



IDEA Working Papers



CITIZENS AND GOVERNANCE IN A KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY

No. 11, May 2009

The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country

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Introduction

The Czech Republic represents one of the most important immigration target countries in Central and Eastern Europe. This is a relatively new situation since the Czech lands have traditionally been an area of emigration.

The character of international migration movements was significantly influenced by the following events: the Velvet Revolution and the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993, accession to the European Union in 2004 and finally joining the Schengen group of countries in 2007.

When talking about migration in the Czech Republic, the focus is more on the immigration of foreigners, since the emigration of Czechs so far has not been perceived as an important issue. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the number of immigrants has been gradually growing, while little attention has been paid to it. As late as the last several years, the numbers of immigrants mushroomed and, accordingly, more concerns arose among the government and society as such. Subsequently, there has been more interest within the academic sphere and research circles dedicated to migration, as evidenced by both basic and applied research activities. Despite the completion these studies, many questions remain unanswered and many topics are still to be touched upon.

This report tries in a sort of complex way to shed light on many important aspects of the given issue while respecting the methodological and conceptual guidelines of the IDEA project. Our paper is structured into five sections. The first one focuses on patterns of migration and social and economic development between the mid-19th century and 1989. The second part, where current trends are ascertained, is structured into many subsections according to the suggested template for IDEA national reports. Section 3 includes topical migration issues of Central and Eastern Europe as they are reflected in the Czech environment. The fourth part analyses relations between migration and selected characteristics (main drivers). The final chapter sums up the main conclusions of this report.

1. Social and Migration Development until 1989

1.1. Period until the Second World War

From a long-term historical perspective, the territory of today's Czechia was mostly an immigration area until the beginning of the 19th century. Immigration was of a colonisation nature and stemmed from Western Europe. The most significant influxes of colonists came first in the 13th century and then throughout the course of the 16th century. It is estimated that in the 13th century the population increase attributed to this migration amounted to 20-25% of residents in the Czech lands. Time-limited, short-term waves of emigration were usually set about by hostilities – e.g., the Hussite Wars in the first half of the 15th century or the Thirty Years' War in the 17th century.

The onset of industrialisation and urbanisation brought changes in population development. Also in the Czech lands it is possible to observe trends associated with the general concept of the demographic revolution where, due to the improved mortality rates, a natural increase occurred. In the 19th century, the value of this natural increase in the region ranged between 8 to 12%. This situation, along with freeing the workforce from agricultural production, gradually resulted in over-population which, in turn, led to a rise in emigration (Fialová et al 1998). Since there were no migration statistics, estimates of net migration in the Czech lands in the 19th century are based on the so-called differential method – i.e., the difference between natural reproduction figures and census results. The data from the second half of the 19th century clearly proves the emigration tendencies in the region: in the period of 1850-1914, a drop of more than 1.5 million in the population was ascribed to emigration, representing approximately 30% of the natural increase in this period (Srb 2004; table 1).

Table 1. Net migration in the Czech lands, 1850-1914

Year	Net migration in thousands	Per 1000 inhabitants yearly	Share of natural increase (%)	Year	Net migration in thousands	Per 1000 inhabitants yearly	Share of natural increase (%)
1850-54	-127	-3.4	35.7	1890-94	-51	-0.7	13.4
1855-59	-79	-2.4	27.3	1895-99	-141	-3.8	28.4
1860-64	-112	-3.0	30.1	1900-04	-168	-4.2	32.1
1865-69	-86	-1.5	34.2	1905-09	-119	-2.4	25.4
1870-74	-124	-3.4	31.0	1910-14	-140	-2.8	33.0
1875-79	-121	-3.1	30.5				
1880-84	-131	-3.2	36.0	1850-99	-1 111	-2.8	30.2
1885-89	-139	-3.3	38.5	1850-1914	-1 538	-2.9	30.6

Source: Srb 2004.

Depending on the target regions and the nature of migrants, emigration can be divided into several types. The so-called “metropolitan” migration heading to the capital city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire Vienna was the most important at that time due to its volume. This emigration stream was of a long-term nature and its participants were mostly small-scale tradesmen, servants and low-ranking clerks. The second type of emigration was represented by the “industrial” migration aiming for areas of Western Europe such as Westphalia, Saxony or Northern France. These were the regions which typically had mining mineral resources and heavy industrial development. This emigration flow culminated at the turn of the 19th and 20th

centuries. The third type was migration in the form of “colonisation,” heading mainly for the USA or Canada. One such specific case was migration aimed at settling in the south-eastern border regions of the monarchy (Banat, Voyvodina) and Russia (Volynhia), which was of a predominantly agricultural nature. According to estimates, before World War I there were about 1.2 million compatriots living outside the territory of the Czech lands: 750,000 in the western part of the monarchy (mainly Lower Austria, Vienna), approximately 100,000 in Saxony, 80,000 to 110,000 in Prussia, 30,000 in Russia and around 180,000 in the USA (Kárníková 1965, Auerhan, Turčín 1931).

As for the migration policy of that time, the monarchy took certain policy steps to deal with aforementioned emigration movements. Since 1850, the emigration system has been liberalized – emigration was made available as long as military service had been completed (Baršová, Barša 2005).

In relation to the present day, it is important to mention the citizenship policy of the monarchy. Citizenship rules were based on the jus sanguinis principle with certain naturalisation possibilities (e.g., establishing a business company, completing military service or having 10 years of residence), however, after 10 years of residence an application had to be submitted with no legal entitlement to receive citizenship (Baršová, Barša 2005). Thus, basic characteristics of the naturalisation procedure that are valid today have already been defined in the 19th century.

The consequences of World War I significantly influenced the demographic development of the population of the Czech lands. It is estimated that during the period between 1914-1918 there were about 550,000 fewer children born as a result of the war and at the same time 300,000 men were killed in combat (Kučera 1994). From the point of view of natural reproduction, the first half of the 1920s was an era of compensation for the losses that occurred during the war (table 2). The total fertility rate reached almost three children per woman and the natural increase of the population thus ranged around 9%. However, these figures dropped relatively quickly. Subsequently, the natural increase after 1935 went below 2% and the total fertility rate in the 1930s decreased to a level below the limit of extended reproduction (reaching a minimum of 1.7 children per woman in 1936).

Table 2. Demographic development of the Czech lands, 1857-1937

Year	Total fertility rate	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
		per 1 000 population		
1857-58	5.07	40.10	27.80	12.3
1910-11	4.03	29.20	20.10	9.10
1920-24	2.85	24.10	15.60	8.50
1925-29	2.29	20.30	14.40	5.90
1930-34	1.95	17.50	13.20	4.30
1935-37	1.68	14.60	12.90	1.70

Source: Srb 2004; Pohyb 2008a.

In late 1918, the independent Czechoslovak Republic was founded, composed of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia¹, Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia. As to the nationality structure, out of 10 million inhabitants of the Czech lands (in 1921) it was 67.7% Czechs, 30.6% Germans and

¹ Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia will be referred to as Czech lands – a unit that is comparable to the present-day Czech Republic.

1% Poles. Other minorities were Jews and Slovaks. The Czech lands belonged to one of the most industrially developed regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the first half of the 1920s their economic development within the newly established state was influenced by a crisis brought about by the impacts of the World War I and the disintegration of the former monarchy's common market. The second half of the 1920s was a period of economic prosperity. From 1925 to 1929 the GDP per capita went up by more than 30%. The world economic crisis struck the Czech lands with a certain delay. The highest unemployment levels, which pushed 900,000 people out of work, were reached in 1933. Moreover, in the same year the GDP per capita dropped to the level of the mid 1920s and the maximum figures from 1929-30 were not reached by the end of the 1930s (Kubů, Pátek 2000).

Results of the 1930 Census in the Czech lands showed that approximately 300,000 people were born abroad (2.9 % of the population). A majority of these were, however, persons born in the regions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The data on foreign migration during the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic from 1918 to 1939 is based on registration records of the issuance of emigration passports and police files. The high numbers of persons departing the country went down rapidly after World War I. From 1920-1924, approximately 110,000 moved abroad (mainly to the USA, France and Germany) while from 1925-1929 it was a mere 45,000 (table 3). The key factor was predominately the tightening of immigration policy in the USA and some other countries. In total figures, about 230,000 residents left the Czech lands during the period from 1920 to 1939. Migration losses accounted for approximately one tenth of the natural increase (Srb 2004).

Table 3. International migration in the Czech lands, 1920-1939 (five-year average)

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Migration
1920-24	10,100	22,138	-12,038
1925-29	2,527	9,083	-6,556
1930-34	1,276	3,392	-2,116
1935-39	14,472	11,396	3,076
Total	141,875	230,045	-88,170

Source: Srb 2004.

The net migration was greatly influenced by the foundation of the independent Czechoslovak state, which primarily manifested itself in a re-emigration wave in the first half of the 1920s. In the first post-war years, more than 40,000 compatriots returned home from the USA and about 100,000 from Austria. Similarly, the subsequent immigration flows did not have a primarily economic overtone. After World War I the Czechoslovak Republic allowed the entry of Russian emigrants, whose numbers are estimated at 20,000. After Paris, Prague became the second most important centre of the Russian post-revolution emigration. Politically motivated immigrants were arriving also in the 1930s after the onset of Nazism in Germany.

The independent Czechoslovak Republic (Czechoslovakia) followed in most ways the Austro-Hungarian migration policy traditions regarding emigration and naturalisation. In 1922, a new Emigration Act was voted for – again quite liberal in terms of emigration, however more focused on protection of rights of Czechoslovak emigrants (e.g., on the regulation of intermediaries, transport companies and rights of workers abroad) (Baršová, Barša 2005). On the other hand, Czechoslovakia was more active in immigration regulation due to the economic recession and the situation in neighbouring countries. In the late 1920s, a highly up-

to-date regulation mechanism was established through the Act on Protection of the Labour Market. Employers of a foreign labour force needed to have special permission enabling them to employ foreign workers. This permission could be issued only when the situation in the labour market was favourable, or when no national workers were able to fill the position (Baršová, Barša 2005). The regulation was enacted as a reciprocal solution reacting to the situation in neighbouring countries, which had earlier imposed similar regulations. Furthermore, the law was seen as a way to possibly eradicate the visa system through the creation of a new mechanism (permit for employers) that could prevent undesirable aliens from entering (Zpráva výboru 2008).

Following the worsening situation in the international arena, further restrictions in immigration legislation took place. In 1935, the Act on Residence of Foreigners (surprisingly close to today's immigration legislation) established an obligation for foreigners (except refugees) already staying in Czechoslovakia or intending to stay there for more than 2 months (regardless of the purpose of the stay) to apply for a residence permit at a police station in the district where they stayed or intended to stay. Furthermore, a change of a foreigner's residence to a different police district had to be reported (Usnesení 2008).

After the Munich Agreement more restrictions were introduced. The conditions of refugees were especially tightened as refugees were made to apply for a residence permit as well. Soon before the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was imposed on the territory of the Czech lands, a government resolution stated that migrants were obliged to leave Czechoslovakia if ordered by the relevant state official (Baršová, Barša 2005).

1.2. Period from 1945 to 1989

The most evident example of how politics had become a determining factor in international migration trends is seen in the new geopolitical regime following the end of World War II. Massive population movements had impacts not only on the whole of Europe, but also very significantly Czechoslovakia. Although exact data for the period are not available, it is estimated that more than 5 million people were on the move, including about 4 million in the Czech lands (Horáková 2000). During the years 1945-1947 some 2,820,000 Germans were transferred and expelled from Czechoslovakia to Germany or Austria in three, organised as well as spontaneous, waves: most of them were from the Czech lands, especially border regions (see table 4). Additionally, some 90,000 Hungarians also returned to Hungary from Slovakia, while about 50,000 persons were forcefully displaced from Czechoslovakia to Ukraine and other parts of the former USSR (Horáková 2000). The depopulated Sudeten/border regions were after that settled by returning migrants of Czech or Slovak origin (during the period 1945-1950 about 220,000 persons, including 40,000 of those who came from the Volhynia region). The ethnically selective policy of post-war Czechoslovakia was the cause of ongoing emigration of some 150,000 ethnic Germans to Germany during the period 1950-1990. Thus the Czech lands became ethnically homogeneous country with a prevailing Slavic background, where 94% of the population were Czechs.

Table 4. International migration in the Czech lands, 1945-1947

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Migration
1945	35,000	1,177,000	-1,142,000
1946	45,000	1,630,000	-1,585,000
1947	51,100	1,300	49,800
Total	131,100	2,808,300	-2,677,200

Source: Andrlé 1993 according to Horáková 2000.

International migration movements in Czechoslovakia were very specific during the communist era. Conforming to the governing regime, which in many aspects isolated pro-Soviet block countries from the rest of the world, meant that movements were far from “natural”. Migration activities and trends were limited to illegal/undocumented emigration. There was no explicit immigration policy – except for the asylum channel, which was adjusted to the definition of asylum based on socialist rules in 1960 (Baršová-Barša 2005).

Migration movements of Czechoslovak citizens were organized through the so-called “visa” policy, when selected Czechoslovakian citizens (financial and political reasons came into play) were allowed to travel to non-socialistic countries by way of visas. Generally, it was unlawful to leave the country (even for a short time period) without official permission, which, however, was almost impossible to get. Thus, “illegal” movements were the only way of emigrating. Illegal emigrants automatically lost Czech/Slovak citizenship and usually were sentenced to several years in prison.

During the 1948-1989 period, two waves of emigration tended to follow political changes in the country – the rise to power of the communists in 1948 and the Soviet army's occupation in 1968 – and their aftermath. Vaculík (2002) indicates that from 1948 until 1953, 44,000 fled and between 1968 and 1972 some 127,000² people left due to political changes. The 1970s and 1980s were also characterised by illegal emigration. Political reasons for emigration were often intertwined with economic motives, as people wanted to find countries with higher standards of living. Most of these emigrants belonged to the young and healthy segments of the population: many travelled with their families; most were economically active; their average age was 35; and the majority of them was skilled or semiskilled - “blue collared” (Drbohlav 1994). The Czech lands lost approximately some 420,000 - 440,000 people between 1948 and 1990 (Kučera 1994) or according to Andrlé (1993 according to Horáková 2000) 500,000 total (hence, including legal ones) (see table 5).

Table 5. Migration losses of the Czech lands, 1948-1990

Year	Legal migrants	Illegal migrants	Total
1948-1949	3,900	-250,000	-246,100
1950-1960	-2,400	-32,500	-34,900
1961-1970	-47,700	-116,800	-164,500
1971-1980	-7,800	-43,200	-51,100
1981-1990	-13,700	-40,000	-53,700
Total	-67,700	-482,500	-550,300

Source: Andrlé 1993 according to Horáková 2000.

² On the other hand, there is another estimate indicating that some 162,000 Czechoslovak citizens fled to Australia, Austria and Germany during the years 1968 and 1969 (Horáková 2000).

During the period between 1960 and 1969, about 44,000 persons emigrated from Czechoslovakia legally. Most of these persons (about 14,000) left in 1967. The expected democratization of political life in 1968 had the effect of retarding the emigration process, with the annual number of legal emigrants decreasing slightly to 10,500 persons in 1968 and to 9,000 in 1969 (Horáková 2000). The subsequent process of so-called “normalization” brought about a new wave of emigration (see table 6), however, the figure for illegal emigration was undoubtedly higher. The main destinations of legal emigrants from Czechoslovakia in Europe were Austria, Germany, Greece and Poland and the United States and Canada overseas.

The former Czechoslovakia has also experienced permanent immigration. It was strictly regulated and relatively low. It mainly consisted of immigration for family reasons (reunification or marriage). The immigrants came principally from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as from Greece and France. In ethnic terms, many of them were of Czech or Slovak origin. Furthermore, the centre in Moscow and the representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were directing the migration flow of Greek civilians and pro-communist partisans to Czechoslovakia, where they obtained asylum. The total number of them reached about 14,000 (Otčenášek 2003). The immigrants were leaving the northern regions of Greece after the loss in the civil war (in 1949) under the assumption that they would return to Greece soon. However, they settled permanently in the Czech lands, mostly in Northern Moravia.

Table 6. International migration in the Czech lands, 1950-1989 (five-year average)

Year	Immigrants			Emigrants			Net migration		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1950-54	1,153	699	454	721	331	390	432	368	64
1955-59	1,269	646	623	2,106	974	1,132	-837	-328	-509
1960-64	1,201	741	460	2,653	1,228	1,425	-1,452	-487	-965
1965-69	2,171	1,354	823	8,723	4,339	4,384	-6,546	-2,985	-3,561
1970-74	3,150	1,963	1,187	5,227	2,651	2,570	-2,071	-694	-1,383
1975-79	2,060	1,065	995	3,069	1,535	1,534	-1,009	-470	-539
1980-84	1,132	620	512	2,790	1,225	1,565	-1,658	-605	-1,053
1985-89	852	420	432	1,838	741	1,097	-986	-321	-665

Source: Srb 2004.

Note: without migration between Czech lands and Slovakia.

In 1946 and 1947, about 12,000 Bulgarian agricultural workers immigrated and settled in depopulated areas of the former Sudetenland. Another group of around 4,000 Bulgarians (not included in the official statistics due to their specificity) arrived in Czechoslovakia in 1957 (Horáková 2000). The resettlement program of abandoned areas of Czech Germans also included a semi-conducted immigration of Slovaks and the Slovakian Roma people in the 1940s and 1950s. It is estimated that around 16,700 Roma came in 1947 (Pavelčíková 2004 according to Baršová, Barša 2005).

The liberalization of political life in the period of the 1960s (the period preceding the Prague spring) resulted in a rise in immigration. During the decade 1960-1969, approximately 19,000 foreign nationals immigrated to Czechoslovakia, mostly during the years 1966-1968, when more than 4,000 persons arrived each year. Following the Soviet invasion, the numbers of immigrants decreased slightly during the years 1969 to 1971 to about 3,000 a year.

Immigration rose once again during the period of so-called “normalization” from 1970 to 1979, when the total number of immigrants to Czechoslovakia reached nearly 50,000 (see table 7).

Table 7. Migration between the Czech lands and Slovakia, 1950-1992 (five-year average)

Year	Immigration to the Czech lands from Slovakia			Emigration from the Czech lands to Slovakia			Net migration of the Czech lands		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1950-54	32,781	19,876	12,905	21,280	13,731	7,549	11,501	6,145	5,356
1955-59	21,232	11,290	9,942	14,272	8,066	6,206	6,960	3,224	3,736
1960-64	18,553	9,805	8,748	11,032	5,661	5,371	7,521	4,144	3,377
1965-69	16,469	8,120	7,149	10,304	5,204	5,100	6,165	3,516	2,649
1970-74	11,923	6,094	5,829	8,107	4,072	4,035	3,816	2,022	1,794
1975-79	9,956	5,060	4,896	6,769	3,494	3,275	3,187	1,566	1,621
1980-84	9,823	5,052	4,171	6,099	3,140	2,959	3,124	1,912	1,812
1985-89	9,137	4,861	4,276	5,765	2,894	2,871	3,312	1,967	1,405
1990-92	10,049	5,467	4,582	1,214	3,697	3,577	2,115	1,770	1,005

Source: Srb 2004.

In the middle of the 1970s, the Czechoslovak Parliament started discussing the problem of the lack of a labour force (June 1976). The active migration policy approach started to be discussed as well. It was connected to technical innovation in the most important Prague factories, since the Prague labour market always relied upon the migrant labour force. This discussion went on in parallel with importing temporary workers and trainees from other socialist countries. Within the framework of intergovernmental agreements signed between Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries - within the so-called “international aid co-operation” schemes, mainly migrants from Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Cuba, Mongolia, Angola, and North Korea came (Boušková 1998).

Cooperation with Poland has had a long tradition in the field of employment since the early 1960s, especially in the border regions. Due to labour shortages of domestic resources in borderland areas, Polish citizens were significantly represented in a number of organizations (for example, the textile and glass industries in northern Bohemia, metallurgy, and mining in North Moravia). The highest number of Polish citizens working on a long term-basis in Czech territory was recorded in 1974 (20,825 persons). Other long-term cooperation existed with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Intergovernmental agreements were focused primarily on the professional training of Vietnamese citizens. Based on the Agreement of 1979, a total of 8,700 Vietnamese pupils and 23,300 trainees and participants of training arrived in Czechoslovakia. In addition, the employment of Vietnamese citizens also occurred, based on the Agreement of 1980. The highest number of such workers was recorded at the end of 1983 (27,100 persons). The citizens of Cuba were the third major group employed in Czechoslovakia, based on intergovernmental agreements. In the period from 1978 to 1989, about 23,160 Cuban citizens were accepted.

This immigration, similar to many other projects during the communist era, was tightly regulated. Very often the immigrants were segregated. They were not very visible and were confined to operate only within certain factories and/or locations (Drbohlav 2004). This

scheme also involved Vietnamese³, but many of them, in contrast to the other above mentioned workers, formed de facto permanent settlements in the Czech Republic in the 1990s.

The nature of the economic situation in the monitored period was affected by political changes after 1948. Virtually full nationalization in the sphere of manufacturing and services had been implemented, and the collectivization of agriculture took place. After overcoming the difficult post-war situation, economic growth in the second half of the 1950s stood at about 5% of the annual increase in the GDP per capita. Later, however, a reduction occurred. From the mid-1970s onward, the growth of GDP was minimal and mostly fluctuated around 1%. The Czech economy fell behind the rate of the development of Western European states. Within the socialist bloc, however, it maintained the front position. In the framework of central planning, the development of heavy industry and mining of mineral resources was mainly supported, the service sector fell behind. Unemployment virtually did not exist due to the given economic system. On the contrary, the extensively developed economy was typical of labour shortages.

Concerning population development, natural reproduction after World War II was characterized by post-war compensatory increase in fertility (an average of 2.9 children per woman in the years 1945-49) and also in the natural increase (around 10% in the years 1945-49). Annual absolute natural increase of population was between 70,000 to 100,000 inhabitants until the mid-1950s. During the next few years, a long-term decline in fertility occurred (fewer than 2 children per woman at the end of the 1960s), and in connection with more or less stagnant values of life expectancy, the natural population increase was further reduced to a value of approximately 2% at the end of the 1960s. Significant measures supporting natality led, in the mid-1970s, to a short-term increase in fertility (an average of 2.46 children per woman in 1974) and thus to increase in the natural population growth to between 6 and 7% in the years 1974-76. Afterwards, however, the long-term decline of fertility and natural population growth continued. Population growth was almost zero at the end of the 1980s (see table 8).

Table 8. Demographic development of the Czech lands, 1950-89

Year	Total fertility rate	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
		per 1 000 population		
1950-54	2.71	19.60	11.00	8.60
1955-59	2.40	15.90	10.00	5.90
1960-64	2.18	14.40	10.30	4.20
1965-69	1.96	14.40	11.30	3.10
1970-74	2.15	17.00	12.50	4.60
1975-79	2.35	17.90	12.40	5.50
1980-84	2.00	13.80	12.90	1.00
1985-89	1.92	12.80	12.50	0.30

Source: Pohyb 2008b.

Net migration was negative throughout the post-war period, compared to the natural increase. As mentioned above, the migration losses are estimated at about 0.5 million of inhabitants for the period 1948 - 1989, taking into account illegal emigration. Czech lands thus preserved

³ Apart from the Vietnamese workers, Vietnamese permanent immigration to the Czech Republic was rather marginal and politically motivated.

their emigration nature even in this period. Migration losses were absolutely and relatively higher than in the interwar period, and the share of negative net migration on the natural population growth, which exceeded 30%, was comparable to the situation in the second half of the 19th century. Displacement of 2.8 million inhabitants of German nationality in the years 1945-47, however, was unprecedented in historical comparisons.

2. Social and Migration Development in the Period between 1989-2007

Political changes in 1989 did significantly influence further development of international migration in the Czech Republic. The most important factors playing significant roles included the collapse of the “Iron Curtain” and consequent political, social and economic transformation. Further vital milestones of this era were the division of Czechoslovakia and the foundation of the independent Czech Republic on January 1, 1993 as well as joining the European Union (EU) on May 1, 2004. All these events led to the increased volume of international migration. During the first half of the 1990s, the Czech Republic quickly became a country of transit (migrants going through the country from the East to the West), but, in the course of time, it also became a country of immigration (see table 10).

While at the beginning of the new migration era in 1990, the percentage of foreign nationals in the total population of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic was rather negligible, in 2007 it was already 3.7 percent in the Czech Republic (in absolute figures - 392,087 foreigners with residence permits) (Zpráva 2008). Though this share is still lower than in many EU15 member countries, it is, for example, comparable with the share of immigrants in Portugal, Slovenia, Italy or Finland.

2.1. Statistics

Statistical data concerning international migration for this period comes basically from three main sources. The first is traditionally the census. Unfortunately, census information on international migration or more precisely on foreigners in the territory of the Czech Republic is considerably incomplete. The 1991 Census recorded only the permanent population (only foreigners with permanent residence permits), the one in 2001 included also foreigners with visas for a period exceeding 90 days. However only 60% of those meant to be counted were in fact enumerated (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008a).

The second source is the Information System of Registration of Inhabitants (ISEO)⁴ of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic which is, however, not normally available for the public or researchers, though several datasets are given to the Czech Statistical Office. The third source is based on the records of issued residence permits by the Alien Police. These two sources have been gradually interconnected and, since 2005, from the point of view of a unified collection of data and methodology, they have been in essence integrated. The year 1993 (the foundation of the independent Czech Republic) is an important milestone from the developmental aspect, because since that year there has been relatively consistent information available about the number of the registered foreigners on national territory, including their other characteristics. The next significant turning point was 2001, when a number of methodological changes took place. The most important, based on the 2001 Census, included foreigners with visas for periods exceeding 90 days in the population balances made by the Czech Statistical Office. Until then, the migration balance of the Czech Republic had covered only those migrants whose place of permanent residence was changed. Subsequently, the international migration data before and after 2001 is incompatible. Minor

⁴ The ISEO registers Czech citizens and foreigners (EU citizens and third country nationals) on visa/permits for more than 3 months. However, EU-citizens in general do not have the obligation to have a residence permit, hence, not all residing EU citizens are recorded there.

adjustments were carried out in 2004 in connection with the Czech Republic joining the EU. Migration records do suffer from another problem characteristic of most countries – the impossibility of detecting a considerable volume of emigration flows. Therefore, the number of emigrants given by Czech statistics is considerably lower than the real situation. These incomplete figures relate (since 2001) predominantly to foreigners leaving the country. Currently, it is possible to distinguish in a very simplified manner the following categories of foreigners' stay in the territory of the Czech Republic:

1. EU citizens and their family members:
 - registered without a temporary or permanent residence permit,
 - with temporary residence permit (more or less in a form of registration),
 - with permanent residence permit;
2. Third country nationals:
 1. with short-term visas (up to 90 days),
 2. with visas for the period exceeding 90 days (valid for 1 year, cannot be extended),
 3. with long-term residence permits (following the visas for the period exceeding 90 days valid for 1 year, can be extended),
 4. with permanent residence permits (usually issued after 5 years of residence, in some cases after 4 or 2.5 years);
3. Foreigners who gained asylum/international protection;
4. Registered applicants for asylum/international protection.

Foreigners with temporary, long-term visas and permits and permanent permits clearly represent the immigrant population.

An important component of the information on foreigners is the data about their economic activities. The register of work permits is run by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic. Data concerning the issued trade licences is provided by the database of the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Czech Republic. The time series of both data groups are available from 1993 and 1994 on, respectively. However, in both cases there have been various legal and methodological changes that influence the possibility of comparability over time.

2.2. Mobility and Migration Flows

Since the 1990s - after the communist era when international movements were generally heavily suppressed, international mobility has been booming reflecting newly gained freedom of movements (on the side of the Czech population) and, at the same time, mirroring incorporating the country into the globalizing world. Table 9 brings figures for overall border crossings of foreigners between 1993 and 2006. In 2007, altogether some 267 mil. border crossings (inflows plus outflows) were registered at the Czech state borders (255 mil. flows were tied to EU citizens including the Czech nationals, 10.2 to third country nationals and 1.6 to foreigners with visa requirements – Zpráva 2008).

Table 9. Border crossings of foreigners (mil. of persons, total = incoming+outgoing), 1993 - 2006⁵

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Border crossings of foreigners	146	199	192	214	213	204	199	205	204	196	189	190	199	199

Zdroj: Zpráva 2004, 2007.

In the 1990s, when Czech statistics registered migration only on the basis of change of permanent residence: there was an annual average of about 10,000 immigrants. This figure does not differ much from the immigration numbers in the 1970s and 1980s. A certain rise was experienced in 1992 and 1993, when, owing to the division of Czechoslovakia, the migration exchange between Czechia and Slovakia increased and newly became an international movement. The official figures of registered emigrants plummeted to the minimum level after 1993 and in fact did not reflect reality.

The new system of statistical registration of migration after 2001 (where foreigners are counted as immigrants already after 1 year of residence) showed a significant increase in the number of immigrants, from around 13,000 in 2001 to 104,000 (in 2007). The figures of those leaving the country ranged between 20,000 and 35,000 people in the period 2001-2007. The net migration, which has been positive since 1989, has been growing significantly since 2001. An exception to this trend was the year 2001, when net migration was negative due to aforementioned changes in statistics (see table 10).

⁵ Between 1997 and 2006, one can get only a total number of border crossings without any possibility to differentiate between arrivals and departures. More ramified data are only for 2007, albeit not differentiating between Czech and other EU citizens.

Table 10. International migration (of Czech citizens and foreigners) in the Czech Republic, 1990-2007

Year	Immigrants		Emigrants		Net migration	
	Total	from Slovakia	Total	to Slovakia	Total	with Slovakia
1990	12,411	10,073	11,787	7,674	624	2,399
1991	14,096	8,334	11,220	7,324	2,876	1,010
1992	19,072	11,740	7,291	6,823	11,781	4,917
1993	12,900	7,276	7,424	7,232	5,476	44
1994	10,207	4,076	265	56	9,942	4,020
1995	10,540	3,845	541	140	9,999	3,705
1996	10,857	3,450	728	213	10,129	3,237
1997	12,880	3,088	805	260	12,075	2,828
1998	10,729	2,887	1,241	356	9,488	2,531
1999	9,910	3,235	1,136	336	8,774	2,899
2000	7,802	2,826	1,263	413	6,539	2,413
2001	12,918	3,050	21,469	8,671	-8,551	-5,621
2002	44,679	13,326	32,389	14,455	12,290	-1,129
2003	60,015	24,410	34,226	18,316	25,789	6,094
2004	53,453	15,788	34,818	21,152	18,635	-5,364
2005	60,294	10,133	24,065	1,935	36,229	8,198
2006	68,183	6,795	33,463	629	34,720	6,166
2007	104,445	-	20,500	-	83,945	-

Source: Internal 2008.

Note: Since 2001 - foreigners counted as immigrants already after 1 year of residence.

The most important migratory connections of the Czech lands were those with Slovakia. They are based on the specificities of the common development within one country until 1992 (see table 7). This relation was reflected after 1993. To sum up, the conditions and “migratory regime” between these two states were more or less comparable with the current migratory regulations in the EU. Until 1999 Slovak citizens were the largest group of immigrants. Later they were replaced from this position by Ukrainians, who have clearly dominated the immigration flows. Other large immigration groups consist of citizens of Vietnam, Russia, Poland and Germany, and in recent years they have been joined by Moldovan and Mongolian citizens (see table 11).

Table 11. International migration of foreigners in the Czech Republic by most important citizenship, 2005– 2007 (as of December 31)

Citizenship	Immigrants			Emigrants			Net migration		
	2005	2006	2007	2005	2006	2007	2005	2006	2007
Ukraine	23,875	30,150	39,572	11,392	17,157	8,670	12,483	12,993	30,902
Slovakia	10,107	6,781	13,931	1,946	629	802	8,161	6,152	13,129
Vietnam	4,906	6,433	12,332	1,417	2,350	1,051	3,489	4,083	11,281
Russia	3,300	4,675	6,695	1,306	2,461	930	1,994	2,214	5,765
Moldova	1,672	2,377	3,419	781	1,234	964	891	1,143	2,455
Mongolia	911	1,549	3,319	257	474	440	654	1,075	2,879
Poland	1,259	949	2,329	140	96	96	1,119	853	2,233
Germany	1,431	797	1,932	99	63	201	1,332	734	1,731
United States	1,374	1,804	1,738	746	1,262	871	628	542	867
Bulgaria	846	830	1,119	454	673	549	392	157	570
Belarus	732	782	1,095	306	462	241	426	320	854
Kazakhstan	365	460	986	180	269	139	185	191	847
China	833	1,381	961	407	604	276	426	777	685
Romania	442	449	909	178	276	333	264	173	576
Uzbekistan	155	304	754	66	164	70	89	140	684
United Kingdom	425	269	733	39	22	31	386	247	702
Total	58,576	66,125	102,511	21,796	31,388	18,424	36,780	34,737	84,087

Source: Zahraniční 2008.

In the 1990s the male-to-female ratio of immigrants was more or less balanced. When the statistics were changed (in 2001), accordingly, the gender structure changed and reflected the nature of labour-oriented migration, where males prevailed over females (i.e., men account for 60% to 65% of both immigrants and emigrants). The net migration shows a low percentage of men among Russian and Mongolian national groups (only about 28%) in 2001-2007. On the other hand, a high percentage of men is attributed to Polish migrants (75% – 80%). The age structure of migration flows matches the general migration regularities – in the period between 2003 and 2007 there was a considerable concentration of migrants in the category of 20-29 years of age (approximately 38%) and 30-39 years of age (25%), where the median age of immigrants was slightly lower (28.7 years of age) than the median age of emigrants (30.7 years of age) (see table 12).

Table 12. Age structure of international migrants in the Czech Republic, 2005-2007 (three-year average)

	Age							
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Immigrants	3,167	6,224	29,057	19,230	12,419	4,540	789	311
Emigrants	848	1,407	8,540	6,417	4,459	1,858	263	78
Net migration	2,319	4,817	20,517	12,813	7,960	2,682	526	233

Source: External 2008.

Moreover, the Czech Republic is also a destination for short-term “migrants” (staying on a short-term visa for less than 90 days), mostly tourists. Short-term visa policy falls under the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (unlike long-term visas and permits which are governed by the Ministry of the Interior) and since the accession of the Czech Republic to the EU it has been largely determined by EU visa directives. Unfortunately, no clear data on short-term visas is accessible. One can get only partial pieces of information on the total

number of visa applications and visas issued (including both short-term as well as long-term visas) at Czech embassies abroad accompanied by information on five countries whose nationals have submitted the largest number of visa applications (see table 13).

