

## **A reflection on population stability and the labor market by people living in Czech border regions**

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### **Abstract:**

The paper examines the reflection of the population stability and the labor market during the transformation period in Czechia. The results are based on an extensive survey in 16 selected border micro-regions. Population stability is shown e.g. by the percentage of natives. The most often mentioned reasons for not moving from the border region were housing, family relations, work, and the feeling of “being here at home”. Among the most often mentioned reasons for changing jobs were financial reasons, company liquidation, and an employment termination notice given by the employer. The results of reflection are considerably different in each border region of the Czechia.

**Key words:** population, labor market, border regions, Czechia

### **Introduction**

Population stability and the labor market are phenomena that reflect, especially during the transformation period of a country or region, phenomena and processes related to such a transformation. Since the year of 1989, Czechia and its border regions has undergone a transformation of political, demographic, sociological, economic, and ecological structures (Hampl et al. 2001). What is the reflection thus far of this development on the example of population stability and the labor market in the border regions? Do the border regions of Czechia show a differentiated development in these aspects? What is the impact of a neighboring country on population stability and the labor market? This elaboration will try to find an answer to these questions and other questions as well, based on the results of an extensive survey in 16 selected border micro-regions (Fig.1). The survey was to find out information that is not tracked by Český statistický úřad (The Czech Statistical Bureau) as to contents, quantity, and selected territorial units. Thanks to the large number of respondents and the large size of questionnaires, this reflection on the border regions by their inhabitants (“soft data”) complements the data obtained from statistical sources (“hard data”) well. From sixteen selected micro-regions with a total number of about 500 thousand inhabitants, we have received 4 849 filled-out questionnaires from adults of all age groups. The survey was carried out in the Czech-Saxon border region (3 micro-regions), the Czech-Bavarian border region (3 micro-



regions), the Czech-Austrian border region (4 micro-regions), the Czech-Slovak border region (2 micro-regions), and in the Czech-Polish border region (4 micro-regions) in the middle of the year of 2000 (Fig.1). 20% of the respondents were surveyed in the Saxon section of the border, 16% of the respondents were surveyed in the Bavarian section of the border, 25% of the respondents were surveyed in the Austrian section of the border, 29% of the respondents were surveyed in the Slovak section of the border, and 10% of the respondents were surveyed in the Polish section of the border. We wanted the number of the respondents in the selected micro-regions to represent at least 1% of the adult population having a permanent residency there, and the sample of the respondents to provide statistically correct information in respect to these model regions – 28.6% of the respondents in the age group of 15–30, 27.8% of the respondents in the age group of 31–45, 28% of the respondents in the age group of 46–60, and the remaining percentage of the respondents in the age group of over 60. Questionnaires were filled out by 44.1% of men and 55.9% of women. As to the education aspect, we have received most of the questionnaires from respondents with completed high school education (38.5%) and with vocational training (36.3%). As to the profession aspect, we have received most of the questionnaires from respondents who are employees (1/4) and workers (1/6). However, people with different education and professions took part in the survey. They mostly worked in trade, traveling business, and the processing industry. As to political orientation, most of the respondents belonged to the center or moderate right. Two-thirds of the respondents did not belong to any church. One-third of the respondents were Christians. The respondents came from cities of all different size categories represented in the micro-regions.



Fig. 1 Location of 16 analyzed border micro-regions of Czechia



## Population Stability in the Czech Border Regions

Population stability can be one of the important premises of the development of each region. People who want to stay in a certain region are usually interested in its development, want to solve its problems, and are interested in the quality of the environment in which they live. The issue of population stability in the large border regions of the Czech Republic is still connected with post-war events, in particular with the deportation of the German population, several waves of the settlement of the border regions – which, being close to the “iron border”, often meant a specific way of life – and with other phenomena that led to high migration and thus to a change in population (Kastner 1996). Frequent migrations, and thus the fact that it is difficult for the changing population to grow into their new place of living – micro-region, are other drawbacks that make life in the border regions more difficult. Today, there are problems mostly with finding a job, and an insufficient transportation network for getting to work and places providing services. The result of these migrations was, and still is, e.g. bad quality of the environment or a certain psychological tension mainly in the regions bordering with Germany.

