

II. TEN YEARS OF POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

II.1 Constitutional System after the Separation

The constitutional system of the Czech Republic consists of the Parliament and the President. The Parliament of the Czech Republic has two chambers: the Lower House (*Poslanecká sněmovna*) and the Upper House (*Senát*). The president is elected by both Houses of Parliament for five year terms and has restricted and mostly representative responsibilities. He appoints the Prime Minister and the members of the Government, Governor of the Central Bank, ambassadors and the Chief of Staff of the army and signs laws. He can return laws to the Lower House, but his veto can be overridden by an absolute majority of all the members of the Lower House.

The Lower House is the most important legislative body. It has the power to pass laws by a simple majority of the members present during any given session (providing the

quorum is met), to cast a no confidence vote against the government, and to override a veto of the President and of the Upper House.

According to the constitution, the Upper House has limited legislative action and is only authorized to act upon Lower House legislation. The Upper House has three options when faced with bills approved by the Lower House and must act within 30 days: accept by default (take no action); reject with a suspensive veto; or suggest amendments (in both cases by a simple majority). In the latter two instances, the Lower House can vote to either accept or reject the Upper House action by an absolute majority of all members of the Lower House. The Upper House can also initiate legislation. If the Lower House is dissolved, the Upper House assumes its functions until new elections.

State Representatives in 2000

Václav Havel (1936), dramatist, leader of the dissident movement in 1970's and 1980's, founder of Civic Forum in 1989, president of federal Czechoslovakia from 1989 to 1992, first president of the Czech Republic from 1993, reelected in January 1998.

Václav Klaus (1941), economist, founder and chairman of the Civic Democratic Party from 1991, minister of finance of the federal government (1990–1992), first prime minister of the Czech government from 1992. Resigned in November 1997. In July 1998 elected chairman of the Lower House.

Miloš Zeman (1944), economist, one of the founders of Civic Forum in 1989, leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party. From 1996 to 1998 chairman of the Lower House, from August 1998 prime minister.

Petr Pithart (1941), a jurist, political scientist, author and a former active dissident. Prime minister from 1991 to 1992, member of the Upper House from 1996. From 1999 a member of KDU-ČSL. In 1998 elected as vice chairman, in 2000 as chairman of the Upper House.

II.2 Electoral System

The Lower House of Parliament has 200 members elected for four-year terms. A proportional electoral system is used for the Lower House which discriminates against small parties and political formations: to enter the parliament a party has to attain at least 5 per cent of the total number of valid votes cast nationally. Similarly, a coalition of two parties has to attain at least 7 per cent of valid votes, a coalition of three parties has to attain 9 per cent of valid votes, and a coalition of more than three parties has to attain at least 11 per cent of valid votes in order to enter the Lower House.

The country is divided into 8 voting districts and each party nominates an ordered list of candidates for the Lower House in each voting district. The party (or coalition) has to deposit 200,000 CZK in advance in order to register in each district. The number of seats distributed in each district is proportional to the total number of valid votes in the district. If a party (or coalition) does not receive the minimum required share at the national level, then those votes are redistributed among the remaining parties approximately proportionally to the votes received in each corresponding electoral district. Within each political party, candidates receive the seats allocated to the party according to the predetermined order in which their names are listed on the ballot. However, if at least one tenth of all voters casting a valid vote for a party in the electoral district use the right to a preference vote, the candidates who receive preference votes from at least 10 per cent of those voters are moved to the top of the list. A voter is allowed to express his/her preference for candidates by indicating a maximum of four candidates listed on the ballot. First, seats are distributed to parties

at the district level using a full quota allocation system. The quota is defined as the total number of valid votes in a district received by parties (or coalitions) which received the minimum required share of votes to enter the Lower House divided by the number of seats to be allocated in this district plus one. The total number of votes received by the party (or coalition) is divided by the quota, and the party receives the number of seats equal to the integer part of this ratio. The remaining seats are allocated on the national level.

