

Migration and the new social risks management

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Focus on the problem

European welfare states are being challenged by the emergence and spread of “new social risks” (Bonoli, 2005, Taylor-Gooby, 2004 et al.) which are related to deep social, economic and demographic transformations of the last decades, e.g. industrialization, tertiarization, globalization, technical development, ageing of population and changes of the gender roles. These transformations had substantial effects on societal mechanisms traditionally protecting population against social risks (family and labor market) and on welfare systems. New risks are mainly related to

- (a) lack of human capital and limited access to skills upgrading (training and education) which are preconditions for productivity and flexibility of the labor force,
- (b) consequences of ageing of population, e.g. increasing pressure on financial sustainability of the welfare state in situation of growing dependency rate, increasing demand for social and health care and risk of poverty of old-aged in consequence of transformation of pension systems and
- (c) inability to balance work and care responsibilities as a precondition for female labor market participation

Women, young people and workers with low level of qualification are most often considered to be threatened by new social risks (Bonoli, 2005). Migrants are not perceived as a new risk group even though they are deeply affected by new social risks and, at the same time, they are the least protected against them by the welfare states. They are often victims of new risks due to their weak legal and labor market position, spatial segregation, limited social rights, discrimination as well as cultural differences. Migrants and their disadvantaged position in the host societies can, in addition, lead to emergence of yet another new social risk. As we have witnessed in several European states, marginalization of migrants may lead to radicalization of immigrants, decrease of solidarity of the domestic population with immigrants and general de-legitimacy of welfare state ('corroding effect'; Banting, Kremlycka, 2006, Wolfe, Klausen, 2000). At the same time, however, migrants may (and do) help the host society to cope with the new risks and maintain its welfare. There are therefore three different effects of migration on new risks in the host societies: (1) it may reduce their negative impact, (2) it may deepen the problems related to them and (3) it may even be the source of new risks. The task of public policies is to promote the positive effect and reduce the negative ones. In following paper we will elaborate the relation between new social risks and migration on theoretical as well as empirical level. We will show that there is a strong focus on regulation of immigration and the attention to integration of immigrants is very low.

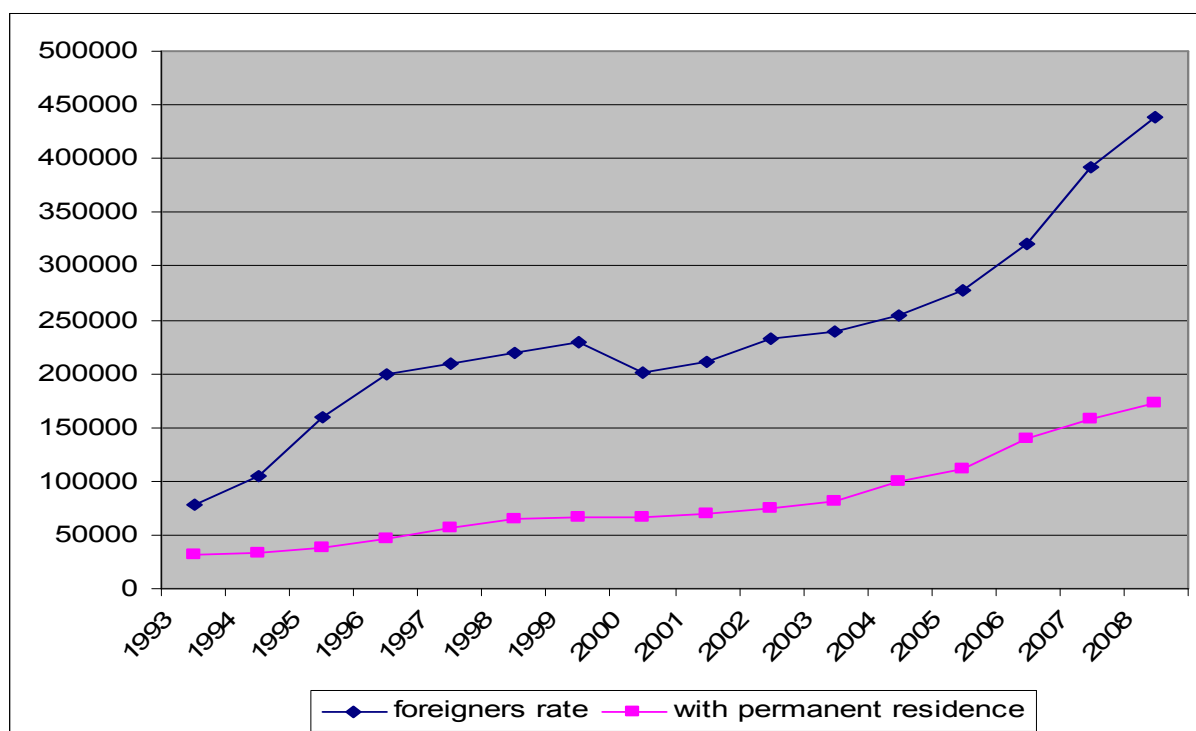
Czech Republic as a migration destination

General characteristics

Within relatively short period of time the Czech Republic transformed from emigration country into a destination of migration flows. In 1993 there were about 80,000 foreigners legally residing in the Czech Republic, thirteen years later the number reached nearly 440,000. There are tens to hundreds of thousands of others which are not included in these statistics, because for different reasons their stay did not correspond to the legislative requirements. Although in comparison with other European Union countries,

the proportion of immigrants is still relatively low (about 4.5%), for Czech Republic it marks a significant step towards national and ethnic diversity.

