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Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe

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Foreword

What has to be pinpointed at the very beginning of our report is that in the post-revolutionary era internal migration have had no dramatic effects upon the population development in the Czech Republic (Čermák, Novák, Ouředníček 2011). The out-migration has never included huge masses of the population and there have so far been no really large continuous areas typical of strong and permanent population outflows. Furthermore, despite the migratory outflows may somewhere be identified as a phenomenon with some negative consequences, it has never been the issue that poses serious problems with significant impacts. From the international migration perspective, immigration rather than emigration has become an issue in the Czech Republic.

1. Political and Socio-Economic Overview (vis-à-vis emigration)

Since the very end of the 1980s, the Czech Republic (again along with other post-communist countries in the region) started going through a process of transformation of their former discredited communist systems. It was possible in Czechoslovakia due to the so called "Velvet Revolution" (started in Prague on November 17th, 1989) through which the totalitarian regime was smashed whilst a new framework of a democratic system was quickly installed. The ultimate goal was to build a stable developed, democratic and pluralistic society based on a free-market economy. In order to reach it, the society had to become open (in the broadest sense of the word, including open borders¹). Whereas first steps into democracy and overall deep transformation were done within one state (Czechoslovakia), since January 1, 1993 Czechoslovakia split up and two new independent countries: the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic were established². One of the primary goals was to re-orient interests from the former closed internal cooperation among CEEc (particularly with the Soviet Union) towards the West (primarily EU and EFTA countries along with the US). Regarding the Czech Republic, this process has been cemented by inclusion of the country in various Western political, economic and security structures, namely: the Council of Europe (in 1993), the OECD (in 1995), the NATO (in 1999) and the EU (in 2004). In relation to Czech migratory situation and, indeed, related policies and practices, another key moment was the countries' accession to the Schengen Agreement (on December 21, 2007).

From the very beginning the transition/transformation processes were occurring within relative political stability and not so bad socio-economic conditions. Despite rather short-term problems due to some „shock therapy“ transformation measures (in the very beginning of the 1990s) and economy's bad performance (at the end of the 1990s) accompanied with a decrease of living standard of the population (Večerník 2009)³, generally, the country has been able to maintain reasonable living standards and to secure the population from high level of social inequalities and poverty (see also selected macroeconomic characteristics in table 1.1).

¹ The migratory regime started being newly regulated by the Aliens Act No. 123/1992.

² As a corollary, due also to the new legislation (see the Act No. 40/1993) until the mid of the 1990s some 311,000, former Slovak citizens - most of them via an easier access to naturalization, got Czech citizenship (Drbohlav et al. 2010).

³ At the beginning of the 1990s, the real income fell sharply due to extremely high inflation rate (at level of 57 % in 1991). While the inflation rate decreased during the 1990s, real wages have grown only moderately. At the same time the Czech Crown devaluated, which made the wage differences between the Czech Republic and developed countries higher and work abroad more attractive.

While introduction of the market economy has led unavoidably to the growth of inequality in the Czech society, the social system was developed in order to make the transition acceptable for the population. The design of the system of social security benefits in the Czech Republic ensured a relatively low at-risk-of-poverty rate among households where at least one member worked or received a pension (although their earnings or pension may only be small). As a matter of fact, social benefits contributed a great deal towards earnings enhancement (for those in work) and earnings replacement (for those not in work due to retirement), in ways that worked quite efficiently for the majority of the population. The overall level of social inequality therefore remained relatively low: The Gini coefficient (25) as well as the poverty rate (8 %) ranked among the lowest when compared to the EU countries⁴ in 2001. The low relative poverty rate was, however, accompanied by a high level of material deprivation and a large share of population who reported great difficulties to manage living with their income⁵. The rate of unemployment has grown fast during 1991 (from less than 1 % to 4.1 %) and stayed at a low level until the second half of the 1990s, when it peaked at 9 % in 2000 (see table 1.1). During the 1990s, main factors for emigration included unemployment, devaluation of the Czech Crown (see figure 1.1), and accumulation of social problems of certain groups, particularly of Roma. Newly gained freedom and desire for exploring the so far „forbidden“ Western world also played some role in the beginning of the 1990s. This resulted in a short-lived increase of (e)migration that, however, was mostly temporary, of circular character and mostly limited to only border zone areas (Marešová, Drbohlav 2007). In general the migratory „pushes“ for Czech potential emigrants were not strong at all and the Czech Republic has not become significant source country of emigration.

In the period after 2000, the incentive to emigrate has further decreased: the new decade has in general brought significant positive economic development with high level of GDP growth (over 6 % in 2005-2007), decrease of unemployment rate (after 2004), growth of real wages and appreciation of the Czech Crown (see also figure 1.1 and table 1.1). At the same time the level of inequality remained low⁶ and the Czech Republic still represents a country with the lowest level of relative income poverty reaching 9.0 % (in 2010)⁷. Such a development has not only further decreased economic incentives (push factors) for the emigration of the Czech citizens, but also significantly increased attractiveness of the Czech Republic for migrant workers. Czech Republic therefore became an important destination country for international migrants.

New political and socioeconomic conditions significantly contributed to crystallizing new demographic patterns in the country too. It consisted, for example, in growing life expectancy and, on the other hand, in decreasing mortality, fertility, nuptiality and abortion rates, thus leading to an ageing process of the population. Moreover, there are other trends corresponding to the second demographic transition patterns like postponing childbearing to later ages or growing proportion of children born to unmarried women (Populační 2007). All is also relevant in a broader context to migratory issues.

Housing is an important factor shaping patterns of both internal and international migration and, at the same time, it is re-shaped by migration itself. Purchase power, house prices, availability of mortgages, privatization of municipal flats – these are aspects that, inter alia, came into the play in the Czech Republic and have been changing migratory map of the

⁴ Here we compare it with countries which were members of the EU after 2004 (data in Rákoczyová 2005).

⁵ 17% in 2001 (Rákoczyová 2005).

⁶ Gini coefficient was 25.1 in 2009.

⁷ Data from Eurostat online database.

country as well as a structure of housing. In the course of time, mainly newly developed supportive infrastructure assisted in shaping migratory and housing patterns. One can mention especially financial services along with newly designed respective state support, newly forming and constituted values⁸ and, last but not least, growing differentiation among individual social strata within society with its winners and much poorer losers. Due to all the above factors, an important shift occurred when 20 years after the robust change of political and economic regime, the share of those living in rental housing significantly decreased to 18.7%. Similarly, cooperative flats/apartments lost its importance and represent 15.2% now. By contrast, the share of those who have already owned their apartment/house increased and reached 66.1%⁹. No doubts, the above mentioned facts have further impact upon shaping migration patterns, and, at the same time, are permanently further modified by migration itself.

2. Main emigration and internal migration trends and patterns

2.1. Main emigration trends

Before starting dealing with the Czech international migration data, one has to mention that the flow as well as the stock emigration data is incomplete, there is no centralized database on the Czech Republic circular, or, long-term labour migrants abroad. Moreover, the overall collection of demographic data by the Czech Statistical Office has undergone several important conceptual changes in the last 20 years¹⁰. The authors draw the best possible picture given this data situation.

Moreover, data on emigration of Czech citizens from the Czech Republic is underestimated because, although citizens are obliged to declare the change of permanent residence when emigrating abroad, they often not do so (Kupiszewska, Nowok 2006). For example, in the mid of the 1990s Burcin and Kučera within their demographic prognoses implicitly accepted that some 4,000-5,000 emigrants (at that time only holders of permanent residence permits issued in the Czech Republic) have left the country but were not registered in the statistics. The underestimation of emigration has been even more evident since 2004 on when emigration of Czech citizens mostly to the United Kingdom and Ireland increased¹¹.

In any case, the EU15 receiving country policies had, by far, major impact upon intensity and directions of migratory outflows from the Czech Republic, although on a relatively low level. A summary of the most important factors for the low level of emigration from 1994 is considered to be still relevant today (Drbohlav 1994): „Czechs seem to be firmly rooted in their own country. Although there is a tradition of emigration, there are, however, factors curbing the numbers of those leaving the country. First, there is the not altogether unrealistic hope of a better tomorrow. Secondly, people were and are even more tied to their own

⁸ For example, one has to pinpoint in this context decreasing role of economic reasons for migration and strengthening other, namely ecological, social factors of migratory motivation.

⁹ The given picture compared, for example, with the situation in 2000, when the given data represented: 29.5 %, 23.5 % and 46.9 %, respectively. All the data come from the Czech Statistical Office, family account statistics.

¹⁰ For more details see Drbohlav, D., Lachmanová-Medová, L. (2009),

http://www.prominstat.eu/drupal/?q=system/files/PROMINSTAT_Country_Report_Czech_Republic.pdf.

¹¹ Before the enlargement of the EU15 to EU25 countries in May 2004 only Ireland, Sweden and the UK decided that they would apply EU rules allowing nationals of these countries free access to their labour markets. (Nevertheless, their access to welfare benefits in Ireland and the UK were restricted). All of the remaining EU15 countries invoked EU rules which allowed a transition to the free movement of labour for a maximum of up to seven years following enlargement. Thus, only since May 2011 labour markets of all EU countries are freely available for any EU citizens.

country (strong emotional ties to their property and place than in many other countries). Thirdly, there is a heritage of the last forty years, in which nearly all aspects of „personal activity“ (a very important factor to emigration) were subjugated. Fourthly, it is typical of the Czech mentality in particular not to solve a situation „directly and drastically“.

All in all, the estimated emigration flow out of the Czech Republic has so far been rather low and its impacts on the society as a whole have been negligible (except for very specific issue of Roma emigration and border zone circular labour migration at the beginning of the 1990s). From the international migration perspective, immigration rather than emigration has become an issue in the Czech Republic. The booming economy (especially in the mid of the 1990s and during the 2000s as long as 2008) created strong „pulls“ that brought increasing numbers of foreign labour force to the Czech Republic: number of immigrants residing in the Czech Republic grew from 78,000 in 1993 to 254,000 in 2004 and peaked at 438,000 five years later. So far, the emigration intensity has been rather low (especially in a comparative perspective) posing no problems for the country as a whole.

In order to assess the size and patterns of emigration, one can lean on: First, the Czech official migratory statistics, second, several indirect databases – namely, the database of Czech citizens who interrupted payments into the Czech health system because of their travelling abroad at least for a half year (internal documents of the Czech Statistical Office) and third, on estimates based on statistics of individual countries of destination. Fourth, one can use data on Czechs abroad collected by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs (see table 2.2.-2.5. and Annex 1 for a detailed analysis of data sources and their reliability).

According to our validity and reliability check, the 100,000 Czech citizens who interrupted payments into the Czech health system (in all the health insurance companies because of their travelling abroad at least for a half year) is probably a reliable minimum estimate of the long-term migration of Czechs abroad. As not all persons deregister with the health insurance¹², the maximum number of Czech citizens who currently stay abroad for more than 6 months might be much higher. The estimate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 250,000 Czech citizens abroad can be considered as a reasonable maximum estimate for the emigration of the last two decades.

A specific category of emigration from the Czech Republic represents Czech asylum seekers. While this was a dominant form of permanent emigration during the communist era, after the change of political regime this type of emigration has strong ethnic bias. The majority of contemporary Czech asylum seekers are Roma, whose most frequent destination is Canada. During the past two decades, there were two waves of Roma seeking asylum in Canada. The first wave culminated in 1997 when some 1,500 applied for asylum in Canada (Caparini, 2010), which led Canadian government to impose visa requirements for Czech citizens. This restriction has reduced numbers of asylum seekers substantially – in the period between 1999 and 2007 only 358 applications¹³ were submitted. However, after the visa requirement was removed in 2007, the Czech Roma started to arrive in Canada again. In 2008 some 850 applied for asylum and in 2009 the number exceeded 2,200¹⁴. This development led to re-imposition of the visa obligation, which stopped the flow once again. Migration of Roma, however, doesn't include asylum seekers only. According to rough estimations of the Czech Government (2009a), the total number of Roma, who emigrated

¹² For example, those „rich enough“, those who did not know about a possibility to interrupt health insurance in the Czech Republic, or those who unexpectedly stayed abroad for a longer time than originally was planned.

¹³ Data source: OECD 2010.

¹⁴ Data source: Government 2010.

from the Czech Republic after 1989, ranges between 35,000 and 70,000¹⁵. This rough estimate indicates higher incidence of emigration among Roma as compared to the majority population.

While effectiveness of migratory „pushes“ is traditionally very low in Czech lands, obviously, joining the EU was the most important migratory „pull factor“ that led, to some extent, to increasing migration intensity towards some European countries (see tables 2.3-2.5). The effect of the current global crisis upon international migration of Czech citizens is difficult to assess. Pařízková (2011) researched into Czech emigrants who have been staying in the United Kingdom and work there. Based on her qualitative research (interviews) she found out that the current global economic crisis leads to postponing returns of the Czech labour force in the United Kingdom rather than to returning home as soon as possible. On the other hand, data in table 2.3 indicate a decrease of Czech employees in the United Kingdom between 2009 and 2010. Anyway, it seems that many of the current „emigration flows“ of Czechs are rather temporary in their character, many of the migrants will probably not settle abroad but, after shorter or longer time, will return to the Czech Republic.

The emigration is closely related to possible re-emigration trends. After the Velvet Revolution newly established conditions opened a prospective room for a possible re-emigration. The massive return of former emigrants, however, has never happened. For example, in 1995 – soon after the establishment of the “new Czech Republic”, 4,637 persons with Czech citizenship immigrated to the country. This figure decreased over time and oscillated between 3,600 and 2,700 in the second half of the 1990s. Figures further diminished during the 2000s (between 2,700 and 1,000) as one can see in table 2.2. There are several reasons for not having massive inflows of Czechs returning to their mother country. First of all, many of them have already been well integrated into their new host societies and labour markets. Moreover, when speaking about their children and grandchildren, most of them have even been assimilated there. Simultaneously, in fact, no Czech Government after 1990 has been instrumental in making return of re-emigrants easy and the re-emigration issue has never been a priority on the agenda. Accordingly, there was almost no reflection of the re-emigration as such and, in fact, emigration issues in the academic sphere either (see exceptions to this trend – Nešpor 2002, Brouček, Hrubý, Měšťan 2001, Hrubý, Brouček 2000, Filípek 1999). „The emigrants who have returned to the Czech Republic have found above-average employment positions in the country. However, their social adaptation contrasts sharply with this prosperity, partly owing to the envy of other people, and partly as a result of the significant difference in attitudes towards individual-collective relations“ (Nešpor 2002)¹⁶.

2.2. Main internal migration trends

Post-revolutionary era and its migratory patterns

During the 1990s an important redistribution of regional economic power occurred while new disparities in a quality of life of the population arose. Paradoxically, important changes in spatial distribution of working opportunities and salary/wage levels were not accompanied with new migration mobility patterns (Čermák, Hampl, Müller 2009). The generally very low

¹⁵ Migration statistics are based on nationality (not ethnicity), which means that Czech Roma are included in the total numbers of the Czech citizens abroad presented in the text.

¹⁶ There is another study, which looks at the topic from a totally different perspective. Kostecká, Bernard, Kostecký (2007; see in English Kostecká et al. 2008) bring a systematic review of policies, through which many states try to attract highly qualified workers including their own compatriots. In one of the chapters the authors also deal with estimates as to how many Czech scientists work abroad.

intensity of migration (as compared to developed Western countries¹⁷) has been even decreasing during the 1990s and only since then, it has started, to some extent, increasing, while not reaching the levels typical of the 1980s (see figure 2.1., table 2.6; Sunega, Lux, Mikeszová 2010). When identifying reasons for such development – mainly for decreasing migration mobility during the 1990s, one has to point out that by the state heavily subsidised housing construction was stopped and possibilities to get a new housing were for an average person financially unattainable during the 1990s (distorted housing market, very limited opportunities to get a loan etc.). Under such conditions people even more stick to their own properties thereby strengthening a spatial mobility pattern typical of its stability. Generally, Czechs prefer “staying on the spot” to having better jobs and not commuting too often and too far (Vobecká 2010; see also Čermák, Hampl, Müller 2009, Sunega, Lux, Mikeszová 2010). Many people commute daily outside borders of their municipality to reach their place of work (for decades between 30-40% of the population were involved in such commuting).

When analyzing a breakdown of the data by individual hierarchical levels of migratory movements (from municipality to municipality within the same district versus from district to district within the same region and from region to region within the country), one specific trend is worth pinpointing. While in comparison to the beginning of the 1990s the current trends are more or less the same regarding the intensity of migrations from municipality to municipality, in terms of movements from district to district the mobility importantly decreased and in relation to migration movements for long distances – from region to region - they significantly increased (mostly recently) (see table 2.6).

On one hand, there were regions hit by a crisis of traditional industrial branches (like heavy industry or mining in the Northern Bohemia brown coal basin area or in the Ostrava region, or, some areas in Northern and Eastern Bohemia with textile industry), on the other hand, there are regions with booming factories (an automobile industry, some electrical-product factories etc., for example, in the Mlada Boleslav or the Pilsen regions) along with mostly other big centres concentrating thriving progressive services. New geopolitical settings come into the play as well when some border zone areas stretching along the Western state border (bordering on Germany and Austria) newly started being attractive for settlement (Čermák, Novák 2011). All in all, macro-structural societal determinants play an important role in shaping migratory patterns. New regional disequilibria have appeared based mainly on different economic developments and geographical position.

Besides issues revolving around the intensity of migration as such (see the text above and table 2.6), the second major migratory pattern has to be stressed. It is connected to a robust change in migratory preferences regarding migration targets by settlement size categories and, to some extent, also to their geographical position¹⁸.

As presented in table 2.8, the following significant changes occurred between 1995 and 2008. For example, net migration (in ‰) for suburban zones shifted from 4.5 to 21.6, respectively; for metropolitan areas from 0.4 to 7.3, respectively; for rural areas with less than 199 inhabitants from -2.0 to 12.7, respectively and for rural areas with 200-499 inhabitants from 2.3 to 10.7, respectively. Accordingly, table 2.9 clearly proves the overall reversal of migratory attractiveness. The smallest settlements which have significantly been losing their population during the socialist era become very quickly the most attractive after

¹⁷ In the beginning of the 1990 the intensity of migration mobility in the Czech Republic was about 2.0 to 3.5 times lower than in Western Europe (Kupiszewski et al. 1999), see also Sunega, Lux, Mikeszová 2010, Lux et al. 2006.

¹⁸ See more details accompanied with important methodological notes, in tables 2.7 and 2.8.

the revolution. Hence, for example, in the period 2000-2002 the two smallest settlement size categories gained vis-à-vis any other categories (the 0-2,000 category also gained vis-à-vis the 2,000-4,999 one); the largest cities (with more than 100,000 inhabitants) lose vis-à-vis settlements with less than 9,999 and, on the contrary, gets with settlements having between 10,000 and 99,999 inhabitants.

It is a totally different picture as compared to what was typical during the socialist era. As Vobecká (2010) in this context also briefly characterizes, in contrast to the previous trends, just in the mid of the 1990s, municipalities located in the vicinity of the largest cities experienced the highest migratory growth. After 2001, in rural municipalities, migratory growth appeared after many decades. It means that not only the suburbanization process but partly also de-concentration movements targeting small municipalities in real peripheral areas took place. Regardless of internal mobility patterns, between 1995 and 2005 some cities newly grew due mainly to natural increase and immigrants coming from abroad. At a macro-level, the Prague region has been gaining via migration at the expense of Moravian regions. Other regions have rather been losing their migration attractiveness while, however, not losing so many out-migrants (1995 versus 2004 – see more Vobecká, 2010).

One cannot overlook another factor that has a key role in shaping migratory patterns of the Czech Republic at a micro level – it is the educational level (see below and e.g. Vobecká 2010)¹⁹.

Suburbanization

The suburbanization processes has clearly crystallized and after 2000 it become a decisive factor influencing migratory relations within the whole country (Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011). Vobecká (2010) stipulates that the suburbanization process has been clearly pronounced around primary centres since 1995 and since 2001 also around smaller, secondary centres. We mean so called residential suburbanization when people move out of the core cities but their jobs stay there. Mainly improving situation on the Czech housing market contributed to speeding up the whole suburbanization process. Obviously, this is the period, in which deconcentration processes (suburbanization and partly de-urbanization) started being more important (see it vis-à-vis previous periods). For example, according to Vobecká (2010) for a period 1995-2006 one can find the most migratory attractive municipalities mainly in the close vicinity/neighbourhoods of big cities (namely Prague, Brno, Pilsen) – in areas, which are closely tied to advantages of the city (within still reasonably short commuting distance) and, at the same time, which have better qualities of the environment. On the other hand, the growth of agglomerations was due to losses which hit mainly big cities. In the given studied period (1995-2006) migration losses are typical of most cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants (see Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011).

In fact, in the course of the time, new spatial patterns have been formed resulting in polarization between metropolitan areas broadly understood as progressive city centres and, other, rather peripheral regions of the country (Čermák, Hampl, Müller 2009 and Čermák,

¹⁹ Though in absolute terms the biggest cities gain the highest numbers of university educated people, other municipalities gaining at least 200 university educated in-migrants are located either in the Prague metropolitan area or the Brno one. By contrast, other big and medium sized cities have been losing university educated persons. The highest losses of university educated were displayed outside metropolitan regions; smaller towns and peripheral rural areas were main losers (Ouředníček, Novák 2011). „To sum up, migration of people with higher attained education supports the growth of socio-spatial differentiation in the Czech Republic, strengthening the areas of higher social status while weakening the areas of low social status. The only exception are the outer parts of the metropolitan regions affected by the process of residential suburbanisation“ (Ouředníček, Novák 2011).

Novák 2011). Obviously, the most typical suburban area originated in Central Bohemia, which is in its Western part closely connected to the Pilsen region. The Central Bohemia district as such got via net migration in absolute terms 74,000 new inhabitants between 2000 and 2008. Furthermore, within the Prague agglomeration area (in other words, within the Central Bohemia region) one can find the most intensive suburbanization processes – for example, between 1997-2006 out of ten municipalities with the highest intensity of housing construction in the whole country, nine were located in the Prague hinterland (Ouředníček et al. 2008). Other important suburban area stretches around a city of Brno²⁰. Thus, at a micro-level, clear polarity can be found between agglomeration nodes which lose population vis-à-vis their hinterlands that, on the contrary, population gain. Since the new century, as already pinpointed, the suburbanization process has started spreading to other, smaller metropolitan areas of the country (Čermák, Novák 2011). Čermák's figures showing us the development of net migration rates over time by districts document well, how the suburbanization process has gradually been maturing (see figure 2.2).

Who inhabits these suburban zones? Ouředníček et al. (2008) on the example of a capital city of Prague and its agglomeration prove that most of in-migrants into Prague suburban zone migrate from Prague itself (61%), 15% from the given hinterland, 9% from other municipalities of the Central Bohemia region and the rest, 15%, from other parts of the Czech Republic (all the data related to a period 1995-2003)²¹. In municipalities, which are located in the close hinterland, the migration flows originated in Prague amounts to 50-70% of total in-migration between 1996-2007 (Ouředníček, Puldová 2011). One has to point out, however, that the migration movements related to the suburbanisation represent only one quarter of all migratory movements, the majority of migrations take place within the compact city as such. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, „suburbanisation has an essentially distinctive character, which is related to life style change and advancement in the life cycle, which is consequently reflected in social environment change in suburban localities“ (Ouředníček, Puldová 2011). It is worth mentioning that this de-concentration population process has so far been accompanied to a rather limited extent by de-concentration of working opportunities and economic activities.

Generally, mostly young people having rather very high social status, which goes hand in hand with their often higher education and income, migrate into the suburban areas. It also means that many young families with small children settle there (mostly those between 25-34 and 0-9). To lesser extent, families with adult children or older couples move in too. All in all, this trend leads to a rejuvenation of municipalities in suburban zones (Ouředníček et al. 2008).

Regarding educational level, Ouředníček et al. (2008) based on data between 1995-2003 clearly show, how different population structures are: whereas among in-movers into Prague hinterlands (here represented by the Praha-východ and Praha-západ districts) 14.6% had basic and 19.2% university education, the population of the hinterland itself was composed of

²⁰ In the given period 1995-2006, the highest average net migratory gains reached 22‰ in the Praha-západ district, 15‰ in the Praha-východ district, 6‰ in the Beroun and Brno venkov districts, 5‰ in the Plzeň-sever and Plzeň-jih districts, hence in areas situated in the close vicinity of the largest cities (Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011).

²¹ Importantly, Ouředníček et al. (2008) also mention that similar spatial mobility pattern trends might probably be characteristic of other „suburbanised cities“ through the whole country.

21.7% of those with basic education and 10.2% of those with university education (data for 2001 and 1995-2003).

Possible relationships between international and internal migration movements

Currently, there is no well-known direct relationship between internal migration movements and, on the other hand, international migration in the Czech Republic. There are no studies in the country which would tackle and elaborate on this issue.

