

Intercultural opening of the labour market and employment institutions in the Czech Republic

National Sub-System Final Report

MILADA HORÁKOVÁ

PAVEL BAREŠ

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Introduction

The cultural openness of institutions in the host society forms the key topic of the research involved in “Moving Societies toward Integration”. As far as the Czech Republic is concerned, the authors have selected the work and employment social sub-system as the subject of their research since they consider this theme crucial in terms of immigrant integration. Foreigners, whether immigrants or not, are more visible in the labour market and the authors consider their economic emancipation to be a precondition of their successful social integration¹. Access to the labour market is often conditioned substantially by the cultural openness of all the stakeholders involved in the field of employment.

Since 1990 inward migration has exhibited steady growth in the Czech Republic. From the establishment of an independent Czech state in 1993 to the end of 2008, the number of foreigners in possession of a residence permit grew from 78,000 to 438,000. Today, foreigners make up 4 per cent of the total population and 6 per cent of the employment market. Most foreigners holding a residence permit can be considered immigrants since their stay in the Czech Republic lasts longer than one year. Foreigners from third countries² make up more than half of foreigners in possession of a residence permit (68%); citizens from the EU, EES and Switzerland make up less than one third (32%)³. Naturalized foreigners and second, third and further generation migrants are not statistically reported.

In the past twenty years, Czech society has undergone radical change in many respects, including the level of cultural diversity. The question remains however as to whether the Czech perception of the world includes the philosophical concept of interculturality. Although Czechs live in a culturally diversified society, public attitudes continue to display a persistent ethnocentrism linked with expectations that immigrants will eventually adapt to the majority society; many immigrants accept such expectations, not wishing to be considered different⁴. The survival of original cultural identities is encouraged through EU- and Czech government-financed projects rather than through the efforts and funding of the various immigrant communities themselves.

¹ Most foreigners migrate to the Czech Republic for employment purposes or to conduct self-employed business activities. They originate from approximately 180 different countries. Most (more than 90% in 2008) can be termed immigrants since they remain in the Czech Republic longer than one year, thus corresponding to the international definition of an immigrant. (Directorate of Alien Police, Ministry of the Interior in: Foreigners in the Czech Republic in Czech Statistical Office, 2009: 30, calculation Milada Horáková, VÚPSV/RILSA Prague; Horáková 2010, calculation Milada Horáková).

² The largest communities are made up of Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Russians, Mongolians and Moldavians.

³ Horáková (2010), calculation Milada Horáková, VÚPSV/RILSA Prague.

⁴ According to census data, Czech nationality is acknowledged by the vast majority of the Czech population, including naturalised foreigners (94.2%). www.czso.cz, Census data 2001, Tab. 1 Structure of the CR population according to nationality 1921-2001).

1. The Current Situation regarding the Selected Sub-system in terms of Intercultural Opening

1.1. Basic Concepts, Employment and Integration Policy

With regard to the integration of culturally diversified minorities, Czech legislation operates with the term “**foreigners (non-citizens)**” rather than with “immigrants”. Indeed, this term cannot be found in any Czech legal regulations or public policy documents. Integration policy regarding foreigners residing legally and long-term in the Czech Republic does not usually focus on second, third or further generations of naturalized foreigners since, for the time being, the need for the integration of such persons is not considered urgent either by state institutions or the general public.

The work and employment sub-system can be considered crucial in terms of immigrant integration. However, employment policy monitors a relatively wide range of objectives (e.g. protection against a shortfall in income, employee protection, equality in the workplace, support for specific disadvantaged or endangered groups of people, etc.). At the same time, employment policy responds to a relatively large number of situations in addition to the relationship between the employer and the employee. This renders employment policy a vast complex of issues and therefore it is desirable that specific objectives be achieved and partial activities be mutually compatible, that the effect of specific partial processes not be fragmented and that employment policy be well-arranged and intrinsically consistent.

This situation holds true even more markedly in the context of integration policy which covers, or should cover, different aspects of immigrant integration into society whilst at the same time reflecting the existence of various immigrant residence statuses which, in turn, are linked to different rights and duties. The functioning of **immigrant-related employment policy** thus requires both the intrinsic coherence of the two policies and their mutual harmonisation. Access to the labour market for specific groups of young migrants (and their subsequent integration) is often substantially conditioned by the coherence of the two policies and by the intercultural openness of all the stakeholders involved in the field of employment.

