

CHANGES IN MIGRATION TO RURAL REGIONS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: POSITION AND PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract

Migration trends in the Czech Republic after 1990 are discussed in this paper. To evaluate the migration trends, the databases of immigrants and emigrants from the Czech Statistical Office from 1990 to 2010, are used. While migration from rural areas to urban areas prevailed in the past, after 1990 the direction changed: the population in rural areas with good natural and socio-cultural environments has been increasing due to migration. Small municipalities have a positive migration balance. We can conclude that these trends could be influenced primarily by social and environmental problems in cities, the increase in automobile use and the development of communication technologies, the migration of pensioners who settle in second homes, and the changing residential preferences of people and entrepreneurs.

Shrnutí

Migrační změny v rurálních regionech České republiky: stav a perspektivy

Článek hodnotí migrační trendy ve venkovských oblastech v České republice po roce 1990. K hodnocení byla použita databáze přistěhovalých a vystěhovalých Českého statistického úřadu za období 1990–2010. Zatímco v minulosti převažovala migrace z venkovských oblastí do měst, po roce 1990 se směr migrace změnil: počet obyvatel ve venkovských oblastech s dobrým přírodním a příznivým socio-kulturním prostředím roste díky migraci. Malé obce mají kladné migrační saldo. Lze předpokládat, že tyto trendy by mohly být ovlivněny především sociálními a ekologickými problémy ve městech, zvýšením motorizace a rozšířením komunikačních technologií, stěhováním důchodců do objektů druhého bydlení a změnami preferencí bydlení.

Keywords: counterurbanization, migration, rural areas, Šumava area, Třeboň area, West Inner Periphery, Czech Republic

1. Introduction

Rural areas constitute 73–82% of the Czech Republic land area (depending on specified criteria) and about 26–29% of the total population live in these regions. Their position and challenges are primarily evaluated and classified based on comparison with the main economic hubs (Hanousek et al., 2007). Common characteristics of such areas are lower levels of economic activity and depopulation. The potential for development can be the quality of the environment and that could bring many benefits. If these regions keep and protect their environment, they could encourage people living in large centres and other urban areas to move and to live there on a long-term basis. Our research project is focused on people migrating to rural areas due to the attraction of a better quality environment (both natural and social). This kind of population mobility

is called “amenity migration”, common in the Anglo-Saxon literature (Moss, 1994; Glorioso, 1999). The goal of amenity migrants is to attain a better quality of life by living in places with higher quality of natural, social or cultural environments.

This paper evaluates the following issues:

- if migration trends in the Czech Republic have changed since the year 2000; whether migration streams have altered; and whether people do migrate into rural areas;
- then we analyse migration streams and trends in detail in three case study areas with high quality environments. These case studies are the Šumava area, including the foothills (A), the Třeboňsko area (B), and the “West Inner Periphery” area (C), which is demarcated along the border of

the Plzeňský region, Ústecký region and the Středočeský region. We propose that these areas are drawing amenity migrants, given their natural and cultural potential.

This article is a revised and expanded version of the chapter: "Migration trends of inhabitants in rural space", which was published in the book "Amenitní migrace do venkovských oblastí České republiky" (Amenity Migration to Rural Areas in the Czech Republic – Bartoš et al., 2011).

2. Theoretical background

Migration is the most significant component in the spatial movement of populations. It dramatically influences population numbers and brings about changes in demographic, economic and social structures. There are predominantly negative impacts of those processes in the out-migration areas. The reduction of anthropogenic loading in an area left by emigrants, however, could have positive results. Conversely, in the in-migration areas, new people can become a fuel for future development, but also for anthropogenic loading on the territory.

Urbanization phases are defined in line with the theory of stages of urban development, according to the combined growth and decline of the urban centre and the urban fringe area (Ouředníček, 2000; Antrop, 2004). The theory of differential urbanization (Geyer and Kontuly, 1993) explains phases of urbanization as a diffusion wave. Antrop (2004) presents models of changing patterns of rural villages in Europe due to growth processes in the countryside. "Counterurbanization" is characterized as the third stage of urban development. The concept of "counterurbanization" is described by Mitchell (2004) as a migratory movement from "large" to "small" areas, as a negative relationship between settlement size and migration or as a negative relationship between settlement size and population growth.

Until the 1970s migration from rural areas to urban areas increased, but then this started to change. Boyle, Halfacree (1998) described the migration tendencies of the 1970s using the term "counterurbanization", a process in which people move from urban areas back to rural areas. Berry (1976) described this change in migration trends as well. Fielding (1992) carried out a deep analysis to verify these previously-mentioned changes and demonstrated the higher migration rates of people living in urban zones into rural settlements in the UK. This trend, however, has not been identified in all European countries, as indicated by Kontuly (1998). According to Walmsley (1998),

counterurbanization in Australia (New South Wales) is long-standing as well. Migration processes from urban areas to the countryside in post-socialist countries have been discussed, especially with a focus on the phases of residential systems development according to the theory of differential urbanization (Kontuly and Geyer, 2003; Tammaru, 2003; Ouředníček, 2007; Šimon, 2011). Similar to the Czech Republic, migration from cities to rural areas was strengthened in Estonia in 1990s (Tammaru, 2003). However, it is not possible to unambiguously classify it in the model of differential urbanization (Kontuly, Geyer, 2003).

Suburbanization as a decentralizing migration process from urban areas generally prevails. It is not the only process, because residential deconcentration heads out of metropolitan areas too, especially to areas with predominantly rural traits (Šimon, Ouředníček, Novák, 2009). Berry (1976) calls both deconcentration processes, using the term "counterurbanization". It is not possible to consider "counterurbanization" as an opposite of the urbanization process, but rather as one of the follow-up processes (Šimon, 2011). An opposite term for urbanization could be considered "de-urbanization". Egan and Luloff (2000) use the term "exurbanization" for the process of urban people migrating to rural areas.

If we accept the concept of "counterurbanization" as a part of the urbanization process (Champion, 2001), then according to Čermák et al. (2009), both counterurbanization and suburbanization are taking place simultaneously in the Czech Republic, with a slight dominance of the first type of tendencies. At the same time, we can keep in mind other concepts of migration "from city to countryside", and thus consider "amenity migration" (Bartoš et al. 2011), "de-urbanization", "gentrification of countryside" (Phillips 2005 in Šimon, 2011, p. 233), exurban development (Taylor, 2009 in Šimon, 2011, p. 233) or peri-urban development (Fisher, 2003; Ford, 1999 in Šimon, 2011, p. 233). Such concepts consider a quality evaluation of particular migration processes.

Semantic differences between counterurbanization and suburbanization could be defined from a spatial point of view: the term "suburbanization" denotes a deconcentration of the population within the frame of a metropolitan region (city-hinterland), whereas counterurbanization describes interregional deconcentration (Šimon, 2006). However, the exact demarcation of the spatial frontier between suburbanization and counterurbanization is generally a purposefully-defined construction. Some authors demarcate this frontier through the evaluation of commuting (Escribano, 2007). Temelová et al. (2011)

note, however, that mobility (job and services commuting) is a crucial factor for rural people, even in peripheral areas, and thus can not be used for the demarcation of suburban space.