Table 13. Czech visa applications and visa issued, 2004 - 2007

	2004	2005	2006	2007
Total visa applications	523,941	559,898	663,655	701,643
Total visa issued	471,068	531,428	620,937	653,241
Top-5 countries (by number of visa applications)	Russia - 176,618	Russia - 213,750	Russia - 264,923	Russia - 297,733
	Ukraine - 90,010	Ukraine - 115,114	Ukraine - 147,008	Ukraine - 156,864
	Turkey - 24,873	Turkey - 33,512	Taiwan - 37,296	Serbia and Monte Negro - 35,137
	Belarus - 22,930	Taiwan - 29,832	Turkey - 30,415	Turkey - 28,408
	Taiwan - 21,279	Belarus - 24,422	Belarus - 25,789	Taiwan - 25,758

Source: Zpráva 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008.

With regard to short-term tourist visa, we should add that they are sometimes misused as an easy entry mechanism followed by irregular employment in the Czech Republic, especially in the case of foreigners from Post-Soviet countries (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008b). Moreover, it is worth stressing that the Czech Republic has no special visas/permits for seasonal work of foreigners – no programme for seasonal labour migration has ever been launched.

Since 1989 the Czech Republic has not become a significant emigration country. In particular political stability, development of democracy and maintained or even growing living standards and, indeed, the Czech mentality were the major reasons for such a development. Emigration, however, has been replaced by the emergence of a new phenomenon of occasional temporary labour migration from the Czech Republic to the West, especially to Germany and Austria. This situation was typical for the beginning of the 1990s and we call those labour migrants “pendlers”⁶ (Marešová, Drbohlav 2007, Jeřábek 1998). The emigration of Czechs to EU countries, particularly Germany and the United Kingdom and to overseas countries was also significant, especially in the early 1990s. In 1992 and 1993 between 0.4 and 0.8 percent of the domestic labour force, 27,000 and 49,000 persons respectively, found seasonal or commuting jobs in Germany. However, based on statistics of the OECD current Czech emigration into the EU countries appears to be one of the lowest in the 10 countries of the Central and Eastern European countries (International 2007).

⁶ The importance of this movement has been decreasing over time: Whereas in 2000 some 10,000 Czech citizens legally worked in Germany and about one half of them were (mostly daily or weekly) circulating pendlers, in 1996 it was 24,000 and about 18,000, respectively (see Marešová, Drbohlav 2007).

2.3. Numbers and Characteristics of Foreigners in the Czech Republic

2.3.1. Stocks of Foreigners

Since 1993, a long-term increase in the number of foreigners has been recorded - in 1993 there were 77,668 foreigners staying in the Czech Republic compared to 394,124 in 2007 (always reported for December 31 – table 12). The exceptions were in the years 2000 and 2001, when a significant drop occurred. This may be linked to economic recession, the more limited space in which migrants could operate and restrictive migratory legislation. Since 1996 there has been a gradual rise in the share of permanent residence permits (mostly linked with family reasons) at the expense of the long-term residence permits (chiefly typical economic migrants) – from approximately 23% to, currently, 43%. The reasons can be found primarily on the part of legislation – conditions for obtaining permanent residence have been eased (shortening of the waiting period in relation to EU regulations) as well as the increase of firmly established ethnic immigrant groups in the country over time.

Table 14. Foreigners by type of residence in the Czech Republic, 1993-2007 (as of December 31)

Year	Permanent residence	Long-term residence/*	Stateless	Gained asylum	Total	Share of population (%)
1993	31,072	46,070	526	-	77,668	0.75
1994	32,468	71,230	654	-	104,352	1.01
1995	38,557	120,060	590	-	159,207	1.54
1996	45,837	152,767	548	-	199,152	1.93
1997	56,281	153,516	514	-	210,311	2.04
1998	63,919	155,836	432	-	220,187	2.14
1999	66,754	162,108	-	1,269	230,131	2.23
2000	66,891	134,060	-	1,250	202,201	1.96
2001	69,816	140,978	-	1,275	212,069	2.05
2002	75,249	156,359	-	1,334	232,942	2.27
2003	80,844	159,577	-	1,513	241,934	2.35
2004	99,467	154,827	-	1,623	255,917	2.49
2005	110,598	167,714	-	1,799	280,111	2.71
2006	139,185	182,271	-	1,887	323,343	3.12
2007	158,018	234,069	-	2,037	394,124	3.78

Source: Zpráva 2008.

Note: Asylum status 1993-1998 - missing data; /* 1993-1999 long-term residence, 2000-2003 90-days-and-over visa, since 2004 temporary EU, long-term residence and 90-days-and-over visa are included.

Since 1996 the five largest immigrant groups have remained the same – consisting of citizens of Ukraine, Slovakia, Vietnam, Russia and Poland (see table 15). Whereas the number of Slovak and Polish citizens has not changed much from the mid-1990s, figures of those from Ukraine, Vietnam and Russia have increased two-fold as compared to the situation in the mid-1990s. As for the smaller immigrant groups, it is possible to observe a large increase of citizens coming from some post-Soviet republics (particularly Moldova, Kazakhstan), Mongolia and from some European countries (especially from Germany and Great Britain). At the beginning of the 1990s, immigrants with long-term residence permits prevailed in the largest groups, with the exception of Polish immigrants. The most significant change took place mainly in relation to citizens of Vietnam, Russia and China, where the proportion of

those with permanent residence permits rapidly increased and currently ranges between 50% to 60%.

Table 15. Foreigners by citizenship in the Czech Republic, 2007 (as of December 31)

Citizenship	Foreigners, total	Permanent residence permit			Other types of residence permit		
		Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Ukraine	126,526	32,619	15,174	17,445	93,907	61,061	32,846
Slovakia	67,880	24,444	11,899	12,545	43,436	28,427	15,009
Vietnam	50,955	32,766	18,669	14,097	18,189	11,232	6,957
Russia	23,303	10,899	4,839	6,060	12,404	6,124	6,280
Poland	20,607	11,288	3,379	7,909	9,319	7,804	1,515
Germany	15,701	4,423	2,912	1,511	11,278	9,738	1,540
Moldova	7,972	1,664	891	773	6,308	4,285	2,023
Mongolia	5,967	1,097	345	752	4,870	2,088	2,782
Bulgaria	5,024	3,032	1,887	1,145	1,992	1,314	678
China	4,760	2,880	1,586	1,294	1,880	1,096	784
United States	4,448	2,544	1,700	844	1,904	1,054	850
United Kingdom	3,779	1,201	1,017	184	2,578	1,913	665
Belarus	3,749	1,937	725	1,212	1,812	884	928
Total	392,087	158,018	83,082	74,936	234,069	153,731	80,338

Source: Foreigners 2008a.

The basic demographic characteristics of foreigners mostly match the generally accepted regularities of international migration. Female representation among all foreigners was stable in the period of 2001-2007, amounting to some 40%. While in the category of foreigners with permanent residence permits the share of women is about 50%, among the immigrants with long-term residence permits, which are more connected with short-term labour migrations, the proportion of women is below 35%. The highest female representation is among citizens of Russia, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and Mongolia (from 50 to 60%). On the other hand, low shares can be found with respect to citizens of several Western European countries – Germany, Great Britain, Austria and the Netherlands (between 20 to 30%).

As of December 31, 2006 the age structure of all foreigners was again typical of the prevailing labour-oriented migration. More than half of immigrants fell within the age category of 20 to 39 years, while the share of children under 15 years of age and persons over 60 years of age was low. There are significant differences in the age structure depending on the nationality of immigrants. The highest average age (combined with a higher proportion of citizens in the post-productive age) was recorded among citizens of Germany, Poland, Bulgaria and also the USA. On the other hand, an above-average share of children can be found mainly among Vietnamese residents (children under 14 years of age amounted to almost 20%) as well as citizens of Russia and China.

As of December 31, 2006, two purposes of residence - settlement (38%) and family reunion and creation (60%) were logically the most represented types among permanent residence permit holders. With respect to foreigners holding long-term permits (for a period exceeding 90 days), the dominant purposes of residence were employment (70%) and business activities carried out on the basis of a trade licence (14%). The above mentioned data corroborates the fact that labour migration is tied to long-term immigration (see tables 14 and 16).

Table 16. Foreigners by purpose of residence, 2006 (as of December 31)

Purpose of residence	Foreigners			
	Total	EU	Other Europe	Other
Total	323,343	102,886	149,769	70,688
Study and training	7,208	1,577	2,343	3,288
Business based on trade licence	26,713	3,743	14,963	8,007
Participation in legal person	3	2	-	1
Employment	127,131	46,032	73,175	7,924
Other economic activities	188	77	31	80
Free establishment (compatriots, etc.)	2,314	762	977	575
Settlement (permanent residence permit)	52,377	12,198	21,111	19,068
Family members; reunification of the family	101,213	34,781	35,913	30,519
Refugees	1,932	-	967	965
Humanitarian status; temporary protection	331	2	141	188
Other	3,933	3,712	148	73

Source: Cizinci 2008.

2.3.2. Asylum Seekers

As in many other countries, mainly political stability and economic prosperity of the Czech Republic, and on the other hand, wars or civil conflicts and economic underdevelopment all bring occasional inflows of asylum seekers to the country.

Asylum seekers⁷ do not represent an important population segment in quantitative terms in the Czech Republic. Accordingly, they do not have any significant influence on the Czech labour market. For the whole period between 1994 and 2007, out of 79,363 asylum seekers only 1,969 gained asylum in the country (2.5%) (e.g. Horáková 2008). For example, in 2007 1,878 foreigners asked for international protection while only 191 foreigners were granted asylum in the country. While Ukrainians are, in the long term, the most typical asylum seekers in the Czech Republic, representatives of other important nationalities change every year – for example, in 2006 Egypt and Kazakhstan belonged to the second and third most common country of origin of asylum seekers, on the other hand, in 2008 the same places were occupied by Mongolians and Russians.

The development of the number of asylum seekers (see table 17) in the Czech Republic corresponds to situation in other European countries. An overall decreasing trend has been registered for a long time in most of the EU countries (Applicants 2008).

⁷ A substantial contribution of the amendment of the Act on Asylum (No. 165/2006 Coll.) is the implementation of the international protection into the Czech legal framework. International protection takes two forms - (traditional) asylum and newly introduced subsidiary protection. Subsidiary protection replaced the former “leave to remain” provision and generally is granted to persons who cannot be returned to their countries of origin due to threats of serious harm (non-refoulement principle).

Table 17. Asylum procedure in the Czech Republic, 1993-2007

Year	Applicants for asylum / international protection	Asylum granted	Year	Applicants for asylum / international protection	Asylum granted
1993	2,207	251	2001	18,094	83
1994	1,187	116	2002	8,481	103
1995	1,417	59	2003	11,396	208
1996	2,211	162	2004	5,459	142
1997	2,109	96	2005	4,021	251
1998	4,086	78	2006	3,016	268
1999	7,220	79	2007	1,878	191
2000	8,788	133			

Source: Zpráva 2001, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2008.

Note: "Asylum granted" represents only cases when the asylum status was granted – no subsidiary forms of protection are included.

Unfortunately, there are no estimates of the number of asylum seekers who remain in the country after their application has been rejected. When asylum procedure is terminated, an unsuccessful applicant usually gets an administrative expulsion and is obliged to leave the country within several days. Nobody, however, knows whether this will happen. What is clear is that the share of rejected applicants is very high (see table 17). What is worth mentioning is that many asylum seekers are in fact masked economic migrants who ask for asylum at the moment when being caught by police while violating rules in the interior (mostly by having no permits allowing stay or work in the country) or while trying to get westward to other EU countries (it was mostly before the Czech Republic joined the Schengen in 2007). Concerning the involvement of asylum seekers in illegal/irregular employment in the Czech Republic, it is thought that there are especially two "areas" that may increase probability of asylum seekers' participation in illegal/irregular employment. Firstly, it is allowed by the law to work legally only one year after the asylum application has been submitted (the purpose of the 2001 Asylum Act amendment was clear - to reduce the number of asylum applications that jumped in 2000 from 8,788 to 18,094 in 2001 - see table 17). Secondly, asylum seekers can leave the asylum centre and live in private flats where, however, they can get social subsidies only for a three-month period. As a corollary, some asylum seekers are pushed by the administration to illegal/irregular activities, not to mention that many of them do not stick to one year "waiting period" and start working much earlier.

Besides gaining asylum status there is also a possibility of gaining "subsidiary protection" (former "leave to remain" status). In 2007, 191 foreigners were granted subsidiary protection in the Czech Republic – these were mostly citizens of Belarus (52 persons), Iraq (33 persons), Russia (31 persons), or Cuba (21 persons) (Zpráva 2008).

2.3.2. Illegal/Irregular Migrants and Grey Economy

Inflows of legal/documented migrants go hand in hand with illegal/irregular migration⁸. The basic source of information on illegal migration is the database of the Alien Police, which

⁸ As the Ministry of the Interior puts it, illegal migration is understood as ascertained cases of illegal border crossing through Czech borders (of foreigners and Czech citizens), as well as of the illegal stay of foreigners in

contains information on all persons apprehended for illegal migration or smuggling. The development of illegal migration or more precisely of the number of foreigners apprehended for illegal migration is presented in the table 18.

Table 18. Foreigners apprehended for illegal migration, 1993 - 2007

Year	Illegal border crossing	Illegal stay	Illegal migration - total
1993	41,765	-	41,765
1994	18,832	-	18,832
1995	17,132	-	17,132
1996	21,179	-	21,179
1997	27,325	-	27,325
1998	42,957	-	42,957
1999	30,377	-	30,377
2000	30,761	22,355	53,116
2001	21,09	18,309	39,399
2002	12,632	19,573	32,205
2003	11,125	21,35	32,475
2004	9,433	16,696	26,129
2005	4,745	9,8	14,545
2006	3,676	7,117	10,793
2007	2,837	4,712	7,549

Source: Zpráva 2001, 2002, 2006, 2007, 2008.

The amount of foreigners apprehended for illegal migration has decreased by 82% since 1993, mainly due to a large decrease of the pool of illegal immigrants apprehended for illegal border crossings. However, one cannot make a conclusion that the volume of illegal migration has diminished, since there is no evidence as to whether the drop has been caused by a real overall decrease in illegal movements, or by improved methods and strategies of illegal migrants, which make apprehension of illegal migrants less probable (see Jandl 2007). Moreover, there is no information available on the number and quality of controls of the Alien Police: hence, it is impossible to relate the aforementioned numbers directly to the real development of the phenomenon (Čermáková, Lachmanová 2008). Moreover, the fact that the Czech Republic joined the Schengen area at the end of 2007 and hence does not have any external EU border might further diminish the number of apprehended foreigners for illegal border crossing.

Leaving aside illegal transit migrants (see, e.g., more in Zpráva 2008), the irregular labour migrants come from economically less developed countries. Ukraine⁹ is by far the most important source country sending undocumented economic migrants to the Czech Republic. Other Eastern European and Far Eastern countries, namely Moldova, Russia, Belarus, Vietnam, and China, are estimated to follow Ukraine as the most important countries of origin of irregular/illegal migration to the Czech Republic (Drbohlav 2008). Illegal economic migrants come for short and long-term stays and take mostly labour intensive, demanding, and poorly paid jobs that are unattractive to most Czechs.

the territory of the Czech Republic (Zpráva 2007). Indeed, these two categories can be since 2000 separately distinguished within the statistics of illegal migration.

⁹ Currently, Ukrainians make up 60% of those apprehended in the Czech territory due to illegal stay (see Zpráva 2008).

There are many different sectors of the economy where undocumented economic migrants work. These include construction (auxiliary works), home-cleaning and care, agriculture/forestry, hotels/restaurants, industrial branches like manufacturing, textile or the food industry (see Horáková 2006, Drbohlav 2008). It is worth mentioning that most legally registered migrants also work in the given sectors (see e.g. Čaněk, Čížinský 2006, Rákoczyová et al. 2007).

Concerning the reasons why there are immigrants performing illegal/irregular economic activities in the Czech Republic, a Delphi survey¹⁰ of a number of Czech migration experts suggest that the most important reasons are an existing demand for cheap and flexible foreign workers in unqualified manual labour (e.g., in construction) together with an established lobby of intermediaries/brokers (so-called “clients”¹¹) (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008b). Moreover, there is wide social tolerance for unregistered employment that has its roots in the communist era, where moonlighting was seen as a standard behaviour. Overly bureaucratic work/residence permit application procedures along with no programs for temporary workers, also play an important role (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008b).

Hence, it is estimated that the overall number of irregular/illegal migrants in the country is not negligible, but no convincing estimate has been put forward¹². The estimated numbers vary from 17,000 to more than 300,000 of irregular/illegal immigrants in the Czech Republic (see, e.g., Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008 b, Research 2005, Horáková 2005). What seems to be realistic though, and also supported by data from sending countries (see examples in Drbohlav 2004, Drbohlav 2008) is that overall numbers of undocumented migrants in the Czech Republic might equal those of legally registered immigrants.

There is a logical hypothesis (see Jandl, Kraler 2006), also supported by studies in the field, that in terms of targeted areas, irregular/illegal economic migrants follow legally registered migrants and concentrate in economically dynamic regions. This means that irregular/illegal migrants may mostly head for Prague and surrounding Central Bohemia and other highly urbanized areas. Besides more working opportunities they find more anonymity there as compared to rural settlements.

The Czech state has applied various measures as to how to combat irregular/illegal migration. First of all, such combating belongs to one of the explicitly declared policy goals of the official state migration policy (see the Basic Policy Principles on International Immigration from 2003 - e.g., in Drbohlav, Horáková, Janská 2005). In 2000 a new “Interdepartmental body for repressing the illegal employment of foreigners” was established in the Czech Republic under the umbrella of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. Recently, this commission has gone through a sort of restructuring process and has activated its work.

Already in 2001, it was forbidden for asylum seekers to start working unless one year elapsed after they submitted their asylum application. Recently, a new stricter regime established for asylum seekers who stay in Czech detention centres. Also, foreigners who participate as co-partners in public trading companies and limited liability companies have to have a work

¹⁰ 32 Czech migratory experts in the first and 23 in the second Delphi round expressed their opinions in the survey that was carried out between November 2005 and June 2006 (see more Drbohlav forthcoming).

¹¹ For more on clients and the system of irregular labour recruitment see e.g. Čermáková, Nekorjak 2009.

¹² Estimates of the number of illegally working immigrants are sometimes based on data from labour controls (see Annex 1) that are performed mostly by local labour offices. However, local labour offices have no specifically set or unified method of how to perform the controls, thus, generalization of their results is highly problematic, if not impossible.

permit. Another repressive measure that has been applied is that the state increased fines for those who violate rules regarding legal employment of foreigners (especially employers). On the other hand, there have been long-lasting problems with legislative definition, and hence control, of another form of irregular employment when a person holds a trade licence but in fact works as an employee (in the Czech context known as the “Švarc system”), which is used by foreigners and even more by Czech citizens.

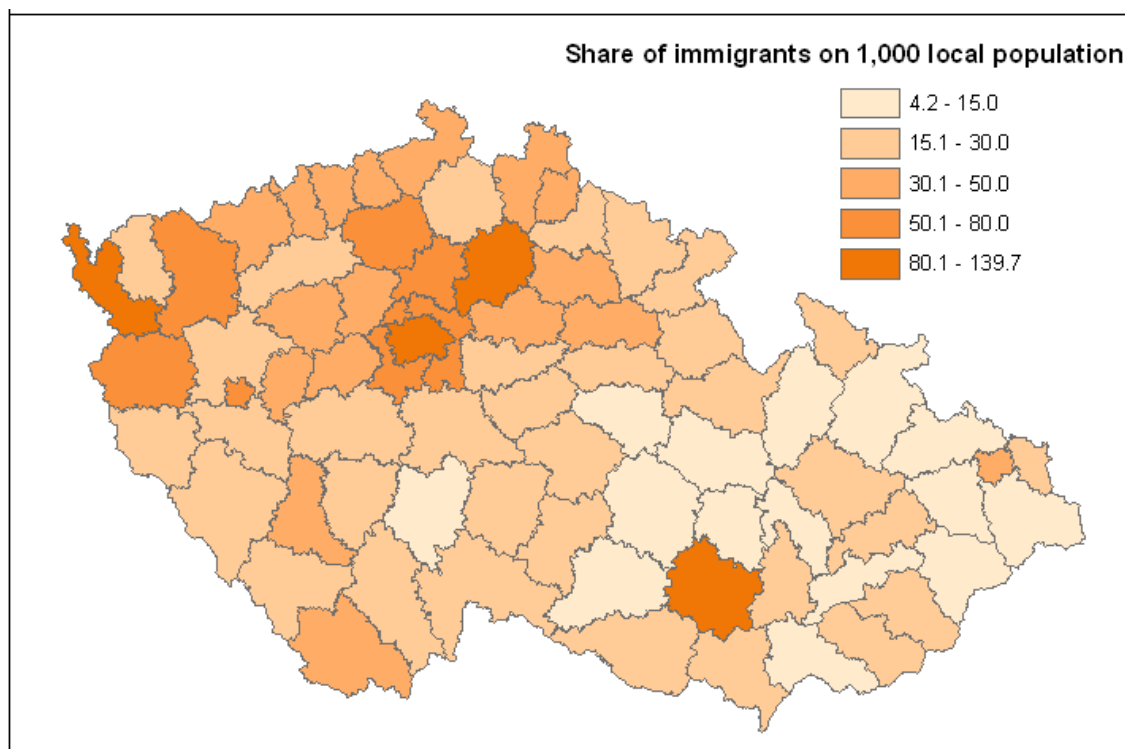
All in all, irregular immigrants are an important segment of Czech „grey“ economy, however, their share is probably much lower than that of Czech nationals, even if the problem of grey economy is usually pertained to foreign workers (Fassmann 2008). In the Czech Republic, undeclared work in general (within so-called grey economy) originated under the socialist economic system and became a widespread and integral part of the socialist economic culture. Irrational and opaque economic environment along with insufficient legal regulation prolonged a tradition of undeclared work under new democratic economic circumstances and conditions (Renooy et al. 2004). It was estimated that the total extent of undeclared work in the Czech Republic at the beginning of the 21st century was between 9 and 10% of GDP and about 5-6% of labour force (Renooy et al. 2004). However, other estimates put the share of the “shadow economy” in GDP to about 8-12% or 16% depending on the method of calculation used (Fassmann 2007).

2.3.4. Geographical Distribution of Foreigners

Since the 1990s the spatial distribution of foreigners in the Czech Republic is rather uneven compared to the distribution of the majority population (Novotný, Janská, Čermáková 2007). Moreover the distribution of foreigners with permanent residence permits is more even than that of foreigners with long-term residence permits (Gini coefficient 0.32 versus 0.44 – at district level - see figure 3 and 4).

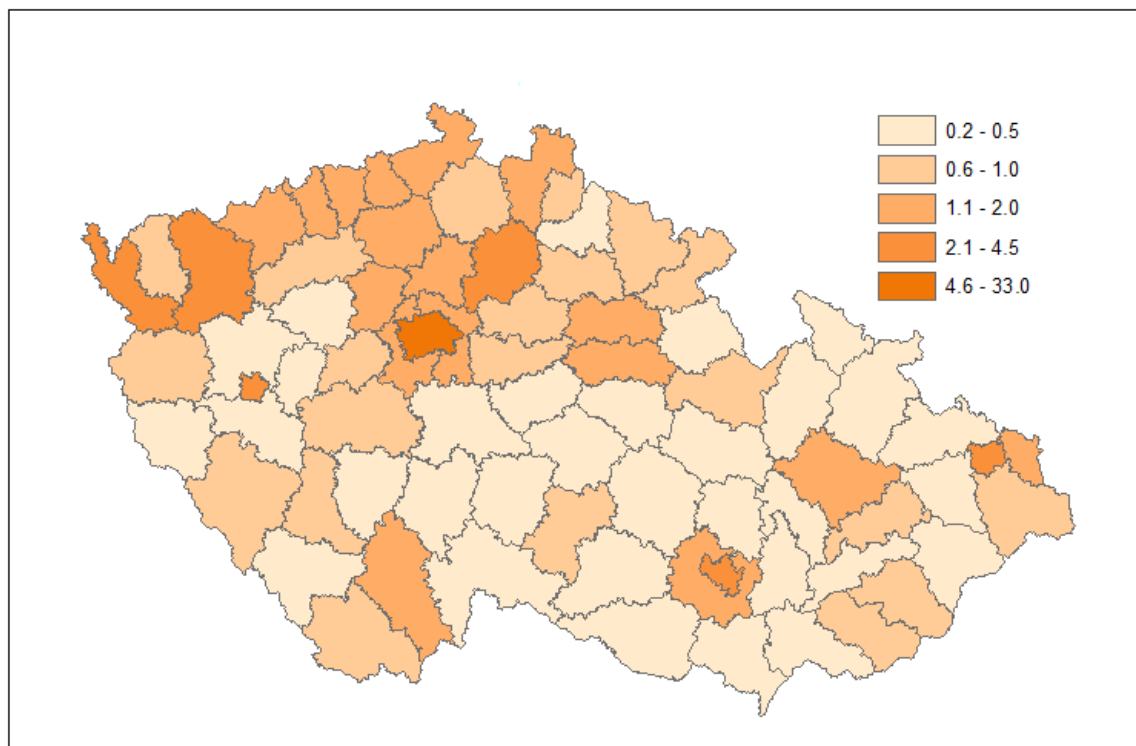
The current spatial distribution of foreigners (see figure 1 and 2) is typical of a preference for so-called urban districts such as Prague, Brno, Ostrava, and their neighbourhood areas vis-à-vis rural regions or regions of the so-called internal peripheries. The highest concentration of foreigners is in the capital city of Prague (about one third of all foreigners and even 37% of those with long-term residence stayed there) along with its neighbouring districts (Prague-East and Prague-West). An apparent difference exists between Bohemia and Moravia, where Moravia (except for the above mentioned urban districts) reported low numbers of foreigners and their shares of the population. There is a so-called East-West gradient visible in the spatial distribution of foreigners - with the intensity of foreigners' presence increasing from eastern parts of the country westwards. Furthermore, there is an apparent difference in the Czech Republic between the northern and southern Bohemian regions, where the northern part is much more attractive for foreigners. This fact may be affected, for example, by the existence of jobs associated with foreign investments in the automotive industry in districts of Mladá Boleslav and Kolín. Northwestern districts of Cheb, Karlovy Vary, and Tachov represent also other concentration areas of foreigners (see figure 1 and 2).

Figure 1. Spatial distribution of foreigners in the Czech Republic (on 1,000 local population), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Foreigners 2008c.

Figure 2. Spatial distribution of foreigners in the Czech Republic, 2007 (as of December 31)

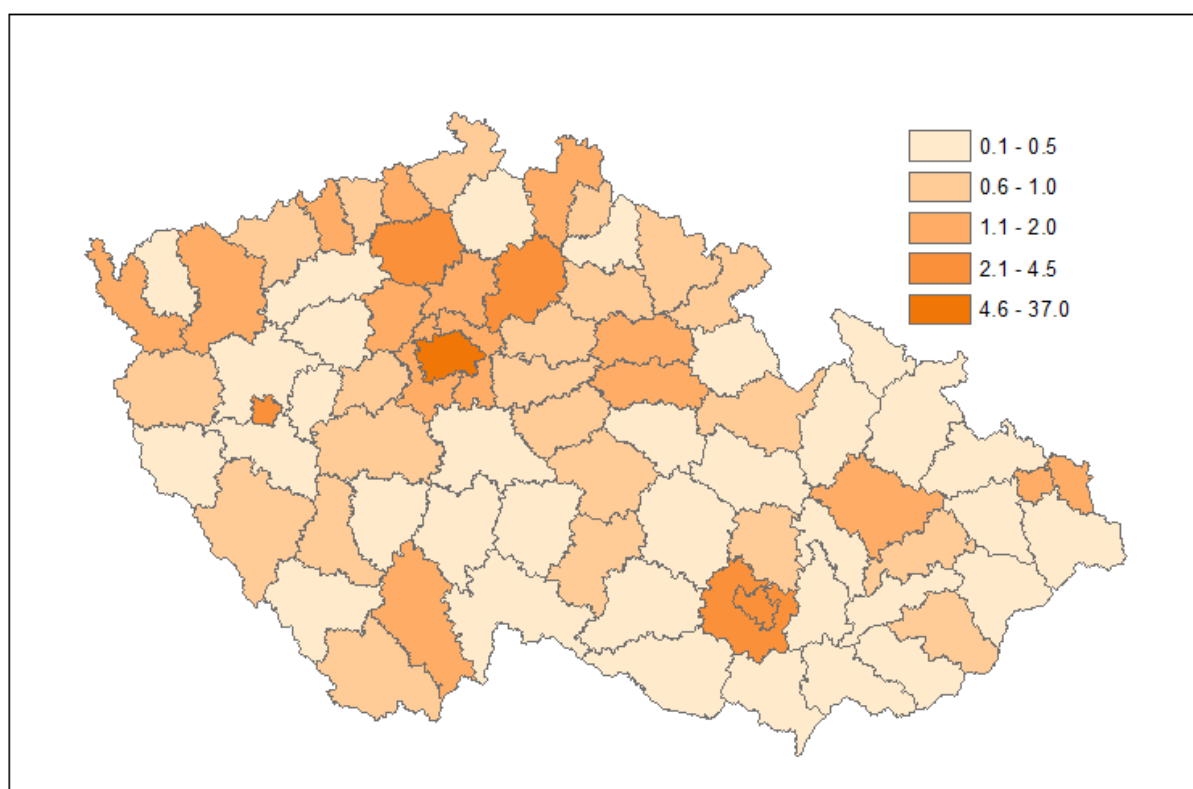


Source of data: Foreigners 2008c.

Note: Share of foreigners (%) in total number of foreigners living in the Czech Republic.

Border districts have, generally, a higher proportion of foreigners from the neighbouring countries. This is true for Germans and Poles, but less so for Slovaks, who are, due to historical and cultural connections of both countries spread also in other districts of the Czech Republic. It is obvious that the distribution of long-term immigrants (see figure 3) shows more clearly areas where there is a high demand for a labour force. Vietnamese represent a specific group that has been settling in the Czech Republic while being involved mainly in business activities (mostly retail trade) for Czech customers. For this reason they are spread throughout the whole country. Moreover, they make use of main transportation routes while selling goods to Austrian and German clients near the state borders. On the other hand, Russians have a high degree of concentration (see table 19) in Prague and its surroundings, and also in the city of Karlovy Vary due to long historical ties to this popular spa town (Drbohlav, Lupták, Janská, Bohuslavová 2001). The number of migrants from developed (Western) countries is lower but their concentration is much more significant in urban areas, especially in Prague (Novotný, Janská, Čermáková 2007).

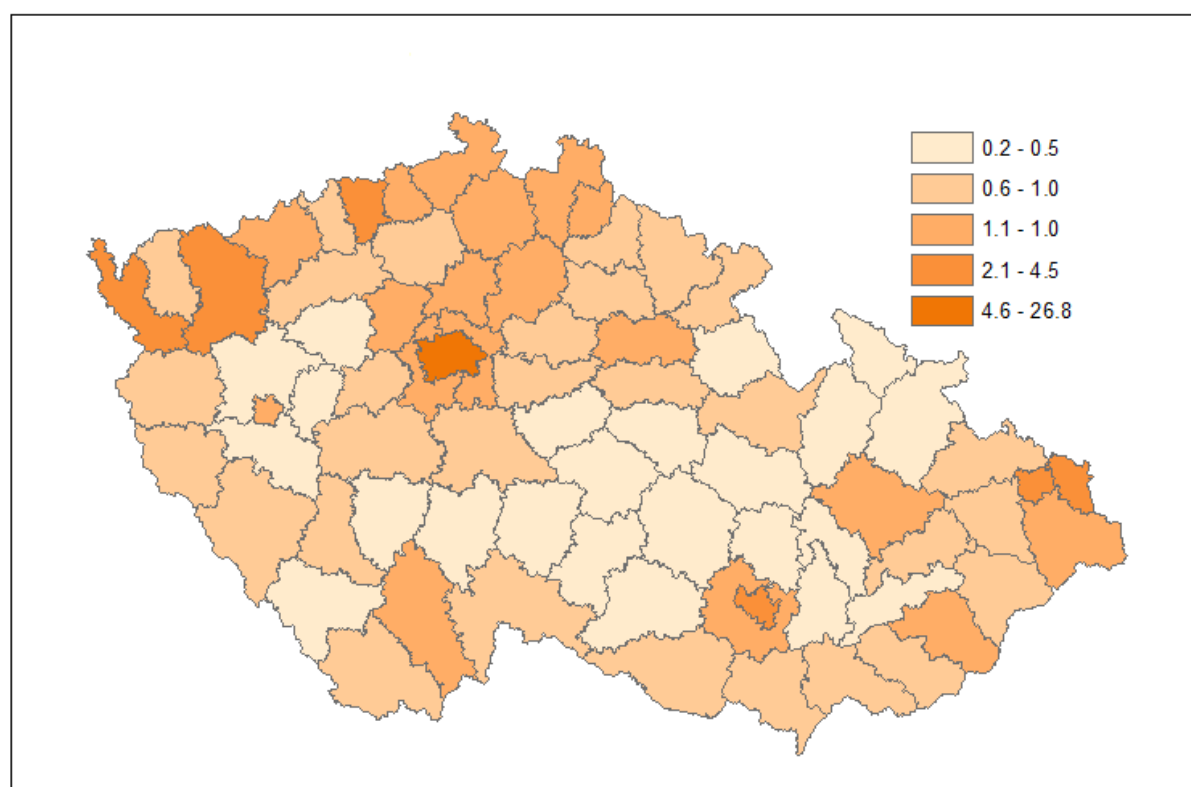
Figure 3. Spatial distribution of foreigners with long-term residence in the Czech Republic, 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Foreigners 2008c.

Note: Share of foreigners with long-term residence (%) in total number of foreigners with long-term residence in the Czech Republic. Foreigners with long-term residence include foreigners with visa for a period exceeding 90 days, EU citizens with temporary residence permit and foreigners with long-term residence permit.

Figure 4. Spatial distribution of foreigners with permanent residence permit in the Czech Republic, 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Foreigners 2008c

Note: Share of foreigners with permanent residence permit (%) in total number of foreigners with permanent residence permit in the Czech Republic.