Graph 1: Growth of the foreigners' rate within last ten years



Source: ČSÚ; <http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/>

In general, the majority of migrants aiming for the Czech Republic are from European countries, partly from European Union countries (33%) and partly from outside the EU (44%). Less than a quarter of foreigners from countries outside Europe come to stay in the Czech Republic, most of them from Asia (20%). Citizens from the three most significant source countries of migration to the Czech Republic - Ukraine, Slovakia and Vietnam – have accounted for approximately two-thirds of all immigrants, and currently every third foreigner residing in the Czech Republic comes from Ukraine. Some other nationalities have grown in numbers substantially, namely Mongolians and Moldovans, although numerically they are less represented.

Table 1: Foreigners from selected nationalities who reside in the Czech Republic and their basic characteristics

	Total (2008)	Percentage of women (2008; %)	Proportion of children up to 15 (2007)	Portion of seniors from 65 and up (2007)	Portion with permanent residency (2008)	Percentage of migration from 2001-2008*
Ukraine	131 965	40,9	5,3	0,8	30,8	2,5
Slovakia	76 034	41,2	5,3	1,7	33,4	1,4
Vietnam	60 258	39,3	15,9	0,6	57,7	2,5
Russia	27 178	53,4	12,6	5,3	44,7	2,2
Poland	21 710	45,1	1,8	5,9	51,3	1,3
Germany	17 496	19,2	2,3	9,8	25,3	3,5
Moldavia	10 644	35,2	5,1	0,2	19,9	4,3
Mongolia	8 569	57,5	9,3	0,1	17,1	7,4
Bulgaria	5 922	35,9	9,2	12,8	51,8	1,4
USA	5 272	38,4	n.a.	n.a.	50,1	1,7
Total	438 301	39,7	7,4	2,7	39,5	2,1

*The percentage of migration is expressed by the ration between the number of foreigners in 2008 and 2001.

n.a. – Data not available

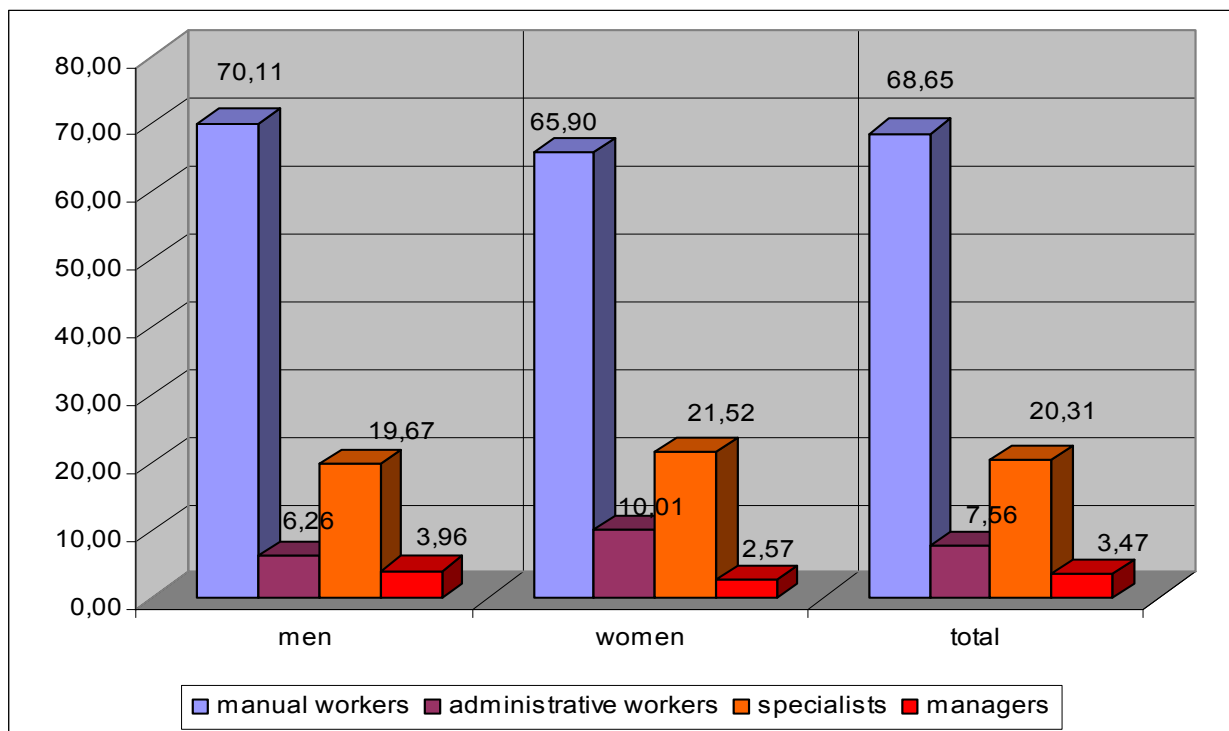
Source: ČSÚ, author's calculation

Position of migrants on the labour market

Immigrants from eastern countries have increased the most in the last ten years. This is associated with, among other things, economic growth and the related demand for foreign labour – Ukrainians and other individuals from less developed countries were willing to fill the vacant posts, which are characterized by low quality, particularly in manufacturing and construction. However, better jobs for foreigners from third countries are not very accessible. The Czech labour market shows a strong tendency to dualize foreign employment: while people coming from highly developed countries occupy high-quality jobs in the so-called primary market, for the rest, almost the only available jobs are those that Czech workers have no interest in (Pořízková, 2008, Rákoczyová et al., 2007).