In the Czech Republic, strong urbanization is featured in this period. Champion (1998) provides explanations for migration from urban to rural regions but most of these can not be applied to the situation in the Czech Republic due to its political situation and central planning. Some of them, however, are applicable, such as the concentration of people from rural areas into local centres. Changes after 1990 can be accounted for by supported migration routes, suburbanization and counterurbanization. Counterurbanization could be influenced by the following reasons: more expensive living costs and social problems in cities; government donations for rural activities; more accessible and improved transport routes and communication technologies; improvement of education, health-care and other infrastructures in rural areas; increasing numbers of jobs in public/personal services; and economic recession influencing out-migration from rural areas to urban zones (Champion, 1998). Some factors (such as changing residential preferences of people and entrepreneurs) influence the suburbanization process to a greater extent, which is why it is necessary to analyze changes in public preferences.

Some migration streams from urban to rural areas could be classified as “amenity migration”. There are two types of amenity migration: (i) a migration to ancient, culturally well-preserved downtowns of cities, and (ii) migration to rural conservation areas. Our research deals with the second type of migration – from urban areas to rural communities, where migrants find a pleasant and well-protected environment. Only a specific segment of the population has this preference. Some areas that suffered depopulation both in the past and present, are well protected environmentally, and thus have the potential to draw new residents. If these new migrants come, they may bring new lifestyles, attitudes and modern technologies.

A principal migration stream from urban to rural areas became significant in the USA and some countries of Western Europe in the 1970s. It decreased slightly in the 1980s but grew again in the 1990s (Stewart, 2002). This caused increasing population in formerly depopulated areas, especially in the mountain regions. It is one of the main change factors for rural areas in the USA (Stewart, 2002). This trend has not been explored in the Czech Republic as it did not take effect very much. Only migration to urban zones (urbanization) or migration from urban centres to the hinterlands of cities (suburbanization), have

been explored. Moss (2006) has mentioned amenity migration in the region of Šumava in 1993, and other authors (see below) have been dealing with this issue from a sociological point of view.

The second type of amenity migration in Europe has been researched firstly in the Alps or Northern Europe: Perlik (2006) analysed the process of amenity migration in the Alps; Flogfeldt (2006) described the relationship between second homes and amenity migration in Norway; and Müller (2006) discussed the development of tourism related to amenity migration in the Swedish mountains (Tärna). The following researchers have addressed amenity migration in the Czech Republic: Librova (1994, 2003), Bartoš, Kušová (2005) and Bartoš et al. (2005). Librova (1994, 2003) discussed a specific group of amenity migrants, from a sociological point of view. She researched the reasons why people change their life habits and move from large cities to rural peripheral areas in order to live in a rural traditional way, in mostly uncultivated homesteads or farms. “Neo-ruralists”, who are most inclined to a self-conscious defence of a rural way of life, are described by Gerlach, Lošťák and Mooney (2008) in the context of the “new social movements” paradigm in Eastern Europe, even evident in the communist era.

Bartoš et al. (2005) have analysed how tourism supports amenity migration. Rural migration can also be enhanced by the dynamic development of communication and information technologies (Reinöhlová, 2005). Rural space can become an option for locating businesses that are based on those technologies. In addition, the prices of the land in rural areas can be influential.

Some authors work with the optimistic hypothesis that amenity migration slows down the depopulation of rural space (e.g. Chipeniuk, 2004; Glorioso, 2000). Due to this fact the inequalities of various regions are reduced and environmental and cultural quality is enhanced. However, it must be questioned whether amenity migration to rural and periphery areas is just a phase of life (see Champion, 1998), and if there are variable tendencies found in different countries.

Second homes (using cottages for a certain part of the year), which is widespread in the Czech Republic, is considered fundamental to amenity migration. Moreover, this type of habitation is well mapped and there are various Czech scientists dealing with this topic, such as Bičík et al. (2001), Vágner, Fialová et al. (2004), or Bartoš et al. (2005).

The following analysis will deal only with permanent migration, because statistics about in-migration and out-migration are processed. Next, we need to assume

that amenity migrants will be just a small part of the total number of migrants. Regardless, as a first step in the amenity migration analysis we will deal with migration and migration streams generally.

There is an interesting Czech survey related to the possible development of amenity migration, called "Our society" (Naše společnost). It was published by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Sociological Institute in May, 2003. A sample of 1,048 people 15 years of age and older were interviewed. Though this survey was focused on how people are willing to move because of a new job, one of the most frequent reasons to move was not work, but rather dissatisfaction with living conditions in the place of residence (Lux et al., 2006). Based on this statement we consider the amenity migration research very important in order to discover internal migration trends in the Czech Republic, with special attention to migration trends to the rural areas of the Czech Republic.

3. Methodological approach

To study migration in the rural areas of the Czech Republic, it is necessary to define a rural area. The term "rural area" is mostly associated with villages, landscapes covered by agricultural land, forests, water bodies, and towns that are centres of local socio-economic development. It is also possible to use the term countryside.

Defining rural areas is not a simple issue and different countries use different criteria. It is obvious, however, that the terms "rural area" and "town" mingle, because features of urban life style penetrate into the furthest rural settlements (Müller, 2005). Generally, most of the socio-economic criteria cannot be used for more than one country at face value. The most common criterion is population density. OECD developed a definition in order to compare conditions in different areas. This definition distinguishes two hierarchical levels – local and regional. Rural areas on a local level are identified as areas with a density lower than 150 inhabitants per km². For our purposes, we analysed our case study using current administrative units, and the surface area of municipalities as of 1st January, 2010. A map of the distribution of rural areas in the Czech Republic is made according to this criterion. Rural areas defined on a local level cover 81.9 per cent of the territory of the Czech Republic and contain 29.5 per cent of the population.

OECD defines three types of region on a regional level – "predominantly" rural areas (more than 50 per cent of the population live in villages), "substantially" rural areas (15–50 per cent of the population live in villages),

"predominantly" urban areas (less than 15 per cent live in villages). Those settlements where density is below 100 inhabitants per km² are defined as "villages".

From the regional point of view, "predominantly rural areas" occupy 22.6 per cent of the Czech Republic, with 8.5 per cent of the Czech population. "Substantially rural areas" occupy 62.8 per cent of the Czech Republic with 47.4 per cent of the population. "Predominantly urban areas" occupy 14.7 per cent of the Czech Republic with 44.1 per cent of the population. If there are less than 2,000 permanent inhabitants, the municipality is then called a "village" (OECD). Based on this criterion, villages occupy 72.8 per cent of the Czech Republic area, and contain 26.4 per cent of the Czech population.

We used these three OECD classifications ("local" rural areas, "regional" rural areas, and villages with a population less than 2,000 inhabitants) to evaluate migration. For this purpose we used statistical information about in-migration and out-migration during the period 1991–2010. Data about movements from 1991 to 2004 were taken from reports about change of address and migration (reporting units were Residence Registration Offices and Regional Foreign Police Offices). Since 2005 the Czech Statistical Office has taken over the data from the Ministry of the Interior and Headquarters of the Foreign Police Office. In order to characterize migrants demographically, the following variables are used: age, family status and citizenship. Migration itself is determined by the date of moving, and previous and current place of residence. The reasons for moving are very important, to find out whether the migration is or is not an amenity migration. However, this category has not been gathered since 2005.

To evaluate migration trends we used the databases of immigrants and emigrants of the Czech Statistical Office in the period 1991–2010. We calculated the balance for municipalities for two periods (1991–2000 and 2001–2010). We then made categories of municipalities according to the balances that we had calculated. We created five categories, and of them two categories had a negative balance (significantly negative balance – more than 20% population decrease; negative balance – population decrease between 1% and 20%). The next category is characterized with a very small migration balance (between minus 1% to plus 1% of the population). Two categories are characterized with a positive balance (significantly positive with more than 20% population increase; positive – increase between 1% and 20% of population). The analysis of changes in migration trends was tested following Burt et al. (2009). Statistical analysis was carried out using chi-square tests of independence in contingency tables.

