

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF MIGRATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AS PART OF THE TRANSFORMATION OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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Introduction

Internal migration of population is undoubtedly among vital regional processes and an integral part of mechanisms forming the geographical organization of society. As a complex process it is actually a general expression of interrelatedness of a whole set of heterogeneous factors. This means that migration is an important aggregate index of regional disparity in the fields of demography, social development, economy or environment. At the same time it is a process which influences not only the total number of population, but also its demographic, economic and social composition. Analysis of migration processes, their forecasting and search for instruments with which to influence them is therefore an integral part of regional policy.

The evaluation of internal migration should be reviewed in connection with other forms of spatial mobility such as international migration, temporary or transient migration or commuting for work, services or recreation. Individual forms of spatial mobility distinguish themselves with complex interrelationships – they closely follow, replace or complement each other. From the evolutionary point of view it should be stressed that there are changes in the presence of individual forms of spatial mobility – the importance of cyclic territorial movements is gradually increasing (Zelinsky, 1971). The development of migration in the Czech Republic and other postcommunist countries in Central Europe was shaped by two basic factors in the 1990s. On the one hand, these are general regularities of migration processes bound to new global development trends which, influenced by essential change in economic and social environment, are increasingly manifest in advanced countries. On the other hand, the role of a major factor is played by the particular character of the countries under observation, both as regards their forty-year communist history, and the current era marked with unique transformation processes.

General principles

The basic development trends of migration are closely connected with general development regularities of settlement systems. In the current, almost completed, extensive stage of urbanization, characterized by both an absolute and relative growth of urban population, territorial mobility of population was mainly represented by one-way migration from rural to urban areas. The current period of a transition from quantitative to qualitative forms of growth is marked with a completion of static territorial concentration of population; urbanized regions with a complex structure are being developed; and a “relationship” concentration with the mobility of population between centers, accompanied with the development of further forms of territorial mobility, is emerging. While in the previous era migration chiefly had a concentrating and selective role, an integrating role is increasingly gaining ground in developed countries at present. The changes are evidently manifested by opposite directions of migration streams, while the proportion of net migration in the migration turnover is shrinking (see Hampl, Gardavský, Kühnl 1987, Dostál, Hampl 1994).

The transition from the extensive to intensive stage of the development of settlement systems is specifically reflected in the emergence of a number of new forms in the settlement system. Especially in the past three decades there have been various processes in Western Europe and North America expressed among others by change in the spatial distribution of population. On the other hand, they often do not have a clear and unequivocal orientation. This is, first and foremost, the process of suburbanization which sparks off territorial diffusion of urbanized space and the creation of vast agglomerations and conurbations. In the core areas of these units the population number stagnates and eventually diminishes; by contrast, there is a growth of population in external zones. Further intensification of decentralization tendencies, but on a higher

regional order, is caused by the process of de-urbanization which has been rather limited and has not yet appeared worldwide. Decentralization trends of suburbanization and de-urbanization processes are at present confronted with re-urbanization, a process which includes certain elements of selective concentration and which is connected with the rehabilitation of urbanized parts of settlement, especially with revitalization of town centers (see Cheshire 1995, Fielding 1989).

In developed countries the whole postwar era distinguished itself with a strong relationship between the scope of migration mobility and economic development. A high intensity of migration in the 1950s and 1960s was to a large extent due to the economic prosperity of that time as well as to a still extensive rate of development. By contrast, the worldwide economic recession triggered by oil crises in the 1970s influenced the lowering of migration mobility which can be observed in a number of countries between the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. There was a particularly important phenomenon which mediated the relationship between the economic recession and the scope of migration mobility. It was a slump in housing construction with a large impact on commuting belts of metropolises. From the viewpoint of net migration there were long-standing losses in peripheral regions with a dominance of rural settlement and, more recently, in the regions shaped by old manufacturing branches such as the textile industry, extraction of raw materials, steel making, heavy engineering, etc. Together with the attractiveness of traditional metropolises – not of their cores, but their broad hinterland – there was the attractiveness both of the regions with the development of progressive manufacturing branches and the regions with good-quality environment.

Distinctive features of long-standing migration development in the Czech Republic

The development of migration in the Czech Republic has certain features identical with the outlined general development trends. However, in a number of cases it was affected by a specific political and economic situation after World War Two, when administrative, planning forms of management had a strong, distorting influence. The deformation was perhaps least seen in the case of the development of net migration. A successive lowering of its intensity and, similarly, of the dynamics of the concentration process were in keeping with the completion of extensive forms of the development of settlement. Regional differences in net migration were caused not only by natural differentiation of attractiveness of centers and regions, but also by various problematic preferences (especially in coal mining areas) and the needs to compensate for regional differences in the natural growth of population. There was a more substantial deformation: a successive, relatively continual, lowering of overall migration mobility of population. Let it be mentioned that an average 3 % of population changed the place of residence in the Czech Republic annually in the early 1960s, while the figure plummeted to a mere 2.1 % by the late 1980s.