Population stability is connected, in particular, with the chance to find housing, a job, or availability of services. This is connected with basic human needs, in particular with the chance to make a living. However, population stability relates to how people identify with a specific region. This issue has been treated more as a marginal issue in our geographical literature and is perceived rather in a natural historical or sociological context, in particular as a relationship to one's home. In Germany, they focus more on this issue (Neumayer 1992 aj.). In the Czech Republic, J. Vencálek studies the nature of identity and characterizes it as the identification of a group of population with a region, as a feeling of belonging somewhere, as harmony in the behavior of a group of population in a region, as a “totally voluntary acceptance of equality and identical position with not only other groups of population but also other nations and races,” as acceptance of certain ideals, values, and aspirations that are important in a region (Vencálek 1998). He sees it as a reflection of attitudes and thinking, and as an expression of responsibility. A new perception of identity relates to the anticipated change in territorial structures, or rather to the incorporation of the CR in European structures.

One of the indicators of population stability that can be easily measured is the percentage of natives still living in a given territory. Český statistický úřad published information regarding the percentage of natives from SLBD 1991 based on the permanent residency of a mother at the time of giving birth, however only by counties. Updated information and information by smaller territorial units is not yet available. Our survey has shown that in the surveyed regions, there are 44.4% of natives. Another 10.3% of the population have lived in these regions since their birth but not on a permanent basis. 45.1% of the population have moved to the border regions during different time periods. The percentage of the natives and immigrants shows large variability.

As to the type of border regions, 51.8% of the respondents – natives live in the Saxon border region, 40.9% of the respondents – natives live in the Bavarian border region, 36.6% of the respondents – natives live in the Austrian border region, 52.5% of the



respondents – natives live in the Slovak border region, and 31.8% of the respondents – natives live in the Polish border region. Together with the people who have returned to the border micro-region, the following percentages of people consider the border micro-region their home and they live there now: 61.1% (Saxony), 52.9% (Bavaria), 46.6% (Austria), 63.2% (Slovakia), and 40.8% (Poland). This fact is the least surprising in respect to the Slovak border region because the Slovak-Czech border was created relatively recently. For all surveyed border regions, it is true that the main reason for moving to the border region is moving with a spouse, partner, parents etc. – that is, for personal reasons. However, we need to take into consideration that the selected micro-regions do not include any important industrial cities (e.g. the Ostrava region, or cities located in the Krušné Hory Basin where the situation would probably be different, showing more work and housing reasons. As shown in Table 1, the smallest percentages of natives (27.5% and 28.5%) and the highest numbers of immigrants (64.5% and 60.7%) are in the micro-regions of the Osoblaha region and the Hanušovice region located in the Czech-Polish border region.

Tab. 1 Population stability in the border regions

Micro-region	Share of natives (in %)	Share of people living in the same place since their birth but not on a permanent basis (in %)	Share of people who immigrated to micro-region (in %)
Šluknov region	53.3	7.2	39.5
Teplice region	57.1	11.2	31.7
Kraslice region	43.2	9.6	47.2
Aš region	40.1	13.9	45.9
Tachov region	40.2	9.2	50.6
Vimperk region	42.7	12.8	44.5
Český Krumlov region	41.4	5.5	53.2
Jemnice region	37.5	3.8	58.6
Hrušovany region	31.8	16.6	51.6
Mikulov region	37.4	10.9	51.7
Hodonín region	52.2	10.8	37.1
Valašské Klobouky region	55.3	8.4	36.3
Třinec region	48.2	15.7	36.0
Osoblaha region	27.5	8.0	64.5
Hanušovice region	28.5	10.9	60.7
Broumov region	46.7	5.4	47.8

Source: Survey materials, 2000

Approximately one-fifth of the population is considering moving from their place of living. The fact whether they are natives or immigrants is not important. As to immigrants, it is true that the longer they live in the border region, the more they identify with it and do not want to move. This is almost 100% true for people who came to the border region before and shortly after WW II. Out of those who are







Most of the respondents (21.4%) are considering moving from a border micro-region due to an insufficient transportation network, 18.7% of the respondents would move for work reasons, and 14.5% of the respondents mention attachment to another place as their reason for moving. Considerably higher than these average values is the percentage shown in the Vimperk region, the Aš region, and the Šluknov region in respect to work reasons, and the percentage in the Šluknov region, the Teplice region, the Aš region, and the Hrušovany region (30%), and in the Český Krumlov region (over 40%) in respect to an insufficient transportation network. In respect to attachment to another place, the percentage in the Broumov region and the Osoblaha region is twice as high as the average, and the percentage in the Třinec region is high as well.. The fact that everything is expensive is mentioned only by 18% of the respondents in the Teplice region. The respondents most often mention that they would move to large cities regardless of their location (in border regions or inland).