1.2. Programmes and Services Available to Young Third-country Immigrants

Programmes focusing on immigrants or ethnic minorities are implemented predominantly by organisations which specialize in providing services for such groups of people. **State organisations concerned with the larger population** (e.g. labour offices) generally provide no specialised services for immigrants from third countries; indeed, labour offices only very rarely target specific approaches at such groups of people.

This holds true especially for young second generation (younger than 27 years) third-country immigrants who are currently entering the labour market the majority of whom were educated at Czech elementary schools and who, from the cultural point of view, are considerably adapted to the Czech environment. School attendance is compulsory in the Czech Republic and a sound knowledge of Czech is a prerequisite for the successful completion of a child’s school career. Children of third-country immigrants on the whole do not share their parents’ most serious integration handicap, i.e. the language barrier.

According to available (albeit sporadic) results from various empirical surveys, the children of immigrants usually perform well at school and often continue to study at establishments of further education. Hence they are rarely in need of the services of **labour offices**⁵. This fact is of considerable importance when evaluating the existence or absence of Czech public employment policy focusing on the promotion of interculturality. Nevertheless, the authors

⁵ As at 30 April 2009 only 368 third-country job applicants under the age of 25 were registered at labour offices. As at 31 December 2009 their number had increased to just 450 (OK práce information system - the information was requested for research purposes).

were unable to find any policy explicitly targeted at young third-country nationals. **Foreigners holding permanent residence status in the Czech Republic are entitled by law to make use of all available state policy instruments related to employment.**

Respondents from the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MoLSA) as well as from labour offices believe that all labour office clients should be treated equally in compliance with the “equal treatment” principles incorporated in the Employment Act. Those migrants who do not manage to successfully compete in the labour market should be supported, in their opinion, by the non-governmental sector. At present, labour offices are overloaded to such an extent that staff have little inclination to consider any type of above-standard programme intended for the support of employment for young third-country immigrants.

Research⁶ indicates that young migrants rarely contact state institutions regarding their problems the reason being a perceived mutual distrust between such institutions and immigrants. As part of their responsibilities with regard to aliens, state institution (labour office) employees are required to deal with breaches of regulations by foreigners and they tend to see this group as a source of problems; conversely, foreigners are afraid of sanctions which might be imposed by state institutions should they breach legal regulations the cause of which may well not be deliberate but rather ignorance or the fault of others.

As a consequence of the current economic crisis, the administrative process regarding the extension of work permits for foreigners is often delayed and those foreigners for whom employers plan to extend employment contracts may, due to delays, see their residence permits expire. To arrange documentation within the time limits prescribed by legislation has thus become a highly sophisticated process, which, without expert assistance, is difficult even for those foreigners with a high level of qualifications who have been living in the Czech Republic for many years.

Foreigners who no longer need a work permit (i.e. those who have a permanent residence permit⁷ or citizenship) are in certain respects in a somewhat better situation. However, in the present economic environment they have problems finding employment. This is due not only to the economic crisis but also because employers are more interested in the temporary employment of foreigners concerning whom they have no obligations following the termination of employment. In addition, such employers have no interest in hiring employees in the long term as this is associated with higher levels of legal protection for employees against and following dismissal⁸.

In terms of **specific support for the employment of third-country immigrants** the MoLSA delegates certain powers to non-governmental organisations via financial support for specific projects. The integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities currently involves a large number of **non-governmental organisations** in the Czech Republic a number of which are concerned particularly with employment issues.

Nevertheless, those organisations concerned with the integration of minorities tend to concentrate in particular on the Roma population, focusing on social exclusion rather than on integration in the broadest sense. Other organisations define themselves on ethnic grounds and

⁶ Both the labour office surveys and interviews with young immigrants carried out as part of the Moving Societies towards Integration project.

⁷ Foreigners holding permanent residence permits have the same rights and responsibilities as Czech citizens in the CR labour market. They are entitled to use labour office services and to obtain unemployment benefits.