The described tendencies and administrative interference in their course were strongly differentiated in their order and scale. From this viewpoint it is possible to describe perhaps the most significant deformation of the geographical organization of migration development in the Czech Republic: the successive closing of migration processes into the framework of relatively small territorial units, chiefly districts. The planning concepts which chiefly sought an overall equalization of social conditions, and an efficient mechanism of “guided distribution of housing construction” were suppressing the regional selective function of migration and restricted concentration processes into the framework of small administrative units. The highest preferences, the highest intensity of housing construction and the highest intensity of net migration were typical of small and medium-sized towns with 10 to 50 thousand inhabitants during the best part of the postwar period. This was doubly true of administrative centers of districts. The described tendencies eventually also led to the curbed growth of the biggest towns and to the deceleration of metropolization processes.

From the viewpoint of specific geographical organization of migration processes the postwar development in the Czech Republic was influenced in the long run by the deportation of the people of German descent and the subsequent resettlement of the borderland. Until the mid-1960s there was another major destination of migration streams: the coal mining areas. However, in the course of further development they gradually turned into emigration units. Traditionally, the western and southern borderland were another area with a migration loss. In the mid-1970s the net migration changed in a number of south Bohemian districts which had had a long-standing migration loss, as their migration attractiveness increased and came second after

Central Bohemia during the 1980s. From the late 1960s onwards there was a gradual increase in Prague's natural attractiveness, which culminated in the highest migration gains of the capital in the postwar time in the second half of the 1980s (see also Hampl, Kühnl 1993, Bartoňová, Drbohlav 1993, Kühnl, Čermák 1996).

Current nature of internal migration in the Czech Republic

The distinctiveness of the transformation period, which consists of a transition from the centrally guided and unfree society to a democratic society with a market economy, has been evidenced by the contradictions caused by the necessary correction of previous deformations and by the effect of global development trends. In the Czech Republic, e.g., the development of metropolization processes was artificially restricted for decades. Unlike the situation in developed countries it may be expected that after a limited time passes, concentration processes will be revived. However, the revival can only materialise if the current barriers to a large-scale housing market are removed. Due to the described barriers, together with anticipated changes the development of the migration situation in the first half of the 1990s has also brought in its train some unexpected facts. Two trends are quite dominant: the decline in the overall migration mobility is continuing and further deepening, while there is also a general reversal in the net migration inside the size categories of communities. Together with this, the migration closeness at the district level is surviving or even slightly intensifying, and the proportion of net migration in the migration turnover of districts fluctuates around low values (table 1).

Migration mobility is decreasing much more in the current period than in the previous years. The number of migrants in intercommunity migration shrank by about 30 % between 1990 and 1995. The effectiveness of migration, measured by the ratio of net migration to migration turnover, has also further declined. While the average value of the ratio for districts was 8.5 % from 1981 to 1985, it fell to the mere 4.2 % between 1991 and 1995.

The falling migration mobility is to some extent compensated by a growing importance of further forms of territorial mobility of population which are not linked to the change in the permanent place of residence. The difference between the real daily and permanently residing population is estimated for Prague at 400,000 people (Čermák, Drbohlav, Hampl, Kučera, 1995). However, the decisive role in the decline in migration mobility has been played by the housing question in the 1990s. On the one hand, this is a problem of legislative frameworks which would create conditions for the existence of a genuine housing market, and a quantitative and qualitative renewal of the housing stock on the other. There has been a dramatic slump in housing construction since 1989. While as many as 60,000 flats were being completed annually in the 1980s, the figure fell to a mere 12,000 in 1995 and approximately 20,000 annually in 1998–2000. The low numbers of newly built flats are not even sufficient to simply replace the housing stock.

From the viewpoint of total level of migration mobility at the macroregional level there is an obvious difference between the western and eastern parts of the country. While in Bohemia the interdistrict intensity of migration amounts to an average 11.5 ‰, the figure is only 8.9 ‰ in Moravian districts (average of the years 1991–1995). The difference is long-standing and it results from some peculiarities in the economic, social and settlement structures.