Table 19. Geographical concentration of selected groups of foreigners by their origin and population of the Czech Republic (Gini coefficient of concentration, the district level), 2004

	Gini coefficient
1. Russians	0.84
2. Poles	0.75
3. Moldovans	0.72
4. Vietnamese	0.71
5. Ukrainians	0.70
6. Slovaks	0.65
7. Germans	0.64
8. Total population	0.40

Source: Novotný, Janská, Čermáková 2007.

Note: Gini coefficient of territorial concentration of the effect takes the values 0 to 1. This coefficient would be equal to zero in the case of regionally equitable deployment of the monitored effect.

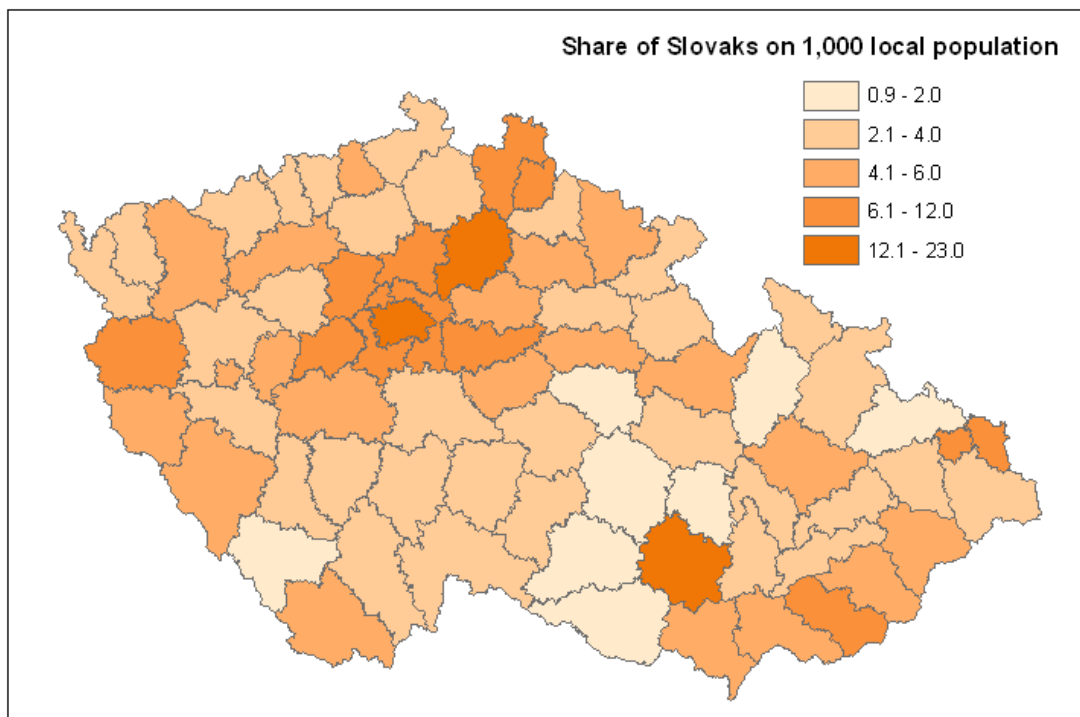
Novotný, Janská and Čermáková (2007) made a regression analysis in order to identify conditionalities, key factors that may contribute to explaining the spatial distribution of legally staying immigrants (with permanent residence permits and visas for a period exceeding 90 days/long-term permits) in the Czech Republic by districts. The geographical position of districts (both for absolute and relative numbers of foreigners) and the factor respective to the settlement hierarchy (only for absolute numbers of foreigners) were found to be significant. On the contrary, other general determinants of regional development such as

employment structure, level of unemployment, and the aggregate economic level have not been found statistically significant when controlling for other factors (such as for the position of districts in the Czech settlement hierarchy). In addition, unsurprisingly, the variable of migration intensity in previous years has been found significant and the same holds, more surprisingly, also for the level of criminality. However, the relationship between the regional intensity of criminality and the spatial distribution is difficult to measure since the numbers are often too low at this district level, which makes the analysis very problematic. However, when separating economic migrants (holders of visas or long-term permits) and permanent immigrants (who came mostly for family reasons), the regression analysis clearly shows that economic migrants are more concentrated than permanent immigrants and they very often stay in big cities and other urbanised areas that function as main economic motors of the Czech economy (Drbohlav 2004).

Example: Slovaks

The distribution of Slovaks in the Czech Republic (see figure 5) is linked to the historico-political development of the Slovak migration. After the split of Czechoslovakia the Slovak citizens living permanently in the Czech Republic could apply for Czech nationality (under the conditions of release from the state union of Slovak Republic).

Figure 5. Geographical distribution of Slovaks in the Czech Republic, 2006 (as of December 31)



Source: Foreigners 2008d.

The current Slovak migrants in the Czech Republic are specific by their professional and educational structure. While in the post-war period migrants included unskilled workers among Slovaks, the migration of rather skilled and highly educated persons currently prevail, particularly in the sphere of health and science (Prokop et al. 1998). The loss of Slovaks in

areas with a predominant working-class population (such as northern and western Bohemia¹³) was mainly due to structural changes (by contrast, the cities such as Prague and Brno were not hit too much by the economic transformation and, hence, generally showed a numerical increase).

There is also an important process of daily commuting of Slovaks to Moravian districts that border on Slovakia. Slovaks often work there in mining and metallurgical plants, in agriculture and forestry. Many other Slovaks in the interior of the Czech Republic are also involved in construction, industry and services.

2.3.5. Internal Migration of Foreigners

Immigrants in the host countries are usually characterized by greater mobility than the domestic population (for example Anderson 1996). First, immigrants are usually of productive age and they strive to be employed under “any” circumstances. Furthermore, foreigners do not have as strong links to the place of residence as the natives and, last but not least, foreigners have experience with moving (or migration).

The Czech Republic can be considered a country with low internal migration of the population. Only 2% of population changes its residence in a year. Internal migration of foreigners is relatively higher than that of the majority population and, since 2001, it has an ever increasing trend. In 2007, there were 42,756 foreigners moving within the Czech Republic, which represented 16% of the total internal migration (see table 20).

Table 20. Internal migration in the Czech Republic, 1995-2007

Internal migration	Total	Share of Czech citizens (%)	Share of foreigners (%)
1995	203,877	99.86	0.14
1996	195,554	99.85	0.15
1997	197,226	99.80	0.20
1998	203,719	99.77	0.23
1999	201,476	99.78	0.22
2000	199,716	99.71	0.29
2001	204,622	97.07	2.93
2002	223,103	95.57	4.43
2003	211,487	95.13	4.87
2004	216,831	94.59	5.41
2005	213,688	91.61	8.39
2006	225,241	89.80	10.20
2007	255,690	83.28	16.72

Source: Internal 2008.

The increase of internal mobility of foreigners in 2007 by 20,000 compared to 2006 is the largest in the monitored period.¹⁴ These significant year-to-year changes are hard to justify. However, the overall trend of the growth of internal mobility of foreigners is clear. We

¹³ This decline is not due to return migration to Slovakia, but due to inclinations to the Czech nationality. For example, out of all married Slovaks who have lived in the Czech Republic, 70% represent mixed Czech-Slovak marriages.

¹⁴ In 2001, there has been a change in the statistical monitoring of foreigners.

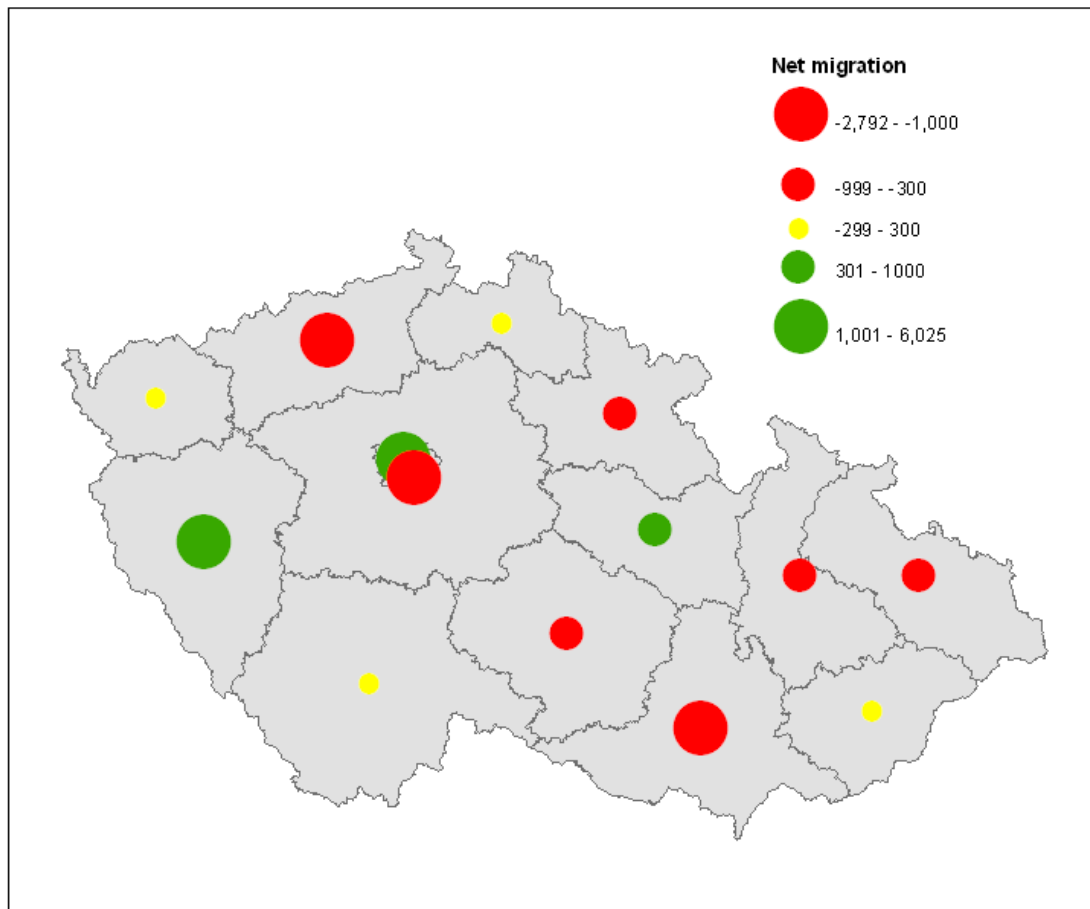
believe that this growth is caused by increasing number of foreigners in the Czech Republic as well as by legislative changes that allow foreigners to change employment without terminating their stay.

At present, around 10% of foreigners change their residence during the year. There are big differences in migration mobility¹⁵ among foreigners by country of origin. Moldovans (around 25% of them changed their residence in the Czech Republic within 2007), Mongolians (also about 25% of them changed their residence in the Czech Republic) and Ukrainians (about 18% of them were involved in internal migration in the Czech Republic last year) have the greatest intensity of internal mobility. On the other hand, Germans, Poles and Americans have the lowest one. The differences are caused mainly by two factors: (a) levels of concentration and (b) their position on the labour market. Moldovans, Mongolians, and Ukrainians have a lower degree of concentration (for example, Novotný, Janská, Čermáková 2007), therefore, it can be assumed that they will migrate more between the regions than, for example, Americans or Chinese who are concentrated in Prague (Valenta 2006). However, the main reason is the migrants' position on the labour market. Migrants on the so-called secondary labour market serve as a flexible workforce which replaces the lack of domestic workers. For this reason, their internal mobility is higher than that of migrants working in the primary market and whose localization followed localization of more prestigious jobs.

Immigrants most often move within a particular NUTS 3 region, in accordance with the majority population. If moving between NUTS 3 regions, it is mostly between Prague and Středočeský Region. Here we can find an exactly opposite trend of foreigners compared to the majority population as, in terms of internal migration of the majority population, Prague is losing at the expense of the Středočeský Region. Positive net internal migration of foreigners is still recorded in the Plzeňský and Pardubický Region (see figure 6). These NUTS 3 regions attract foreigners because of the large industrial zones and subsequent localization of foreign investors (such as Foxconn in Pardubice or Panasonic in Plzeň).

¹⁵ Migration mobility (volume) means the gross turnover rate of internal migration.

Figure 6. Internal migration of foreigners: by regions NUTS3, 2007



Source: Vnitřní 2008.

Example: Vietnamese

The intensity of internal mobility of Vietnamese is several times higher than that of the domestic population and it is still rising¹⁶ (Sekyrová 2007). Prague, Karlovarský, Ústecký, and Středočeský Regions experienced the largest volumes of internal migration across the region borders. Prague won by far the most Vietnamese citizens by internal migration. This observation is inconsistent with a presumption of a “gateway” effect of the capital city which should then show a negative internal migration balance¹⁷. In contrast, the Karlovarský Region lost the most due to internal migration in the monitored period. To a lesser extent, Ústecký, Liberecký and Středočeský Regions lost as well, while a large part of this loss represents a gain for the capital city (Sekyrová 2007).

It is interesting to note that most border districts that are experiencing the largest internal migration are such districts (e.g. Karlovy Vary, Tachov, and Teplice) where (according to the 2001 Census) the vast majority of their Vietnamese immigrants stayed outside the district

¹⁶ Growth in intensity may not be just a consequence of increasing mobility of Vietnamese, but also a result of a greater number of cases recorded by authorities (Sekyrová 2007).

¹⁷ It seems that in case of Vietnamese immigrants the capital city of Prague probably does not act as a main starting point in the immigration process. This fact could be explained by the effects of migration networks which provide Vietnamese immigrants, already before their arrival, with information about other areas of the country. Moreover, Vietnamese immigrants can directly follow their already settled relatives and friends in other regions than the capital city (Sekyrová 2007).

centre. In contrast, in districts where the Vietnamese population was concentrated in centres (Cheb, Most, Děčín, Ústí nad Labem), the proportion of internal migration on the number of Vietnamese is significantly lower. Thus, a possible trend of Vietnamese moving into larger cities can be detected. When the one-and-a-half and second generation of Vietnamese mature, it is probable that the trend will continue as the “young” Vietnamese seem to perform different economic activities than their parents (Sekyrová 2007).

This fact recalls movements because of economic saturation as described by Light, Bhachu, Karageorgis (1993 according to Sekyrová 2007). Vietnamese traders are forced by circumstances to change their means of livelihood for which, however, the smaller municipalities do not offer enough opportunities. The small local economies have reached the level of saturation for Vietnamese tradesmen and thus, they are leaving them. Vietnamese tradesmen, however, are not coming into new, less populated sites but into larger cities with numerous Vietnamese communities and into the capital city where there are many opportunities for work in other fields (Sekyrová 2007).

2.3.6. Affiliation with Social Security

Immigrants' affiliation to state social security depends on the type of legal residence, length of residence and country of origin. Immigrants with permanent residence and EU-citizens have the same conditions to draw benefits as Czechs. Czech social security includes: (a) health service and insurance, (b) unemployment benefits, (c) social benefits (d) disability benefits and (e) pension insurance.

(a) All immigrants have to be fully health covered in the Czech Republic. But not all of them have the possibility to be insured within the state health insurance system, which is advantageous for immigrants (due to cheaper price of the insurance and greater extent of filling). Only immigrants with permanent residence permits and immigrant employees fall within state insurance. Others must have commercial insurance, which might be difficult to get, e.g., in cases of health problems, higher age or pregnancy. Moreover, insurance companies are not obliged to sign a health insurance contract.

(b) Unemployment of immigrants is quite a new phenomenon in the Czech Republic. Until the Czech Republic joined the EU, only immigrants with permanent residence permits were eligible for unemployment benefits. After May 2004, EU-citizens regardless of the type of their permit can also draw unemployment benefits in the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, third country nationals with long-term residence permits (or visas for a period exceeding 90 days) cannot be unemployed because, with the loss of the job, their residence permits terminate and they have to find a new job, change the purpose of stay or leave the country. Furthermore, it is only recently that data on unemployed EU-citizens has been released for the public. On the other hand, data on unemployed third country nationals (with permanent residence permits) originated from labour offices and is neither published nor accessible. The only information on unemployment levels of third country nationals (as of June 30, 2007) that was found was published in a study of the Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs (Pořízková 2008). According to this study there were 2,753 unemployed third country nationals (Pořízková 2008). To the same date, there were 3,116 EU/EEA nationals unemployed (Uchazeči 2008).

(c) Concerning social benefits¹⁸, immigrants are allowed to apply after one year of legal stay. The other necessary conditions are similar as for Czech citizens. It is not possible to find out the number of immigrants who obtained benefits as only the number of benefits is statistically monitored. In the first quarter of 2008, there were 18,000 benefits (see table 21) paid to foreigners which represents only 0.1% of the total number of paid state social benefits. Most benefits received by immigrants were paid in connection to children (Child benefits, Parents' benefits and Social bonus). Child benefit can be received only by families with income lower than 2.4 times living wage. Parents' benefits are paid to parents who look after a child until his/her 3 (alternatively 4) years of age. Social bonus is an allowance which might show immigrants' standard of living, as the family income of the receiver cannot be higher than two times the living wage¹⁹. About 900 immigrant families received this type of benefit - most of them were Slovaks, Ukrainians and Vietnamese. Altogether, Slovaks rely the most on state social benefits, followed by Poles, Ukrainians and Vietnamese.

¹⁸ Child benefit, Social bonus, Housing benefit, Parents benefit, Benefit on school implements, allowance for foster father, Birth grant, Death allowance and Living wage.

¹⁹ A living wage for a family with 2 children is around 830 EUR.

Table 21. Number of social benefits paid to foreigners (monthly average), first quarter of 2008

Citizenship	ChB	SocB	HouB	ParB	BirthG	DeathA	Total	Share of the number of benefits on the number of foreigners (%)	Share of the number of benefits on the total number of benefits paid to foreigners (%)
EU	8,788	358	84	3,796	95	7	13,156		
- out of which:									
Slovaks	6,397	305	47	2990	83	5	9,852	13.9	52.4
Poles	2,264	39	28	661	8	1	3,003	14.3	16.0
Bulgarians	63	5	2	40	2	0	112	2.1	0.6
Romanians	25	4	1	24	1	0	55	1.6	0.3
Germans	9	1	3	12	0	1	27	0.2	0.1
Dutch	13	1	0	12	0	0	26	1.1	0.1
Lithuanians	5	1	0	9	0	0	15	4.0	0.1
Non EU	2,682	517	144	2,221	78	2	5,656		
- out of which:									
Ukrainians	740	191	44	882	30	0	1,894	1.5	10.1
Vietnamese	955	115	16	656	24	0	1,769	3.2	9.4
Russians	216	48	18	168	7	1	459	1.9	2.4
Mongolians	187	35	6	84	7	0	319	4.6	1.7
Belarusians	85	10	7	65	1	0	168	4.3	0.9
Kazakhs	85	26	17	33	1	0	162	5.3	0.9
Moldovans	79	17	5	57	2	0	160	1.9	0.9
Armenians	63	24	12	26	0	0	125	7.5	0.7
Chinese	33	5	1	42	2	0	83	1.7	0.4
Serbians	37	7	3	28	2	0	77	2.2	0.4
Total	11,470	875	228	6,017	173	9	18,812	4.6	100.0

Source: Social 2008.

Note: ChB - Child benefit, SocB - Social bonus, HouB - Housing benefit, ParB – Parents' benefit, BirthG - Birth grant.

(d) Disability benefits are allowances are paid to disabled people. Only third country nationals with permanent residence permits and EU citizens might claim this type of benefit. Immigrants are a negligible group among receivers of this benefit.

(e) Pension insurance has to be paid by all immigrants working as employees (by entrepreneurs it is voluntary). If there is no bilateral agreement between the Czech Republic and the country of origin, immigrants have a right to claim a pension after 63 years of age and after 25 years of paying insurance in the Czech Republic. In this area of social security, there still persist problems of immigrant discrimination as in some cases immigrants pay pension insurance but, after leaving the Czech Republic, they do not get this money back and the period for which they worked in the Czech Republic is not counted in their home country.

Generally, in legal terms, immigrants have quite good access to social security in the Czech Republic – mostly after one year of residence. However, problems can be found especially with regard to immigrants' access to public health insurance and to pension system. Up to now, immigrants have drawn social benefits only in a limited amount. Hence, we can assume that the discrepancy between the (quite wide) access guaranteed by the law and the real (limited) use of benefits might be caused by several factors, namely by immigrants' limited access to information.

2.3.7. Economic Activities of Foreigners

The number of economically active foreigners in the Czech Republic grew fast in the first half of the 1990s – from a figure of about 30,000 people in 1990 to almost 200,000 in 1997 (Table 22). The years 1998 and 1999 showed a significant decrease caused most probably by an unfavourable development of the economic situation of the Czech Republic. A slight rise in and stabilisation of the number of economically active foreigners is characteristic for the period of 2000-2003. After 2004, a sharp increase was experienced again and currently there are more than 300,000 economically active foreigners registered in the Czech Republic (as of December 31, 2007). Certain differences may be detected in the development of the number of employees and of entrepreneurs holding trade licenses. The number of foreigners with trade licences did not change greatly during the period of 1999-2007, though, since 2003, a continuous slight increase can be observed. The number of foreign employees roughly follows similar trends. However, the rise since 2004 is far more significant. Consequently, the share of foreign employees on economically active foreigners went up from approximately 62% in the period 1999-2004 to current 80% (in 2007).

Table 22. Employment of foreigners in the Czech Republic, 1993-2007 (as of December 31)

Year	Valid work permits	Registration EU citizens	Registration citizens of Slovakia	Foreigners registered at labour offices, total	Foreigners holding trade licence	Foreign labour force, total	Share of foreign labour force in total labour force (%)
1993	28,281	-	23,367	51,648	-	51,648	0.98
1994	32,871	-	39,209	72,080	18,650	90,730	1.74
1995	52,536	-	59,323	111,859	36,996	148,855	2.85
1996	71,002	-	72,244	143,246	45,499	188,745	3.56
1997	61,044	-	69,723	130,767	63,529	194,296	3.78
1998	49,927	-	61,320	111,247	44,962	156,209	3.02
1999	40,312	-	53,154	93,466	58,386	151,852	2.92
2000	40,080	-	63,567	103,647	61,340	164,987	3.17
2001	40,097	-	63,555	103,652	64,000	167,652	3.23
2002	44,621	-	56,558	101,179	60,532	161,711	3.08
2003	47,704	-	58,034	105,738	62,293	168,031	3.19
2004	34,397	13,769	59,818	107,984	65,219	173,203	3.30
2005	55,210	21,229	75,297	151,736	67,246	218,982	4.04
2006	61,452	32,268	91,355	185,075	65,722	250,797	4.56
2007	85,351	53,658	101,233	240,242	68,785	309,027	5.57

Source: Horáková 2008.

On a long-term basis, the largest groups of economically active foreigners are represented by citizens of four countries: Slovakia, Ukraine, Vietnam and Poland. Their share of all economically active foreigners has been more or less stable since the second half of the 1990s and has ranged around 80%. Slovaks hold the dominant position - their proportion of total figures oscillated between 50% and 60% in the surveyed period with a gradual decline after 2004. Their position in the Czech labour market was based on specific legal regulations which followed the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993.

Economic activities performed by the four above mentioned immigrant groups differ. Slovak citizens most often work as employees - about 90% of them and their employment structure (by industries) is probably close to the structure of Czech citizens. A phenomenon typical of the border region between the Czech Republic and Slovakia is the commuting of Slovak citizens. A similar situation but at a smaller scale exists also in the Czech and Polish border regions, particularly in the area of the Ostrava industrial agglomeration. Polish citizens, compared to other foreigners, have an above-average representation in the manufacturing industry, mining sector and processing of mineral resources. As to foreigners of Vietnamese nationality, they are typically concentrated in the category of entrepreneurs with trade licenses (97% of all economically active Vietnamese) focusing predominately on retail activities. The typical representatives of more or less short-term migration focusing on less qualified professions are immigrants from Ukraine. About 70% of them work as employees in the Czech Republic. A large part of Ukrainians is involved in construction (over 60% of Ukrainian men) and an above average proportion in the category of labourers and unskilled workers (approx. 55%) (see table 23).

Table 23. Employment of foreigners by CZ-NACE activity in the Czech Republic, 2007 (as of December 31)

Code	CZ-NACE ACTIVITY	Foreigners - registered at labour offices	Foreigners' valid trade licences
D	Manufacturing	94,158	6,822
F	Construction	52,658	17,446
K	Real estate, renting	35,710	12,491
G	Wholesale and retail trade; repairs	19,377	38,246
O	Other community, social activities	6,814	2,817
I	Transport, storage and communication	6,621	764
N	Health and social work	5,023	-
A,B	Agriculture, forestry and fishing	4,887	1,221
H	Hotels and restaurants	4,756	3,363
C	Mining and quarrying	3,893	-
M	Education	3,586	1,728
J	Financial intermediation	1,910	-
	Other	849	511
Total		240,242	85,409

Source: Foreigners 2008b, Valid 2008.

Note: Foreigners' valid trade licences means the number of licences – a foreigner might have more than one trade licence.

In general, labour migration of third country nationals (employees) to the Czech Republic is regulated by labour offices which are responsible for granting work permits. It is up to them to evaluate the economic need and the beneficial effect tied to the immigrant's arrival and proposed activity. A third country national (a would-be employee) can take a vacant job provided that no Czech or EU citizen is willing to accept it²⁰. The current system of regulation of migrant labour in the Czech Republic is inflexible, slow and demanding for an individual worker. That might be one of the reasons why labour migration of third country nationals is often organized via private labour recruitment agencies/agents. Recently, there were around 2,200 of them operating in the Czech Republic. It is clear that such a number of agencies cannot be effectively monitored and their recruitment activities properly controlled by the authorities.

2.4. Socio-Demographic and Economic Environment

2.4.1. Demographic Environment

Since the end of the 1970s the Czech lands have experienced a drop in the fertility rate which projected itself into a lower birth rate and decline of the natural increase. In 1990, the total fertility rate was 1.89 children per woman and the natural increase amounted to 1‰. Natural reproduction was heavily influenced by social and economic environment of the socialism and as compared to Western Europe it was characteristic of worse mortality conditions, low age of women when getting married and giving birth to their first child, and high abortion and divorce rates.

²⁰ When doing business, foreigners have to follow the same rules as Czech citizens. They mostly apply for a trade licence (which is in fact much easier than getting a work permit). Often, a trade licence is misused because foreigners perform in fact a dependent work (so-called "hidden employees" or "Švarc system").

Transformation of Czech society in the course of the 1990s manifested itself also in changes in natural reproduction. Apart from these specific transformation impacts, there has been a gradual occurrence of general trends connected with the so-called Second Demographic Transition which had been under way in Western European countries even before 1989 (van de Kaa 1997, Lesthaeghe 2000). Subsequently, during the 1990s the declining fertility rate went even lower and in 1999 reached its minimum of 1.13 children per woman, which was one of the lowest world-wide. A relatively significant increase in this indicator was recorded after 2005 and currently stands at 1.44 children per woman. Despite improving the mortality conditions (an important increase in life expectancy after 1990) there was a decline in population figures in the period from 1994 to 2005, due to the natural decrease which resulted in a loss of about 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants a year within this period. Although the net migration was positive, until 2002 it had not significantly exceeded the value of 10,000 people. Hence there was an overall drop of total population – from 10.336 million inhabitants in 1994 to 10.201 million in 2002. However, since 2004 the situation has changed and Czech population has been growing again, mainly due to a considerable rise in positive net migration and, since 2006, also due to a slight augmentation of the natural increase. Therefore, international migration can be considered an important part of the overall demographic development of the Czech Republic.

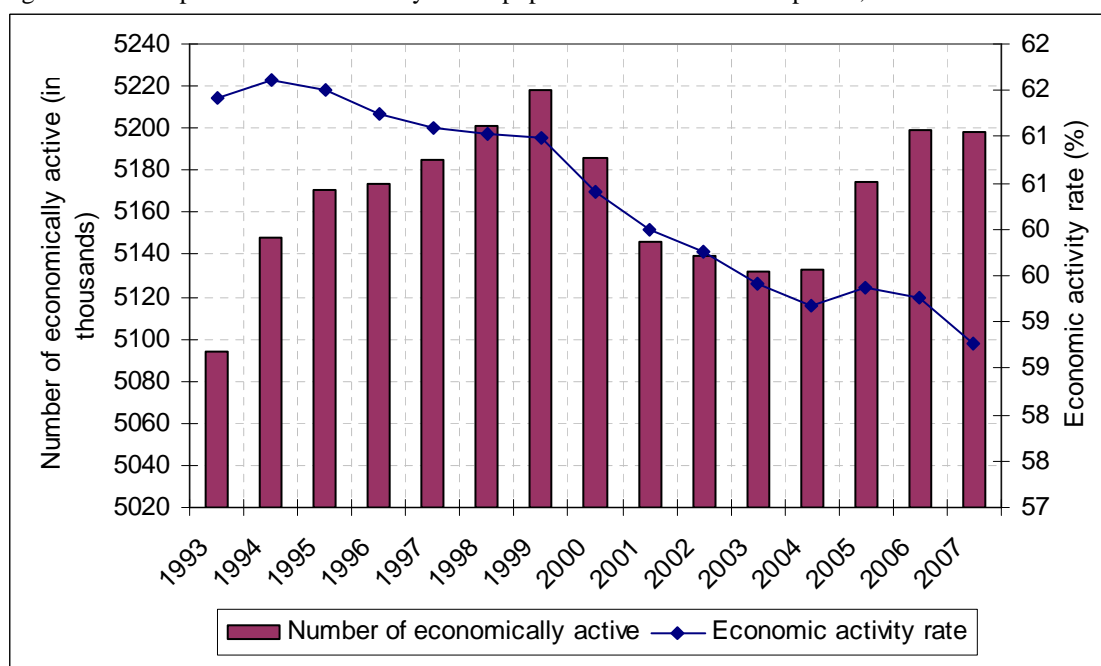
From the perspective of demographic development, it is not the total population balance but its structural changes that are so important in the present day. Social and economic impacts tied to changes of the age structure of the Czech population will represent a decisive aspect of demographic development. As the demographic development of the Czech population bears clear signs of the Second Demographic Transition, the process of population ageing is taking place. The period between 2000 and 2006 was characteristic of rising numbers of people of post-productive age. This situation was caused by a fact that people born in the 1940s (i.e., years of a high birth rate) reached their retirement age and moreover, a relatively favourable development in the mortality rate, together with the increase of life expectancy, took place. Demographic ageing of the Czech population can be documented (in a simplified manner) by an increase of the old age index during the period of 1991–2006 from 62% to 100.2% or of the median age from 35.4 to 39.1 years. Based on the 2004 prognosis of the Czech Statistical Office by 2020 the old age index will have reached a figure around 150%. Net migration works against this unfavourable trend as migration gains concentrate mainly in the age category of 20-35 years. The average age of migrants in 2007 was 34.7 years, while the average age of the majority population equalled 40.2 years. The “rejuvenating” effect of migration, however, cannot reverse the unfavourable development of natural reproduction (of population ageing – see Burcin, Drbohlav, Kučera 2007).

2.4.2. Economic Environment – Labour Market

The current situation on the Czech labour market is influenced by the size of population in the productive age (between 15 and 64 years of age). During the period of 1990-2006 its development was relatively favourable - growth was recorded in both absolute and relative figures. This trend was evident mainly in the 1990s, when people born in the mid-1970s (years of a high birth rate) entered their productive ages. Since 2000 it is a gradually increasing positive net international migration that has played a relatively important role. Due to the natural reproduction characteristics the position of the 1970s, cohorts will be weakened in the coming years. Moreover, in near future, Czechs born in years of a low birth rate (i.e., the end of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s) will reach the productive age and, on the other hand, people born in post-war years of a high birth rate will approach the post-productive age.

While the number of the productive-age population has been continuously growing since 1990, the figures of the economically active residents, who represent the actual supply for the labour market, have been fluctuating: a rise in the 1990s was followed by a drop between 1999 and 2004, and since then an increase has taken place again. The economic activity rate, which is the share of economically active residents on the total population aged 15 +, has declined throughout the whole period (figure 7). The main reason was the increasing numbers of students at secondary schools and universities. During the period of 1995-2006, the economic activity rate of the group of 15-19 year-olds went down from 29.2% to 8.4% and in the group of 20-24 year-olds from 72.6% to 57.1%. An opposite trend, though not as important in quantitative terms, has been recorded among the population aged 50+ and it is connected with changes of the retirement age.

Figure 7. Development of economically active population in the Czech Republic, 1993- 2007



Source: Employment 2008.

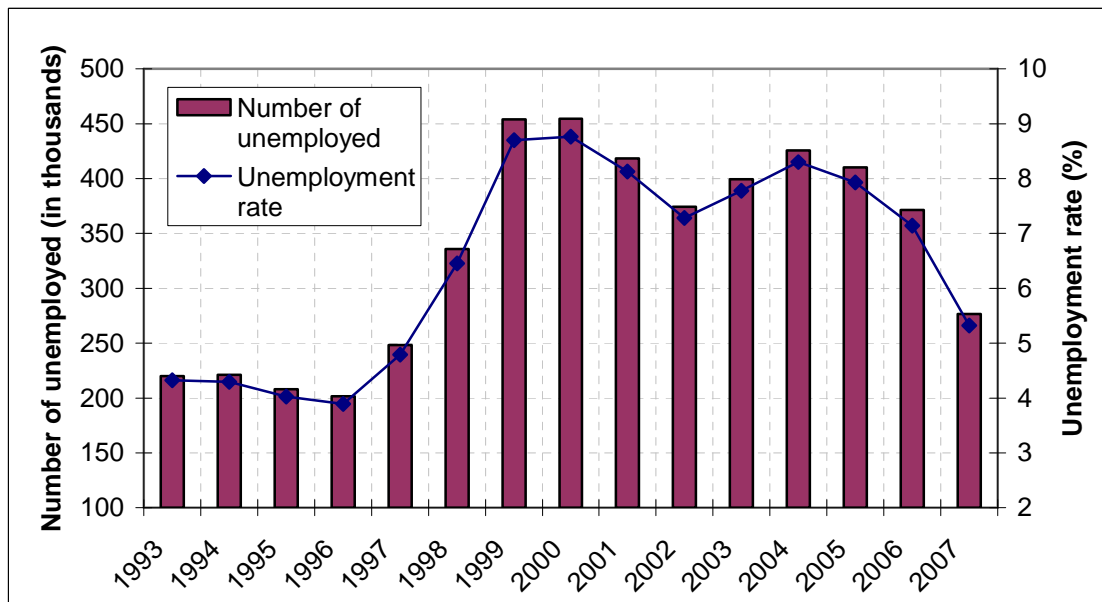
Note: The economic activity rate is the share of economically active residents in the total population aged 15 +.