Half of foreigners employed in the Czech Republic perform assistant and unskilled labour or operate machines and equipment, another quarter work as craftsmen, manufacturers and repairmen, and 5% of foreigners work as operational staff in services and trade¹. These are often jobs in the secondary labour market, which are characterized by low-quality jobs and high pressure from the employers for time flexibility. As supported in the RILSA study (Rákoczyová et al., 2007), foreign manual workers are exposed to a much higher degree of job insecurity, have a very limited access to further education and work training, are at higher risk of injuries, working overtime or on weekends and holidays and occupy jobs with low wage pay.

Graph 2: Foreign work force and working positions



Source: Rákoczyová, M., Trbola, R., Vyhlídal, J., Kofroň, P. 2007: *Employers of foreign workers in the Czech Republic and their role in the process of social integration. : The analysis of foreign labour demand.* J. Praha: VÚPSV – researchcentre Brno.

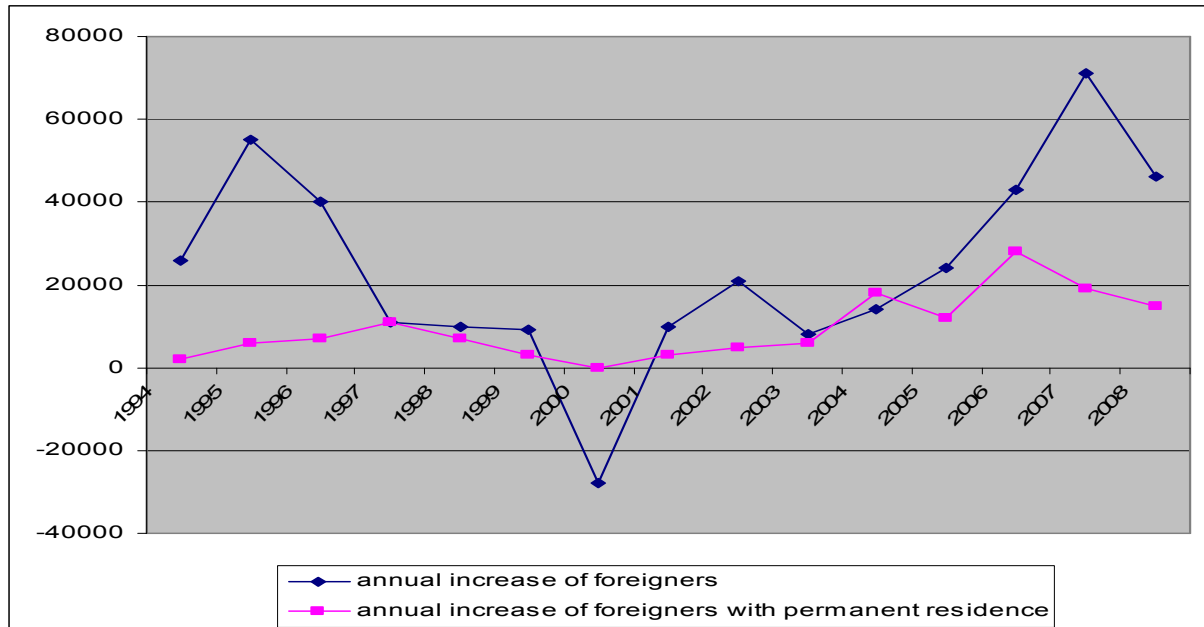
Settlement (Duration of stay)

Migration researches introduced in the Czech Republic show that the work is the most commonly declared purpose for coming to the Czech Republic, and overall, foreigners exhibit a very high level of economic activity. In addition to short-term migrant workers,

¹ See the data of 31.12.2008 on the ČSÚ website <http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/tab/93005CA6C1> (breakdown by KZAM) and <http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/tab/93005BC3B3>

however, there are foreigners who come to the Czech Republic and wish to remain for the long-term or permanently. These include, for example, those migrating for the purpose of family reunification, applicants for international protection, and probably also some economic migrants and students at Czech universities. The tendency to reside in the Czech Republic is demonstrated in the growing share of people with permanent residency: while in 1995 a quarter of all immigrants had permanent residency, in 2008 that rose to 40%.

Graph 3: Annual rate of increase of foreigners



Source: ČSÚ; <http://www.czso.cz/csu/cizinci.nsf/>

The settling of immigrants, especially those from third countries, is attested by a marked increase in the number of foreigners born in the Czech Republic² and a significant number of children who are attending nursery, primary and secondary schools³ in the Czech Republic. The high proportion of Vietnamese in both of the indicators reflects the gradual maturing of second generation immigrants from Vietnam. In view of the relatively short history of modern immigration in the Czech Republic, second generation immigrants are an entirely new social category.