We chose three case study areas to provide detailed information and to analyse directions of migration to rural areas since 2000. These three case study areas are: Šumava (A), Třeboňsko (B) and “West Inner Periphery” (C). We chose to study these regions because we expected that their local environments would be very attractive for amenity migrants. We analyse the complete migration patterns with a special focus on villages with a population below 2,000 inhabitants, in order to distinguish urban centres. Using Geographical Information Systems, we processed maps that showed where people came from before moving, as well as where people from our regions of interest migrate to. Based on this spatial analysis we analyzed synthesis charts about immigrants and emigrants. Most of them belong to the category of economic migrants or their family members, who endeavour to improve their socio-economic position and standard of living. More often, the motive is more complex, and we considered the multifactorial determination of the migration process (Drbohlav, 2001). We still assume that the majority of migrants to rural areas are motivated by non-economic reasons (Lux et al., 2006). We propose that amenity migrants primarily move to areas with a high quality environment. For this reason, we decided to study in detail very environmentally precious areas – Šumava, Třeboňsko and the area between Křivoklátsko and Manětínsko subregions. We propose that amenity migrants come from cities most often. That is why we categorized municipalities as follows: municipalities in the studied region, cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, and other municipalities in the Czech Republic or abroad. We expect that foreigners (e.g. Danish or Dutch people) also move into areas with high environmental quality located in our case study regions. Similarly, we evaluated data about people who left the regions. This analysis should describe directions and level of migration into rural areas. Then the research is oriented to amenity migration (in-depth interviews with important stakeholders in the particular region, as well as interviews with the amenity migrants themselves).

4. Characteristics of the case study regions

4.1 Case study of Region A: Šumava and its foothills

The Šumava mountains, including its foothills, was until the middle of the 1990s, an example of what can be called “the marginal area” (Těšitel, 1999) – low “economic performance”, depopulation tendencies, state-limited investment into economic development, with a decrease of agricultural production intensity. Such areas are typical examples of the historical outlying periphery of the Czech Republic. However, due to its natural beauty and geographical location, tourism developed in the 1990s and has become the

most important economic activity in this region. Another factor influencing the development of the area is the Šumava National Park (since 1991) and Protected Landscape Area (since 1963). They were both included in the UNESCO Biospheric reservations network under the umbrella of the international programme: Man and Biosphere. On one hand, both the National Park and the Protected Landscape Areas are considered high-quality environment guarantees and thus attractive for people. On the other hand, it creates some limits related to various economic activities, such as building construction for permanent residents out of existing municipalities (Kušová et al., 2008). This area is attractive for foreign amenity migrants due to the relative cultural and economic centres in the foothills of the Šumava Mountains and the possibility to exploit services in neighbouring Bavaria or Upper Austria (Glorioso, 1999). We carried out the majority of our interviews with amenity migrants just within the region of Šumava (Bartoš et al., 2008; Bartoš, Kušová, Těšitel, 2009). It turned out that out of the three case study regions, it is the Šumava Mountains which amenity migrants preferred the most as their final migration target.

The Šumava Mountains region is perhaps the most significant area in the Czech Republic according to the land use category measuring ecological quality (Perlín and Bičík, 2007). Ecologically important areas (forests, meadows, pastures and water bodies) exceed 10–20 times other areas, which are influenced by human activities (arable land, built-up and other areas). Mountain relief is typical for this territory, which is relatively more rugged when foothills turn to mountains in the central part of the Šumava Mountains. There are also other features of the landscape character: a valley phenomenon, plateaus, forests of unique size, and lower density.

We analyzed migration for the whole territory, which administratively belongs under the following municipalities: Sušice, Vimperk, Prachatice, Český Krumlov and Kaplice. There are 141 municipalities in this territory, but only 12 of them have more than 2,000 inhabitants. Besides municipalities with extended powers (with population 7,000–13,000 people), there are seven towns with populations between 2,000–4,200 inhabitants. The average size of a village with a population below 2,000 inhabitants is 496 people.

4.2 Case study of Region B: the Třeboňsko area and Česká Kanada

This case study region is situated in the south of the Czech Republic, in the Jindřichův Hradec district, crossing the historical border with Moravia. Thus the region can be divided into two separate parts – the

Třeboňská basin and the Česká Kanada highlands. The Iron Curtain influenced development here as it did not allow basic economic development. On the other hand it helped to preserve nature. This region has features of an “outward periphery” of the Czech Republic. The Třeboňsko region was added to the list of the UNESCO biospheric reservations in 1977 because of its huge natural resources potential. It was acclaimed a Protected Landscape Area in 1979. The water bodies in the Třeboňsko region are active places for nesting and bird migration. The original meanders of the rivers together with regularly flooded alluvial soil and woodland meadows were maintained. There are also extremely dry places of wool sands. Well-balanced natural segments of landscape and the unique and well-preserved architecture in towns and villages complement each other. From the “land use” point of view, the Třeboňsko region is a typical example of a pond landscape with a mosaic of water bodies, forests, meadows and grass lands.

The central part of the Česká Kanada area was proclaimed as a Natural Park in 2004. In comparison with the Třeboňsko area, this area is characterized by a more severe climate, vast forests and meadows, grasslands and ponds. Such a landscape character can bring to mind a comparison with lake areas in Canada.

Both areas have similar factors of attraction, which draw visitors and potential amenity migrants. These areas facilitate leisure-time activities such as hiking, cycling, water sports, picking mushrooms, fishing or hunting. Local inhabitants, however, do not consider tourism a major factor for economic development of the area. From an historical point of view, the local population has a stable character and they view newcomers suspiciously. Perhaps this is why it is possible amenity migrants are not as interested in moving to this area as much as they are to the Šumava Mountains area.

We analysed migration processes in the whole area, which administratively belongs to the municipalities with extended powers of Jindřichův Hradec and Třeboň. There are 83 municipalities in total and eight of them have more than 2,000 inhabitants. Besides municipalities with extended powers (with 22,000 inhabitants, respectively 8,800 inhabitants), there are six municipalities with a population between 2,000 and 3,700. The average size of the rest of municipalities (with populations below 2,000) is 331 inhabitants.

4.3 Case study of Region C: “West Inner Periphery”

This area is a typical example of the inner periphery of the Czech Republic. It borders three Czech regions – the Plzeňský, the Středočeský and the Ústecký regions. Typical features of this area are: low economic

performance, long-term depopulation, a former orientation to agriculture and poor infrastructure. In the past, this area was less exposed, remote from main urban centres and from main transport arteries. A very important decrease of population took place right after the Second World War, when German-speaking people were displaced, especially from the western part of this area. It is a typical agriculture - forest landscape. On the east it borders the Křivoklátsko Protected Landscape (since 1978) and the Biospheric Reservation of Křivoklátsko (1977), whose core area is currently being considered for national park status. The Rakovnicko area – peripheral to the Středočeský region – has good potential due to the natural, cultural and historical heritage, and it can be used for tourism development or amenity migration inducement. There are various attractive areas around the rivers Střela (Fig. 1 – see cover p. 4), Javornice, Berounka, and the entire Křivoklátsko. On the east of the Křivoklátsko, suburbanization influenced by the capital Praha (Prague) can be observed.