One of the most important characteristics of the labour market, which reflects the relation between supply and demand, is the unemployment rate (calculated as a quotient of the number of unemployed on economically active population). In the Czech Republic there are two basic sources of information about unemployed persons. The first is the register of job seekers, as kept by Labour Offices under the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, which presents data on the so-called registered unemployment (registered unemployment rate). The second source is the Czech Statistical Office, whose unemployment data come from the Selective Survey of the Workforce (Labour Force Survey) and the indicator calculated from these data is referred to as the general rate of unemployment (for more details see Zaměstnanost 2008).

In the early 1990s, the general rate of unemployment was relatively low. It increased significantly during the period between 1996 and 2000 (figure 8). After a certain period of fluctuation, since 2005 a significant drop has been recorded. Its development is closely connected with overall economic performance, that is to say the demand on the labour market. Rising unemployment in the second half of the 1990s was tied to the slowing rate of GDP growth (in 1997-98 the year-on-year GDP growth even showed negative figures).

Concurrently at this time the workforce supply was increasing – the number of the economically active population was on the rise. A slightly different situation occurred after 2005 when, in spite of increasing numbers of economically active population, the relatively high pace of the GDP growth led to a decline in the general rate of unemployment (to a level around 5%). By way of international comparison, after 2000 the general rate of unemployment in the Czech Republic was lower than the EU-25 average. In the second part of this period it was even below the average of the 15 most developed EU member states.

Figure 8. Development of unemployment in the Czech Republic, 1993-2007



Source: Employment 2008.

As already mentioned, the Czech labour market has recently suffered from labour shortages. In last several years there has been an ever-increasing demand for labour force (see table 24). The largest shortages are (according to registered vacancies) in manual type of occupations of the 7, 8 and 9 ISCO code. More specifically the most demanded occupations (as of the fourth quarter of 2007) were machinery workers (23,900 vacancies), unqualified labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing (19,740 vacancies), assemblers (17,054 vacancies) or building and related trades workers (14,142 vacancies). However, a large number of vacancies is also available for e.g., science and engineering associate professionals (6,291 vacancies), personal service workers (7,677 vacancies), or legal, social, cultural and related associate professionals (5,237 vacancies) (Nabídka 2009).

Table 24. Registered vacancies in the Czech Republic, 2005-2007 (half-yearly)

ISCO code	Occupational groups	Q2/2005	Q4/2005	Q2/2006	Q4/2006	Q2/2007	Q4/2007
1*	Legislators, Managers, Chief Executives	749	806	1,403	1,444	1,743	1,713
2*	Professionals	3,436	3,125	5,658	4,859	6,518	6,115
3*	Technicians and associate professionals	5,881	5,896	10,017	10,671	12,839	13,379
4*	Clerical support workers	1,849	1,955	3,788	3,684	5,091	5,103
5*	Service and sales workers	4,728	4,336	7,401	8,112	12,008	11,415
6*	Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	964	787	840	863	1,195	1,250
7*	Craft and related trades workers	16,205	15,016	23,839	31,205	39,289	45,510
8*	Plant and machine operators, and assemblers	7,397	7,448	13,722	17,870	23,517	28,921
9*	Elementary occupations	12,437	10,231	14,093	14,096	21,121	27,749
0*	Other	223	223	112	12	13	15
	Total	53,869	49,823	80,874	92,816	123,334	141,170

Source: Nabídka 2009.

Note: Vacancies registered by Czech labour offices.

2.5. Migration Policy in the Czech Republic after 1989

One can see migration policy as a set of rules, regulations and practices concerning movement of international migrants across the state borders and their stay in the country of destination. It includes several policies and their implementation in practice, e.g., immigration/emigration policies (regulating in-/out- flows of migrants), integration policies (enhancing adaptation process of immigrants), visa policies, state border control policies. Furthermore, opinions and approaches of various stakeholders (e.g., employers, trade unions, political parties, NGOs, or lobby groups) and of the public can also be considered as a part of migration policy in broader terms (e.g. Baršová, Barša 2005). Our approach applied in this report, however, to some extent, differs. Mainly we discuss integration and naturalisation policy as separate issues, not directly as subjects of the migration policy but rather as more or less independent policies.

Since 1990, several periods of migration/immigration policy have been distinguished. We will deal only with immigration policy since the emigration of Czech citizens has not been a big issue compared to immigration matters. An important outflow of Czechs (however still quite low in comparison with other new EU states) was only visible at the beginning of the 1990s and soon after joining the EU. Delineations of various stages/periods of Czech migration policy were based on main changes in immigration legislation, the overall economic situation and general approaches to immigration (see e.g. Baršová, Barša 2005, and Drbohlav 2003). However, here we come up with our own and slightly different delineation of migration policy periods.

Although each period bears strong characteristics of either liberal or restrictive migration regime, measures with ambiguous or even opposite orientation were taken within all periods. Hence, one can consider Czech migration policy to be a rather reactive policy tool, but signs of a lack of systematic planning are observable as well.

The Ministry of the Interior (Department of Asylum and Migration Policy) has had a dominant role in migration policy making, and currently it seems that it has even strengthened

its role²¹ - a kind of process of centralization of migration decision-making has been taking place (Interview 2008a, Interview 2008b). From time to time, other stakeholders (ministries) do intervene in migration policy design in order to try to create policy measures “on their own,” such as the case of the Green Card Project (see below) (e.g., Janská, Drbohlav 2008a, Drbohlav 2003, Drbohlav, Horáková, Janská 2005, Baršová, Barša 2005, Interview 2008a, Interview 2008b). Czech migration policy, in general, is not based on in-depth or detailed socio-economic analyses of current or future trends (Drbohlav, Horáková, Janská 2005). In the course of time, a clear shift from a passive to a more active and more systematic approach to migration policy and practice has become visible (Roubalová 2006, Drbohlav, Horáková, Janská 2005). However, one has to bear in mind that Czech migration policy is quite highly “Europeanized”²². Furthermore, it has to be mentioned that, until recently, Czech migration policy has been rather apolitical. However, especially during the Parliament debate of the Green Card Project (autumn 2008), modest signs of politicization of the issue became visible (Interview 2008b). In our view, the most suitable delineation of distinctive migration periods is as follows:

1. 1990-1992,
2. 1993-1998,
3. 1999-2002,
4. 2003 – up to now (2008).

2.5.1. 1990-1992

Czech migration policy and practice were lacking in conceptual and systematic design during the 1990s. Czechoslovakia came through a complicated process of disintegration of federation and of economic and political transformation. In this period, the 1965 Aliens Act of Communist Czechoslovakia was replaced by the 1992 Aliens Act that introduced a sort of a standard modern structure of residence statuses (e.g., a short-term residence permit up to six months, a long-term residence permit up to one year and a permanent residence permit were installed) (Interview 2008a). However, this Act tied permanent residence permits only to family members of Czech citizens and humanitarian cases. Other migrants were not permitted to change their statuses from a long-term to a permanent one. In addition, the Act allowed foreigners to submit an application for a long-term stay on Czech territory. Moreover, the Czech Republic had visa-free relations with the most important countries of origin. Altogether, it posed almost no bureaucratic obstacles to a foreigner’s legal stay and created a situation that was described by many experts as both liberal and chaotic (Interview 2008a). Baršová and Barša (2005, p.222) called this situation “liberal tolerance”, which means that almost everybody could come but there were no legal way for permanent residence or naturalisation, except for marriage with a Czech citizen. Foreign job or business licence applicants could tackle all necessary formalities after coming to the Czech Republic with a tourist visa or via invitation (Kroupa et al. 1997). The illegal/irregular work of foreigners was not perceived as a problem needing any systematic state intervention (Baršová 2008).

²¹ One of the steps that illustrates this trend is that just now (as of August 1, 2008) responsibilities for the coordination of foreigners’ integration were re-transferred from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs back to the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic.

²² As our interviewed expert suggested, about 60% of the Czech migration policy closely follows EU directives/regulations (Interview 2008b).

Integration Policy

Integration policy started in the Czech Republic in the specific field of the asylum/refugee issue. Already in December 1991 the Czech government adopted basic principles and formulated a regulation targetting the integration of refugees. Moreover, the policy was enlarged to encompass integration issues of Czech compatriots and their family members coming from Ukraine and Belarus between 1991 and 1993²³ (a second wave of repatriation was provided between 1993 and 2001 mainly from Kazakhstan).

2.5.2. 1993-1998

The split of Czechoslovakia in 1993 brought about significant changes, when Slovaks became foreigners in the newly created Czech Republic. As a corollary, almost 400,000 Slovaks claimed Czech citizenship (see more in section 2.5.5.). Inflows of temporary migrants to the Czech Republic continued while maintaining very liberal rules both within legislation and practice. The permanent residency was only offered to Czech compatriots from regions affected by the Chernobyl disaster.

The huge inflow of economic migrants even increased by the split of Czechoslovakia (numbers of employed Slovaks in the Czech Republic went up) and by liberal migration legislation and practice. There was a significant inflow of immigrants above all from other European post-communist transformation countries. Besides the conflict in former Yugoslavia, which enhanced flows of refugees, immigration of compatriots (Chernobyl and Kazakhstan Czechs) also occurred.

Already in 1994, an Alien Act amendment came into force which, on one hand, made the policy stricter (e.g., the police on a state border might have asked foreigners to prove they had enough financial sources to stay in the country, or faced an impossibility to changing the purpose of a long-term stay), and, on the other hand, made immigration legislation, to some extent, more systematic.

Employment and entrepreneurial activities of foreigners were regulated by specific laws and their amendments. Most importantly, due to Act no. 286/1995 Coll. foreigners with permanent residence permits were granted the same rights as Czech citizens concerning running a business.

The worsening of the economic situation during 1997-1998 decreased the living standard of the Czech population (due to a decrease of real incomes). Also, there was an increase in the unemployment rate. Logically, this was reflected by the fact that possibilities of foreigners in terms of their entering the Czech labour market significantly shrank. On one side, the legislation reflected the harmonization with restrictive policies of the EU, and, on the other side, fears of increasing unemployment due to immigrant inflow came into play. Thus, since 1998 the labour offices have started enforcing more strict policies when issuing work permits (Informace 2000).

An agreement on free movement between the Czech and Slovak republic stimulated a new wave of immigration of Slovaks who established the biggest “allochtonous” group (permanently settled immigrants) in the Czech Republic (Drbohlav 2004). Their residence as

²³ 1,812 compatriots from Ukraine and Belarus came between 1991-1993 in the aftermath of Chernobyl disaster (Janská, Drbohlav 1999).

well as employment regime was much more liberal than of other foreigners. Slovaks did not have to apply for a long-term residence visa in order to be allowed to stay in the Czech Republic. They were issued “a statement of temporary stay” in the Czech Republic but only if they asked for it. Similarly, they only had to register themselves at a local labour office when they started working (no work permit obligation) (Zpráva 2004). Their regime was transformed to a standard EU-citizen regime in 2004.

The whole process of accession of the Czech Republic to the EU structures (in the migratory sphere it started being seriously taking into account beginning in 1996) gradually raised clear objectives of Czech migration policy such as combating illegal migration, modernization of asylum policy, and harmonisation of migration policies with standards of other EU countries. According to Drbohlav (2004), at least until 1999, the policy had been concerned with measures within a more or less static model, unambiguously, passive attitudes prevailed over active ones (mainly mandatory adjustment to the EU legislation, regulations).

Integration Policy

A special programme targeting refugees called “State Assistance Programme for Integration” has been in function since 1994. Its main aim was to offer refugees rented housing. Later, social and employment counselling and free Czech language courses were offered within the programme.

2.5.3. 1999-2002

A more restrictive policy came, *inter alia*, hand in hand with growing economic problems, a growing unemployment rate and increasing numbers of illegal workers entering the country (Horáková 2004, Drbohlav 2003). Thus, at the very end of the 1990s, rules were tightened especially for those foreigners who wanted to hold a work permit. In January 2000 two key Acts came into force: Act No. 326/1999 Coll. [on Residence of Aliens in the Territory of the Czech Republic], and Act No. 325/1999 Coll. [on Asylum].

The Alien Act introduced a visa regime within which immigrants had to ask for a visa at Czech embassies in countries of origin. Thus, a very liberal practice within which a migrant could ask for a visa in the territory of the Czech Republic was abolished. Due also to this measure, numbers of immigrants decreased. A foreigner could no longer prolong his/her stay directly in the Czech Republic but rather he had to do it via Czech embassies outside the country. Moreover, a residence regime for immigrants was newly modified. Two types of residency were distinguished – temporary (most importantly on a visa for a period exceeding 90 days) and permanent ones. The law prohibited a change of the residence purpose while staying in the Czech Republic – it can only be made from abroad (i.e. new visa application) – due to large number of immigrants who had been changing their residence purpose from (dependent) employment to business based on trade license. Other changes were also important – for example applicants for a visa until 90 days and a visa exceeding 90 days were supposed to provide proof of health insurance and enough financial resources for their stay on request on Czech borders. For a visa exceeding 90 days, it was newly requested to submit a criminal record not only from the Czech Republic but also from the country of origin. In case of application for permanent residence permit due to family reunification, it was allowed only for applicants reunifying with a Czech citizen. Furthermore, some new legal concepts were introduced (e.g., subsidiary forms of protection, or airport visa).

Similarly, the new Act on Asylum was voted on in 1999. A person with refugee status was called an “asylee” and a person applying for refugee status was called asylum applicant. The Dublin Treaty was incorporated into this new Act, in accordance with the EU legislation directives. Furthermore, the institute of apparently unreasoned application for asylum was incorporated in the Act. On the other hand, explicit rights for asylum seekers were extended. An integration programme for asylees, which had been until then regulated only by governmental resolutions, was codified within the new legislation. Asylum applicants were granted a right to stay outside asylum facilities. Moreover, these asylum seekers might have received financial subsidies to a value not exceeding the living wage and, last but not least, they could enter the Czech labour market without asking for a work permit. The new asylum Act was in many cases favourable for applicants. Also, there was no effective control of applicants outside an asylum camp by relevant bodies.

In 2000, the implementation of migration policy was complemented by a new visa policy towards certain countries (e.g., Ukraine, Russia and Belarus) according to a standard regime in the EU countries. These measures have been considered very restrictive and, consequently, many third country nationals have lost their right to stay in the Czech Republic.

Two clearly liberalizing steps, however, with less important impact, were taken in 2001. Firstly, a new amendment of the Alien Act was passed that solved certain shortcomings of the 1999 version of the Act (e.g., years of a foreigner’s residence on a temporary permit before 1.1.2000 would be “counted” when applying for a permanent residence permit). Secondly, basic characteristics of a pilot project for attracting skilled labour migrants to settle in the country were passed within the Government as a deterioration of demographic conditions of Czech population together with an economic increase were expected.

On the other hand, a major Asylum Act amendment (approved in early 2002) followed the restrictive direction. Its purpose was clear - to reduce the number of asylum applications that reached 8,788 in 2000 and even 18,094 in 2001²⁴. As the asylum procedure was misused as a tool of legalization of one’s stay and work, the amendment, besides other restrictive measures, prohibited the work of asylum seekers in the first year following the submission of their application. Furthermore, it established that migrants submitting asylum application while staying in a detention centre are supposed to remain there during the time their application is processed. In the same year, a further amendment transformed the asylum procedure to a one-instance procedure (governed by the Ministry of the Interior). Unsuccessful applicants could appeal to a regional court and if dismissed, they could file a cassation complaint to the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czech Republic.

In mid-2001 the state program for the immigration of Czech compatriots from distant and endangered territories was officially terminated (altogether 818 persons from Kazakhstan, Russia, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Moldova immigrated to the Czech Republic). Since then, immigrants with Czech origins have had to use a standard immigration procedure with no special state support. Meanwhile, a new conception of a state program for immigration of compatriots has been searched for.²⁵

²⁴ In 2001, 4,418 citizens of Ukraine applied for asylum in the Czech Republic, out of 18,043 it was 24% of all submitted applications.

²⁵ New state program was finally agreed on in 2006 (Zpráva 2007). Its aim was to facilitate the migration of Czech compatriots from Kazakhstan. In 2007, 157 Czech compatriots migrated to the Czech Republic with a special state assistance and treatment (Zpráva 2008).

Integration Policy

The first Governmental integrated document in the field of foreigners' integration was designed in 1999 under the title "Principles for the Concept of Immigrant Integration in the Territory of the Czech Republic" (15 main theses were formulated - see more in Drbohlav, Horáková, Janská 2005) in response to the increased number of immigrants. The main goal was to create conditions for systematic development of good relations between communities. One year later, a more precise document called "Concept of Immigrant Integration in the Territory of the Czech Republic" (Concept) followed (Janská 2002, Informace 2000). The government policy was primarily intended to approximate the status of foreign nationals legally residing in the Czech Republic on a long-term basis to that of citizens of the Czech Republic and to systematically protect political, economic, social and cultural rights of immigrants.

The Concept addressed in particular the issue of division of competencies and responsibilities of relevant government departments for preparation of projects in various areas of life and immigrant integration. Relevant ministries have prepared their own plans of integration policies which were to focus on legislative, organizational, methodological and practical aspects of the implementation of the Concept. The key element of the whole Concept was to support projects that focused, for instance, on raising awareness of immigrants and nationals of the host state. Moreover, social and legal counselling for immigrants, language skills and other qualification of immigrants, prevention of intolerance, racism and discrimination of immigrants were supported (Realizace 2005). In this respect, non-governmental and non-profit organizations played an important role.

In connection with the above considerations, we may note that the Concept has been implemented on a non-legislative basis with quite a modest budget.²⁶

A significant goal within the above defined integration policy towards long-term immigrants was reached in 2001 when, at each district authority, an advisory board for integration of foreigners was established. Its purpose was to monitor and analyse the "local" situation of immigrants. Establishment of the boards was seen as an important step towards stronger involvement of local and regional levels in the process of immigrant integration. However, it was a rather short-term project as, only a year later, they all were revoked due to a large reform of territorial state administration which abolished district authorities (Realizace 2005). Since then, the involvement of regional and local units in integration processes has not been organised in a systematic way and so far it has been rather rare, based not on legislation but rather on individual activities.

2.5.4. 2003 – up to now

In May 2004, the Czech Republic joined the EU. That was a significant mark within general political and social development of the state. In terms of migration, a new aspect entered the

²⁶ Every year a special report on the implementation of integration policy is prepared and submitted to the Government. The report includes information on fulfilled goals and on goals to be achieved. Moreover, allocation of finances is resolved. Until 2003, about 19 mil. CZK were annually allocated to the implementation of the integration concept. About 30% of the budget was used by the Ministry of the Interior and 15% was allocated to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. Other important bodies responsible for the implementation of the Concept were the Ministry of Education, Youth and Physical Training, Ministry of Culture, Academy of Science and Ministry of Health.

migration policy – a differentiation of legal treatment of, on one side, EU citizens and their family members and, on the other hand, third-country nationals (Janská, Drbohlav 2008b). However, several policy steps (namely formulation of migration policy principles and launch of a pilot project – see more below) which were taken already in 2003, enabling us to think of the year 2003 as a starting point of a new pro-active stage of the Czech migration policy.

One of the most visible proofs of a stronger conceptualization of migration and of a more EU-independent approach, however, a rather more symbolic than effective one, was a formulation of 6 basic policy principles in the field of international migration, which were agreed upon by the Government in 2003. They were thought of as a base for a complex migration strategy; however, no such strategy has been planned yet. Their message is more or less neutral concerning a liberal-restrictive scale of migration approach, however with an emphasised role of the state in dealing with migration. The principles are too general and vague, and have no real impact upon migration policy (Drbohlav, Horáková, Janská 2005, Baršová, Barša 2005, Interview 2008a).

Moreover, a modest sign of the state “taking the responsibility for migration decision-making in its hands” can be detected in a pilot project called “The Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers” that was launched in 2003. Its main goal was to encourage foreign experts, specialists and highly-skilled workers to settle along with their families in the country by offering them the possibility to apply for a permanent residence permit after 2.5 years instead of 5 years as usual. Applicants to the pilot project had to have at least secondary education and a valid residence and work permit in the Czech Republic. Therefore applicants were not provided with a job, housing or help with the immigration administrative procedure. Selection of applicants was based on a point system with several criteria (e.g., age, education, language skills, and working experience, but no specific occupation/profession requirements were set) that was further limited by a yearly-set quota for successful applicants. At first, only immigrants from three source countries (Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, and Croatia) could apply²⁷. The project, however, was designed as a pilot project and hence each year it has been slightly modified. The list of eligible countries of origin has been widened (mostly to Eastern European countries – e.g. Belarus, Moldova, or Ukraine)²⁸. Moreover, if the applicant graduated from a Czech secondary school (after 2000) or university (after 1995) he/she is eligible to enter the program regardless of his/her citizenship (no country of origin limitation)²⁹. Furthermore, in case a project participant loses his/her job, a protection period of 45 days can be applied within which he/she can find a new job without losing his/her work permit. In the course of time, the waiting period for a permanent residence permit has even been shortened to 1.5 years for highly qualified participants (university educated individuals who worked in the Czech Republic on a position relevant to their education) and their families. It is a small-scale project in comparison with total foreign employment in the Czech

²⁷ The given countries were selected in order to test the mechanisms of the project. Hence, they were seen as an appropriate sample (variable in terms of cultural proximity and overall setting) to test the criteria of selection and also Czech embassies in these countries agreed to cooperate in the project (Vládní 2002).

²⁸ More countries were involved because of a small number of interested persons in the originally selected countries. Also, countries with a significant number of immigrants already present in the Czech Republic were included, which should have guaranteed a sufficient pool of applicants and fulfilled requests of certain Czech employers. Selection of countries further incorporated in the project also came into play if the country in question had signed specific treaties with the Czech state (e.g., on legal cooperation). Czech foreign policy principles were also taken into account (Vládní 2004, Vládní 2005).

²⁹ The inclusion of foreign graduates of Czech schools was incorporated in the project due to a similar change of the EU policy towards foreign graduates (i.e. more preferential approach) as argued in the Government resolution (Vládní 2004).

Republic since only 1,228 successful applicants (as of November 3, 2008) have taken part so far, and it is even less than the quotas would have allowed for (Janská, Drbohlav 2008b). The reasons might be strict prerequisites (e.g., already having a work permit which is seen as a difficult and time-consuming process), low public awareness, low involvement of employers or low attractiveness of offered advantages (Baršová, Barša 2005, Janská, Drbohlav 2008b, Drbohlav, Horáková, Janská 2005).

During 2003 several law amendments were being worked out and they mostly came into force with the accession of the Czech Republic to the EU. The most important changes, and, indeed, very liberal ones, were targeted at EU citizens and their family members who were freed from an obligation to apply either for a residence permit, or a work permit. Furthermore, mostly third country nationals were affected by a liberalising Alien Act amendment that transformed the system of residence permits while adding a new long-term residence permit which is issued after a year of residence in the country. In relation to the accession of the Czech Republic to the EU, the institute of temporary protection (as defined by the Council directive 2001/55/EC) has been included in Czech legislation. Moreover, in 2006 the institute of subsidiary protection was recognized as a distinctive form (besides asylum) of international protection.

In 2004, a new Employment Act (seen as a neutral in terms of restrictive versus liberal) was voted for that set more precise conditions for employment of foreigners. A moderately liberal amendment of the Alien Act in 2005, among other things, transposed the Council directive on the right of third country nationals to family reunification (2003/86/EC) and humanised conditions in detention centres. Since then, detention centres are no longer run by the police, but instead by the Ministry of the Interior. On the other hand, the obligation for foreign visa holders to have valid health insurance when entering the Czech Republic has been set. In 2006, a further step in a liberal direction was taken when the length of stay necessary for getting a permanent residence permit was shortened from 10 to 5 years. As Czech citizenship could be acquired after 5 years of residence on a permanent residence permit, consequently, a foreigner could apply for Czech citizenship after 10 years (instead of 15 years).

At the end of 2007, a restrictive amendment of the Alien Act was passed as a reaction to presumably growing numbers of fake mixed marriages and paternity declarations that were thought to be motivated only by getting a permanent residence permit (Zpráva 2008). Hence, according to the amendment a family member of Czech or EU citizen might get a permanent residence permit after 2 years of legal residence in the Czech Republic, out of which he/she must be at least for one year in the position of a family member (e.g. a husband/wife of Czech or EU citizen). This amendment was heavily criticised by various NGOs as limiting family rights of immigrants as well as Czech nationals.

Recently, the Ministry of Industry and Trade has come up with a new labour immigration project called Green Cards that should come into force on January 2009. It is a clear sign of a state pro-active approach to migration matters. The Green Cards project is a reaction to a strong demand for labour force of certain large, mostly industrial, business companies. It is targeted mainly at high-qualified and skilled workers from third countries. However, low-qualified workers might participate as well (with certain limitations tied to the length and conditions of their green card). The main aim is to flexibly recruit a labour force and to lower the administrative burden of the admission procedure via a green card permit. The system should support legal temporary labour migration while, at the same time, it is also perceived as a prevention tool to fight foreigners' illegal employment (Baršová 2008).

A green card will be a dual permit (of residence and work) issued by the Ministry of the Interior for a particular job position for 3 years with the possibility to extend it afterwards (with the exception of unskilled workers – their card will be issued for only 2 years, with no extension possible). Holders of the green card (except low-skilled workers) will be allowed to bring their family with them. Green cards might be issued only for jobs that are vacant for a long time (preferential treatment of domestic labour force and applicants from the EU/EEA should be guaranteed) (Zpráva 2008, Janská, Drbohlav 2008b). The green card system, however, will be opened only to selected countries that might limit its widespread use. Furthermore, a final decision on the precise conditions of the project (e.g., a list of eligible countries of origin) has not been made yet, thus, several re-arrangements might still occur. As Baršová (2008) points out the green card system is a courageous experiment with obvious positive economic effects, however, its main deficit is that it uncritically merges the interests of Czech companies with the needs of Czech society in general and omits the impacts of such immigration on a wider social reality. Furthermore, the green card system seems to be a bit of an old-fashioned tool as it has many similarities with post-war labour recruitment programs of Western European countries, and, especially in comparison with a much more ambitious Blue Card system (as suggested by the European Commission), it looks less appealing than it is presented. Moreover, it seems that the most important countries of origin of immigrants in the Czech Republic (namely Ukraine and Vietnam) might not be included in the final list of eligible countries, hence the project's impact on the immigration reality rests unknown.

Integration policy

The last four years (since 2004) are an important period concerning the development of a stronger and more conceptual integration policy. Shifting the responsibility for integration policy coordination (activities tied to the Concept of Immigrant Integration) from the Ministry of the Interior to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs in 2004 can be viewed as a strong impetus for increasing activity of state bodies vis-à-vis the integration of foreigners (Baršová, Barša 2005). The major change occurred with a re-assessment of the Concept of Immigrant Integration. The Concept was found to be a minimally effective tool, especially because of its concentrating only on granting rights to foreigners (via the mainstreaming method) and leaving aside their social integration, not mentioning its overly general and vague character. Hence, in 2005 an updated Concept was prepared with the following changes (see Updated Concept 2006):

- key prerequisites for immigrant integration (priority areas of the updated Concept) were defined and specific measures for fulfilling the given goals were planned,
- emphasis is put on an individual (as a member of society, not of a particular ethnic community), his/her personal efforts and responsibility – this is a clear acceptance of a so-called civic integration approach,
- immigrant integration is defined as a two-way process³⁰ of unifying local population and immigrants into a single society, where mutual accommodation by immigrants on one hand and the creation of conditions for immigrant integration in the host (receiving) society on the other are required,
- creation of a long-term framework of integration policies and measures (the first period being 2006 – 2008),
- target group of the Concept was set to be immigrants legally staying in the Czech Republic for at least one year.

³⁰ In the original Concept integration was seen as gradual insertion of immigrants into host society's structures, hence more as a one-way process.

Four key prerequisites/priority areas of the Concept were defined and for each of them detailed goals and measures with a time schedule for their fulfilment were set³¹. The most visible impact³² of the updated Concept is that standardised Czech language tests (on the A2 level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) will be applied as a necessary prerequisite for being granted a permanent residence permit since January 1, 2009. However, general fulfilment of the Concept's goals and measures is usually delayed and the overall impact of the integration policy is still rather weak, although with a tendency to grow in importance³³.

Anti-discrimination legislation might also be seen as a relevant part of an integration policy. However, the Czech Parliament has only recently adopted a so-called anti-discrimination law that would incorporate the Council Directive 2000/43/EC into Czech legislation. But the Czech president vetoed it so it has not come into force yet. Hence, beside other aspects, there is no central institution dealing with the problem of discrimination (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008 a). The insufficient anti-discrimination legislation is also one of the reasons (together with a lack of legislation on foreigners' political participation) why the Czech Republic has ranked 17th among 28 (mostly) European countries evaluated within the Migrant Integration Policy Index. However, within Central and Eastern European countries, the Czech Republic has ranked at the top of them, together with Slovenia and Hungary (see Niessen, Huddleston, Citron 2007).

2.5.5. Naturalization and Citizenship Trends

From 1918 to 1968 only Czechoslovak citizenship existed. This was changed when the former unitary state became federalized in 1969. Until the dissolution of Czechoslovakia (January 1, 1993), its nationals had in general Czechoslovak citizenship, and then either Czech, or Slovak citizenship, however these "republican" citizenships were not widely used (Uhl 2000).

To understand current trends in the citizenship policy of the Czech Republic, it is necessary to point out that emigrants who (illegally) left communist Czechoslovakia were usually deprived of their Czechoslovak citizenship by the state. Hence already in 1990 a special law targeted this group of former citizens by giving them a time-limited possibility to get their citizenship back (Analýza 2005).

A new citizenship policy issue arose with the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. Therefore, the Act on the Acquisition and Loss of Czech Citizenship (No. 40/1993 Coll.) was passed which, besides establishing rules for the naturalisation of immigrants, coped with the problem of the option for Czech citizenship by (former) Slovak citizens. A simplified mechanism for Slovak citizens has, thus, been created, enabling them to acquire Czech citizenship under the

³¹ The set priority areas and their goals are: 1) knowledge of the Czech language – enhance knowledge of the Czech language among immigrants and their children, creation of Czech language certifications; 2) immigrant's economic self-sufficiency – support immigrants' economic self-sufficiency by lowering administrative burden tied to their labour market participation; 3) immigrant's orientation in society – increase immigrants' awareness of Czech society, its values and institutions; 4) immigrant's relations with members of the majority society – support development of relations between immigrants and majority society and increase public awareness about foreigners' presence in the Czech Republic (for more information see Updated Concept 2006).

³² Furthermore, a law amendment that, among other things, establishes a protection period of 60 days for foreign workers who lost employment (if it was not their fault), is soon to be voted on. The protection period is an important instrument which was set in accordance with the updated Concept.

³³ The budget allocation has, since 2003, slightly increased to about 25 mil. CZK currently assigned to the implementation of the Concept. About 40% of the sum has been used by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and 20% has been intended for use by the Ministry of the Interior.

condition of: permanent residence in the Czech Republic for at least 2 years, abandonment of Slovak citizenship and no lawful conviction of a premeditated criminal offence during the last 5 years (Uhl 2000). The application deadline for this option procedure was at first set by the end of 1993, later extended to mid-1994. It was a massively used citizenship policy mechanism as, until the mid-1990s, 311,000 former Slovak citizens acquired Czech citizenship based on the 1993 law – out of which 292,000 by the option procedure (UNHCR 1996, p. 59). The law in question has been amended several times – most importantly in 1999 when the possibility of the option/declaration for Slovak citizens was re-opened and conditioned only by their factual stay in the territory of the Czech Republic since 1993 (Uhl 2000)³⁴.

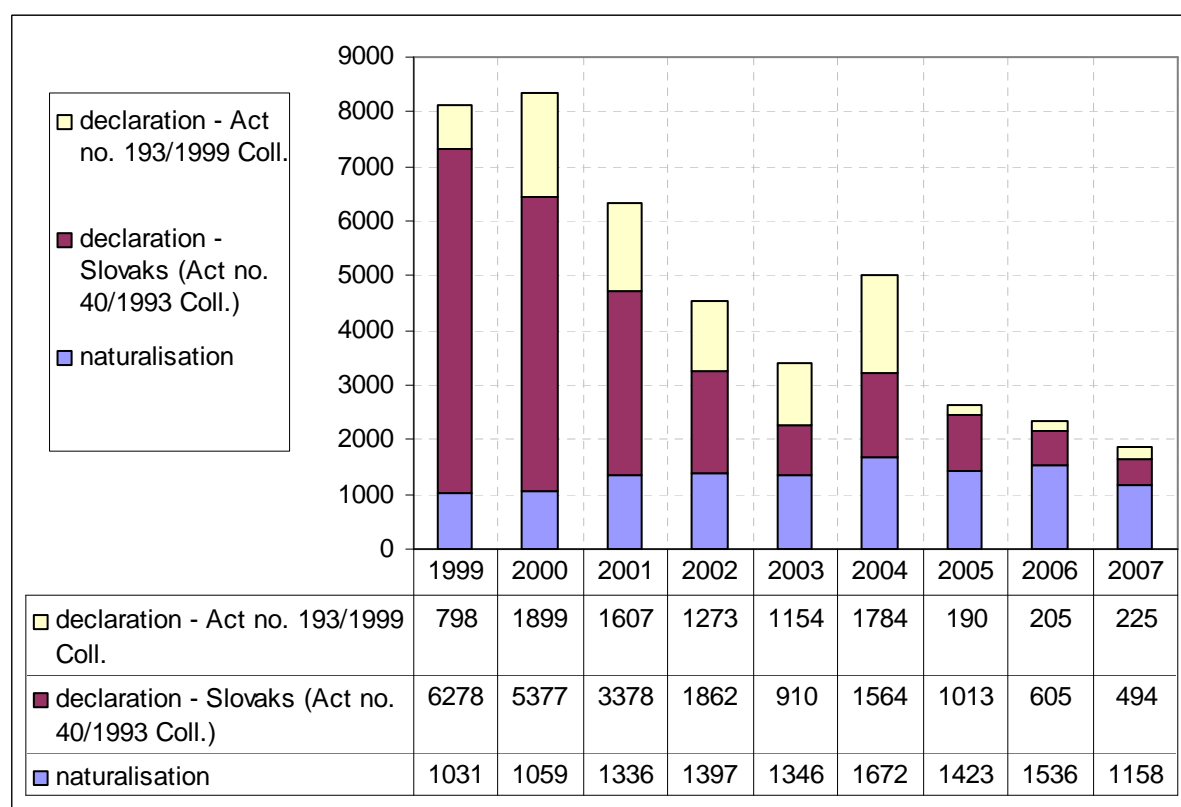
As for other immigrants, their possibilities of getting Czech citizenship are regulated by the same Act. Czech citizenship policy has traditionally been based on the *ius sanguinis* principle (Uhl 2000, Baršová, Barša 2005, Analýza 2005). Hence a child might acquire Czech citizenship only if at least one of his parents is a Czech citizen. The most frequent form of immigrants acquiring Czech citizenship is by granting it (naturalisation). Several requirements are set. Applicants have to stay in the Czech Republic on a permanent residence permit for at least 5 years³⁵ and during that time “usually” reside in the country. He/she has to prove that his/her former citizenship was or will be given up unless he/she was granted asylum in the Czech Republic. However, the condition of giving up former citizenship might be excused in several cases. Thus, officially dual citizenship is not permitted, however, in many cases it can be allowed for. The applicant must further prove that he/she has not been lawfully convicted of a premeditated criminal offence during the last 5 years and has to fulfil obligations related to health and social insurance, taxes etc. Finally, his/her knowledge of the Czech language has to be proven. No standardised tests have been set yet; applicants only go through a simple interview at a local municipality office (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008 a). Czech citizenship represents a very secure status since it cannot be withdrawn by the Czech state (Analýza 2005)³⁶. Within the European perspective, the Czech Republic ranked among states with the most favourable citizenship policy (Niessen, Huddleston, Citron 2007). On the other hand, concerning the naturalisation procedure, there is no legal entitlement to Czech citizenship and it is the sole discretion of the Ministry of the Interior whether citizenship will be granted. Moreover, there is no possibility of a judicial review of the ministerial decision (Uhl 2000). Due to emigration movements during the communist era and consequent deprivation of emigrants’ citizenship, former Czechoslovak citizens who lived abroad might acquire Czech citizenship simply by declaration, without the obligation of precedent residence and of disposal of their previous citizenship according to the Act on the Citizenship of Certain Former Czechoslovak Citizens (No. 193/1999 Coll.). Their numbers represented an important part of all persons who acquired Czech citizenship since 1999, however, with a tendency to decline in recent years (see figure 9).