The regional structure of internal migration in 1990–1995 has started to differ more significantly from the past periods. While from the 1960s onwards the correlation coefficients of five-year average intensity of net migration in 76 districts of the Czech Republic varied between 0.86 and 0.95 in consecutive periods, the value plummeted to a mere 0.04 in the last two period. Changes in the migration balance of districts in the southwestern borderland must be called highly significant. In this area, which used to have a continual negative migration balance, there was a decrease of losses and in some cases (the Tachov, Klatovy and Český Krumlov districts) even some migration gains after 1990, especially between 1991 and 1994. By contrast, the region along the northwestern border is at present one of the areas with the highest intensity of negative net migration. It is worth mentioning that there was another increase in migration attractiveness of Central Bohemia, especially in its northern part. Prague's hinterland has been the region with the highest migration

gains in the 1990s. In Moravia the Brno agglomeration is among important immigration areas. Most of northern Moravia, first of all the Ostrava-město and Karviná districts, have incurred migration losses (figures 1–3). Regional changes in migration attractiveness are influenced by the factor of location (the effect of the removal of the “Iron Curtain” in the southwestern border; the development of the hinterland of the biggest centers), and by the nature of the economic basis of a given area (a negative impact of economic restructuring on migration balance at the foot of the Ore Mountains and in the Ostrava region). The outlined regional changes are also connected with a shift of migration attractiveness towards small towns.

Major changes have occurred in migration balance and relations between individual size categories since 1989. A gradual increase in migration attractiveness of small towns and villages, and its decline in small and medium-sized towns led after 1994 to a complete reversal of the traditional model – the size categories of towns and villages with less than 10,000 inhabitants are distinguishing themselves with migration gains, while the categories over this population number have migration losses (figure 4). The most dramatic changes occurred in the 1990s in rural communities (size category under 2,000 inhabitants) and towns with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants and over 100,000 inhabitants. Out of the towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants only 4 recorded a migration gain between 1997 and 1999. On the other hand, there were slightly more communities with gains than losses in the size category of less than 2,000 inhabitants in the same period. While an average 113,014 inhabitants moved annually from a smaller to a bigger size category (there were 7 size categories of communities) and 84,375 in the opposite direction in 1981–1983, the streams were about level between 1992 and 1994 (86,729 and 86,628); from 1997 to 1999 more people moved from a higher to a lower category: 78,549 compared to 62,445 (table 2). This elementary reversal in the whole balance of size categories of communities was caused by an intensified difference between the natural attractiveness of settlements and the availability of housing.

The age structure of net migration was marked with negative characteristics of older age groups (over 65 years) in the communities under 2,000 inhabitants and towns with more than 50,00 inhabitants, while this basic picture hardly changed throughout the 1990s. A traditional distribution can be found in the years 1992–1994 at the age of highest migration mobility of 20 to 29 years: there were sizeable losses among small communities, while a positive net migration appeared among cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants. However, in the mid-1990s (1995–1997) migration losses as well as gains on both opposites of the size scale decreased. There was an interesting one can of people at productive age (30–49 years), in which the category of small communities under 5,000 inhabitants (including the smallest villages) had a positive net migration, while the groups of towns above this size had migration losses. Since migration effectiveness at this age surged in the course of the 1990s, this group most contributed to the differences between the whole net migration balances of individual size categories of communities in the period of 1997 to 1999. From the viewpoint of the movement along the size scale of communities, the age groups of 20–29 and 30–49 years had a contradictory one can: while in the former group there was still a dominance of upward movement, a downward movement clearly prevailed in the latter. As regards the educational structure of migrants, there was still a continuing attractiveness of the biggest metropolises for the people with higher education. But even the biggest cities started losing people with higher education to the benefit of villages with less than 2,000 inhabitants in 1995–1996.

Migration motives are among signs which may cast light on some factors influencing migration between size categories of communities in the 1990s. In general terms, two groups can be selected from migration motives recorded by statistical bodies. In the first group, which includes the change of workplace; coming close to the workplace; study; and marriage, there is a dominance of the traditional model of an upward movement along the size scale of settlements. Quite an opposite picture appears in the case of housing motives; the following of a family members; and other motives. In this group of motives the size category of small towns (roughly 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants) has migration gains, while the category of the towns over 10,000 people migration losses (table 3). As regards migration for housing motives, there was an increase in migration effectiveness in the 1990s and in this case the absolute value of net migration was highest in comparison with other motives.