⁸ Employers today tend to prefer the hire and fire system not because temporary workers are cheaper but because hiring permanent staff is too risky during the economic crisis. Obligatory compensation for making staff redundant could result in bankruptcy for many companies.

specialise in members of specific minorities (e.g. Club Hanoi). With regard particularly to immigrant integration, the most significant organisations are as follows: Centre for Immigrant Integration (Centrum pro integraci cizinců), Centre for Migration Issues (Centrum pro otázky migrace), Organisation for Aid for Refugees (Organizace pro pomoc uprchlíkům), Counselling Centre for Integration (Poradna pro integraci), Society of Citizens Assisting Immigrants (Sdružení občanů zabývajících se emigranty), etc. Most organisations concerned with immigrant integration are based in the two largest Czech cities, Prague and Brno; nevertheless, organisations based in these cities as well as other regional organisations are also active in other towns and cities with a significant immigrant community (towns and cities in which companies employing large numbers of immigrants are based, those in which refugee facilities are located, etc.).

Foreigners from third countries particularly (not necessarily persons under the age of 27) are the subject of various specialised projects. They include primarily **projects aimed at improving their competence to find a job**, i.e. language courses for foreigners, computer literacy training and courses focusing on providing a basic knowledge of the Czech work environment and the culture (including the work culture) of the host country. Specific projects differ according to whether they are inclined towards the overall integration of foreigners or the more specific integration of foreigners into the labour market. In addition to courses which focus on the ability of foreigners to find employment one can also include in this category training courses which aim at improving relations and cooperation between employers and job applicants or provide other forms of support (e.g. training aimed at improving knowledge of the Czech labour market, information on responsibilities and rights, an insight into the Czech legal system, etc.).

In addition, **other integrated instruments aimed at the integration of foreigners** and the support of marginalized groups are worthy of mention i.e. social worker assistance, legal advice, pedagogical and psychological consultation sessions and educational programmes. Although these fields are not directly related to employment, they may indirectly affect a migrant's chances of success in the labour market. Further assistance for foreigners which may be considered as contributing towards migrant employability (and thus also towards increasing the cultural openness of the employment market) include professional advisory services, assistance in arranging the necessary documentation, help in communication with a potential employer (e.g. in the case of insufficient command of the language or as a "control contact" capable of recognising potential employer discrimination practices), training, etc.

Moreover, a significant role is played by services which are not aimed directly at foreigners, i.e. **projects which are designed primarily for the benefit of the majority population**, projects designed to assist the wider public, projects focusing on employers and state administration bodies and pilot projects the purpose of which is to bring about a conceptual change in the system governing the employment of foreigners.

Although all the afore-mentioned specialized activities and projects **go beyond the scope of the concept of the "intercultural opening of institutions"** as it is understood with regard to this project (which involves primarily the monitoring of "mainstream" institutions), they nevertheless play a positive role in the intercultural opening of employment services as a whole (which must be understood as a complex of activities carried out by mainstream institutions as well as those specialized activities which are specifically aimed at persons falling into the monitored target group or, conversely, are designed primarily for the majority population or its institutions). Presently, specialized organisations support the intercultural opening of the Czech employment market to a significantly higher extent than do "mainstream" institutions, such as labour offices, which are perceived rather negatively in this

respect. The two most important funding schemes which presently support specific projects and which are aimed at reinforcing intercultural opening consist of:

- The **Foreigner Integration Policy** (hereinafter the Policy). Projects submitted by various government departments and non-governmental organisations are financed from the state budget or from the European Social Fund. The Policy for 2008 approved and funded by the Czech government included projects aimed directly at the employment of migrants. Although the Policy does not contain any special projects designed for the integration of young migrants under the age of 27 into the labour market, this group is fully entitled to take advantage of the various opportunities provided.
- The **Operational Programme for Human Resources and Employment**, the principal aim of which is to contribute towards increasing overall employment in the Czech Republic and which contains five priority areas which also apply to the young third-country immigrants:
 - adaptability,
 - active labour market policies,
 - social integration and equal opportunities, with special reference to members of Roma communities, immigrants and other groups from different cultural backgrounds,
 - public administration and public services and
 - international cooperation.

A wide range of projects which target the integration of foreigners and should, to some extent, contribute towards intercultural opening with regard to employment are funded from existing programmes. It is not possible to provide a complete overview of all the programmes available; the following list is presented in order to illustrate their variety.