³⁴ However, no clear data on former Slovak citizens who acquired Czech citizenship in the period 1993-1998 is available; even the Czech Statistical Office does not possess it.

³⁵ The requirement of residence can be shortened in special cases. Normally, however, Czech citizenship could have been acquired after 15 years of residence, as until 2006 a permanent residence permit might have been granted after 10 years of residence in the Czech Republic.

³⁶ However, a new amendment is being prepared that would set the possibility for a withdrawal of Czech citizenship in case it was acquired based on false information. Also, standardised language tests (on the B1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) are under preparation (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008).

Figure 9. Persons who acquired Czech citizenship by type of procedure, 1999–2007



Source: Nabývání 2008.

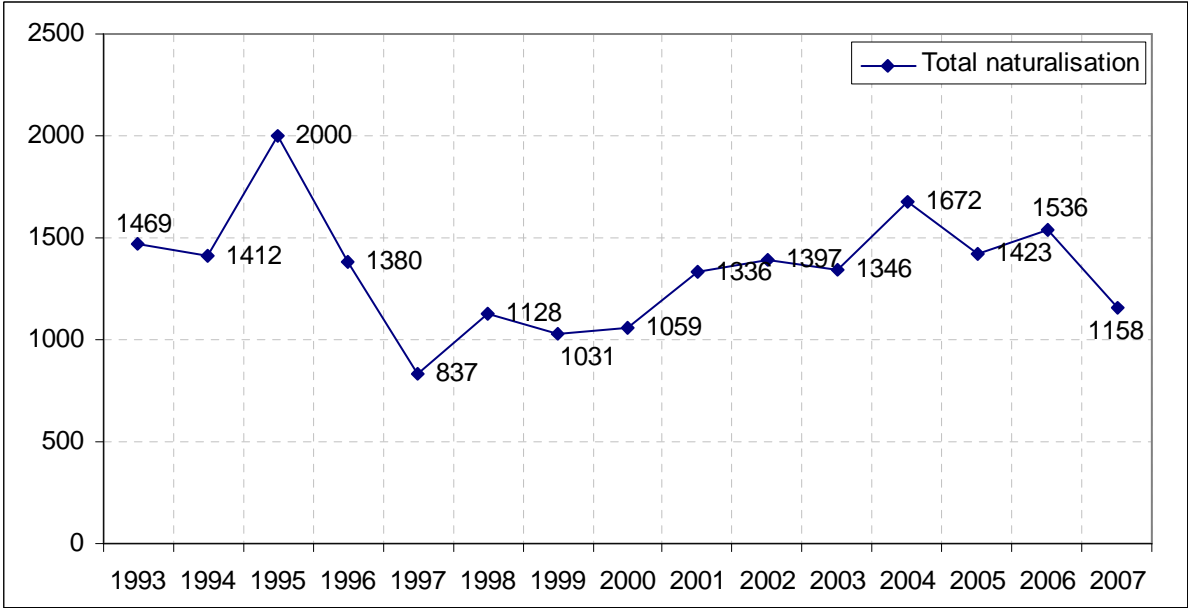
When analysing trends in Czech citizenship acquired by type of procedure, a timeline from 1999 onward is only possible as there are no available data for (former) Slovak citizens in preceding years. Since 1999 there has been a large decrease in total number of Czech citizenship acquired by year (from 8,107 in 1999 to 1,877 in 2007) due to a sharp drop in Czech citizenship acquired by declaration (it decreased by 90%). The fall has been continuous in both types of declaration, however, with a single upsurge in 2004 caused mainly by the fact that, according to the original version of the Act no. 193/1999 Coll. Declaration, could have been made only until 2004. However, the law was then amended, with no time-limitation set. The reduction in number of Slovak citizens who acquired Czech citizenship by declaration is caused by a logical diminution in the pool of possible candidates who have been living in the Czech Republic since 1993 and have not yet acquired Czech citizenship.

On the other hand, the number of naturalisations (altogether more than 20,000 foreigners have been naturalised since 1993) has a much more steady development (figure 10). We have to bear in mind that if we are talking about naturalisation of foreigners in the 1990s and most of 2000s, we are talking mainly about immigrants coming already in the communist era or about immigrants of Czech origin coming in 1990s. As the normally required length of residence to be naturalised was 15 years (since 2006 only 10 years), it is only recently that “new” immigrant cohorts began to be naturalised.

The overall development of the number of naturalisations (see figure 10) has been largely influenced by naturalisation trends of Ukrainians – the most numerous group that has been granted Czech citizenship since 1993 (5,086 persons). Ukrainians who were naturalised were presumably mostly immigrants of Czech origin who immigrated from Chernobyl area and Volhynia region in 1990s. Also Russians (the third most numerous group – 2,014 persons)

and former citizens of Kazakhstan (539 persons) were compatriots of Czech origin with more favourable requirements to get naturalised. On the other hand, Poles (2,102 naturalisations), Bulgarians (1,512 naturalisations), and Romanians (1,090 naturalised persons) can be thought of being mostly “labour migrants” from 1980s. Between 1993 and 2007 1,321 former Greek citizens were naturalised (dominantly in the first half of 1990s) whose presence in the Czech Republic might be traced back to a significant wave of Greek refugees who came at the end of 1940s.

Figure 10. Naturalizations per year, 1993–2007



Source: Nabývání 2008.

In the course of time, the structure of naturalised foreigners by citizenship has been changing. It has become more diversified. The five most numerous groups of naturalised citizens in 1993 represented almost 88% compared to 65% in 2007. Furthermore their structure by citizenship has changed. In 1993 the 5 largest groups were Russians (457), Greeks (359), Ukrainians (212), Poles (152) and Bulgarians (106). Last year, in the “top 5” Greeks and Bulgarians were substituted by Slovaks (131) and Vietnamese (40), while still Ukrainians (424 persons), followed by Russians (102) and Poles (50) were on top.

2.6. Integration outcomes and Migration Impacts

2.6.1. Integration Outcomes

It is rather difficult to evaluate current integration outcomes in the Czech Republic as immigrants’ integration is not systematically monitored. An integration report is not filed and integration indicators are not used. Hence, in this chapter we present some integration indicators which we have counted. The second section presents the main outcomes of a unique report of the Ministry of the Interior which is based on monitoring reports prepared by former district advisory boards for integration of foreigners (Monitoring 2002). Finally, the main results of selected integration research projects are shown.

Integration Outcomes - Indicators of Integration

According to the Updated Concept of Immigrant Integration, a desirable integration process can be defined as a two-way process³⁷ of unifying local population and immigrants into a single society. Both sides are required to participate – immigrants by a mutual accommodation and receiving society by a creation of favourable conditions for immigrant integration (Updated Concept 2006). Hence we can understand the results of this process to be such that immigrants are integrated into a socio-economic, legal, political, cultural and geographical system of majority society where immigrants possess similar positions in society as the non-immigrant population (Drbohlav, Černík, Dzúrová 2005, Wolf, Tudose 2005, Doomernik 1998, Vermeulen, Penninx 2000). These positions can be measured by relevant integration indicators usually based on statistical data. Indicators for immigrant and non-immigrant population can then be compared. Ideally, groups by same age, sex or qualification should be compared (Entzinger, Biezeveld 2003, Measurement 1998, Garson, Thoreau 1999). Integration can be conceptualised in several spheres/dimensions encompassing different aspects of the adaptation process (see Heckmann 1999, Entzinger, Biezeveld 2003, Lachmanová 2006). Structural integration (sometimes divided to socio-economic dimension and legal and political dimension) describes the acquisition of rights and positions in the core institutions of the receiving state. The cultural sphere of integration refers to the process of cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change of an individual. The social dimension of the integration process can be described by immigrants' private relations and group or association memberships. "Identificational" integration is a field hardly to be measured by integration indicators as it encompasses one's subjective feelings of belonging and identification with the receiving society. Sometimes an "external" sphere of the integration process is added and that is attitudes of majority society. For each dimension, several indicators are recommended; however, it is not clear which are the most suitable (e.g., Entzinger, Biezeveld 2003, Measurement 1998, Hintermann 2003, Niessen, Schibel 2005, Doomernik 1998, Baldwin-Edwards 2005).

Unfortunately, until now no integration indicators were counted for immigrants and majority society in the Czech Republic. Several obstacles come into play. Firstly, a lack of statistical data or its inaccessibility severely curtails the use of indicators. Secondly, immigrants can usually be distinguished within Czech statistical sources on the basis of foreign citizenship which limits the pool of persons whose integration should be studied. Using the category "foreigners" instead of immigrants is inaccurate, as acquiring citizenship of a host country does not necessarily mean an immigrant is integrated (Communication 2003, Bauböck 2005). All in all, we can present only very basic and rough information concerning immigrant integration as measured by indicators. Furthermore, we should take the numbers as an orientation, a sign, as there were many problems bound to the counting (e.g., inaccessibility of individual or even some aggregated data).

Concerning immigrants' socio-economic integration, it is recommended to measure several characteristics tied to employment. As economic reasons are the main reasons for immigration to the Czech Republic, it is not surprising that the economic activity rate of foreigners reached more than 86%, compared to about 59% of the total population of the Czech Republic (based on data for 2006/2007).

³⁷ In the original Concept, integration was seen as gradual insertion of immigrants into host society's structures, hence more as a one-way process.

The unemployment rate is seen as a crucial indicator as employment is considered to be a key mechanism of immigrant integration (Schulte 2005, Doomernik 1998, Baldwin-Edwards 2005). In the Czech Republic, however, its value is limited as, concerning third country nationals, only holders of permanent residence permit might be unemployed. Other third country nationals are obliged to leave the country when made redundant as in such a case where their work permit terminates – which also means the termination of their residence permit. Furthermore, it is only recently that data on unemployed EU-citizens has been released for the public. On the other hand, data on unemployed third country nationals (with permanent residence permit) originated from labour offices is neither published, nor accessible, despite being collected. Reasons for not releasing this data are unknown. In addition, Labour Force Survey data on foreigners cannot be used as its results regarding the foreign population are highly unreliable due to small sample size which does not follow the real structure of foreigners in the Czech Republic (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008 a). The only information on the unemployment of third country nationals (as of June 30, 2007) which we were able to find was published in a study of the Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs (Pořízková 2008)³⁸. According to this study there were 2,753 unemployed third country nationals³⁹ (Pořízková 2008). At the same date, there were 3,116 EU/EEA nationals unemployed – a majority of them coming from Slovakia (2,083), Poland (635), and Bulgaria (118) (Uchazeči 2008). Hence the unemployment rate of foreigners⁴⁰ (mid-2007) was very low, about 2%, compared to the overall registered unemployment rate in the Czech Republic – which reached 6.3% in June 2007 (Statistiky 2008). The unemployment rate of EU/EEA nationals was slightly higher (2.1%) than that of third country nationals (2.0%). However, we have to take into account that it would be more accurate to relate unemployed third country nationals only to the sum of employed third country nationals with permanent residence permits whose number is, unfortunately, unknown to us. With such a specification of the denominator, the rate would significantly increase.

Foreigners in the Czech Republic work most often in manufacturing, construction, wholesale and retail trade, as well as in real estate and renting activities (Cizinci 2007 – see Annex 2). It can be said that foreign labour force works in different sectors than Czech workers by comparing their employment structure with the one of Czech nationals. Foreigners work more often in construction and wholesale and retail trade, due to an overrepresentation of third country nationals in these sectors. On the other hand, real estate and renting activities are also proportionally employing more foreign workers than Czech nationals; however, this is more the case of EU-citizens.

In general, more than half of foreigners are employed or run a business in agriculture and industry, although only 44% of Czech nationals do. This can be seen as an unfavourable condition for immigrants' integration as it implicates their employment in low paid and low social status jobs, which are more prone to cyclical crises.

As no statistics concerning the use of social benefits by foreigners are publicly available, we received, upon request, at least some basic information related to the first quarter of 2008 (see

³⁸ Data originated from labour offices and was acquired from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Pořízková 2008).

³⁹ No information on their citizenship is included in the report.

⁴⁰ The unemployment rate was counted as a number of unemployed foreigners (third country nationals and EU/EEA nationals) divided by the sum of unemployed foreigners and employed foreigners (with permanent residence permits, as well as long-term permits or visas).

table 21). Foreigners drew only 0.1% of all paid state social benefits. Most of these benefits were tied to children. In general, Slovaks rely on state social benefits the most, followed by Poles, Ukrainians and Vietnamese (for more see part 2.3.6.).

Unfortunately, other important aspects of socio-economic integration such as educational level, income level or quality of housing cannot be measured via integration indicators due to unavailability or inaccessibility of background data.

The legal and political dimensions of integration are more about conditions and opportunities supporting integration and less about integration outcomes themselves. Indicators which are usually proposed for this dimension are tied to naturalisation policy (for more on this see section 2.5.5.), conditions for family reunification, or political rights. One of the things to be observed is immigrants' participation in the political system of the receiving state. In the case of the Czech Republic, immigrant participation in the political system is, with one exception, almost non-existent. There are no immigrants (persons of foreign origin) in the upper, or the lower chamber of the Parliament, nor are any immigrants visible in the national or regional political arena. The one and only exception is a women minister of Kazakh origin who was appointed to the Czech government in 2006 to deal with human rights and national minorities issues. However, her appointment can be seen rather as a symbolic gesture as her position within the government is weak. In general, the participation of immigrants within the Czech political system is insufficient also because, for example, there is no possibility for immigrants to vote or to be elected within elections at a regional level (see more part 2.8).

The cultural dimension of integration can be best observed through empirical research concerned with immigrants' lifestyles, attitudes, and values. Concerning the integration indicators, however, there are two basic characteristics that can tell us more about immigrants' adaptation level in the socio-cultural sphere of the Czech society. Higher criminality can be seen as a sign of not accepting basic society norms and rules (Entzinger, Biezeveld 2003, Doornik 1998). Moreover, it is a characteristic that is usually closely followed by majority society. The share of foreigners among convicted persons (in 2006) was higher (5.8 %) than their share of total population in general (3.1%). It could thus be seen as a negative aspect of their integration (Cizinci 2007). However, the number of convicted immigrants has been quite stable during the last several years (between 3,000 and 4,000), although the number of immigrants in general has significantly been growing.

About a third of all convicted foreigners in 2006 were Slovak citizens, although their share of the foreign population was around 18%. Ukrainian citizens represented a quarter of convicted foreigners, which was, however, less than their share of foreigners in the given year (32%). Among the other most numerous groups of convicted foreigners were Vietnamese (389 persons), Poles (190 persons), Russians (140 persons), and also Romanians, who represented 3.1% of all convicted foreigners compared with their 0.9% participation in the foreign population (Cizinci 2007). Most persons were convicted for larceny – 21.7% of convicted Czechs and 22.5% of convicted foreigners (Cizinci 2007). Then, the types of crime do differ. Czech nationals were convicted mostly for credit frauds (13%), evasions of alimony payments (11.2%), or frustrating executions of official decisions (8%). Foreigners were convicted mostly for frustrating executions of official decisions (23%), forging and altering a public document (5.7%) and robbery (3.9 %). Furthermore, foreigners were more often convicted for infringement of rights to trademarks, commercial names and protected designations of origin, and infringements of copyright (3.5 % compared with 0.3% of Czechs), which is a problem specifically tied to stall trade, usually run by Vietnamese trade licence holders.

Demographic behaviour of immigrant population (fertility rates, abortions or births outside marriage) is also considered as a possible indicator of cultural integration. However, its interpretation is ambiguous (Courbage 2003, Barou 2001, Bretz, Cagiano de Azevedo 1992). Concerning the share of live births outside marriage, in 2006 33% of children born with Czech citizenship were born outside marriage, compared to 39% of newborns with foreign citizenship. The highest shares of newborns outside marriage were registered by children with Slovak (52%), Polish (44%), Chinese (44%) or Vietnamese (44%) citizenship (Demographic Yearbook 2007). From these rough, however sometimes striking, numbers we can assume that foreigners do adapt to certain aspects of demographic behaviour of the Czech majority population – which are not usual in their countries of origin.

An important sign of cultural integration is the knowledge of the receiving state's language (Entzinger, Biezeveld 2003, Fitzgerald 1998, EFNATIS 2001). Moreover, Czech language knowledge is one of the key integration targets set by the Updated Concept of Immigrant Integration. However, there are no general data mapping Czech language competencies among immigrants.

Mixed marriages can be considered as an indicator lying on the borderline between cultural and social integration (Coussey, Christensen 1998, Doomernik 1998). In 2006, 8% of contracted marriages were composed of a Czech and foreign partner (mixed marriages). Since 1995, the share of mixed marriages has been slightly increasing. Composition of a mixed marriage is more often of a Czech woman and a foreign man, although the share of Czech women has been decreasing in time. Due to common history, mixed marriages with Slovak citizens are the most numerous (Morávková 2008). As Morávková analysed the period 1995-2006, she found that foreign wives of Czech men were most often from “eastern” countries - Ukraine, Slovakia, Vietnam, or Russia. On the other hand, the structure of husbands of Czech women was more variable with an important share of “western” countries such as Germany, Great Britain, USA or Austria.

As for other indicators of social integration (e.g. inter-ethnic relations, participation on social life⁴¹), as well as for indicators describing identificational dimension of the integration process, no background data was available.

Integration outcomes - Monitoring Report

In 2002, a synthesis report⁴² of the Ministry of the Interior (Monitoring 2002) was written which gathered information from monitoring reports prepared by district advisory boards for integration of foreigners. The most important conclusions of the report concerning integration outcomes can be summarized as follows:

- Relations between foreigners and Czech nationals are thought to be “ordinary,” with no significant or long-term tensions. In general, Czech nationals do tolerate and accept foreigners. Serious religious intolerance was not noticed. However, it was argued that the real level of cultural or religious tolerance of Czech citizens is rather low (see more section 3.1.).

⁴¹ A part of immigrants' social lives take place within various ethnic or non-governmental organizations. For more on this issue see Annex 3.

⁴² Interestingly, this report, in contrast to the current situation, was heavily influenced by a multicultural approach to integration matters which influenced Czech integration policy at that time (see Baršová, Barša 2005) as for example the emphasis was put to foreign communities, not foreigners as individuals.

- In general, foreigners' adaptation to the requirements of Czech majority society is thought to be almost without problems.
- Czech nationals have a tendency to classify foreigners into different groups with some groups (originating from countries with similar cultural background) being better received than others (Arab and Asian communities are especially more negatively received). Some communities are thought to be more united and closed (especially Vietnamese, and partly also Ukrainians and Poles).
- The main obstacles for developing inter-community relations are thought to be a language barrier and differences in culture or mentality of foreigners.
- Information from border districts suggests that relations between Czechs and foreigners are positively influenced by the fact that local Czech citizens have direct profitable economic relations with foreigners (e.g., renting of apartments and non-residential premises, babysitting, employing foreigners in Czech companies and vice-versa).
- Most district advisory boards did not notice any major signs of racism, xenophobia or discrimination. However, if any signs of discrimination were found they were usually tied to worse access to employment, housing, social benefits, or health care.
- The role of the media in creating the image of foreigners is criticised. Objective information on foreigners and their countries of origin is thought to be lacking.
- No political participation of foreigners was noticed.
- The quality of foreigners' housing is diverse.
- Foreigners have problems finding employment according to their qualifications.
- No cultural, social or sport events dedicated specifically to foreigners were organised by district or local authorities, events were usually organised for all inhabitants (foreigners included).
- Cultural events prepared by foreigners to present their cultural traditions and habits were hardly anywhere noticed.

From the conclusions above it seems that the preferable mode of immigrants' integration (as perceived by Czech nationals) is their assimilation to Czech majority society, as cultural or religious differences are not desirable (cf. section 3.1.). On the other hand, district or local authorities did not support the assimilation process by any special means. The activity lied more or less on immigrants themselves and their abilities to adapt. However, we have to bear in mind that the report might be a bit outdated. Since then, the share of foreigners, and especially of those "more culturally distant" has increased, which might change not only integration conditions, but also its outcomes.

Integration Outcomes - Empirical Studies

Empirical research of immigrant integration is of limited scope in the Czech Republic. It is rather problematic to study immigrant integration in the Czech Republic since migration of many foreigners is temporary and/or circulatory in character. It springs from the fact that their migration takes place within a still rather immature stage of a migration cycle (beginning of the S-curve describing a shift from short-term to permanent migration movements, i.e., settlement of migrants in a host society).

Nevertheless, there are several studies dealing with the integration of immigrants. These studies often focus on non-representative samples of selected ethnic immigrant groups while using mostly qualitative approaches. Very often, only partial aspects of the integration process are being tackled (e.g., economic integration, family reunion issues, and educational

successes). In line with the growing numbers of immigrants and the increasing length of their stay in the Czech Republic, as well as in harmony with paying more attention to migration issues by governmental and non-governmental bodies, research into immigrants' integration issues has only recently become more frequent.

The most studied groups are probably Ukrainians and Vietnamese (e.g. Drbohlav, Ezzeddine-Lukšíková 2004, Drbohlav, Černík, Dzúrová 2005, Drbohlav, Dzúrová 2007, Leontiyeva 2006, Janská 2007). However, other ethnic groups have been partially studied, too (see more for example in Bareš 2008, Uherek, Černík 2004 or Uherek 2003b).

Due to the aforementioned reasons it is almost impossible to draw any general conclusions concerning immigrant integration. On top of this fact, generalisation is problematic even for one ethnic group, since the behaviour of their members might differ – being significantly influenced by, for example, their socio-economic status (i.e. Russians in the Czech Republic as described in Drbohlav, Janská 2004).

However, it seems that ethnic/national origin is a very important variable influencing the character of the integration process (e.g., Drbohlav, Ezzeddine-Lukšíková 2004, Drbohlav, Dzúrová 2007, Přístup 2007). What is crucial is that it seems as though successful inclusion in Czech society is connected to the assimilation mode of integration (Drbohlav, Ezzeddine-Lukšíková 2004, Drbohlav, Dzúrová 2007, Drbohlav, Černík, Dzúrová 2005, Uherek 2003b or Monitoring 2002).

2.6.2. Economic Impacts of Migration

As Janská, Drbohlav (2008a, p. 64) clearly stipulate: “Despite current economic success (traditionally measured via GDP growth), the Czech Republic faces a number of serious problems that threaten its competitiveness and social cohesion in the long term. Among other problems, there is a lack of “organizational”, occupational and geographical flexibility, the need to improve the whole educational system and system of social subsidies, high taxes on labour, in general, and income, in particular; a small difference between the legal minimum wage and unemployment benefits, underdeveloped pension and life-long-learning systems. Crucially, these produce together a mismatch between labour-market demand and domestic labour supply. Also, the communist-era practice of not declaring work still complicates current economic performance”. All these factors contribute to the attractiveness of the Czech labour market for both legal and irregular/illegal migrants.

As for the immigrants' economic impact, however, very limited data is available and little is known. Both primary statistical sources and secondary sources (like analytical studies) that would shed light on immigrants' economic impact upon Czech society are lacking. Thus, so far there has been insufficient data regarding, for example, foreigners' salaries, savings, remittances, taxes, social-security payments, investment strategies, etc. (see Drbohlav 2004).

We can argue without any doubts that economically motivated foreign immigration helps to propel “motors” of the Czech economy in the most important regions – in Prague and other urbanized areas. In Prague there is, due to many developmental activities but also because of a lack of the respective domestic labour force, permanent and continued demand for a foreign labour force. In other words, migration to Prague and other economic centres of the Czech Republic has been favoured by an entrepreneurial climate and higher wages (Drbohlav 2004, Cizinci 2006). Prague, as the most important economic centre, leads other regions with by far

the highest GDP per capita (143% of the EU-25 in 2005; in other 7 NUTS2 regions the GDP ranged only between 56 and 66% - see Janská, Drbohlav 2008a) and the lowest unemployment rate. This fact is, of course, reflected in a strong concentration of immigrants (32.9% of all legally staying immigrants in the country, and even 37.2 % of holders of visa for more than 90 days and long-term residence permits – mostly economic migrants in 2007). One can expect that, besides legally-staying immigrants, Prague attracts many others who are in irregular/illegal positions.

Unsurprisingly but importantly, economically-motivated migration grows as unemployment falls and vice versa (see studies chiefly at district levels applying mostly correlation or regression analyses - more in Drbohlav 2004, Cizinci 2006 or Horáková 2006). This shows us that labour migrants supplement rather than compete with Czechs on the labour market, since they mostly take unattractive but necessary jobs that are poorly paid. It seems that the same patterns may be typical of irregular immigrants, too. Moreover, foreigners tend to supply the Czech labour market with very important “spatial flexibility”⁴³ (rates of internal migration in among foreigners were almost twice as high as among Czech citizens – see part 2.3.5.).

As indicated above, immigrants from Central/Eastern Europe or from third world countries are mostly active in poorly-qualified, manual jobs throughout many sectors of the economy (see details in e.g. Leontiyeva, Vojtková 2007 or Rákoczyová et al. 2007). There are also mostly highly qualified immigrants coming from the rich western world. They occupy intellectually demanding and highly paid jobs. Their numbers are, however, much lower as compared to those who come from “the East”. A major group within the foreign labour force is formed by foreigners in employment (currently three times more than foreigners who are involved in doing business). Foreign workers in the Czech Republic are mainly employed in construction, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trading as well as real estate, renting and business activities. All these activities have risen markedly since 2004. As compared to Czech workers, foreigners are relatively more often employed in manufacturing, construction and wholesale and retail trade as well as real estate, renting and business activities (Janská, Drbohlav 2008a). All these trends are presented in table 23 and Annex 2.

Regarding remittances in the Czech Republic, Czech banks do not publish any individual data, only an overall balance of payments. The data tell us that, for example, in 2003, remittances represented US \$500 million, which was a fifth of the amount for Poland and a third of that for the Russian Federation (Janská, Drbohlav 2008a). According to the latest data published by the World Bank, the inward remittance flows increased to US \$1,300 million in 2007 (Migration 2008). Data for money outflow from the Czech Republic (earned by foreigners who stay in the country) are also included in the World Bank publication - outward remittances flows have permanently been growing – from US \$605 million in 2000 to US \$2,831 million in 2006 (see in this context more conservative estimates of Janská, Drbohlav 2008a based on the Czech national balance of payments in 2005).

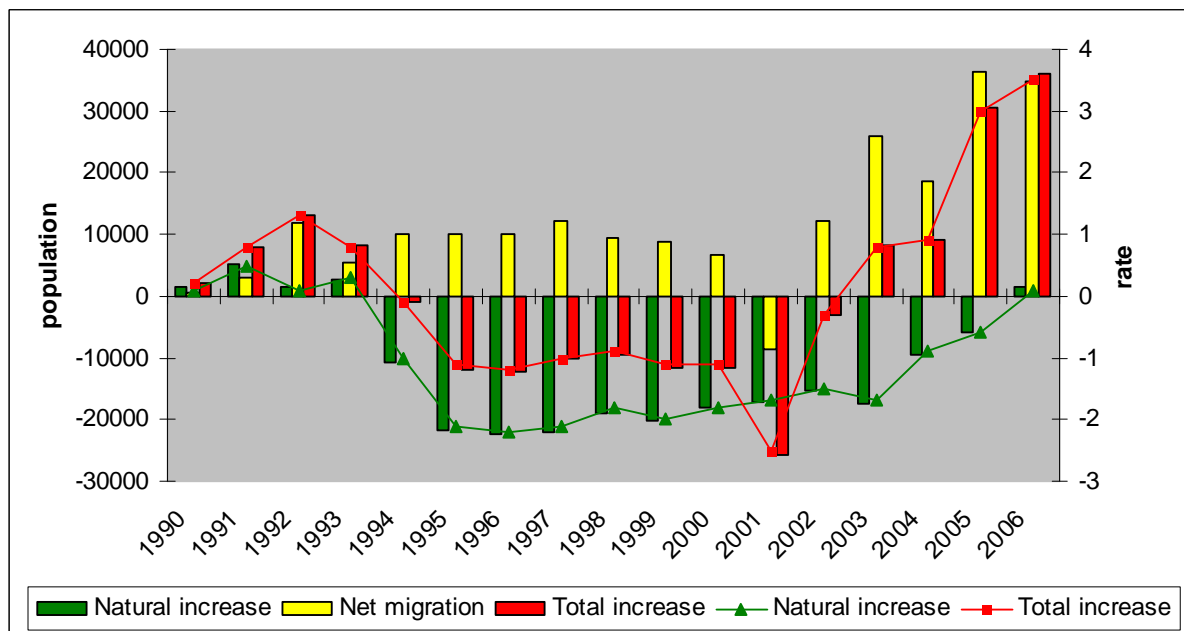
2.6.3. Socio-Demographic Impacts of Migration

Immigration has influenced the demographic profile of the Czech Republic, but rather in terms of the overall numbers than in structural parameters. The most significant impact is tied to the size of population. The Czech Republic experienced a natural decrease between 1994

⁴³ It contrasts with the fact that “internal migration by people moving to work is very low in the Czech Republic compared to other developed countries. Moreover, in the course of the 1990s, during ongoing transformation, it further decreased” (Lux et al. 2006 and see also Čermák 2004).

and 2005 and, only thanks to immigration, the decrease was lower (see chapter 2.4.1.). Between 2003 and 2005 immigration saturated the natural increase and therefore there was apparent population growth (see figure 11). Burcin, Kučera and Drbohlav (2007) assert that the current volume of immigration is sufficient only for preservation of the population size: it cannot at all solve the problem of population ageing.

Figure 11. Changes of population figures in the Czech Republic 1990-2006: migration and natural changes

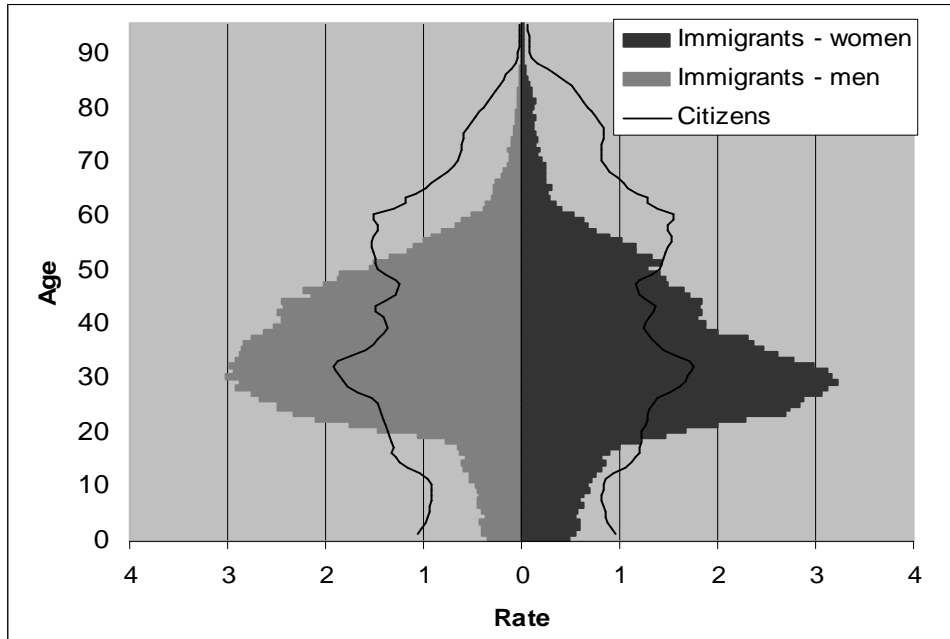


Source: Obyvatelstvo 2008.

Immigrants in the Czech Republic have a different age and gender structure. Nevertheless, their impact on total population is not significant. In 2006, 84% of immigrants were of an economically active age. The share of immigrants of children's ages was 12% and, in post-productive ages, it was 4% (see figure 12). Although the average age of immigrants (34.7 years) is lower than that of majority (40.2 years), immigrants do not influence the overall age structure.

The gender structure of immigrants is not proportional. Women now comprise 40% of immigrants. Since the 1990s there has been a small increase of share of women (from 2000 by about 3% points). The gender structure differs according to country of origin and type of residence. The lowest share of women is among Italians, Germans, Austrians and British. On the other side, the predominance of women is among Russians, Kazakhs and Belarusians.

Figure 12. Age Pyramid of Immigrants in the Czech Republic, 2006 (as of December 31)



Source: Foreigners 2008e.