The development of migration balance of size categories of communities is marked with a distinctive form of its territorial differentiation. Absolutely biggest migration gains of small communities (under 2,000

inhabitants) are concentrated in the districts which create the hinterland of the biggest urban agglomerations. Out of the 15 districts with the highest net migration in the size group of communities under 2,000 inhabitants, there were 10 districts of this type between 1995 and 1996. Migration losses of big metropolises and the growth of small communities in their hinterland are connected to some extent with the expected development of suburbanization processes. In this field there are certain signs especially in the development of the broader agglomeration hinterland of Prague, Brno and Plzeň. The hinterland of Prague (the districts of Praha-východ, Praha-západ, Beroun, Kladno and Mělník) and Brno (the districts of Brno-venkov, Blansko and Vyškov) for the first time since the 1960s had a positive net migration in relation to the core of the agglomeration in the period after 1993 (table 4, figure 1–3). However, changes in the migration balance of small communities have an increasing impact on a broader and broader area. While in 1992–1994 migration gains appeared among 33 districts in the size category of communities under 2,000 inhabitants, the figure rose to 55 districts in 1995–1996.

Similarities in the development of migration in transforming countries of Central Europe

Migration trends in further postcommunist countries of Central Europe (in this study Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic) display a number of features identical with the development in the Czech Republic. Despite some differences, revealed, e.g., in the nature of settlement systems or the extent of industrialization given by the long-standing historical development, due to the adoption of the same ideological formula and their application through centrally planned mechanisms there was a successive homogenization of a number of processes taking place in this area in the period following the World War Two. Postwar transfers of population together with the “socialist industrialization” of some regions led to a high migration mobility especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Its intensity reached average annual values between 30 % and 40 % among the lowest territorial units. Between the 1960s and 1980s the figure successively fell to as little as 20 % at the beginning of the transforming era. This trend continued especially in the Czech Republic and Slovakia between 1990 and 1996. Intensity of migration mobility fell by about 30 % there. In Poland it dropped by 18 %, while in Hungary mobility stagnated at around 20 %.

Identical features can also be observed in the development of migration relations between size categories of settlements. The original one-way orientation of migration streams from rural to urban areas has gradually changed in the course of the 1990s. Perhaps the biggest number of features identical with the situation in the Czech Republic can be found in Hungary. The migration balance of Budapest has been negative since 1993, while the same has been true for the groups of other towns since as early as 1990. By contrast, rural communities have had a migration gain in the 1990s. Budapest’s negative migration balance with its hinterland decisively accounts for its total migration loss (Kok 1996). In Slovakia, too, the growth of the biggest towns has significantly decreased. While in the 1970s and 1980s Bratislava and Košice were thanks to the annual eight- to ten-percent migration increase among the fastest growing cities in the region, in the 1990s Bratislava’s migration growth has amounted to 2–3 %, while in Košice it has been virtually nil. In the field of domestic migration, the size category of towns between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants displayed a loss in 1995. Migration losses, though minimal, still appeared among communities with less than 2,000 inhabitants in 1995.

A relatively smallest distance to the traditional model of migration balance in size categories of communities appeared in Poland in the mid-1990s. But here, too, one can see a rapid decline in migration gains of towns. While as recently as 1986–1990 the annual intensity of migration growth of towns was an average 5.8 %, the figure shrank to a mere 1 % between 1995 and 1996. The category of the biggest towns (over 500,000 inhabitants) lost population to the benefit of all other size categories of towns in 1994 and its total migration gain was only safeguarded at the expense of rural communities (Rees, Durham, Kupiszewski 1996). An onset of suburbanization processes, though with a limited intensity, could be distinguished in all the Central European metropolises under observation (Budapest, Bratislava, Košice, the Upper Silesian agglomeration, Wrocław, Warsaw, Poznań).

The decisive role in the above-mentioned changes has been played by housing situation. In the postwar era the observed countries were tackling serious problems in the sphere of housing, concerning both the quantity

and quality of the housing stock. Even a relatively large-scale housing construction of an extensive type was unable to resolve the problems. The adverse situation even worsened in the first stages of the transformation period. Political and economic changes extended both into the current ownership relations and a dramatic slump in new housing construction. In the Czech Republic an annual 50,000–60,000 flats were being completed in the 1980s, but only 14,500 in 1996. In Hungary the figure fell from 73,000 (annual average for 1981–1985) to as little as 25,000 in 1990–1994 annually, and in Poland from 191,000 (1981–1985) to 101,000 (1991–1995) and 62,000 in 1996. In the Czech Republic, Slovakia and especially in Hungary the decline came to a halt in the mid-1990 and the number of completed flats has been gradually rising, while the downward trend has continued in Poland (Nejdl 1998). The situation is further complicated by the transformation of ownership relations. Privatization and restitution of the housing stock in inadequate legal and economic conditions has led in these countries to substantial rises in housing prices on the black market. Due to this, new flats have become unavailable for most of the population. The situation is particularly bad in attractive agglomerations of big cities.

