8.1 COMMUTING TO WORK IN PRAGUE

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Commuting to work is a traditional topic of geographical analysis. A historical survey of commuting relations is described in detail in the analysis accompanying Map sheet section A 8.1 Commuting in selected centres in Czechia and covers difficulties in processing and interpreting data obtained in the census (see also Svoboda, Přidalová, Ouředníček 2014). Since 1961 detailed information has been available from publications based on census results. In the applied sphere commuting data often provide the grounds for the regionalization and distribution of manpower. Analysis of recent developments in the commuting balance in Prague is based on selected labour force surveys (VŠPS) carried out by Mejstřík for the Institute of Planning and Development (2014). The long-term survey of commuting shows there has been a gradual increase in the level of commuting for work, net commuting and also gross commuting. While results of the 1961 census showed that around 77,000 economically active persons commuted into Prague and about 40,000 out from the city (Vitouš et al. 1963), figures from the 2014 VŠPS show 170,000 commuting into Prague and 26,000 out from the city (Mejstřík 2014).

However, the specialized map shows rather different problems. It aims to depict the flow for work between inner districts of the capital, i.e. between separate administrative units of Prague, and the territorial differentiation of commuting for work. These numbers are consequently quite different from those for commuting out of Prague. In comparison to the roughly two hundred thousand moving across the city borders, inner Prague has a flow of about half a million persons according to statistics from the 2011 SLDB. However, in the light of issues with the latest census this number could in fact be in as much as twice as high. Although this movement is an interesting subject for study, detailed analyses of this kind are relatively infrequent. It seems that the first detailed analysis was carried out by ROPID for use in transport network planning using data from 2001 (ROPID 2003).

One possibility for monitoring disproportions between place of living and workplace is to compare the balance of working and economically active inhabitants dwelling in a given administrative unit. For 1961 this balance can be calculated using the numbers for ten Prague districts (see Table 8.1.1). It is clear that the distribution of job opportunities in Prague at the beginning of the 1960s was very uneven, with a concentration of service functions in the city centre and of industry particularly in the district of Prague 9. Prague 7 was the only district where the number of persons working there was higher than the number of economically active residents. On the other hand, the districts of Prague 3, 4, and 6 could be considered as significantly residential. Large numbers of inhabitants commuted to Prague from a wide catchment area. This was illustrated by Blahůšek and Císař (1976) who analysed data on commuting from the 1961 and 1970 censuses for 35 settlements from the Prague hinterland in the developing areas of Poberouní, Říčansko and Úvalsko with following conclusions:

1. As a settlement grows so does the percentage of inhabitants working there; 2. rural settlements represented a special category with almost zero commuting; 3. in principle none of the areas examined were self-sufficient and the percentage share of economically active people working locally was approximately 24% (the highest value for any one settlement was 34%); 4. evaluation of indicators from 1961 and 1970 showed that there was a decline in the "dormitory" nature of settlements in Úvalsko and an increase in employment in, for instance, Běchovice or Horní Počernice, as well as Dobřichovice or Řevnice, with an intensification of job opportunities and commuting. According to the authors, all the settlements analysed gradually became parts of the city of Prague.

(Blahůšek, Císař 1976; p. 390).

	Economically active		Working		Percentage of
District	Quantity	Percent (%)	Quantity	Percent (%)	economically active persons working in the district
Praha 1	43,594	8.4	168,818	32.0	2.8
Praha 2	55,543	10.7	48,306	9.2	0.9
Praha 3	63,392	12.2	30,428	5.8	0.5
Praha 4	67,828	13.1	29,875	5.7	0.4
Praha 5	50,902	9.8	44,183	8.4	0.9
Praha 6	65,555	12.6	30,650	5.8	0.5
Praha 7	41,151	7.9	43,572	8.3	1.1
Praha 8	41,409	8.0	39,272	7.5	0.9
Praha 9	21,640	4.2	51,502	9.8	2.4
Praha 10	67,645	13.1	39,575	7.5	0.6
Capital Prague	518,659	100,0	526,181	100,0	1.0

Table 8.1.1: Economically active and working population in Prague districts up to March 1st. 1961.