The territory of case region C is divided into a few landscape units. Forested hill country in the western part of the territory represents a region, whose structure was harmed right after World War Two. Manětínsko has a varied agricultural landscape with more rugged terrain and dominant morphological features, such as neo-volcanic forested table mountains. The settlement structure is characterized by small and architectonically precious localities. The middle part of Kralovicko is characterized by a higher proportion of arable land. The landscape quality is lower, but transport accessibility to Plzeň is very good. The territory then continues to Křivoklátsko, where forests prevail (in particular places even the original forest occurs) and it makes this area ecologically stable (Kopp, Novotná, 2008). The landscape characteristics are influenced very much by the deep canyons of the Berounka and Střela rivers and their tributaries. Forested valleys that are almost untouched create a foundation for the ecological landscape network. There are dominating rock outcrops on the steep elevations of valleys, sometimes highlighted by historical remains of medieval castles (Křivoklát, Rabštejn) or castle ruins (Krašov). Some sections of the valleys became targets for second houses: in particular for people from Praha, Plzeň (Pilsen) and the Most area.

We analysed almost the entire territory under the authority of Kralovice and Rakovník (municipalities with extended power), but excluded the territory under the influence of Plzeň and Praha because of the good transport system. For the same reason we excluded areas administrated by Nové Strašecí and Plasy municipalities. The area

comprises 96 municipalities. Only two municipalities have more than 2,000 inhabitants and they have extended power (16,000 and 3,500 inhabitants). The average population of municipalities with population under 2,000 people is 379 inhabitants.

5. Results

5.1 Migration in rural areas

The population changes of municipalities in the Czech Republic between 1991 and 2010 demonstrate an increase of the number of inhabitants, especially in suburbanized areas around cities (Fig. 2).

Based on an analysis of the population size of municipalities, it is clear that the population increased after 2000 in 71 per cent of municipalities defined as rural at the local level, and in 57 per cent of rural municipalities at the regional level (see Table 1). Compared to the 1990s, the number of rural municipalities with increasing population was 37 per cent (local level) higher or 26 per cent higher (regional level). We can see that the “counterurbanization” process, which took place in both the USA and Western Europe, has started in the Czech Republic too. The change of the population size in rural municipalities measured on a regional level shows that villages in semi-rural regions are the

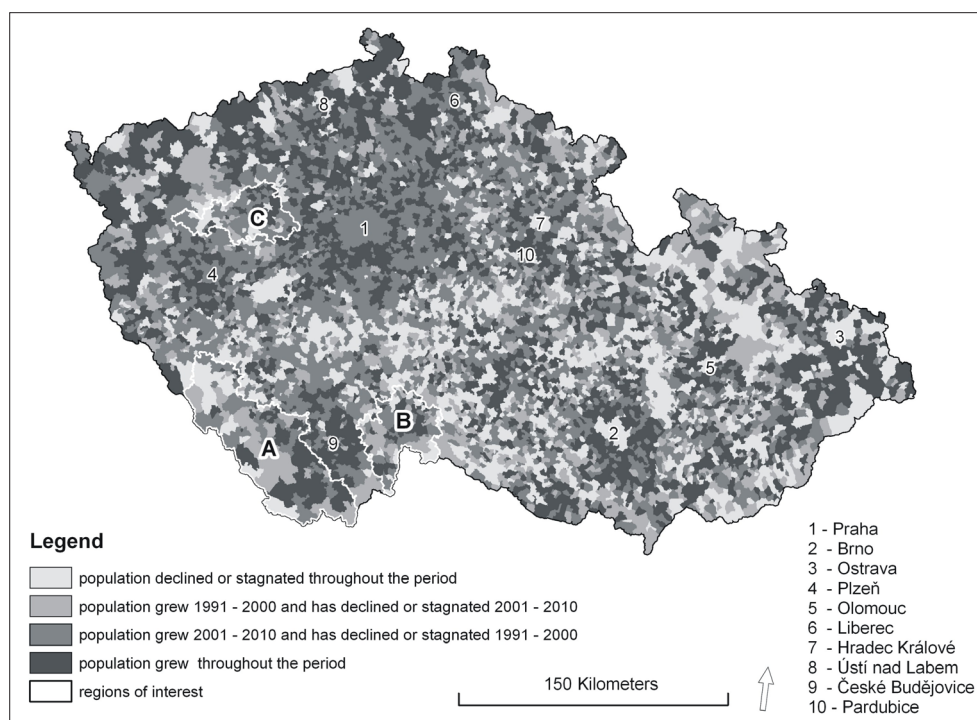


Fig. 2: Population changes in the municipalities of the Czech Republic in 1991–2010 (A – Šumava and its foothills region; B – Třeboňsko area and Česká Kanada; C – West Inner Periphery region)

Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2011), Authors' elaboration

Type of region		1	2	3	4
		%			
Local level	urban	18.3	13.7	20.5	47.6
	rural	16.4	12.4	38.9	32.3
Regional level	urban	6.8	8.0	27.1	58.1
	semirural	16.8	11.9	39.0	32.4
	rural	23.6	19.1	33.8	23.4
Municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants		26.0	19.9	19.0	35.1
Municipalities less than 2000 inhabitants		15.5	11.7	38.6	34.2
All municipalities		16.6	12.6	36.5	34.3

Tab. 1: Classification of municipalities by type of region: development of population size, 1991–2010

1 – number of inhabitants was decreasing in whole period 1991–2010; 2 – number of inhabitants increased in period 1991–2000, in period 2001–2010 decreased or stagnated; 3 – number of inhabitants decreased or stagnated in the period 1991–2000 and increased in period 2001–2010; 4 – number of inhabitants increased in whole period 1991–2010

Source: Czech Statistical Office, 2011, Authors' elaboration

fastest growing. The growth of urban regions is still obvious and we can still observe strong suburbanization processes. The results of size differentiation among the municipalities could be explained likewise. As for the age structure of rural municipalities, an older population predominates (ČSÚ, 2010). Population development thus influences the natural rate that has been decreasing. In spite of the fact that the population in rural areas naturally decreases, migration into those regions can be considered significant.

Figure 3 shows the regional differentiation in the balance of migration in the period 1991–2000, and Fig. 4 depicts regional differentiation in the following period (2001–2010).

In the period 2001–2010, the ratio of municipalities belonging to the category “rural area” on a local level, and also with a positive migration balance, was 25.0 per cent higher than in 1991–2000. In contrast, the ratio of municipalities with significantly negative balance decreased. On a regional level we can see a similar trend: there was a 20.1 per cent increase in the category of municipalities in rural areas with a positive migration balance, comparing the period 2001–2010 with 1991–2000. Again, a significant decrease of municipalities with a significant negative migration balance was recorded (see Table 2). Chi-square tests of independence in the seven contingency tables revealed very significant changes of migration trends between the periods 1991–2000 and 2001–2010

for all categories of municipalities, but somewhat less for those municipalities with more than 2,000 inhabitants or urban areas on a local level.

After 2000, the migration turnover grows. More people move and rural areas are significantly involved in this process. The data in Table 3 show that an in-migration ratio into rural areas in 2001–2010 was minor in comparison with the period 1991–2000, but this figure is influenced by the fact that foreign in-migration to urban areas significantly increased after 2000.