Conclusion

It transpires from the ascertained facts that a number of disparate, often contradictory factors were affecting the development of migration relations in the settlement of the transforming Central European nations in the first half of the 1990s. Changes in the external environment of migration processes – the geopolitical situation, economic restructuring, introduction of democracy, etc. – were taking place with a varying degree of strength and their impact on the nature of migration mobility is ambiguous. The expectation that transformation processes will increase free choice at the labour and housing markets, which will be reflected through migration mobility in the development of settlement system, has basically failed to come true. From the viewpoint of migration mobility the natural attractiveness of big metropolises, suppressed in the past, has virtually no impact. If anything, against the background of further decline in intensity and effectiveness of migration one can observe certain, minor deconcentration processes in the countries under observation. Similar trends – decline in mobility and deconcentration – have been found in a number of West European countries. But their causes differ. This state of affair can be attributed to the differences in the achieved degree of social and economic development in the two regions.

Some signs of suburbanization processes, connected with general development tendencies of settlement systems, are just another part of deconcentration processes taking place in the Czech Republic and other postcommunist countries. Clearly, an unfavourable situation in the housing market is the main barrier to the anticipated development of migration mobility and a decisive factor if the migration balance of size categories of communities is to be really reversed. The negative role is played both by the recession in housing construction and the complicated transformation of ownership relations. A bad housing situation is clearly visible in major towns in which traditional urban forms of large-scale housing construction have come to a virtual halt and the prices of flats have risen significantly. There was a minor decline in individual construction of houses in the hinterland of towns and in the countryside. The migration growth of small communities tends to be more connected with a worsened opportunity to move from these communities rather than with their own migration attractiveness. By contrast, migration losses of big towns are not caused by an increased intensity of out-migration, but by a decrease in immigration streams.

Paradoxically, deformations of migration mobility further deepened in the course of the transformation period. Due to this development, their importance when revealing the natural course of regional differentiation has lowered. Traditional relations between economic regional disparities and destinations of migration streams have been strongly eroded. Barriers chiefly arisen from a deformed housing market are also hampering the movement of workforce, which may have a strongly adverse effect in the transformation period when spatial arrangement of economic activities is being essentially altered. The current migration situation can partly be explained by the ongoing regional differentiation which tends to cause a “push effect”, involving the attractiveness of certain regions, while the discouraging “pull effect”, often bearing the form of a basic necessity to leave a given area, has only been of minor importance. The lowered importance of migration mobility is also connected with its being logically replaced with other forms of spatial mobility such as commuting for work and services, or temporary migration.

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Table 1: Internal migration in the Czech Republic 1961–1999

Year	Between districts			Between communes		Share of migration between districts (%)
	Number of migrants	Rate per 1,000 inhabitants	Migration effectiveness	Number of migrants	Rate per 1,000 inhabitants	
1961–1965	174,037	18.0	12.6	287,162	29.7	60.6
1966–1970	158,042	16.0	10.1	265,708	26.9	59.5
1971–1975	149,785	15.1	8.3	267,827	27.0	55.9
1976–1980	143,440	14.0	8.1	260,241	25.4	55.1
1981–1985	130,067	12.6	8.5	229,167	22.2	56.8
1986–1990	129,396	12.5	7.1	228,709	22.1	56.6
1991–1995	103,932	10.4	4.2	195,747	19.5	53.1
1996–1999	88,601	8.6	7.9	169,743	16.5	52.2
1991	116,247	11.2	6.0	217,599	21.1	53.4
1992	111,436	10.8	5.1	212,196	20.5	52.5
1993	106,308	10.3	4.8	200,474	19.4	53.0
1994	94,123	9.1	5.6	176,228	17.1	53.4
1995	91,545	8.9	5.4	172,240	16.7	53.2
1996	86,033	8.3	6.1	164,454	16.0	52.3
1997	87,629	8.4	7.8	167,666	16.3	52.3
1998	90,253	8.8	8.8	173,696	16.9	51.9
1999	90,488	8.8	8.8	172,882	16.8	52.3

Note: Annual average for a five year period. Without internal Prague's migration. Migration effectiveness = absolute value of net migration divided by gross migration and expressed as a percentage (average for 76 districts).

