

## Migration in the Czech Republic

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**Abstract:** The article overviews the most important trends in the international migration on the territory of the Czech Republic since 1918. The paper concentrates specifically on the last decade, when political and economical transformation processes have influenced on patterns of international migration. The negative migration balance of migration have changed to positives ones – the Czech Republic is going to be an immigration country. Labor migration from former eastern block plays the decisive role in immigration to the Czech Republic. Both data for legal and illegal migration are presented and analysed.

**Key words:** international migration, the Czech Republic, labor migration.

### Introduction

Migration from the Central and Eastern European countries toward the West is one of the consequences of the political, economic and social changes which have took place in this region after the fall of the Iron curtain. It is one of the characteristic features of the transformation process taking place in these countries. This process is influenced by the social and economic environment of those countries which have become targets of migration movements. Political and economic liberalisation, the emergence of the labour market, freedom of movement, together with the uneven economic environment of both the sending and receiving countries have lead to the rise of spontaneous labour flows. Many countries, from which, in the course of history, people traditionally left to seek work abroad, are gradually being changed into immigration countries. They are opening their labour markets to foreign workers, but also receiving displaced persons and refugees from regions stricken by war, political crises, or ecological disasters. The Czech Republic is one of these receiving countries, together with other countries of central and Eastern Europe.

The strongest migration flow heading towards the Czech Republic is from Slovakia. Migration from the Slovak Republic to the Czech Republic differs principally from that existing between other countries in its history, scope and quality. Geographical proximity, historical and current close ties, a similar economic environment as well as softer legislative conditions for employing Slovak citizens in the Czech Republic – as compared to those effective for foreigners from other countries – are creating the preconditions for a durable migration from Slovakia.

The outflow of Czech labour is substantially lower than the inflow of foreigners to the Czech labour market and is getting gradually weaker. Both as a consequence of restrictive



measures applied to protect the labour market of member countries of the European Community against the inflow of migrant workers from other than the EC member countries, and because of the declining interest of Czech citizens in working abroad<sup>1</sup>.

The inflow of migrant workers from Eastern European countries discontinued to grow today. The low process of the restructuring of the Czech industry resulted at the beginning of transformation process in low unemployment and influenced the demand for foreigner's labour in the beginning of the economic transformation. The Czech labour market was not saturated in all sectors, branches, and professions. It offered better paid job than labour markets in neighbouring Eastern European countries<sup>2</sup>. Another reason for this growth was that no sufficiently strong barriers were applied to the inflow of foreign labour until 1996.

Since 1996, the change in the situation of the Czech labour market has led to a decrease in the number of free labour places and to an increase in the unemployment rate.<sup>3</sup> Migration restriction (labour quotas which have been set for selected countries) has reduced international labour migration to the Czech Republic. Demand for foreign labour has decreased also by natural way, especially in the districts with high share of foreign labour. Restriction policy, which has intended to reduce the number of foreigners with work permit, has led to an increase of foreigner's interests in permanent settlement in the country. Although the number of registered economic activities of foreigners has been decreasing, the number of foreigners holding both long-term resident permit<sup>4</sup> and permanent resident permit continues to grow. Some restrictions on employment of foreigners labour with work permits probably have caused an increase of unregistered economic activities of foreigners in the country.

The causes of international migration to the Czech Republic are not always the same. Uneven economic development, differing unemployment rates and large differences in living standards and the level of real wages between the sending countries and our country used to be the decisive stimuli. The less intensive migration flows from the economically stronger countries to the Czech Republic is connected particularly with foreign investment, and in some cases with unsatisfied supply in the labour markets.

Migration is a structured process, which usually has controversial effects. On the one hand, it helps to satisfy demand for labour and reduces labour costs. On the other hand, it may evoke social unrest and dissatisfaction, particularly on the part of those who cannot or do not want to reduce their wage claims, or who for various reasons do not have easy access to job opportunities. The competition of foreign labour leads to the emergence of xenophobia and hostility towards foreigners within certain groups of the domestic population. Hostile attitudes to foreigners often have an irrational character. On the one hand, a considerable part of the public dislikes the presence of foreigners in the country, but, on the other hand, it gladly uses their cheap services, either directly or indirectly (by purchasing cheaper goods).

<sup>1</sup> Horáková, 1996.

<sup>2</sup> In December 1996 Czech Labour offices registered 83,976 free labour places. It was the greatest number since 1990. The unemployment rate was 3,5 per cent only (statistics of Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs).

<sup>3</sup> In December 1998 the unemployment rate increased on 7,5 per cent, in some districts of the Czech Republic reached over than 10-15 per cent. Czech Labour offices registered 386,918 of unemployed persons (maximum since 1990) and the number of free labour places decreased on 37,641 (statistics of Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs).

<sup>4</sup> Long-term permit is mostly issued in order to economic activity of a foreigner.



As a consequence of unregulated labour migration, the destabilisation of local labour markets in both the sending and host countries may take place. The outflow and inflow of workers from certain sectors and branches across the border leads to changes in labour supply and demand in the host and sending countries. In the countries of origin of the labour migrants pressure increases for the growth in wages in those sectors and branches from which labour leaves, due to a higher demand for these undermanned professions, and also because re-emigrants have higher demands after returning home. In the host countries, on the contrary, the depression of wages often takes place in those sectors and branches with a high supply of foreign labour. Foreign workers fill the gaps in the unsaturated sectors of the national's economy with the prevailing demand for labour and usually represent a cheaper and more efficient labour force. This makes them attractive from the point of view of employers, but less so for the institutions protecting the local labour market (labour offices, trade unions, etc.).

Labour migration does not usually solve the problem of hard to employ social groups in countries sending workers. People leaving the country to seek work abroad are often those who are able to find their place in the domestic labour market. At the same time, they are multiplying the problems on the part of domestic labour that are hard to employ in the host countries. In some countries, relatively broad-minded social security systems exist which weaken the motivation of a certain part of local workers to occupy low-paid, unattractive and low prestige jobs. In consequence, the number of persons dependent on social benefits or unemployment benefits grows. In local labour markets, categories of persons are emerging which are hard to employ. In consequence therefore, nationals' economies are more and more burdened by expenditure on social security systems.

