

The shuttle migration with regard to social potential of rural settlements (case study)

Kyvadlová migrace z hlediska sociálního potenciálu venkovských obcí (případová studie)

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Abstract: This article concerns shuttle migration activities of rural inhabitants and at the same time asks how this phenomenon influences social potential of rural settlements. The authors draw on the social ecology. Among its basic topics belongs spatial behavior. The authors ask about the impacts of the extent of shuttle migration and of how rural inhabitants perceive it (the object of the survey are 5 municipalities in the Central Bohemia Region) on social potential of the municipality. This potential is indicated by a cooperation of the migrants and non-migrants in the local government, especially with regards to development strategies involving transport infrastructure and public-transport services. The used method is a sociological empirical research that combines quantitative and qualitative approach and uses the appropriate techniques, such as a document study, observation, questionnaires and time-and-space mapping. Analysis of the collected data leads firstly to identification of positives and negatives of the shuttle-migration activities for the rural settlements, and secondly results in outlining empirical research of the shuttle migration in a wider spectrum of rural municipalities in regard to endogenous approach to local development.

Key words: spatial behavior, shuttle migration, countryside, social potential of settlements, empirical research

Abstrakt: Článek se zabývá návratovými migračními aktivitami venkovského obyvatelstva a věnuje přitom pozornost otázce, jak tento jev ovlivňuje sociální potenciál venkovských obcí. Autoři vycházejí ze sociální ekologie, k jejímž základním tématům patří prostorové chování. Pokládají si otázku, jaký vliv má rozsah kyvadlové migrace a její pojmání obyvateli venkovských obcí (objektem šetření je pět obcí ve Středočeském kraji) na sociální potenciál těchto obcí, indikovaný spoluprací migrantů a nemigrantů v obecní samosprávě, zejména v těch prvcích strategie rozvoje obce, které se týkají dopravní infrastruktury a obslužnosti. Použitou metodou šetření je sociologický empirický výzkum, který kombinuje kvantitativní a kvalitativní přístup a využívá techniky studia dokumentů, pozorování, dotazování a časoprostorové mapování. Analýza sebraných dat ústí jednak do vytipování pozitiv a negativ návratových migračních aktivit pro venkovské obce a jednak do nástinu empirického sledování kyvadlové migrace v širším spektru venkovských obcí a s ohledem k endogennímu pojetí rozvoje lokalit.

Klíčová slova: prostorové chování, kyvadlová migrace, venkov, sociální potenciál obcí, empirický výzkum

INTRODUCTION

This article concerns shuttle migration activities of rural inhabitants and at the same time asks how this phenomenon influences social potential of rural settlements. The scope and the reason of the activities are relatively greatly anthropogenized conditions of environment, which also includes social, cultural, economic, political and working conditions (Braniš et al. 1999).

The paper does not focus on major questions of environmental policy and environmental economics that both mingle in the concept of sustainable development. Among its interest, there neither belong fundamental questions of ecology – as a study of static and dynamic aspects of the collective life's morphology with a stress on identifying determinants, which shape a basic struc-

ture of the community, or on recognizing a type of the community in the context of the inhabited environment, or on observing changes that are happening in a long-term periods (Hawley in Ortová 1999). Needless to say that the paper does draw on those questions and answers.

BASIC AIMS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Considering the topic of the article one can place it within the discipline of ecology, because the shuttle migration of rural inhabitants concerns a human community located in a time and space. By this, there is meant a social space from the point of view of typical aspects – as the parts of typical space that is accustomed by a

human (and due to this the space is being inhabited, used and recognized); in the symbolic meaning it represents a specific constructed ideal sphere, where people and social groups find themselves (VSS 1996).

Because of the aim of the article, it is needed to highlight a basic assumption of the Chicago School (R.A. Park, R.D. McKenzie, E.W. Burgess), which is typical of mingling social and ecological principles. Therefore, it is necessary to enlarge the subject of sociological study upon understanding of processes that are happening in human communities, respectively between the human communities and their outer space. The sociological methods of empirical studies shall be extended as well upon methods that are used by natural sciences in studies of biotic communities. The Chicago School authors and their followers assume that there are processes in social and cultural systems that are comparable to actions in natural ecosystems, because the immanent order (keeping a certain dynamic balance) is derived from a common basic principle of development – from an effort of self-pervasion. The main difference between the human and natural community draws on the fact that in case of the human communities the existential processes are much more complicated and have got a more subtle form (Ortová 1999).