Relation between new social risks and migration

It is evident that foreign workers play a role in the gross domestic product and (speaking of legal migration) contribute their taxes to the redistribution flow. In relation to 'new' social risk their contribution is certainly also significant for the harmonization of family life and work. A high proportion of foreign workers fill the demand in restaurants and hotels, but also in the care of children and the elderly, cleaning and domestic services [OECD, 2006]. The wide availability of these services, given by a low wage level in this sector, significantly facilitates the participation of women in the labour market. The importance of migrants is likewise seen in their contribution to solving the demographic crisis associated with the ageing of European societies. This is not only a way to increase the share of the population at a productive age (namely in proportion to the amount of economically inactive), but also for balancing the structural mismatch in the labour markets, which consists primarily of an increase in demand for health and care services.

² While in 2001, 888 foreigners were born in the Czech Republic, in 2007 their numbers reached 2,094. The largest number of children were born by Vietnamese (767) and Ukrainian (431) parents.

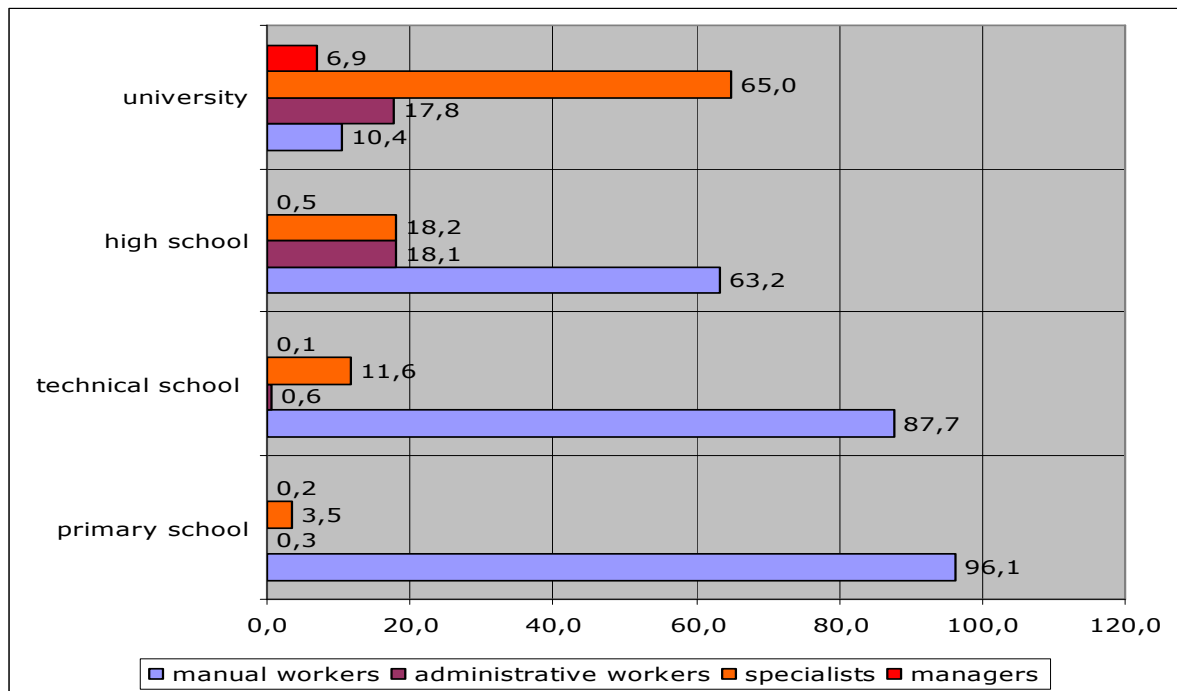
³ In the school year 2007/2008 22,500 foreigners attended this type of school, of which about a third were Vietnamese children. Vietnamese students also study at universities, among them a portion come specifically to the Czech Republic for the purpose of study.

Except for these advantages the migration of foreign workers, especially from third countries, can influence the host society in a negative way. Positive outcomes of migration may be accompanied by, and possibly cause, negative consequences. Among others here we mention risk of growth in welfare expenditure, connected with the migrants dependent on the benefits from the social security scheme, risk of growth of polarization and tension in the host society (radicalization of immigrants activating negative attitude of majority) and a risk of the de-legitimization of the welfare state (weakening of solidarity).

(a) Risk of loss of skills and knowledge (de-skilling)

In general, a position on the labour market is to a great degree determined by employees' level of qualification and work experience. The empirical data show that overwhelming majority of immigrants in the Czech Republic are employed in manual jobs, for which none or very low level of qualification is required. These are so called dead-end jobs characterized by precarious working conditions, low wages as well as low social status, which the Czech workers are unwilling to accept. The structure of employment thus shows that foreign workers concentrate in the least attractive sector of the labour market, where they do not compete for jobs with Czech workers (and create so-called 'tertiary sector' which is lower in the jobs hierarchy than 'secondary labour market'). How does it match with qualification of immigrants? The representative survey of employers of foreigners⁴ revealed that manual jobs are accepted also by non-negligible proportion of well-educated migrants. For example, 10 % of male migrants and 15 % of female migrants with university education performed manual jobs. Among the migrants with secondary education this proportion was substantially higher (63 % of men and 40 % of women).

