despite the above-mentioned limitations, the data sample is robust enough to show the basic existing patterns and dependencies in migration from the Western Ukraine to the Czech Republic

The independent variable of greatest interest is a dummy variable that indicates whether a Ukrainian migrant worked in the Ukrainian construction sector as a primary occupation. Again, the UMP cate-

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gorizes occupations according to classifications used by EU as listed above. This variable tests whether migrants working in the Czech Republic's construction sector are channelled along occupational lines from the Ukrainian construction sector.

Our main hypothesis is that Ukrainian immigrants whose primary occupation in Ukraine is in the construction sector will be more likely to work in the Czech construction sector than Ukrainian immigrants whose primary occupations are in other sectors of the Ukrainian economy. Therefore, we expect that no major brain-drain takes place (although it might have been in the 1990s) and there is no major loss of human capital for Ukrainian migrants in the EU countries.

Theory and previous research suggests several important control factors for micro-level studies of migration, including: human capital endowments, migratory capital derived from social networks (i.e. migratory social capital), the Czech Republic destination community type, and Ukrainian origin community type. The analyses examine the dimensions of personal characteristics, human capital and occupational background in Ukraine. Together, these variables research an extensive array of explanatory factors, ranging from the micro (i.e. individual) to the macro-level of analysis and they include both supply-side, or push factors and demand-side, or pull, factors.

The summary statistics reveal some insights that are worth highlighting before proceeding to the multivariate results. First, the profile of the labour migrants reveals that the majority of them are married males (around 80%), around 42 years of age, with a good education, able to speak Czech, and earning relatively high salaries. Second, a comparison of males and females shows that females are slightly younger (about 4 to 5 years), and fewer of them are married. The education and the command of Czech remains roughly the same. Third, the division of jobs by sectors in Ukraine and in the Czech Republic points out at the fact that while there is some evidence for occupational channelling in secondary and tertiary sector, the majority of jobs in matching sectors of both economies can be found in the construction sector.

Our methodology involves the implementation of four alternative specifications: a logit model with coefficients and logit model with odds ratios (Tab. 1), a multinomial logit model with coefficients (Table 2), and a multinomial logit model with relative risk ratios (Tab. 3).

These specifications allow us to capture same evidence of occupational channelling, testing for its existence first using simple binary form provided by logistic regression and then by implementing its extensions. Multinomial logistic regression is an extension of binary logistic regression which simultaneously estimates binary logits between each category of the outcome variable [7]. Such extensions of the basic model focus on three linked comparisons: (1) between the construction and primary sectors, (2) between the construction and secondary sectors, and (3) between the construction and tertiary sectors. In other words, our ultimate objective is to systematically delineate the factors explaining whether a Ukrainian labour migrant worked in construction as opposed to another specific sector of the Czech economy, holding all other factors constant. The results of Wald tests and likelihood ratio tests confirm that each pairing of the dependent variable is independent from the other pairings, which in turn indicates that the independence of irrelevant alternatives assumption has not been violated. We could safely ignore the problem of multicollinearity due to the fact that **the variables with high VIFs in our model were indicator variables representing a categorical variable with three or more categories**. Since the proportion of cases in the reference category was small, the indicator variables had high VIFs, even if the categorical variable was not associated with other variables in the regression model.

Table 2 presents results from the binary logistic regression model that predicts the probability of employment in the Czech construction sector. The results show that alongside with being a married male, previous working experience of the Ukrainian construction sector increases the probability of employment in the Czech construction sector by a dramatic per cent. These results support the hypothesis that Ukrainian migration into the Czech construction sector is channeled along occupational lines. We applied Hosmer-Lemeshow test in order to check for the goodness-of-fit of the logistic models depicting the values of 8.7 (sig. 0.261) and 9.1 (sig. 0.290), respectively.

Table 1

**ЕКОНОМІКА ПРАЦІ****Logistic Regressions Predicting Probability  
of Employment in the Czech Construction Sector**

	<b>Logit with coefficients</b>	<b>Logit with OR</b>
<b>Personal characteristics</b>		
Age in years	.0351 (.0296)	1.0357 (.0307)
Male	2.9043*** (.7410)	18.2527*** (13.5266)
Married	1.3174* (.8071)	3.7340* (3.0140)
Legal migrant in the Czech Republic	-.2920 (1.4530)	.7467 (1.0850)
<b>Human capital</b>		
Education	-.6006 (.5609)	.5484 (.3076)
<b>Occupation in Ukraine</b>		
Worked in Ukrainian primary sector	10.1924** (9.9399)	10.1924** (9.9399)
Worked in Ukrainian tertiary sector	.4473867 (.6288)	1.5642 (.9836)
Worked in the Ukrainian construction sector	3.5244*** (.7509246)	33.9361*** (25.4835)
Constant	-4.1936 (2.6583)	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>		0.46
Pseudo LL		-54.935
Wald		93.05
Number of migrants		151
<b>Note:</b> * Significant on the 10% level; ** Significant on the 5% level; *** Significant on the 1% level; Coefficients and odd ration with standard errors in parentheses		
<b>Source:</b> Own results		

It is apparent that very few migrants had experience working in the primary sector in Ukraine (e.g. agriculture, hunting, forestry), even though the majority of our sample came from the Zakarpat'ye region of Ukraine, notorious for its forests and hunting industries. This might result from specialists in this sector facing high demand for their services throughout Ukraine. Indeed, the results of the binary logit model speak in favor of the fact that primary occupation in the Ukrainian construction sector is the strongest predictor of whether a Ukrainian labor migrant will enter the Czech construction sector. Further, Tables 2 present the results of the multinomial logistic regression with coefficients.