The majority system (plurality run-off) with one representative for each constituency is used in electing the 81 members of the Upper House of Parliament. The Upper House members are elected for six years. To achieve a periodic replacement schedule in which 27 members are elected every two years, in the first election in 1996 one third of the members were elected for two years, one third for four years, and the remaining third for the full term of six years. Each political party can nominate one candidate in each of the 81 constituencies. Also, independent candidates can participate providing they submit a statement of support signed by at least 1,000 eligible voters from the relevant electoral constituency. Before registration each candidate has to deposit 20,000 CZK. After the election this deposit is returned to the candidates who received at least 6 per cent of valid votes in the constituency. A candidate is elected on the first ballot if he/she receives a simple majority of valid votes (at least 50 per cent plus one vote). If no candidate receives a majority on the first ballot, then the two candidates who receive the most votes from the first ballot rerun on the second ballot, and the majority winner on the second ballot is elected.

Major Political Parties in 2000

Shortly after the 1989 revolution, 66 different political parties and movements emerged, some of them with rather obscure political orientation. The major political parties in 2000 are listed below and ordered according to their positions on the "left-right" ideological spectrum.

Czech and Moravian Communist Party (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy, KSČM) – an extreme leftist unreformed post communist party; opposes Czech membership in NATO; founded in March 1990; successor to the former Communist party of Czechoslovakia, which was founded in 1921; has had stable representation since 1989.

Czech Social Democratic Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická, ČSSD) – a left centrist pro-reform party of standard European social-democratic orientation; supports the membership of the Czech Republic in NATO; strongly advocates Czech entry into the EU; successor to the former Czechoslovak social democratic party which was founded in 1878 and forced to merge with the Communist party in 1948; restored in March 1990; established the minority government in 1998.

Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana, ODS) – a right-wing conservative party; a dominating member of government coalitions in 1992–1997; the driving force of economic and political transition during the first years after the establishment of the Czech Republic; supports Czech membership in NATO; holds a "Euro-skeptic" attitude toward the EU; founded in April 1991.

So-called 4-Coalition consists of:

Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (Křesťanská a demokratická unie-Československá strana lidová, KDU-ČSL) – a pro-reform centrist party of Christian-democratic orientation represented in government from 1990 to 1998; advocate of a "social market economy;" supports Czech membership in NATO and in the EU; reformed successor of the former Czechoslovak People's Party which was founded in 1918; member of the National Front (communist dominated government formation) during the communist regime.

Union of Freedom (Unie svobody, US) – a newly created liberal right-center party; established in January 1998 by former members of the Civic Democratic Party who left the party after the governmental crisis in the end of 1997; advocate of radical economic transition with an appropriate legislative framework and of the regional self-administration, along with Czech membership in NATO and in the EU; represented in the government during the first half of 1998.

Civic Democratic Alliance (Občanská demokratická aliance, ODA) – a right-wing liberal party; supports Czech membership in NATO and in the EU; represented in governments from 1992 to 1998; founded in December 1989; lost a significant amount of its influence in 1998.

Democratic Union (Demokratická unie, DEU) – a small right-wing conservative party; supports Czech membership in NATO and in the EU, advocates radical economic transformation and regional self-administration; founded in 1993.

II.3 New Electoral History of the Czech Republic

The last general parliamentary election in federal Czechoslovakia was held on June 5–6, 1992. At this time the Federal Parliament, the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council were elected. In December 1992, the country split and the Federal Parliament as the supreme parliamentary representative of the federal state was dissolved. The new Czech constitution defined the Parliament of the Czech Republic as consisting of two chambers: the Lower House and the Upper House. The Czech National Council elected in June 1992 was transformed into the Lower House on January 1, 1993. The representatives elected

in 1992 served for a full four-year term. Until November 1996 the Lower House temporarily performed the duties of the Upper House as well.

The first parliamentary election of the Lower House took place on May 31–June 1, 1996. The first election to the Upper House took place during November 15–23, 1996. After the political and economic crises in 1997 a premature election for Lower House representatives was called on June 19–20, 1998. One third of the members of the Upper House were re-elected in November 1998. The third election to the Upper House was held in November 2000.