Foreigners' share of natural reproduction in the Czech Republic is rather low. As of yet, migrants have only sporadically been contributing to the overall birth rate in Czech Republic. Every year about 1,700 children are born to foreigners, representing 1.6% of all newborns. The total fertility rate of foreign females is a mere 0.6 children per woman, which is less than half as compared to the overall value for the Czech Republic (1.4). Among the largest groups of immigrants, only female immigrants from Vietnam have a slightly higher fertility rate (0.7). All groups of foreigners in the Czech Republic have lower total fertility rates than are standard in their countries of origin (Pospíšilová 2007). However, it is necessary to point out that birth statistics of immigrants may be influenced by legislation because children who have a Czech parent are granted Czech citizenship. Therefore children with only one foreign parent might be registered as Czechs.

Due to migrants' age structure, the mortality rate of migrants is low: only about 200 foreigners die in a year.

Foreigners conclude approximately 5,000, mostly mixed (exogamous), marriages per year in the Czech Republic. The crude marriage rate of foreigners in 2006 was 7.9‰ (compared to 5‰ for the majority population), however this indicator is influenced by a different age structure of foreigners.

The presence of immigrants also projects into a total criminality rate in the Czech Republic. The number of convicted immigrants has been stable since 1993 and it makes up about 6% of all convicted persons in the Czech Republic, though the number of immigrants has been growing significantly.

Immigrants are involved in organized crime, while mostly being organized from abroad (Cejp 2008). These groups came to the Czech Republic from Ukraine, Vietnam, China, Russia and Albania. In 2006, high-ranking representatives of Russian, Ukrainian and Caucasian groups met several times in the Czech Republic and in Moscow to negotiate the division of territories

and spheres of their activities and the establishment of a single authority (so-called “vora v zakone”) for the Prague region and the whole Czech Republic. The submission of all of them to a single authority can be expected to increase their strength, profits and readiness for action, and thus also the threat they represent for the security and internal order in the Czech Republic (Výroční 2007).

Some Vietnamese immigrants are involved in smuggling, illegal migration movements, the drug business, tax fraud and illegal economic activities like, for example, customs deceptions, falsification of goods (clothes, CDs/DVDs, cigarettes) (see Cejp 2008).

Some Ukrainian groups have specialized in blackmailing, racketeering, prostitution, business with women, violent criminal offences against persons and crimes against property (Cejp 2008). Ukrainians are also well known via their specific informal system of labour organization – the so-called “client system”. Nekorjak (2005) describes it as a system consisting of four main types of participants (immigrants, middlemen/clients, employers and organized crime) that form two hierarchically organized levels (so called subsystems). The first level is based on relations between immigrants-workers and middlemen/clients, while employers are only intervening to these relations. The second subsystem represents a “super-structure” of the first level and it is grounded on relations between middlemen/clients and organized crime. Both subsystems differ from each other not only in terms of their participants, but also their origins and functioning.

2.6.4. Other Impacts of Migration

Mainly due to the great share of “circulators“ among foreigners and, because only a short time has elapsed since large-scale immigration has started, some “typical” migratory features have not yet developed (Drbohlav 2004). For example, ethnic minorities have not created very significant areas of concentration within cities or regions so far. However, several exceptions can be found - along with the Russian community in Karlovy Vary, one can also mention more visible Vietnamese concentration in several small towns and villages chiefly along the Czech-German border, a firmly established well-off community of “Western” immigrants in the Prague district of Nebušice, a newly created Mongolian community in a town of Blansko and several others. All these examples represent important manifestations of a new and distinctive socio-cultural milieu that was brought to the country.

Still, not many important ethnic social or political structures have evolved which would organize the life of new immigrants in the country. Accordingly, the cultural contributions, demographic changes, social structure changes, and the like, related to immigrants and their impact upon Czech society, is rather small. There is no nation-wide immigrant influence over these issues (Drbohlav 2004).

In the future, when more immigrants come and settle in the country, there are good reasons to suppose that they will have more important impacts upon various structures of Czech society. One could expect that the contours of such changes may follow patterns well known currently in Western Europe.

2.7. Political Participation of Foreigners

Only Czech citizens are allowed to vote in parliament elections and to the regional chambers. The right to vote in elections for local municipalities and the European Parliament is granted

only to EU country nationals settled in the territory of the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, the third country nationals can hypothetically vote in the Czech Republic, providing a bilateral agreement between the Czech Republic and the relevant foreign country on electoral issues has been signed. (The paragraph stating the priority of international agreements in the Czech electoral law was implemented as a consequence of the EU integration). Governmental materials on the implementation of the Concept of Immigrant Integration mention a possibility of foreigners' participation in local elections as regular voters in the near future. Also, foreigners are not allowed to join political parties in the Czech Republic. The majority of constitutional functions are not granted to foreigners, with the exceptions of governmental positions (such as minister, vice prime minister or prime minister). Foreigners cannot become policemen or army officers, but they can be a volunteer for military service after an agreement of the president of the Czech Republic. Moreover, foreigners cannot serve in positions in the public administration such as forester, fisher, or nature guards.

In the realm of governmental policy, collective forms of political participation such as special councils at municipalities appear as a more plausible alternative. But the right to vote remains an open issue whose debate will be sparked by the larger European discussion. Regarding the holding of functions in the public administration, it is necessary to make serious decisions – but just the simple existence of the possibility of holding public functions could be an important element of integration.

3. Topical Issues in Central and Eastern Europe

3.1. Perception of Foreigners/Immigrants by the Czech Majority Population

Xenophobia, very simply expressed as a fear of strangers, “has always been a part of human psyche and lends itself to various levels of analysis” (Bolaffi et al. 2003, p. 331). Studying this process is important in terms of both basic and applied research. Regarding the latter, for example, one cannot for many reasons ignore *vox populi* when designing migration policies. There is another specific reason why dealing with the public majority’s attitudes towards foreigners/immigrants in Central/Eastern Europe, including the Czech Republic is important. It is the world where almost all normal/standard international contacts, including international migration movements, were interrupted for more than 40 years. Thus, not so much is known and any new knowledge in this field is more than welcome.

The chapter introduces results of selected public opinion polls in which attitudes of the Czech majority towards selected ethnic/national immigrant groups were measured from various perspectives. If possible, results of mutually compatible surveys are presented over time. Within this chapter we deal with data of monthly opinion polls (omnibus-like polls) of the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. It is a prestigious and reliable centre that has conducted opinion polls under the umbrella of the Institute of Sociology (until 2001 it was similarly closely tied to the Czech Statistical Office). Moreover, it is the only institution that has monitored the situation in the field of the public majority’s perception of foreigners/migrants for a long time. Some topics have been covered regularly every year. A longitudinal approach might thus be applied. What is also important is that the Centre has its own network of interviewers throughout the country and samples are, to a large extent, “representative,” since a quota sampling method is applied (quota characteristics are mostly age, sex and educational level; usually more than 1,000 respondents older than 15 years spread throughout the country are contacted).

Despite not having space to elaborate more extensively on theories (it would go beyond the scope of this report), we touch on two of them: the contact hypothesis (e.g. Allport 1954) and the culture-distance hypothesis (e.g. Ward, Bochner, Furnham 2001). In a simplified way, the former one suggests: “that as majority group members come into contact with other minorities, they will be progressively less likely to hold prejudicial attitudes towards them. By exposing majority group members to new information about minority groups, contact helps majority group members question negative stereotypes and develop more favourable views on minority groups” (Wood, Landry 2008, p. 107). Supporters of the latter believe that the greater the perceived gap between cultures, the more problems can be expected when crossing cultural boundaries.

3.1.1. Overview of Results of Selected Public Opinion Polls

This section draws mainly on aggregate public opinion polls data, where the Czech majority’s attitudes towards foreigners and, in fact, on the whole immigration issue were ascertained. We also make use of standard brief research outcomes that are published after any public opinion poll has been carried out⁴⁴. As a matter of fact, these outcomes usually provide very basic data and its interpretation.

⁴⁴ One can get them also via the respective web site - see <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/>

We present various topics tied to the majority population’s perception of immigrants and their integration. Some data enables us to compare the situation over time. In this regard one can mention, for example, the following topics: tolerance towards people of a different colour (1995-2008), national and racial intolerance (the 1990s), relationship towards other selected nationalities: different lists of representatives of selected countries (by citizenship) – (a) the 1990s and 2003 and 2006, (b) 2003-2007, foreigners’ adjustment to Czech living style/culture (2003-2008)⁴⁵.

First of all, we should point out how important the “foreigners issue” is among other societal issues within Czech population and Czech society. One can use results of public opinion polls that mapped the tolerance of Czech society towards various social sub-groups (the question was: “Who should not be your neighbour?”). The “foreigners issue”, thus, could be substituted by one of the listed sub-groups - “people of different colour”. Out of 14 offered areas the tolerance of “people of different colour” occupied the 6th least “popular” position, being outstripped by drug addicted people, alcoholics, people with a criminal history, the mentally ill and homosexuals. On the other hand, people having different political opinions, seniors and young people were, in terms of would-be neighbours, tolerated the most. Moreover, this order of importance is very stable over time (since 2003) and, in fact, has not been changed (Češi 2008).

A rather unique possibility to compare the evolving tolerance of Czech society brings table 25, where the tolerance towards people of different colours has been measured since 1995.

Table 25. Tolerance towards people of different colour, 1995-2008 (in %)

Time	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2003	2005	2007	2008
Tolerance	42	37	49	49	50	43	52	55	59	57

Source: Češi 2008.

Note: The question was: “In your opinion, are people in the Czech Republic tolerant to people of different colour?” The figures represent positive answers to “very tolerant” plus “rather tolerant”.

As seen from the table 25, people think that the tolerance of Czech society towards people of different colour ranges between 40% and 60% while it has generally been increasing over time. However, the trend is not linear and one can see important drop-offs in 1996 and 2000 and, to some extent, also in 2008. This trend of increasing tolerance among Czechs towards people of different colour is in harmony with the general tendency – “... tolerance of inhabitants of the Czech Republic has been increasing in the long-term perspective ...” (Češi 2008, p. 3-4).

Similarly, but not identically, the situation is mapped by other opinion polls (or rather a question within opinion polls) that were carried out between 1991 and 1997 (once in a year). The analysed question tackles the personal grudge of Czechs against other races (Annex 4). Accordingly, personal grudges held by Czechs against other people because of their nationality were mapped (Annex 5). The perceived “tolerance” is slightly higher concerning people of different races vis-à-vis different nationality. Nevertheless, also in this case the trend of increasing tolerance of the Czech population has been confirmed (1991 versus 1997).

⁴⁵ Such a comparison is burdened with several shortcomings: for example, the change of the scale through which the relationship is measured in time (from 5 to 7 levels), or, the change of formulation of the basic question – e.g., the wording shift from “relationship” to “sympathy”.

“Tolerance,” as it is perceived by Czechs towards foreigners/immigrants, is different depending on national/ethnic background of those who are “evaluated” (see table 26).

Table 26. Good/bad attitude of Czechs towards selected ethnicities/nationalities – population of the Czech Republic, 1991-2001 (in %)

Relation to/Time	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Slovaks	58/10	59/9	62/8	65/7	66/5	69/5	70/4	74/4	77/2	71/3	74/3
Poles	35/19	23/25	39/12	37/11	39/8	43/7	48/5	53/5	57/3	52/3	53/4
Germans	46/13	33/16	35/21	35/20	33/22	33/19	39/18	45/13	45/14	41/16	42/16
Jews	36/5	35/4	33/7	36/7	34/6	35/5	37/5	43/5	43/5	36/6	34/8
Vietnamese	-	-	13/39	14/33	9/39	12/41	20/28	24/26	21/29	18/34	18/32
Citizen of Balkan	-	-	12/40	10/36	10/33	9/44	12/41	11/44	9/48	11/44	9/45
Citizen of former USSR	-	-	-	-	11/36	11/44	13/43	10/50	9/55	11/46	12/45
Romas	4/70	4/77	3/77	5/68	5/69	5/69	7/62	12/52	9/55	8/61	8/60

Source: O vztahu 2001.

Question: “How would you characterize your relationship to the following population groups that live in the Czech Republic ...?” Respondents could choose one of the following categories: very good, rather good, not good - not bad, rather bad, very bad.

Note: The first figure represents „very good“ plus „rather good“ attitudes, the second one „very bad“ plus „rather bad“ attitudes.

Permanently, the Czech public has the most positive attitude towards Slovaks, thereby the common life in one state for more than 70 years, as well as cultural and language proximity, are logically reflected. Cultural proximity materialized via a Slavic background probably supports Czech sympathy to Poles. Out of selected nationalities, Germans and Jews follow, nevertheless, their “popularity” (positive attitudes) decreases and falls below 50%. Negative evaluation is preferred to a positive one in the case of Vietnamese, and a clear negative attitude is linked with citizens of the Balkans (possibly because of the fact that their activities are, in respondents’ eyes, often related to various kinds of criminality), citizens of countries of the former Soviet Union (by the way, the occupation in 1968 has never been forgotten) and Roma (very different style of living that is incompatible with what the majority practises and is used to). As for the development of the given attitudes over time, generally, one can see an improvement of the situation (see mainly Slovaks, Poles and Vietnamese), however, not in relation to all of the given ethnicities/nationalities. Moreover, if there is improvement, it is not at all linear in its character. Regarding many groups, one can notice a rather important drop in 1999.

Annex 6 shows more or less similar results for December 2006. However, this time the question as such and the method of getting data were, to some extent, different (see Annex 6). “Popularity/unpopularity” stays more or less the same (see also Občané 2007). It seems, however, that measured via this survey, the negative attitude towards Roma was deepened. On the other hand, attitudes towards citizens of the Balkans and those from countries of the former Soviet Union were partly improved. (Despite this fact, these two groups are those which are, besides Roma, the most unpopular among Czechs).

Attitudes of the Czech majority population towards foreigners also differ depending on type/form, purpose of migration and thus, also on its length (see results of the survey from May 2007 – Annex 7). The most favourable attitude is tied to students/trainees, to those who come because of family reunification and also to asylum seekers and those who come on

humanitarian grounds. Settlement and economic migrants are not warmly welcome as they are perceived more negatively.

When analysing attitudes towards foreigners who are to permanently settle in the country, the reaction of Czechs is more cautious (Annex 8). Nevertheless, between 2005 (February) and 2008 (March) one can see an obvious shift towards more tolerant, liberal positions.

In contrast to permanent immigrants, attitudes of the Czech population towards long-term immigrants are relatively tolerant (albeit respondents ask for a “special regime tied to specific conditions”) and, with one exception (regarding those who could stay without any limits) have been liberalizing (between 2003 May and 2008 March – see Annex 9).

Another possible perspective through which the domestic population perceives foreigners and their activities concerns a level of adjustment to a style of living that is practised by the host majority society. Thus, an integration model that would be preferred by the Czech population might be indirectly tested. In 2008, more than two thirds of the Czech population would support a very strong adjustment of foreigners to Czech majority society. On the other hand, only 4% would allow foreigners to fully live according to their ways, conventions and habits in conformity with their original culture. To sum up, a majority of the Czech population tends to stick to assimilationist approaches. By contrast, supporters of an “orthodox multiculturalism” represent a marginal segment of the population. Whereas between 2003 and 2006 the whole picture was relatively stable, a partial weakening of assimilation approaches occurred in 2007. This, however, was followed by an even more pronounced strengthening of this assimilationist trend in 2008 (see table 27).

Table 27. Attitudes of the Czech population towards foreigners’ adjustment to Czech living style, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008 (in %)

Adjustment/Time	2003	2005	2006	2007	2008
Foreigners in the Czech Republic should adjust to Czech living style as much as possible	56	59	58	53	68
Foreigners in the Czech Republic should partly adjust to Czech living style	34	35	34	40	27
Foreigners in the Czech Republic should have a possibility to fully live according to their living style	6	4	6	4	4
He/she does not know	4	2	2	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Postoje 2008.

Question: “According to your opinion, should foreigners living in the Czech Republic adjust to Czech living style as much as possible, or should they partly adjust to Czech living style or should they have a possibility to fully live according to their living style?”

Notes: The surveys were carried out in May 2003, February 2005, December 2006, May 2007 and March 2008.

Furthermore, more than half of the majority population sees recent immigrants as a problem for the Czech Republic (see table 28). However, when comparing 2008 with 2003 and 2005, one can find a more positive development – an increase in the size of the population which thinks that foreigners do not pose a problem for the Czech Republic. As the outcome of the respective opinion poll puts it, “it again corresponds with the overall trend of a continuing acceptance of a long-term or permanent presence of foreigners coming to the Czech Republic

from many different parts of the world. This tolerance grew after 1989 and, consequently, also after the Czech Republic joined the European Union” (Postoje 2008, p. 3).

Table 25 also shows us a difference in the public majority’s perception towards foreigners at two different regional-hierarchical levels. Whereas foreigners are mostly perceived as a problem at the country level, at a local level (in a place where respondents live) this negative perception is significantly lower. Thus, in harmony with the authors of the survey outcome, one can deduce that more negative attitudes within the whole Czech Republic are, to a large extent, caused not by personal but by mediated experience that is provided by mass media and usually is negatively coloured (Postoje 2008, p. 3-4). Whereas the given attitude has significantly and permanently been improved at a country level over time, at a local level (in respondents’ place of living) it has rather fluctuated.

Table 28. The Czech population and its opinion whether foreigners pose a problem for the country – by two hierarchical levels, 2003, 2005 and 2008 (in %)

Time	Within the whole Czech Republic			At a place of living		
	5/2003	2/2005	3/2008	5/2003	2/2005	3/2008
Foreigners who have recently come to the Czech Republic pose a problem for the country	73	61	58	23	29	26
Foreigners who have recently come to the Czech Republic do not pose a problem for the country	14	22	30	65	50	54
He/she dose not know, or, not a relevant question	13	17	12	12	21	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Postoje 2008.

Question: “Foreigners who have recently come to the Czech Republic, do they or do they not pose a problem a) within the whole Czech Republic, and b) at a place of your living?”

Note: The surveys were carried out in May 2003, February 2005 and March 2008.

The presented overall picture does not show us internal differences within the attitudes. In other words, the “final opinion” is composed of partial opinions of various individual subjects (or groups) that may be and, in fact, sometimes are very different. As various opinion polls carried out in the Czech Republic demonstrate, negative attitudes towards foreigners are more typical of those with basic education, of unemployed persons, pensioners, those with bad living standards (measured via a “subjective self-evaluation”), and sympathizers with the Communist Party. On the other hand, those with good living standards, businessmen, university-educated persons, believers, and voters for the Civic Democratic Party held generally statistically significant more pro-immigrant attitudes – see, e.g., Drbohlav 2004, Vztah 2007, Občané 2007.

3.1.2. Conclusions

The overview of the selected opinion polls results from the 1990s and 2000s showed us that, regarding Czech majority’s attitudes towards foreigners/immigrants and related issues of their integration, there is a sort of a general positive shift from less to more tolerant attitudes. Thus,

one can add that this development may, to some extent, be consistent with the contact hypothesis.

One can deduce from the results of the surveys that the whole issue of the Czech majority's perception of and attitudes towards foreigners/immigrants is a rather complex process influenced by many different variables. It has been confirmed that such an improvement is not linear and straight-lined at all. It may have different forms that cause results to deviate from the expected direction. It has been proved that attitudes/perceptions are not without contradictions while having many different and important conditionalities and nuances. Their depiction and explanation depend on "decomposing a complex reality". Only other sophisticated analyses taking into account a huge set of various important variables but also shortcomings springing from different methodical approaches could contribute to this task (obviously, it goes beyond the scope of this report).

Regarding the contradictions, it has been shown that a rather positive development of attitudes towards selected ethnic/national immigrant groups over time does not correspond to an increasing trend of pushing foreigners to a full adjustment to Czech culture/society (between 2006 and 2008 this share increased from 59.9% to 68.6%).

The culture-distance hypothesis can serve as another example of ambiguous results. For example, for a long time (since the beginning of the 1990s until recently) Vietnamese (having a very different culture from what is practised in the Czech Republic) were more popular than Post-Soviets among Czechs. Obviously, the negative perception of Post-Soviets, which springs from the occupation of the country in 1968, suppressed, at least for some time, potentially intervening "cultural factors".

On the other hand, what seems to be obvious and without any doubts, is that changes in attitudes/perceptions were significantly influenced and "disturbed" by drop-offs in 1999/2000 (at that time, "foreigners' popularity" in the Czech Republic significantly decreased) that came in the aftermath of the serious 1997/1998 economic and social problems hitting the whole society.

3.2. Case Study of the Capital City of Prague – Legal and Irregular Migrants

3.2.1. Legal Immigrants in the Capital City of Prague

The only goal of this chapter is to present basic spatial distribution of foreigners in Prague by municipal districts in 2007 as we received unique data that has never been used for describing foreigners' spatial distribution patterns within academic research and is not normally available to the public. We have to point out that this data has several shortcomings (see chapter 2.1), but generally for our purposes (distribution of foreigners) it is much more reliable than Census data. We limit ourselves to a basic description. Further analysis is needed, but it would go outside the scope of this report and hence will not be presented.

Our data on Prague's population originate from the Information System of Registration of Inhabitants (ISEO) which might be in the future transformed into a modern version of a population register. ISEO registers Czech citizens and foreigners (EU citizens and third country nationals) with a permanent residence permit, third country nationals with a residence visa for the period exceeding 90 days and with long-term residence permit, EU-citizens with a

temporary residence permit and foreigners who were granted asylum or subsidiary protection – in brief, all foreigners with visas/permits for more than 3 months. However, EU-citizens in general do not have the obligation to have a residence permit and hence, not all residing EU citizens are recorded here.

Generally, Prague and its surroundings represent the most attractive region of the Czech Republic not only for Czech nationals, but for immigrants and foreign visitors as well. As of December 31, 2007, the population of Prague (including foreigners) made up to 12% of the total population of the Czech Republic (Počty 2008). The concentration of foreigners (those staying longer than 3 months) to the capital city reached 33% of the total number of registered foreigners in the Czech Republic, which is much higher than concentration of domestic population (11%).

According to ISEO data, at the end of 2007 there were 1,258,062 inhabitants in the capital city of Prague, of which foreigners represented 10.2%. The most numerous groups of foreigners by citizenship came from countries east of the Czech Republic (see table 29) – Ukraine (46,832), Slovakia (17,637), Russia (12,444), Vietnam (7,785) and China (3,474). On the other hand, immigrants from “developed” countries (USA, Germany, Great Britain, or France) also represented a significant group of Prague’s foreign population. Citizens of these western states (with the exception of Germans) are known to be highly concentrated in the capital – for example 61% of legal long-term immigrants from USA, 63% of Britons, or even 67% of French resided in Prague. Russians living in the Czech Republic also had a high concentration in Prague (more than a half of them resided in the capital). Concerning the sex structure of foreigners in Prague, the overall share of men is about 59%, which is comparable to the proportion of men within the whole immigrant population of the Czech Republic. There are slight differences among the most numerous citizenship groups but men clearly represent a majority in all of them (with the exception of Russians).

Table 29. Foreigners in Prague, 2007 (as of December 31)

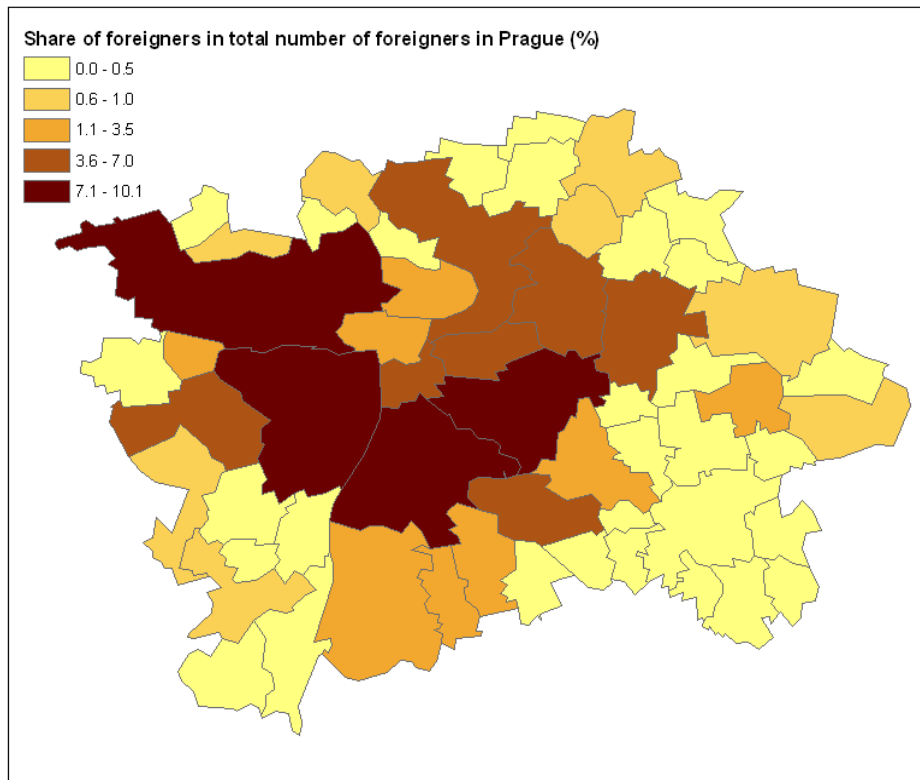
Citizenship	Number of foreigners	Share in total foreigners in Prague (%)	Number of men	Share of men in the given immigrant group (%)
Ukraine	46,832	46.8	28,199	60.2
Slovakia	17,637	17.6	9,856	55.9
Russia	12,443	12.4	5,927	47.6
Vietnam	7,785	7.8	4,413	56.7
China	3,473	3.5	1,945	56.0
USA	2,717	2.7	1,612	59.3
Germany	2,468	2.5	1,641	66.5
Moldova	2,464	2.5	1,567	63.6
Great Britain	2,364	2.4	1,789	75.7
Poland	2,048	2.0	1,161	56.7
Other foreigners	27,615	21.6	17,638	63.9
Total foreigners in Prague	127,846	100.0	75,748	59.2

Source of data: Information 2008.

The capital city of Prague is composed of 57 municipal districts (see figure 13) which are highly variable in size, population and urban structure. Some of them are composed of several

Municipal districts with the highest numbers of foreigners are typical inner city districts with rental apartment houses and housing estates (see figure 14). The immigrant groups which mainly reside in these districts are Ukrainians, Slovaks and Russians.

Figure 14. Share of foreigners in municipal districts in total number of foreigners in Prague, 2007 (as of December 31)

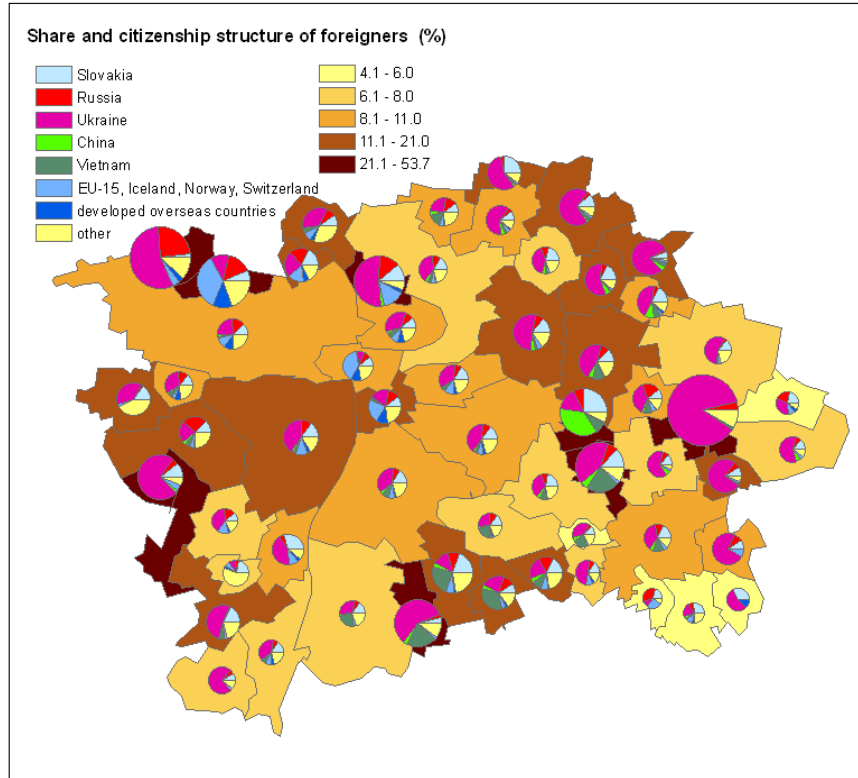


Source of data: Information 2008.

On the other hand, municipal districts with the highest shares of foreigners are of rather small population size and they are scattered throughout the whole city, while outer city zones seem to be the most important (see figure 15). These zones are chiefly composed of both large housing estates and small (detached) village-like houses (including dormitories for foreign workers). Municipal districts with the highest shares of foreigners are mostly of a lower social status, with Ukrainians highly dominating the ethnic structure of these districts. There are several exceptions to this pattern, namely the district of Nebušice (partly also Trója) in the north-western parts of the city. This is an area of high social status with rich foreigners from the “western world” residing there. Districts of Dolní Měcholupy, Libuš or Štěrboholy – composed mostly of large housing estates - are also characteristic of high shares of Vietnamese (and Chinese in Štěrboholy, indeed). The city centre (Praha 1, Praha 2) has quite surprisingly only about an average share of foreigners (coming mainly from EU-15/EEA, other developed countries and from various other countries of the world). However, one has to bear in mind that many EU citizens who are prone to residing in the city-center might not be included in the dataset.

Municipal districts with the lowest share of foreigners, as well as the smallest absolute numbers, are chiefly village-type districts of small population size located on the borders of Prague (e.g. Benice, Nedvězí, Křeslice).

Figure 15. Prague municipal districts by share of foreigners in population, 2007 (as of December 31)

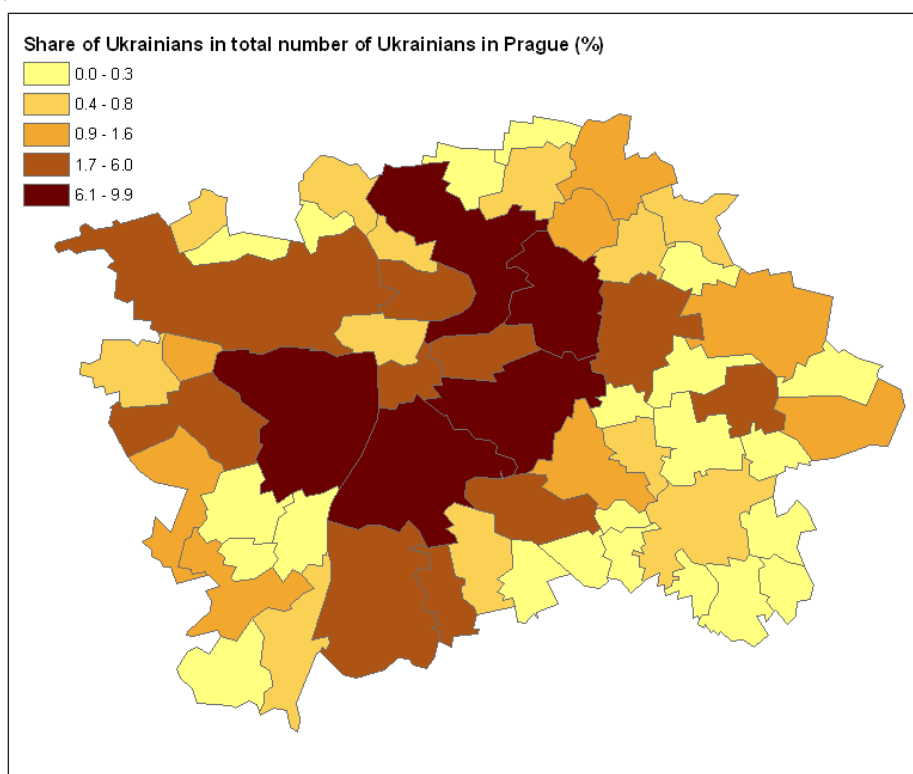


Source of data: Information 2008.

Looking closely at spatial distribution patterns of the most important immigrant groups⁴⁶, we can conclude that Ukrainians’ distribution in Prague creates a sort of a ring in the inner city (see figure 16) residing in an “average” urban city structure. Russians mostly follow the given pattern, with one important exception – more than 11% of them live in the district of Praha 6 which is considered to be a district typical of high status housing and living (figure 17).

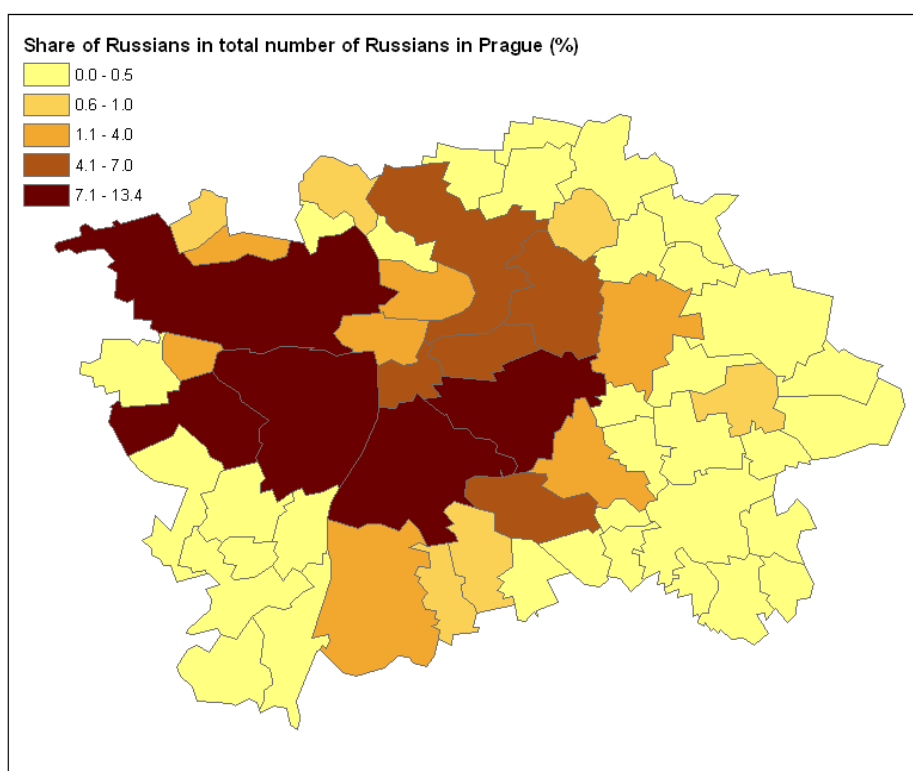
⁴⁶ Note that the scales used in figure 16 – figure 22 differ due to different distribution of the given immigrant groups.