Source: Czech Statistical Office

Table 2: Net internal migration between population size categories of settlement in the Czech Republic, 1981–1983, 1992–1994, 1997–1999 (annual averages)

Size category of destination	Size category of origin							
	0–2	2–5	5–10	10–20	20–50	50–100	100+	Total
	1981–1983							
0–2	0	–2,993	–4,098	–4,427	–3,605	–2,508	–3,048	–20,678
2–5	2,993	0	–521	–1,074	–2,001	–546	–1,452	–2,602
5–10	4,098	521	0	–213	–1,099	–180	–1,338	1,789
10–20	4,427	1,074	213	0	–640	–727	–1,220	3,128
20–50	3,605	2,001	1,099	640	0	323	–1,413	6,254
50–100	2,508	546	180	727	–323	0	–1,362	2,277
100+	3,048	1,452	1,338	1,220	1,413	1,362	0	9,833
	1992–1994							
0–2	0	–1,327	–866	–709	–301	1,136	1206	–860
2–5	1,327	0	114	–26	75	609	385	2,484
5–10	866	–114	0	5	–205	164	–86	629
10–20	709	26	–5	0	–105	129	–307	447
20–50	301	–75	205	105	0	–213	–684	–361
50–100	–1,136	–609	–164	–129	213	0	–519	–2,343
100+	–1,206	–385	86	307	684	519	0	5
	1997–1999							
0–2	0	–57	634	1,198	2,328	3,441	5,688	13,232
2–5	57	0	75	269	694	917	1,335	3,348
5–10	–634	–75	0	–5	111	284	243	–77
10–20	–1,198	–269	5	0	–4	54	24	–1,388
20–50	–2,328	–694	–111	4	0	–90	–596	–3,815
50–100	–3,441	–917	–284	–54	90	0	–452	–5,058
100+	–5,688	–1,335	–243	–24	596	452	0	–6,242

Note: Population size categories of settlement – in thousand.

Source: Czech Statistical Office

Table 3: Net internal migration between population size categories of settlement by selected migration reasons in the Czech Republic (annual average 1997–1999)

Size category of destination	Size category of origin							
	0–2	2–5	5–10	10–20	20–50	50–100	100+	Total
Housing reasons								
0–2	0	211	699	1,142	1,420	1,645	2,846	7,963
2–5	–211	0	63	204	371	493	775	1,695
5–10	–699	–63	0	40	134	72	239	–277
10–20	–1,142	–204	–40	0	–15	51	115	–1,235
20–50	–1,420	–371	–134	15	0	–8	6	–1,912
50–100	–1,645	–493	–72	–51	8	0	96	–2,157
100+	–2,846	–775	–239	–115	–6	–96	0	–4,076
Job reasons								
0–2	0	–18	–63	–86	–176	–101	–538	–982
2–5	18	0	–23	–40	–41	–57	–277	–421
5–10	63	23	0	–10	–65	–72	–272	–332
10–20	86	40	10	0	–24	–72	–285	–246
20–50	176	41	65	24	0	–20	–372	–86
50–100	101	57	72	72	20	0	–310	13
100+	538	277	272	285	372	310	0	2,054

Note: Population size categories of settlement – in thousand.

Source: Czech Statistical Office

Table 4: Migration flows in selected urban agglomerations in the Czech Republic (internal migration, annual averages)

Migration flows	Prague agglomeration			Pilsen agglomeration			Brno agglomeration		
	1986–1988	1991–1993	1997–1999	1986–1988	1991–1993	1997–1999	1986–1988	1991–1993	1997–1999
From core to suburbs	2,870	3,369	4,987	991	1,045	1,181	1,346	1,682	2,100
From suburbs to core	4,499	2,883	1,453	1,098	1,114	660	2,159	1,719	1,128
Net migration of core	1,629	–486	–3,534	107	69	–520	813	37	–972
Share of out-migration to suburbs on whole out-migration from core (in %)	31.5	31.3	39.4	44.0	45.2	59.2	36.8	41.5	52.8

Note: Suburban areas of the urban agglomerations consist of the following districts: Prague – Prague-East, Prague-West, Kladno, Beroun, Mělník; Pilsen – Pilsen-South, Pilsen-North, Rokycany; Brno – Brno-Surrounding, Blansko, Vyškov.

Figure 1: Rate of net migration of districts in the Czech Republic 1987–1989 (annual average per 1,000 inhabitants)