Composition of the Lower House

Party	1996				1998			
	votes	%	seats	%	votes	%	seats	%
KSČM	626,136	10.3	22	11.0	658,650	11.0	24	12.0
DŽJ	187,455	3.1			182,900	3.1		
ČSSD	1,602,250	26.4	61	30.5	928,660	32.3	74	37.0
KDU-ČSL	489,349	8.1	18	9.0	537,013	9.0	20	10.0
US					513,596	8.6	19	9.5
ODS	1,794,560	29.6	68	34.0	656,011	27.7	63	31.5
ODA	385,369	6.4	13	6.5				
DEU	169,796	2.8			86,431	1.5		
SPR-RSČ	485,072	8.0	18	9.0	232,965	3.9		
Others	319,228	5.3			262,989	2.9		
Total of valid votes	6,059,215				5,969,505			
Eligible voters	7,990,770				8,116,836			
Participation	6,096,404				6,008,926			
Non-valid votes	37,189				39,421			

Composition of the Upper House

Party	1996		1998		1999		2000	
	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%	Seats	%
KSČM	2	2.5	4	4.9	4	4.9	3	3.7
ČSSD	26	32.1	23	28.4	23	28.4	14	17.3
KDU-ČSL	14	17.3	17	21.0	17	21.0	18	22.2
ODS	32	39.5	26	32.1	25	30.9	21	25.9
ODA (+US)	7	8.6	11	13.6	11	13.6	12	14.8
Independent	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	n. a.	1	1.2	13	16.0
Total	81	100.0	81	100.0	81	98.8	81	100.0

Government Coalitions

Since 1992 the government coalition has consisted of four right-centrist parties: the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Christian-Democratic Union (KDU-ČSL) and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA). After the 1996 parliamentary election these three parties formed a minority coalition government, controlling 99 of 200 seats in the Lower House and 53 of 81 seats in the Upper House. The minority coalition was tolerated by the Social Democrats that abstained in the confidence vote. Out of 16 government offices, eight were held by the ODS, four by the KDU-ČSL and four by the ODA.

In 1997 the distribution of votes in the Lower House of Parliament slightly changed in favor of the government coalition. Three members of Parliament left the Czech Social Democratic Party for different reasons; one of them joined the Civic Democratic Party while the other two remained independent. One of these two independent members consistently voted with the opposition. The other voted independently, despite often siding with the government coalition. Therefore, important decisions were frequently dependent on this representative's vote. In July 1997, the government coalition won the confidence vote by one vote which was cast by this independent member.

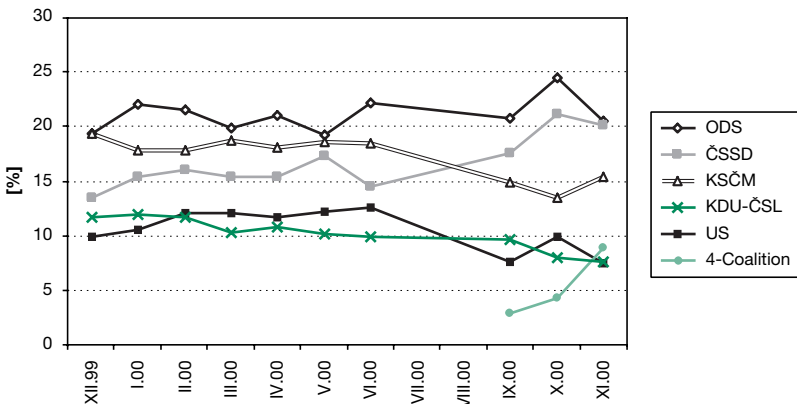
Electoral preferences for political parties significantly changed during 1997 as growing criticism of the internal political and social development, and of the economic problems that were for a long time neglected by the ruling coalition. Restrictive fiscal and monetary policies introduced in the spring of 1997 were accompanied only by cosmetic personnel changes in the government. Economic recession, a decrease in real incomes, the exchange rate crisis, and the crisis in the banking sector dashed false expectations raised by overly optimistic government propaganda.