Figure 16. Share of Ukrainians in municipal districts in total number of Ukrainians in Prague (%), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Information 2008.

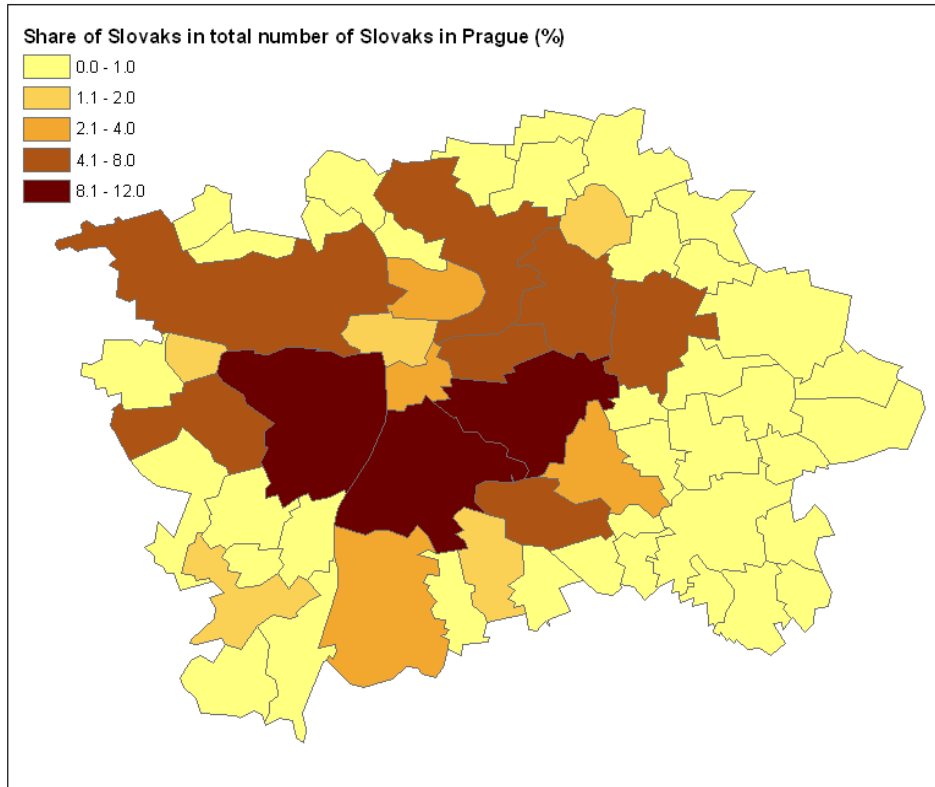
Figure 17. Share of Russians in municipal districts in total number of Russians in Prague (%), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Information 2008.

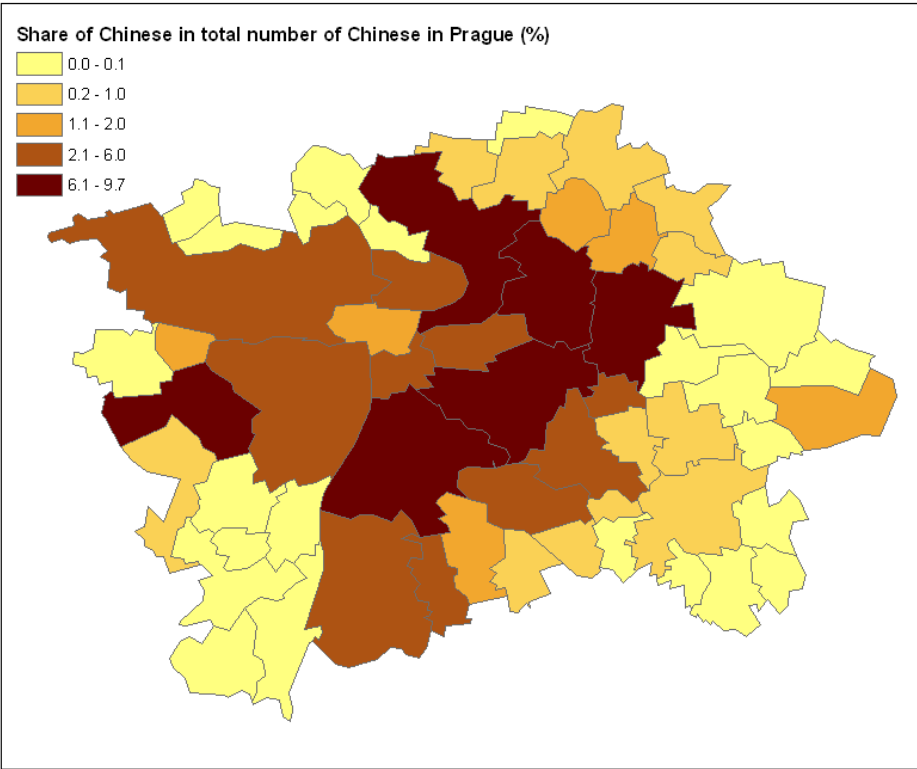
Slovak immigrants are more spread throughout the city, but also more concentrated in the inner city ring (see figure 18). The same can be said about spatial patterns of Chinese (see figure 19).

Figure 18. Share of Slovaks in municipal districts in total number of Slovaks in Prague (%), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Information 2008.

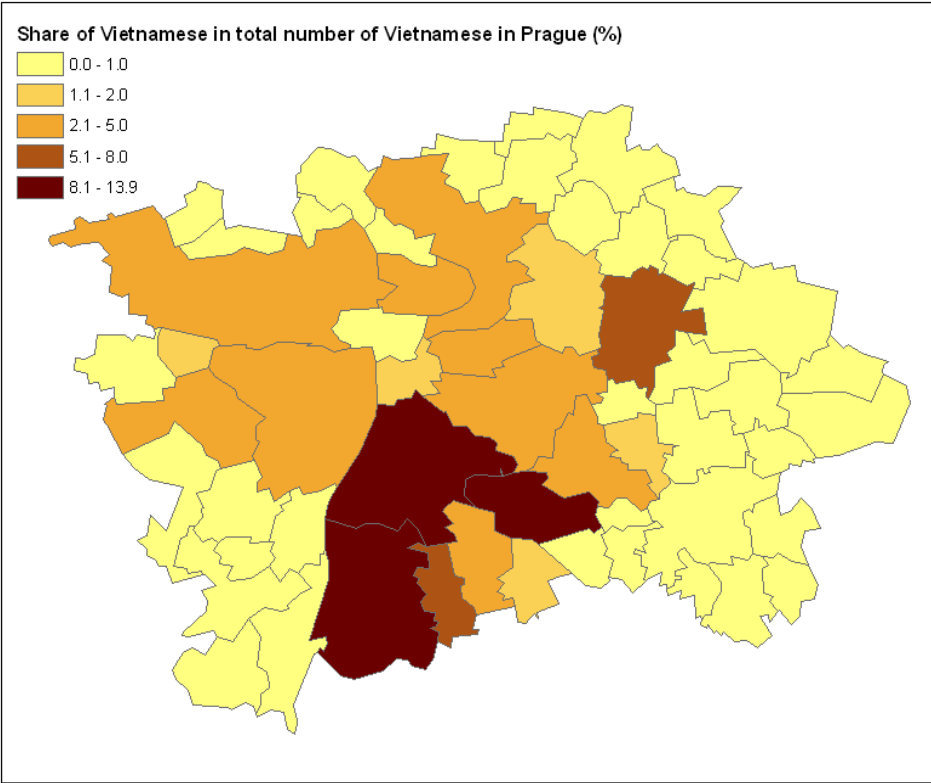
Figure 19. Share of Chinese in municipal districts in total number of Chinese in Prague (%), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Information 2008.

Quite to the contrary, Vietnamese immigrants tend to concentrate in southern parts of the city (see figure 20), especially in districts with high proportion of housing estates Praha 11, Praha 12). The presence of Vietnamese in some neighbourhoods within these areas has already been established in time.

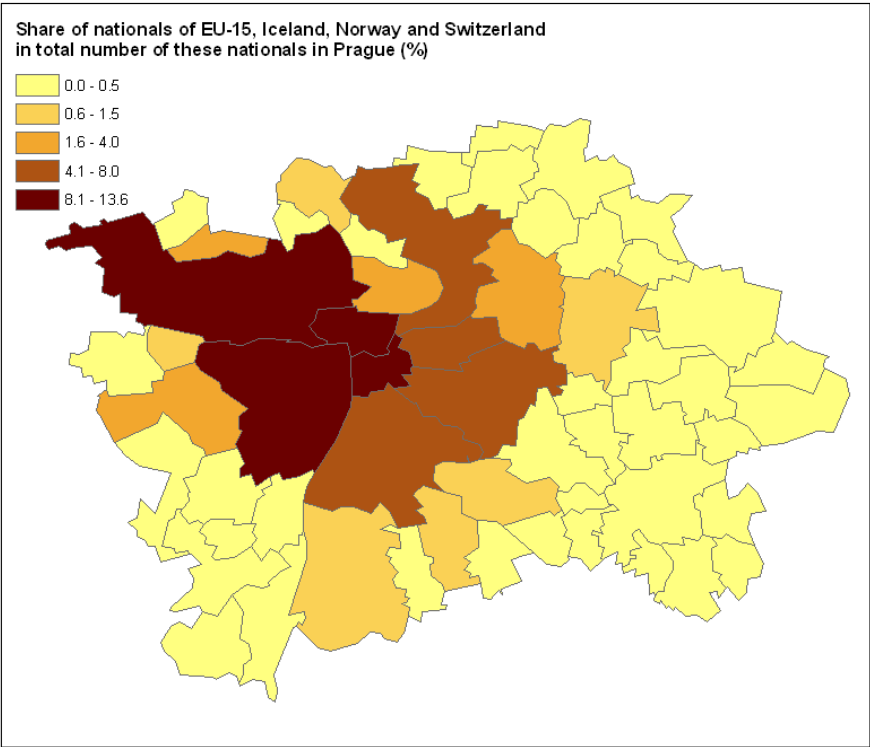
Figure 20. Share of Vietnamese in municipal districts in total number of Vietnamese in Prague (%), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Information 2008.

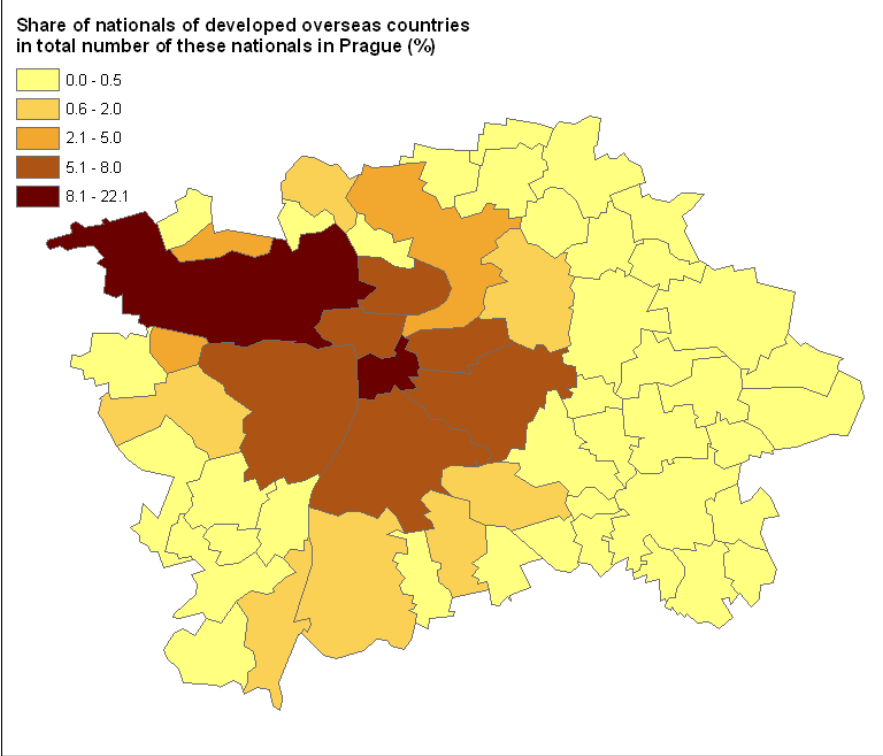
On the other hand, immigrants from western European and other developed overseas countries have a different spatial concentration pattern (see figures 21 and 22) when staying in historical city centre (Praha 1 and Praha 2). They do reside in the inner city but have a high concentration especially in the district of Praha 6, which has traditionally been considered a high social status district.

Figure 21. Share of immigrants from developed European countries in municipal districts in total number of these immigrants in Prague (%), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Information 2008.

Figure 22. Share of immigrants from developed overseas countries in municipal districts in total number of these immigrants in Prague (%), 2007 (as of December 31)



Source of data: Information 2008.

Within this chapter we have briefly sketched basic spatial patterns of the most important immigrant groups in Prague. Patterns do differ among various foreign groups. However, we

have only touched upon possible explanations. A more sophisticated analysis would be needed to confirm our assumptions.

3.2.2. Estimating the Number of Irregularly Residing Immigrants in Prague

Estimating the number of irregular immigrants and/or their structures can be seen as one of the most difficult tasks of migration research. It is mainly caused by irregularity itself, which is hardly a statistically observable status. We used the city of Prague as a research area in which we applied our own approach to estimate the number of irregularly residing immigrants (foreigners with unregistered residence at a given place). We used the writings of Jandl (2004), Jandl and Kraler (2006), Heckmann and Wunderlich (2000) as theoretical and methodological frameworks.

Altogether, it is estimated that there might be between 17,000 and more than 300,000 irregular immigrants in the Czech Republic (see e.g. Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008 b, Research 2005, Fassmann 2006, Horáková 2005). The estimates differ due to the method used and, more importantly, due to the definition of “irregular immigrants”. Concerning Prague, only estimates of Drbohlav (2003) and Burcin et al. (2008) were made; however, both were not directly based on an empirical research. Hence, this pilot study can be seen as a sort of a pioneer project in the field of estimates of the number of irregular immigrants that is based on an empirical survey.

We started from the assumption that irregular immigrants probably used the same economic opportunities as legal immigrants, therefore Prague would serve as major concentration area of irregular immigrants. As some estimates⁴⁷ for the whole Czech Republic indicated, the number of illegal immigrant workers might equal the number of legally working immigrants. At the end of 2007, there were 95,443 foreigners working (either as employees, or entrepreneurs) in Prague (Employment of foreigners 2008). Moreover, Burcin et al. (2008) talks about 40,000 to 90,000 irregular economic migrants who might “operate” in Prague. According to Burcin et al. (2008), however, a significant part of those irregulars might reside outside the administrative borders of Prague (in Central Bohemia), where many dormitories for foreign workers are located.

Research Assumptions and Goals

Basic research assumptions:

1. Fieldwork is a suitable estimation tool as it enables us to describe the real situation in the locality.
2. There is a differentiation within spatial distribution of irregularly residing immigrants in Prague, based on the prevailing type of built-up area and on the (closely related) functional and socio-economic structure of the city.
3. Selected research localities represent the types of built-up areas well and therefore make it possible for a generalisation of the situation on the given type of built-up area.
4. A positive value of the difference between the number of foreigners observed via fieldwork and the number of foreigners officially registered as residing at the given address can be thought of (with a certain level of caution) as a number of irregularly residing foreigners (immigrants).

⁴⁷ A speech of current Minister of Labour and Social Affairs given at the conference „Demografický vývoj v Evropské unii a v České republice: Hrozba? Výzva? Příležitost?“ in the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic May 9, 2007.

Research goals:

1. Testing the appropriateness of the chosen research method (fieldwork combined with official statistics).
2. Estimation of the number of irregularly residing foreigners in selected Prague localities and, consequently, in the whole city of Prague.

Methodology

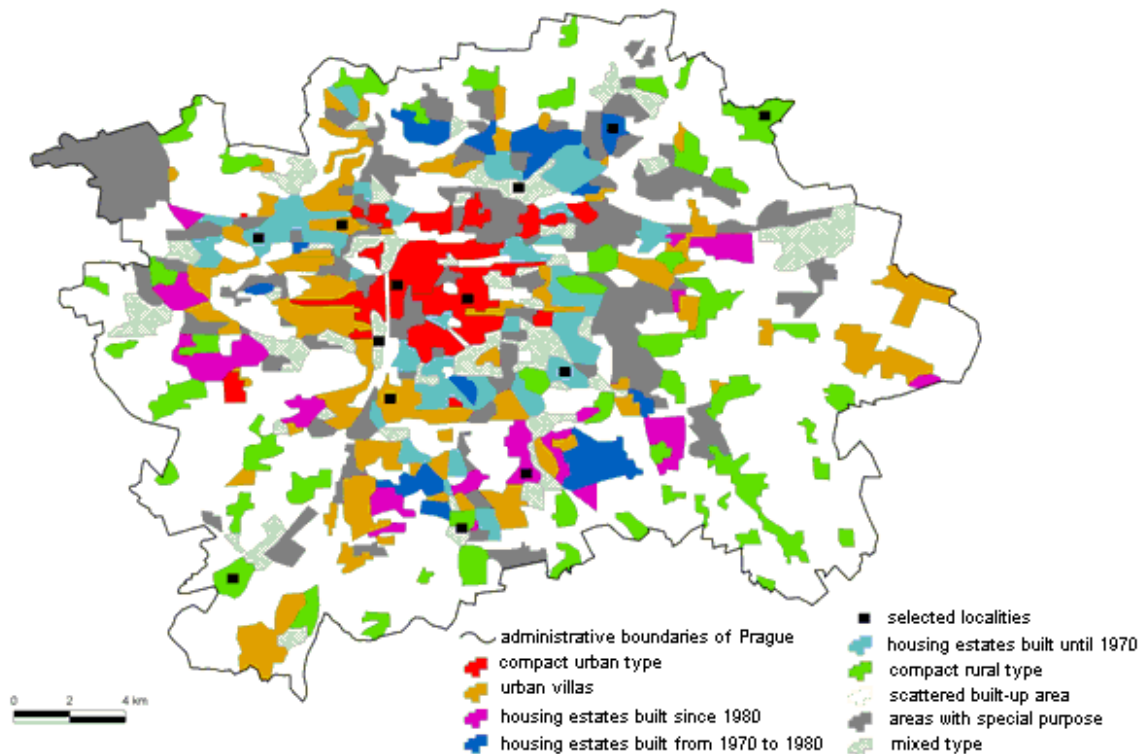
The main philosophy behind our pilot survey was to discover the real number of foreigners (excluding tourists) residing in selected localities via observations and interviews of local residents, and then to compare these numbers with official statistics of inhabitants (so-called Information System of Registration of Inhabitants – see 3.2.1.) which are run by the Ministry of the Interior (and are not usually open to scientific circles). These official statistics (a sort of a population register) keeps basic information on all Czech citizens and foreigners (EU citizens and third country nationals) with permanent residence permits, third country nationals with a residence visa for a period exceeding 90 days and with long-term residence permits, EU-citizens with a temporary residence permit and foreigners who were granted asylum or subsidiary protection – briefly on foreigners with visas/permits for more than 3 months.

The fieldwork was done by trained geography students of the Faculty of Science of the Charles University in Prague. They went to selected localities and via observations and inquiries of local inhabitants estimated the real number of foreigners (residing on a long-term basis)⁴⁸, as well as the total number of inhabitants in the given locality.

Localities for the fieldwork were selected in order to represent specific types of built-up area of Prague, in other words, to represent areas with different functional and socio-economic structures. The typology of the built-up area was taken from the Czech Statistical Office (Sčítání 2003 – see figure 20). To serve our purpose, we used the following types of built-up areas with prevailing residential functions: compact urban types; urban villas; “old” housing estates (built before 1970); “new” housing estates (built since 1970); compact rural types and mixed types. For each of these types we subsequently chose two localities (of a size of several blocks of houses) located in different parts of Prague. The built-up area of a compact urban type was represented by a locality near to Charles square and a locality in Vinohrady. Localities with urban villas were delimited in Ořechovka and Podolí. Old housing estates were represented by localities in Petřiny and Zahradní Město, localities of the new housing estates type lied in Prosek and Jižní Město. Localities in Vinoř and Radotín had typical characteristics of the rural type of built-up area. The mixed type was surveyed through localities near Bulovka hospital and in Smíchov. Furthermore, we selected an atypical locality (a sort of a “deviant case”) in Libuš which is known for its high spatial concentration of foreigners – Vietnamese, specifically. Research localities were placed in all distances from the city-centre. Their localisation is presented in figure 23.

⁴⁸ If possible, other pieces of information on foreigners were gathered (e.g. illegality of their stay, country of origin or age).

Figure 23. Typology of Prague urban units based on prevailing type of built-up area and selected research localities



Source: Typology of built-up area taken from Sčítání (2003).

Note: Research localities were chosen by the authors.

The fieldwork in localities was carried out in two rounds. The first round (October 2007) served only as a primary mapping of the localities,⁴⁹ while the second round (May – June 2008) was the core research activity whose results will be presented. Addresses identified in the first round (e.g., houses with non-residential functions were excluded in the first round mapping) were surveyed in the second round. The total number of inhabitants and the number of foreign inhabitants specifically were surveyed via the fieldwork. Consequently, they were compared with numbers from the official statistics (“population register”) as of the factual day of the fieldwork.

A positive value of the difference between the number of foreigners observed via fieldwork and the number of foreigners officially registered as residing at the given address were thought of (with a high level of simplification) as a number of irregularly residing foreigners. Thus, combining the numbers of irregularly residing foreigners with official numbers of inhabitants we got an “average” share of irregularly residing foreigners for each type of built-up area (the atypical locality Libuš has been excluded from further counts). Unfortunately, no data on total population residing in the given types of built-up area was available. Hence, we had to use other subsidiary sources (number of households – as of December 2006) representing total population of the given type. We used the GIS methods and for each type of built-up area the number of households was set. As the average size of a household in Prague

⁴⁹ Within the first round 9,332 inhabitants (out of which 414 were foreigners) were enumerated in slightly larger localities as compared to the second round.

is approximately 2.2 inhabitants (Příjmy 2007), we were able to count an approximate number of inhabitants residing in each of the given type of built-up area. Consequently, we applied the observed “average” shares of irregularly residing foreigners on these approximate numbers of inhabitants in each type and got an average number of irregularly residing foreigners in each type. Eventually, the total number of irregularly residing foreigners was counted as a sum of values for all types of built-up areas⁵⁰.

Results

Main results of the second round of our pilot survey are presented in table 31.

Table 31. Results of the pilot survey, July 2008

Locality	Number of irregularly residing foreigners	Type of built-up area	Average share of irregularly residing foreigners in official number of inhabitants	Number of households	Average number of inhabitants in households	Average number of irregularly residing foreigners
Near Charles square Vinohrady	23 48	Compact urban type	6.2	198,470	436,634	26,853
Ořechovka Podolí	6 1	Urban villas	2.0	72,889	160,356	3,271
Petřiny Zahradní Město	2 3	"Old" housing estates (before 1970)	0.5	122,378	269,232	1,238
Prosek Jižní Město	3 26	"New" housing estates (after 1970)	2.0	148,213	326,069	6,456
Vinoř Radotín	0 11	Compact rural type	8.9	31,344	68,957	6,165
Near Bulovka hospital Smíchov	9 14	Mixed type	2.8	47,277	104,009	2,902
<i>Libuš</i>	29	<i>Atypical locality</i>	<i>4.1</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>
Total	175	x	x	620,571	1,365,256	46,885

Source: own survey, Digitální 2006, Information 2008.

Note: Within the second round of the fieldwork 5,703 inhabitants (out of which 494 were foreigners) were enumerated.

Localities with the highest share of irregularly residing foreigners were, on one hand, those of the compact rural type (mostly composed of detached houses) and, on the other hand, parts of the city of compact urban type of built-up area (usually rented apartment houses built mostly in the first half of the 20th century). Moreover, high shares of irregularly residing foreigners seem to be characteristic for areas of the mixed type, which were in our survey represented by localities of the inner city zone composed of several-story apartment houses combined with non-residential buildings (e.g., industrial areas). On the contrary, quite low shares of irregularly residing foreigners were found in localities with housing estates.

⁵⁰ Specifically, there were about 4% of Prague inhabitants who lived in other types of built-up area (in the type „scattered built-up area“ and „areas with special purpose“) that were excluded from our research.

In absolute terms, it seems that most irregularly residing foreigners might live in areas of the compact urban type (mostly located in central parts of Prague and the inner city zone), which have a high share of total Prague households (e.g., 30% of Prague households are located in areas of compact urban type). Housing estates, especially the “new” ones, and rural parts of Prague also seem to be important in terms of the absolute number of irregularly residing immigrants.

By extrapolating the results on the whole, Prague (however being aware of its methodological limitations – see below) we arrived at the total number of irregularly residing foreigners (foreigners unregistered in the place where they live) of some 46,000 people (see table 28). However, this number can only be taken as a pilot estimation which needs further verification and specification.

The surveyed localities can also be divided into sub-groups based on the prevailing type of houses (apartment /rented housing versus housing estates versus detached houses). From this point of view, localities with apartment houses and detached houses had a much higher percentage of irregularly residing foreigners than localities of other types (see table 32). When taking into account the distance of the locality from the city centre, the highest shares of irregularly residing foreigners were observed in central zone of Prague (see table 32).

Table 32. Shares of irregularly residing foreigners in surveyed localities by prevailing type of houses and by distance from the city-centre, 2008

Share of irregularly residing foreigners (%)	Localities by type of houses			Localities by distance from the city-centre		
	Apartment houses	Housing estates	Detached houses	Central zone	Inner city	Outer city
	4.7	1.3	3.9	6.2	1.6	2.5

Source: own survey.

Discussion and Conclusion

The above presented approach faces many problems and limitations, of which we are well aware. First, the fieldwork based on observations and interviews of local inhabitants need not necessarily show the real situation in the locality. The numbers of inhabitants and foreigners gleaned from the fieldwork must be seen as soft data as they could be influenced by subjective judgments of respondents (local inhabitants) as well as interviewers. Already in the first round, we found that the planned comparison of the fieldwork results with official statistics would be absolutely necessary as the fieldwork method itself did not enable us to distinguish the residence status of foreigners in terms of (ir)regularity. We have to point out that irregularity in our survey was of a soft character, as it meant an unregistered residence in the given place. Therefore, it is possible that within our survey an irregularly residing foreigner could be an irregularly staying or working immigrant (irregular third country national), as well as an EU citizen who in fact is not obliged to have a residence permit and hence is not included in the population register.

Other problematic aspect of the pilot survey is the number and selection of localities. To get more convincing results it is necessary to enlarge the number of localities of each type in order to encompass the inner socio-economic differentiation within each type of built-up area. Furthermore, selected localities should be more comparable in terms of their population size.

The official statistics (registration of inhabitants) we used and their reliability are also burdened by several problems. Firstly, the registration is based on the concept of “permanent residence,” which is losing its relevance and informational value due to the growing mobility of people. Many people nowadays reside simultaneously at more than one address, although they are registered only at one place. On the other hand, others are registered for a permanent residence at a place where they do not reside (e.g., in order to preserve their entitlement to the rented flat). This problem seems to concern much more Czech citizens than foreigners as our results from certain localities imply (namely in localities: Jižní Město, near Charles square or in Vinohrady). Moreover, the official statistics of inhabitants faces the problem of incomplete registration of foreigners. It is said that, at the end of 2007, about 4,500 foreigners were not included in the database due to their “non-standard” residence address which was not compatible with the system of addresses used by the system of registration of inhabitants (Drbohlav, Lachmanová 2008a).

Finally, we have to tackle another problem tied to the method as in many cases there were fewer foreigners (as well as Czech citizens) enumerated at the given address via the fieldwork method than were registered in the official statistics. This aspect was not taken into account in the above presented results. It is possible that part of these foreigners who were not found via the fieldwork despite being registered might really reside at the particular address but, unfortunately, were not found via the fieldwork (problems of the method). However, it seems more likely that they do not really reside at the given address and, instead, the flat is used as a “fictitious address” for a lot of foreigners to register at. This argument can be supported by the fact that within our survey we found several flats/addresses where large numbers of foreigners were registered (from 10 to 40 individuals at a flat/address), although only few foreigners were enumerated at the given address via the fieldwork. Hence, one might consider these flats to be used only as a registration address which is necessary to have in order to get a visa for a period exceeding 90 days. Furthermore, these foreigners who were not found via the fieldwork despite being registered might in fact increase the number of irregularly residing foreigners as we can assume that they reside somewhere else, at a place where they are not registered. However, we cannot specify their number.

We have to stress again that the above presented results were only results of a pilot and pioneer survey burdened by many problematic aspects. Notwithstanding the limitations, we do think that this approach represents a prospective way for further research, even if it is necessary to refine it.

3.3. Vietnamese and Chinese Immigrants into the Czech Republic

Vietnamese and Chinese ethnic groups belong among the visible minorities in the Czech Republic (see the chapter reflecting foreigners’ perception by the Czech majority). Although they differ in many aspects (see below) it is possible to find some similarities such as economic strategies (entrepreneurship) concentration into closed ethnic groups, difficulty with the Czech language and participation in organized crime. There is also mutual economic cooperation, as Chinese organize the wholesale for Vietnamese retail (Wang 1998).

3.3.1. Vietnamese Immigrants

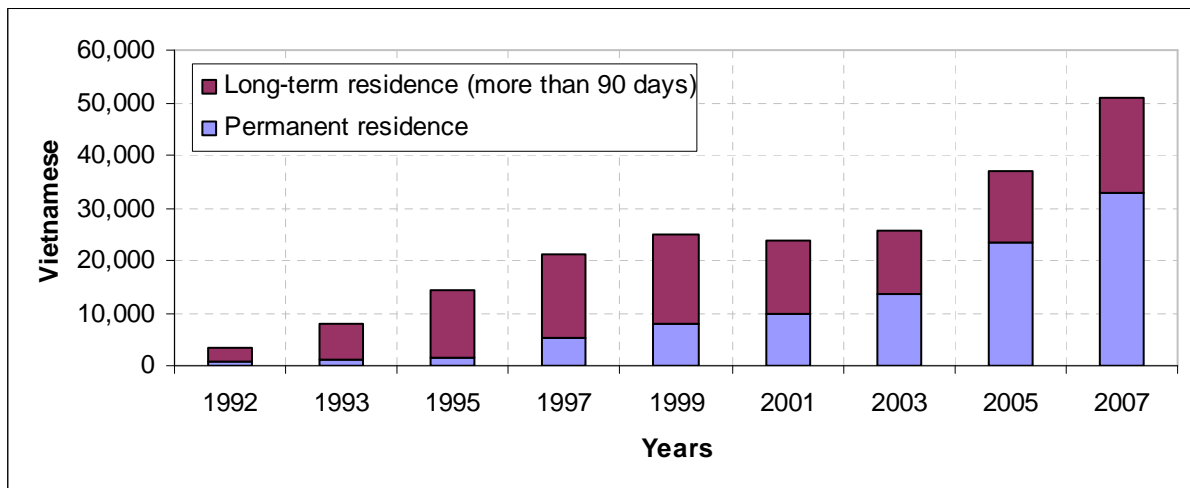
Immigration Phases and Future Development of Migration

Immigration from Vietnam to former Czechoslovakia and the current Czech Republic could be divided into two phases. The first one, pre-1989, was characterized by migration that was regulated by inter-state agreements. Williams and Baláž (2005) consider this migration as path-dependence, because migrants were selected, effectively allocated to certain countries and to training courses and industries. Czechoslovakia, like other countries of the Soviet block, signed many agreements with Vietnam about temporary immigration of Vietnamese: in the 1950s in relation to studying, in the 1970s in relation to vocational training and in the 1980s concerning the compensation of a missing domestic labour force, mostly in manufacturing firms (Kocourek 2001). The numbers peaked in the 1980s and they ranged between 20,000 to 27,000 (Boušková 1998). At the end of this period, still under the communist regime, this issue became very important for the future pathways of the subsequent immigration influxes. At that time the Vietnamese became involved in informal activities which come out of shortages in the Czech market; they were able to fulfil existing demand (e.g., they produced jeans and other clothing for sale or exchange). They obtained experience that could be made useful and further developed in the next phase (Williams, Baláž 2005).

The second phase, post-1989, is characteristic of a rather porous state border. Immigration was connected mainly to a transformation of economy, economic development and already developed social networks. At the beginning of the 1990s, there was a short period of uncertainty as to how the next development of the Vietnamese in Czechoslovakia might look (there was a complicated economic situation of many factories which employed Vietnamese; the international agreements were called off and the state paid compensations for finished contracts and return migration) (Brouček 2003). However, not all Vietnamese left since there was no feedback checking that immigrants left the country as they were supposed to. Also, there have already been new pathways of market trading created (Brouček 2003, Williams, Baláž 2005). Nevertheless, the numbers of Vietnamese dropped to 3,500 in 1992. Since then, there has been a big increase to the current 55,991 (as of May 31, 2008), (see figure 24). Vietnamese currently belong to the fastest growing immigrant group in the Czech Republic. Between May 2007 and May 2008 there has been a growth of about 20 % in the total Vietnamese population. This is due to a high demand for low-skilled workers. Accordingly, we can see a shift when Vietnamese migrants started coming more as employees, whereas in the past they came chiefly under the umbrella of trade licenses. Often the recruitment is organized by labour agencies or agents (see below).

The future pathways of Vietnamese migrants are unclear in the Czech Republic. They have already proved that they are very flexible and able to create new economic strategies. They can even switch to other segments of the market. Baláž and Williams (2005) predict that the Vietnamese will probably remain in Central/Eastern European countries. Nevertheless their prediction is that the second generation will work in different sectors, and possibly live in other countries than the Czech Republic.

Figure 24. Number of Vietnamese by type of residence, 1992-2007 (as of December 31)



Source: Foreigners 2008f.

Demographic and Socio-Economic Structure

The demographic structure of Vietnamese who stay in the Czech Republic has significantly changed since the 1990s. Until 1996, there were only immigrants of productive ages and mostly men in the country. Since then, due to family reunification, there has been an increase in the number of children and women (Sekyrová 2007). Currently, the Vietnamese have a very high share of children younger than 14 (30%), which sets them apart from other immigrant groups. The share of women (43%) sets the Vietnamese apart from other immigrant groups. These differences stem from their migration goals: to give their children good education and change their position in the whole Czech society (Drbohlav, Dzúrová, Černík, 2004). Therefore bringing children from Vietnam to the Czech Republic corresponds with their goals.