One of the basic issues of the social ecology is the so-called spatial behavior.

Migration and mobility as a part of the spatial behavior

The processes of industrialization and urbanization did speed-up spatial move of inhabitants and due to them, the spatial move has become a factor, which propels social change, respectively does form preconditions, so the change can occur.

The migration is often reduced in a sense of altering a place of living for a short time, or permanently (the synonymic terms are a periodic or an one-off moving), and is a part of the spatial mobility, i.e. move of the inhabitants in geographic space in stake of satisfying their needs. The spatial mobility does not include only the actual typical moving, but also includes the process of selecting and choosing the place for moving. So it is necessary to see the migration in the un-reduced sense – as the part of the spatial mobility, which also means (periodic, shuttle) moving such as a commute to work or school and also irregular stays (the so-called return stays) such as a travel because of purchasing goods and services, short-term and long-term recreation stays, eventually business trips and study stays.

The spatial mobility as a part of the spatial behavior is related to organizing and using the space and time. It is also related to emotional ties to objects or spatial forms and its development depends on the existence of many factors. The most significant ones are (VSS 1996):

- Structural factors (demographic, social, economic, biological, eventually other population characteristics).
- Inhabitants geographical allocation in the area; in relation to the level of urbanization, hierarchy of settle-

ments, distance between home and work or another place where their needs are being satisfied.

- Achieved level of economic and social development of the particular area (standard of living, traffic service, network of services, etc.), which influences the creation and amount of needs and the way the people satisfy them; it has also an impact on value orientation and social norms.

There is a bunch of complex traits and relations between the every single type of spatial mobility. Inhabitants' moving is related to the space of all different levels, areas and types. One can also distinguish other kinds according to the decision processes (voluntary/forced ones), number and characteristics of the involved people (individual/collective/group/family/other ones), reasons (economic/social/natural/other ones), goals (conservative/innovative).

The spatial mobility is growing (especially the professional and social one), its range and number of types is increasing and its whole structure is changing. Satisfying all different kinds of needs tends to be cumulated and so the life actions are carried out within one return-travel. This is interpreted as an expression of time-and-space compression.

In order to describe organization of social activities in time and space, one can use the term and the technique of regionalization, which stands for the splitting of social life in time-and-space zones. One of the possibilities how to grasp activities in time and space represents the time-and-space mapping. It focuses on a typical space – an area that influences moving of individuals/groups during a day/week, eventually how this area is influenced by them. One can therefore research the tracks, on which the individuals usually move, what they do, when and where (Giddens 1999).

Social potential of a locality – concepts and approaches

Social and cultural potential (the both terms are synonymous) can be characterized as a complex of conditions that have got the nature of social and cultural phenomena, i.e. they belong within the sphere of measurable human activities. Other kinds of potentials (as they are used in expert language, but also in journalistic language) – economic, ecologic, demographic, infrastructural, recreational and eventually other potentials, can be seen as a base for the “actual” social and cultural potential. We can add to it specific conditions of life style (of a locality, if we are interested in social potential of a locality), which are observed from the point of view of their potential to stimulate development of the particular locality, eventually to hinder the development.

Using a more general approach, we can define the social and cultural potential as a constellation of a local culture and environment (space) in a certain historical stage (time). All this is comprised within the social context, which is represented by localities of higher level (adjusted using VSS 1996).

The general approach requires extending major characteristics of the social potential of a locality (according to Mareš and Rabušic – see below) on social and cultural characteristics of life-style, local culture (subculture), actual social organization of living and people's motivation for collective actions. So one has to consider more subtle indicators, which can be used for evaluation of the social and cultural potential of a locality.¹

SPECIFICS OF SOCIAL-SPATIAL SITUATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

In the past (respectively in the traditional society), a man was much more influenced by the locality, where he/she was living. What is a typical feature of developed civilizations (respectively modern societies) is the fact that the influence of local conditions has lowered and the influence of global features has grown, including physiological, psychic and therefore social impacts as well.