Out of the respondents who do not want to move from their place of living, the natives mostly mention family reasons as a reason for their decision, while other respondents mention housing reasons. The survey also tried to find out how people feel in their place of living, whether they consider the border regions an underdeveloped, peripheral territory or a territory with huge development potential. (We received a total of 3 366 responses to this question).

It is interesting that approximately the same number of respondents who like the region very much or are involved in solving local problems considers the region either an underdeveloped, peripheral territory or a territory with a huge development potential. On the other hand, 68% of those who do not like their place of living consider the border regions an underdeveloped, peripheral territory.

Tab. 3 Assessment of the border regions as a whole and the respondents' relationship to their current place of living

Respondents' answers to the question of <b>how they feel in their current place of living</b> (in %)	Percentages of the respondents who consider border regions a territory with <b>huge development potential</b>	Percentages of the respondents who consider border regions an <b>underdeveloped, peripheral territory</b>
1 – I do not like this region very much	31.6	68.4
2 – I rather like it here, I like living here	41.2	58.5
3 – I like it here very much	50.4	49.5
4 – I like it here and I am interested in what is happening in the region	47.3	52.7
5 – I like it here and I am involved in solving local problems	50.3	49.7

Source: Survey materials, 2000

Standard of living is a very important criterion of population stability. We can assume that people who consider their standard of living good and improving will feel more connected with the place where they make a good living. 66.7% of the respondents mention that their standard of living has changed since the year of 1989. The least difference between the percentage of people whose living standard has



changed or has not changed is shown in those respondents who feel that their standard of living is average. The biggest change is evident for people who consider their standard of living either very good or very bad.

*Tab. 4* Assessment of the situation and change in the standard of living of people living in border regions

Standard of living	Has changed since 1989 (respondents' share in %)	Has not changed since 1989 (respondents' share in %)	Number of respondents
Very good	80.4	18.5	168
Good	72.6	27.2	1418
Average	58.7	41.2	2390
Bad	76.2	23.6	590
Very bad	89.2	10.8	130

Note: the remaining responses were ambiguous.

Source: Survey materials, 2000

*Tab. 5* Assessment of change in the standard of living of people living in border regions

Standard of living	Change in the standard of living for the better (respondents' share in %)	Change in the standard of living for the worse (respondents' share in %)
Very good	93.3	6.0
Good	87.1	12.5
Average	48.0	51.0
Bad	11.2	88.8
Very bad	4.3	94.8

Note: the remaining responses were ambiguous.

Source: Survey materials, 2000

In general, we can say that out of the total number of 3135 respondents who mentioned that their standard of living had changed, 3001 respondents provided us with an unambiguous answer (the remaining answers were of the type "I do not know"). Out of these, 1736 respondents (55.6%) mention that their standard of living has changed for the better and 1365 respondents (47.3%) mention that their standard of living has changed for the worse.

The respondents assessed their general satisfaction with life in their place of living based on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is "definitely yes" and 5 is "not at all." The answers are shown in Table 6.

*Tab. 6* Respondents' subjective assessment of their satisfaction with life in border regions (in %)

Scale	Saxon border region	Bavarian border region	Austrian border region	Slovak border region	Polish border region
1	14.3	16.9	17.7	18.1	19.2
2	39.5	33.1	33.2	36.3	23.4
3	36.7	38.7	37.3	38.1	39.1
4	5.7	6.6	8.2	5.4	9.9
5	3.6	4.5	3.6	2.0	8.4

Note: If the percentage does not add up to 100 for a certain type of border region, it means that there was a very low number of ambiguous or wrong answers, the share of which represents the remaining percentage.