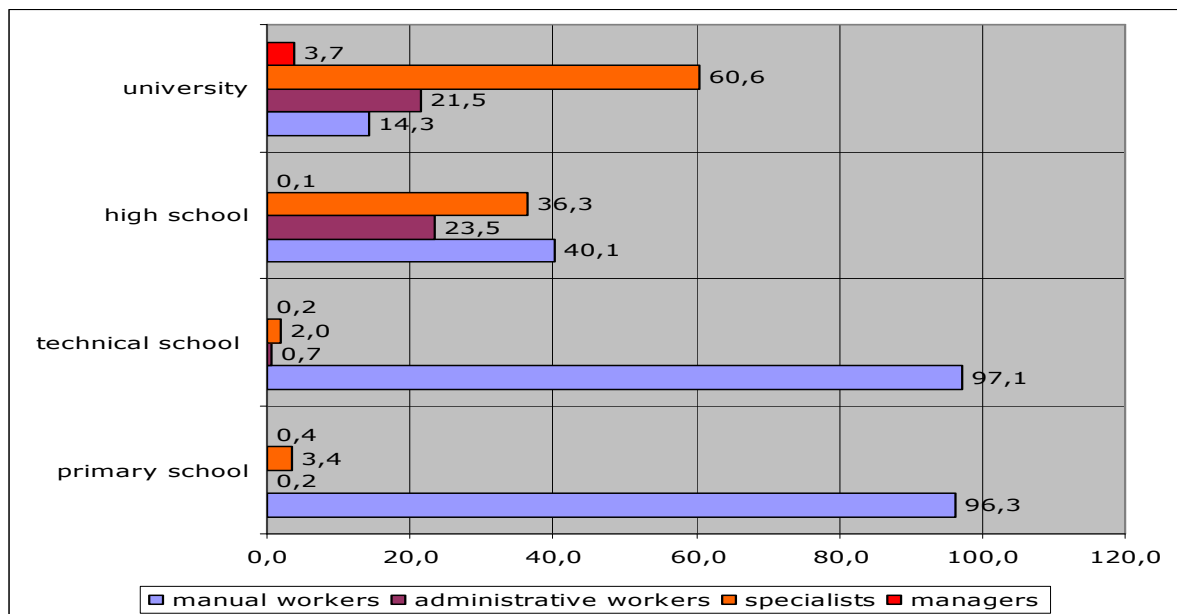
Graph 4: Level of education in foreign mens' population and working position



Source: Rákoczyová, M., Trbola, R., Vyhliđal, J., Kofroň, P. 2007: Employers of foreign workers in the Czech Republic and their role in the process of social integration. : The analysis of foreign labour demand.]. Praha: VÚPSV – researchcentre Brno.

⁴ In this survey, conducted in 2007, we have questioned 1002 employers who were legally employing foreign labour force in the Czech Republic. In this way we have obtained data on 15 600 foreign workers employed in by surveyed employers.

Graph 5: Level of education in foreign womens' population and working position



Source: Rákoczyová, M., Trbola, R., Vyhliđal, J., Kofroň, P. 2007: Employers of foreign workers in the Czech Republic and their role in the process of social integration. : The analysis of foreign labour demand.]. Praha: VÚPSV – researchcentre Brno.

The problem of over-qualification indicates that the Czech economy doesn't benefit fully from the migrants' potential and that qualified migrants face serious risk of de-skilling and loss of employability. The employers often exclude their manual workers from the training and education schemes, because they consider these workers easily replaceable (which is also indicated by the lowest stability of their jobs). De-skilling and high level of job instability are factors leading to further marginalization of these workers on the labour market. This applies to both foreign and Czech manual workers. The risk of de-skilling, however, is greater for the foreign workers as the employers prefer to provide training and education to the domestic manual workers rather than to foreign ones. In a survey of employers (Rákoczyová: 2007), who employ foreigners in the Czech Republic, 37 % of employers stated that they provided training to Czech manual workers, but only 23 % provided it to the foreign ones. This disadvantage can significantly affect further work-related possibilities of these workers - and not only in the host country, but also in the country of origin or in third countries.

Migrant workers and members of ethnic minorities are exposed to the threat of loss of employment to a greater degree than domestic workers, which among other reasons is due to their concentration in low-qualified jobs [Brücker et al, 2002], higher representation in industries that are undergoing restructuring, and in sectors subject to cyclical fluctuation. The risk of job loss is also greater for them as a result of the limited bargaining power of their trade union organization⁵, and in some cases their legal status and the persistence of discrimination⁶.

Owing to the disadvantaged position in the labour market, immigrants are similarly at a higher risk of poverty: immigrants from countries outside of the EU reach the relative poverty rate of up to 50% in Belgium, and in a number of other countries their poverty levels exceed 30% [Lelkes, 2007].

⁵ Schmidt et al [1994 in Causa and Jean, 2006] describes the so-called "right-to-manage model" in which only domestic workers bargaining power and significant roles in the union. The authors based their conclusions on the evidence of the involvement of foreigners in the work of trade unions in Germany, indicating significantly limited the involvement of immigrants into union activities.