Source: Vitouš a kol. (1963)

Data on in and out commuting for cadastral territories of Prague up to 1970 are depicted in the series of maps. In 1970 and 1980 the highlighted figure is the percentage of the total number of economically active persons in a cadastral territory who commute out for work and their distribution according to job structure. In 1970 these indicators are supplemented with data from settlements incorporated into Prague in the enlargement in 1974. Though this is not directional data showing commuting streams it is possible to assume certain tendencies. In Prague the enlargement in the 1960s incorporated certain important industrial areas (Letňany, Čakovice, Modřany) but other industrial centres employing Prague inhabitants – for instance Horní Počernice, Běchovice, Uhříněves, Zbraslav – remained outside its borders (Votrubec 1965). This is supported by the map for 1970 where the biggest percentages of inhabitants commuting out of the city came from cadastral territories on the outskirts of metropolis. Above-average percentages of

out-commuting employees were also characteristic for these areas. Industrial factories in nearby towns also represented significant commuting destinations for Prague residents, for instance Kladno or Kralupy nad Vltavou. Overall, about 35,000 people commuted to work from Prague.

Up to 1980 the number of out-commuting Prague citizens decreased to approximately 16,000. With the progressive enlargement of Prague and the growth of jobs in the tertiary sector in the capital (see also Map sheet section B 7.2 Employment structure in Prague) there was a change in the overall structure of out-commuting. While in 1970 about 42% of out-commuting inhabitants worked in industry (SLDB 1970), in 1980 this had fallen to 38%. The percentage of out-commuting people working in the tertiary sector fell from 53% to 52%, while the percentage of people working in the primary sector increased from 5% to 10%. This was caused by the growth of small settlements with a relatively high proportion of jobs in the primary sector.

Maps from 2001 and 2011 already incorporate relatively detailed information on net commuting rate, and the directions and intensity of commuting between municipal districts (2001) or cadastral territories of Prague (2011). Spatial concentrations of employment opportunities tend to be stable over time. The central area and inner city in particular still have similar spatial patterns as in the socialist period, but their structure has changed significantly. De-industrialization of the inner city and the emergence of commercial suburbanization are among the most significant processes in the shift in the employment functions of different city zones (Sýkora, Ouředníček 2007). In the outer city there is still an industrial belt in the area of Vysočany – Dolní Měcholupy. There are relatively significant concentrations of employment on the outskirts of the city in Třebonice, Běchovice and particularly in Ruzyně. Districts in the northern part of the city between Dolní Chabry and Horní Počernice also have a positive balance of work incommuting. The remaining peripheral neighbourhoods are still largely residential in spite of the gradual de-concentration of work.

Ranking	Cadastral territory (urbanistic district)
1.	Nové Město (Jindřišský obvod, Vodičkova, Petrský obvod, Albertov, Štěpánský obvod)
2.	Vinohrady (Londýnská)
3.	Nusle
4.	Michle
5.	Smíchov
6.	Chodov
7.	Karlín (Karlín-západ)
8.	Žižkov
9.	Holešovice
10.	Staré Město (Betlémský obvod, Jakubský obvod)

Table 8.1.2: Cadastral territories and urbanistic district with the highest figures of incommuters

Source: Data for cadastres (ČSÚ, 2011), for urban areas (ROPID, 2003) on SLDB data 2001.

Note: There are only nine areas quoted in brackets, the tenth urban area in 2001 was Airport Ruzyně in the Ruzyně cadastral territory.

The maps provide a depiction of spatial patterns rather than total numbers of jobs because of a number of specific issues with the collection of data in the most recent census in particular. In particular, 32.5% of economically active Prague citizens who are employed did not give the location of their workplace and so were not recorded. Further, 12.3% of employed Prague citizens work from home (i.e. they do not commute) and a further 6.5% do not have a stable workplace (ČSÚ 2013). In total, in the latest census commuting data are missing for half of all employed people living in Prague, for a variety of reasons. It could be assumed that data about this "other" half would in some aspects be different from the data presented in the map, probably with a more substantial proportion of foreigners, home workers or people with variable places of work. This needs to be taken into account in interpreting the last map.

The summaries of the first ten cadastral territories with the highest numbers of incommuting inhabitants and ten urbanistic districts with the highest numbers of jobs (see Table 8.1.2) thus deliberately do not state absolute figures for the indicators but only indicate the geographical centres of in-commuting in Prague. The table lists the cadastral territories with the highest figure of in-commuters in 2011. If we consider the net commuting, Ruzyně (Václav Havel Airport) and Motol (Motol Hospital) would also appear among the first ten territories, but Žižkov and Chodov (also characterised by high levels of out-commuting) would not.

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