In November 1997 the culmination of these problems led to the dissolution of the government coalition. During the Prime Minister's absence from the country, two

smaller parties, the ODA and KDU-ČSL, withdrew from the coalition, and after President Havel's intervention the government resigned on November 30th. While the immediate reason for the government crisis was related to the unclear financing of the Civic Democratic Party, indicating possible corruption during privatization, the November collapse of the government reflected the general instability of the Czech political environment. Feelings of dissatisfaction held by a substantial portion of the population regarding recent economic development, disapproval of the leading coalition party's political style, friction among coalition parties, and power struggles among different segments of the Czech political establishment contributed to the fall of the government.

Observing growing animosity among politicians and the inability of political parties to agree on the composition of a viable government, President Havel appointed Mr. Josef Tošovský, the generally respected Governor of the Czech National Bank with no party affiliation, as the new prime minister on December 17, 1997. The new government, not based on the parliamentary power of political parties, but supported by two small former coalition partners of the Civic Democratic Party (The Christian Democratic Union and Civic Democratic Alliance), was appointed by the President on December 30, 1997. After complicated negotiations and an explicit commitment by the government to hold premature parliamentary elections in the spring of 1998, the government received the support of the Lower House on January 28, 1998, despite the opposition of the Civic Democratic Party, but with the unanimous approval of the Social Democrats.

Major Party's Support in 2000



Source: STEM

In January 1998 the Civic Democratic Party and its parliamentary faction split. The members who opposed Chairman Klaus's interpretation of the political crisis as a coup against the party and against him personally left the party and established a new party called the Union of Freedom. Economic decline continued in 1998. With a limited mandate the "provisional government" of Mr. Tošovský, while praised in public opinion polls by the public, it did not have authority to initiate significant changes in economic policies.

In June 1998 premature election of the Lower House was held. While the Czech Social Democratic Party achieved historical success as the party with the strongest popular support (almost one third of the voters cast their votes for the ČSSD), the Civic Democratic Party ranked as the second strongest party, losing only 2% of electoral support compared to the 1996 election. Shortly after the election President Havel authorized the chairman of the winning Social Democrats, Mr. Zeman, to negotiate the composition of the new government. The Freedom Union, however, rejected any coalition with Social democrats. On the other hand, personal animosity among the leaders of the former coalition partners, the Civic Democratic Party, the Christian and Democratic Union and the Union of Freedom, proved to be an obstacle to establish right center majority coalition. A grand coalition of the ČSSD and ODS was explicitly excluded by the electoral programs of the both parties. A resolution to the deadlock was found in the so-called "opposition agreement" between the ČSSD and ODS. The ODS committed itself to tolerating a minority one-party government of ČSSD in exchange for a dominating role in the Lower and Upper Houses and participation in preliminary consultations on important issues between the ČSSD and ODS. Having together a qualified majority in both houses of parliament, the ČSSD and ODS declared their intention to work together to stabilize the Czech political environment and to change the constitution and electoral law "to strengthen majority elements in proportional electoral system." The abstention of the ODS in the confidence vote allowed the one-party minority government of ČSSD to receive the support of the Lower House in August 1998.

A general dissatisfaction in the Czech public with the minority government, "opposition agreement" and economic and social development resulted in further public support of the Czech and Moravian Communist Party (KSČM). By the end of 1999, ten years after the velvet revolution, the party ranks as the second most popular.

II.4 Regional Administration

The process of democratization which took place after 1989 affected all administrative layers of Czech society, not only at the national level but also at local and regional levels. In fact, territorial decentralization, including the establishment of a democratic territorial government, was one of the cornerstones of the post-November political transformation. In the first parliamentary election in 1990, decentralization was included in the programs of all important political parties.

Decentralization was approached at two levels: on the local level (rural and urban municipalities), and on the regional level (lands and provinces). But the results have been rather different. While, at the local level decentralization has proceeded fairly well and can be considered successful (which does not imply that all problems of local governments have already been solved),

Statutory Cities in the Czech Republic

City	Population
Praha	1,209,855
Brno	388,899
Ostrava	324,813
Plzeň	171,249
Olomouc	104,845
Liberec	100,604
Hradec Králové	100,528
České Budějovice	99,708
Ústí nad Labem	97,164
Pardubice	93,777
Havířov	87,863
Zlín	83,026
Opava	62,468
Karlovy Vary	55,298

Source: CSO

only during the last year has some progress been made at the regional level.