Our results support the conclusion of occupational channeling in the construction sector. The significance and the signs of the coefficients reveal that. Work experience in the Ukrainian construction sector lowers the probability of working in the Czech secondary sector by 97 per cent, and the Czech tertiary sector by 98 per cent. Similar outcomes can be observed for the personal characteristics (for instance, being male lowers the probability of working in the Czech secondary sector from 99 to 94 per cent).

Hosmer-Lemeshow test shows that the model fits the data well revealing the insignificance of the coefficients. Several other important results and implications should be included. Although its effect is particularly strong in the model, the construction sector does not seem to be unique in its occupational links between Ukrainian and Czech economic sectors.

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Table 2

**Multinomial logistic Regressions with Coefficients Predicting Probability of Employment in the Czech Construction Sector**

	Primary vs. construction	Secondary vs. construction	Tertiary vs. construction
<b>Personal characteristics</b>			
Age in years	.0980 (.1112)	-.0149 (.0332)	-.0976** (.0436)
Male	-5.0258** (2.0514)	-2.7042*** (.8050)	-3.0014*** (.8620)
Married	-.9681 (1.9796)	-1.3941 (.8887)	-1.2120 (.9866)
Legal migrant in the Czech Republic	-1.5677 (2.7318)	-.2671 (1.8349)	-.2671 (1.8349)
<b>Human capital</b>			
Education	1.3524 (1.7972)	.4931 (.6182)	.6666 (.7957)
<b>Occupation in Ukraine</b>			
Worked in Ukrainian primary sector	17.9005 (2460.56)	-3.2874** (1.3891)	-3.0795* (1.6206)
Worked in Ukrainian tertiary sector	16.0722 (2460.56)	-1.1918** (.7188)	.4450 (.8160)
Worked in the Ukrainian construction sector	.0663 (2925.784)	-3.4873*** (.8037)	-3.6592*** (1.1684)
Constant	-20.9328 (2460.572)	2.5326 (2.9632)	5.6566 (3.4723)
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.42		
Pseudo LL	-90.043		
Wald	129.21		
Number of migrants	151		
<b>Note:</b> * Significant on the 10% level; ** Significant on the 5% level; *** Significant on the 1% level; Coefficients and odd ratios with standard errors in parentheses			
<b>Source:</b> Own results			

Our results indicate that working in the Ukrainian manufacturing or service sectors is associated consistently with work in the same sectors in the Czech Republic. As a result, although this analysis focused especially on the construction sector, it appears that there are similar occupational dynamics linking other sectors of both economies. Our results also suggest that Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic (and to the EU) is becoming more specialized and targeted. It is very unlikely (as often was the case in the 1990s) that medical doctors would work as plumbers and lawyers would carry bricks at the construction sites. The reality of Ukrainian labour migration has changed considerably over the two decades, and has become about specific jobs carried out by specific people at specific work places. Our findings are consistent with recent research that indicates the specialization of migration streams around the world [4; 5; 6].

Overall, human capital variables incorporated in our four multivariate models do not imply employment in particular sectors of the Czech economy (they are not significant). Generally, this might well indicate that there are no significant differences in human capital levels among Ukrainian immigrants

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in different occupational sectors among the target countries of migration. Due to the decline in construction boom in the CEE countries and in the Czech Republic, many construction sights are now located in non-metropolitan areas and non-traditional urban destinations that, by definition, have smaller agglomerations, less dense migratory networks, and therefore higher risks and costs associated with movement. Apparently, Ukrainian construction workers rely more heavily on family and agent-based employment networks to mitigate the higher risks and costs associated with migration into non-traditional settlement areas.

As a result, it appears that Ukrainian labour migrants in the Czech construction sector are more likely to be located in non-traditional urban and rural areas than those who work in the manufacturing or service sectors.

**Conclusions.** Our results provide strong statistical support for the ‘channeling’ hypothesis demonstrating that the integration of the Czech and Ukrainian construction sectors has created international “structural channels” that push migration from Ukraine to the Czech Republic along occupational lines.

It becomes apparent that similar to Mexican migration to the U.S. (which is a special case, as far as the Mexican origins are becoming more diverse including most of the country with U.S. destinations becoming more dispersed throughout Mexico), Ukrainian migration to the EU, and in the Czech Republic, represents an important phenomenon.

Our analysis focused on the construction industry, because of its importance in the process of new destination formation in the Czech Republic, and found that the Ukrainian migration to the Czech Republic is strongly channelled along occupational lines linking the Ukrainian and Czech construction sectors.

Our paper demonstrates how the structural context of the labour market translates into international migration at individual level by focusing on the role of occupations. The results show that occupations serve as structural channels that play an important role in the context of significant international political-economic integration between Ukraine and the Czech Republic. Across all economic sectors, Ukrainian immigrants with work experience in a particular sector of the Ukrainian economy are more likely to work in the same sector of the Czech economy than immigrants with different occupational backgrounds. Therefore, no major brain-drain from Ukraine is recorded which might be explained by the fact that the majority of potential migrants already left the country in the 1990s. Nowadays, Ukrainian labour migration seems to be all about professionals strictly hired to conduct the job they are trained for and proficient at.

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