Source: Survey materials, 2000



On average, 17.1% of all respondents evaluate their life in the border regions with 1 – that is, very good (Tab. 6). The answers in the German (Saxon and Bavarian) border regions are evaluated lower than the average, which may be a result of making a comparison with the neighboring country (which has a very high standard of living). 34.5% of the respondents evaluate their life in the border regions with 2, and 37.8% of the respondents evaluate it with 3. Thus, average and better-than-average satisfaction is mentioned by 89.4% of the respondents, which is a surprisingly high percentage. The least satisfied (4 and 5) are the respondents in the Polish border region (18.3%). We can only guess whether the reason lies in bigger, unfulfilled expectations of the respondents or whether it has something to do with the selection of the micro-regions in which the survey was carried out. The least unsatisfied respondents (stating 4 and 5) live in the Czech-Slovak border region, where quality of life has not changed much in spite of the creation of the new border.

### **A Reflection on the Labor Market by People Living in Border Regions**

As a part of the reflection by people living in border regions, the labor market and work accessibility by transportation means were studied as well. Using statistical sources, several studies have already focused on this phenomenon in the border regions of Czechia (e.g. Dokoupil, Toušek 2001, Jeřábek 1998, 1999, Horáková 2000). Analyses of the reflection of the labor market by people focused on several types of work (e.g. Jeřábek 1998, Vaishar 2000, Havlíček 2001) that, however, focused only on a certain part of the border regions (e.g. the Czech-Saxon border region or the Czech-Austrian border region). During the extensive field research in the border regions of Czechia, the respondents were also questioned about the interaction of population and the labor market. Both key persons (e.g. mayors) and the local population consider the labor market phenomenon very important but also very problematic.

First the respondents were questioned about job changes since the year of 1989 that comprised of either working for a new employer in the same field or totally changing their profession. A total of 3 408 respondents in the border micro-regions answered this question. More than half of them (55.5%) changed their job. Only a relatively small difference is shown among the individual border micro-regions, except for the Jemnice region (45.1%) and the Broumov region (46.6%), where the percentage of respondents who changed jobs was lower than that of respondents who have stayed in the same job since the year of 1989. Responding to the question “how many times did you change your job during this time period,” more than half of the respondents (51.3%) said that they had changed their job only once during this time period – the lowest percentage (47.9%) was in the Bavarian border region, while the highest percentage (57%) was in the Polish border region. This fact also shows that in the Bavarian border region, companies are more stable and the satisfaction of employees is higher than that in the Polish border region. The most common reasons for changing jobs were financial reasons (21.4%), company liquidation (18.7%), and an employment termination notice received from the employer (14.5%). It is very surprising that privatization (1.9%) and commuting to work (2.6%) play a very small role. However, there are relatively big differences in individual sections of the border



regions of the Czech Republic (Tab. 7). E.g. the percentage of respondents who changed jobs due to company liquidation is the highest in the Bavarian border region (22.4%); on the other hand, it is the lowest in the Polish border region (12.3%). Other important reasons for changing a job, such as financial reasons, an employment termination notice, and self-realization also show a big difference in each border region. Financial reasons were mentioned most often in the Austrian border region (27.8%) and least often in the Polish border region (16.4%). There is a very big differentiation in respect to employment termination notices, where e.g. it is 26.3% in the Polish border region and only 7.3% in the Bavarian border region. Relatively most of the people changed their job due to the self-realization reason in the Slovak border region (14.8%), while in the Bavarian border region it was only 0.8%.

Tab. 7 Reasons for changing jobs, by border region (in %)

Reasons	Saxon section	Bavarian section	Austrian section	Slovak section	Polish section	All border regions
Company liquidation	16.3	<b>22.4</b>	17.3	21.7	12.3	18.7
Privatization	<b>6.3</b>	0.4	0.3	1.3	1.2	1.9
Financial reasons	23.3	20.4	<b>27.8</b>	17.7	16.4	21.4
Employment termination notice	11.0	7.3	13.6	17.0	<b>26.3</b>	14.5
Self-realization	9.0	0.8	10.2	<b>14.8</b>	12.9	10.1
Retirement	2.7	2.4	3.4	3.1	<b>4.7</b>	3.2
Children	5.3	4.5	5.1	6.9	<b>7.6</b>	5.9
Commuting	4.0	2.0	1.4	2.7	2.9	2.6
Other	22	<b>39.6</b>	20.7	14.8	15.8	21.7