Territorial structure of the country: Four territorial levels can be distinguished in the Czech Republic:

- The local level: municipalities (villages, towns and statutory cities; 6196 in 2000), so-called NUTS 5 level in EU statistics.
- The lower intermediate level: districts (77 in 1999), so-called NUTS 4 level.
- The upper intermediate level: regions/provinces (there were 8 regions until 1990, at which point they were abolished as units of government; 14 new regions were formally established in 1997), corresponding to so-called NUTS 3 level.
- From January 1, 2000, eight regions corresponding to the NUTS 2 level were introduced for the purposes of European statistics.

Districts and municipalities: Until now the intermediate administrative level in the Czech Republic is the district (*okres*). The country is divided into 77 districts plus the capital Prague. A district has about 120,000 inhabitants and covers about 1,000 square kilometers. District offices are responsible

Municipalities by Population Size

Population size	Number	%
1 – 499	3,700	59.7
500 – 1999	1,889	30.4
2000 – 4999	345	5.6
5000 – 9999	129	2.1
10000 – 19999	68	1.1
20000 – 49999	41	0.7
50000 – 99999	17	0.3
100000 –	7	0.1
Total	6,196	100

Source: M. Illner, *Local and Regional Government in the Czech Republic*, Institute of Sociology, Academy of Sciences of CR, Prague, 1996

for state administration and their heads are appointed by the central government. The districts have no role in self-government. The district office is an appellate body to the municipal authorities, and it supervises the activities of municipal offices. A district assembly is elected by municipal councils in each respective district to oversee the activities of the district office, to approve its annual budgets, and also to decide on the distribution of state grants among municipalities. The municipalities' representation in the assembly is proportional to the size of their population.

Below the district level there are 6,196 rural and urban municipalities, some 6% of which have the status of towns or cities. Thirteen major cities have the administrative status of "statutory cities." The extraordinary position of Prague is reflected in the fact that the internal territorial organization and administration of the capital is regulated by a separate legislative act.

A municipality is an independent legal entity that acts in its own name in juridical relations and bears full responsibility resulting for its activities. The law distinguishes between the independent competence and the transferred competence of municipalities. Independent competence expresses the fact that the municipality is an independent subject and that in exercising its functions it is bound only by acts and the legal regulations issued to exercise them. Transferred competence represents the local actions of state administration, which fall within the boundaries defined by a special law.

Shortly after the fall of the communist regime, a new municipal system was introduced inspired by the West European local government system as well as by the pre-war system of local authorities in the Czechoslo-

vak Republic. The general legal framework of the reform was laid down by a Federal Constitutional Law of July 1990; an additional constitutional foundation was provided by the Constitution of the Czech Republic, which was adopted in December 1992. The main aim of the reform was to break away from the Soviet-type system of territorial administration (National Councils on local, district and province levels, formally elected in a "no choice electoral system" and operating under the supervision of Communist Party regional organs) and to establish democratic local government.

Local Governments: The first local elections were held in November 1990, in then the Federal Czechoslovakia; then again in 1994 and 1998. The major elements of the specific proportional electoral system used in municipal elections are outlined as follows. Parties and other political formations present their lists of candidates. Each voter can either choose one party's list or select the required number of candidates for a given municipal council from different lists. The term of the municipal councils is four years.

In the November 1998 municipal elections, the citizens elected members of 6184 local rural and urban councils and 134 city councils, city district councils and city district councils of the capital Prague and 13 statutory cities. Altogether 149 distinct groupings – parties, local coalitions and associations of citizens – participated in the elections. While in large cities electoral campaign platforms remained close to those of major parties, municipal elections in smaller places were less ideological and focused on local problems. Consequently, pre- and post-election coalitions, which would be unthinkable at the national level, were sometimes created at the local level.