2.3. Main characteristics of migrants

When specifying a structure of Czech citizens in other EU countries where data are available by sex for 2010 (table 2.10) more Czech females than males are registered “on the move”. No surprise that most of the Czech migrants in the given countries are young – in economically active age (here represented by the 15-64 category). The lowest share within this category is typical of Czechs in Slovakia and Austria (but still very high – 85%, respectively 87%). It correlates with a fact that just in these two countries there are the highest shares in 40-49 and 50-59 age categories as compared to other destination countries (see table 2.10). Again, in a comparative perspective, there is a numerous age cohort of Czechs between 30-39 in Belgium, Spain and the Netherlands and generally, just this age category is by far the most important within the economic active age categories in all 10 covered countries (with the exception of Ireland – see below). It is worth stressing that comparatively very high share of young Czechs (between 20 and 29) is registered in Ireland (19%). It may be connected both to economically driven trips (e.g. in au-pair services) and learning and practising English language²².

As Pařízková (2011) in her study informs us about the situation in the United Kingdom, there are some indications that Czech migrants are rather young, of both sexes and working in a wide sector of various professions, mainly those typical of lower wages and bad working conditions, like au-pairs, nannies, auxiliary workers in hotels and restaurants (females) or construction workers, gardeners or auxiliary workers in kitchens or bars (males) (Pařízková 2011). Whereas “push” factors are rather small, there are strong “pulls” that drive would-be migrants to the United Kingdom – to learn or to improve knowledge of English language, to make more money than on the Czech labour market and a possibility to realize a movement as such very easily (Pařízková 2011). It seems that the majority of those who were interviewed preferred to return to the Czech Republic after some time while for some of them it does not exclude a possibility of repeating the migration again. Those who proclaimed that they would want to stay in their destination country forever were in the minority (Pařízková 2011). Family and other social ties left behind in their country of origin along with the impossibility to find work according to their qualification were important factors that pushed them back to the Czech Republic (Pařízková 2011).

The data on Czech citizens who interrupted payments into the Czech health system (see above) tells us that out of about 101,000 Czech citizens who stayed abroad in 2008 about 58% were females and 42% males. The outflow from the Czech Republic was about 16,000 in 2008 whilst 54% were females and 46% males.

While the educational structure of emigrants is not known, issue of (e)migration of highly qualified labour force and related risk of brain-drain has been acknowledged and it has

²² Let us remind of a fact that we worked here only with a limited list of countries and, moreover, we dealt only with registered migrants whereas many of those who stay in an irregular position there were ignored.

recently received attention in relation to the threat of massive emigration of medical doctors (see below). At the same time, the emigration of Roma, which has also attracted public attention, represents migratory tendency of the group with exceptionally low level of formal education: according to study of Šimíková, Navrátil and Winkler (2004), 80-85 % of Roma completed primary education and 5 % are without any education. It means that only 10-15 % of Roma have completed higher than primary education, which is in sharp contrast to the educational structure of population in the Czech Republic²³.

Unfortunately, there is no data on those Czech citizens, who return back from abroad after their short-term or long-term stays.

When describing some selected migratory trends and paying special attention to specific characteristics of internal migrants, we lean on several basic sources²⁴.

Higher females' share in migration volumes corresponds to a higher representation of females within the population. This parity of the both sexes seems to be more or less stable over time, namely, during the 1990s and 2000s. Despite, of course, having some significant differences at a micro regional level, as Vobecká (2010) correctly characterizes at a regional level – generally “sex almost does not differentiate migration at all”.

Just the Vobecká's (2010) analysis has shown that the key factor determining internal migration destination is the social status of migrants, represented by the level of education.

The census data (from 1991 and 2001) enables us to see a role of the educational status. It was proved that the higher the educational status the higher the migration intensity²⁵. Among those who migrated among Czech regions, university educated people represented more than 50%. By contrast, the given share of those with basic educational level or with apprentice education was less than one third (Ouředníček, Novák 2011). Logically, it has to do with a fact that working opportunities for highly educated are very much spatially concentrated mostly to big cities (Ouředníček, Novák 2011). At a regional level, only Prague, the Central Bohemia and South Moravia regions gain university educated migrants (measured via net migration between 2000 and 2004, Sunega, Lux, Mikeszová 2010). On the other hand, people with lower educational status often move to more distant suburban areas or to rural areas further away from cities, their places of origin. This seems to be generally valid pattern through the whole country (Vobecká 2010). No doubts, migrants' educational level is also specifically related to age-specific migration flows²⁶. As indicated, there is a general pattern characterizing internal migration mobility by age. It consists of one main peak of migration intensity between the age of about 20-35 years and two „sub-peaks“ tied to an age category between 0-15 and to more than 80. This almost „universal curve“ is very similar for both sexes and characterizes migration mobility by age at all regional-hierarchical levels (see e.g. figure 2.4).

Moreover, as the analysis for 2002-2006 done by Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček (2011) compared with that done by Kühnl (1986) confirmed, despite important socioeconomic and

²³ In total, only 17,5 % of the population in the Czech Republic did not exceed primary education in 2009 (data Czech Statistical Office).

²⁴ Ouředníček, M., Temelová, J., Pospíšilová, L. (eds.) (2011), Vobecká (2010), Sunega, Lux, Mikeszová 2010 and the report of the Czech Statistical Office ([http://czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/5A003110D9/\\$File/402905a1.pdf](http://czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/5A003110D9/$File/402905a1.pdf)).

²⁵ [http://czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/5A003110D9/\\$File/402905a1.pdf](http://czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/5A003110D9/$File/402905a1.pdf).

²⁶ It should be noted that the Czech statistics of internal migration is based on permanent changes of residence. Hence, the movement of school leavers who start higher education in cities is usually not recorded. It often becomes visible at a later age when they take up jobs while finally registering their migratory movements.

political changes there has been a great stability of spatial patterns over time. In the given studied period the migration of those aged between 20-34 years represented some 43% of all migration movements. The high migratory intensity corresponds to life cycles changes – leaving parents and a core family, searching for the first job or starting a new family life. To some extent, young families with small children are involved as well (Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011). As far as regional patterns are concerned, Prague and its metropolitan regions function as the most important magnet for a cohort of those aged between 20-34 years (measured via net migration - Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011). Almost all other cities (with several exceptions) have been losing population in this age category (Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011). Among regions - Prague, the Central Bohemia and Pilsen gain this age cohort whereas the Vysočina, Karlovarský, Moravskoslezský and Ústecký regions have been losing it (Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011)²⁷.

In contrast to young migratory groups, seniors (those older than 60) represent only about 13% of all migratory movements (data for 2002-2009; Novák, Ouředníček 2011). The intensity of migration at the longest distance (among regions and districts) logically decreases since one reaches 60 years whereas the intensity of migration between municipalities within a district increases in higher age²⁸.

Seniors' migration mobility patterns are influenced by two aspects. „Young seniors“ (between 60 and 75) exhibit high residential stability²⁹. On the other hand, migratory intensity of „old seniors“ (or „oldest old“ - above 80) increases. It goes hand in hand, as times go, with emerging social and health problems. Thus, they often head for their relatives or seniors' home or other social and health facilities (see also Kühnl 1986). Therefore their spatial concentration becomes important for explaining „old seniors“ in-migration flows. For example, there are some big seniors' homes and other social facilities located in the vicinity of Prague. To sum up, in the case of seniors' migration movements, de-concentration trends prevail and Prague is the main centre, which seniors intensively leave. Of course, there is a bunch of smaller municipalities, especially those with relatively peripheral location, that importantly lose their seniors via migration movements (Novák, Ouředníček 2011).

While statistics on internal migration of Roma are not available, it is obvious that Roma do migrate within the Czech territory and that this migration is related to their social exclusion. In chapter 5 we elaborate on socially excluded Roma localities (SERL), which represent one of the most visible and most serious results of internal migration of Roma with number of disadvantages for their quality of life and their future prospects. Research of GAC (2006:10) identified three major causes of emergence of SERL, all of them related to certain forms of internal migration:

1. “Natural” migration of poor Roma families to localities with lower rents;
2. eviction of Roma from lucrative apartments to alternative housing, which was often in localities with high share of Roma population;
3. effort (of municipalities) to concentrate people with rent arrears and other people generally considered as “problematic”.

²⁷ In fact, stability of this migratory pattern over time was confirmed by Sunega, Lux, Mikešová (2010) who arrived to the same results for 2008.

²⁸ [http://czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/5A003110D9/\\$File/402905a1.pdf](http://czso.cz/csu/2005edicniplan.nsf/t/5A003110D9/$File/402905a1.pdf).

²⁹ There is one exception, however, which one can identify through a small „hump“ on the curve characterizing migration by age (see Figure 2.4). Some „young seniors“, freed from economic activities migrate from cities to their second homes which are often located in a beautiful landscape and environmentally valued areas (Novák, Ouředníček 2011), but also in areas with generally lower cost of living.

It is worth noting that this migration reflects the position of Roma on the housing market, which is related to their vulnerable social and economic situation (see more on SERL and housing in chapter 5). While the study (GAC, 2006) reported on internal Roma migration in the period prior to its release, it remains hot topic today. During 2011 the social tensions between majority population and Roma escalated in some municipalities, mainly in Northern Bohemia (area of Šluknovsko in NUTS North-West), and have led to several violent acts and demonstrations of radical groups supported by local inhabitants. The local majority (but also settled Roma) blamed newly arrived Roma for the increased criminality in their towns and, consequently, for the unrest. It is noteworthy, that this rhetoric and unrest spread also to towns, in which neither increase in number of Roma, nor the growth of criminality was documented.

3. Nation-wide labour market and social development trends under the influence of emigration

3.1 Economic and labour market developments

Migration of highly skilled with particular attention to medical doctors

Emigration of Czech professionals has been influencing the situation on the Czech labour market. In the previous period (i.e. pre-crisis period) it has contributed, as one of the factors, to the excess of labour demand in specific segments of the labour market. Vavrečková (2009b) has identified a lack of engineers and other professionals with technical education as well as a lack of medical doctors. In these professions, labour demand (in terms of registered vacancies) exceeded labour supply at the beginning of 2008 and this disequilibrium functioned as a pull factor among professionals for migration from less-developed countries. However, the impact of the economic down-turn was significant also in the segments with a previous lack of (highly-qualified) labour force and currently there are almost 6 unemployed per 1 vacancy among professionals in the Czech Republic (still, their situation is far more favourable compared to other professions, since in total there are 11 unemployed per vacancy)³⁰.

A specific situation persists in the sector of medical doctors, where excess of demand remains³¹ and vacancies continue to be covered by foreign labour force. This is due partly to emigration of doctors from the Czech Republic. According to available estimations³² provided by Mr. Kubek, who is the president of The Czech Medical Chamber, there were 649 doctors searching for work abroad in the period of 2008-2009. Majority of them were men (65 %) and people between 30-40 years (50 %)³³. During the 2010 the situation has escalated. It is estimated that almost 700 doctors decided to emigrate in 2010 and the threat of mass emigration was used by the Czech doctors as a means of enforcement of their (mainly wage) demands. While such a number represents only small portion of medical doctors working in

³⁰ Data of Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, own calculation.

³¹ There is a particular lack of specialized doctors (currently 133 job-seekers per 439 vacancies). All data by August 2011 provided online by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

³² Based on a number of Certificates of good standing issued to the Czech doctors. A doctor needs the certificate when seeking a job abroad; however, not all of those who applied for certificate have also started to work abroad and, in addition, a doctor may ask for the certificate several times during one year. Anyway, the number of issued certificates is considered to be the best available indicator of emigration of the Czech doctors.

³³ http://senat.cz/cinnost/konference_seminare/aktualni_situace_v_ceskem_zdravotnictvi/prezentace_kubek.ppt.

the Czech Republic (about 2 %) ³⁴, it further worsens disequilibrium in this segment of the labour market. Earlier studies of Vavrečková and her colleagues (2005, 2006, 2009a) showed that emigration of the Czech professionals has been, in general, of temporary nature and that work experience abroad lead to an increase of human and social capital of the migrants. However, the qualitative study of Vavrečková (2009) revealed that these migrants face difficulties and mental stress in post-return adaptation in the Czech Republic. The highest dissatisfaction with work conditions in the Czech Republic, as compared to the professional life abroad, was identified just among medical doctors.

Researchers and scientists

The risk of brain-drain is specifically related to the highly skilled professionals active in research and development (R&D), particularly in case that they stay abroad permanently and interrupt their professional cooperation with colleagues in their home country. Vavrečková (2008), which surveyed researchers in the private sector in the Czech Republic, revealed that main motivators for international migration of these persons are (1) better salary, (2) possibility to advance language skills and (3) professional development. However, only 20 % of the above mentioned researchers expressed interest in labour migration and nearly all of them planned to return to the Czech Republic. Importantly, they expected their career prospect improved after their return. That is partly similar to the findings of Vavrečková (2008) on scientists in basic (academic) research, which also mainly consider temporary stays abroad. For them, however, academic and intellectual impulses prevail over the financial ones even though the wages for academic workers are substantially lower in the Czech Republic and most likely serve as a supplementary incentive. Despite proclaimed intention of return to the Czech Republic many researchers do stay abroad. The exact extent and duration of the Czech R&D professionals' emigration is not known, however, the estimations made by Kostelecká, Bernard and Kostelecký (2007) suggest that there are approximately 3,350-5,800 researchers and scientists of the Czech origin working in other OECD countries, mainly in the USA. If the estimation is correct, emigration applies to non-negligible 10-17 % of the Czech R&D professionals ³⁵.

The number of researchers in the Czech Republic was growing until 2008 and has slightly decreased in the following two years. The expenditures on R&D developed similarly; nonetheless, the sector remains under-financed in comparison to the EU average ³⁶. The research in the Czech Republic also shows poorer results (measured e.g. by number of patents). In general, the conditions for research in the Czech Republic have not so far stimulated return of researchers from abroad.

Remittances

Czech statistics has so far provided data on remittances/compensations for Czech workers who work abroad for less than 1 year (see table 3.1). The data is based on estimates of numbers of workers who stay and work abroad, on average wages and workers' social payments and taxes in given destination countries. Since 1995 till 2009 gross figures have been oscillating around 20 billions of Czech crowns (some 800 mil. EUR). More or less similar picture is brought by the World Bank data (see table 3.2). In relative terms represented 0.6 % as a percentage of GDP (World 2011, see table 3.3). Regarding the

³⁴ As of December 31, 2009 the Register of Physicians, Dentists and Pharmacists registered 38,818 medical doctors, out of this number 1,467 were temporarily inactive (Czech Health Statistics 2009).

³⁵ Estimation for holders of the Czech citizenship is lower ranging between 4 and 7 %.

³⁶ Based on Eurostat data:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/CH_13_2011_XLS/EN/CH_13_2011_XLS-EN.XLS.

recent data, the global financial crisis and its effect has been indicated (some decrease in both absolute and relative terms in the very end of the 2000s). The latter also specifies “real remittances” that come from long-term migrants (staying outside their mother country longer than one year) and shows us that for the Czech Republic their share has so far been much lesser as compared to the money sent back home by “short-term migrants”³⁷. Migrants’ transfers as the third component of the “entire remittances” for the Czech Republic has so far played rather marginal role³⁸ (see more in table 3.2).

Anyways, no data as to how remittances impact on the economic and labour market developments do exist for the Czech Republic right now.

3.2 Social security

As reported in chapter 2, Czech citizens migrate mainly to the EU countries, namely Germany and the UK, and to the US. In case of asylum migration of Roma, Canada has been the main destination and therefore we also pay attention to the social security arrangements between the Czech Republic and Canada.

Currently, almost 59,500 of pensions are paid from the Czech Republic abroad, both to the Czech emigrants and to foreigners who earned their pension in the Czech Republic. Almost one third of the number (17,200) of them flow to Slovakia, i.e. to previous citizens of common state Czechoslovakia. The split of Czechoslovakia required, among others, division of the future pension entitlements related to the period of employment in the common state. Prior to the split, in 1992, representatives of the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic agreed to distribute future entitlements (related to the work in the Czechoslovakia) according to the location of the employer of claimant by December 31, 1992. The Czech citizen, who by the end of 1992 worked for a company located in Slovakia, has therefore – after reaching retirement age and fulfilling all other requirements - received part of his or her pension from the Slovak Republic (and vice versa). Due to different economic and social developments as well as differences in pension systems in both countries, the level of pensions paid from the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic also differ and some groups of ex-Czechoslovak citizens feel to be discriminated by the above mentioned agreement. Particularly people, who live in the Czech Republic and receive (part of) their pension from Slovakia feel treated unjustly, since their pensions are lower in comparison to their fellow citizens, who worked for employer located in the Czech Republic by the end of 1992³⁹. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has in total approved claims of 1,449 pensioners; in summer 2011 there were 770 pensions paid by the Czech Republic instead of Slovak Republic and 89 pensioners received compensation in order to eliminate the difference between pension paid from Slovakia and pension they would be otherwise entitled from the Czech pension system (Opálka 2011)⁴⁰. However, on June 22, 2011 the European Court decided that it is not possible to provide such compensations only to the Czech citizens living in the Czech Republic, since that would be considered as discrimination according to the EU legislation.

³⁷ This sort of data (tied to “non-residents”) is to be regularly published by the Czech Statistical Office since the end of 2011.

³⁸ Just now the Czech Statistical Office is working on a revision of data on remittances. The revision is also closely tied to refining estimates of emigration data provided by health insurances (see part 2.). In the near future, experts at the Czech Statistical Office are going to model remittances of Czech citizens while using good quality Polish data. Just detailed knowledge of Polish statistics that enables one to breakdown the remittances’ data by various variables is to be instrumental in such modelling

³⁹ <http://www.mpsv.cz/files/clanky/44/310305x.pdf>.

⁴⁰ <http://www.parlamentnilisty.cz/parlament/politici-volicum/206393.aspx>.

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This opened up a way for foreign citizens, mainly Slovaks, who previously worked in Czechoslovakia and get pension lower than they would do in the Czech Republic, to claim the same compensation. In order to prevent such a cost for the Czech public finance system, the possibility to claim any compensation has been abolished (i.e. also for the Czech citizens) in September 2011. However, the compensations approved prior the law amendment, will not be removed⁴¹.

The bilateral agreements of the Czech Republic and third countries vary in terms of their coverage. While agreements with European (non-EU member) states often include health care, sickness and maternity, pensions, unemployment benefits, accidents at work, occupational diseases and family benefits, the bilateral agreements with third countries are much more limited and typically only apply to pensions, which is also the case of bilateral agreement between the Czech Republic and the US and Canada. Currently, there are only few bilateral agreements with non-European countries⁴² and it is reasonable to assume that the absence of such an agreement elsewhere may negatively influence pension claims of the Czech emigrants. However, according to the expert of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs⁴³, problems are rare since the agreements apply to the majority of countries with significant migration flow of the Czech nationals (apart from Russia⁴⁴), i.e. only small number of Czech citizens fall outside bilateral agreements. Very narrow scope of bilateral agreements has its consequences - e.g. for returning migrants. For example, a person must work for at least 12 months during the last three years in order to qualify for unemployment benefits; however work abroad (in third country) is not taken into account.

In the case of migration to other EU-member states, the Czech citizens' social security is well protected by regulation on the coordination of social security systems. The coordination ensures Czech nationals residing in other EU-country equality in terms of the rights and obligations provided for by the national legislation. The coordination applies to sickness, maternity, accidents at work, occupational diseases, invalidity benefits, unemployment benefits, family benefits, retirement and pre-retirement benefits and death grants. Problems are rather rare according to the expert of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr. Holubec. Certain problems in provision of unemployment benefits arose in relation to the transitional period, during which several EU states (e.g. Germany, Denmark, Belgium, Italy) limited access to their labour market for the Czech citizens. During the transitional period, a Czech citizen who lost his/her job and became entitled to unemployment benefits in one of these EU member states in fact did not have possibility to search for a new job position in the state where he/she became unemployed due to mobility restrictions. At the same time, however, provision of unemployment benefits is typically linked to search for a new job. Therefore, two principles related to provision of unemployment benefits were somewhat contradictory. In relation to this Mr. Holubec has referred to a specific case, in which the

⁴¹ <http://www.mpsv.cz/cs/11358>.

⁴² The Czech Republic has bilateral agreements with following third, non-EU, countries: Australia, Montenegro, Chile, Japan, Canada, Korea, Turkey, Ukraine, USA, Israel, Macedonia and Serbia; and agreement with Quebec. <http://www.cssz.cz/cz/mezinarodni-smlouvy/smlouvy-uzavrene-cr/prehled-smluv.htm>.

⁴³ Interview with expert Vít Holubec of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic.

⁴⁴ The contract with Russian Federation was terminated by 31. 12. 2008 and new contract has not been signed despite interest of the Czech Republic. Russia is one of the most significant migration source countries into the Czech Republic. Currently (by July 31st, 2011) there are 29,3 thousands of immigrants from Russia residing in the Czech Republic (Czech Statistical Office). While the number of Czech citizens residing in Russia is not available, according to The Demographic Yearbook of Russia 2010, 248 people immigrated from the Czech Republic to Russia in 2005-2009. Due to the historical development, number of Czech citizens may have work experience (and possible pension entitlements) from Russia.

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs intensively consulted the European Commission⁴⁵ and has afterwards decided that unemployment benefits should be exported to the Czech Republic in such a case. However, this was not to the benefit of the unemployed person since the benefit period for exported unemployment benefits was only three months, i.e. shorter than it would have been otherwise. Regarding pensions, the Czech legislation (similarly to many other EU countries) requires retirees living abroad to submit proof of living before the pension is paid to them each time. This means that the pension is paid in longer periods (minimum period is a quarter per year) and the retiree has costs related to this. The EU is currently seeking a solution in a form of better cooperation of national registers.

An issue of cooperation between national administrative systems is relevant also as a prevention of abuse of social security systems by migrants. This issue appeared in relation to Roma migrants, who are suspected of claiming benefits in the Czech Republic (family benefits or social assistance benefits) while also having income (work or benefits) abroad. The problem was mentioned earlier in relation to Roma asylum seekers, of whom “absolute majority tries to keep emigration and asylum claims secret from Czech officials in order to avoid cutting of their social benefits, for which they would otherwise no longer be entitled”⁴⁶. Similarly, minority advisors interviewed by Uhrek (2003: 291) reported on cases of dual benefit claims of migrants (in home country and country of destination). This suspicion emerged again in December 2008 in an interview with official working at the social department in the region with high level of circular migration of Roma to the UK⁴⁷. According to this interviewee, relatives of migrants administer their claims in the Czech Republic (e.g. they sign documents on their behalf). In addition, even when the migration is known to the officials, it is impossible to find out reliable information about income of Roma abroad (e.g. visiting family member for couple of year).

3.3 Poverty and social exclusion

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Czech Republic is a country with low levels of social inequality and relative poverty. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the transitional period in the 1990s, relatively low level of social inequality and income poverty was accompanied by material deprivation of a significant part of the population above the poverty threshold. For example, many people couldn't afford to buy new clothes and shoes (48 %) or eat meat/fish/chicken each other day (41 %) and considered themselves being poor⁴⁸. For young families, it was also very difficult to pay for their accommodation. The mortgages have been introduced only in 1995 and they were often not accessible for young households; private rentals were exceptionally high due to a distorted housing market⁴⁹ and a program of social housing was not developed.

A positive economic development in the Czech Republic after 2000, and especially after 2004, was accompanied by increase of living standards, which was also reflected in the decline of material deprivation: while in 2005 almost a quarter (22.7 %) of the population

⁴⁵ The case was dealt with within SOLVIT (on-line problem solving network, in which EU Member States work together to solve without legal proceedings problems caused by the misapplication of Internal Market law by public authorities).

⁴⁶ GAC, 2000 – research paper for the IOM Prague.

⁴⁷ This interview was made for other purpose and is used here while keeping the respondent in anonymity.

⁴⁸ Rákoczyová, Mareš 2005. Based on data of the Czech Statistical Office 2001.

⁴⁹ Some rents were kept low via state regulation; however, flats with regulated rents were not available for people searching for an accommodation. Rentals were available only outside the regulated segment of the market. Here the prices were higher than would be in the case the market functioned in a standard way.

qualified as materially deprived⁵⁰, it was only 15.6 % in 2009 (slightly under the EU-27 average level). The risk of poverty and social exclusion remained most strongly related to unemployment (see table 3.4) and it is therefore significantly higher for Roma. While the general rate of unemployment in the Czech Republic has never exceeded 9 %, the Joint Memorandum on Social Inclusion of the Czech Republic in 2003 estimated Roma unemployment above 50 % and reaching 80 % in disadvantaged regions; according to later estimations, in socially excluded Roma localities unemployment ranges between 70 and 100 % (Government, 2011)⁵¹. Despite the fact that the specific rate of Roma unemployment was estimated lower after 2000 than in the previous decade, their situation has not significantly improved over the last decade. Similarly, regional differences pertain with previously heavy-industrial areas as well as smaller districts, often in border regions, suffering the highest levels of unemployment as well as of poverty (see table 3.5). The push factors for migration are therefore ethnically and also, possibly, regionally biased. In addition to the position on the labour market, the family status and age are also predictors of the risk of poverty: the most vulnerable are single parents with dependent children with poverty more than quadruple to the general level (37,7 % in 2010) and elderly living alone (18,7 %; see also table 3.6). While we do not have any indicators of single parents migratory patterns, poverty of elderly is related to the loss of spouse and together with other risks (such as health problems and/or social isolation) may stimulate seniors over 80 to move to their relatives or to the seniors' homes, which we discussed earlier in chapter 2.