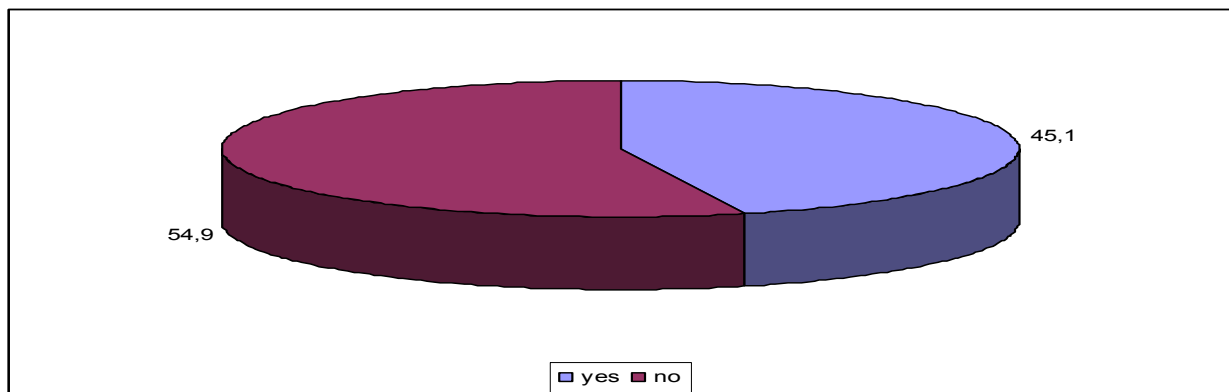
⁶ Recently documented in Bertrand and Mullainthan [2004]; Carneiro et al. [2005], Åslund and Skans [2005], the OECD [2008].

(b) Ageing of population

Migration is closely related also to the processes of ageing of the population. The impact of migration is evident not only in terms of balancing a dependency ratio, but also in connection with ageing-related structural problems of the labour market. The Czech Republic is concurrently experiencing (a) growth of demand for care professionals (health and social care) following the growth of proportion of elderly in the total population and (b) outflow of Czech professionals from these jobs as they are attracted by better salary in more developed countries.

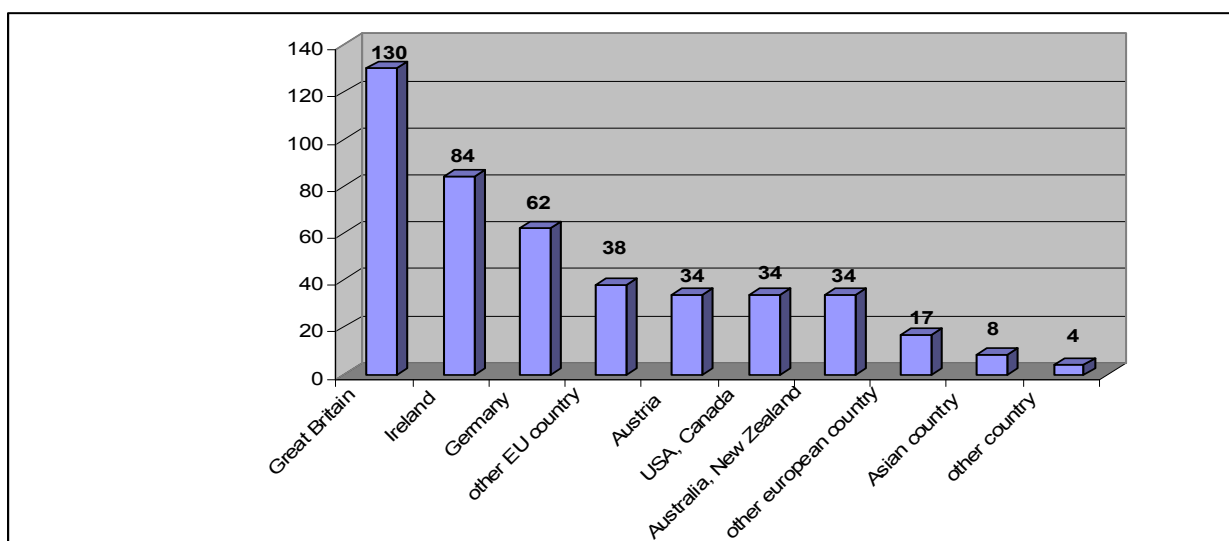
According to present researches income motivation becomes the main factor influencing the labor migration of Czech medicine doctors to foreign countries. Higher level of salary seems to be the strongest impulse for 95 % of respondents among doctors (RILSA, 2006). Together with financial motivation there are other important factors supporting migration of Czech doctors abroad. For more than four fifths of respondents in research is essential to work in the conditions of top modern medical equipment with the possibilities to meet the most up-to-date treatment technologies. International perspective and contacts and language improvement play important role in decision to migrate abroad too (Vavrečková: 2007).

Graph 6: Migration potential of Czech medicine doctor according to survey of their speculations



Source: Vavrečková, J.: *The risk the outflow of doctors and IT/ITC specialists from the Czech Republic to other countries; RILSA Praha:2007*

Graph 7: Destination country of the Czech medicine doctors' migration



Source: Vavrečková, J.: *The risk the outflow of doctors and IT/ITC specialists from the Czech Republic to other countries; RILSA Praha:2007*

The emerged gap is to a certain extent filled by inflow of foreign workers. Their employment is, however, influenced by number of barriers such as an acceptance of foreign education or an ability to communicate with clients in their language. Therefore, these professional caring jobs are mainly accessible to workers from countries that are close to the Czech Republic in terms of culture and language (e.g. Slovaks). Despite of the fact that these positions often require high level of education, they are at the same time jobs characterized by extreme time flexibility (work over-time and during the weekends, night shifts etc.) and challenging work conditions (e.g. high level of stress).