- The **Work in Czech** (WIC) and **Work in Prague** (WIP) projects which focus on systematic support for the employment of immigrants and asylum-seekers in the labour market. Both projects provide immigrants and asylum-seekers with a long-term Czech language course (300 and 400 lessons), PC literacy courses (60 lessons), orientation in the labour market courses (practical information on the labour market, employment law documentation, CV design, communication with potential employers, trade licence application, tax returns, etc.) and a motivation course (self-knowledge). In addition, WIP project participants are offered a recruitment process course (knowledge and skills useful for interviews for skilled employment). WIC project participants are provided with assistance in the domestication of personal documentation and are encouraged to participate in re-training courses. The primary objective of both projects is to persuade participants to take advantage of courses specialising in the labour market; the language courses are provided as a complementary service.
- The **Support of employment in socially excluded areas in the Most⁹ district** project which is intended for all citizens residing in the defined areas who are suffering from social exclusion and stigmatization. It is recognised that without direct integrated intervention in the affected areas the employment situation cannot be changed to any significant extent. The project deals with the problem of unemployment as a social and economic rather than an ethnic problem, especially with regard to the impossibility of determining from official statistics who is and who is not Roma (authors' comment: or

⁹ Most is Northern Bohemian city characterized by a high unemployment rate.

difficulty of determining who is an immigrant). The culture and lifestyle of the Roma is taken into consideration by the adoption of a culturally sensitive approach to the provision of services. Unemployment and social exclusion are mutually linked and are accompanied by physical as well as spatial exclusion. The main objective of the project is to provide potential job applicants who live in such socially and culturally excluded areas with an opportunity to integrate themselves into the job market via the targeted use of consulting services, motivation techniques, re-training courses, existing experience, work assistance and support for job creation. Moreover, the project aims to strengthen cooperation between local NGOs in order to streamline AEP instruments regarding the development of competence and the employment of socially excluded persons and to increase local awareness of the necessity of applying specific approaches in order to integrate socially excluded people into the labour market by means of the "culturally sensitive" provision of services.

- An **Information and Counselling Centre** for occupation choice is located at every labour office. IPS consultants and psychologists examine the personal and professional qualifications of job candidates, especially those of first-time job applicants who are concerned with selecting their future occupation and first employment position. All the services provided by the labour office are free of charge and can be utilised by young migrants under the age of 27 if they fall under the jurisdiction of the Employment Act.
- Operating since 2007, the non-governmental organisation IQ Roma Servis (civic association), operating in Brno and other municipalities in the South-Moravian Region, awards the **Ethnic Friendly Employer brand** to employers who acknowledge equal treatment principles and who in practice do not discriminate against job candidates and existing staff because of their ethnic origin or nationality.

2. Opportunities for the Increased Opening of the Sub-system to Migrants

As far as “mainstream” institutions in the employment sub-area are concerned, labour offices provide by far the most important complex of services despite which the target group under investigation uses such services somewhat sporadically¹⁰. This would appear to be a crucial shortcoming in terms of the intercultural opening up of work and employment opportunities within the sub-system. The reasons are numerous but the most significant include:

- labour market regulations to which foreigners from third countries are subject,
- low level of migrant trust in this institution,
- low level of attractiveness of labour office services and
- a migrant’s strong ties to their ethnic community (alternative resources or offers).

All these factors would tend to imply that the successful integration of a foreigner lies more in *institutional opening with regard to clients in general* rather than the narrower concept of the *intercultural opening of labour market institutions*. However, intercultural opening should be perceived as an important element of the broader of these two concepts. The identified *criteria of intercultural opening* are therefore (through their narrower focus) in principle also relevant. They also refer to the question as to whether the sub-area is open to migrants or not (e.g. a culturally diverse team at the labour office would increase a migrant’s level of trust in this institution and thereby open up the field to them). But it is necessary to reflect that the criteria assessed below will refer only to factors influencing the *intercultural opening of*

¹⁰ According to the opinions both of labour market officers and immigrants offered at interview.

labour market institutions and will not cover the whole range of factors influencing *institutional opening in general*.

All measures which are able to increase *institutional opening in general* or the *intercultural opening* of the sub-system **should be primarily compatible with the principles and aims of employment policy**. Such measures will be counterproductive if they or the consequences of such measures considerably distort market and equal treatment principles or are seen as being in opposition to the other important aims of this policy. Consequently, it is possible to say that relevant measures (i.e. measures compatible with employment policy) should

- **reduce *undesirable barriers*** in the labour market,
- **increase an immigrant's trust** in the relevant institutions and
- **increase the attractiveness of labour office services** to immigrants (and thereby allow such services to better compete with alternative offers available).