Regional differences play a role in the internal migration too. In general, regions with the highest rate of unemployment are, at the same time, those with the lowest housing prices which attract poor population strata. Recent study of internal migration in the region of Central Moravia (Navrátil, Köttnerová 2011) showed that poor people tend to move from centres to rural and peripheral regions of the Czech Republic (see also Vobecká 2010). According to this study, particularly people in vulnerable housing position have a higher tendency to migrate. The authors identified a number of factors leading to the vulnerable housing situation, such as loss of accommodation due to rent arrears or family breakdown, conflicts in the previous place of residence, termination of residential child care (in case of young adults), lack of money for a deposit, which is a common requirement in rental contracts etc. People in vulnerable housing situation live typically in hostels (with short-term contracts), private houses with rental apartments, together with relatives in flats (often overcrowded) owned by municipalities, houses owned by socially excluded people and in shelters. The main reasons, why these people migrate, lie in (a) principles of sheltered housing⁵², (b) economic instability of hostels, including changes in rental conditions, changes of use of the building etc., and (c) accumulation of their personal and social problems. The possibility to re-gain regular rental contract is low for people in this situation.

Above mentioned vulnerable housing situation and related migration is relevant, though not exclusively, to the Roma minority. Housing has been also one of the major factors of creation of socially excluded Roma localities, which deepened problems of Roma (see chapter 5). Roma are perceived to be the largest group facing social exclusion, which is evident in various dimensions of the phenomena, including exclusion on the labour market, participation in the educational system, the quality of housing and social relations with the

⁵⁰ The indicator is defined as the percentage of population with an enforced lack of at least three out of nine material deprivation items in the 'economic strain and durables' dimension. Data: Eurostat online database.

⁵¹ The problem of Roma exclusion on the labour market is further deepened by low level of their activity rate (see more in chapter 5.1).

⁵² Sheltered housing is typically provided for a maximum period of 1 year.

majority population⁵³. While not all Roma are socially excluded, many simultaneously belong to several risk-groups and, therefore, face multiple disadvantages⁵⁴. For Roma the issue of migration is highly relevant in the Czech Republic both in terms of emigration and immigration (mainly due to large Roma immigration from Slovakia, but also from other countries; for example, during the 1990s thousands of Roma from Romania applied for asylum in the Czech Republic). As Uherek mentioned, migration of Roma mostly aims at improvement of living standards and fulfilment of private aspirations. This objective, however, usually remains unfulfilled, since in a country of destination Roma are joining social strata with limited opportunities for up-ward social mobility (Uherek, 2003:281). This is important also for the situation in the Czech Republic, where part of the Roma migration may be in a long term perceived as a transitory one. The issues of emigration of Roma and its impacts on social exclusion are more thoroughly dealt with in chapter 5.

4. Labour market and social development trends in net migration loss/gain regions

4.1. Identification of net migration loss/gain regions

Below, we will concentrate upon net migration loss areas whereas leaving aside the net migration gain ones. The reason is that despite having some problems in suburban zones that just display the greatest net migration gains (see above) like – overcrowding, tensions between newly coming in-migrants and old settlers even including attempts to separate themselves (through gated communities) among some (see e.g. Sýkora et al. 2006) etc., such problems are often local and marginal. They have not so far represented any major concern. In the light of other much more important and problematic issues, it is not worth discussing here.

As compared to other European countries, “the Czech Republic apparently leads in the area of low income inequality and the related low relative poverty rate and small poverty gap ...” (Večerník 2009). Hence, despite having in the country “poor areas with poorer inhabitants”, even in those areas people are able to maintain relatively good standard of living. Moreover, the overall share of population who live in marginalized, peripheral, depopulation areas is small and they do not create large continuous regions⁵⁵. Rather, they are dispersed and isolated (Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová 2011).

When identifying net migration loss and gain regions and, then, describing and explaining factors that lie behind their migratory attractiveness, on the one hand, and migratory unpopularity, on the other hand, we made use of available databases that have already been prepared for the Atlas of Socio-spatial Differentiation of the Czech Republic. The basic unit of the analysis is a municipality with extended power⁵⁶.

⁵³ In opinion polls, Roma are repeatedly ranked as the least popular minority in the Czech Republic. For example in 2008, in question indicating sympathies for Roma on the 7-grade scale, the largest group of respondents (37 %) found Roma very dislikeable (grade 7) while only 12 % declared sympathies for Roma (grade 1-3) (data collected regularly by The Public Opinion Research Centre).

⁵⁴ Roma population is internally diversified and includes all vulnerable groups, e.g. elderly, disabled and released prisoners. Inter-generational transmission of social exclusion is an important factor, since number of Roma children are being born into disadvantaged families.

⁵⁵ On the other hand, municipalities with less than 1,000 inhabitants in rural areas outside suburban hinterlands of big cities represent 52% of the whole state area (Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová 2011).

⁵⁶ On January 1, 2003 within the new regional-administrative reform of the country also municipalities with extended power originated while retaking some responsibilities for administering the state power instead of districts that were cancelled at the same time. Before summarizing basic results of the given analysis, we have to

What are the main results of the analysis? Both the most attractive and the most unpopular areas in terms of migration movements are spread through the whole country, there are no large continuous areas - be it attractive or unpopular – in the country (figures 4.2.). Anyways, larger circles experiencing positive net migration rates spread around cities of Prague, Pilsen and Brno (figure 4.1). On the other hand, a zone stretching from Northern Moravia westwards to Eastern and Northern Bohemia and the region situated in the “far West” of the country are rather typical of migratory losses (see figure 4.1).

Municipalities with extended power exhibiting the highest losses (top 20) are composed of three types: i) core centres of big cities or towns (including Brno and Ostrava), ii) municipalities located in border zone areas (mainly in Western Bohemia and North-Eastern Moravia) and iii) in “inner/internal periphery” – along regional borders (see table 4.1 and figures 4.1, 4.2). Peripheries emerged at the outskirts of metropolitan regions and borders of regional centres following urbanisation processes, which dominated the internal migration during the 20th century, areas of so-called inner peripheries.

When trying to find out what is behind migratory losses (represented by negative net migration rates), a simple Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient juxtaposing the net migration to other mainly demographic, socioeconomic and geographical variables in all municipalities with extended power in the country between 1996 and 2008 was applied. The correlation analysis done for all 206 units proves that the net migration is directly related to problems linked with the public transport accessibility, necessity to commute for longer time and, for example, indirectly to unemployment rate and state allowances. All in all, in other words, it means that areas suffering from outmigration lack enough economic investments, are remote or not well connected to centres concentrating economic, working opportunities and they are rather typical of people with lower human capital (education) and of weaker social strata (those who more often rely on state allowance/subsidies) – detailed results of the analysis are available with the authors.

When identifying extreme out-migration at a level of municipalities with extended power (see fig. 4.2 - those having the highest migratory losses) one can find among them both regions structurally disadvantaged (e.g. Karviná), economically weak (e.g. Northern Moravia or Tachov), those with extremely high level of unemployment (like Světlá nad Sázavou), and those “standard/average” not being marked as “specific” in the given contexts (see fig. 6.1). It indicates that a whole mosaic of various factors might be behind and explain extreme migratory losses.

Internal peripheries (suffering from out-migration and overall depopulation trends) are areas, which are inadequately integrated into structures, processes and system dominating in a given time and space (Chromý, Jančák 2005). As the existing studies reveal, they are predominantly agricultural areas with a low density of population, few employment

briefly comment on the data and its shortcomings and limitations. First of all, the data had to be converted from a municipality level to municipality with extended power level. It enables us to see “more coherent trends” while, on the other hand, it simplifies reality (sometimes too much) and it hides inner differentiation of analysed phenomena. Second, due to using various data sources (e.g. registers versus census), variables often do not represent the same time periods.

opportunities and a higher level of unemployment and generally lower living standards as compared to the national average. The population is in general less qualified (see Tuček 2003 - table 4.5). A high proportion of the local workforce commutes to work, even though internal peripheries represent areas with the highest distance to the local centres. Musil (2006) warns that in the future the exclusion of rural agricultural population in the peripheral areas may constitute one of the most serious social problems in the Czech Republic. The risk of their social exclusion relates to:

- reduction of transport services – many settlements in the internal peripheries lost accessibility via public transport;
- worsened accessibility of health services and social services;
- lack of jobs;
- additional (travel) costs related to work, services and shopping;
- disappearing elements, which in the past supported social inclusion (e.g. schools, cultural and community centres, pubs, shops, postal service or sport clubs).

According to the same author, a part of the population residing in the internal peripheries suffers from social isolation.

When trying to generalize what is behind peripheral character, and, consequently, on-going socio-economic stagnation and deprivation of individual areas, Musil and Müller (2008) stressed the following three main factors: 1) spatial location (relatively) close to a developing region; 2) predominance of agricultural activities; and 3) low density of population. When elaborating on peripheral areas in the Czech Republic, they remind of their heterogeneity within the country (many different types) along with changes that occur in their development over time (especially during the last 20 years). They pinpoint districts where permanent depopulation processes indicate serious and long-term problems springing from socioeconomic and spatial differentiation and polarization of the country. It chiefly concerns the following districts: Strakonice, Klatovy, Tábor, Jindřichův Hradec, Pelhřimov, Havlíčkův Brod, Třebíč, and, to lesser extent also Náchod, Chrudim, Svitavy, Hodonín, Frýdek Místek and Opava (see also similarly Novák, Netrdová 2011, or, Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová 2011; see also Fig. 4.7, 4.8, compare to 4.2, too).

These areas experienced a long-term depopulation both due to natural decline and migration. In the mid- and the late-1990s, when the general migration pattern changed (see above), inner peripheries as a whole also experienced the inflow of population and population growth (Musil, Müller, 2006, 2008, Musil 2006). At the same time, however, new inner peripheries emerged (mainly along the national border, except for the border with Germany) and in some of the inner peripheries, the population decline has been continuing (mainly areas dividing central and southern Bohemia). For spatial distribution of permanently depopulating areas, inner peripheries and the overall polarization between urban versus rural areas, see figures 4.7.- 4.9.

4.2. Labour market development in net migration loss/gain regions

Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 in the annex provide overview of municipalities with highest net gain and loss of population during the period 2001-2007. Municipalities with highest net loss are mostly geographically located along the border of the Czech Republic, mainly in the northern Moravia (Moravian-Silesian region and district Jeseník) and western Bohemia (Karlovarský region and district Tachov). However, several municipalities with highest net loss of

population are in centrally located region Vysočina. Moravian-Silesian region is mainly industrial area with high share of metallurgy, heavy engineering and mining. Since 1990 it has been undergoing large-scale restructuring, which was accompanied by continuous growth of unemployment until 2004. Between years 2004-2008 the unemployment fell by almost 50%; however, this positive development was reversed in the end of 2008 by world economic crisis (Labor Office Ostrava, 2011)⁵⁷. Moravian-Silesian region belongs to the structurally most disadvantaged regions in the Czech Republic and it has been subject of state support (see more chapter 6). As table 4.2 shows, municipalities suffering highest de-population in the Moravian-Silesian region experience high rate of unemployment, lack of job opportunities and extreme excess of labour supply.

The overall labour-market situation in Karlovarský and Vysočina regions is more favourable as compared to Moravian-Silesian region. Karlovarský region has diversified economic structure, which includes spa and travel industry as well as heavy industry and coal mining, production of glass, porcelain and musical instruments (Labour Office Karlovy Vary, 2011). Until 2003 the rate of unemployment in Karlovarský region was below the national level. However, since then the regional rate of unemployment has exceeded the national level. The unemployment dropped between 2005 and 2008, but the positive development has not been as profound as in many other regions. As we show in table 4.2, municipalities suffering de-population in this region do not experience exceptionally high rates of unemployment (in case of Mariánské Lázně it is even under national level); however, it is difficult to find a new job due to a low number of job vacancies. This probably relates to the low number of economic subjects (businesses) operating in the regions.

Low business activity is also a problem in the Vysočina region (Labour Office Jihlava, 2011)⁵⁸. It has traditionally been agricultural region and, despite substantial decline of agriculture in its economy, agriculture and forestry remain more significant than in other regions. More than 7 % of the Vysočina's population is employed in agriculture nowadays (as compared to 3.1 % in the Czech Republic). Nonetheless, manufacturing is the most important sector of regional economy with one-third share on a total employment. The Vysočina region was a region with a rate of unemployment slightly under the national level. However, it has suffered from the economic crisis and since 2008 it has experienced above-average unemployment rates. The impact of the crisis was more significant in places with a dominant employer facing economic problems. This was the case of the glass producing company Sklo Bohemia, a.s, in Světlá nad Sázavou, which closed down in 2008 and led to immediate increase of the rate of unemployment to some 20%. The unemployment dropped after partial re-start of the glass production in a following year. On the other hand, there is also the Telč area oriented towards tourism with no significant industry and low economic activity. It is a peripheral area of the region typical of insufficient infrastructure connecting it with more central areas thereby hindering job commuting; the Telč area has permanently higher unemployment rate (Labour Office Jihlava, 2011; see also table 4.2).

Paying attention to municipalities with extended power and regions provide an interesting insight into the development of the de-populating areas. However, at the same time, it hides problems of small and the smallest settlements.

Below in this chapter we present two case studies. The first one characterizes a typical inner periphery micro-region – Stražiště within the Vysočina region (a municipality of Klidná). An example of the Vranovsko micro-region in the South Moravia follows while showing a

⁵⁷ <http://portal.mpsv.cz/upcr/kp/msk/analyzy/otkraj1210.pdf>.

⁵⁸ http://portal.mpsv.cz/upcr/kp/vys/statisticke_prehledy/analyzy/jikraj1210.pdf.

problem of de-population in localities outside the above identified regions. Whereas the both areas - the Stražiště and the Vranovsko have been losing population, by contrast to the latter, in the former area the unemployment rate is low due to a possibility for local people to take a job in nearby industrial zones at Humpolec, Pelhřimov and Tábor (see tables 4.3 and 4.4).

4.3. Poverty and social exclusion in net migration loss/gain regions

Data on strictly defined poverty and material deprivation in peripheral areas are non-existent⁵⁹. We may however assume a higher risk of income poverty in peripheries, mainly due to their agricultural character (agriculture represents a sector with the second lowest average wage level), worse educational structure of the population, a higher rate of unemployment and a higher rate of economic inactivity. The overall quality of life in these areas is further undermined by other negative factors like, worsening of demographic and social structures - population aging, outmigration of young and educated people, disappearing important services and social and cultural institutions (limited social and cultural events/activities), reduction of the infrastructure, the decline of "physical structures", limited public transport connections (Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtová 2011, Jančák 2001, Musil, Müller 2008).

On the other hand, a low income may not necessarily fully translate into material deprivation since self-supplies are frequent in the rural areas. As Pavlíková (2004) shows for rural areas in general, 90 % of those working in agriculture grow their own fruit and vegetables and, in some cases, breed small domestic animals; the same is true for half of those employed in a different sector of the economy. The income statistics also indicate higher importance of self-supplies and other, non-financial, income in rural areas as compared to the urban ones. Households with working people, who are living in the smallest settlements (with less than 1,000 inhabitants), have the lowest (per capita) net income and, at the same time, highest proportion of the income in kind. However, even for them, income in kind is relatively small (3 %)⁶⁰.

New in-migration to the peripheral areas not necessarily means reduction of the risk of social exclusion, nor an increase in living standards. The impact of immigration depends on characteristics of new inhabitants; it is possible that cheap housing opportunities attract poorer people to a higher extent. Vobecká (2010, see also above) supports such a hypothesis as her analysis revealed a clear social stratification of the migration flows: while upper and upper-middle classes prefer the suburban areas and especially the inner fringes, closer to the primary centres, the middle and lower classes more often decide to move to remote suburban areas, secondary centres or to rural areas⁶¹.

⁵⁹ It is not possible to de-compose national statistics on poverty to the level of municipalities or micro-regions, though some "indirect approaches" might be promising in this regard (see Novák, Netrdová 2011).

⁶⁰ Data Czech Statistical Office, [http://www.czso.cz/csu/2011edicniplan.nsf/t/CB0030D29C/\\$File/30121111a.pdf](http://www.czso.cz/csu/2011edicniplan.nsf/t/CB0030D29C/$File/30121111a.pdf). „It is the share of persons with income below 60% of the national median. Equalised disposable income is defined as the household's total disposable income divided by its „equivalent size“ to take account of its size and composition“ (Večerník 2009).

⁶¹ Classes' affiliation is approximated by the level of education.

The Stražiště micro-region and its municipality of Klidná⁶² - A case study

The Stražiště micro-region and the municipality of Klidná (a small settlement having 172 inhabitants) are located in the Pacov⁶³ municipality with extended power (near Pelhřimov within the Vysočina region), which is by many experts (see. e.g. above Musil, Müller 2008) marked among others as the area “where permanent depopulation processes indicate serious and long-term problems springing from socioeconomic and spatial differentiation and polarization of the country”. The municipality of Klidná was elegantly analyzed by Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová (2011). Specifically, they focused upon consequences of depopulation mainly via how main problems are perceived by local population and important local actors. This may be a good example, in fact, symbolizing situation in many municipalities located in other marginalized, peripheral areas throughout the whole country.⁶⁴

Through a qualitative field research (mainly 9 interviews with local residents carried out in July 2009) they arrived at the following main conclusions: The municipality suffers from a bunch of problems comprising depopulation, aging process, decreasing economic, social and cultural activities which are accompanied with disappearing services and institutions that need certain thresholds for their functioning. Since this deterioration is a continuous process, it is not perceived and seen so negatively by the local population. Among those, however, who react to this decreasing quality of life, one can find people who are able to compare what is going on in their municipality to other environments. These are mainly secondary and university school-leavers but also some older qualified people who have lost their jobs and search for new opportunities outside the municipality or the whole region.

Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová (2011) present on the case of Klidná a vicious circle (the so-called „causal cumulative processes in depopulation peripheral areas“ – see also Musil, Müller 2008), which starts with low demand and a weak human capital and goes through disappearing institutions and services (schools, associations, shops and pubs) to low supply (services, jobs, entertainment), to decreasing quality of life and, finally, to outmigration. Within this vicious circle the authors call for paying special attention especially to disappearing social institutions (with local elites) and decreasing civic activities/participation (including „local responsibilities“). Also, the authors stress that not only economic factors are behind the out migration, but mainly lack of social, cultural and sport activities play the most important role. The areas that lose their „complexity“ are primarily left by more qualified, creative people. Thus, permanent losing of educated people is a fact.

As Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová (2011) further specify, respondents in Klidná identified four main and mutually related problems: i) inadequate transportation accessibility (public transport means), ii) bad services and infrastructure, iii) lack of working opportunities and iv) decreasing activities in the field of socializing, cultural life. In fact, as a corollary, the outmigration of young people has been taking place. There is also the fifth problem, springing from the four previous ones: out-migration of young people. Inadequate transportation accessibility has been mentioned by representatives of many different population groups. The main problem resides in a low intensity of bus transport connections (between 1991 and 2009 they decreased by one half) which went hand in hand with

⁶² To adhere to a principle of anonymity the original municipality got the fictive name of Klidná (see Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová 2011).

⁶³ In terms of the relative net migration (2001-2007) the Pacov area (the municipality with extended power) ranks 171, out of 206 municipalities, thus, exhibiting rather intensive outmigration (see own analysis above).

⁶⁴ By the way, the Pacov area along with others - Svetlá na Sázavou, Pelhřimov, Vlašim, Tábor, Milevsko and Sedlčany create homogeneous zone losing their inhabitants between the two censuses 2001 and 2011 (Sčítání 2012).

privatization process and thereby economizing the whole service (now, this transport “suffers” mainly from concentration of buses only into peak hours, not functioning during holiday time, and generally high costs). Especially seniors have problems with existing bad services. Only a small food store and one provisional pub are available in the municipality now. Moreover, the store has high prices and short working hours. During the transformation era industrial production in the whole region was heavily suppressed, moreover, a local breeding cooperative went bankrupt; generally there are very limited working opportunities in agriculture there now. To find a new job for young and qualified people is very difficult. Social and cultural life has been deteriorating – for example, people are provided with religious services only occasionally, school was cancelled in the mid-1980s and a couple who thought there has already migrated out of the locality. There are no regularly organized cultural events in the municipality. There is a lack of strong personalities who would organize local public life and stimulate common activities. There is only a provisional pub located in a fire brigade club. Standard village pub (with a large room for organizing cultural events) has not been in use for several years now. All these shortcomings are behind out-migration mainly of those with higher education, creative and socially and culturally-oriented active people (see more in Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová 2011).

One of the possible solutions as to how to break the vicious circle of causal cumulative processes in depopulation peripheral areas is, according to Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtrová (2011), to get an inflow of active (creative) people into the municipality and the region. The question is whether they can move in freely, without any “external (public) support”. The authors are convinced that any measures have to be applied in combination while exhibiting both local and micro-regional activities

Micro-region Vranovsko: example of de-population in the peripheral areas of the Czech Republic

Micro-region Vranovsko is situated in the south-western part of South Moravia region, along the border with Austria. It mainly consists of small settlements with population fewer than 300 inhabitants; its average size of settlement (236 inhabitants) lags substantially behind the level of the region (1713) as well as Znojmo district (789), to which it administratively belongs⁶⁵. The micro-region is geographically separated from the remaining part of the district by the river and a dam, which also influences accessibility of the local and regional centres. 80 % of inhabitants travel more than half an hour to the district centre (Znojmo) and over an hour to the regional centre (Brno)⁶⁶.

As shown in Table 4.4, Vranovsko has been suffering from long-term loss of population. In general, it lost 15 % of total population during the period 1990-2010; however, in some of the settlements the decrease was substantially more profound. Villages of Chvalatice, Lubnice, Podmyče and Zblovice shrank even by approximately 40 % of their original size. These settlements also experience ageing of population and currently the number of retirees exceeds number of children there. However, as the case of Podhradí nad Dyjí with exceptionally high ageing index illustrates, ageing is not only a result of de-population: the area with nice environment attracts pensioners, who do not have to take into account local labour market situation (Podhradí nad Dyjí belongs to the settlements with the highest rate of unemployment). The whole micro-region is hit by severe unemployment, which is at the level of 22 % more than double in comparison to the situation in the whole South Moravia Region.

⁶⁵ Council of the South-Moravian Region, internal material.

⁶⁶ Czech Statistical Office (2009).

Interviews with several representatives of the micro-region⁶⁷ confirmed that the most significant problem is a lack of jobs. Heavy dependence on tourism, which is related to the summer activities (sightseeing, swimming in the dam and hiking in the forests) leads to seasonal differences – many businesses close down during low season and employees register as unemployed. Due to a low density of population and small number of children, number of schools has been reduced and existing schools run joint classes for children of different grades. Reduction of schools makes children travel longer and farther. Ageing population leads to higher demands for a health care, however, many general practitioners in the micro-region are themselves in the retirement age and the region is not attractive for young doctors; this causes worries regarding future health-care provision in the Vranovsko micro-region. Ageing is also impacting on a social life in villages, since the elderly are less likely (or less able) to participate in social activities of the community. Some of the villages experienced closure of local grocery shops and pubs, which traditionally served as natural meeting places for the locals. Price level of real estate is generally low and it may potentially stimulate young people to remain in villages and commute for work. Additionally, it may also attract low-income groups to move in. Some of the villages have already experienced sporadic in-migration of socially excluded families. The mayors were not so much worried about unemployment of the newcomers, the problem of inability to invest and maintain their property was rather of their concern. On the other hand, those villages, which attract the owners of second homes, appreciated their activity in restoration of houses and enhancement of the village's appearance. However, the participation of the second home owners in a public life of the micro-region or a particular village was perceived as highly unlikely. In certain aspects, their interests appeared rather contradictory to the interests of local population (e.g. protection of environment rather than a job creation or income for the local community). Informal help based on solidarity is important feature of the villages in the micro-region, especially regarding the care for elderly. According to Mr. Vědra, head of the micro-region Vranovsko, a lack of formal social services for elderly in the micro-region is related to the preference of informal assistance by local people.