Results of Municipal Elections

Party	1994		1998	
	% of votes	% of seats	% of votes	% of seats
KSČM	13.40	9.20	13.58	9.19
ČSSD	8.10	2.40	17.54	6.80
KDU-ČSL	7.50	12.40	10.64	11.40
US			5.50	1.13
ODS	28.70	11.00	24.27	9.15
ODA	6.50	1.00	n.a.	n.a.
Independents	1.46	13.17	1.00	10.60
Others	34.34	50.83	27.47	51.73
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: CSO

The results of municipal elections provide a ranking of parties that significantly differs from the results of the parliamentary elections. The number of votes cast for a political party, coalition or association is given by the number of votes cast for their candidates to the multi-member councils; each voter is allowed a number of votes equal to the number of members of the council in his/her municipality. Due to the different sizes of municipalities and the relatively small differences in the sizes of the councils, the aggregated number of seats in the elected councils is not proportional to the total number of votes cast for the different political parties.

Regional reform: The reform of public administration at the regional level has proved to be the most difficult of all the levels of public administration. Reform of the central government was necessary to allow the transition itself, and reform on the local level was vital to revive the local communities and local initiative. In contrast, reform on the regional level was less straightforward and less rational. The reform started

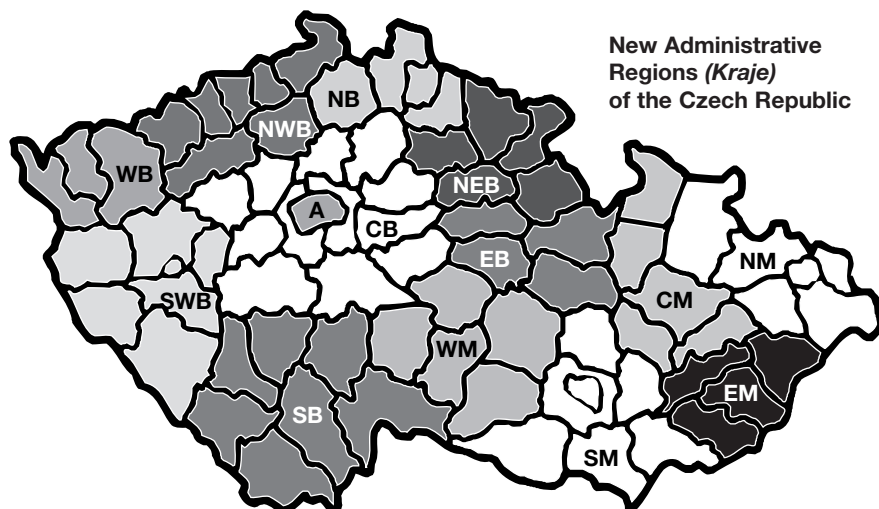
in 1990 by abolishing eight regions and leaving only the state administration on the district level. The rationale was to cut the ties of the former nomenclature cadres and to decrease bureaucracy.

However, the absence of any self-governing bodies between the municipal and the state level caused many problems, such as a lack of an institution responsible for managing services and dealing with issues above the municipal level (district assemblies cannot be considered organs of self-government but rather provisional institutions which function until a genuine regional self-government is in effect). Moreover, the central ministries faced difficulties in executing their competence and therefore set up a network of regional branches (so-called “deconcentrated offices”). The establishment of these regional branches was uncoordinated; consequently, nearly all ministries designed their own network of regional branches, using different territorial divisions.

There were several objections to the creation of any new regional authorities. The most important of these were:

- Fear of increased bureaucracy and of making public administration more distant from citizens, together with budgetary considerations;
- Political calculations, namely concerns that the political orientation of the representatives in some regions might differ from the orientation of the ruling party;
- Fears of new dualism between the two historical lands making up the Czech Republic – Bohemia and Moravia – that emerged after the dissolution of former Czechoslovakia.