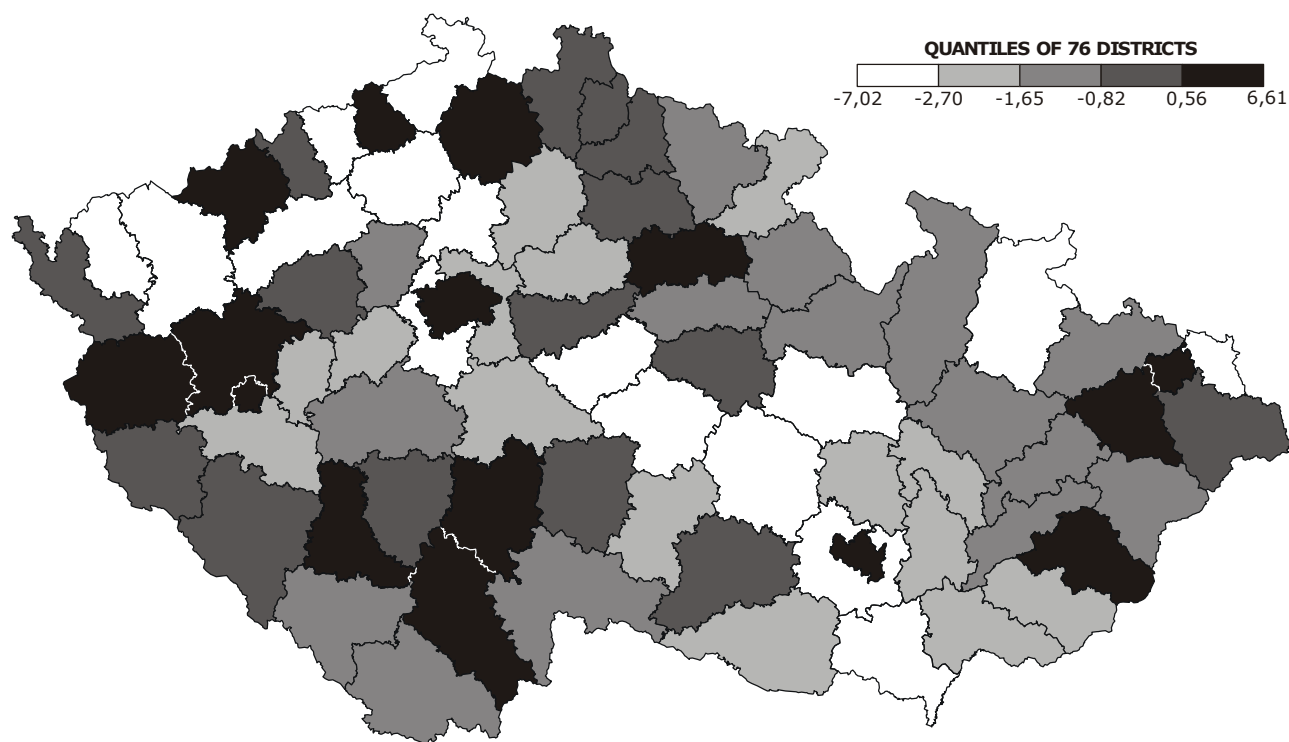


Figure 2: Rate of net migration of districts in the Czech Republic 1992–1994 (annual average per 1,000 inhabitants)