5. Impact of migration on vulnerable groups

5.1. Roma

In the Czech Republic, Roma represent the most vulnerable migration group. Around 200,000 of Roma are estimated to be currently residing in the Czech Republic⁶⁸. The majority of them came within last few decades from Slovakia⁶⁹, partly within socialistic state's resettlement policy measures and partly spontaneously, in order to pursue jobs in developing industrial zones. Therefore, the density of Roma population has been higher in industrial areas, such as North-Western Bohemia and Northern Moravia; apart from that Prague and Central Bohemia also have higher Roma population.

⁶⁷ Mayors of selected settlements and their deputies and the chairman of the micro-region were interviewed (see list in the literature).

⁶⁸ In the 2001 census only 12,000 people declared Roma nationality; however, it is known that the real number exceeds it substantially. There are some 180,000 – 210,000 Roma in the Czech Republic according to Roma Population and Health report (2009a) and between 160,000 – 200,000 according to national documents such as Regional Development Strategy or National Plan of Social Inclusion 2004-2006.

⁶⁹ Majority of the Czech Roma population was exterminated during World War II. According to Uherek (2003), approximately 100,000 Roma migrated to the Czech Republic from Slovakia during the period 1945-1992 and the flow continued also after the split of Czechoslovakia in 1993.

The number of Roma, who emigrated from the Czech Republic after 1989 is estimated in tens of thousands (see chapter 2.1), which means (regardless of the estimation's accuracy) that emigration is not rare among Roma. As mentioned in chapter 3.3, Roma represents the largest group facing risk of poverty and social exclusion in the Czech Republic. Their attempts to emigrate permanently (some of them as asylum seekers) as well as their circular migration might be perceived as one of the strategies they have available in order to deal with the disadvantaged social and economic position. The motivation of Roma emigration and their position in the Czech society is clearly demonstrated in a set of main push factors, which were identified by several studies⁷⁰: unemployment and poverty trap, inaccessibility of housing and its low quality, racism and discrimination, growing cost of living, bad future prospects, indebtedness, blackmail, distrust in non-Roma and their institutions, feeling of injustice. In general the economic incentives play the key role. According to the interviewed expert⁷¹, Roma people who decide to emigrate are often pushed by economic problems (especially by severe over-indebtedness) and pulled by possibility to abuse asylum procedure (in case of asylum-seekers in Canada) and by access to the labour market or economic activities abroad, which are often on the edge of law. According to the expert, often mentioned push factors such as bad ethnic relations in the Czech society, extremism and security risks (see e.g. Government, 2010;GAC, 2000), are rather supplementary reasons, which are commonly not directly rooted in migrants' own life experience.

The social exclusion of Roma population is most obvious in 310 areas, which were identified as "socially excluded Roma localities"⁷² (SERL). Such localities might be of various sizes and they are not always physically separated from the majority population; however, they are characterized by high concentration of Roma and are not only ethnically but also socially homogenous. Some 60-80 thousands, i.e. about one third to one half of Roma population is living in such a place.

The excluded Roma localities provide far lower living standards as compared to the usual level in the Czech Republic. The housing is of worse quality – their flats and houses are not properly equipped, do not meet hygienic requirements, they are in bad technical conditions and often over-crowded. In addition, Roma quarters are also characterized by concentration of social problems and deprivation of public environment. Housing was also a factor behind the formation of SERL (mostly during the 90s): while some of the Roma moved in deliberately when seeking cheap accommodation, significant proportion moved in response to (both private and public) attempts to get Roma out of attractive flats in the city centres and/or more specifically targeted policy measures (i.e. trying to resettle those with rent arrears or being considered as "problematic"). The accommodation standards also reflect problems of accessibility of rental housing for Roma. Since there is a clear unwillingness of a substantial part of home owners to rent apartments to Roma, available accommodation for them is often pricey and at the same time of low quality. As mentioned by the expert, poor housing of Roma is not generally synonymous of cheap housing.

Roma population suffers disproportionately high levels of unemployment and especially long-term unemployment. While the specific rate of Roma unemployment is not known, it is estimated to be several times higher than in the majority population. Earlier estimates of rate of unemployment of Roma ranged from slightly less than 50 to 80 % (Sirovátka, 2003, Joint Memorandum, 2003). In most of the SERL, the rate of unemployment reaches 90-100 % and those in work occupy low-quality jobs (GAC 2006:42). World Bank (2008) has revealed that

⁷⁰ GAC 2000, Uherek 2003, Vašečka 2002.

⁷¹ Mr. Krištof, 25.3.2011.

⁷² GAC, 2006; following characteristics are also primarily based on this report.

Roma from SERL are deeply detached from the labour market: majority of them are rather out of labour force (inactive) than unemployed, since they do not actively seek employment. While higher numbers mentioned above refer to registered unemployment, according to the World Bank study (2008:6) only 5 % of Roma population (aged 15-64) can be defined as unemployed (i.e. not employed and actively seeking a job), 56 % is inactive (not in job, not seeking job), 27 % employed and 12 % having irregular jobs; based on this definition the rate of unemployment of Roma in SERL was 11.7 % in 2008 as compared to 5.4 % in the Czech Republic. According to Hůlová and Steiner (2006) as well as other studies, the marginal position of Roma on the labour market might be explained by low qualification of Roma, discrimination, indebtedness, preference of undeclared work, high marginal taxes as well as by insufficient motivation to work due to the structure of wider Roma families (and their solidarity, which makes richer members provide for less affluent). In addition, Roma inevitably suffer by well-known negative effects of long-term unemployment, such as demotivation, resignation and loose time-structure of the day.

Poverty and unemployment of Roma are undoubtedly closely related to their extremely low level of education, which is a subject of intra-generational transmission. The reasons lie partly on the side of educational system, which is not successful in equalization of Roma's children educational prospects with those of majority ones, and partly on the side of Roma (e.g. missing role models for up-ward social mobility, which lead to lowered aspirations). The Czech Republic has been repeatedly criticized for exclusionary practices towards Roma pupils⁷³ in form of their segregation in schools, which are designed for education of children with mental disability and which in consequence significantly limit educational prospects of their graduates. The study of Institute for Information in Education, which included sample of 2,797 schools, has found out that while only 2.2 % of non-Roma children are educated according to educational program for children with mild mental disability, the same is true for more than a quarter (26.7 %) of Roma children (Government 2010). Similarly, the study of 106 primary schools, which are located nearby socially excluded Roma localities (SERL)⁷⁴, identified significantly higher risk of Roma children to be placed in the "specialized"⁷⁵ schools (28 % of Roma children as compared to 8 % of non-Roma ones). This means not only reduced possibilities to reach upper secondary education⁷⁶, but also limited contact of Roma children with non-Roma fellows in everyday activities. Placement of Roma children in "specialized" schools is related to more general educational problems of Roma children, such as problems with the Czech language, high level of absence from school (triple compared to non-Roma children) and their comparatively worse school results. In schools located nearby SERL as much as half of Roma pupils leave their original school class either due to a need to repeat certain grade or due to a change for a "specialized" school. The segregation of children is, to some extent, also supported by Roma parents, who may wish to protect their children by placing them in the school with a majority of pupils being of the same ethnicity and/or in a less demanding school (see e.g. Amnesty International 2010). Their agreement with placement in "specialized" schools is, however, based on limited knowledge on differences between education in mainstream primary schools and "specialized" schools and consequences of the decision for educational prospect of their children (Government 2010).

⁷³ See e.g. D.H. and others against the Czech Republic, judgment of the European Court of Human Rights no. 57325/00 from November 2007, Council of Europe 2009, Amnesty International 2010.

⁷⁴ GAC, 2009.

⁷⁵ Here we mean both „practical schools“ for children with mild mental disabilities and „special schools“ for children with medium and severe mental disabilities and multiple mental disabilities.

⁷⁶ Less than 1 % of Roma from these schools continue at the secondary schools providing upper secondary education (as compared of 30 % of Roma that leave mainstream primary schools - UZIS in Government 2010).

Migration of Roma involves the wider family and has, in principle, character of migration of families. According to the expert on Roma migration, it is not quite uncommon that an individual or a couple is migrating first, leaving children in care of other family members. In such a case, however, after not too long time the children follow their parents or the parents return back to the Czech Republic. Family relations also play an important role when taking decision for return to the Czech Republic. A study of unsuccessful asylum-seekers, who returned from Canada, identified family reunion as one of the most frequent reasons for return.

The solidarity within the wider family continues also during the period of migration. Janků (2007) provides a deeper insight into the social impacts of migration of Roma to Canada. Contrary to the common expectation, she found out that Roma's remittances are based on reciprocity and the value of those sent by migrants is equivalent to the one sent by those left in the Czech Republic. Financial support of the migrants may serve to settle their debts in the Czech Republic or to pay rent of their flat in the Czech Republic. In the opposite direction, money is sent as a general means of support, as a substitute for material gifts or in order to buy specific items. In addition to that, remittances have also material (clothes, medicines etc.) and non-material forms.

It is not quite clear, how emigration impacts on children. It has, however, been identified that children face schooling problems after they return to the Czech Republic (Government 2010, Government 2011:127). As already mentioned, Roma children in general perform worse than majority children and this discrepancy even increases due to their migration. Returning Roma children face performance problems at schools as they were out of the Czech schooling during the migratory period (which deepens their language problems) and, sometimes, they were out of school altogether. According to the expert on Roma migration, the problem is very frequent in certain areas with high concentration of Roma.

According to the report of the Czech Government (Government 2010), which is based on research papers and evaluation of integration policies conducted in 2009 families face crisis situation after their return. Apart from educational problems of returning children, returning families' situation is typically worse than it was before their emigration. The returnees are coming back to an environment, in which they are materially de-rooted: they sold out their property before migration, have no accommodation and depend on assistance of their relatives or reside in commercial (i.e. costly) hostels in socially excluded localities. Furthermore, they are often indebted and have to face distraintment. Their unsettled debts from the time of emigration, which are frequently one of the push factors, increased during the period abroad (e.g. due to the interest rate). In case of asylum seekers, who return to the Czech Republic, financial problems are deepened by expenses related to the asylum procedures such as legal services, interpretation and rents. However, an expert on Roma migration pointed out that many Roma have learnt from experiences of the others and acknowledged that their emigration is likely to be of temporary nature. Therefore, they prefer to keep their accommodation in the Czech Republic (they may keep paying the rent or they let their relatives stay in their apartments). Some of the Roma even did manage to save money while being abroad and they invest them, among other, into the improvement of their housing standards after return. General improvement of the situation of returning Roma migrants, in comparison to the previous period, was also identified in the report of the Czech Government (Government 2011).

5.2 Other groups

From the perspective of internal migration, elderly people living in de-populating localities constitute a specific vulnerable group suffering decline of quality of life in consequence of outflow of young, educated and active people. As we described in chapter 2 and 4, de-population has a specific age and educational bias – it is young and more educated people, who tend to move out of the localities, which leads e.g. to natural decline and ageing of population. Therefore, elderly people remaining in such a locality have to face worsening

availability of services, including public transport, health and social services. The study of Klidná (Ouředníček et al. 2011:791) showed that elderly residents face difficulties in visiting a doctor, public administration and shops in nearby town by public transport and, especially the older ones among them, largely depend on help by their relatives and/or neighbours. Such a dependence on informal help might be further reinforced by insufficient availability of formal social assistance. For example, in a study of different regions, which includes de-populating internal peripheries⁷⁷, Kubalčíková (2011) pinpointed the lack of non-residential social care services particularly for elderly living in rural areas. At the same time, however, availability of support from the relatives might be negatively influenced by their outflow from the region.

People in vulnerable housing situation, which tend to migrate internally (see chapter 3.3), also face negative consequences of migration. As we have described in chapter 3.3, the diverse group of people face a vulnerable housing situation – most notably they recruit from low-income groups with multiple social handicaps (e.g. family break-down, debts and rent arrears, ethnic minority origin). It is important that their migration is not voluntary – it is enforced by the housing situation and it perpetuates their social exclusion (Navrátil, Köttnerová 2011). Temporality of the residence limits opportunities to develop social relations in the place of their stay⁷⁸ and the destination of their migration (e.g. move to peripheral localities) further diminish their chances to find permanent employment.

6. Policy responses

Risk of brain-drain and encouragement of return migration of professionals

Studies of Vavrečková and her colleagues (2005, 2006, 2009a) show that there is a non-negligible risk of potential emigration of Czech professionals, which may pose a threat of a brain-drain in the Czech Republic. The strategy of the Czech Republic in a global competition for highly-qualified labourers (“brains”) has been focusing on attraction of educated foreigners rather than on prevention of brain-drain and support/stimulation of return of highly-qualified Czech professionals working abroad. Social policy in fact has not reacted to the outflow of the highly-qualified labour force and, similarly, the problems related to the adaptation after return-migration have not been dealt with. Currently, however, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports developed a national program called “Návrat” (“Return”)⁷⁹, which aims at attracting top researchers back to the Czech Republic after long-term (at least 3 years long) research experience abroad. The program was announced for 2012-2019 and will be project-based. The awarded projects must include further professional and career advancement of the researcher as well as work environment of high qualitative standards.

At the regional level, region of South Moravia is running a grant scheme South Moravian Programme for Distinguished Researchers (SoMoPro)⁸⁰ supporting return and re-integration of the Czech researchers, who wish to return and find a research position in the Region of South Moravia after pursuing their research carrier for at least three years abroad (in third, i.e. non-EU country). Eligible hosting organizations are public research institutions located in the South Moravian Region (e.g. public universities and region-based departments of the Czech Academy of Science). SoMoPro is the only regional program of this type in the Czech

⁷⁷ Znojmo region in Southern Moravia.

⁷⁸ Interview with Ms. Köttnerová, 29.9.2011.

⁷⁹ <http://www.msmt.cz/file/13747?file=13747&lang=2>.

⁸⁰ http://jcm.cz/data/somopro/SOMOPRO%20NUTSHELL%20RG_verze05.pdf.

Republic. It is coordinated by regional government and it is co-financed by Marie Curie actions (COFUND) in the period 2009 to 2013.

While the nation-wide scheme *Návrat* is covering whole range of scientific disciplines, SoMoPro supports research in natural and technical scientific fields only.

Rural – urban migration and policies towards net migration loss/gain regions

The problem of outflow of highly qualified people is relevant also to internal migration. It has been identified, that highly-qualified young people tend to move to urban and suburban areas (e.g. Tuček 2003, Vavrečková 2009b, Vobecká 2010), which negatively influences the development potential of rural areas. According to Vavrečková (2009b), a lack of professionals in regions resulted not only from (international) emigration but arose also from internal migration of professionals to the capital or other big cities. In its strategic documents aimed at rural development the Czech government pinpointed the flow of young qualified labour force out of the rural areas⁸¹ as one of the major weaknesses (Ministry of Agriculture 2010:34). The Rural Development Program of the Czech Republic for the period 2007-2013 includes measures focusing on human resource development (Axis III. – Quality of life in rural areas and diversification of rural economy). The Axis III is divided into three priorities: (1) Creation of employment opportunities and support of the use of renewable energy sources, (2) Conditions for growth and quality of life in rural areas, (3) Education. The measures aim, among others, at economic growth, job creation and wage increase, development of qualifications and labour market chances of the rural population, an increase in the use of ICT and increase of awareness of identity and local community among local people. The targets of the measures have been quantified. The Annual Report on implementation of the Rural Development Program in year 2009 (Ministry of Agriculture 2011) indicated difficulties in reaching targets in the area of (a) job creation and (b) increase in non-agricultural value added in supported businesses. The problems were confirmed by evaluation by DHV and Tima Liberec from October 2010⁸², which recommended to adjust (lower) target values in the area of job creation. The challenges to reach economic and labour market objectives are related to the impact of economic down-turn. The program has been also failing in progressing towards the targeted number of people with supported access to internet. On the other hand, the program is progressing well in other areas, e.g. in diversification of rural economy and increasing attractiveness of rural settlements and support of use of renewable energy. Supported activities positively influence quality of life in rural areas and specifically in smallest settlements.

Local Action Groups (LAGs), which were established within the rural policy⁸³, represent an important tool for empowering rural communities, including those suffering de-population. ALAG typically covers a relatively large area⁸⁴ and serves as a platform for co-operation of various stakeholders, both from private and public sectors. It formulates and implements strategy of development of a LAGs area, which is based on deep knowledge of the needs and potential of the (micro)region, namely it selects and financially supports small-scale local projects. Activities of LAGs typically include, counselling provided to local businesses and

⁸¹ The rural areas are defined as settlements with less than 2,000 inhabitants.

⁸² http://eagri.cz/public/web/file/109376/Zaverecna_zprava_EK_151210.pdf.

⁸³ Program of Rural Development 2007-13 (Axis IV.) and in previous programs LEADER+ (2004-6), "LEADER CR" (2004-8). Within current Program of Rural Development 112 LAG were supported.

⁸⁴ LAG must represent area with 10,000 – 100,000 inhabitants and density of the area mustn't exceed 150 people per km² (excluding towns above 25,000 inhabitants). LAGs therefore typically include number of villages and exceed size of existing micro-regions.

entrepreneurs, municipalities and civic sector and preparation of new projects⁸⁵. Apart from financial resources for the area (subsidies for LAGs from the Ministry of Agriculture), the largest overall impact of LAGs is perceived in relation to activation, cooperation and development of human resources in the rural settlements. Currently, some 150 LAGs function in the Czech Republic. The LAGs are also considered to be a good practice in the area of development of peripheral areas, particularly due to its potential to activate human resources and support interest of broad spectrum of stakeholders in development of their locality (Grégr 2011). This corresponds with results of evaluation of the program (DHV, Tima 2010) which has not identified significant impacts of LAGs on inflow of population or increase of their wages, but it has acknowledged that LAGs help activate endogenous potential of the (micro) regions, improve living and working conditions and increase their attractiveness.

The Strategy of Regional Development of the Czech Republic for 2007-2013 recognizes that despite rather low level of inequalities among NUTS 3 regions, the disparities grow when smaller regional units (i.e. districts or other type of micro-regions) are considered. In order to decrease these disparities, strategy declares a need to target “problematic” districts and micro-regions, including rural and peripheral areas suffering de-population. The measures addressing “problematic” rural and peripheral areas aim at making rural accommodation and lifestyle more attractive and improve quality of life in the peripheral areas of regions. However, according to the evaluation of the Strategy (Berman Group, 2009), the cohesion policy in general contributes to the solution of specific problems of rural and peripheral areas only to a little extent. The reason lies e.g. in the fact that the operational programs, which are the instruments for fulfilment of Strategy’s disparity objectives, do not take account of regional disparities (ibid:84). Majority of interventions are directed into the areas, which already are successful and, consequently, some of the measures tend to deepen rather than eliminate regional disparities. For example, the evaluative study has identified significant effects of the cohesion policy in the area of development of infrastructure and business activities; however, measures in both areas need to be better targeted towards the disadvantaged regions in order to achieve progress in reduction of regional disparities. Labour market measures, which are differentiated on the basis of regional rate of unemployment, represent the only type of interventions within the Strategy, which are considered to be properly targeted. Newly released Report on Implementation of Strategy of Rural Development of the Czech Republic (Government 2012) confirms these earlier findings. It stresses that the main reason for the little impact of policies on the regional disparities lies in universal character of majority of programs, which do not target specific needs of the regions (ibid:9).

It is important to take into consideration that other (sectoral) policies also effect the development of regions and regional disparities, including de-populating peripheral areas. It has been argued, that their impact might be stronger than effects of the regional policy itself. However, in the new EU-member states, including the Czech Republic, decisive majority of the sectoral policies still lack an explicitly incorporated regional dimension and their regional impacts are not evaluated and often not even considered (Blažek, Macešková 2010). In order to promote cross-sectoral attention to the regional development and to reduce regional disparities, since 1990s the national government has been declaring regions, which state places to the centre of its support. Currently, they include structurally disadvantaged regions, economically weak regions and regions with extremely high level of unemployment (see figure 6.1). These regions are defined on the level of districts and lately also smaller territorial units; as such they only partly include internal peripheries and areas suffering de-population.

⁸⁵ See e.g. Fišer, 2008; Grégr, 2011.

The Ministry of Industry and Trade, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, the Ministry of Transportation and the Ministry of Regional Development are particularly obliged to give preferential treatment to these regions within their grant schemes. Regional governments are recommended to support development of these regions within their policies⁸⁶. However, apart from some of the programs of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and the Ministry of Industry and Trade, measures of the sectoral policies do not target regions, which the state places to the centre of its support (Government 2012: 6). In result, these disadvantaged regions did not improve their situation as compared to other regions despite somewhat higher financial support from public resources (ibid: 15) and these regions show highest rate of unemployment as well as the most severe deficit of vacancies (ibid: 27).

Apart from national strategies, the regional governments are also responsible for support of disadvantaged micro-regions in their territory. Based on a law on support of regional development⁸⁷, regional governments are obliged to identify regions, which need support. There is, however, no unified methodology for identification of such regions and regional governments therefore use different set of criteria. Some of the regional governments, e.g. the region of the South Moravia and the Central Bohemia, directly include de-population as one of the criteria. The regional governments formulate their strategies towards disadvantaged regions within their Programs for Development of the Region; however, with various focus on the disadvantaged regions. Furthermore, in majority of the Programs, de-population is only marginal (or quite missing) issue. Regional governments also administer regional rural development programs, which are targeting settlements with less than 3,000 inhabitants. While the approaches of regional governments differ, they are usually not specifically targeting de-populating peripheral areas and are rather limited in terms of financial resources⁸⁸. In addition to that, sectoral regional policies also affect the situation in the peripheral areas. Unfortunately, comprehensive approach is not applied and effects of sectoral policies might not be in line with interests of peripheral areas.

The South Moravia region may serve as an example of regional government, which has developed and currently starts to implement targeted strategies towards disadvantaged regions. It has identified “socio-economically weaker micro-regions”, which are suffering high unemployment, decrease of population, aging of population and low business activity. These micro-regions are territorially smaller units of the regions, which the state defines as disadvantaged (i.e. regions, which state places to the centre of its support – see above) and as such they allow for targeting those areas, which are the most disadvantaged. These micro-regions and localities already have formulated their developmental priorities and strategies, which should serve as a base for their future activities and projects. The approach of the regional government is focused at strengthening internal resources of the “socio-economically weaker” micro-regions in terms of human resources (involvement of key stakeholders from public and private sector) and supporting their chances in gaining financial resources for their project ideas (e.g. assistance in administrative procedures when applying for a grant). The regional government identified three pilot micro-regions, where the systematic approach will be tested in the period of 1.5 years. In the initial phase, the first meetings of representatives of regional government (including the governor himself) and key stakeholders were arranged in order to establish more active and intense cooperation (a) between regional government and local stakeholders and (b) within the micro-regions. It is

⁸⁶ Government decree no. 141 of February 22nd, 2010.

⁸⁷ Law no. 248/2000.

⁸⁸ Regional rural development programs are financed from regional budgets.

worth mentioning that all these micro-regions perceive out-migration (and out-migration of young people in particular) as a pressing problem (Grégr 2011). The regional government made an analysis of situation in each region and also analysed the amount of subsidies from main grant schemes (both state and regionally administered), which have been allocated to the pilot micro-regions since 2007. It has revealed that the micro-regions have obtained relatively large amount of financial subsidies. However, they are often rather specifically targeted (e.g. towards fire fighters brigades or forestry) or addresses solely the neglect of investment, while the problems of peripheral areas are deep and complex. It is particularly difficult for smaller settlements to obtain more significant subsidies for larger developmental projects (Rada 2010). Interviews with mayors in the Vranovsko micro-region (see chapter 4.3) confirmed this problem.

As Grégr (2011) pointed out, the situation of the pilot micro-regions in the South Moravia region reflects general problems of small peripheral settlements in the – fairly incomprehensible – system of grant schemes and financial subsidies. The potential large role of the EU-funds is undermined by administrative procedures. For example, regional operational programs⁸⁹ do not prioritize applications from disadvantaged regions. Instead, the impact in terms of number of people benefiting from the proposed measures, which is typically evaluated, is limiting chances of internal peripheries due to their small size and low density of population (Grégr 2011).

Policy responses relevant to Roma migration

The most significant response to the migration of Roma in the country of destination was the implementation of visa for the Czech citizens by Canada in 1997 (lifted in 2007) and again in 2009, which effectively blocked the flow of Roma asylum-seekers from the Czech Republic. The Czech government has not formulated policies or measures responding specifically to the issue of migration of Roma. However, considering the reasons for Roma emigration (see chapter 5), all measures aiming at improving the socio-economic situation of Roma in the Czech Republic are relevant for the prevention of Roma emigration.