In addition, neither citizens nor politicians perceived the issue of regional administration as a priority: until the parliamentary



elections in 1996, the concept of a purely centralistic system was advocated by the dominating government party, the ODS. On the other hand, the establishment of regional (provincial) authorities as the highest tier of territorial government was outlined in the 1992 Constitution of the Czech Republic. In 1997, after a long and controversial discussion about the rationality and costs of regional reform and regional self-government, the Parliament of the Czech Republic approved a constitutional law establishing 14 self-governing regions [so-called VÚSC (*vyšší územně správní celky*), in English “higher level territorial administrative units,” or provinces]. The new regions and regional governments were expected to be effective from the January 1, 2000, however, the preparation of the whole package of more specific acts defining, for example, the competence and financing of new regions, has been delayed. The first elections for regional parliaments have been scheduled for November 2000 (see the feature story below); the regional parliaments

and governments will be enacted from January 1, 2001. There will be a transitory period in which both government district offices and new regional governments will coexist until 2002.

New Administrative Regions (kraje)

Region (kraj) *	Abbreviation on the Map
Prague	A
Central Bohemia **	CB
České Budějovice	SB
Plzeň	SWB
Karlovy Vary	WB
Ústí nad Labem	NWB
Liberec	NB
Hradec Králové	NEB
Pardubice	EB
Jihlava	WM
Brno	SM
Olomouc	CM
Ostrava	NM
Zlín	EM

* Regions are named after their centers

** Has its center in Prague

Elections to Regional Assemblies

On November 12, the first elections for thirteen regional assemblies took place. Parties or coalitions that reached the threshold of five per cent of all valid votes cast in a region won the chance to participate in regional assembly. The allocation of seats was then based on a proportional system. The numbers of the assembly seats to be distributed depend on the number of region inhabitants. Regions with less than 600,000 inhabitants have 45 deputies, regions with more than 900,000 inhabitants have 65 mandates, and the other regions have 55 representatives. The regional executive bodies are so-called Councils (Rady). Hejtman, the head of a council and the representative of a region are elected by the regional assembly.

The 2000 elections brought, on the one hand, a surprising defeat to the governing Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD), and on the other hand, success for right and center parties. The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) won in six regions. The 4-Coalition (the right-center coalition of the Christian Democrats (KDU-ČSL), the Freedom Union (US), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) and the Democratic Union (DEU)), won in five regions. In the Královéhradecký region both ODS and the 4-Coalition obtained the same number of mandates. In the northwest, where the support for leftist parties is traditionally strong, the Communist Party won with one more mandates than ODS. What deserves attention is also the success of local movements, for example, the gain of six mandates by Zlínské hnutí nezávislých (Zlín Movement of Independents).

Results of November 2000 elections for the 13 regional parliaments in the Czech Republic

Province (VÚSC)	Turnout in % of eligible voters	KSČM		ČSSD		4-Coalition (KDU-ČSL, US, ODA, DEU)		ODS		Others (regional independ. parties)		Total number of seats
		% of votes	seats	% of votes	seats	% of votes	seats	% of votes	seats	% of votes	seats	
Středočeský kraj	32.8	21.9	16	15.8	12	21.3	16	28.8	21	12.2	0	65
Královéhrad. kraj	34.8	18.0	10	13.2	7	26.2	14	26.9	14	15.8	0	45
Ústecký kraj	29.7	28.2	18	17.2	11	13.7	9	26.8	17	14.1	0	55
Karlovarský kraj	28.4	22.4	12	16.4	8	19.1	10	27.8	15	14.3	0	45
Liberecký kraj	33.0	16.3	9	13.0	7	14.8	8	24.8	13	31.1	3	45
Budějovický kraj	34.1	19.4	12	13.4	8	22.5	13	28.5	16	16.1	6	55
Pardubický kraj	36.5	17.5	9	13.4	7	29.4	15	24.5	12	15.3	2	45
Plzeňský kraj	35.6	21.0	11	14.9	8	16.7	8	24.2	13	23.2	5	45
Jihlavský kraj	35.9	20.0	10	11.5	6	25.5	13	18.9	10	24.2	6	45
Brněnský kraj	34.9	20.8	15	13.5	9	31.6	23	18.2	13	16.0	5	65
Ostravský kraj	32.2	25.0	18	15.6	11	16.8	12	26.5	20	16.2	4	65
Zlínský kraj	36.1	16.3	8	15.1	7	31.4	15	18.5	9	18.8	6	45
Olomoucký kraj	34.2	21.5	13	16.3	10	24.2	15	19.0	12	19.0	5	55

Source: CSO