In the previous analysis no migration directions are measured and observed. It is not just currently measurable in adequate ways to distinguish if people move in the frame of particular region types, or among individual types. These directions could be partly described by analysis of “inter-district migration” (Fig. 5). However, this regional division is not appropriate for research in rural areas. Hence, we researched migration in detail in the case study areas, which had been divided into certain categories.

5.2 Migration in the case study regions

The absolute number of immigrants and emigrants has been growing in all case study regions since 2000. The Chi-square tests ($df = 6$) revealed that there are no significant differences between the relative structure of migration to or from the three case regions in the period 2000–2007 (see Tabs. 4 and 5). In all three case regions, the population increased in those

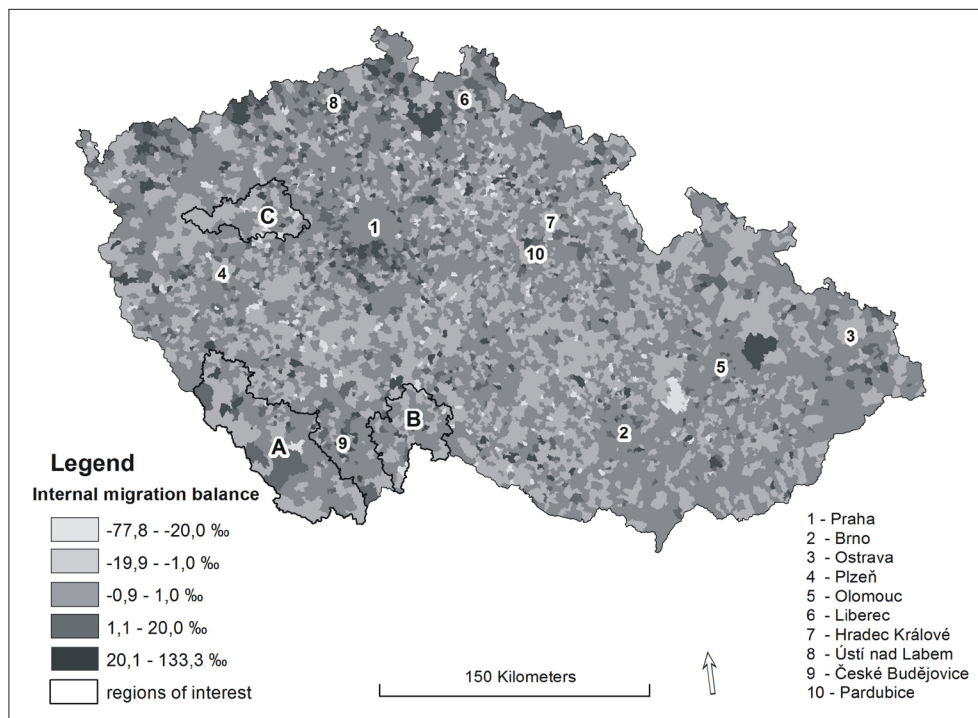


Fig. 3: Internal migration balance in the municipalities of the Czech Republic, 1991–2000
Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2011), Authors' elaboration

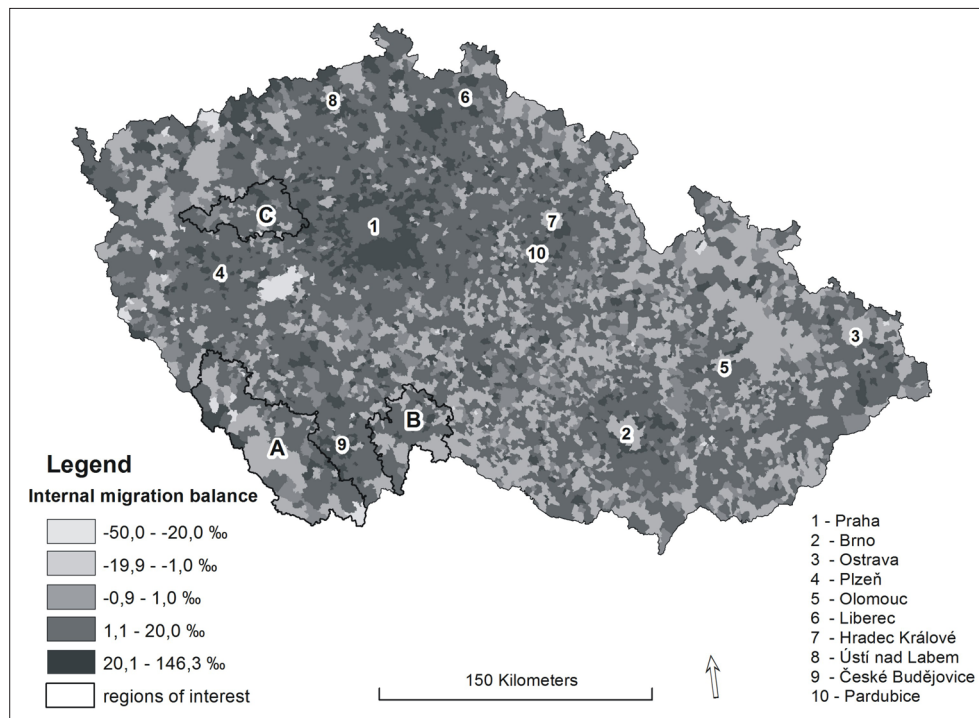


Fig. 4: Internal migration balance in the municipalities of the Czech Republic, 2001–2010
Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2011), Authors' elaboration

Type of region		Significantly negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Significantly positive	Total	chi-square test
Local level	urban area 1991-2000	1	194	123	484	39	841	
	urban area 2001-2010	1	191	86	407	156	841	83.43
	rural area 1991-2000	177	2,087	623	2,321	197	5,405	
	rural area 2001-2010	34	1,057	442	3,218	654	5,405	855.79
Regional level	urban area 1991-2000	9	172	78	537	56	852	
	urban area 2001-2010	2	78	39	500	233	852	162.52
	semirural area 1991-2000	129	1,629	534	1,880	146	4,318	
	semirural area 2001-2010	18	862	373	2,564	501	4,318	648.62
	rural area 1991-2000	40	480	134	388	34	1,076	
	rural area 2001-2010	15	308	116	561	76	1,076	97.78
Municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants 1991–2000			170	135	346	18	669	
Municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants 2001–2010			221	86	316	46	669	31.13
Municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants 1991–2000		178	2,111	611	2,459	218	5,577	
Municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants 2001–2010		35	1,027	442	3,309	764	5,577	926.43

Tab. 2: Typological characteristics of municipalities in the Czech Republic by migration balance
Source: Czech Statistical Office, 2011, Authors' elaboration

Type of region classification		Area ratio	Population ratio (2010)	In-migrants (average figure per 1 year)				Out-migrants (average figure per 1 year)			
				1991 – 2000		2001 – 2010		1991 – 2000		2001 – 2010	
				total	%	total	%	total	%	total	%
Local level	urban	18.1	70.6	123,144	62.8	181,459	66.3	120,110	64.1	168,771	69.8
	rural	81.9	29.4	73,083	37.2	92,351	33.7	67,385	35.9	73,158	30.2
	total	100.0	100.0	196,227	100.0	273,810	100.0	187,505	100.0	241,929	100.0
Regional level	urban	14.7	44.1	72,745	37.1	120,333	43.9	69,186	36.9	101,920	42.1
	semirural	62.8	47.4	101,885	51.9	129,260	47.2	97,016	51.7	117,257	48.5
	rural	22.5	8.5	21,597	11.0	24,217	8.8	21,303	11.4	22,752	9.4
	total	100.0	100.0	196,227	100.0	273,810	100.0	187,505	100.0	241,929	100.0
Municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants		27.2	73.6	130,008	66.3	184,462	67.4	127,451	68.0	175,948	72.7
Municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants		72.8	26.4	66,219	33.7	89,348	32.6	60,054	32.0	65,981	27.3
Total		100.0	100.0	196,227	100.0	273,810	100.0	187,505	100.0	241,929	100.0