The strategies targeting Roma specifically include the Concept of Roma integration 2010-2013 (the first concept was adopted in 2000), Principles of the long-term Concept of Roma inclusion until 2025, Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015, and activities of the Agency of Social Inclusion in Roma Communities (operating since 2008). Furthermore, Roma also fall under more universal schemes and strategies, e.g. the strategy of social inclusion (the first Czech National Action Plan, for the years 2004-6, has identified Roma as a group at risk of social exclusion and Roma were a target group also in the following NAPSI 2006-8 and 2008-10). The existing strategies target number of social areas, e.g. culture, education, employment, excessive debts, housing, health care, social security and security. NAPSI mainly aimed at reduction of the number of socially excluded localities in the Czech Republic. It proposed measures mostly related to the development of social services, which is a typical feature of inclusion policy in the Czech Republic. The strategies are, however, rather general and lack target-orientation. A quantification of the targets is further undermined by the lack of valid data based on ethnicity. The absence of quantified targets makes evaluation of strategies difficult. In August 2011, the Czech government approved the Strategy of Fight against Social Exclusion in the period 2011-2015. This strategy deals with socially excluded localities, which are not defined on ethnic basis (as socially excluded Roma localities). In such a way, the government acknowledges that the problem of life in socially excluded

⁸⁹ There are 7 regional operational programs in the Czech Republic between 2007 and 2013, covering the whole area of the state excluding Prague.

localities relates to both Roma and non-Roma inhabitants. The Strategy develops other materials, including Concept of Roma Integration, NAPS and National Reform Program.

In a long-term perspective, measures directed towards children are considered to be crucial for eradication of poverty and social exclusion of Roma minority. The policies primarily focus on education at all levels and social work with families. The measures include pre-schooling, assistant teachers for pupils with social disadvantages in kindergartens, primary and secondary schools and programs to support Roma students in higher education. Participation of Roma children in kindergartens is considered to be the most effective measure for a smooth start at the primary schools and it also increases chances to remain in the mainstream education. However, only two fifths of Roma children attend kindergarten. One of the factors is that pre-schooling facilities are often not available to children from the SERL (e.g. they are not located in the SERL and it is too costly for families to bring children to other localities; problems may arise also with public transport services for SERL)⁹⁰, and in total more than half of the Roma children from SERL remain out of pre-schooling⁹¹. Similarly the teacher assistants for children with social disadvantages are viewed as having positive impact on school performance of Roma children⁹² and they are assumed to be the most competent to deal with integration problems, which face children returning from emigration. Despite the fact, that the problem has been identified as rather frequent at some of the schools, according to the interviewed expert on Roma migration, the assistant teachers do not develop any specific activities to help these children returning from emigration. It means that activities of assistant teachers, which are in general having positive effects, are not targeted on specific issues related to return migration of Roma children. Drawing teacher assistants' attention to the problem could ease the transition period and facilitate integration of children returning from emigration to the educational process. Currently, it has been widely recognized that NGOs play important role in tutoring Roma children and social work with families.

In relation to current migration flows, measures towards current economic situation of families are highly relevant, namely measures to improve their position on the labour market and to prevent and overcome indebtedness. In terms of unemployment, the active labour market policy is generally failing to include the Roma on the labour market. The Czech Republic has recently increased incentives for long-term unemployed to seek work; however, it has not improved the support measures for the most disadvantaged on the labour market (including Roma). As the World Bank (2008:29) pointed out, the Labour Offices have not yet been restructured to provide more individualized, intensive services to disadvantaged job-seekers or to contract out such activation services to qualified third sector service providers. Moreover, as currently managed, traditional active labour market programs such as retraining do not appear to be effective to enhance employment chances of Roma.

Over-indebtedness was identified as a significant barrier to motivation of Roma to accept regular employment in the Czech labour market⁹³ as well as considerable push factor for their emigration. Measures against over-indebtedness and assistance with settlement of existing debts therefore play a potentially important role. Several of such programs and activities exist – they are arranged by NGOs, Agency for Social Inclusion in Roma

⁹⁰ Government (2010), World Bank (2008).

⁹¹ Government, 2009. Pre-schooling for Roma includes kindergartens and special “preparatory classes”.

⁹² Government, 2010. In 2009, there were 451 assistant teachers employed in 270 schools in the Czech Republic; the measure being more frequently implemented in regions with higher Roma population (North Bohemia, North Moravia).

⁹³ Part of the income above the minimum threshold is being distrained.

Communities as well as regional and local governments; the issue is also one of the priorities of the national strategies. The activities include financial counselling free of charge, information campaigns and targeted training for social workers. In the past (2001), UNHCR pilot-tested program of support in form of interest-free loans combined with social work ("Emergency social fund"). The program was, however, assessed as loss-making and it has been stopped⁹⁴ (Zvůle práva, 2009). In an effort to recover funds owed, creditors often opt for the execution of income or/and property of debtors. Until recently, the execution of social benefits has not been possible in the Czech Republic and the attempts of several local governments had to be suspended. The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has, however, lately concluded that social benefits may be subject of execution. This may, without efficient assistance, further worsen situation of indebted families.

The approach of municipalities towards Roma is not quite clear. On one hand, Roma represent a typical target group of community plans of social services and their needs are therefore reflected in local social policies. On the other hand, the approach of many municipalities appears to be inefficient and, sometimes, even exclusive rather than inclusive. Currently about 50 mayors of the Czech and Moravian towns supported the idea to re-introduce the right of residence, which would allow local governments to prohibit stay of "problematic" non-residents in their towns. This is as an attempt of some mayors to solve problems with the inflow of Roma into their towns, which is often considered as associated with social pathology. In general, the Czech government (2010) acknowledged that municipalities are not prepared for return-migration of Roma⁹⁵. According to the interviewed expert, local governments did not develop any measures responding to return migration and, in case of need, they are treated as any other citizens (i.e. they are provided once-off social benefit).

Good practice

For the Czech Republic, we have not identified clear example of good practice. The approach of South-Moravian region may serve as a positive example of targeting peripheral micro-regions by regional governments. The attention they pay to the local problems as well as methods of their support in grant schemes (villages from disadvantaged micro-regions were entitled to apply for two grants from regional scheme, while other settlements only for one, and their co-financing was lowered) are praiseworthy. However, their overall impact is – so far – rather low. Similarly, South-Moravian program for returning scientists and researcher represents a unique and positive activity of the regional government and, despite its limited scope, represents good practice in the Czech Republic.

7. Key challenges and policy suggestions

7.1 Key challenges of the social impacts of international and internal migration

Internal migration

We have identified the risk of deepening of disintegration and social exclusion of internal peripheries, which is related to de-population (including, inter alia, out-migration of young, skilled and active people) and potentially unfavourable in-migration, in case of influx of

⁹⁴ The return of funds was estimated at 17 %.

⁹⁵ During the period of increased asylum emigration of Roma, some of the representatives of local government announced their willingness to support the Roma emigration. These were, however, only proclamations and they stopped shortly.

socially marginalized population as a consequence of availability of “cheap living” and housing in the region.

In general, social exclusion of internal peripheries has two crucial dimensions:

- socio-spatial (external) – whole areas are increasingly lagging behind the socio-economic development of the country; their reduced physical accessibility and unfavourable age and qualification structure (as well as lower use of ICT) may lead to their actual social isolation.
- individual (internal) – while rural areas have been considered a haven of social solidarity, and current research of Špaček and Vobecká (2008) still confirms a higher level of cohesion within community and neighbourhood at the countryside than in the cities, the undergoing processes (e.g. disappearing services and facilities for community life) are posing a threat of internal disintegration within rural settlements. In addition to that, in-migration attracted by low housing costs might further increase the risk of concentration of the marginalized in the peripheral regions.

Specific internal migration of Roma and other groups, which are facing social exclusion, further deepen their disadvantaged position in the society via their concentration in excluded communities and localities. These localities do not provide conditions for good quality of life and, in addition, their emergence or growth in size lead to increased tension between majority population and these socially excluded groups, undermine social cohesion and steer social unrest. However, the phenomenon of internal migration of disadvantaged groups has received proper attention neither in research, nor in social policy measures.

International migration

The emigration of professionals poses a potential threat of brain-drain and competitive disadvantage of the Czech Republic. The research shows, however, that emigration of Czech professionals has so far been dominantly of temporary nature and that work experience abroad leads to an increase of human and social capital of the migrants. However, it also indicates that their return-migration is related to stress and in certain professions also to a high degree of dissatisfaction with their work condition, especially in health care (Vavrečková 2009a). This places two major challenges for the Czech policies:

1. to stimulate return of professionals after their work experience abroad; and
2. to ensure favourable conditions for their work, which would stabilize them in their home country after their return.

Another issue relevant to international migration and related policies concerns the position of the Czech diaspora and its role in the life of the Czech society. The state shows almost no interest in arranging contacts and more intense communication with the diaspora and its activities in this field are very limited. We have no information on participation of the Czech compatriots in the social and economic development of the Czech Republic; however, we estimate it as very low. In our opinion, this represents a significant – yet unused – potential for the Czech Republic and initiatives in developing new intensive ties should originate from the homeland.

Contemporary emigration patterns of the Roma are closely related to their social and economic position in the Czech society. The emigration of Roma stems from deep social problems many of them face in the Czech Republic, including marginalization and social exclusion. Problems are often deepening when their emigration is unsuccessful and leads to return to their original locality, where they deal with multiple problems including housing, labour market and re-integration of children into educational system.

7.2 Policies to be applied

Advancement of internal peripheries

The policy approach towards the risks of deepening social exclusion of internal peripheries should aim at stabilization of the local population and mobilization of local human resources, including pulling people with high level of human capital from outside the internal peripheries. It should be also acknowledged that e.g. seasonal/temporary inhabitants (mostly owners of second homes) represent valuable sources available for the development of the internal peripheries: even though they do not live in the locality permanently, they have personal interest in its development and in quality of local environment. The measures should not focus solely on economic dimension of the problem, which undoubtedly is important, but also on functioning of community life. Respect for and stimulation of endogenous human capital, especially of local elites (namely the mayors), seem to be very important in fulfilling these goals (Ouředníček, Špačková, Feřtová 2011, Bernard 2010). Culture, sport and social activities play an important role and their disappearing should be prevented, e.g. by individual small-scale municipal projects or targeted tax deductions. The aim of comprehensive development of disadvantaged localities and micro-regions should be reflected in wide spectrum of national policies, including the system of financing of smallest municipalities (by increasing their regular budgets).

In reality, the sectoral policies are not sufficiently coordinated with policies of regional development. Sometimes, policy measures even contradict developmental goals of disadvantaged regions. (Moreover, there is no evaluation as to how the respective policies are effective). This problem has been identified on national as well as regional levels. It would be highly desirable to mainstream territorial aspects of social exclusion in national and regional policies, which means that policies would take into account possible impacts on disadvantaged regions (internal peripheries, socially excluded Roma settlements etc.). This would also lead to better use of resources, including EU funds, for most disadvantaged micro-regions and localities. Extremely egalitarian system of allocating funds chiefly according to a size of a settlement should be, to some extent, reconsidered in the Czech Republic. Our interview with the expert on regional development revealed that small settlements are disadvantaged also in their access to the European resources due to criteria applied when awarding the grants. The criteria typically favour quantitative impacts (number of beneficiaries) and suppress the aspect of disadvantage. Criteria of “disadvantage” should be introduced and evaluated in order to supplement criteria of number of beneficiaries. Settlements, which are identified as disadvantaged and suffering long-term de-population, may be also supported by means of lower co-financing requirements.

Other measures may lie in possible changing often rather homogeneous agricultural production into more heterogeneous activities of agricultural farms.

There are also important organizational matters that should be designed in a more mutual co-operation both between regions and municipalities and among municipalities themselves (see more in the annex).

Specific internal migration of Roma and other groups facing social exclusion

The New Strategy of Fight against Social Exclusion in the period 2011-2015 has acknowledged the existence of the problem and a lack of adequate knowledge about it and, consequently, decided to support research on this topic. Based on existing information, vulnerable housing situation is one of the key factors of internal movement leading to concentration of the most disadvantaged in the excluded localities. Therefore, measures targeting development of social housing, strengthening capabilities of people in vulnerable housing situation (e.g. via social work) and improving their credibility on the regular labour market may serve both as preventive and curative measures. Both state and local governments are important in development and implementation of appropriate measures; involvement of non-governmental sector and particularly of people living in excluded localities is necessary.

Lack of reliable statistics on emigration

Following the lack of reliable statistics on emigration, the research in the given field is scarce and limited to few selected issues. Emigration has not been in the centre neither of public discourse, nor of political one. One of our crucial suggestions would therefore be to improve the whole system of covering emigration (including flow as well as stock data), put it on the policy agenda and, consequently, to practise. This is not only the task for the Czech Republic but also for the EU as a whole.

Emigration of professionals

The willingness of scientists and researchers to return or/and stay in the Czech Republic is closely related to their opportunities to develop professional career here. Improvement of the overall scientific atmosphere and promotion of research and development sector are crucial factors for making the Czech Republic attractive for prominent Czech researchers (e.g. via policies towards an improvement of economic situation, educational system or measures supporting specific fields important for scientists). At the same time, these researchers are important for advancement of the Czech science as such. Research centres and universities should also further develop strategies on cooperation with their Czech counterparts abroad; their involvement needs not necessarily to be in a form of permanent return but it may also be a part-time, project-specific and based on use of modern means of communication rather than permanent presence.

However, the problem of emigration of professionals is (potentially) relevant also to other professions, namely to the medical staff. Similarly to the situation of scientists and researchers, the quality of working conditions (it does not concern only wages or income issues) is an important factor for the prevention of permanent emigration of professionals as well as motivation for returning to and staying in the Czech Republic. Currently, the programs focusing on return of highly skilled migrants are underdeveloped in the Czech Republic and the first, which are being launched, are primarily oriented towards researchers and scientists. We suggest to further develop this policy area and to broaden the target population to other segments of highly qualified compatriots (i.e. those outside the research and science circles). The good example of efforts taken by the South-Moravia region indicates that return migration of professionals might be also promoted by measures of the regional governments. It is highly recommendable also for organisations to develop their own specific strategies on cooperation and involvement of the Czech professionals abroad.

Diaspora

Similarly, the Czech government should create new and strengthen existing ties to compatriots living abroad and activate existing Czech diaspora. For example, the existing barriers in communication should be examined and removed; for example, the participation in elections from abroad should be made easier. The relation of the Czechs living abroad to their home country could be also supported by broadened access to a dual citizenship.

Emigration of Roma

As was already mentioned in the text, all measures aiming at improving the socio-economic situation of Roma in the Czech Republic are relevant for the prevention of their emigration. During the last decade the Czech Republic has developed a complex set of measures aiming at improvement of situation of Roma population. The recently adopted Strategy of fight against social exclusion represents a set of measures (many of them innovative in the Czech conditions), which are, to a large extent, relevant to Roma and, especially, to the most disadvantaged Roma living in socially excluded Roma localities. We believe that the Czech government should continue in its policy efforts and, first of all, should focus on effective implementation of already developed policies, including allocation of the adequate amount of financial and human resources. Apart from general efforts of the national government to improve socio-economic position of Roma in the Czech society, it is particularly important to strengthen capacities and capabilities of local governments to deal with issues of social integration.

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As far as social impacts of the emigration and return migration are concerned, we recommend developing a program for teacher assistants in schools with Roma children. It would increase sensitivity to problems of children returning from emigration and enhance their skills in helping them deal with these problems. For the overview of identified challenges and policy recommendations see table 7.1.

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1. Roman Křištof, Lidové noviny, March 25, 2011, face-to-face interview, Prague, 40 min, notes
2. Mgr. Vít Holubec, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Prague, March 25, 2011, face-to-face interview, 60 min, recorded
3. RNDr. Pavel Grégr, Ph.D., Regional Development Agency South Moravia, Brno, April 15, 2011, face-to-face interview, 50 min., recorded
4. JUDr. Jitka Konopásková, Czech Social Security Administration, phone interview, 10 min, April 4, 2011, notes
5. Mgr. Luboš Votoček, Czech Statistical Office, Prague, April 4, 2011, face-to-face interview, 45 min, notes
6. Ing. Libuše Vacková, Czech Statistical Office, Prague, April 4, 2011, face-to-face interview, 45 min, notes
7. Mgr. Daniel Chytil, Czech Statistical Office, Prague, April 4, 2011, face-to-face interview, 60 min, notes
8. Associate professor RNDr. Jiří Blažek, Ph.D., Charles University, Faculty of Science, Prague, March 21, 2011, face-to-face interview, 30 min, notes
9. RNDr. Radim Perlín, Ph.D., Charles University, Faculty of Science, Prague, March 25, 2011, face-to-face interview 30 min, notes
10. PaedDr. Věra Kolmerová, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs of the Czech Republic, March 28, 2011, 10 min, phone interview
11. PhDr. Jana Vavrečková, Research Institute for Labour and Social Affairs, March 28, 2011, 10 min, phone interview
12. PhDr. Renáta Kottnerová, Regional government of Olomoucký region, September 29, 2011. 20 min, phone interview.
13. Ing. Oldřich Tesárek, mayor of Podhradí nad Dyjí, and Ms. Božena Zerzová, face-to-face interview, Podhradí nad Dyjí, January 19, 2012, 45 minutes, recorded + notes
14. Ing. Lubomír Vedra, chairman of the Vranovsko micro-region and mayor of Vranov nad Dyjí, face-to-face interview, Vranov nad Dyjí, January 19, 2012, 45 minutes, recorded + notes
15. Mgr. Marie Neubauerová, mayor of Zálesí, Zálesí, January 19, 2012, 1:15 minutes, recorded + notes
16. Ms. Jana Papoušková, deputy mayor of Lesná, Lesná, January 19, 2012, 20 minutes, recorded + notes
17. Bc. Lukáš Vlček, mayor of Pacov, and Bc. Jiří Hodinka, coordinator responsible for the Stražiště micro-region, February 15, 2012, face-to-face interview, 60 minutes, notes

Annex

Annex 1: Data sources and data limitations – Emigration rate

1) Official figures for emigration of residents substantially underestimate migration from the Czech Republic to other countries. For example, whereas in 2008 the emigration of Czech citizens from the Czech Republic was 2,206 (see table 2.2), in the same year declared immigration of Czechs only to Germany was 6,309.⁹⁶ Between 1994 and 2000⁹⁷ registered emigration figures did not exceed 1,300 persons a year (this figure includes both foreigners and Czech citizens; see also table 2.1). After 2000, registered outmigration mainly increased due to foreign nationals leaving the Czech Republic, while the number of Czech citizens emigrating according to official statistics remained very low during 2000s – recently (2005-2009) around 2,000⁹⁸ persons (table 2.2).

2) The number of Czech citizens who interrupted payments into the Czech health system (in all the health insurance companies) because of their travelling abroad at least for a half year represents interesting additional information⁹⁹. Based on this source, about 101,000 Czech citizens might be staying abroad (the “stock” throughout the whole world) in 2008 and the outflow from the Czech Republic was some 16,000 in that year. According to the interview with a person responsible for this statistics, however, also this data is probably also underestimated, since there is no obligation to de-register. The point is that some of the Czech citizens prefer to keep paying their health insurance while staying abroad. Indeed, it may be cheaper for them to make use of health services in their mother country as compared to their new destination country. Thus, if necessary, they go back for some time, for example, to undergo medical treatment. This is a legal strategy, however, mostly not directly tied to any specific plans regarding their migratory behaviour.

3) Some information about Czech emigrants abroad can be taken from EUROSTAT data bases about Czech citizens living in other EU member states (Table 2.4)¹⁰⁰. Unfortunately, some countries deliver data with a significant delay (Vavrečková, Musil, Baštýř 2007). Out of 10 European countries for which we had data for 2010, by far the most numerous group of Czech citizens stayed for a long-term period in Germany – more than 36,000 (see table 2.4). Between 6,000 and 10,000 of Czech citizens stayed in Spain, Austria, Slovakia, Ireland and Italy. As the data prove, there is a permanent and rather significant increase of the given numbers during the 2000s, especially between 2005 and 2010 (see table 2.4). Apart from the UK for which there is only data for 2005, these countries represent the most important receiving countries of Czech emigrants. If the most recent data are aggregated for all EU countries, there are about 96,000 Czech citizens in other EU member states.

The picture can be complemented with data from different sources combined by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs to give an estimate of the Czech citizens employed in the EU

⁹⁶ <http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>.

⁹⁷ In 1993 – when the Czech Republic originated, the registered emigration represented 7,424 persons (Drbohlav et al. 2010).

⁹⁸ Anyway, let us again point out that this figure is underestimated.

⁹⁹ Source: internal documents of the Czech Statistical Office which was supplied with the data by the Pojišťovna VZP, a. s. Insurance Company.

¹⁰⁰ The data sources are administrative records or national surveys. For some datasets statistical estimation methods are applied, mostly based on census, migration and vital statistics data.

and Switzerland from 2005-2010 (table 2.3). These estimates indicate that the numbers of Czech citizens increased significantly since 2005 from about 31,000 Czechs employed abroad to 72,000 in 2010.

4) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2010) summarizes in its report¹⁰¹ that current post-revolutionary migration of Czechs has not been properly followed and analysed. Mostly those who search for a temporary job in economically more developed countries leave the Czech Republic. Some of them after getting experience return home, others stay in new countries for a longer time or forever. Many Czechs also work for supranational corporations and move very often. The report pinpoints a new migratory trend when some Czechs migrate to New Zealand (especially young professionals graduated in ecology or closely related disciplines or in engineering) and Australia (mainly students). Besides the EU countries, the US becomes very popular among Czechs. According to the latest available statistics of the OECD¹⁰², there were some 35,000 of Czech-born immigrants residing in the US in 2008. According to the US estimates for the time period 2007-2009, 74,000 US residents were born in Czechoslovakia (respectively the Czech and Slovak Republics) (Hu, Sumption 2011). Also, in 2008, 50,267 and in 2009, 69,399 permits for business and tourist visits of the US were issued to Czech citizens under the Visa Waiver Program which allows visa-free travel for nationals of participating countries for up to 90 days (Hu, Sumption 2011). In addition to these registered migrants and visitors, probably „thousands“ of Czech citizens may work there while being in irregular position (see above mentioned report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

The statistics presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs deals only with persons of Czech origin who live permanently or for a long time abroad. The data comes from Czech embassies, it was collected in 2007/2008 and since then has been supplemented with more recent pieces of information. The estimated figures do not differentiate between those who have original Czech citizenship and those who have already gained citizenship of a new (host) country. Additionally, it includes second and third or even more remote generations of Czech emigrants. According to the diaspora estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there may be as many as 730,000 persons of Czech origin living in other countries (see table 2.5), but the estimate of the Ministry of Foreign affairs for Czech citizens abroad amounts only to 250,000 persons. In the latest World Bank Factbook on Migration (2011) the stock of Czech emigrants abroad is estimated as high as 370,600 – it is questionable, however, how the authors did arrive at this figure. This source also brings top destination countries, namely: Slovakia, Germany, Austria, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Israel, Australia and Spain.

¹⁰¹

http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni_vztahy/kultura_a_krajane/krajane/krajane_ve_sвете/cesi_v_zahranici.html.

¹⁰² OECD International Migration Database: <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=MIG>.

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Table 7.1 Overview of challenges and policy recommendations

Table 1.1 Macroeconomic characteristics for the Czech Republic (1993-2010)

	1993	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
GDP	-	-	4.0	-0.8	3.6	1.9	4.5	6.8	2.5	2.3
Inflation	20,8	10,0	8.8	10.7	3.9	1.8	2.8	2.5	6.3	1.5
Unemployment	4,3	4,3	3.9	6.5	8.8	7.3	8.4	7.1	4.4	7.3
Real wages	-	-	-	-	-	6,1	3,4	4,0	1,4	0,4

Source: http://www.czso.cz/csu/redakce.nsf/i/cr: makroekonomicke_udaje

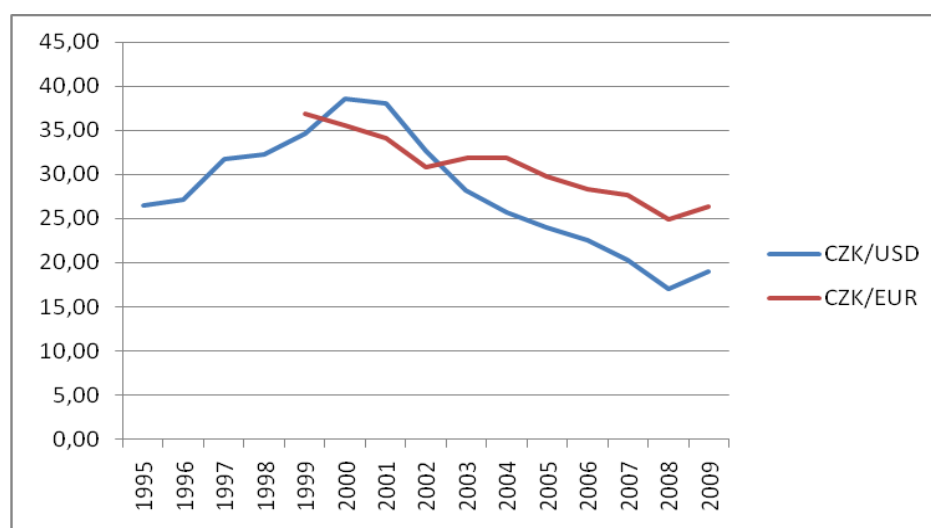
http://www.czso.cz/csu/redakce.nsf/i/cr_od_roku_1989#05

Notes:

GDP, real wage and inflation – annual change, percentages; unemployment – general rate of unemployment : share of unemployed persons of the whole labour force (definitions based on EUROSTAT and ILO recommendations) – estimates from a sample survey of the labour force.