Labour migration often entails the loss of qualification of migrants if skilled work abroad is inaccessible and unskilled or low-skilled work is significantly better paid than highly qualified and specialised work at home. If the decline in professional status is temporary, this fact need not cause problems, but a long-term lack of professional advancement may lead to feelings of frustration.

If a foreign worker is markedly cheaper for an employer than a local worker and the wage of a worker abroad is many times higher, than the wage for the same or even more qualified work at home many employers demands for a formally attained qualification are dropped and demands for work performance increase. The demands of workers for the utilisation of their qualification are decrease, their adaptability, flexibility and productivity increase, as well as their willingness to accept mobility. At the same time, working environment demands and the level of housing and board fall, and many barriers demanded by the state regarding the health of workers also fall. This has, naturally, certain negative impacts upon the behaviour of employers. They do not pay sufficient attention to working conditions or to the development of new technologies increasing the productivity of local workers, which would bring about a reduction in the excessive number of employees. Cheap labour does not motivate the employer to cultivate and educate his workers, nor to enhance the environment and conditions of work.

Even bilateral agreements between states on the conditions of employing workers cannot always secure equal status for foreigners in the labour market, nor an effective protection of foreign workers, since it is possible to evade many provisions of the law and it is almost impossible to eliminate the (usually hidden) discrimination towards foreigners



in the labour market. Moreover, if conformable, generally effective rules governing labour relations for local workers and foreigners are not being complied with, and if there are no effective measures impeding hidden discrimination in the labour market, such a situation creates points of friction now and for the future, both on the individual level and in mutual relations between those countries sending and receiving migrant workers.

The negative impacts of international migration originate first of all from the fact that interest in working abroad is high and is difficult to satisfy. This leads to efforts to evade existing legislation. Particularly in cases where the legislative environment in the host countries is unable to react quickly to the changes in the supply and demand for foreign workers and where legal norms for the employment of foreigners are over complicated, or if control mechanism breaks down.

The positive contribution of international labour migration, on the other hand, is the creation of new jobs in both the host and sending countries (particularly in the field of housing and board services, job mediation, and transport). These jobs, however, often do not have a legal character. In order to arrest their development, there needs to be a legislative environment, which determines the conditions for the employment and job mediation of foreigners.

### Short migration history of former Czechoslovakia 1918–1998

#### *Period of the "First Republic" (1918–1938)*

Czechoslovakia has been in the past traditionally an emigration country<sup>5</sup>. In the period of the "First Republic" (1918–1938), unemployment, disadvantageous social situation, and later political and ethnic reasons caused emigration to neighbouring European and also to new world countries. Emigrants usually followed their relatives who left country earlier (Kučera, 1994,).

More than a half million Czechoslovak citizens lived abroad between 1920–1930. In Europe the main emigration stream aimed itself especially at Germany<sup>6</sup>, Austria, France, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland, and Soviet Union. Emigration at New World countries targeted especially USA and Canada. (Šašek, 1935, quoted in Marešová, 1991). Emigration from Czech lands has culminated in 1920–1924, when about 111,000 persons left country. Migration losses of Czech lands were about 60,000 persons (Kučera, 1994). Emigration from Slovakia was even higher, about 138,000 persons and migration losses of Slovakia were about 92,000 for the same period (Terplan, 1995). Migration losses of Czechoslovakia were over 32,000 inhabitants per year during period 1920–1924 (Srb, 1998). New immigration quotas, which were set up in the course of the rise of world

<sup>5</sup> Emigration from Czech lands, Moravia – Silesia and Slovakia was high already during Austria-Hungarian Empire. Migration losses of Czech lands during period 1850–1899 were about 1,131,000 of inhabitants, e.g. 32 % of the natural population growth (Andrle, 1993). About 388,000 emigrated in the period 1900–1913 (Kučera, 1994). Other source gives figure 283,000 (Czech lands) and 215,000 (Slovakia) in the period 1901–1910 and 240,000 (Czech lands) and 97,000 (Slovakia) in the period 1911–1920 (Srb, 1998).

<sup>6</sup> 22,521 Czechs lived in Germany in 1925, 138,095 in Austria in 1923, 132,176 in USA in 1920, 32,989 in France in 1926, 21,340 in Hungary in 1930, 18,269 in Canada in 1931, 13,800 in Yugoslavia in 1921, 6,560 in Romania, 7,995 in Poland in 1921 and 3,548 in Soviet Union in 1926 (Šašek, quoted in Marešová, 1991).



economic crisis in main immigration countries, especially in USA in 1925–1929, reduced emigration from the Czechoslovakia for a short period (Kučera, 1994). Emigration increased again with growing unemployment in the second half of 1930s, especially in Slovakia. During the period 1935–1939 about 144,000 inhabitants of Czechoslovakia emigrated, therefrom 57,000 from Czech areas and 87,000 from Slovakia (Terplan, 1995).

About 63,000 of emigration passports were issued in Czechoslovakia during the period 1924–1936, therefrom a half for Europe and a half for New World countries. (Total 37,481 of emigration passports were issued in Slovakia, 13,361 in Czech lands, 7,289 in Moravia-Silesia, and 4,553 in Sub-Carpathian Russia (Srb, 1998, calculations Horáková)).

According to statistical data on migration in Czechoslovak "first republic" about 553,000 people emigrated between 1920 and 1939 from Czechoslovakia (Terplan, 1995), therefrom 230,000 from Czech areas. Migration losses of Czech lands were 88,000 (Terplan, 1995).

Emigration from Slovakia was even higher, about 322,000 and migration losses were about 218,000 for the same period. (Terplan, 1995).

Immigration to Czechoslovak "first republic" was smaller. According to statistical data about 246,000 people immigrated to the Czechoslovakia during the period in 1920–1939, therefrom 142,000 to Czech areas and 104,000 to Slovakia (Terplan, 1995).