Note: the bold values are the highest values in respect to the given reason  
Source: Survey materials, 2000

There is a big difference in each micro-region. We will analyze in detail the three most important reasons for changing jobs (financial reasons, company liquidation, and an employment termination notice). Due to financial reasons, people changed jobs most often in the Český Krumlov region (41.8%), the Hrušovany region (33.6%), and the Teplice region (30.1%) and least often in the Broumov region (3.1%), the Sokolov region (8.7%), and the Jemnice region (11.1%). As to company liquidation, we can mention the extremes: the Prachatice region (26.2%) and the Šluknov region (24.3%) on one hand, and the Jemnice region (3.9%) and the Broumov region (3.1%) on the other hand. Relatively most of the employment termination notices were given to the respondents in the Osoblaha region (35.7%) and the Broumov region (34.4%), while the least number of employment termination notices were given to the respondents in the Český Krumlov region (6%) and the Prachatice region (6.2%). The respondents were also asked whether their change of job after the year of 1989 was for better or for worse. More than half of them (51.5%) mentioned that their work position had improved, 23.3% of the respondents said that their work position had worsened, and 25.1% of the respondents considered their work to be the same as before the year of 1989.



The respondents were also asked about whether their current job corresponded with the level of their education, or at least with the field that they had studied or in which they had received vocational training (Tab. 8)

Tab. 8 People's reflection on the interaction of education or studied field and their current job

Micro-region	Percentages of people who currently perform a job that corresponds with their education/qualifications	Percentages of people who currently perform a job that corresponds with the field that they studied or in which they received vocational training
Šluknov region	63.0	48.7
Teplice region	78.7	59.9
Sokolov region	59.9	53.3
Aš region	60.9	46.6
Tachov region	72.3	56.5
Prachatice region	70.7	58.1
Český Krumlov region	64.6	56.8
Jemnice region	68.4	58.9
Hrušovany region	62.6	46.3
Mikulov region	68.8	55.2
Hodonín region	75.3	58.0
Valašské Klobouky region	63.3	45.0
Třinec region	75.0	64.5
Osoblaha region	64.4	46.8
Hanušovice region	61.3	51.4
Broumov region	70.8	49.2

Source: Survey materials, 2000

If given a chance to work abroad (in a neighboring country), only 28.1% of the respondents whose current job corresponds with their qualifications would accept such a job. 37% of the respondents whose current job does not correspond with their qualifications would accept such a job. Approximately 17% of the respondents in each of these groups are willing to consider a job in a neighboring country. Both these groups represent almost 50% of the respondents. Thus, quite a few people are interested in working in neighboring countries.

34.7% of the respondents have already registered at an employment office. However, the percentage is relatively quite different in each border region of the Czech Republic. E.g. the percentage is below average in the Bavarian border region (23.5%) and the Saxon border region (25.2%), while the percentage is very much above average in the Polish border region (51.9%). This fact strongly reflects the close proximity to economically strong Germany, as well as the investments of German companies in companies in the Czech-German border region. As to education, the respondents registered at an employment office are mostly those with vocational training (43.6%), as well as those with a high school education (38.2%). A relatively low percentage applies to people with basic education (14%), and, of course, the least



unemployed people are traditionally those with a college education (only 4.2%). A very high percentage of unemployed people is in the age group of 15–30 (37.8%), as well as in the age group of 31–45 (39.2%). On the other hand, unemployment is quite low among older people in the age group of 46–60 (21.1%) and among people over 60 years old (only 1.9%). As to the size of the place of living, the highest percentage of registered people at an employment office is in cities with less than 499 inhabitants (38.8%), while the lowest percentage of these people is in cities with more than 5 000 inhabitants (31%) (Fig. 2).