Real Wage Index is the average gross monthly nominal wage over the consumer price index measured for a matching period of time.

Figure 1.1: Exchange rate of the Czech Crown (1995-2009)



Source: <http://www.czso.cz/eng/redakce.nsf/i/home>

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Table 2.1 Immigration, emigration and net migration of the Czech Republic, 1990-2010

Year	Immigration	Emigration	Net migration
1990	12 411	11 787	624
1991	14 096	11 220	2 876
1992	19 072	7 291	11 781
1993	12 900	7 424	5 476
1994	10 207	265	9 942
1995	10 540	541	9 999
1996	10 857	728	10 129
1997	12 880	805	12 075
1998	10 729	1 241	9 488
1999	9 910	1 136	8 774
2000	7 802	1 263	6 539
2001	12 918	21 469	-8 551
2002	44 679	32 389	12 290
2003	60 015	34 226	25 789
2004	53 453	34 818	18 635
2005	60 294	24 065	36 229
2006	68 183	33 463	34 720
2007	104 445	20 500	83 945
2008	77 817	6 027	71 790
2009	39 973	11 629	28 344
2010	30 515	14 867	15 648

Source: Based on Drbohlav et al. 2010, central population register data – see: <http://czso.cz/csu/2010edicniplan.nsf/p/4001-10>

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Table 2.2 Emigration and net migration in the Czech Republic, 2003-2009

	Emigration - Total	Emigration of Czech citizens	Immigration – Total	Immigration of Czech citizens	Net migration - Total
2003	34226	1023	60015	2577	25789
2005	24065	2269	60294	1718	36229
2006	33463	2075	68183	2058	34720
2007	20500	2076	104445	1934	83945
2008	6027	2206	77817	1666	71790
2009	11629	2279	39973	1774	28344

Source: [http://www.czso.cz/csu/2010edicniplan.nsf/t/8F0039EF62/\\$File/400710a7.pdf](http://www.czso.cz/csu/2010edicniplan.nsf/t/8F0039EF62/$File/400710a7.pdf) and Drbohlav et al. 2010

Notes: Since 2001 statistics of international migration in the Czech Republic has included migration of all Czech citizens with a permanent residence permit, foreigners - holders of permanent residence permit in the CR, visa for a stay for more than 90 days and refugees on the Czech Republic territory. Moreover, since May 2004, all the data also concerns EU citizen with temporary stay on the territory of the Czech Republic and third-country nationals with a long-term residence permit.

Table 2.3 Employment of citizen of the Czech Republic in EU/EEA countries and Switzerland, 2005-2010 (stock data)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Belgium	*	1 593	*	617	2 072	2 210
Bulgaria	*	*	*	*	186	10
Denmark	*	*	*	*	155	263
Estonia	*	*	*	7	85	106
Finland	11	11	11	*	135	175
France	99	82	72	96	*	1 163
Ireland	5 761	4 524	12 000	10 230	12 900	12 700
Island	*	140	120	250	*	*
Italy	4 217	4 115	4 050	4 496	*	*
Cyprus	*	*	457	403	354	341
Lichtenstein	*	*	*	5	17	19
Lithuania	*	*	*	*	*	*
Latvia	*	*	35	*	125	*
Luxemburg	*	*	*	*	209	*
Hungary	115	118	110	285	261	250
Malta	12	61	66	63	56	77
Germany	2 010	12 404	13 579	13 931	14 013	14 341
The Netherlands	*	1 394	1 250	2 242	*	*
Norway	284	210	633	544	486	343
Poland	*	205	164	134	176	*
Portugal	*	*	*	212	*	*
Austria	*	6 680	5 278	5 060	5 136	5 484
Romania	*	*	*	88	15	*
Greece	*	*	*	*	*	*
Slovakia	814	1 065	1 241	1 915	2 293	2 830
Slovenia	128	128	141	76	113	111
The UK	17 600	17 400	30 000	20 000	30 500	24 500

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Spain	*	2 944	2 800	*	2 370	1 200
Sweden	152	140	232	73	*	124
Switzerland	31	1 440	4 157	1 098	4 809	5 570
CR Total	31 234	54 654	76 396	61 825	76 466	71 817

Source: The Ministry of Work and Social Affairs (internal documents). Data as of December 31, 2010, * data is not available

Notes:

Belgium: All Citizen of the CR registered in Belgium (employed, unemployed, doing business, students etc.).

Bulgaria: Data as of March 31, 2009.

Estonia: Number of all registered citizens of the CR older than 15 years.

Ireland: Ireland register only migrants' arrivals, not departures. Thus, the data is very approximate, probably highly overestimated. Czech citizens are mostly employed in construction and catering services.

Germany: Citizens of the CR are employed in Germany mostly in manufacturing industry, catering, trade and agriculture. Based on Agreement about mutual employment for a purpose of broadening expert and language knowledge, 22 citizens of the CR gained a work permit in Germany in 2010. 782 Czechs got a seasonal work permit (for 6 months as a maximum). Other permits were issued regardless of bilateral agreements.

Austria: The given figure is distorted by a fact that citizens of former Czechoslovakia and further those who have been living in Austria for many years but still proclaim Czech citizenship are often included into statistics. Czech citizens in Austria mostly work in construction, machine industry, tourism, health services, agriculture, trade and administration. 14 citizens of the CR were employed in Austria on a basis of bilateral agreements in 2010 (The Agreement about exchange of employees for the purpose of broadening expert and language knowledge) and 265 persons made use of the Agreement about employment of citizens in border zone areas. Other permits are issued regardless of bilateral agreements.

The United Kingdom: The figure is very rough and perhaps overestimated. It is a well-known fact that many workers do not de-register themselves from the workers' register system (WRS). Thus, it not known how many of Czechs return home to the Czech Republic. Most of the Czech citizens work in services, catering, agriculture, production and food industry.

Sweden: The number represents those Czech citizens who were newly registered.

Switzerland: Overall number of Czech citizens – short-term stays, long-term stay etc.

Table 2.4 Citizens of the Czech Republic in selected European countries, 2000-2010

	2000	2005	2010
Belgium			2 614
Germany	22 038	30 301	36 378
Ireland			7 481
Spain	920	3 782	9 082
Italy	3 038	4 328	6 009
Netherlands	1 014	1 776	2 602
Austria		7 360	9 078 ¹
Slovakia		3 612	8 346
Sweedden	371	581	1 212
Switzerland	3 252	3 877	4 907

Source: http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_pop1ctz&lang=en

Notes: ¹ Data as of 2009.

Population by citizenship - composition of usually resident population by country of citizenship.

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"Citizenship" denotes the particular legal bond between an individual and his or her state, acquired by birth or naturalization, whether by declaration, choice, marriage or other means according to national legislation.

"Usual residence" means the place at which a person normally spends the daily period of rest, regardless of temporary absences for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage or, in default, the place of legal or registered residence.

The data sources are administrative records or national surveys. For some datasets statistical estimation methods are applied, mostly based on census, migration and vital statistics data.

The completeness of the tables depends largely on the availability of data from the relevant national statistical institutes.

Table 2.5 Czechs abroad, 2009 (Selection, countries with more than 1,000 Czechs)

COUNTRY	NUMBERS	NOTES:
Argentina	30 000	Estimate
Australia	27-35 000	Census 2006 plus new estimate ad 1)
Belgium	4 000	Estimate
Bosnia Herzegovina	a 1 600	Estimate
Brazil	3 000	Estimate
France	20- 30 000	Estimate
Chile	1 000	Estimate
Chroatia	10 500	Census 2001.
Ireland	100	Estimate plus some 11.000 legally staying workers viz ad 2).
Italy	4 000	Estimate
Israel	3 000	Estimate
South Africa	4 000	Estimate
Canada	79 910 (39 760)	Census 2001. see ad 3).
Lucemburg	1.000	
The Netherlands	3.000	Estimate
Norway	1 093	
New Zealand	6 – 9 000	Census 2001+ new estimate see ad 4)
Austria	54 627	Census 2001
Romania	3 938	Census 2002
Russia	3 000	Census 2002
Greece	1 507	Census 2001 and 2006 see ad 5)
Slovakia	46 801	Census 2001

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Germany	50 000	Estimate
Serbia	2 500	Estimate
Sweden	5 -7 000	Estimate
Switzerland	12 -15 000	Estimate see ad 6)
Ukraine	5 917	According to „Národní menšiny Ukrajiny“ (2007)
USA	1 637 513 (327 522)	Census 2006 see ad 7).
The United Kingdom	40 000	Compatriots and temporarily staying Czech citizens as a whole

Source: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs; (http://www.mzv.cz/jnp/cz/zahranicni_vztahy/kultura_a_krajane/krajane_ve_svete/cesi_v_zahranici.html); the data actualized on October 29, 2010; the data does not take into account a citizenship aspect.

Ad 1) The 2001 Australian census recorded 17,126 Czechs, the 2006 census informs us about 21,196 Czechs staying in Australia. According to the Czech Embassy's estimates, however, one has to add some 6,000 more Czechs, who both temporarily study (5,000) and work on a long-term basis (1,000) in Australia. When taking account all these migratory categories the number of Czechs in the country may reach some 27,000 persons in 2006.

The latest data gained from GK Sydney in October 2009 and from the Australian Department of Citizenship and Immigration (www.diac.cz) and the Australian Bureau of Statistics (www.abs.gov.au) signalize growing numbers of Czechs who hold a long-term residence or permanent residence permits (residents and settlers). Thus the GK Sydney now estimates that the number of Czechs who stay for a long time or permanently in Australia may reach between 27,000 and 35,000 persons. Tourists are not included.

Ad 2) According to the Irish Ministry which is responsible for managing social affairs, between May 2004 (Czechia joined the EU) and December 2006 11,889 Czech workers were registered in Ireland. On average from 300 to 400 Czechs are registered a week. Czechs rank as the fifth among immigration groups, similarly like in the United Kingdom.

Ad 3) The Canadian census in 1996 released that Czech language was identified as a mother language by 24,975 persons. According to the 2001 Census, 79,910 persons declared Czech origin, whilst 39,760 persons declared „Czechoslovakian birth place“; nevertheless, the data on origin and birth place may overlap. More figures one can find in the *Kanadské listy* journal, July/August 2005, No. 7-8, Vol. 29.

Ad 4) According to the 2001 census, 969 Czechs lived in New Zealand. As the Immigration New Zealand (www.immigration.govt.nz) and the Department of Internal Affairs (www.dia.govt.nz) found out, the numbers jumped and reached something between 6,000-9,000 Czechs, out of them – 643 permanently settled in the country after 1997. Especially the signed agreement about „working holidays“, open immigration policy, similar mentality and touristic attractiveness stood behind this significant increase.

Ad 5) According to the 2001 census 818 persons with Czech citizenship lived in Greece in 2001 plus 425 persons holding dual (Greece and Czech citizenships). In 2006, the Greek Statistical Office (ESYE) reports that the number of Czech residents increased by 264 persons. One cannot, however, prove how many more Czechs stay now in Greece while not being registered.

Ad 6) The number of those with Czech citizenship (holding Czech passports) who are registered by Swiss authorities was 3,676 in April 2003.

Ad 7) The 2000 US census taking into account the existence of Czechoslovakia distinguished three main categories: persons of Czech origin (1,262,527), persons of Czechoslovakian origin without more specification (441,403) and persons of Slovak origin (797,764). Many US citizens of Czech origin have already not been able to speak Czech language (especially those from the second and third generation of immigrants etc.). According to the latest data (from 2006) of the US Census Bureau the number of persons with Czechoslovakian origin decreased by 113,881 hence representing altogether 327,522 persons. At the same time, the number of those of Czech origin significantly increased – 374,986 persons (by 30% vis-a-vis 2000). It is to be due to changing methods of collecting data.

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Table 2.6 Internal migration by migratory types/regional-hierarchical differentiation, 1970-2009

Year	All migrants ¹⁾	Type of migration			Per 1 000 population			
		From municipality to municipality in same district ¹⁾	From district to district in same region ^{2,3)}	From region to region ^{2,4)}	Total ¹⁾	From municipality to municipality in same district ¹⁾	From district to district in same region ^{2,3)}	From region to region ^{2,4)}
1970	285 466	123 802	73 013	88 651	29,1	12,6	7,5	9,0
1971	278 378	121 410	71 028	85 940	28,3	12,4	7,2	8,7
1972	252 126	110 666	65 808	75 652	25,5	11,2	6,6	7,7
1973	259 837	116 371	65 718	77 748	26,2	11,7	6,6	7,9
1974	255 686	114 717	64 571	76 398	25,6	11,5	6,5	7,6
1975	266 748	119 565	66 530	80 653	26,5	11,9	6,6	8,0
1976	308 379	124 887	102 964	80 528	30,4	12,3	10,2	7,9
1977	281 633	112 137	94 164	75 332	27,6	11,0	9,2	7,4
1978	284 897	113 967	95 762	75 168	27,8	11,1	9,4	7,3
1979	281 783	111 747	95 050	74 986	27,4	10,9	9,2	7,3
1980	282 875	113 996	93 978	74 901	27,4	11,0	9,1	7,3
1981	266 515	103 295	90 205	73 015	25,9	10,0	8,8	7,1
1982	266 696	101 772	90 858	74 066	25,9	9,9	8,8	7,2
1983	252 502	97 227	86 899	68 376	24,4	9,4	8,4	6,6
1984	255 043	96 728	88 457	69 858	24,7	9,4	8,6	6,7
1985	251 849	95 048	87 503	69 298	24,4	9,2	8,5	6,7
1986	272 622	102 243	94 640	75 739	26,4	9,9	9,2	7,3
1987	252 950	94 245	88 397	70 308	24,4	9,1	8,5	6,8
1988	253 487	95 893	88 101	69 493	24,5	9,3	8,5	6,7
1989	256 672	99 913	89 156	67 603	24,7	9,6	8,6	6,5
1990	267 222	104 420	91 472	71 330	25,8	10,1	8,8	6,9
1991	244 986	101 352	81 794	61 840	23,7	9,8	7,9	6,0
1992	247 930	136 494	52 874	58 562	24,0	9,6	8,7	5,7
1993	241 261	134 953	48 993	57 315	23,4	13,1	4,8	5,5
1994	210 207	116 084	43 460	50 663	20,3	11,2	4,2	4,9
1995	203 877	112 332	42 355	49 190	19,7	10,9	4,1	4,7
1996	195 554	109 373	39 981	46 200	19,0	10,6	3,9	4,5
1997	197 226	109 495	40 821	46 910	19,2	10,6	4,0	4,6
1998	203 719	113 375	41 448	48 896	19,8	11,0	4,0	4,8
1999	201 476	110 903	42 006	48 567	19,6	10,8	4,1	4,7

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2000	199 716	109 791	32 592	57 333	19,4	10,7	3,2	5,6
2001	204 622	108 323	33 706	62 593	20,0	10,6	3,3	6,1
2002	223 103	114 955	37 227	70 921	21,9	11,3	3,6	7,0
2003	211 487	108 252	36 089	67 146	20,7	10,6	3,5	6,6
2004	216 831	111 841	37 311	67 679	21,2	11,0	3,7	6,6
2005	213 688	96 605	41 414	75 669	20,9	9,4	4,0	7,4
2006	225 241	100 143	43 744	81 354	21,9	9,8	4,3	7,9
2007	255 689	109 541	47 745	98 403	24,8	10,6	4,6	9,5
2008	250 071	104 713	47 444	97 914	24,0	10,0	4,5	9,4
2009	233 262	96 395	45 002	91 865	23,8	10,0	4,5	9,3

Source: The Czech Statistical Office, central population register data

Notes:

¹⁾ Before 2005 incl. migration within Prague

²⁾ On 1 January 2005 transfer of 28 municipalities between regions and districts

³⁾ On 1 January 2007 transfer of 119 municipalities between districts

⁴⁾ Since 2000 new regional subdivision of the country

Table 2.7 Net migration rate by types of municipalities during 1995-2006

Type of municipality	1995-1997	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2006	1995-2006
	Total				
Regional centres	-5 519	-9 230	-8 262	-9 355	-8 091
Large cities	-5 985	-8 579	-11 363	-13 321	-9 812
Medium cities	390	-665	-350	-1 557	-545
Small cities	2 381	2 457	2 294	1 432	2 141
Large villages	5 894	8 845	8 838	10 598	8 544
Small villages	-378	494	567	1 375	515
Hinterlands	3 217	6 678	8 277	10 828	7 250
	Per thousand inhabitants (in ‰)				
Regional centres	-1,9	-3,3	-3,0	-3,4	-2,9
Large cities	-2,1	-3,1	-4,2	-5,0	-3,6
Medium cities	0,5	-0,8	-0,4	-1,8	-0,6
Small cities	2,5	2,6	2,4	1,5	2,3
Large villages	2,9	4,2	4,2	5,0	4,1
Small villages	-2,0	2,7	3,0	7,3	2,8
Hinterlands	5,3	10,8	12,9	16,0	11,8

Data source: Internal materials of Novák, J., Čermák, Z., Ouředníček (2011), based on Czech Statistical Office and its central population register data, 1995-2006.

Notes:

Regional centers - centres of self-governed regions

Large cities – cities with population 10,000 and more

Medium cities – towns with population 5,000-9,000

Small cities – small towns with population 2,000-4,999

Large villages - municipalities with population 200-1,999 outside metropolitan areas

Small villages – municipalities with less than 200 people outside metropolitan areas

Hinterlands – municipalities with 30 and more percent of commuters to regional centres

Table 2.8 Migration development by individual types of settlement in the Czech Republic during the transformation era, 1991-2008

Type of area	Net migration (in ‰)			
	1991	1995	2001	2008
Nodes of metropolitan regions	1,4	-0,4	-4,8	3,8
1. suburban zone	-0,8	5,8	38,4	73,2
2. suburban zone	3,0	5,7	17,7	35,0
3. suburban zone	0,8	4,2	6,8	13,7
Suburban zones - total	1,0	4,5	10,1	21,6
Metropolitan areas	1,3	0,4	-2,1	7,3
Rural areas with less than 199 inhab.	-9,3	-2,0	-0,2	12,7
Rural areas with 200-499 inhab.	-6,0	2,3	3,5	10,7
Rural areas with 500-999 inhab.	-1,1	3,0	2,5	8,1
Rural areas with 1,000-1,999 inhab.	-1,1	3,1	3,7	6,7
Rural areas with 2,000-4,999 inhab.	0,1	2,7	0,4	3,3
Rural areas with 5,000-9,999 inhab.	0,4	0,9	-0,6	0,8
Rural areas – total	-1,7	2,1	1,6	6,1
Czech Republic – total	0,3	1,0	-0,8	6,9

Data source: Czech Statistical Office, 2005 according to Novák, J., Čermák, Z., Ouředníček, M. (2011); central population register data

Notes: Suburban zones 1-3 were designed when intensity of housing construction and migration in relation to core city were taken into account. Metropolitan areas are formed by core cities and their suburban zones, rural areas by other municipalities outside their metropolitan areas.

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Table 2.9 Net migration by the size of individual settlement categories, Czech Republic, 1981-2002

1981-83	0-2000	2000-4999	5000-9999	10000-19999	20000-49999	50000-99999	100000+	celkem
0-2000	0	-2993	-4098	-4427	-3605	-2508	-3048	-20678
2000-4999	2993	0	-521	-1074	-2001	-546	-1452	-2602
5000-9999	4098	521	0	-213	-1099	-180	-1338	1789
10000-19999	4427	1074	213	0	-640	-727	-1220	3128
20000-49999	3605	2001	1099	640	0	323	-1413	6254
50000-99999	2508	546	180	727	-323	0	-1362	2277
100000+	3048	1452	1338	1220	1413	1362	0	9833
1992-04	0-2000	2000-4999	5000-9999	10000-19999	20000-49999	50000-99999	100000+	celkem
0-2000	0	-1327	-866	-709	-301	1136	1206	-860
2000-4999	1327	0	114	-26	75	609	385	2484
5000-9999	866	-114	0	5	-205	164	-86	629
10000-19999	709	26	-5	0	-105	129	-307	447
20000-49999	301	-75	205	105	0	-213	-684	-361
50000-99999	-1136	-609	-164	-129	213	0	-519	-2343
100000+	-1206	-385	86	307	684	519	0	5
2000-02	0-2000	2000-4999	5000-9999	10000-19999	20000-49999	50000-99999	100000+	celkem
0-2000	0	7	658	1441	2452	4381	7085	16024
2000-4999	-7	0	96	278	506	1171	1428	3472
5000-9999	-658	-96	0	-27	195	209	160	-217
10000-19999	-1441	-278	27	0	69	34	-43	-1632
20000-49999	-2452	-506	-195	-69	0	-108	-906	-4235
50000-99999	-4381	-1171	-209	-34	108	0	-654	-6341
100000+	-7085	-1428	-160	43	906	654	0	-7071

Source: Čermák (2001)

Notes: only internal migration included, average net migration in the given year; central population register data

Table 2.10 Citizens of the Czech Republic in selected European countries by sex and age groups (2010, in %)

	Males	15-64	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	65+
Belgium	38,2	83,8	8,9	25,5	5,8	3,1	0,8
Germany	34,2	89,6	8,1	19,2	8,3	5,7	3,2
Ireland	52,8	92,0	18,8	16,5	4,4	1,7	0,4
Spain	44,2	90,8	8,2	25,9	6,4	3,5	1,1
Italy	19,0						
Netherlands	35,2	89,9	11,5	26,5	5,6	2,2	0,5
Austria ¹	38,0	86,7	6,6	17,2	10,2	7,6	1,6
Slovakia	57,8	85,3	7,8	13,6	9,2	7,1	9,1
Sweden	50,5	87,5	7,2	23,3	8,3	2,9	1,7
Switzerland	40,1	82,9	4,3	21,6	7,9	4,5	6,7

Source: own calculation based on:
http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=migr_pop1ctz&lang=en

Notes:

¹ Data as of 2009.

Population by citizenship - composition of usually resident population by country of citizenship.

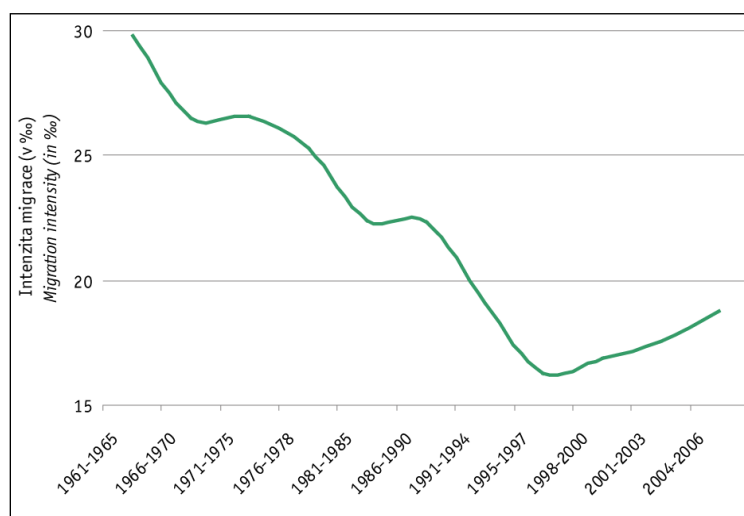
"*Citizenship*" denotes the particular legal bond between an individual and his or her state, acquired by birth or naturalization, whether by declaration, choice, marriage or other means according to national legislation.

"*Usual residence*" means the place at which a person normally spends the daily period of rest, regardless of temporary absences for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends and relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage or, in default, the place of legal or registered residence.

The data sources are administrative records or national surveys. For some datasets statistical estimation methods are applied, mostly based on census, migration and vital statistics data.

The completeness of the tables depends largely on the availability of data from the relevant national statistical institutes.