The strong immigration wave affected Czechoslovakia immediately after the declaration of the independence. Post-war immigrants (legionaries, war repatriates and re-emigrants of the Czech origin but also Russian emigrants) came especially from Austria, mostly from Vienna (about 100,000 persons) and also from USA (about 40,000 compatriots of the Czech origin). They searched better job and living conditions in new Czechoslovak state (Kučera, 1994). About 97,000 persons immigrated to Czechoslovakia during period 1920–1924, therefrom 50,500 to Czech areas, and 46,000 to Slovakia (Terplan, 1995). According to the census 1930 about 304,000 inhabitants of Czech lands were born in foreign countries (2.9 per cent of inhabitants). About 74,000 (0.7 per cent of population) were born in Slovakia, and 13,000 (0.1 per cent) were born in Sub-Carpathian Russia (Kučera, 1994). The share of inhabitants, which were born in foreign countries, was even higher in Moravia and Silesia areas than in Czech lands (Kučera, 1994).

Immigration to the Czechoslovakia increased significantly again in 1935–1939, when about 99,000 people immigrated. The main targets of immigrants were Czech lands, which registered about 72,000 of immigrants (Terplan, 1995). Migration gain registered in Czech lands first time during the period 1935–1939 was over 15,000 persons (Andrle, 1993). Since 1931 several thousands of refugees from Germany and Austria seek asylum mostly in Czech lands. Immigration to Slovakia was smaller, over 26,000 for the same period and migration losses of Slovakia were still about 61,000 of inhabitants in 1935–1939 (Terplan, 1995).

#### *Period 1939–1945*

Following migration waves were connected with fascism, the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by nazi Germany and with ethnic cleaning in neighbouring countries. After the Munich agreements and annexation of the border areas of Czechoslovakia many people had to leave their homes. Owing to pre-war migration in 1938 and 1939, about a half million persons emigrated to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia from occupied borderland of Czechoslovakia, e.g. from Slovakia, and from Sub-Carpathian



Russia (Kučera, 1999, Andrlé, Srb: 1996). As a consequence of the international agreements on border changes, the former pre-Munich Czechoslovakia lost about 31 per cent of its territory and 26 per cent of its inhabitants. Czech lands lost about 37 per cent of its territory and 36 per cent of its inhabitants (e.g. 28,600 km<sup>2</sup>, over than 3.6 millions of inhabitants (Kučera, 1994)), Slovakia lost about 22 per cent of its territory and 26 per cent of its inhabitants (Srb, 1993).

According to some estimates about a half millions persons were forcefully displaced to Germany within that period, only 170,000 of them returned home after the war (estimates quoted in Srb, 1993). About 27,000 (Kučera, 1994) Jews emigrated up to the end of 1941, when the Nazis stopped emigration organised by the British government. In total about 75,000 of Jews were dragged off from Czechoslovakia during period 1938–1945 (estimate, Andrlé, Srb, 1996). Another estimate gives about 71,000 Jews from Czech areas and 67,000 from Slovakia, total 138,000 persons (Srb, 1993). About 5,000 of Czech Romas (Gypsies) were dragged from Czech lands (Kučera, 1994) and died in nazi camp Osveczim. Thousands of young workers or labourers from Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia were gradually employed in Germany for different period since 1939, mostly compulsory. At the and of 1941 it was 192,000, at the end of 1942 their number increased on 327,000. The main part of forced labour was sent to Germany in the autumn 1943. In total 640,000 inhabitants of Protectorate worked in Germany during the war period (Kučera, 1994).

#### *Post-war period*

After the end of the World War II (1945–1947) the biggest migration movements in Europe and also in our country followed. This period was generally characterised by massive flows of population, both across the borders of the ČSR and within the state's territory. More than five million people (including Germans) were on the move (estimates, Andrlé, 1993), therefrom about four millions in Czech lands (Kučera, 1994). Exact data for that period are not available. According to the estimate about 2.8 million people emigrated from Czech land in 1945–1947, migration loses of Czech areas were about 2,7 million (estimates, Andrlé, 1993). Statistic data show only a part of migration movements running in the territory of former Czechoslovakia during that period.

From 1945 to 1947, altogether 2.5 millions (Andrlé, Srb, 1996) or 2.7 millions (Kučera, 1994) or 3.2 millions (Staněk, 1991, Brouček, 1998) Germans were transferred to Germany and Austria.<sup>7</sup> From Slovakia about 90,000 Hungarians were transferred to Hungary (Brouček, 1998). About 50,000 persons were forcefully displaced from Czechoslovakia to Ukraine and other parts of the former Soviet Union (Andrlé, Srb, 1996).