3. Relevant Criteria in terms of the Opening of the Sub-system

Criteria focusing on the **workforce, staff or professionals working in the sub-system** are relevant to the intercultural opening of the work and employment sub-system. This finding, discovered as a result of the authors' empirical research, is not surprising since this dimension undoubtedly forms an important element of the work and employment sub-system. Moreover, the measures to which some of these criteria refer should already have been introduced on the independent initiative of related organisations without resort to controversial regulation.

With regard to the criteria in this subset, the highest level of importance should be accorded to the cultural diversity of the team and employee awareness of intercultural issues, the appointment of professionals from migrant/minority backgrounds to visible positions as role models and they should include intercultural sensitivity as a criterion in the recruitment process¹¹.

Importance should also be accorded to those criteria related to **intercultural training**. It is beyond doubt that the efficacy of intercultural training is determined by the initial conception and design. The identified set of criteria appears to be relevant in terms both of describing the conception and design of intercultural training and (despite some criticism¹²) for the sub-system under discussion.

Attention should also be devoted to the **policies or tools used for advancing the process of opening**. However, especially in terms of the work and employment sub-system, the question is to what extent policies introducing intercultural opening should intervene in this area (or in the labour market in general) and which measures are eligible in this regard. Interviews revealed that centralization is considered to be counterproductive. For this reason it would appear preferable to ensure the mainstreaming of intercultural issues in different institutions (or within one already existing institution) rather than to establish a specific central institution

¹¹ However, there were some conflicting statements in the case of the last-mentioned criterion in the interviews. This criterion imports enormous non-market regulation to the labour market and deforms it. Its relevancy is contestable since the border between measures which only "soften conditions for foreigner integration" and measures which should be considered "positive discrimination" is often unclear and arguable.

¹² One interview respondent pointed out that certain criteria identified in this dimension refer to different manifestations of the same aspect or to very similar aspects. The respondent remarked that the provision of "*systematic and continuous*" training is not possible if it is not at the same time "*financially secured and sustainable*". Many respondents put forward the objection that there are no appropriate criteria allowing the measurement of the impact of training ("*the impact of training in the work context should be measured*").

the role of which would be to provide intercultural training and coordination exclusively in this field.

It is also important to consider the influence of the media on the general public's perception of foreigners and minorities. The media has, according to the majority of respondents, a considerable impact on the sub-system. The compliance of the media with agreed ethical codes is obviously desirable however in reality this rarely happens since they are not obliged by law to do so. On the other hand, it is questionable whether it is reasonable to demand that the media be obliged to respect such codes.

The commitment that a state institution will strive for intercultural opening (**steering, management or internal organisation**) is undoubtedly promising; at the same time the risk exists that this is merely a formal declaration or simply a formal approach to fulfilling the stated aims.

The criteria related both to **mediation** and the **participation of immigrants** are undoubtedly important in terms of intercultural opening in general. However it is difficult to apply such criteria to employment. Labour offices clearly have to respect their legal obligations which include the protection of the national labour market. Consequently, the specific requirements of their clients can be considered only to a limited extent in accordance with existing legislation and the opportunities for immigrants to negotiate are limited¹³.

4. Barriers

A significant barrier in terms of the intercultural openness of labour market institutions in the Czech Republic is the lack of reliance of young immigrants on labour offices. Immigrants do not believe that this institution can help them when searching for employment; sometimes because of a previous bad experience, sometimes because of the poor reputation of labour offices in immigrant communities and principally because positions offered by labour offices are often very unattractive. Many immigrants also have problems understanding Czech legislation despite having mastered the language and several years of residence. Legal terminology is complex and often difficult to understand even for native Czechs.

Although many projects have focused on improving the awareness of foreigners of the legal requirements of the labour market in the Czech Republic and on the legal conditions governing work and self-employment, it is still not enough. Moreover, regulations change rapidly. A great deal of information material is published but it rapidly becomes obsolete and foreigners often do not know which information is valid. Even experts find following the rapid development of legislation demanding.