Figure 2.1 Internal migration intensity in the Czech Republic in 1961-2006

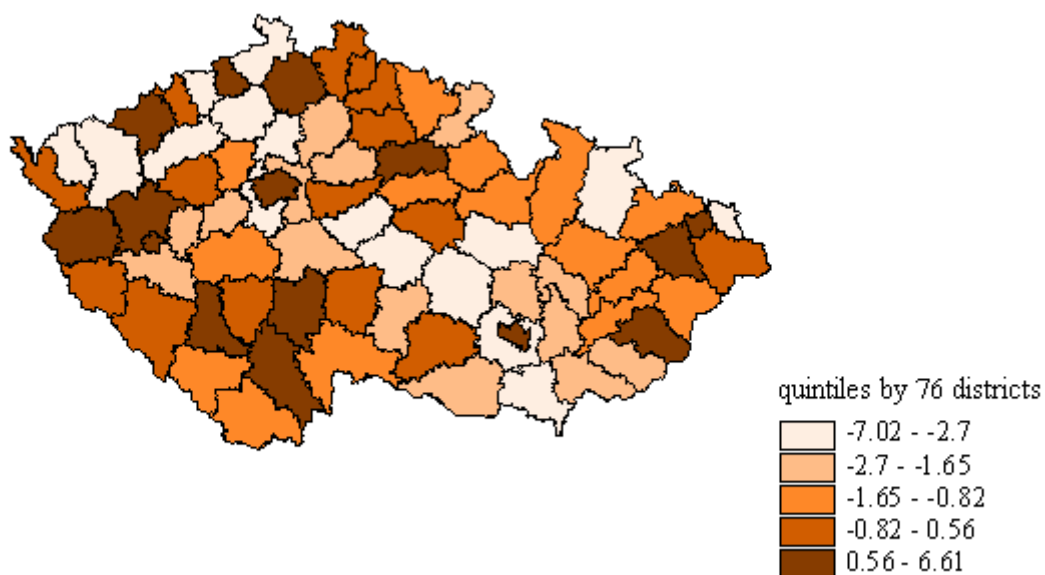


Data source: The Czech Statistical Office, 1961-2006 according to Novák, J., Čermák, Z., Ouředníček, M. (2011); central population register data

Note: Annual averages of migration between municipalities.

Figure 2.2 Average net migration rate per year by Czech districts (per 1,000 inhabitants) - 1987-1989 versus 2000-2002 (Čermák 2001)

1987-1989



2000-2002

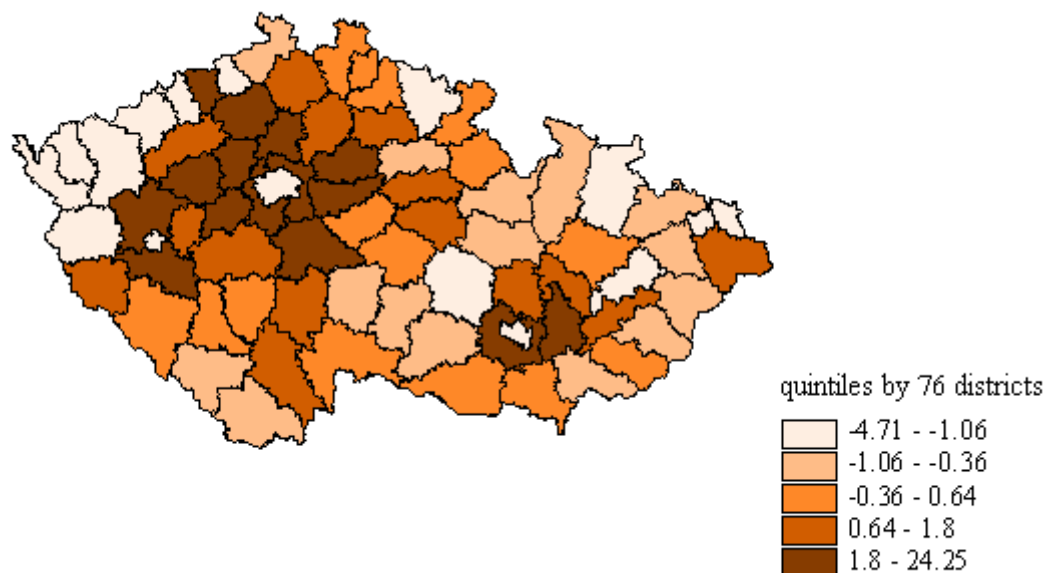
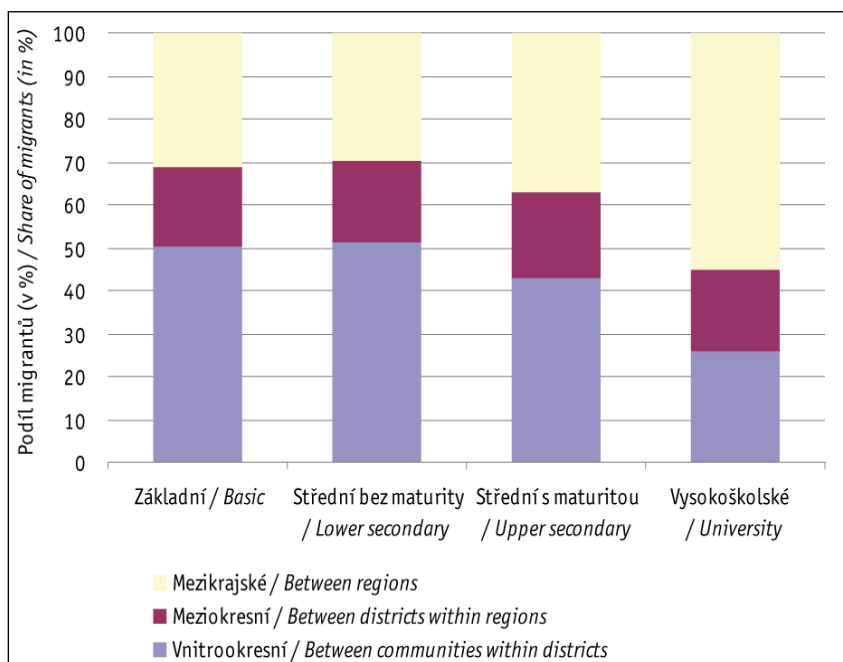
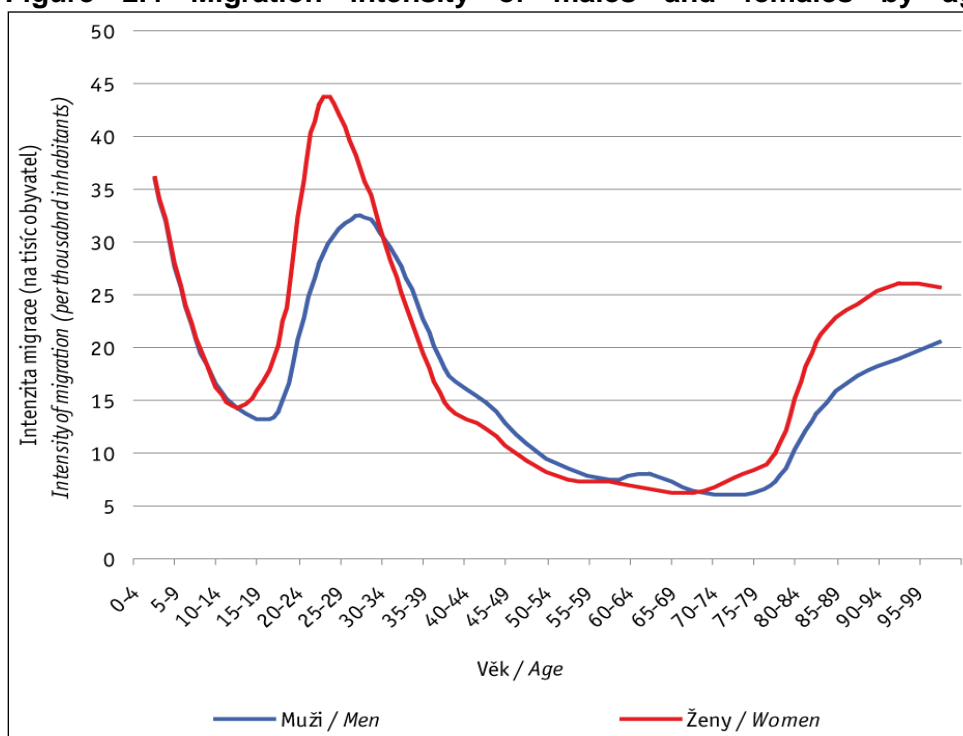


Figure 2.3 Structure of migration by education and type of moves in 1991-2004



Data source: Czech Statistical Office, 2005 according to Novák, J., Čermák, Z., Ouředníček, M. (2011)

Figure 2.4 Migration intensity of males and females by age in 2002-2006



Data source: Czech Statistical Office, 2007 according to Novák, Čermák, Ouředníček 2011; central population register data

Note: Average annual numbers of people, which changed the place of residence in 2002-2006, per 1 000 of given age category are depicted in the graph.

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Table 3.1 Remittances of „Czech residents“ who work abroad (in Czech crowns, millions), 1995-2009

Year, Source/ Item	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1995 1	19927	16572	3355	2615	3047	555	20140
1996 1	19189	15982	3207	2498	2907	623	19473
1997 1	19386	16173	3213	2236	2925	649	18553
1998 1	18586	15503	3083	2310	2700	821	17474
1999 1	18227	15223	3004	2225	2603	760	16081
2000 1	20040	16730	3310	2539	2984	870	17581
2001 1	17345	14489	2856	1926	2533	802	15596
2002 2	19909	16728	3181	2567	2494	1074	19484
2003 2	26488	22561	3927	3770	2947	1452	24909
2004 2	20655	16951	3704	2994	2504	1180	19475
2005 2	21994	18072	3922	3186	2706	1489	23606
2006 2	23789	19612	4177	3383	2990	1768	26743
2007 2	23756	19653	4103	3283	2893	1930	27615
2008 3	20937	17358	3579	2915	2629	2065	26650
2009 4	20708	17124	3584	2941	2636	3180	25822

Source: Czech Statistical Office, Balance of Payments statistics

Notes:

A - Compensation of employees

B - Wages and salaries

C - Social insurance payments

D - Pension tax

E - Real social payments of employees

F - Import (expenses spent abroad)

G - Residents working abroad

1 – revised value, 2 – final value, 3 – almost final value, 4 – preliminary/estimated value

Residents are those Czech citizens who work abroad for less than 1 year. Cross-border commuters and seasonal workers, businessmen, sportsmen, artists, students, patients, tourists and dependants etc. are always considered to be “residents”.

National accounts statistics provides remittances as gross data (A); the “net remittances” = A – C – D – E (and possibly) – F

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Table 3.2 Czech Republic and its remittances (in US\$ millions), 2003-2010

Inflow/Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010(e)
Inflow remittance flows	498	815	1026	1190	1332	1360	1201	1263
of which:								
Workers´ remittances	-	-	100	128	150	168	96	
Compensation of employees	494	805	917	1054	1174	1234	1094	
Migrants´ transfers	5	9	9	8	9	13	10	

Source: Migration 2011

Notes: e - estimation

Table 3.3 Workers´ remittances and compensations of employees, received (% of GDP), the Czech Republic, 1993-2010

Inflow/Year	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Share	0,4	0,4	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,6	0,5	0,5	0,4	0,4
Inflow/Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010		
Share	0,5	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,8	0,6	0,7	0,6		

Source: World Bank (2011): Workers' remittances and compensation of employees, received (% of GDP). [online]. World data Bank, Washington: World Bank Group. Available from http://search.worldbank.org/quickview?name=Workers%27+%3Cem%3Eremittances%3C%2Fem%3E+and+compensation+of+employees%2C+received+%28%25+of+GDP%29&id=BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS&type=Indicators&cube_no=2&qterm=remittances

Table 3.4 Risk of poverty or social exclusion by most frequent economic activity status (population aged 18 and over; 2009)

	Czech Republic (%)	NMS (12 countries, %)	EU-27 (%)
Employed	6,4	20,6	12,3
Unemployed	60,5	66,1	63,5
Retired	14,3	33,9	22,4
Other inactive	23,5	42,7	40,8

Source: Eurostat database

Table 3.5 Unemployment and risk of poverty and social exclusion in regions in the Czech Republic (2010)

Region	Rate of unemployment	Population at risk of poverty or social exclusion
Czech Republic	7,3	14,4
Prague	3,7	7,1
Central Bohemia	5,2	12,4
South-West	5,6	13,6
North-West	11,1	21,3
North-East	7,0	11,4
South-East	7,5	15,0
Central Moravia	8,8	16,3
Moravia-Silesia	10,2	18,9

Source: EUROSTAT database

Note: Highlighted are previously heavily-industrialized regions.

Table 3.6 Poverty rates for selected categories (%; 2010)

	Czech Republic	EU 27
Household of one adult older than 65	18,7	23,7
Household of single person with dependent children	37,7	36,9
Households with dependent children	11,4	18,3
Households without dependent children	6,5	14,5
Persons under 16 years	13,6	20,2
Persons aged 16 – 24 years	12,9	21,6
Persons over 65 years	6,8	15,9
Females	10,0	17,1
Total	9,0	16,4

Source: EUROSTAT database

Table 4.1 Municipalities with extended power in the Czech Republic (N=206) exhibiting the highest and the lowest net migration (per 1 000 inhabitants), only internal migratory movements included, 2001-2007

Rank	Municipality with extended power (district)	Rank	Municipality with extended power (district)
	The highest net migration		The lowest net migration
1	Černošice (Praha-západ)	1	Ostrov (Karlovy Vary)
2	Lysá nad Labem (Nymburk)	2	Rýmařov (Bruntál)
3	Říčany (Praha-východ)	3	Brno (Brno-město)
4	Brandýs nad Labem – Stará Boleslav (Praha-východ)	4	Karlovy Vary (Karlovy Vary)
5	Kuřim (Brno-venkov)	5	Orlová (Karviná)
6	Šlapanice (Brno-venkov)	6	Kaplice (Český Krumlov)
7	Holice (Pardubice)	7	Český Těšín (Karviná)
8	Beroun (Beroun)	8	Litoměřice (Litoměřice)
9	Nýřany (Plzeň-sever)	9	Mariánské Lázně (Cheb)
10	Frýdlant nad Ostravicí (Frýdek-Místek)	10	Jeseník (Jeseník)
11	Český Brod (Kolín)	11	Karviná (Karviná)
12	Stod (Plzeň-jih)	12	Králíky (Ústí nad Orlicí)
13	Dobříš (Příbram)	13	Broumov (Náchod)
14	Blovice (Plzeň-jih)	14	Česká Třebová (Ústí nad Orlicí)
15	Slavkov u Brna (Brno-Vyškov)	15	Tachov (Tachov)
16	Trhové Sviny (České Budějovice)	16	Ostrava (Ostrava-město)
17	Hořovice (Beroun)	17	Telč (Jihlava)
18	Přeštice (Plzeň-jih)	18	Bruntál (Bruntál)
19	Mnichovo Hradiště (Mladá Boleslav)	19	Žďár nad Sázavou (Žďár nad Sázavou)
20	Benešov (Benešov)	20	Světlá nad Sázavou (Havlíčkův Brod)

Table 4.2 Municipalities with extended power with the lowest net migration (2010)

Rank	Municipality	Region	Population	Rate of unemployment (%)	Unemployed per vacancy
1	Ostrov	Karlovarský	17230	13,5	27,7
2	Rýmařov	Moravian-Silesian	8711	15,8	139,3
3	Brno	South-Moravian	371371	9,9	14,0
4	Karlovy Vary	Karlovarský	51320	11,1	19,4
5	Orlová	Moravian-Silesian	32430	14,9	82,3
6	Kaplice	South-Bohemian	7345	11,5	15,3
7	Český Těšín	Moravian-Silesian	25499	12,5	26,8
8	Litoměřice	Ústecký	223629	12,2	17,1
9	Mariánské Lázně	Karlovarský	13677	8,8	30,6
10	Jeseník	Olomoucký	12068	17,8	36,6
11	Karviná	Moravian-Silesian	61948	15,9	43,9
12	Králíky	Pardubický	4576	11,8	31,8
13	Broumov	Královéhradecký	7977	10,9	70,2
14	Česká Třebová	Pardubický	16178	13,7	38,6
15	Tachov	Plzeňský	12476	14,0	11,6
16	Ostrava	Moravian-Silesian	306006	11,9	14,3
17	Telč	Vysočina	5732	14,3	943
18	Bruntál	Moravian-Silesian	17264	18,8	25,9
19	Žďár nad Sázavou	Vysočina	23259	9,7	24,9
20	Světlá nad Sázavou	Vysočina	6888	13,0	68,7
Czech Republic			10 517 247	9,0	18,2

Table 4.3 Characteristics of Klidná and micro-region Stražiště

	Population 31.12.2010	Population 1.1.1990	Change of population (1990-2010)	Ageing index (2009)	Rate of unemploy- ment (31.12.2010)	Rate of unemploy- ment (31.12.2011)
Klidná	172	221	-22,2 %	3,9	8,0 %	20,0 %
Mikroregion Stražiště	8641	9802	-11,8 %	1,5	7,7 %	6,2 %

Table 4.4: Micro-region Vranovsko

	Population 31.12.2010	Population 1.1.1990	Change of population (1990-2010)	Ageing index (2009)	Rate of unemploy- ment (31.12.2010)
Bítov	151	165	-8,5 %	2,25	20,9 %
Chvalatice	98	178	-44,9 %	5,75	24,3 %
Korolupy	187	254	-26,4 %	1,23	15,2 %
Lančov	236	290	-18,6 %	0,64	24,8 %
Lesná	265	317	-16,4 %	1,46	14,3 %
Lubnice	69	113	-38,9 %	1,56	16,3 %
Onšov	71	94	-24,5 %	1,71	28,2 %
Oslonovice	91	120	-24,2 %	2,50	16,7 %
Podhradí nad Dyjí	48	56	-14,3 %	11,0	28,6 %
Podmyče	92	161	-42,9 %	0,86	28,6 %
Stálky	146	162	-9,9 %	1,00	31,9 %
Starý Petřín	233	257	-9,3 %	0,74	15,0 %
Šafov	164	215	-23,7 %	0,78	34,6 %
Štítary	653	651	0,3 %	0,80	26,5 %
Šumná	606	676	-10,4 %	1,02	18,5 %
Uherčice	423	376	12,5 %	0,70	28,6 %
Vracovice	193	197	-2,0 %	0,50	25,2 %
Vranov nad Dyjí	845	978	-13,6 %	1,16	16,6 %
Vratěnin	297	422	-29,6 %	0,83	25,3 %
Vysočany	106	147	-27,9 %	1,69	17,2 %

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Zálesí	175	235	-25,5 %	3,73	40,0 %
Zblovce	48	81	-40,7 %	2,25	4,2 %
Micro-region total	5197	6145	- 15,4 %	1,07	22,2 %
South-Moravian Region	1 152 765	1 140 759*	1,1 %	1,14	10,9 %

Source of data: Czech Statistical Office (population), Council of South-Moravia Region (ageing index), Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (unemployment); own computations. * Data for 1993.

Table 4.5 Educational structure of internal peripheries (%)

Highest education	Internal peripheries	Rural area in total	Czech Republic
primary school	5,6	7,6	6,9
lower secondary (apprenticeship)	48,0	51,7	43,7
higher secondary	37,9	34,7	36,0
university	8,5	6,0	13,3

Source: Tuček 2003

Figure 4.1 Net migration by municipalities with extended power, the Czech Republic, 2001-2007

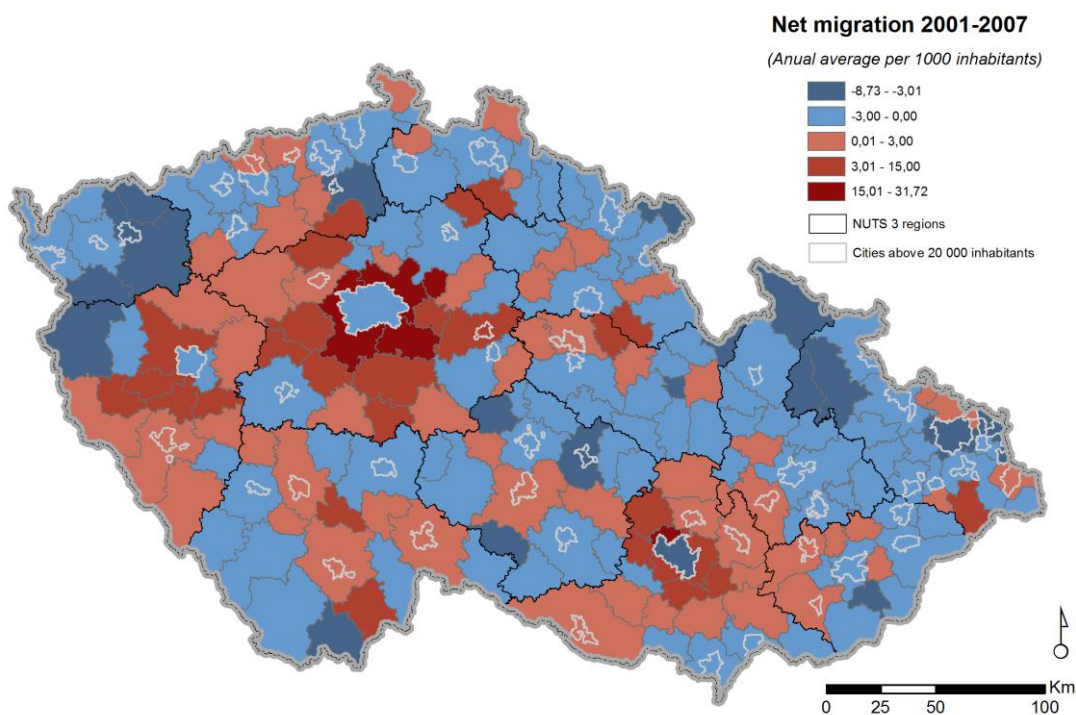


Figure 4.2 “Top 20” municipalities with extended power in the Czech Republic (N=206) exhibiting the highest and the lowest net migration (per 1,000 inhabitants), 2001-2007 (only internal migratory movements included)

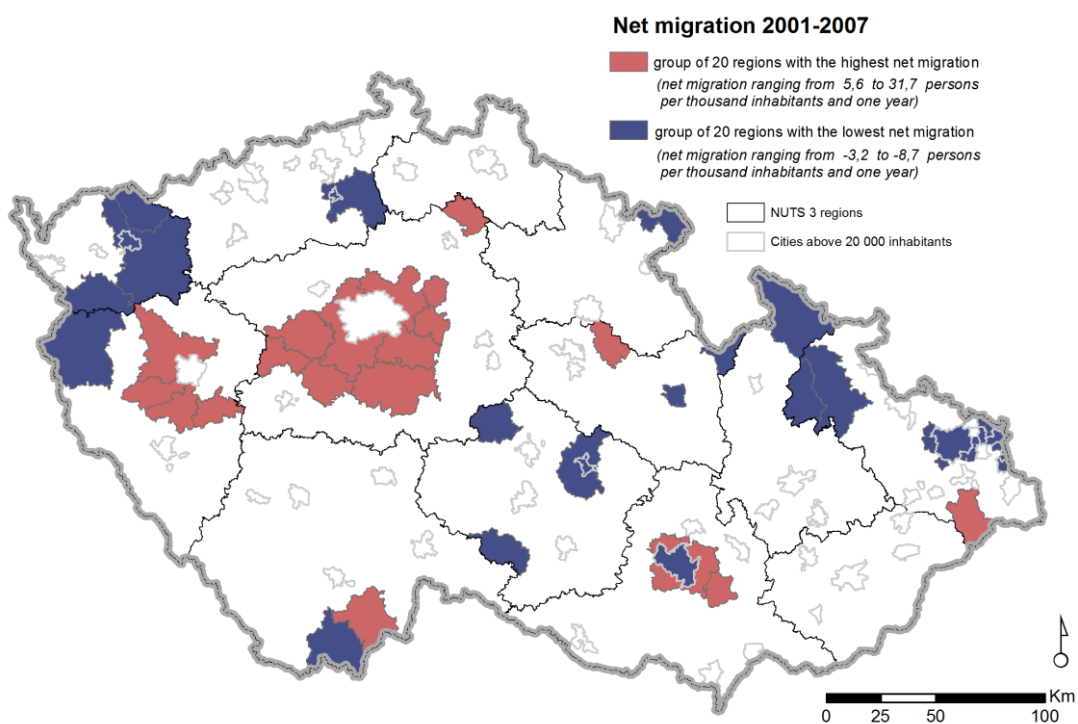


Figure 4.3 University education by municipalities with extended power, the Czech Republic, 2001