**Table 1 External migration registered in Czech Republic 1945–1947**

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

Source: Andrlé, 1993

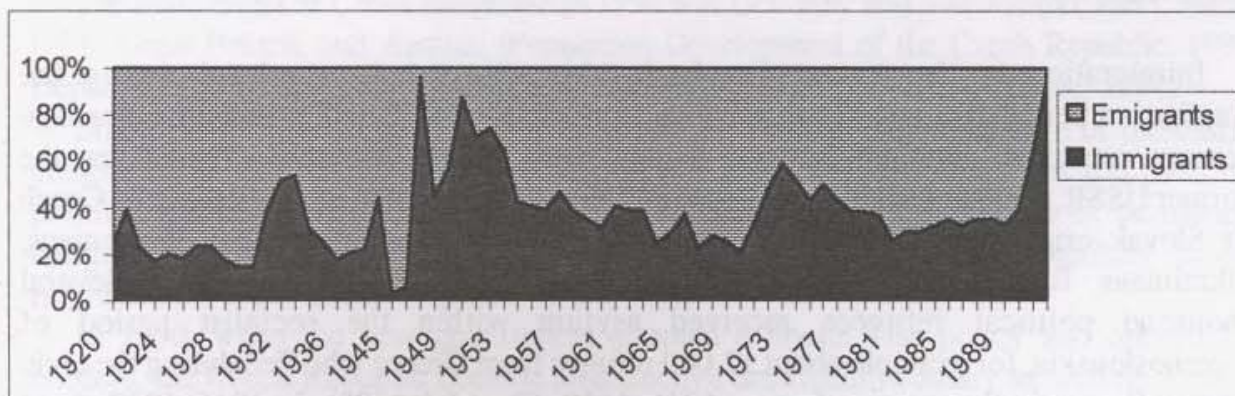


On the other hand, as regards of re-emigration, in the period 1945–1950 about 220,000 persons of Czech or Slovak origin returned from abroad (Brouček, 1998). About 72,000 of Slovaks returned from Hungary, 21,000 persons immigrated to Czechoslovakia from Romania (mostly Slovaks), 12,000 from France, 11,000 from Austria, 10,000 from Poland, 6,000 from Germany, 5,000 from Yugoslavia, etc. (Brouček, 1998). Flows of migrants headed particularly for the Czech border regions, which were depopulated by the transfer of Germans (Brouček, 1998). A special post-war immigration wave affected Czechoslovakia immediately after the war, when about 42,000 persons (Vaculík, 1984) immigrated to Czechoslovakia from the Ukraine, 38,000 of them from the region Volynia (Brouček, 1998).

#### Period 1948–1989

The communist coup d'état in 1948 caused a further emigration wave, the suppression of the Prague spring in 1968 yet another. Emigration waves followed political changes in the country. During the communist period over 500,000 people emigrated from Czechoslovakia, mostly within two main emigration waves (after February 1948 and August 1968). Immediately after the communist coup d'état in 1948 it was about 60,000 persons, during the period 1948–1967 about 250,000 in total. Later, in 1968–1989 about 240,000–250,000 people emigrated, therefore about 104,000 in the period 1968–1969 (estimates, Brouček, 1998).<sup>8</sup>

Statistics of the Czechoslovak Federal Statistic Office on legal emigration from CSR gives lower figures. According that source about 11,000 citizens emigrated legally within the period 1948–1949. In 1950–1953 the number of registered emigrants decreased rapidly to only 350–500 persons per year because the borders were more or less closed (FSO, 1991, Terplan, 1995). Within the period 1951–1959 about 17,000 people emigrated from Czechoslovakia (Terplan, 1995).



Source: Terplan, 1995, calculations Horáková

Figure 1 External migration in Czechoslovakia 1920–1992

<sup>7</sup> Germans from Sudetenland, Sub-Carpathian Russia, South Moravia, Prague and Bratislava (Andrle, Srb, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> Within period 1950–1990, 150,000 ethnic Germans emigrated to Germany, while in 1968–1969 162,000 Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians fled to Germany, Austria, Canada and Australia (Andrle, Srb, 1996).



A new emigration wave came during the period of political liberalisation preceding the "Prague spring." The number of emigrants started to increase gradually since 1964. In the period 1960–1969 about 44,000 persons emigrated from Czechoslovakia legally (Terplan, 1995). The biggest part of them in 1967, when about 14,000 persons emigrated (FSO, 1991). An expected democratisation of political life in 1968 rather retarded the emigration process, the number of legal emigrants slightly decreased. To 10,556 persons in 1968 and 9,142 in 1969 (FSO, 1991).

At the beginning of so-called "normalisation" brought about a new emigration wave. The numbers of emigrants significantly reflected the political expectations of citizens. In 1970 about 12,000 people emigrated legally (FSO, 1991). Later on, when the borders were more or less closed again, the process of legal emigration decreased. In the period 1971–1980 about 39,000 persons emigrated legally, about 31,000 in 1981–1990. (FSO, 1991). The total number of legal emigrants in 1970–1989 was about 77,000 persons, migration losses for Czechoslovakia were about 29,000 persons. Illegal migration from country was higher, as legal emigration. The main targets of Czechoslovak legal emigrants were in Europe Germany, Austria, Greece and Poland, in America USA and Canada. (Terplan, 1995).

**Table 2 Migration losses in the Czech Republic in 1948 – 1990**

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

Source: Andrlé, 1993

Immigration to the former Czechoslovakia was strictly regulated during the totalitarian period and was relatively low. Immigration for family reunion or marriage reasons prevailed. Immigrants came mainly from Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, the former USSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and France. Ethnically, mainly people of Czech or Slovak origin, less frequently immigrants of other nationalities, e.g. Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Hungarians, Poles, and Greeks (Valášková, 1992). Several thousand political refugees received asylum within the socialist period of Czechoslovakia, for example about 12,000 refugee from Greece who fled during the civic war in Greece in the course of years 1946–1950, (Brouček, 1998). In 1946–1947 about 12,000 of Bulgarian agricultural workers immigrated and they settled in depopulated areas of former Sudetenland. Another group of Bulgarians came in 1957 (about 4,000 persons).

The liberalisation of political life in sixties preceding the "Prague Spring" resulted also in growing immigration. During the decade 1960–1969 approximately 19,000 persons from foreign countries immigrated to Czechoslovakia (Terplan, 1995), mostly in 1966–1968, when over 4,000 persons per year immigrated (Terplan, 1995). After the Soviet invasion (in 1969–1971) the numbers of immigrants slightly decreased to about



3,000 per year (Terplan, 1995)). Since 1972 immigration increased again on about 6,000 persons in 1973. During the so called "normalisation" (in 1970–1979) over 34,000 persons immigrated to Czechoslovakia, later in 1980 – 1989 about 14,000 (Terplan, 1995). The total number of immigrants, which immigrated to former Czechoslovakia within period 1970–1989, was about 48,000 persons.

The influence of migration (in the sense of permanent settlement) on the changes in the number and composition of the population of the Czech Republic has not been significant in any way, except during the years following the war. The yearly numbers of immigrants represented only 5 – 8 % of the losses due to mortality. The resulting balance was only a fraction of one percent of the total number of inhabitants and could not influence markedly the structure and evolution of demographic processes. (Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994, Department of Demography and Geodemography, Charles University, Prague, 1994).

#### *Period 1990–1998*

The fundamental break in the main trend in external migration in the Czech Republic has occurred since 1990. The opening of the borders in January 1990 and the new freedom of movement resulted in higher migration movements. The migration situation in the Czech Republic has changed in principle. While for the whole period of communist rule the number of the inhabitants in the Czech Republic decreased due to emigration, since the beginning of 1991 this number has been increasing due to immigration, particularly in the Czech Republic, even if the increase in the number of inhabitants has not been marked due to migration, and could not, particularly after 1993, replace the decreases caused by the natural processes of population evolution. (Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994. Department of Demography, and Geodemography, Charles University, Prague, 1994).