Tab. 3: In-migrants and out-migrants by rural or urban regions classified on local and regional levels, and municipalities classified according to size in the Czech Republic
 Source: Czech Statistical Office, 2011, Authors' elaboration

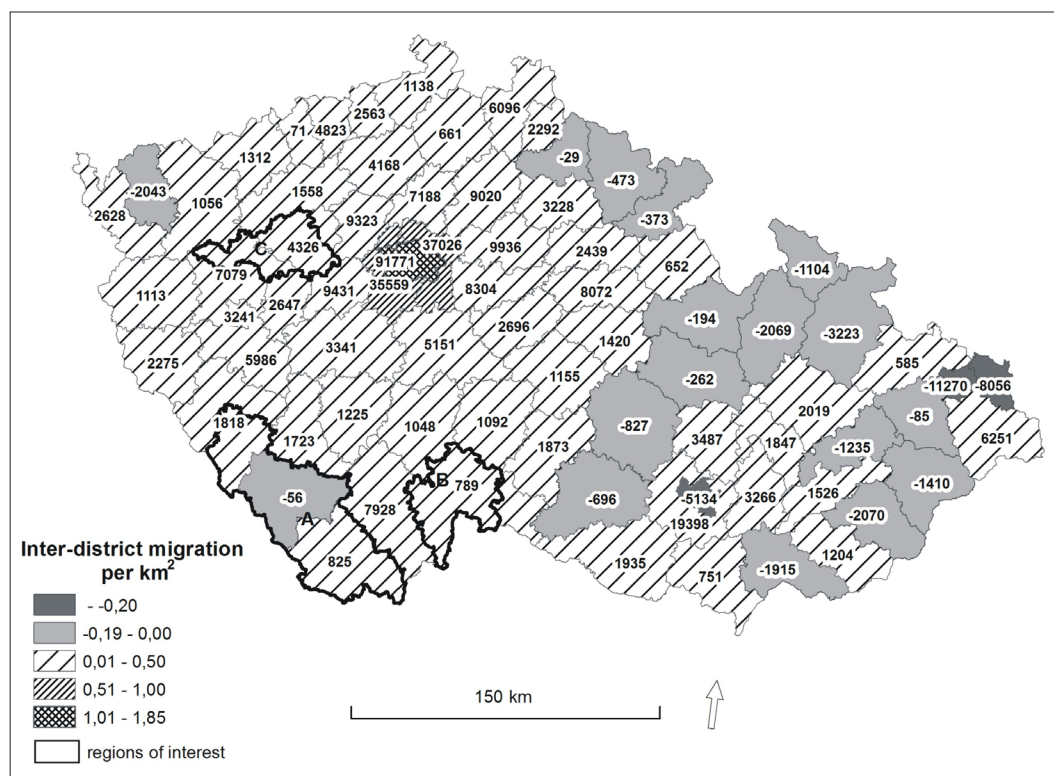


Fig. 5: Inter-district migration in the Czech Republic, 2002–2010
 Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2011), Authors' elaboration

Region	Migration within the region	Migration from cities	Migration from other parts of the Czech Republic	Foreign (International) migration	In-migrants – total figure	chi-square test
	%					
Šumava – municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	48.8	11.9	24.9	14.4	17,107	
Třeboňsko – municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	57.8	9.8	26.4	5.9	6,027	
West Inner Periphery – municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	42.1	15.6	33.4	9.0	8,624	9.14
Šumava – municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants	45.0	12.4	25.2	17.3	13,125	
Třeboňsko – municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants	42.6	10.7	36.5	10.2	7,707	
West Inner Periphery – municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants	37.2	10.7	33.5	18.6	3,635	5.76
Šumava region total	47.1	12.1	25.0	15.7	29,595	
Třeboňsko region total	49.3	10.3	32.1	8.3	13,734	
West Inner Periphery region total	40.6	14.1	33.4	11.8	12,259	

Tab. 4: In-migration to case study regions 2000–2007

Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2008), Authors' elaboration

Region	Migration within the region	Migration to cities	Migration to other parts of the Czech Republic	Foreign (International) migration	Out-migrants – total figure	chi-square test
	%					
Šumava – municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	53.0	11.2	28.6	7.2	14,208	
Třeboňsko – municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	56.8	8.3	31.8	3.1	5,025	
West Inner Periphery – municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants	47.3	13.3	36.4	2.9	6,791	5.66
Šumava – municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants	46.0	15.8	29.7	8.4	13,932	
Třeboňsko – municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants	47.6	13.6	33.6	5.1	8,220	
West Inner Periphery – municipalities with more than 2000 inhabitants	47.4	13.3	31.5	7.8	3,729	1.41
Šumava region total	49.5	13.5	29.1	7.8	28,140	
Třeboňsko region total	51.1	11.6	32.9	4.4	13,245	
West Inner Periphery region total	47.4	13.3	34.7	4.6	10,520	2.12

Tab. 5: Out-migration from case study regions 2000–2007

Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2008), Authors' elaboration

municipalities with less than 2,000 inhabitants, but the municipalities with more than 2,000 inhabitants registered decreases (Fig. 6).

Between 40 and 50 per cent of migrants stay within the regions, and migration to small municipalities prevails. Migration from cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants into the regions accounts for some 10 per cent of in-migrants. This tendency is most obvious in the West Inner Periphery region. The ratio of migration from other parts of the Czech Republic to these regions is from one quarter to one third. The further away the region is located, the weaker the migration stream is (Fig. 7 and 9). In-migration from outside of the Czech Republic always exceeds the reverse. Immigration from abroad is higher than migration from cities in the Šumava region.

Most of the in-migrants coming from the cities can be considered "amenity migrants", moving to the countryside for a better environment or cheaper housing, even though parcels of land in the case study regions are expensive (Bartoš et al., 2008; Bartoš, Kušová, Těšitel, 2009). The rate of migration from cities to the countryside in particular regions is as follows: in the Šumava region 12 per cent; in the Třeboňsko region 10 per cent; and, in the West Inner Periphery region 14 per cent (Fig. 7). Migrants from cities move to small municipalities in particular in the Šumava (Fig. 8 – see cover p. 4) and West Inner Periphery regions, which is definitely caused by the good quality of environment there. Migration to municipalities with more than 2,000 inhabitants slightly prevails in the Třeboňsko region. Local towns such as Třeboň, Jindřichův Hradec, similar to Sušice, Prachatice and