(c) Family life and work

The rate of female migration to the Czech labour market is growing. Whilst in 2003 the ratio of women within foreign work force was about 28 %, in 2007 it rose to 35 %. This increase is significant especially among migrants from East-European countries. Moreover, a tendency to long-term residence is being deepened among women migrants.

One of the most positive outcomes of migration for the society is linked to the growth of female employment and related need to harmonize work and family responsibilities. Part of the services, which were traditionally provided domestically, was externalized as a consequence of female employment – care of elderly and children, cleaning, cooking etc. This led to emergence of number of low-paid and insecure jobs in the private sector (domestic help, catering and fast-food ...). Nowadays, unskilled jobs in the service sector represent the major source of employment for migrants in general and, more specifically, for female migrants (Eurofound, 2007). Low labour costs in this sector are a precondition for wide affordability of the services, which replace previous domestic labour, and thus they help harmonize work and family life of the nationals. Nonetheless, female migrants are facing problem of work-family balance too. For variety of reasons, they have more difficulties to enter labour market and they suffer higher rate of unemployment in comparison to the female nationals. Their participation on the labour market can be negatively influenced by the factors, such as cultural habits from the country of origin, difficult process of nostrification, race discrimination etc. In such cases women may prefer family care, care for children and housekeeping to a paid employment. Accessibility of children care services is significant especially in the initial phase of integration because they often come to the Czech Republic with their children and they need to have good access to integration courses, language courses, employment programs etc.

The gap in employment rates are more significant for better-educated women (OECD, 2006:62), which are moreover more likely to accept job below their qualification (see data above and OECD, 2006). Female migrants are more disadvantaged (compared to their national counterparts) on the labour market in those countries, which show high proportion of immigration based on family re-union purposes⁷. In spite of short immigration history, the migration for family re-union is on an increase. In 2006, one third of immigrants were living in the Czech Republic in order to re-unite with their families. Work and family issues are often more complex in case of the labour migrants. Number of women (as well as men) lives separated from their families, which are left behind in the country of origin.

Integration policy in the Czech Republic

Except for above mentioned relation between new social risks and migration, some authors have suggested that migration itself may be perceived as a new social risk, which threatens social cohesion in the host country, under-mines solidarity and de-legitimize welfare state (see e.g. Rakoczyova, Porizkova, 2008). It is evident that these "new" social risks are not connected solely to migration, but rather to the question of social integration of migrants into the life of the majority society. Balanced integration of

⁷ On contrary in south-European countries the rate of female-migrants employment exceeds the employment rate of female nationals. This is however partly influenced by traditionally low employment rates of the female nationals.

immigrants into society is the best way to minimize those risks and is a prerequisite for maximizing the positive effects of immigration in the host society. Successful integration is in the interest of immigrants and the host society. A degree of social integration is therefore important not only for immigrants with permanent residency, but also for those who consider their stay to be "temporary." Even purported "temporary" stays may prove to be long-term; furthermore, the acquisition of key competences generally reduces the vulnerability of migrants and increases their ability to take care of themselves and their families in the Czech Republic, regardless of the proposed and actual length of stay.

Despite a significant increase in immigrants since 1990, social integration has remained on the backbench for social policy makers in the Czech Republic⁸, and generally beyond political and public discourse. More attention was directed at migration policy in order to regulate the influx of foreigners and to protect the domestic labour force. Originally a very liberal approach to immigration, it was later replaced by the tightening of conditions for foreigners' stay and limiting their employment opportunities. This development was mainly a response to economic development – the growth of unemployment and the overall poor conditions in the labour market; further, the regulation of migration was often seen in conjunction with fulfilling the requirements for joining the European Union. After 2000, attention was also focused on the regulation of migration and an attempt to influence its development according to the development of the labour market. While there still continues to be regulation of foreign employment through the institutionalized work permit, and on the basis that employers are unable to fill the positions with domestic workers; however, there is some evidence of the opening of the Czech Republic following the economic growth up to 2008. Among these measures are, for example, the project "Active selection of qualified foreign workers", whose aim is to attract qualified workers and their families, who would be interested in settling in the Czech Republic.

There was also the introduction of the so-called green card, which simplified the administration connected with coming to work in the Czech Republic, though favours highly-skilled foreigners. In response to the economic crisis, however, there are new efforts to limit immigration (for example, the 'green cards' were introduced for only a few selected non-member countries⁹; the temporary suspension of issuing visas in the source countries of migration; more thorough assessment of the circumstances when deciding to issue a work permit, etc.), and the formalization of efforts to support the emigration of immigrants back to their country of origin under a program of voluntary return¹⁰.