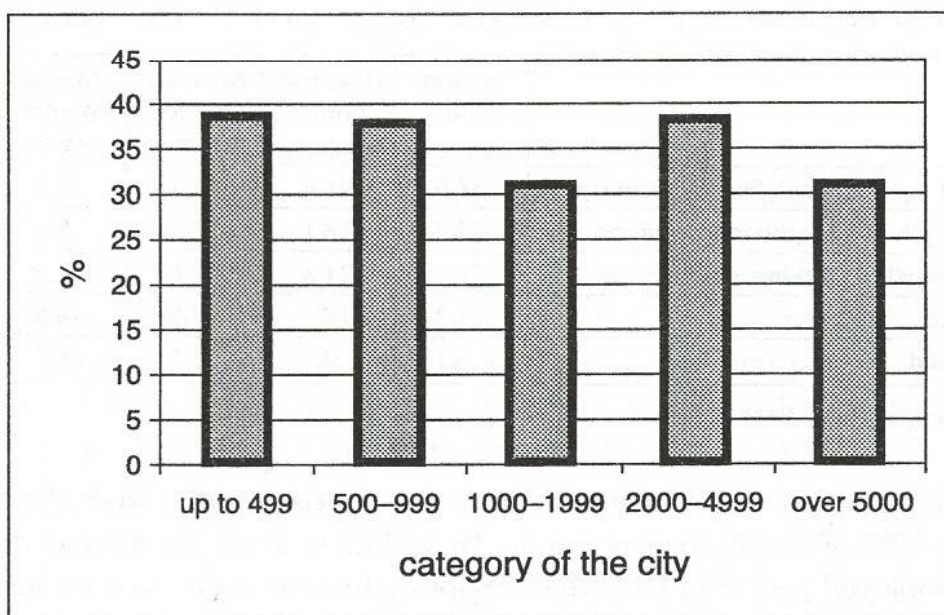


Fig. 2 Percentages of people registered at an employment office in the past, by the number of inhabitants in a city

Source: Survey materials, 2000

The main reason for losing a job was an employment termination notice given by the employer (21.8%). The highest percentage was evident in the Czech-Polish border region (33.1%), while the lowest percentage was evident in the Bavarian border region (only 12.2%). Another important reason for losing a job was company liquidation (21.4%), and the percentage was relatively the same in all border regions. Financial reasons were also an important reason (18.7%), and the percentage was very different in each region. In the Austrian border region it was 31.4%, while in the Polish border region it was only 9.9%.

Approximately half of the respondents worry about losing their current job, and the percentage of these respondents is about the same in all border regions. More than 80% of the respondents would be willing to take re-qualification courses in the case that they lost their current job. In this respect, the percentage is also about the same in all border regions. However, only half of the respondents would be willing to commute to work more than 30 km. On one hand, it shows the everlasting unwillingness of Czechs to commute to work if it is quite far, and on the other hand it also shows the difficult accessibility of public transportation means in the border regions.



Almost one-third of the respondents in the border regions would be willing to *accept a job in a neighboring country*. In this respect, the percentage quite differs in each section of the Czech border regions (Tab. 9). However, the analyses are somewhat skewed by the relatively high percentage of unsuitable answers in the Slovak border region (46.1%). As expected, far more people would accept a job in Austria (41.7%) or Bavaria (41.4%) than in Slovakia (11.6%) or Poland (18.7%). The respondents in the Polish border region (39%) are relatively less interested in working abroad than those living in the Austrian border region (13.6%).

Tab. 9 Opinions of respondents living in the border regions regarding a job in a neighboring country (in %)

Category	Saxon border region	Bavarian border region	Austrian border region	Slovak border region	Polish border region
Would accept a job in a neighboring country	38.9	41.4	41.7	11.6	18.7
May accept a job in a neighboring country	22.2	18.1	16.3	10.8	18.0
Are not interested in working abroad	21.6	21.8	13.6	16.9	39.0
Not applicable	17.2	18.7	7.9	14.5	24.0
Did not respond	0.1	0.0	20.5	46.2	0.3

Source: Survey materials, 2000

An important aspect of the labor market is also the *commute* to work. As mentioned before, only 50% of the respondents would be willing to commute more than 30 km to work. Do employed people in the border regions currently work close to their place of living? How long does it take them to get to work, and which means of transportation do they use? An unexpectedly high number of respondents (59.7%) work at the place of their living. The highest percentage is evident in the Bavarian border micro-regions (73.2%), while the lowest percentage is evident in the Austrian border micro-regions (51.5%). However, if they do not work at their place of living, where do they commute to? More than two-thirds of the respondents (69.6%) commute to work within their micro-region, and only 1.7% of the respondents commute to a foreign country. However, the percentage is quite different in each region. E.g. In the Bavarian border region, 5% of the respondents commute to a foreign country, while in the Slovak border region it is only 0.4% (Tab. 10). Commute within a county also differs considerably in each region. In the Austrian border region, it is 27.1%, while in the Saxon border region it is only 9.1% of the respondents.