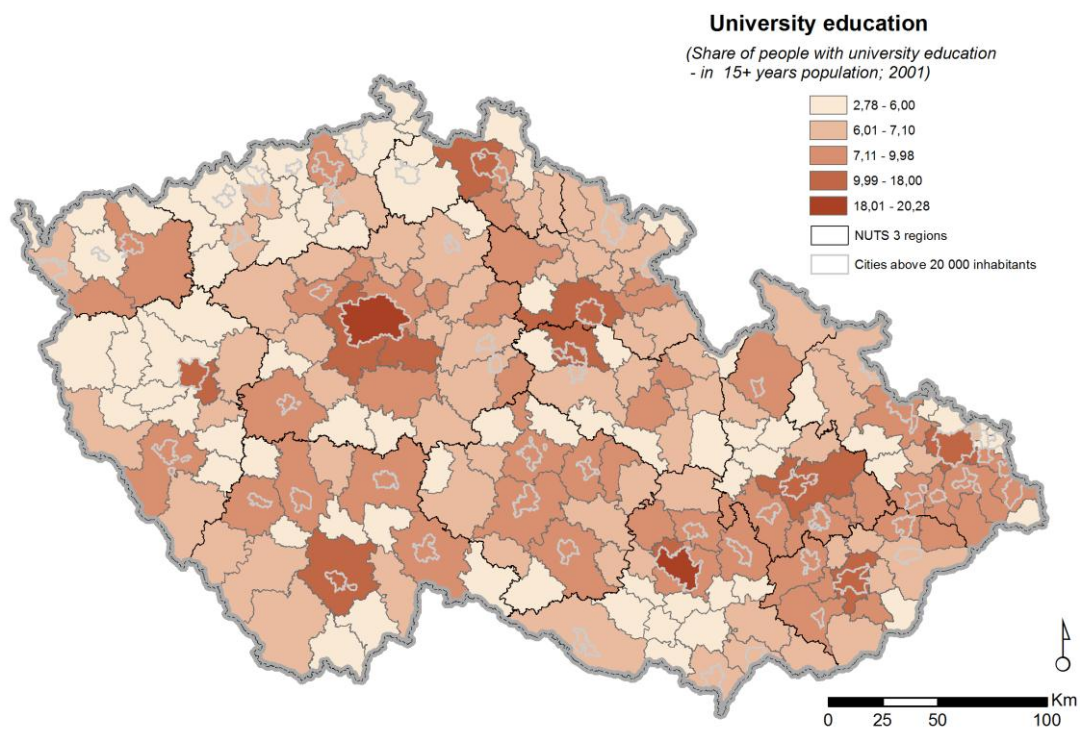


Figure 4.4 Unemployment rate by municipalities with extended power, the Czech Republic, 2007

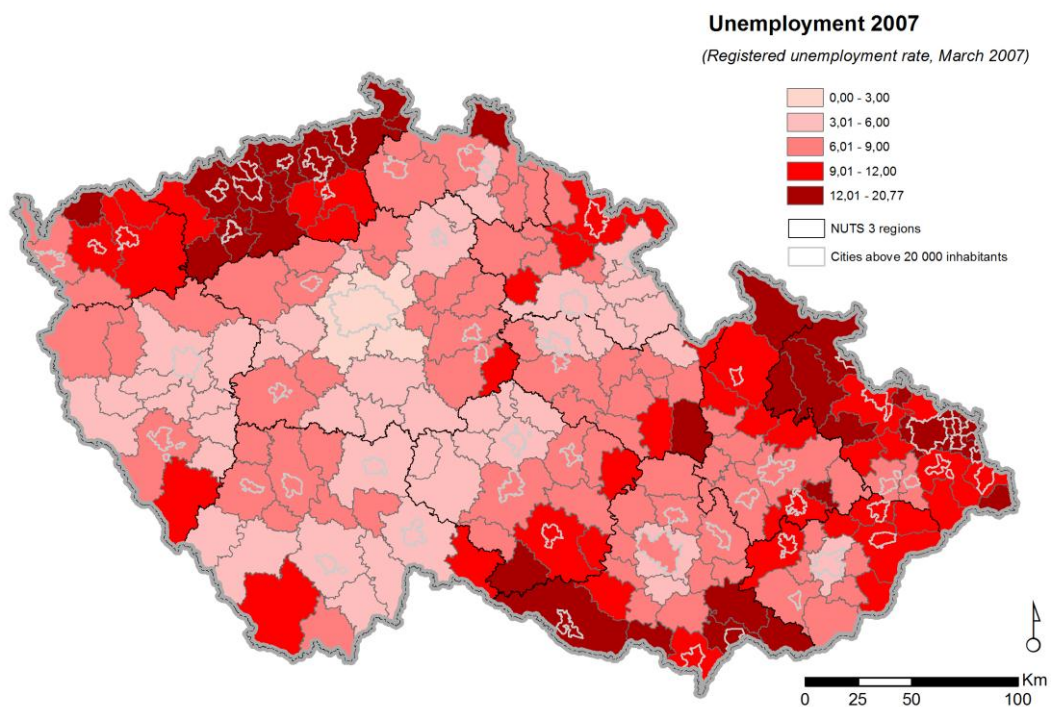


Figure 4.5 New housing construction by municipalities with extended power, the Czech Republic, 1997-2007

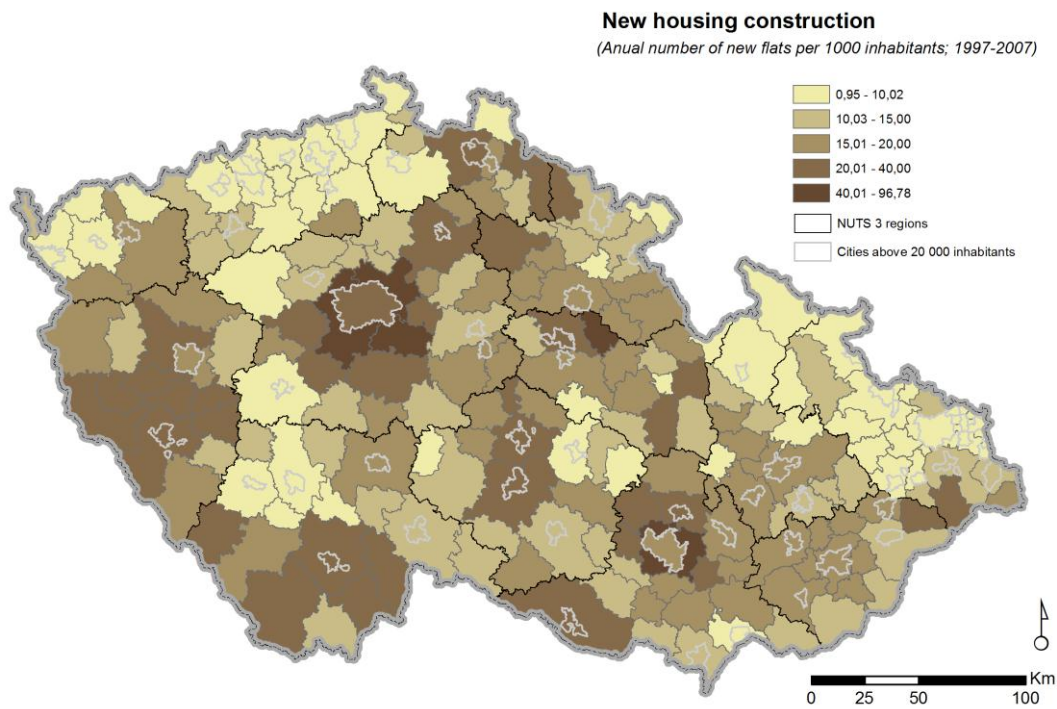


Figure 4.6 Accessibility by municipalities with extended power, the Czech Republic, 2007

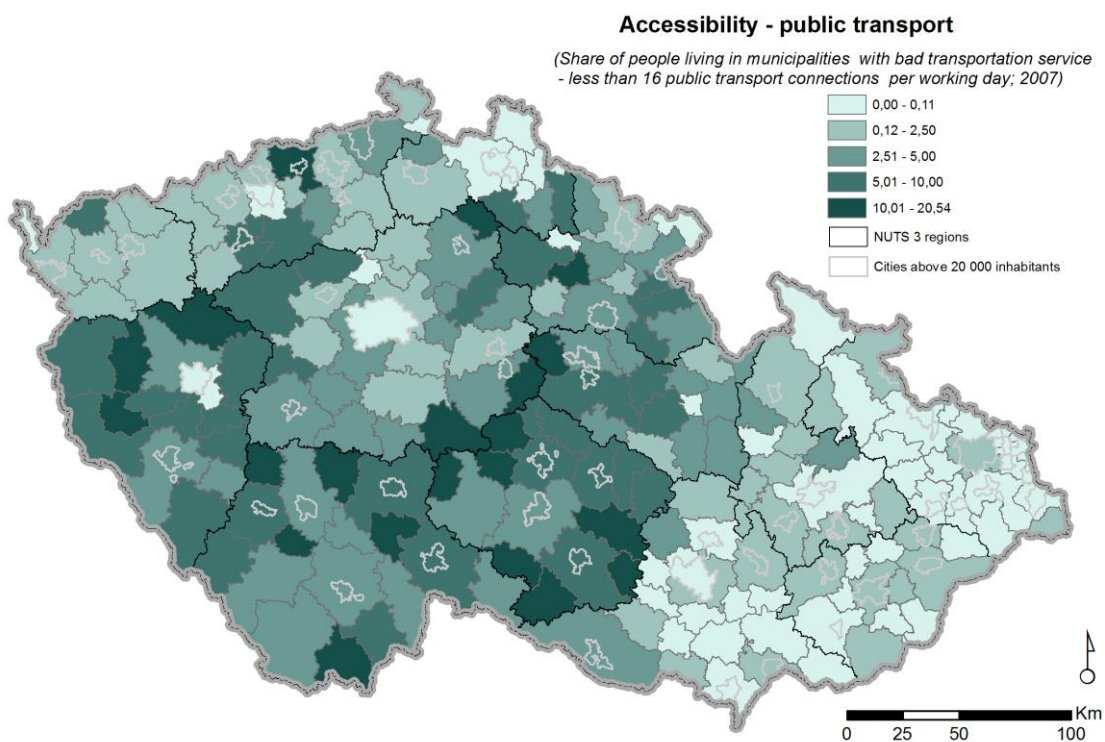
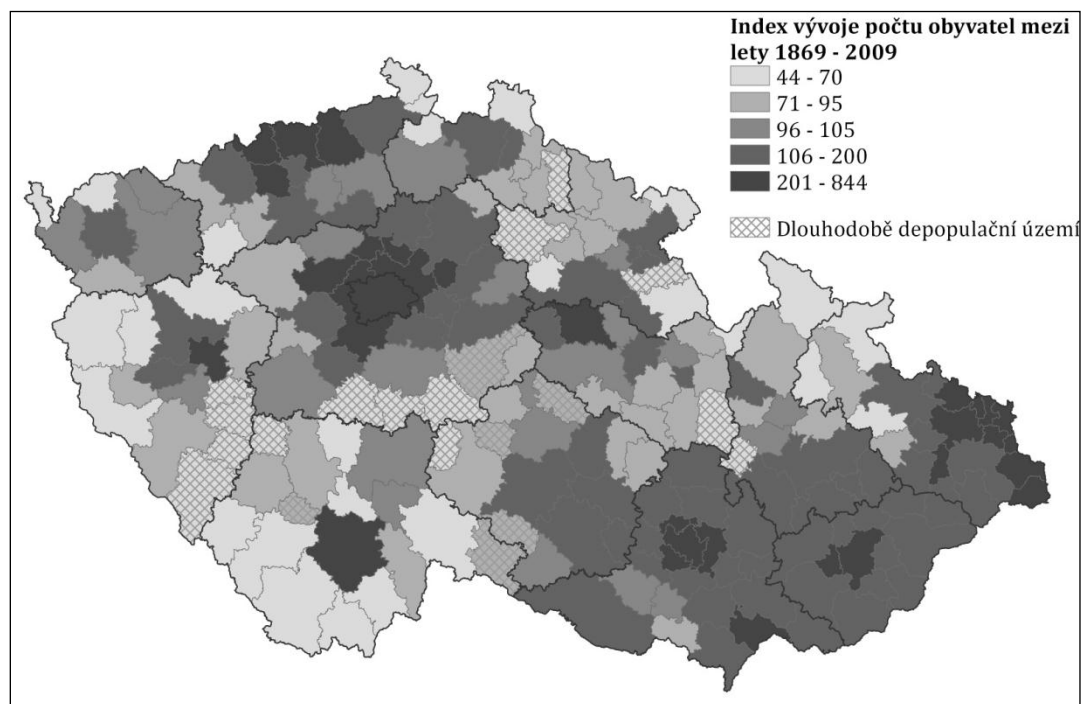


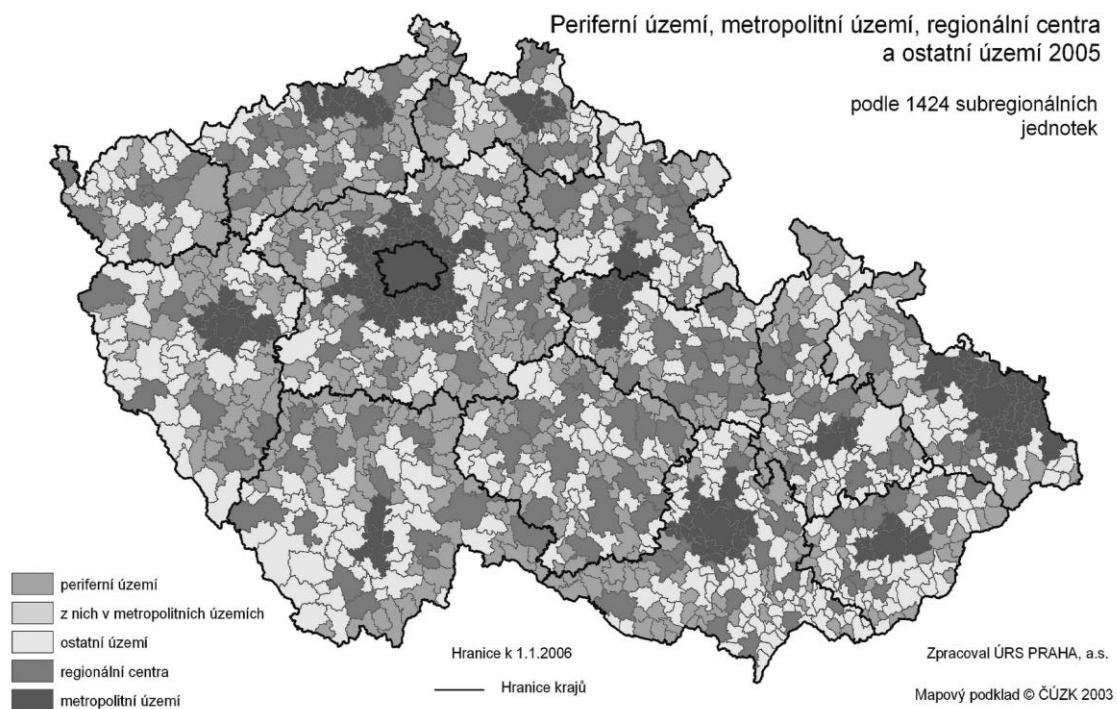
Figure 4.7 Population development in municipalities with extended power/delegated authority („ORP“) between 1869 and 2009.



Source: Czech Statistical Office 2010.

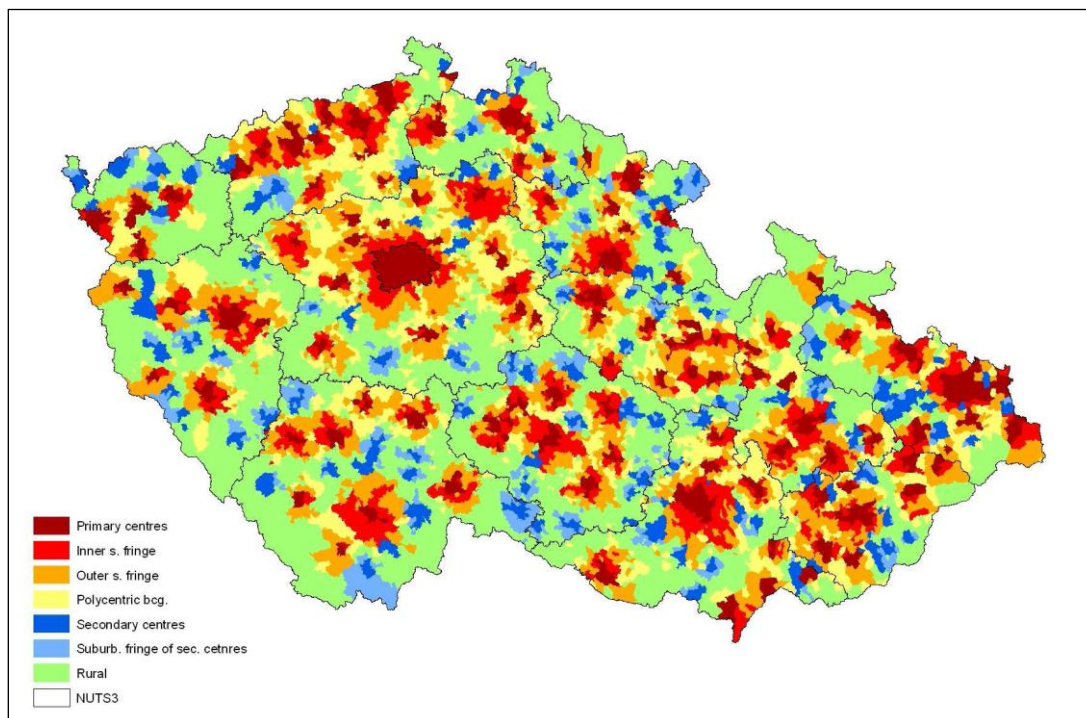
Note: Depopulated areas in long-term perspective were defined as municipalities with extended power/delegated authority in which number of population has been decreasing during the whole period (1869-2009)

Figure 4.8 Spatial distribution of internal peripheries in the Czech Republic (2005)



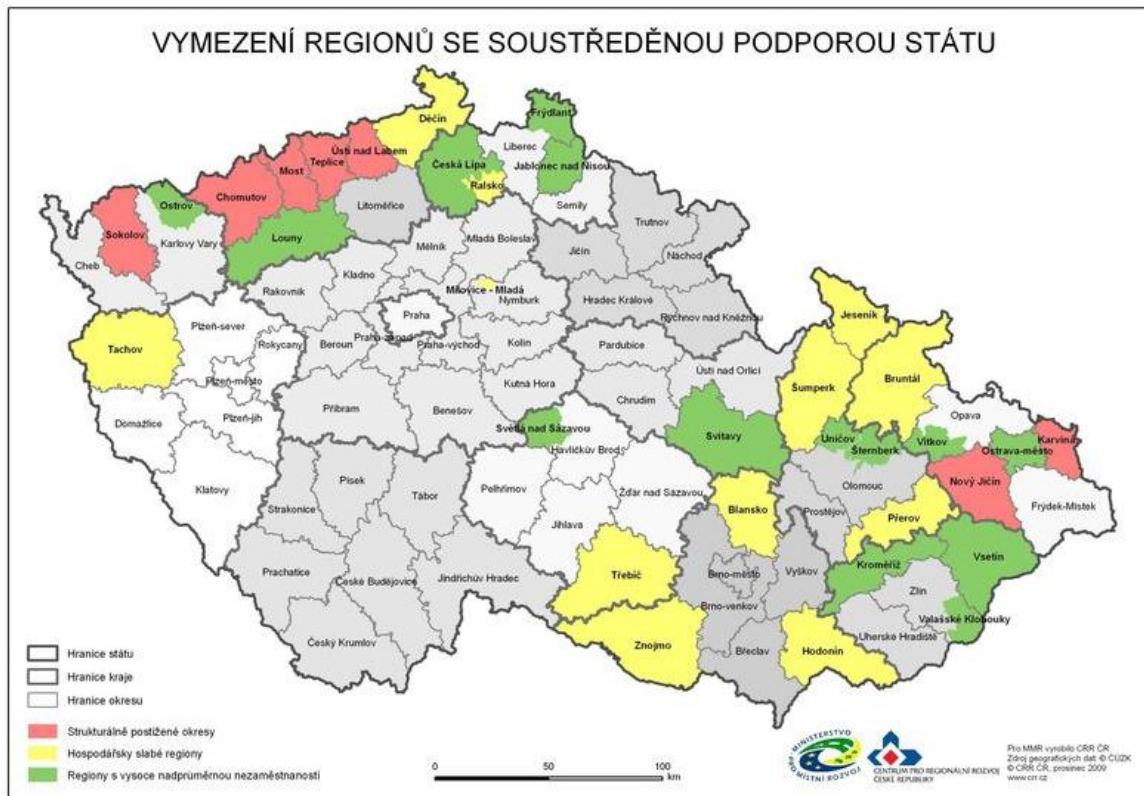
Note: periferní území = peripheral areas

Figure 4.9 Urban, suburban and rural areas in the Czech Republic designed according to classification of the gradient – town-rural areas (more in Vobecká 2010)



Source: Vobecká 2010

Figure 6.1 Regions, which state places to the centre of its support, the Czech Republic, 2010-2013



Source: <http://www.regionálnírozvoj.cz/index.php/aktuality/items/regiony-se-soustredanou-podporou-statu.html>

red colour – structurally disadvantaged regions; yellow– economically weak regions; green – regions with extremely high level of unemployment

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Table 7.1 Overview of challenges and policy recommendations

Challenge	Policy recommendation	Responsible body
Risk of deepening of disintegration and social exclusion of internal peripheries	When allocating funds, besides a size of a settlement, policies should take also into account other “qualitative criteria” related to existing reality and development.	The EU, the state
	Policies should be exposed to regular evaluation in terms of their effectiveness.	The EU, the state
	Stabilization of the local population and mobilization of local human resources, including pulling people with high level of human capital from outside the internal peripheries.	The state, the regions, the municipalities
	Protect and develop culture, sport and social activities, e.g. by individual small-scale municipal projects or targeted tax deductions.	The state, the regions, the municipalities
	Change the system of public finance allocation in favour of disadvantaged small municipalities – for example, via lower co-financing requirements, or allocation of additional financial sources regularly to disadvantaged municipalities at the expense of reduction of overall amount of financial sources for some “individual grants/projects”.	The EU, the state
	Stimulate further diversification of agricultural production in internal peripheries in order, on one hand, to be more competitive, and, on the other hand, to offer more heterogeneous structure of working opportunities (jobs) for local people.	The state, the regions, the municipalities, agricultural sector
	To improve a “high-tech infrastructure”, namely, to enable inhabitants living in the area to easily and at low cost use the Net.	The state, the regions, the municipalities
	To improve a co-operation between regions and municipalities – for example, in designing functioning and efficient transport system serving people in all municipalities within internal peripheries.	The regions, the municipalities
	To improve a co-operation between municipalities (especially the smallest ones) in internal peripheries while, for example, sharing some labour force like (accountants, project managers etc.), or, when organizing tendering processes.	The municipalities
	Incorporate “impact on population living in disadvantaged localities” as specific criteria for evaluation of projects competing for public funds.	The EU, the state
Specific internal migration of Roma and other groups, which are facing social exclusion	Sustained and complex policy effort, particularly in area of education, housing and participation on the labour market.	The state
	Develop a new concept of social housing of vulnerable groups including Roma.	The state, the regions, the municipalities
	Stimulate active participation of Roma in civic society (namely in political parties, NGOs etc.)	The state, the regions, the municipalities

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	Strengthen capacities and capabilities of local authorities in the area of social inclusion.	The state, the regions, the municipalities
Lack of reliable statistics on emigration.	Improve the whole system of covering emigration (including flow as well as stock data) and put it on the policy agenda and, consequently, into practise.	The EU, the state
The emigration of professionals and potential threat of brain-drain	Improve overall scientific atmosphere, which shall result prevention of permanent emigration of scientist and stimulate motivation for scientists abroad to return home (policies towards improvement of economic situation, educational system or measures supporting specific fields important for scientists).	The state, the regions, the municipalities, individual organisations (e.g. universities, research centres, hospitals etc.)
	Offer various motivation measures for attracting particular professional to stay on long-term basis in the Czech Republic (scholarships for foreign stays conditioned by the return, return grants, re-integration programs etc.).	The state, the regions, the municipalities, individual universities
	Develop and maintain cooperation between Czech scientists abroad and domestic institution.	The state, the regions, the municipalities, individual universities
	Broaden existing measures to other professionals, outside research and academia.	The state, the regions
Diaspora and its role in the life of the Czech society	Create new and strengthen existing ties to compatriots living abroad.	The state, the municipalities
	Remove existing barriers in communication, facilitate participation in elections from abroad, and loosen restrictions for dual citizenship.	The state
Emigration patterns of the Roma and their return migration ¹	Focus on effective implementation of already developed policies, including allocation of adequate amount of financial and human resources.	The state, the regions, the municipalities
	Launch new or strengthen on-going measures (e.g. develop a program for teacher assistants in schools with Roma children including problems of returning children and their education).	The state, the regions, the municipalities

Notes:

¹ In fact, all measures aiming at improving the socio-economic situation of Roma in the Czech Republic are relevant for the prevention of their emigration.