To date, labour offices have not introduced any above-standard programmes focused specifically at supporting the employment of young immigrants from third countries. The MoLSA as well as labour office respondents are of the opinion that such measures are not yet necessary and that the non-governmental sector should handle those foreigners who are difficult to place in employment. However, non-governmental organisations are only rarely successful at finding jobs for foreigners; they are unable to replace state institutions in this respect since they lack the respective powers. Moreover, they suffer from a lack of funding which recently has forced a number of NGOs to make redundancies.

In the Czech Republic, targeted programmes have not yet been introduced to support the legal employment of young immigrants from third countries (in particular with respect to the two largest, i.e. the Ukrainian and Vietnamese communities). The initiative has been left to a considerable degree to ethnic networks and so-called "client systems" which often results not

¹³ The legal provisions regulating entry of third country nationals into the EU labour markets set inequalities.

in legal, standard economic activity, but in, at best, irregular employment and, at worst, jobs which amount to little more than slavery (the remuneration consists of accommodation and food only) concerning which there is no respect for safety and hygiene standards and no social and health insurance coverage. Experts agree that, due to the economic crisis, the number of foreigners employed in irregular positions has increased recently. Clearly this hardly contributes towards an atmosphere of openness and trust between the host society and migrants.

Conclusions

The fundamental problem of intercultural openness in the area of employment in general is common ignorance. The concept of interculturality, however, is currently being developed and promoted in particular by the academic community and experts dealing with international migration and ethnicity. General public awareness includes fixed terminology such as “multicultural society”, “diversity management”, “intercultural education”, “intercultural competence”, “cultural dialogue”, etc., however intercultural openness as a concept, to which policies reflecting the afore-mentioned concepts should lead, is not perceived by the general public as a subject deserving of increased and permanent attention. Public interest is usually awakened by targeted campaigns and wanes rapidly. A certain feature specific of intercultural dialogue in the Czech environment is that it focuses less on foreigners and immigrants than on internal social problems, in particular on coexistence with the Roma minority.

Labour offices have not yet established a code of practice specifically concerning working actively with young immigrants searching for employment the main reason being that they do not see such people as a problem group in the labour market.

No immigrants work at labour offices since only full citizens are entitled to work for state administration bodies. Moreover, labour office respondents pointed out that no new immigrants have, to date, applied for positions in labour offices (presumably because they do not have the required skills)¹⁴. However, a culturally varied workforce might well lead to labour offices being more sympathetic towards young migrants. People who have their own job searching experience as foreigners would be in the best position to develop new ways of assisting young migrants. “Labour offices mostly do only what they are required to do, but nothing more”, as one respondent from the immigrant community pointed out.

Information campaigns and information brochures¹⁵ on the employment of foreigners have been produced in order to assist immigrants to orientate themselves in the labour market; however, they have not yet had the impact anticipated. In addition, a number of e-learning programmes have been developed for the education of labour office staff with regard to issues concerning migration and ethnicity; however, not one labour office respondent mentioned

¹⁴ The notion immigrant is perhaps not appropriate here. The only relevant characteristic in this assessment is the distinction between foreigners from third countries and Czech citizens. If there were any naturalised skilled immigrants already employed in labour offices, nobody would monitor or report this fact. There is no machinery in place to distinguish between citizens and naturalised foreigners working in labour offices. However, one labour office survey respondent mentioned explicitly that his office had planned to employ a person with foreign status. The plan, however, did not come to fruition (the reason was not given; since a number of possible causes could be considered in this regard, it is not possible to interpret this single event).

¹⁵ E.g. a manual on orientation in the labour market targeted at all aspects of immigrant employment was written as part of the Equal Initiative. It provides complete information on the various legal and practical aspects of the process of employment (how to find a job, how to conduct oneself at interview, how to negotiate salary conditions, the rights and duties of the employee and the employer, working hours, job security, holidays etc.). The handbook provides a very useful instrument for immigrants but nobody (neither immigrants, nor labour office employees) mentioned it during the interviews.

such programmes as a tool employed in their everyday work. The authors believe significant financial resources have been devoted to the integration of immigrants in the labour market, but the effect has, to date, been minimal. The policies and instruments to be employed in promoting intercultural openness have already been designed as part of the overall policy for the integration of foreigners, but their implementation remains at an insufficient level. More time is needed before the relevant players become familiar with the tools available.

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Data Sources:

OK práce information system - information requested for research purposes

www.czso.cz