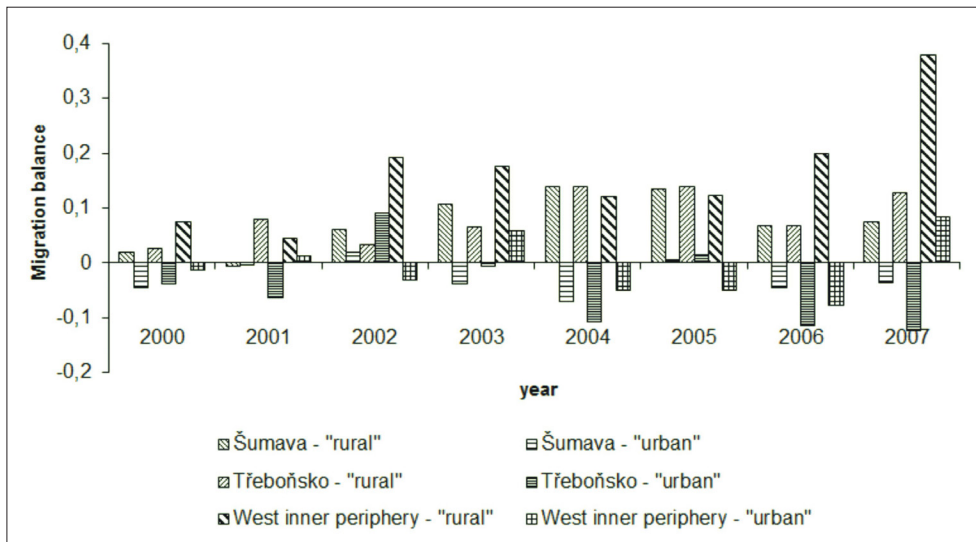


Fig. 6: Migration balance in case study regions, 2000–2007
Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2008), Authors' elaboration

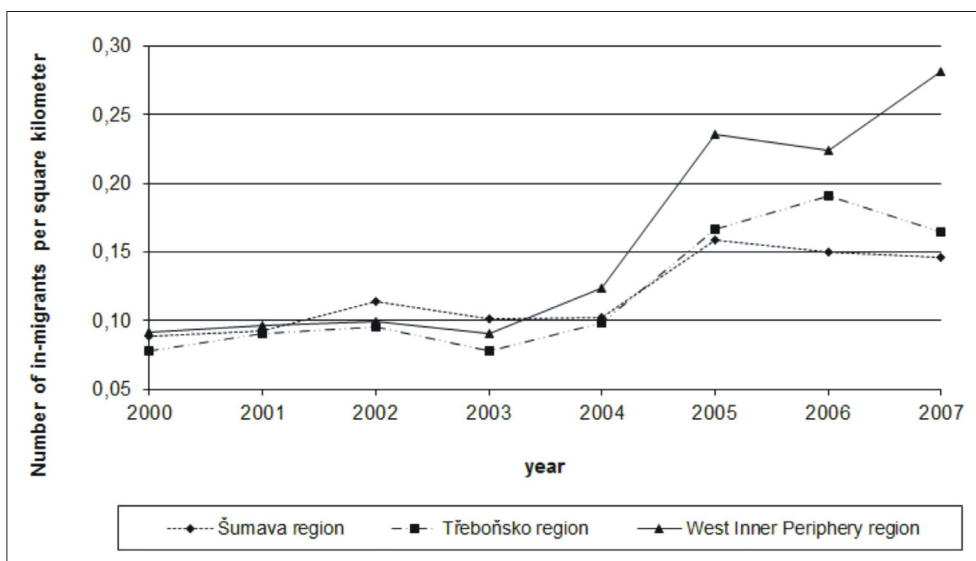


Fig. 7: Migration from cities to case study regions, 2000–2007
Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2008), Authors' elaboration

especially Český Krumlov in the Šumava region, can draw both Czech and international migrants due to their historical features. Thus “cultural amenity” migration can be defined.

Migration from foreign countries grew rapidly from 2000 to 2003, then it stagnated, but since 2006 it has grown again (Fig. 9). Most international immigrants are not amenity migrants but are labour migrants from the Ukraine, Slovakia and Vietnam, who head to these regions primarily. Amenity migrants come from Germany, the Netherlands, USA, France, Denmark or Belgium (see Table 6).

6. Discussion

The current state and perspectives on migration into the rural areas of the Czech Republic have to be put into the context of societal change during the era of socialism.

During the twentieth century, migration especially to towns took place in the Czech Republic. From the 1960s to the 1980s migration distances gradually diminished and regions and districts were closed to migration. During that time period people migrated primarily to medium-sized municipalities (between 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants), because they

Immigrants to the Šumava region	Number	Immigrants to the Třeboňsko region	Number	Immigrants to the West Inner Periphery region	Number
Germany	176	Austria	43	Germany	23
Austria	123	Holland	33	France	19
Holland	83	Germany	28	USA	13
USA	36	the USA	18	United Kingdom	12
Italy	15	Italy	10	Holland	4
United Kingdom	14	Canada	8	Denmark	3
France	12	Switzerland	6	Switzerland	3
Switzerland	12	United Kingdom	3	Australia	2
Canada	9	Belgium	2	Italy	2
Australia	5			Japan	2
Israel	5			Austria	2
Denmark	3				
Belgium	2				
Total	495	Total	151	Total	85

Tab. 6: International migrants from developed countries to case study regions 2000–2007

Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2008), Authors' elaboration

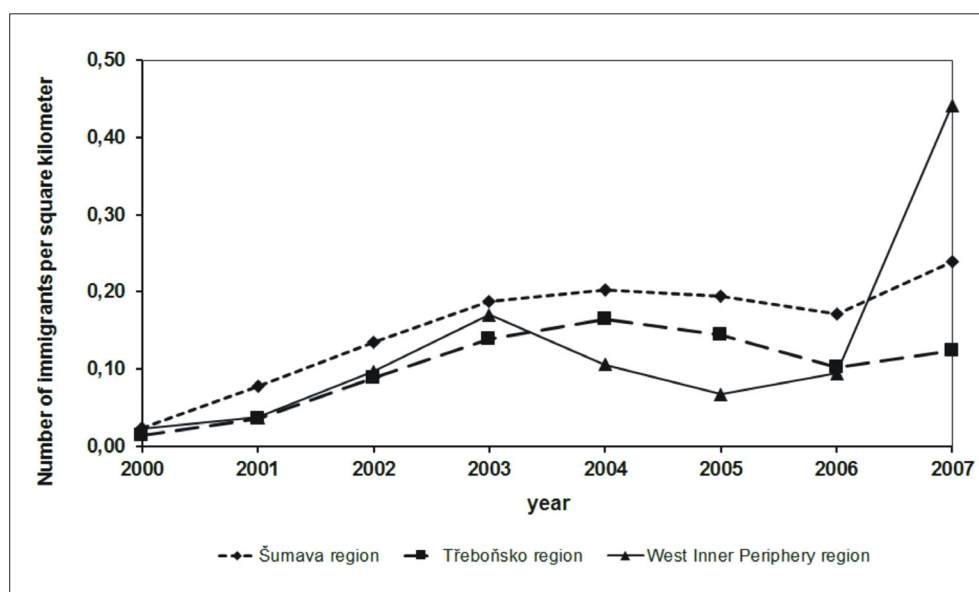


Fig. 9: Foreign immigrants to case study regions, 2000–2007

Source: Czech Statistical Office (ČSÚ, 2008), Authors' elaboration

were the most attractive due to lots of investment and construction (Pavlík, Kučera, 2002). Essentially the municipalities became homogenized, especially the centres. Migration was weakened and particular centres became similarly important. Small municipalities and the capital Praha suffered most due to this “socialist migration policy”. Praha remained naturally attractive for continuous migration, but the state used several tools to prevent this natural attractiveness, as well as sub-urbanization processes (Pavlík, Kučera, 2002).