The main target of Czech emigrants in 1990 was Germany and Switzerland, less Canada, USA, Great Britain, and Austria. (Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994. Department of Demography, and Geodemography, Charles University, Prague, 1994).

Since 1990 emigration has been continually decreasing. The prediction of increasing emigration in the ninetieths (Kraus, 1990) has not been confirmed. On the contrary, political stability and democratic development has stopped the process of permanent emigration.<sup>9</sup> But a new phenomenon has appeared – occasional temporary labour migration from the Czech Republic to the West.

In 1990, when the new government adopted a liberal visa policy and opened the borders, the Czech Republic became an attractive destination country as well as a major

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<sup>9</sup> Free movement across the borders and the cancellation of visa requirement agreed with many European and extra-European countries and further liberalisation of migration legislative has made the migration statistics unreliable (Population Development of the Czech Republic in 1994, Department of Demography, and Geodemography, Charles University, Prague, 1994). The external migration statistics is incomplete and statistical information quoted after 1990 do not give precise picture of the migration situation. The information supplied to the statistical bodies after 1990 comprise only a part of persons who have emigrated in fact. After the cancellation of emigration passports the citizens have not been obliged to notify their intention to emigrate to settle abroad permanently. At the present time, by emigrants there are considered persons who hand over their citizen's card to the state organs (Aleš, 1996).



transit country for east-west migration. The influx of foreigners increased dramatically, although the numbers of permanently settled foreigners remained more or less the same. Re-emigrants of Czech nationality represented in 1991 the majority (75 %) of immigrants.<sup>10</sup> Data on the number of the Czech re-emigrants in 1990 and 1991 need not always reflect the factual resettlement of these persons. Some of them have registered themselves for permanent residence in the Czech Republic with the view to property restitution, others just provided for a formal arrangement of their affairs after previous emigration (Kraus, 1993).<sup>11</sup>

Migration in the sense of permanent settlement has ceased to reflect sufficiently the character of external migration. The dynamics of migration processes have increased rapidly. The decisive role began to be played by short-term migration, less by asylum seekers and ethnic Czechs from the former Soviet Union who showed an interest in resettlement. The economic activities of our citizen's abroad and of foreigners in the Czech Republic have had the biggest share in the migration climate of the country. In the period immediately after 1990, a significant role was also played by the tourist boom, in consequence of which our country started to become a target for millions of tourists.

At the beginning of the migration boom in 1990, the share of permanently settled foreigners on the total population of the Czechoslovak Federal Republic was less than 0.3 %. The total number of foreigners including foreign workers, who were employed under intergovernmental and business contracts in Czechoslovakia<sup>12</sup> was about 131,000 (Marešová, 1991). Foreign labour working in the former ČSFR under intergovernmental or business contracts of former socialist companies were not always included into statistic FMI registered foreigners with resident permit. They were registered as employees of their home companies as guest workers in Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Boušková, 1998).

The total number of foreigners with different kinds of resident permits increased in the Czech Republic from 35,000 in December 1990 (0.34 % of population) to 220,187 in December 1998 (2.14 % of population). Notably the number of foreigners with long-term resident permits increased rapidly: from 7,700 in 1990 (0.07 %) to 155,836 (1.51 %) in 1998 (at December 31). About 26 % of aliens have issued resident permit in Prague in December 1998. Total 57,204 foreigners therefrom, 46,122 of who were holders of long-term resident permit (30 %). (Statistics of Ministry of Interior, Directorate of Alien and Border Police).

The state citizenship of the main groups of aliens holding permanent residence permit<sup>13</sup> in the former Czechoslovakia in 1990 was as follows: about 37 % Poles, 23 % USSR, 10 %

<sup>10</sup> Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994, (Department of Demography, and Geo-demography, Charles University, Prague, 1994.

<sup>11</sup> Note: By nationality we understand self-identification with an ethnic nationality, not state citizenship.

<sup>12</sup> 95,450 in 1990, Marešová, 1991.

<sup>13</sup> The foreign can stay in the ČR territory for a short-time (tourists), long-time and permanently. For long-term stay, the foreign has a right to stay in the CR for the period specified in the long-term residence permit. The residence is permitted for the period necessary to achieve its purpose (study, enterprise, employment etc.), but no longer than one year. The period can be renewed repeatedly. Permanent residence permit of the foreign is not limited in time in the CR territory. The permanent residence permit is issued in compliance with international documents on human rights, namely for the purpose of re-union of the family, if a husband or wife, direct relative or brother or sister of the foreign has permanent residence permit in the CR. The list of reasons is not enumerative, the permanent residence permit can be given also for other reasons.



Bulgarians, about 8 % Greeks, 4 % Hungarians, 4 % former Yugoslavs, 3 % Germans, 3 % Romanians, 1 % Austrians and 1 % Vietnamese (Statistics FMI<sup>14</sup>, quoted in Marešová, 1991).

The state citizenship of largest alien groups with both permanent and long-term residence permits in 1998 was following: Ukrainians 24 %, Slovaks 23 %, Vietnamese 10 %, Poles 10 %, Russians 5 %, Germans 3 %, Bulgarians 3 %, less than 2 % of Chinese, Americans, Byelorussian's, Moldavians, Austrians, Romanians, Yugoslavians. (Statistics of Ministry of Interior, Directorate of Alien and Border Police).