Economic Strategies

Despite the growth of Vietnamese in employees' positions in last year, business activities still belong to the main economic strategies of Vietnamese. 80% of total Vietnamese employment is tied to trade licenses (December 31, 2007). There are several reasons for such high concentration in the business: language and cultural barriers, easier legislative entrance to entrepreneurship than to position of employees, following pathways created in the first phase of their immigration and making use of the existant opportunities (e.g., Nekorjak, Hofírek 2006, Williams, Baláž, 2005).

The dominant business specialization of Vietnamese immigrants is petty trade, primarily orientated to so-called open markets (retail of clothes, electronics, vegetables, food), or, recently, also to "stone buildings" (e.g., hairdresser and nails studios). Because of their high numbers, cultural differences and barriers, their business is also oriented towards their own ethnic group (original food, counselling services, translating, etc.). Vietnamese entrepreneurs use their human capital, ethnic networks and family/community solidarity to develop trading activities in response to a particular market gap (Williams, Baláž 2005, Nekorjak, Hofírek 2006).

Vietnamese economic activities have many features of an ethnic economy in the Czech Republic. It concerns: 1) employment of family members and other immigrants from the same ethnic group, 2) use of services provided by co-ethnic companies (ranging from selling food, air tickets, offering hairdresser services to construction of family houses). There is also an ethnic solidarity, which could be, according to Nekorjak and Hofírek (2006), in many cases enforced.

What is worth mentioning is that at the beginning of the 1990s, most of Vietnamese economic activities were materialized through stalls at open-air markets – in fact, each Czech town and city had some. Very large Vietnamese open-air markets arose close to Czech-German and Czech-Austrian state borders. Also, illegal and/or informal economic activities like smuggling and falsification of various goods are linked with these markets. As the result of stricter state controls, economic globalization⁵¹ and decrease in demand for fake and low-quality goods, the Vietnamese businesses have step by step moved from market places to stone shops. Nowadays the open-air markets still exist but they have lost their previous importance. The change of locale is followed by the change of specialization. In most cases, Vietnamese switched to (green) groceries with whole day opened hours.

In the last year there was a tremendous increase of Vietnamese in employees' positions from 3,445 (as of October 2007) to 18,563 (as of October 2008). This might be seen as a result of a demand for low-skilled employees, which has not been filled by immigrants from traditional source countries like Ukraine or Poland. This demand exists particularly in the manufacturing sector. The most numerous groups of Vietnamese have come to large companies mainly owned by international corporations operating in automobile and information technology industries. The importation of immigrants is organized by labour recruitment agencies which are experienced in the given field. The activities of these agencies are in many cases problematic. Some authors (e.g. Nožina 2003) use, in connection to these agencies, the term "mafia". The origin, development and functioning of these agencies are in many cases similar to the agency system of Ukrainians (see 2.6.3.).

Spatial Distribution

As compared to other ethnic groups in the Czech Republic, Vietnamese immigrants are relatively more spread out throughout the whole country. The density of Vietnamese immigrants decreases from the west to the east of the country (they make use of a close proximity to potential German and Austrian customers). The largest cities of the country represent the second most important concentration zones of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic. Moreover, some particular parts of these cities (namely Prague) have significant concentration areas of Vietnamese population – for example Vietnamese have created the first really robust ethnic enclave around a large open-air market called SAPA in the Praha-Libuš municipal district (Štěpánková 2006).

Ethnic Ties

As was mentioned, Vietnamese immigrants are considered a closed ethnic minority. This is mostly due to language and cultural barriers (Kocourek 2001). On the contrary, Vietnamese are very active in inter-ethnic cultural activities. They organize programs for children, celebrate national and religious holidays and organize various social events. By contrast,

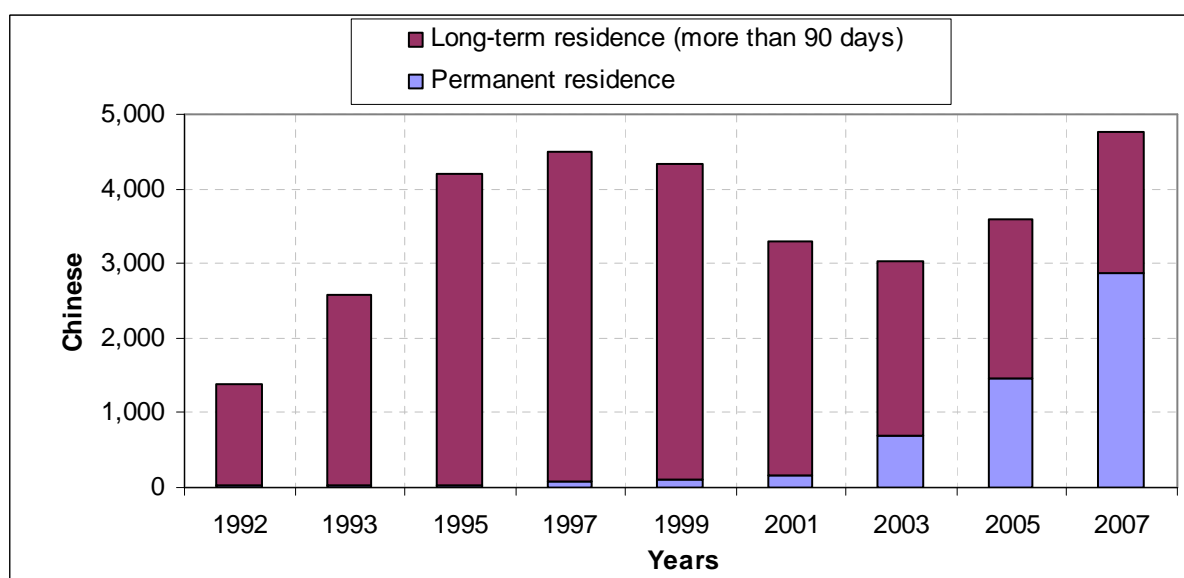
⁵¹ Economic globalization has brought the big hypermarkets and they took away many Vietnamese immigrants' customers who were buying cheap goods.

Vietnamese children are very well integrated into Czech majority society via the educational system. They usually speak excellent Czech and are very good or even excellent at their studies (Drbohlav, Dzúrová, Černík, 2004).

3.3.2. Chinese Immigrants

Concerning information on Chinese immigrants in the Czech Republic, there is only a very limited number of research activities, and consequently little is known about them. Chinese ethnic groups belong to new immigrant groups in the Czech Republic as, until 1989, there were only individual migrants –mostly students in Czechoslovakia (Wang 1998). According to statistics, Chinese immigrants represent the tenth largest immigrant group in the Czech Republic (4,945 Chinese immigrants as of May 31, 2008). The number of illegal Chinese migrants has not been estimated yet. The highest increase in Chinese immigrants was registered between the years 1992 and 1996. After a small decrease (in the period from 1997 to 2003) the growth has re-occurred. In the last two years, it has done so in a rather drastic manner (see figure 25). Chinese usually settle in the Czech Republic permanently, which is evident from their higher share of obtained permanent residence permits.

Figure 25. Number of Chinese by type of residence, 1992-2007 (as of December 31)



Source: Foreigners 2008f.

The demographic structure of Chinese immigrants corresponds to newly arrived immigrant groups which came for economic reasons: that is, a predominance of productive age groups with a slight overrepresentation of males.

Chinese are a highly concentrated immigrant group in terms of their spatial distribution – half of them live within 1% of the area of the Czech Republic. Hence, according to Uherek (2003), Chinese are a typical city minority which has showed a tendency to create an ethnic enclave. They live mostly in Prague and nearby surroundings.

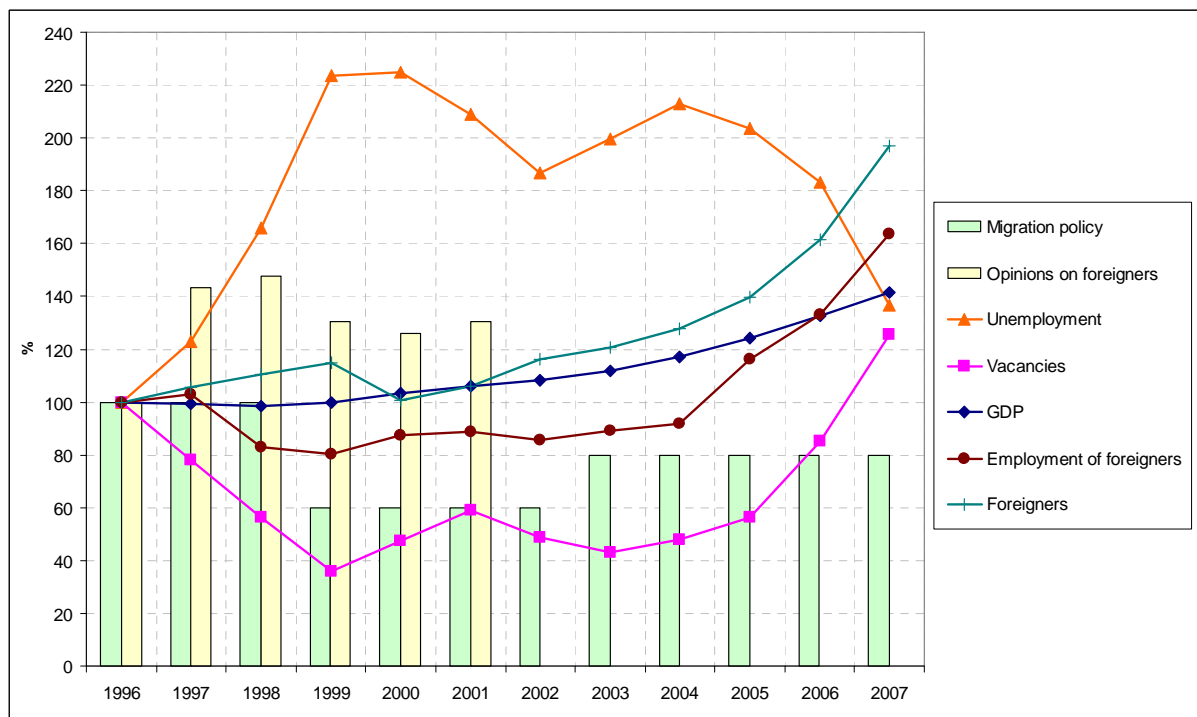
The main reasons for Chinese immigration to the Czech Republic are economic strategies (Obuchová 2002). An assumption that the main motives of Chinese migration (before 2004) to the Czech Republic were connected to the accession of the country to the EU and hence “open EU borders” (Moore, Tubilewicz 2001) was not, however, confirmed.

Chinese migrants, similarly to the Vietnamese, found several market gaps, especially in (foreign) trade. According to Wang (1998), it is possible to divide Chinese economic activities in the Czech Republic into five groups. The first group is represented by high managers of Chinese state companies who mostly import goods from China. The second group is quite similar, but these are managers of Chinese private firms. The third group is represented by importers without any direct ties to particular companies. The fourth and most numerous group is composed of sellers in shops. Finally, the last group includes owners of restaurants, language teachers, traditional Chinese doctors, etc. Chinese immigrants are highly concentrated in Prague and its surroundings.

4. Relation between Migration and Selected Characteristics

To assess mutual relationships among selected characteristics that we believe are important in shaping the situation in the field of international migration in the Czech Republic, we constructed a comprehensive graph (see figure 26). Employment of foreigners is considered to be a “dependent” variable, along with the overall stock of foreigners in the country. Nevertheless, the employment of foreigners is more suitable since it more accurately reflects socio-economic conditions (“main drivers”) in the destination country – namely, the demand for a labour force (in our figure represented by vacancies), unemployment rate, and GDP. Moreover, we cannot omit the nature of migration policy (as it is designed) and public opinion on foreigners (in our case, represented by opinions on the two most important immigrant groups, Slovaks excluded, – i.e., Post-Soviets and Vietnamese) as they do play their specific roles vis-à-vis migration streams and immigrants’ integration processes (see e.g. Huntington 2004, Lowel 1996, Briggs 1996, Cornelius, Martin, Hollifield 1994).

Figure 26. Development of selected variables, 1996-2007



Source: Employment 2008, Horáková 2008, O vztahu 2001, Statistická 2008a, Statistická 2008b, Zpráva 2008.
Notes:

- 1) All the characteristics are related to the year 1996 (starting point of our analysis) because of pragmatic reasons – availability of data. However, 1996 was more or less a final stage of a rapid post-1989 economic boom and of very liberal economic policies that enabled mushrooming of economic immigrants.
- 2) The general approach taken was to relate all annual parameters to one reference point (situation in 1996). Hence, 1996 was taken as 100%, thus, any given parameter expresses a development vis-à-vis the 1996 level.
- 3) Employment of foreigners represents a total number of economically active foreigners in the Czech Republic (see more in table 20). (1996=188,745 in absolute terms)
- 4) The stock of foreigners includes all foreigners with long-term and permanent permits/visas (see permanent residence and long-term residence in table 14). (1996= 199,152 in absolute terms)
- 5) Vacancies are designed as an annual average of vacant positions reported to labour offices. (1996=98,700 in absolute terms)
- 6) The unemployment rate was counted as an annual average of the general rate of unemployment (for more details see Zaměstnanost 2008 and figure 8). (1996=3.9%)

7) GDP represents the sum of values added by all branches of activities which are considered productive in the system of national accounts (including market and non-market services). Calculations are made at current prices and results are then converted into constant prices (of the year 2000). (1996=2,116,000 mil. CZK in absolute terms)

8) Opinion of foreigners is represented by opinion on Post-Soviets and Vietnamese within representative public opinion polls (Question: "How would you characterize your relationship to the following population groups that live in the Czech Republic ...?") Respondents could choose one of the following categories: very good, rather good, not good - not bad, rather bad, very bad. We used an average of "very good" and "rather good" answers for both groups (see table 23). A suitable and comparable time-line was available only until 2001 (see more in section 3.1.1.). (1996=11.5%)

9) Specificity of constructing our "migration policy index" resides in a rather impressionistic way of measuring. It was not possible to relate the nature of migration policy to individual particular years. Hence, we evaluated it by periods which were delineated in the section 2.5. (1993-1998, 1999-2002, 2003 on). The 1993-1998 period represented 100% and the two other periods were evaluated (compared with the 1993-1998 situation) according to a nature of individual selected important policy measures which came into force in the given periods. Changes followed the logic of liberal (increase of the index) versus restrictive (decrease of the index) directions of the policy (for the characterization of various periods see more in section 2.5.). (1993-1998=100).

Figure 26 shows us quite clearly a relationship between the development of economic migration (i.e., employment of foreigners) and economic situation in the country. The deep economic recession (at both macro and micro levels) starting in 1997 (reflected in a rapid increase of unemployment and, at the same time, by a decrease of vacancies along with a slight decrease of GDP) is accompanied by a drop in the number of economic migrants (diminishing pool of opportunities for migrants). However, there is a postponement of the start in the decrease of numbers of migrants due to a sort of an "inertia effect". This inertia effect lasts even longer in the case of migration policy, which became more restrictive as late as 1999 due mainly to, as one can deduce, inflexible administrative settings. Accordingly, inertia is even more pronounced in terms of public opinion that, "paradoxically," was more positively shaped during the first years of the recession. Only then, it sharply decreased (see also on the relationship between the economic performance, perception of migrants and migration, e.g., – Lowel 1996, Freeman 1994, DeSipio, de la Garza 1998).

Since the very beginning of the 2000s, one can see an increasing trend of all analysed parameters/variables. An exception to this trend can be seen in the development of the unemployment rate where, however, a further slight decrease occurred between 2002 and 2004 which was, in contrast to former development, followed by an increase in the number of vacancies. The growth of unemployment, this time, had no impact on immigrants. Having in mind the complexity of the labour market and the whole economy, a growth of unemployment does not have to be accompanied by a decrease in immigrants (due to disharmonies between supply and demand on the Czech labour market, a foreign labour force can even "thrive" in the situation of growing unemployment).

The development, since 2004, is characteristic of a steeper growth in economic and, consequently, also migration parameters. However, in accordance with the recent global financial crisis of late 2008, positive economic parameters of the country have already started shifting to negative ones. The impact upon immigration stocks/flows will probably come soon –nevertheless, it is too early to evaluate its size and character.

5. Conclusions

In the long-term historical perspective (since the mid-19th century), the development of migratory situation of the Czech lands/Czech Republic should be divided into three distinctive periods: a) until 1939, b) 1945 – 1989, c) since 1990. These periods do differ from one another due to many aspects – demographic, socio-economic, political and geopolitical aspects belong to key factors shaping the migratory picture of the given periods.

One of the principle differences among the given periods is the net migration pattern of the country that changed significantly during the time. Whereas, during the first two periods, the Czech lands were an emigration area, after the 1989 revolution the migration situation in the Czech Republic quickly changed, and the Czech Republic became a transit and immigration country. Moreover, the second period significantly interrupted the continuity of the complex development of the country by its specific and distinctive features (e.g., the socialist/communist state regime with its centrally planned and state-directed economy and closed-border policy). However, it is worth mentioning that certain attributes have survived and recently intensively re-appeared (for example, some features of migration policy approaches, relations with Czech compatriot communities abroad, dealing with ethnic minorities).

The current migration reality (since 1990) that was our main research object can be characterized as being in an immature immigration stage of the migration cycle. However, there is a very limited possibility to study the transition from the emigration to the immigration stage as the end of the emigration stage was characteristic of an unnatural migration regime, artificially created by former communist government.

The new migration era is characterized by a gradually growing immigration of foreigners along with rather low and stable emigration of natives. We should mention that inflows of immigrants of Czech origin have been rather low. All in all, net migration has been growing, and has been doing so even more intensively in last several years. Besides legally staying immigrants, we have to take into account that there are many illegal/irregular migrants in the country – mainly involved in the Czech labour market.

The given migration development is conditioned by many external and internal factors. Involvement in globalization processes in general and joining the democratic and free-market economic area of Europe in particular, are two main external factors contributing to growing migration inflows to the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, several internal factors are at least of the same importance in terms of shaping current migration processes.

The demand for foreign labour force in the Czech labour market seems to be crucial. The demand side has two different faces – the positive and the negative one. Both of them do lure immigrants into the country. Positive features of the demand are tied to very good economic performance, high foreign investment inflows or increasing numbers of working opportunities. On the other hand, the demand is also stimulated by several negative features such as an inner mismatch between labour demand and supply within Czech native population, low geographical mobility of domestic population, a negligible difference between minimal wage and various social benefits/subsidies, high costs of labour (high taxes) and, finally, persisting tolerance and use of irregular/informal business and employment practices.

Migration policy can be considered as another important internal factor influencing immigration flows. The Czech migration policy, however, lacks not only a clearly stipulated, robust and consistent “philosophy” (except for mandatory harmonization with the EU rules), but also an interest in and support from governmental bodies and political parties. Nevertheless, despite what have been, so far, rather ad hoc measures, recently we can see some shift towards a bit more systematic and pro-active policy. Concerning the relation of migration policy to labour force demand, migration policy should be a tool positively reacting to the situation of the labour force demand. However, migration policy effects in relation to the labour force demand on the Czech labour market are rather ambiguous (planned goals are often very different from final results – see the program of “The Selection of Qualified Foreign Workers “) and migration policy potential has not yet been fully made use of (the “Green Card” program is just being prepared).

In addition, the demographic situation being typical of low fertility levels and increasing life expectancy, population ageing is and might become even more so an important internal immigration stimulator in the future.

Another possible factor that might attract immigrants in general into a country is its social system (various forms of social subsidies and benefits). In the Czech Republic this factor seems to be unimportant now (e.g., low use of the social system by foreigners and strict work permits regime).

Obviously, economic impacts of immigration upon Czech society are by far the most important ones due to the overwhelming economic and circulatory character of migration and the short time that elapsed since the migration process was normalized. It has been shown that immigrants’ role in the labour market has been of a more complementary than a competitive character. Immigration impacts upon other, non-economic structures have so far been marginal.

In line with the aforementioned facts, it is rather difficult to draw any conclusions concerning immigrants’ integration results. Anyway, what was indicated in several surveys is that immigrants who chose an assimilation mode of adaptation were more satisfied with their lives in Czech host society than others. Moreover, this “assimilation philosophy” corresponds to the perceived and proclaimed nature of the Czech majority’s attitude towards immigrants (a strong preference of full immigrants’ adjustment to Czech culture).

The whole issue of the public majority’s perception of immigrants is a complicated and complex matter, with some internal discrepancies. It seems that immigrants’ positions, in the eyes of the Czech majority, are not good –albeit slightly improving over time. There are significant differences regarding the perception of individual ethnic/immigrant groups. We think that, in the case of the Czech Republic, the importance of public opinion polls that tackle immigrant issues should not be overestimated since, so far, their influence on Czech migration policy has been negligible.

When assessing the mutual relationship between immigration, economic development, migration policy and the public perception of immigrants in the Czech Republic, we found an inter-relationship among them that specifically became visible at the end of the 20th century, when the Czech economy was severely hit by a recession. The economic problems were followed, however, by a certain delay (“inertia effect”), due to more restrictive migration

regulations. They both led to a decrease in the number of immigrants. Consequently, in the aftermath of the recession, the “popularity” of immigrants within Czech society declined, but this decrease was postponed the most in time. We can learn important lessons from this occurrence. First, it has been again proved that Czech migratory patterns do follow those that are known from many developed western immigration countries (in terms of general relations between migration and its main driving forces). Second, a deep economic recession might bring about a significant decrease in the stocks of economic immigrants. On the other hand, it seems that partial economic problems do not necessarily have to have an influence on the pool of migrants. In any case, immigrants can also become scapegoats – they may be blamed for all economic problems and, thus, xenophobic attitudes of the majority towards them within Czech society may grow.

To sum up, within the last 18 years the Czech Republic has gone through a transformation from an emigration country to an immature immigration country. Accordingly, we can consider the Czech Republic to be a country of immature integration of immigrants – as the large numbers of immigrants “have not yet been transposed” into spheres of society other than the economic one.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Labour force controls in the Czech Republic, 2001-2006

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Number of controls	11,238	11,078	10,597	9,112	9,933	10,424
Number of controls carried out on employers who employ foreign workers	1,306	1,382	1,76	1,43	1,631	1,474
Number of foreigners who were controlled	n.a.	5,145	5,128	9,889	9,534	12,094
Illegally employed migrant workers found (plus failure to report foreigners' employment**)	1,381	1,488	1,466	1,646	2,017	1,701 (2,087)**
Number of Slovaks controlled	n.a.	6 043	4 705	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Breaches of the law by Slovaks	968	829	1,081	397**	123**	1,836**

Source: Table taken from Janská, Drbohlav 2008a

Note: n.a. – the information was not specifically collected

** Failure by employers to report employment of foreigners

In the period 2002-2006, out of all foreigners who were found working illegally or unregistered the most numerous group was of citizens of Ukraine (5,600 persons), followed by Slovaks (4,266 persons), Vietnamese (420 persons), Romanians (279 persons), Moldovans (250 persons) and Bulgarians (242 persons).

Annex 2. Employment structure of foreigners and Czech nationals, 2006 (as of December 31)

	Czech nationals (%)	Foreigners (%)	Difference	EU (%)	Other (%)
Agriculture, hunting, forestry	3,7	2,0	1,7	1,4	2,7
Fishing	0,1	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0
Mining and quarrying	1,1	1,6	-0,4	2,9	0,2
Manufacturing	28,3	26,8	1,6	36,5	16,7
Electricity, gas and water supply	1,6	0,1	1,5	0,2	0,0
Construction	9,1	21,4	-12,4	14,0	29,0
Wholesale and retail trade; repairs of motor vehicles, personal and household goods	12,7	20,0	-7,3	12,2	28,1
Hotels and restaurants	3,8	2,6	1,2	2,2	3,0
Transport and communication	7,5	2,2	5,3	3,2	1,1
Financial intermediation	1,9	0,6	1,3	0,9	0,2
Real estate, renting and business activities	6,6	16,0	-9,4	18,2	13,8
Public administration and defence	6,5	0,1	6,4	0,1	0,0
Education	6,0	1,7	4,3	2,2	1,3
Health and social work	6,9	1,8	5,1	3,2	0,4
Other community, social and personal services	4,0	2,9	1,1	2,7	3,2
Private households with employed persons	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Extra-territorial organizations and bodies	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,1
Not identified	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,1
Total	100,0	100,0	0,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Cizinci 2007.

Annex 3. Organization of/for immigrants in the Czech Republic – with a special focus on Ukrainian community

Generally, official activities of organizations, associations and communities⁵² of immigrants usually include aid, counselling, and support for compatriots, as well as organizing cultural events in the country of destination. Ethnic community organizations also play an important role in migrants' integration into the host societies - they may serve as mediators between an ethnic community and majority society (see e.g. Drbohlav, Ezzeddine-Lukšíková 2004).

In the Czech Republic, there are many good examples of institutions which help immigrants – these include some well-known non-profit non-governmental organizations (e.g. *Člověk v tísni*, *Poradna pro uprchlíky*, *Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům*). However, the Czech NGOs focused on foreigners are often criticized for being engaged mainly in the projects and activities connected with the protection of asylum seekers' rights and not so much of "regular" immigrants (Černík 2003).

Concerning immigrants' ethnic organizations, the process of establishing them is quite demanding. The Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic is authorized to register civic organizations. In fact, the Ministry complicates standard registration processes and requires foreigners to apply for a special permit in order to set a foreigners' civic organization (Ezzeddine-Lukšíková, Kocourek, Leontiyeva 2005). The procedure of application for the permit is rather bureaucratic and with uncertain ends. In order to avoid it, foreigners use a practical solution and find three Czech citizens who agree to participate as co-founders (Černík 2003). The most appropriate candidates for such co-founders are members of national minorities (persons with immigrant origin who have already received Czech citizenship) (Ezzeddine-Lukšíková, Kocourek, Leontiyeva 2005).

The immigrant organizations in the Czech Republic differ a lot in their characteristics. Some of them are well established in the Czech environment (there is a good network built among the old members and newcomers). On the other hand, some minorities/immigrant groups still do not have any well-operating organizations. Among the well-established organizations belong especially those whose members came from countries of the former Soviet Union. Ukrainians and Russians have the longest history and the greatest experience of establishing ethnic / national minority associations in the Czech Republic. The history of Ukrainian migration and consequently Ukrainian associations dates back to the 1920s. However, their activities were interrupted by political changes in 1948. Nowadays there are 4 Ukrainian associations that operate in the territory of the Czech Republic: *Sdružení ukrajinských žen* (Ukrainian Women Association), *Sdružení Ukrajinců a příznivců Ukrajiny* (Association of Ukrainians and Supporters of Ukraine), *Fórum Ukrajinců ČR* (Forum of Ukrainians of the Czech Republic), and *Ukrajinská iniciativa v ČR* (Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic).

The Ukrainian Women Association and the Association of Ukrainians and Supporters of Ukraine are relatively small, associating mainly representatives of the "older generation" of Ukrainian immigrants. Their low annual budgets cover a couple of local activities focusing mainly on maintaining national traditions and celebrating traditional Ukrainian feasts.⁵³ The

⁵² According to websites of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (<http://www.cizinci.cz/clanek.php?lg=1&id=181>) there are 26 organizations, associations and communities which have in their programme something to do with immigrants' life in the Czech Republic.

⁵³ Ex-chairwoman of the *Women Association* published a series of books dedicated to the outstanding personalities among Ukrainian immigrants. *The Association of the Ukrainians and the Supporters of Ukraine* runs an amateur choir which performs at local Ukrainian events.

Forum of Ukrainians is a relatively young organization (established in 2001) but very ambitious consisting mainly of young Ukrainian students who meet on internet forums. The association has declared a wide spectrum of activities, including protection of rights of Ukrainian migrants, protests against human rights violation in Ukraine, foundation of Ukrainian schools, and organization of cultural events etc.⁵⁴ However, the association is often treated like a group of “young rebels” and their activities still have not received any substantive support from the Czech state. On the contrary, the Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic is one of the oldest and most active Ukrainian associations (see more in Zilynskij 2001) and, besides Prague, it has currently three other affiliates in cities of Teplice, Chomutov and Plzeň. It is considered as having a trustworthy reputation and, thus, is generously supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, by the Ministry of Culture and by the municipal council of the capital city of Prague.⁵⁵ At present, the Ukrainian Initiative is conducting a series of large-scale projects, including annual Ukrainian cultural days, multicultural events, thematic lectures, seminars and conferences, a youth club, native language courses for Ukrainian children, exhibitions, concerts, and, last but not least, it publishes the oldest Ukrainian magazine in the Czech Republic called *Porohy* (which is published in the Czech and Ukrainian languages). However, according to a detailed analysis provided by Ezzeddine-Lukšíková, Kocourek and Leontiyeva (2005), the interests of the vast majority of Ukrainian labour migrants are, in fact, not represented. Ukrainian labour migrants are practically unaware of any associations of their compatriots. Moreover, there is a certain gap between naturalised members of the Ukrainian minority and the newly coming immigrants. This gap is based not only on a “generational conflict” but, to some extent, also on cultural misunderstanding.

Besides those “official” organizations, there are also some quasi-legal institutions, especially important within the Ukrainian community. These quasi-legal institutions have very strong material/financial interests in increasing labour motivated immigration, especially from Ukraine. These agencies are closely connected to the “client” system (see more above or Drbohlav forthcoming, Čermáková, Nekorjak forthcoming, Černík 2005).

Other immigrant groups also have some ethnic organizations; however, they are much less known and might represent only partial interests of sub-groups within the community.

⁵⁴ Though, only a few of the declared goals have been fulfilled. The Forum of Ukrainians have organized a couple of music concerts and, in 2003, participated in the filming of a documentary about Ukrainian migrants in European countries. One of the most successful projects of the organization is the Ukrainian football club, which plays in a local league. In 2003 the association publicized itself in the media with an incident of discrimination against Ukrainians at a Czech disco. The same year they organized a press conference called “The development of the Ukrainian community in the Czech Republic: the break-through of the barrier of disregard”.

⁵⁵ Its activities concentrate mainly on satisfying the needs of the national minority, nevertheless, there has currently been an attempt to strengthen ties between the young generation of ethnic Ukrainians and Czechs, who are interested in the promotion of Ukrainian culture in the Czech Republic.

Annex 4. Perceived personal grudge of Czechs against other persons because of their race, 1991-1997 (in %)

Frequency/Time	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Often	14	5	10	9	7	6	5
Sometimes	38	21	24	25	22	25	19
No	40	60	53	55	61	58	66
He/she does not	8	14	13	11	10	11	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: K. Národnostní 1998.

Question: "Did you personally perceive a grudge against other people because of their race last year"?

Annex 5. Perceived personal grudge of Czechs against other persons because of their nationality, 1990-1997 (in %)

Frequency/Time	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Often	7	11	3	6	3	3	3	2
Sometimes	34	27	16	16	20	19	18	14
No	53	57	68	64	64	66	68	74
He/she does not	6	5	13	14	13	12	11	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: K Národnostní 1998

Question: “Did you personally perceive a grudge against other people because of their nationality last year”?

Annex 6. Sympathy versus unsympathy of the Czech population towards selected ethnicities/nationalities, 2006 (in %)

Relation to/Sympathy/unsympathy	1-3	4	5-7	Total
Slovaks	91.4	4.7	3.3	100
Poles	73.4	14.6	9.9	100
Germans	59.0	19.0	19.7	100
Jews	44.0	17.3	22.7	100
Vietnamese	36.0	23.7	38.9	100
Citizen of Balkan	30.2	20.3	45.1	100
Citizen of former USSR	23.3	21.9	45.7	100
Romas	9.4	12.9	76.1	100

Source: Vztah 2007

Question: “How would you describe your relation to the below mentioned population groups living in the Czech Republic? 1 means they are very sympathetic to you, 7 means they are very unsympathetic to you.”

Note: Respondents expressed their attitudes via a scale with 7 levels ranging from 1 – “very sympathetic” to 7 – “very unsympathetic”.

Annex 7. Attitudes of the Czech population towards immigrants by purpose of their arrivals, 2007 (in %)

Agreement/disagreement Purpose	Definitely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Definitely disagree	He/she does not know	Total %
Family reunion	25	53	13	5	4	100
Employment	7	46	33	10	4	100
Settlement	4	32	39	14	11	100
Doing business	5	35	34	16	10	100
Study and work experience	26	60	8	3	3	100
Asylum	14	43	24	7	12	100
Humanitarian protection	19	51	15	5	10	100

Source: Občané 2007.

Question: “Do you agree or not that the Czech Republic would receive immigrants with the given purpose of residence: a) family reunion, family members, b) employment, c) settlement (permanent residence permit), d) doing business, e) study and work experience, f) asylum, g) humanitarian protection?”

Annex 8. Attitudes of the Czech population towards foreigners who are to permanently settle in the Czech Republic, 2005, 2008 (in %)

Adjustment/Time	2005	2008
It should definitely be enabled everybody, who intends to come to the Czech Republic and live there	3	6
It should rather be enabled everybody, who intends to come to the Czech Republic and live there	25	36
Rather it should not be enabled everybody, who intends to come to the Czech Republic and live there	43	34
It should not definitely be enabled everybody, who intends to come to the Czech Republic and live there	22	17
He/she does not know	7	7
Total	100	100

Source: Postoje 2008.

Question: "Do you think that everybody who intends to come to the Czech Republic and to live there should be enabled to do that?"

Notes: Respondents choose one of these offered possibilities.

Annex 9. Attitudes of the Czech population towards foreigners who are to stay in the Czech Republic on the long-term basis, 2003, 2007 and 2008 (in %)

Adjustment/Time	2003	2007	2008
Foreigners would have no possibility to stay in the Czech Republic on the long-term basis	17	10	8
Foreigners would have a possibility to stay in the Czech Republic on the long-term basis only under specific conditions	73	74	80
Foreigners would have a possibility to stay in the Czech Republic without any limits	5	12	9
He/she does not know	5	4	3
Total	100	100	100

Source: Postoje 2008.

Question: "Foreigners in the Czech Republic should a) not have a possibility to stay in the Czech Republic on a long-term basis, b) have a possibility to stay in the Czech Republic on a long-term basis only under specific conditions, c) have a possibility to stay in the Czech Republic on a long-term basis without any limits?"