Tab. 10 Percentages and commute destinations of employed people, by border section (in %)

Commute	Saxon border region	Bavarian border region	Austrian border region	Slovak border region	Polish border region	All border region
Within micro-region	66.2	73.6	43.1	79.5	67.0	69.9
Within county	9.1	9.3	27.1	10.1	16.5	13.2
To a neighboring county	14.2	7.1	20.2	5.3	4.9	9.3
To another place in Czechia	8.7	5.0	5.3	4.8	10.7	5.9
Abroad	1.8	5.0	4.2	0.4	1.0	1.7

Source: Survey materials, 2000



Another evaluation criterion was how long it takes to get to work. A high number (59.9%) of the respondents needs less than 15 minutes to get to work, and only 6% of the respondents need more than an hour. The percentage was quite the same in each border region, except for commute exceeding one hour. In the Bavarian border region, the percentage of commuters was only 3.3%, while in the Polish border region it was almost three times more (9.7%). Responding to the question of which transportation means the respondents use, most of the respondents said that they walked to work (38.8%). 23.9% of the respondents said that they used public transportation, and, which was surprising, only 21.2% of the respondents living in the border regions went to work by car.

### **Conclusion**

Population stability and the labor market are very important criteria for analyzing development in the examined regions. This study includes a total of 16 model micro-regions equally spread throughout the entire Czech border regions, in which over 4 500 respondents were surveyed. Almost 60% of the respondents indicated that they considered the region in which they live underdeveloped and peripheral. Population stability is shown e.g. by the percentage of natives. There are 59.4% of natives in the age group of 15–30, 42.6% of natives in the age group of 31–45, 18.2% of natives in the age group of 46–60, and only 8.8% of natives in the age group of 60 and over. However, this disproportion is mainly a result of the deportation of the German population from this region after WW II. Only less than 20% of the respondents think about moving. However, this percentage exceeds 50% for the age group of 15–30. As mentioned by the respondents, the main reasons for leaving the peripheral region are mostly work conditions, as well as attachment to another place. The most often mentioned reasons for not moving from the peripheral region were housing, family relations, work, and the feeling of “being here at home.” More than 50% of the respondents are happy with their life in the border regions, and only about 10% of the respondents are not happy. In conclusion, we can say that population stability in the Czech border regions is unusually high, which is mainly due to a lack of quality housing in the CR, as well as a relatively strong connection with the native place. The main reason for leaving the peripheral regions is a change of jobs. However, this work-related migration has only very little to do with a cross-border nature.

The answers of the respondents regarding the labor market represented the second evaluation indicator. More than half of the respondents have changed their job since the year of 1989. Among the most often mentioned reasons for changing jobs were financial reasons, company liquidation, and an employment termination notice given by the employer. Privatization and commuting play, surprisingly, a very small role. 34.7% of the respondents have already registered at an employment office. However, the percentage is considerably different in each border region of the Czech Republic. E.g. in the Bavarian and Saxon border regions, this percentage is below average, while in the Polish border region it is very much above average. As to the size of the place of living, the highest percentage of those registered at an employment office is in cities with less than 499 inhabitants, while the lowest percentage is in cities with more than



5000 inhabitants. 21.8% of the respondents mentioned that the reason for losing their job was an employment termination notice given by the employer. The highest percentage was in the Czech-Polish border region, while by far the lowest percentage was in the Bavarian border region. Company liquidation is another important reason for losing a job. More than 80% of the respondents would be willing to take re-qualification courses if they lost their current job. Almost one-third of the respondents would be willing to accept a job in a neighboring country. As expected, far more people would accept a job in Austria or Bavaria than in Slovakia. Almost 60% of the respondents work in the town where they live. 5% of the respondents in the Bavarian border region commute to a neighboring country, while in the Slovak border region it is only 0.4% of the respondents.

Since the examined topic is very dynamic, the next study should involve both field research and the monitoring of similar phenomena abroad. In the future, it would be very important to also study the foreign labor force on the Czech labor market.