### Immigration from the Slovak Republic

Immigration of Slovaks to the Czech Republic was not too high during the period of the common state, the only exception being the post-war years, but represented for a long times a substantial part of the migration increase of the Czech Republic. The migration gains from Slovak migration in the 1950s were over 92,000 persons, in later decades, 68,000, respective 35,000 (Kučera, 1994). In the period 1950–1992 about 680,000 inhabitants of the Slovak Republic moved to the Czech Republic. Within the same period about 440,000 inhabitants of the Czech Republic moved to Slovakia. (Andrle, 1993). According to the census data the number of Slovak citizens permanently living in the Czech Republic increased by 37,000 within the decade 1980–1991 (from 129,000 in 1980 to 166,000 in 1991), while the number of Czech citizens permanently living in the Slovak Republic slightly decreased (from 54,000 in 1980 to 53,000 in 1991). At last population census, in 1991 166,000 persons living in the Czech Republic had Slovak citizenship, therefrom 144,000 declared Slovak nationality and 10,000 Czech nationality. In the Slovak Republic, on the other hand, 53,000 persons living there had Czech citizenship therefrom 42,000 Republic declared Czech nationality and 9,000 Slovak nationality. According to the census of 1991, 94.5 % citizens of the Czech Republic declared Czech (ethnic) nationality (8,364,000 inhabitants). About 315,000 inhabitants of the Czech Republic declared Slovak (ethnic) nationality (3.1 per cent). (Hlavní výsledky sčítání lidu, domů a bytů 1991, Census 1991, ČSÚ, 1992).

Statistically registered migration movements between the Czech and Slovak Republics in the years preceding the split of the federation were higher then before period 1985–1989. In 1992 about 12,000 Slovaks immigrated to the Czech Republic and conversely about 7,000 Czechs to the Slovak Republic. No statistically registered immigration wave from the Slovak republic to the Czech Republic was observed one year after the split of the federation. In 1993 the positive migration balances for the Czech Republic was 44 persons only. The migration turnover was about 7,000 (Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994, Department of Demography, and Geodemography, Charles University, Prague, 1994). But non-registered migration existed, especially the immigration of Slovak Gypsies. Exact data are not available. Estimates are about 25,000 for 1995 (Denní Telegraf, August 16, 1995). The estimate of former citizens of the federation with permanent resident permit and without citizenship of the Czech Republic was about 15,000 persons as a minimum in July 1998. (Mikulášová, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> Federal Ministry of Interior of the Czechoslovak Socialist Federal Republic.



Migration between Czech and Slovak Republics has been decreasing gradually ever since. In 1992 it increased due to the expected division of the federation. Contemporary immigration from the Slovak Republic exists in connection with labour migration and business activities and is mostly of a temporary character. The number of Slovak citizens holding permanent resident permit has increased since 1994 from 2,960 persons to 14,127 persons in 1998, the number of Slovak citizens holding long-term residence permit has increased since 1994 from 13,817 to 35,494 in 1998 (at December 31). Total number of Slovak citizens holding resident permit in the Czech Republic increased from 16,778 in 1994 to 49,621 in 1998 (at December 30). (Horáková, International labour migration in the CR, Bulletin 2, VUPSV).

Many former citizens of the Slovak Republic changed their citizenship after the split of the federation. Several thousand Slovak Gypsies who after the split of the federation migrated to the Czech Republic lived there without Czech citizenship. Some of them because they did not realise what was requested, sometimes (especially two years after the split of federation) because of lack of information on how to handle the administrative procedure, or simply because lack of interest from Roma (Gypsies) themselves. Later because lack of money (the administrative procedure became rather expensive for numerous families) and sometimes due to administrative or legal problems connected with the procedure for granting of citizenship.

**Table 3 External migration registered in Czechoslovakia in 1920–1989 – aggregate of years**

Year	Czechia and Moravia			Slovakia			Czechoslovakia		
	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration
1920–1924	50,501	110,689	-60,188	46,156	138,196	-92,040	96,657	248,885	-152,228
1925–1929	12,633	45,416	-32,783	15,019	66,577	-51,558	27,652	111,993	-84,341
1930–1934	6,383	16,962	-10,579	16,723	30,600	-13,877	23,106	47,562	-24,456
1935–1939	72,360	56,978	15,382	26,449	87,103	-60,654	98,809	144,081	-45,272
Total	141,877	230,045	-88,168	104,347	322,476	-218,129	246,224	552,521	-306,297
1950–1954	5,765	3,603	2,162	2,047	791	1,256	7,812	4,394	3,418
1955–1959	6,344	10,531	-4,187	2,194	1,944	250	8,538	12,475	-3,937
1960–1964	6,003	13,266	-7,263	2,212	2,632	-420	8,215	15,898	-7,683
1960–1969	10,887	43,613	-32,726	7,894	3,671	4,223	18,781	47,284	-28,503
Total	28,999	71,013	-42,014	14,347	9,038	5,309	43,346	80,051	-36,705
1970–1974	15,752	26,136	-10,384	4,244	3,358	886	19,996	29,494	-9,498
1975–1979	10,300	15,343	-5,043	4,007	3,346	661	14,307	18,689	-4,382
1980–1984	5,659	13,951	-8,292	2,078	2,958	-880	7,737	16,909	-9,172
1985–1989	4,262	9,192	-4,930	2,054	2,800	-746	6,316	11,992	-5,676
Total	35,973	64,622	-28,649	12,383	12,462	-79	48,356	77,084	-28,728

Source: Migration in Czechoslovakia in statistics, Terplan, Praha, 1995, calculations Horáková



**Table 4 External migration registered in Czechoslovakia in 1990-1992 – aggregate of years**

Year	Czechia and Moravia			Slovakia			Czechoslovakia		
	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration
1990	2,338	4,113	-1,775	994	867	77	3,282	4,980	-1,698
1991	5,762	3,896	1,866	1,752	527	1,225	7,514	4,423	3,091
1992	7,332	468	6,864	2,106	128	1,978	9,438	596	8,842
Total	15,432	8,477	6,955	4,802	1,522	3,280	20,234	9,999	10,235