The situation in the Czech Republic was due to the fact that people moving to urban areas still used properties in rural areas as recreational places. The second house had become (and still is) a very important phenomenon in the Czech Republic. It has developed since the 1950s and correlates with human efforts to draw nearer to nature. Secondly, the development of second houses during socialism was also connected to limited possibilities for travelling and leisure time activities (Vágner, Fialová, 2004). Hence, at the beginning of the 1990s a decrease in the importance of second houses is recorded. However, after 2000 second houses seem to acquire a new importance once again. Some owners of rural properties could be considered amenity migrants, because they stay more than a half-year in their cottages and summer houses. They are mostly pensioners who do not have many commitments or obligations.

After 1989 a decrease in internal migration is recorded. There were two reasons: first, a bad situation in the market with properties with regulated rents, problems with restitutions, and some aspects of tenure reform, as discussed by Lux, Sunega (2010); and secondly, due to the specific Czech mentality related to proprietorship. While the statistics show that 220,000 people moved during 1989, the number decreased to 160,000 in 1996. The process of spatial mobility of the population thus decreased, and the process of concentration of the population had stopped (Pavlík, Kučera, 2002).

The balance of migration in the smallest villages in 1992 was significantly negative, and the population was decreasing due to migration also in towns with more than 20,000 people. During the 1990s, towns with 5,000 inhabitants and less became the most attractive for migrants (Pavlík and Kučera, 2002). In contrast, towns with 10,000 and more inhabitants lost their residents. Decentralization thus occurred – the most attractive destinations are those towns that are situated outside of the administrative borders of larger municipalities. Praha is the most obvious example of such a trend – its population has

been decreasing since 1990 (in 1999, the population balance was – 4,000 inhabitants). Clearly, this is the suburbanization process¹ (Pavlík and Kučera, 2002; Müller, 2009).

The suburbanization process was analysed by Ouředníček (2007) in the various localities of the Praha urban region in the period 1995–2003. In addition, there is a growing importance of suburbanization around the major Hungarian, Polish and Slovak cities after 1990 (Kok, 1999; Drgoňa, Turnock, 2000).

Based on a spatial analysis of statistical data, we have determined that migration to rural areas which are further from urban centres has been growing since 2000. Rural space has become a socio-economically differentiated territory. Similarly, many of the more remote villages with low unemployment in Hungary’s rural periphery also experienced net in-migration during the post-socialist transformation (Brown, Schafft, 2002).

Rural space in the Czech Republic is quite differentiated too, as demonstrated by the new typology developed by Perlín, Kučerová and Kučera (2000), based on a components analysis of statistical indices. The Šumava region is classified in this typology as a “recreationally problematic countryside” or as an “intensive recreational area”. The regions of Třeboňsko and the West Inner Periphery are considered to be both “recreationally problematic countryside” and “core countryside”. We need to mention that the “core countryside” type is impacted partially by the suburbanization processes around large cities (Praha, České Budějovice). Meanwhile, the “recreationally problematic countryside” and “intensive recreational area” types represent those areas where differentiated increase of in-migration has been identified after 2000. Potentially, this increase correlates with amenity factors.

An interesting tendency of the decentralization of settlement is now appearing, specific to the Czech countryside and towns (Librová, 2007). Librová’s research assumes that the most significant factor in this movement is the desire of many people to flee from the large cities and industrial agglomerations in order to live in a healthy environment. Besides that desire, there is also the zeal to change one’s life style, “which may be a significant phenomenon that responds to the historically unprecedented power of impulses generated by modern cities and by the modern era in general.” (Librová, 1997, p. 38 – translated from the Czech original).

¹ Suburbanization processes (negative balances) have taken place in Brno (1,300 people), Plzeň (600 people), Olomouc (400 people), Liberec and Hradec Králove (both 300 people).

Research focused on amenity migration (in-depth interviews with important stakeholders in the particular regions, as well as interviews with the amenity migrants themselves) then the statistical analysis was carried out. The research shows that two thirds of the respondents – amenity migrants – understand “amenities” as nature, landscape, a healthy environment and quiet places (environmental reasons), 10% see “amenities” as the possibility to own a garden or their own housing, and for 6% “amenities” means the possibility to be left alone on their own with a degree of privacy (Bartoš, Kušová and Těšitel, 2009). In the context of the push-pull theory of migration (Halliday, Coombes, 1995; Brown, Schafft, 2002), it was discovered by Bartoš, Kušová and Těšitel (2009) that the main reason for moving into a new rural place of residence was a positive attitude toward nature and landscape (main pull factor), and bad environment at the former place of residence (main push factor). The important impact of environmental factors influencing migration (quality of environment; calm; natural values of the territory) has been demonstrated in the research work of Šimon (2012), who studied such factors in model areas of the remote Czech countryside.

7. Conclusion

The post-socialist development of internal migration in the Czech Republic is characterized by prevailing suburbanization in the hinterlands of large cities. It turns out that the migration rate to rural areas that are farther away from urban centres has been growing since 2000. While in the past migration from rural areas to urban areas prevailed, currently the direction is the opposite: the population in rural areas with good natural and socio-cultural environments has increased because of migration. All small municipalities in the case regions have a positive migration balance, except small municipalities in the Třeboňsko region, which have a slightly negative balance with municipalities out of their region. Municipalities in the case regions with more than 2000 inhabitants have a negative balance in comparison to small municipalities within their region and with cities in the Czech Republic.

In contrast, they have a significantly positive balance with immigrants from outside of the Czech Republic. We can propose that these trends are influenced primarily by the importance of savings as well as social problems in cities, the increase in motorization and communication technologies development, the increasing migration of pensioners, who settle in properties of second housing, and changes in the residential preferences of people and entrepreneurs.

These trends can be due to the developing amenity migration into the areas with a well-preserved environment. Theoretically this phenomenon could be identified as a start of counterurbanization in the Czech Republic. With respect to the environmental motives for amenity migration discovered in some case study areas (Bartoš et al., 2008; Bartoš, Kušová and Těšitel, 2009), the phenomenon of counterurbanization according to Mitchell (2004) could be classified rather as ex-urbanization or anti-urbanization. The increase in migration can be positively fuelled by human potential, but on the other hand can cause pressures on the landscape (Moss, 1994, 2006). This process is already observed in the hinterlands of large cities (Antrop, 2004; Ouředníček, 2007). That is the rationale for continuing to research new forms of rural settlements and the identification of negative impacts that are rooted in the conflicts between the needs of society and traditional rural landscape structures.

This article has dealt with counterurbanization using two different criteria or scales of enquiry: (i) at the level of the entire territory of the Czech Republic, and (ii) at the level of the case study regions. At the national level, migration processes highlight that the growth of population in small municipalities is significantly caused by suburbanization processes. That is why different exposures of counterurbanization have been found in different regions. The source of the migration rate is due not only to the stakeholders of amenity migration. The following reasons for migration to rural areas, as Boyle, Halfacree (1998) stated, could be specified for the studied regions: the accelerated migration of pensioners supported by the strong tradition of second homes, cheaper living costs in rural areas, improved transportation and communication technologies, as well as changing preferences of productive-age people and businessmen for living places. As Šimon (2011) points out, if counterurbanization is being studied, it is necessary not only to quantify changes in population distribution, but also to explore the qualitative shift of the population distribution itself and its purpose. Currently, there are more detailed investigations taking place in particular case study areas (Bartoš et al., 2011; Šimon, 2012).

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