Since 2000, there gradually began to develop an integration policy at the national level, which focuses mainly on the area of proficiency in the Czech language, economic self-sufficiency of immigrants, orientation of foreigners in society, and relations of foreigners to the members of the majority. Successful social integration of migrants, however, foresees the creation of an appropriate mix of measures at national and local levels (OECD, 2006) and the corresponding political will. While building a national model for the concept of integration of foreigners in the Czech Republic reflects the need to involve regional and local governments in the implementation of integration policy, however, appropriate mechanisms have not been created yet. As shown in a series of interviews with employees of local governments, the needs of immigrants living in their area have remained until recently, largely hidden to the Czech town representatives and consequently local policy did not include immigrants among the target groups of their measures (Rákoczyová, Trbola, 2008). The activity of town councils in the area of integration is limited to a narrow area of state administration (particularly administration), support for multi-cultural events (especially ethnically-oriented festivals)

⁸ An exception was the return of countrymen (especially from countries of the former Soviet Union) in the context of organized repatriation and integration of refugees, who were already being provided integration housing during the nineties.

⁹ However, the demand for the cards is very low and within the first 6 months only very few of them were issued.

¹⁰ The voluntary return program, in which legally residing foreigners were given tickets back to their country of origin and paid a contribution of 500 EUR (adults) or 250 EUR (child), was introduced in February 2009 and is the first program of this type in the Czech Republic.

and where necessary, crisis intervention. Other possible integration activities were delegated to the non-governmental, non-profit sector, whose extension in this area in many regions of the Czech Republic has also been limited, and also (mostly informal) to regional or foreign social networks (Ibid.). The gap between municipalities and immigrants has therefore increased, whilst there has been an increase in foreigners. The vulnerability of migrants, however, has also deepened their dependence on the mentioned structures (in particular, nationally or ethnically defined networks). This has been expressed in situations of economic crisis, which pried open the social problems of immigrants and a portion of the majority population. Manifestations of social problems of migrants and an increased risk of polarization in society is reflected, for example, in the increased interest of the media and other stakeholders (researchers, politicians and the public) on issues of migration and social integration of migrants, and in particular the gradual development of public discourse in these areas.

Due to the deepening of social problems of immigrants, and awareness and insights in the public discourse, there are also increasing efforts to strengthen integration measures at the local level. In one of the most affected regions, Pilsen, for example, the national government together with the local town-council realized a so-called emergent program. In this area, there is beginning to show positively the projected availability of financial resources from European funds targeted specifically at areas of integration: in the framework of the European Fund for the integration of third country nationals, for example, there emerged in one of the regions of the Czech Republic the first regional integration centre, which brings together major regional and local actors in integration, the comprehensive strategy of the first regional government in the social integration, and among others includes a formulation of the first coherent strategy for regional governments in the area of social integration of immigrants to the Czech Republic. In addition, for non-governmental, non-profit organizations, European funds represent one of the most significant financial sources. As for other organizations, EU funds are used not only as a source of finance (e.g. for the non-profit sector, but also as a means of introducing certain agendas (e.g. agenda for social inclusion), which are politically sensitive and which otherwise would not receive much attention, from lower levels of government in particular (compare, for example, Rákoczyová, Trbola, 2006, Sirovátka, Rákoczyová, 2009).

Conclusion

Immigrants represent an important part of the population of the Czech Republic. A large share of them came as migrant workers, willing to accept employment with a low work quality level (that is, with a high degree of insecurity, low wages, etc.) and low social status. A portion of these migrants working in the Czech Republic remain on a long-term basis and are exposed to an increased risk of social exclusion and poverty. The exclusion of immigrants is associated with a number of risks in the functioning of the host society.

In the situation of a limited amount of integration services (as well as availability and clarity), foreigners are pressed to rely on other mechanisms, which will enable them to take a position in the structure of the host society and to reach at least an elementary (structural) level of integration. The emphasis of immigration policy on regulated immigration, particularly on restrictions, may contribute to the development of institutional structures, which aim at overcoming established barriers in migration and thus the perpetuation of migration (Massey, 1993:450). These structures frequently lie on the boundary of the law or beyond it, i.e., using irregular practices. By neglecting social integration, the position of these structures is further strengthened, for example, by increasing (extending) the dependence of immigrants on their services and reducing the offered services (e.g. information, consulting, and language services), which would promote the autonomy of immigrants in the new environment.

Insufficient attention to the process of social integration may lead to a number of difficulties and problems in the lives of immigrants. At the same time, it may undermine stability and cohesion of the host society. The positive effects of migration for the

receiving society may be accompanied, or even be outweighed, by the negative ones. Proportion of migrants face the risk of living at the margins of society, or even completely excluded from the host society, loss of skills, unemployment and poverty. This, in turn, leads to potential pressure on the social system of the receiving society and the mobilization and radicalization of immigrants outside standard forms of political representation (Castles, Miller, 2003). At the same time, together with other factors, negative attitudes within the domestic population may deepen. The development as a whole is then directed at increased polarization or segmentation of the society, loss of social coherence and overall social destabilization.

Balanced integration of immigrants into society is the best way to minimize those risks and is a prerequisite for maximizing the positive effects of immigration in the host society. Successful integration is in the interest of immigrants, as well as the host society. Specific measures targeted on various dimensions of social integration of immigrants (such as education, housing, labour market, cultural values and traditions, social interactions and communication in everyday life, etc.) must not remain only at the formal level of recommendation of the national government. It is crucial to the effective implementation of the national strategy to motivate and involve local governments, as well as non-governmental organizations and develop communication and cooperation between stakeholders both horizontally and vertically. In the Czech Republic, there is virtually no formulated concept for the integration of foreigners at a local level.