**Table 5 External migration registered in Czechoslovakia in 1920-1989 – average of years**

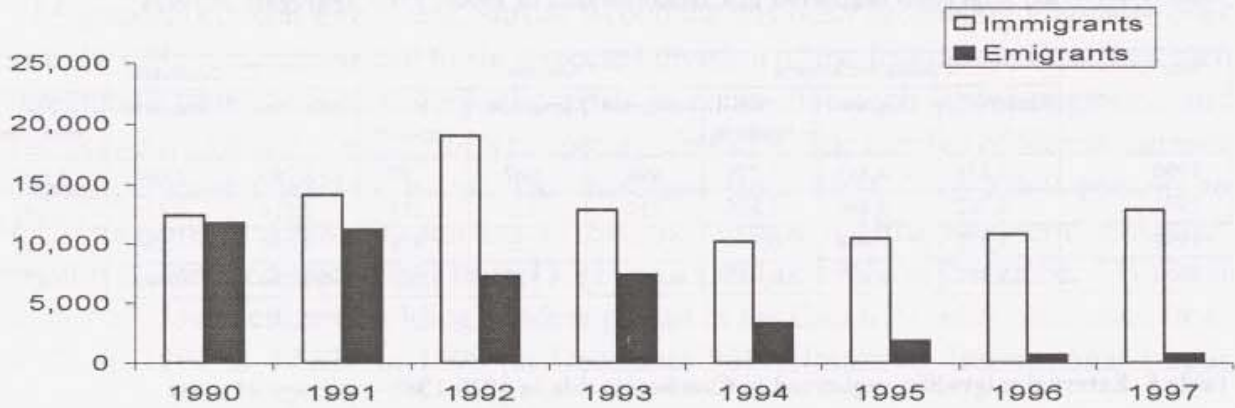
Year	Czechoslovakia			Czechia and Moravia			Slovakia		
	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration
1920-1924	19,331	49,777	-30,466	10,100	22,138	-12,038	9,231	27,639	-18,408
1925-1929	5,531	22,399	-16,868	2,527	9,083	-6,556	3,004	13,316	-10,312
1930-1934	4,620	9,512	-4,892	1,276	3,392	-2,116	3,344	6,120	-2,776
1935-1939	19,762	28,816	-9,054	14,472	11,396	3,076	5,290	17,420	-12,130
1945-1949	41,452	576,764	-535,312	28,268	562,938	-534,670	13,184	13,826	-642
1950-1954	1,562	879	683	1,153	721	432	409	158	251
1955-1959	1,708	2,495	-787	1,269	2,106	-837	439	389	50
1960-1964	1,643	3,180	-1,537	1,201	2,653	-1,452	442	527	-85
1960-1969	3,756	9,457	-5,701	2,177	8,723	-6,546	1,579	734	845
1970-1974	3,999	5,899	-1,900	3,150	5,227	-2,077	849	672	177
1975-1979	2,861	3,738	-877	2,060	3,069	-1,009	801	669	132
1980-1984	1,547	3,382	-1,835	1,132	2,790	-1,658	415	592	-177
1985-1989	1,263	2,398	-1,135	852	1,838	-986	411	560	-149

**Table 6 External migration registered in the Czech Republic in 1950-1989 – average of years**

Year	Immigrants			Emigrants			Migration net		
	Immigrants from SR	Immigrants from foreign countries	Total	Emigrants to the SR	Emigrants to the foreign countries	Total	SR	foreign countries	Total
1950-1954	32,781	1,153	33,934	21,280	721	22,001	11,501	432	11,933
1955-1959	21,232	1,269	22,501	14,271	2,106	16,377	6,961	-837	6,124
1960-1964	18,553	1,201	19,754	11,032	2,653	13,685	7,521	-1,452	6,069
1960-1969	16,469	2,177	18,646	10,304	8,723	19,027	6,165	-6,546	-381
1970-1974	11,923	3,150	15,073	8,108	5,227	13,335	3,815	-2,077	1,738
1975-1979	9,957	2,060	12,017	6,769	3,069	9,838	3,188	-1,009	2,179
1980-1984	9,822	1,132	10,954	6,099	2,790	8,889	3,723	-1,658	2,065
1985-1989	9,137	852	9,989	5,765	1,838	7,603	3,372	-986	2,386
Total	129,874	12,994	142,868	83,628	27,127	110,755	46,246	-14,133	32,113

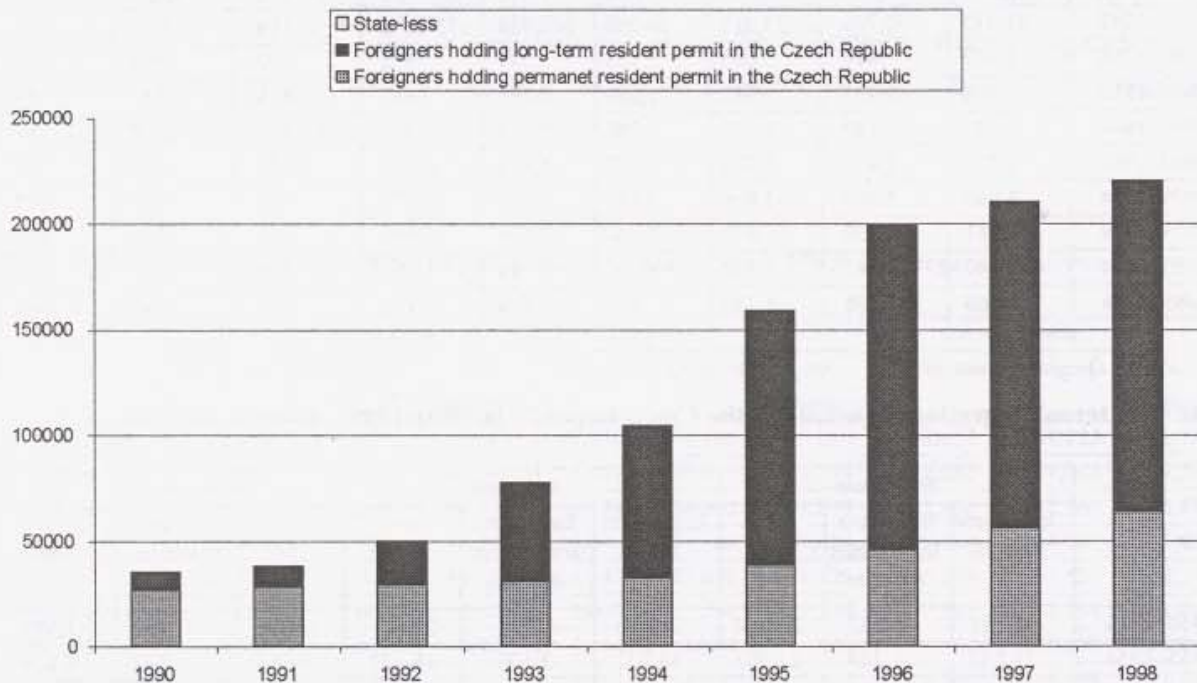
Source: Kučera, 1994





Source: Migration in Czechoslovakia in Statistic, Terplan, Praha, 1995, Population Development of the CR, 1994, Population Development of the CR, 1998, Department of Demography and Geo-demography, Charles University, Prague, 1999, graph Horáková