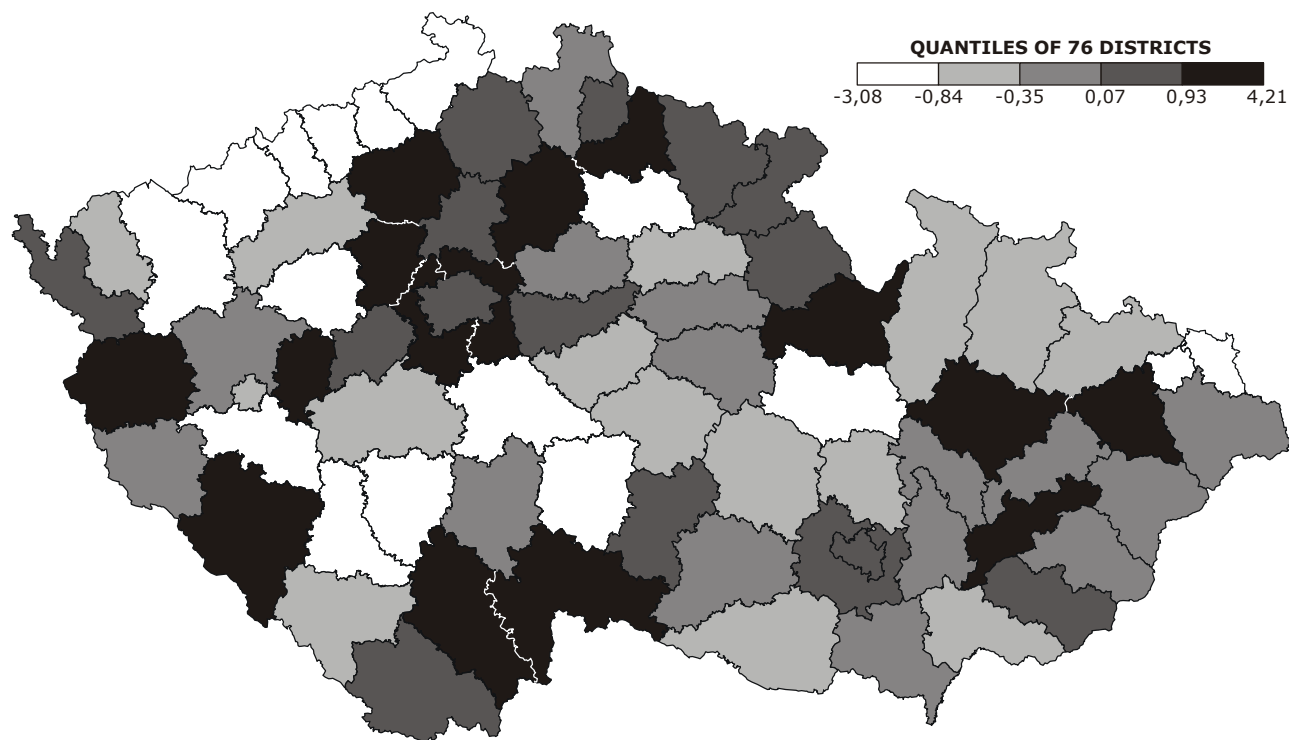


Figure 3: Rate of net migration of districts in the Czech Republic 1997–1999 (annual average per 1,000 inhabitants)

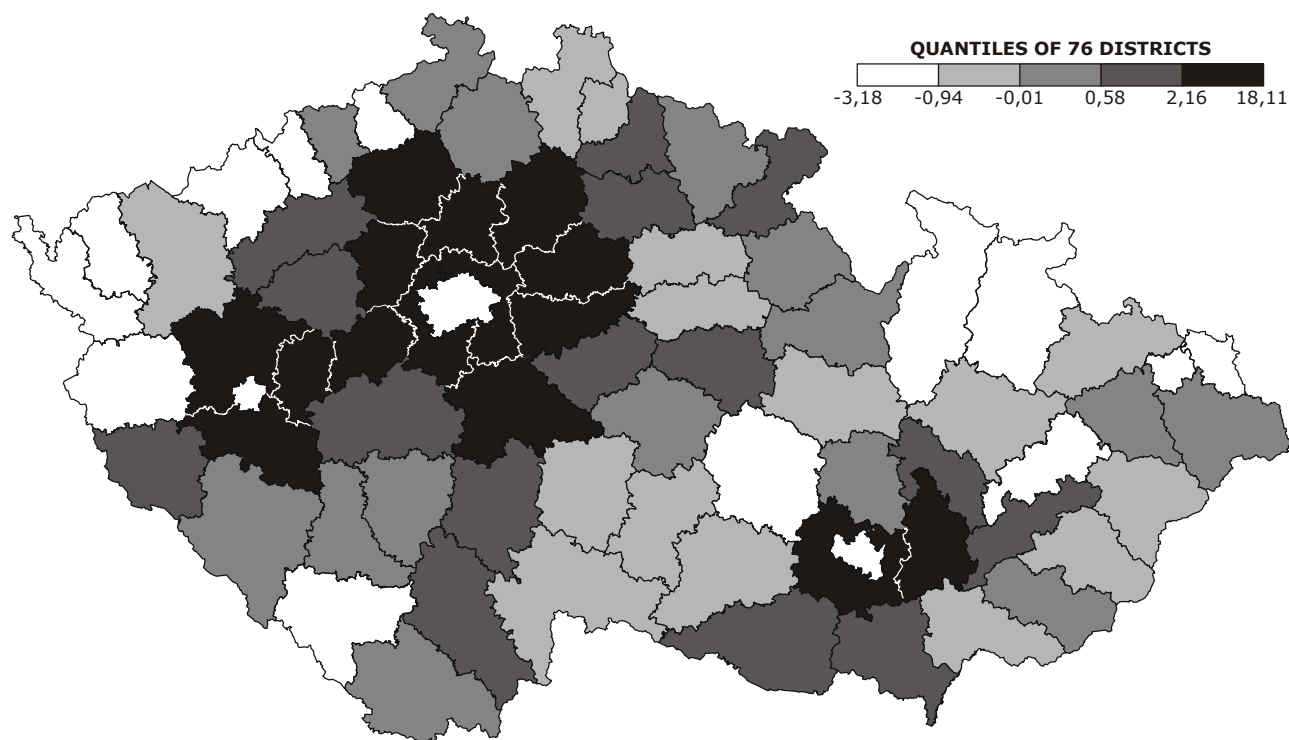


Figure 4: Net internal migration by population size category of settlement in the Czech Republic 1992–1999 (annual averages)