Materials of the survey carried out in the year of 2000 in the Šluknov, Teplice, Kraslice, Aš, Tachov, Vimperk, Český Krumlov, Jemnice, Hrušovany, Mikulov, Hodonín, Valašské Klobouky, Třinec, Osoblaha, Hanušovice, Broumov, and Frýdlant micro-regions by geographical offices in Prague, Brno, Plzeň, Ostrava, and Ústí nad Labem and the Sociological Institute in Prague.

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## REFLEXE STABILITY OBYVATELSTVA A TRHU PRÁCE POPULACÍ ČESKÉHO POHRANIČÍ

### Résumé

Stabilita obyvatelstva a trh práce jsou velmi důležitá kritéria pro analýzu rozvoje zkoumaného prostoru. Zájmové území této studie zahrnuje celkem 16 modelových mikroregionů rovnoměrně rozložených podél celého českého pohraničí, ve kterých bylo dotazováno přes 4500 respondentů. Téměř 60 % dotazovaných označilo území, ve kterém žijí, jako zaostávající a okrajové tedy periferní. O stabilitě obyvatelstva vypovídá např. podíl rodáků. Ve věkové skupině 15–30 let je tento podíl 59,4 %, ve skupině 31–45 let 42,6 %, ve skupině 46–60 let 18,2 % a ve věkové skupině nad 60 let pouze 8,8 % všech respondentů. Tato disproportion je ovšem způsobena hlavně vysídlením německého obyvatelstva z tohoto území po druhé světové válce. O možném vystěhování uvažuje pouze méně než 20 % dotazovaných. Ale ve věkové skupině 15–30 let je tento podíl nadpoloviční. Hlavním důvodem migrace z periferie uvádí obyvatelé především pracovní podmínky a také vazby k jinému území. Nejčastějšími důvody neochoty se odstěhovat uváděli respondenti bydlení, vztahy k rodině, zaměstnání a také pocit „být zde doma“. Více jak 50 % obyvatel pohraničí je spokojeno s životem v místě bydliště a nespokojeno je pouze okolo 10 %. Závěrem lze konstatovat, že stabilita obyvatelstva v pohraničí Česka dosahuje neobvykle vysokých hodnot, což je především způsobeno nedostatkem kvalitního bydlení v Česku a také poměrně silnými vazbami k rodnému sídlu. Hlavním důvodem migrace z periferních oblastí je právě změna zaměstnání. Tato pracovní podmíněná migrace ale vykazuje pouze z malé části přeshraniční charakter.

Druhým ukazatelem pro hodnocení byly výpovědi respondentů zahrnující trh práce. Více jak polovina z dotazovaných změnila od roku 1989 zaměstnání. Nejčastějšími důvody změny zaměstnání byly finanční důvody, zánik firmy a výpověď zaměstnavatele. Překvapivě velmi malou roli hraje otázka privatizace a dojíždka do práce. Z respondentů bylo 34,7 % již vedeno v evidenci úřadů práce. Ovšem regionálně vykazuje pohraničí Česka poměrně značné rozdíly. Například v bavorské a saské příhraniční oblasti jsou tyto hodnoty podprůměrné a v polském pohraničí naopak velmi nadprůměrné. Podle velikosti místa bydliště byl evidován nejvyšší podíl počtu přihlášených u úřadu práce v obcích s méně než 499 obyvateli a naopak nejnižší vykazovaly obce s více jak 5000 obyvateli. Hlavní příčinou ztráty zaměstnání byla uvedena výpověď zaměstnavatele a to celkem ve 21,8 % odpovědí. Nejvyšší podíl přitom dosahuje česko-polské pohraničí a oproti tomu zdaleka nejnižší pohraničí s Bavorskem. Jako další významná příčina ztráty zaměstnání byl zánik firmy. Více jak 80 % respondentů by bylo ochotno se requalifikovat v případě, že by ztratili současné zaměstnání. Téměř jedna třetina respondentů v pohraničí by byla ochotna přijmout práci v sousedním státě. Podle předpokladu daleko více lidí by souhlasilo s prací v Rakousku či Bavorsku než tomu je v případě Slovenska. Téměř 60 % respondentů pracuje v obci svého bydliště. Do sousedního státu dojíždí za prací 5 % dotazovaných v bavorském pohraničí a pouze 0,4 % při slovenském pohraničí.