Figure 2 External migration in the Czech Republic



Source: Statistics of Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic, Directorate of Alien and Border Police, graph Horáková

Figure 3 Foreigners holding resident permit in the Czech Republic

## Conclusions

For the Czech Republic a certain reservation toward immigration has been characteristic for decades. Since 1991 the long-term trends have begun to change and negative migration balances of migration have changed to positive ones. The migration turnover has increased considerably compared namely to the second half of the 1980s. On the one hand by the revival of declining migration flows with the Slovak Republic and by a much more intensive migration with the rest of the world, the share of which



has been growing rapidly. (Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994, Department of Demography, and Geodemography, Charles University, Prague, 1994).

The yearly total of all migration (including the SR) in the period 1990–1992 fluctuated around 25,000 persons. After 1993 migration waves started to decline and the yearly number of registered migrations across borders has declined to 2,000 persons, which is roughly equal to the volume of migration at the beginning of the 1990s. (Burcin, Kučera, M., Kučera, T., 1994).

Migration between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic still has the decisive share in total migration, but the share of migration with the rest of the world has been growing since 1991. The evolution of migration in 1992 was atypical due to the migration movements created by the expected dissolution of the federation. Three quarters of the immigrants from foreign countries were Czechs (Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994, Department of Demography, and Geo-demography, Charles University, Prague, 1994). The migration gains attained after 1990 by the Czech Republic have not compensated for the losses suffered due to natural population processes and the overall number of inhabitants in the Czech Republic has declined. (Population Development of the Czech Republic, 1994, Department of Demography, and Geo-demography, Charles University, Prague, 1994).

The prognosis of external migration assumes that the Czech Republic is going to be an immigration country. First of all, immigration of Czechs living in the Slovak Republic is expected (Burcin, Kučera, M., Kučera, T., 1994). Probably Slovak citizens will also emigrate to the Czech Republic, and their number will probably grow. Another chain migration will concern the relatives of those who have received a residence permit already and have settled in the country (ethnic Czechs from the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, or obtained refugee status. (Burcin, Kučera, M., Kučera T., 1994).

The number of new granted permanent stay permits for foreigners increased from 1993 to 1997 four-fold, the number of new granted long-stay permits increased from 1993 to 1997 two-fold. (Statistics of Ministry of interior, Directorate of Alien and Border police). Prognosis assumed that about 5,000–20,000 persons would immigrate till the period of expected integration of the Czech Republic to European Union. Immigration from Slovakia, Ukraine, and some others post soviets countries is expected (Burcin, Kučera, M., Kučera T., 1994, Drbohlav, D., 1998).

Labour migration from former eastern block plays the decisive role in external migration to the Czech Republic. The inflow of economic migrants decreases since the end of 1996. The earlier estimates of increasing labour migration both from Slovakia and also from other eastern countries have not come true. The restrictive policy of Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs concerning of work permits issued for foreigners from selected countries have reduced significantly that type of labour migration. Also the number of Slovak workers and foreigners holding trade licence in the Czech Republic decreased last year, although no restrictions according to both migration types has been set up.

“From the point of view of legal migration, the Czech Republic is a target country. The numbers of foreigners who have been granted permanent or long-term residence have been increasing... From the point of view of illegal migration, the Czech Republic is a transit country. About 70 per cent of foreigners illegally leaving the Czech Republic



had entered its territory in a legal way." (Information on Migration in the Territory of the Czech Republic in 1996, Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, April 1997).

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## MIGRACE V ČESKÉ REPUBLICĚ

### Résumé

Československá republika byla od svého vzniku v roce 1918 tradičně emigračním státem. Ekonomické a později politické důvody vedly za první republiky k vystěhovalectví. Okolo 550 tis. lidí v tomto období emigrovalo především do Německa, Francie, USA nebo Kanady. Vyšší migrační ztráty vykazovalo Slovensko (přes 300 tis. osob). Počty přistěhovalých byly výrazně nižší. Události druhé světové války významně ovlivnily migrační proudy ve střední a východní Evropě. K největším migračním pohybům došlo v letech 1945–47, kdy bylo z území Československa odsunuto okolo 3 milionů Němců a zároveň se vrátilo přes 200 tis. reemigrantů. I v období po roce 1948 převládala emigrace motivovaná tehdy převážně politicky. Mezi roky 1948 až 1990 se odhadují migrační ztráty na území České republiky na 550 tis. osob. K zásadnímu obratu v dlouhodobém vývoji dochází po roce 1990: změny v geopolitické situaci vedou k přeměně České republiky z emigračního státu na stát imigrační. Mezi nejpočetnější skupiny v devadesátých letech patří pracovní migranti především ze států východní Evropy, přicházejí reemigranti z Ukrajiny a Rumunska, v našich poměrech novou skupinou jsou uprchlíci – žadatelé o azyl. Celkový počet imigrantů, kteří získaly nějaký druh povolení k pobytu vzrostl z 35 tis. v prosinci 1990 na 220 tis. v prosinci 1998. Mezi nejpočetnější skupiny podle státní příslušnosti patří Ukrajinci, Slováci, Vietnamci a Poláci. Zvláštní postavení v mezistátním stěhování České republiky hraje migrace se Slovenskou republikou. Především v první polovině devadesátých let, kdy došlo k rozdělení federace, byla vzájemná výměna kvantitativně rozsáhlá.