Gajdoš (Gajdoš 1995) says that a relatively fierce and directive elimination of regional specifics in the years 1948–1990 has brought strong socially-cultural and socially-psychological impacts and residua, which are significantly influencing current state of settlement and regional communities in the Czech Republic. Nowadays, the spatial development is considerably influenced by the social and economic transformation. However, the changes, which occurred in the beginning of the 90's, are not conceptional (they are not systematic and complex), they are slow and so their effects far appear to be problematic – if we look at them from the regional and settlement development point of view, which includes improving environmental and living conditions of local communities and solving unjustifiable regional disparities. From the present analyses, one can see that certain regions have suffered from a mass of social and economic problems. Simultaneously with the spatial disparities, there grows vertical and socially economic polarization, which usually has a strong regional and settlement impacts that are seen as unjustifiable social inequalities. The background of it consists of the differentiation of social and demographic structure, the unemployment rate, the conditions of social dynamics (individual, family eventually the other ones) and also the spatial migration, which is observed by us and caused by the mentioned factors.

Since the 90's of the 20th century, the control of society is being decentralized. As the noticeable pros, there are seen mainly the creation and development of many interest groups, unions, networks built by citizens, private sphere and municipalities. As another pro is seen the establishing of NGOs and their activities in the field of environmental and social issues, which have an impact on communities and their lives. They are mainly expressed in mutual cooperation between municipalities and the

initiatives concerning public issues and development of settlements and regions. They are also expressed in the processes of enforcing regional and local policies.

A dark side of the decentralization process is the above-mentioned spatial disparity that is constantly emerging. Consequently it tends to grow, although it is not a result of inactivity, reluctance or inability of the regions/localities to fructify their work. The unjustifiable disparities then have an impact on social potential of the locality. Characteristics, which appear to be major, shape for more than decades, maybe for centuries. Those that belong among the cons usually include (Mareš, Rabušic 1994):

- Unsuitable structure of economic sectors and branches (this usually origins in the 19th century)
- Undeveloped infrastructure of the locality (telefonization, transport communications, all different kinds of services)
- Low or unsuitable level of education and qualification structure of local citizens
- Unsuitable age structure of the local society, its gender structure and traditional tendencies in women's employment
- Concentration of social categories that are threatened on local labor market due to its structural features

SPECIFICS OF SOCIAL-SPATIAL SITUATION OF COUNTRYSIDE AND THE SHUTTLE MIGRATION

What has nowadays got a special place in life conditions of rural settlements, is the shuttle migration of working and non-working nature. Level of the shuttle migration, its demand for one's time and rhythm of the shuttle migration of the rural-areas citizens is determined by many factors, such as the changes in employees orientation of economic-active citizens in rural areas, and the extent and nature of job opportunities in the place of residence and the demand for work within a wider area.

The shuttle migration to work between rural settlements is sort of disappearing in the background of the dominating shuttle migration to towns/cities. This migration has spread simultaneously with the large-scale agriculture since the mid 70's. Falt'an (Falt'an 1990) warns about negative tendencies – a poor economic activity, which is already low in many rural settlement, and consequently a drop in the attractiveness of living in that particular locality, negative impacts on demographic potential and social and cultural activities within the settlement. On the other hand, in the localities, where the large-scale agriculture was carried out, there occurred economic irrationality (based on excessive concentration of the agricultural production).

The increase in the shuttle migration on the line rural-urban place can be suitably illustrated with the slogan "to live in a village and to work in a town". Needless to

¹ In methodological questions of approaches and empirical measures for researching social potential of a locality, M. Illner is interested (for example Illner 1989).

say that the shuttle migration represents an important innovative and information channel for rural communities. It influences life orientation of people and their needs. On the other hand, it includes cons that also influence the communities' lives – traditional traits of local culture are disappearing, as well as a spontaneous active participation on local culture. Also the shuttle migration of the school children includes another specific problem, which is the erosion of self-identification with the place of residence and the community.

There is a close relation between the shuttle migration to work and to other places. It involves visits to all kinds of citizens' facilities (such as shops, services, offices, medical facilities, cultural facilities and other ones). The incline to mix both types of migration is becoming a rational necessity and it gains its place in the life model. One can then point to the failure of the center settlements concept, which in particular refers to the center settlements of local importance and their shopping facilities (Falt'an 1990).

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH OF THE SHUTTLE MIGRATION IN CENTRAL BOHEMIA REGION

The co-author of the article is concerned about this particular issue in his dissertation thesis. It is not only because of the fact that the return-migration activities (the shuttle migration) are noticeable in everyday lives almost for all of us, but also due to the fact that he himself belongs to the category of the return-migrants. Questions related to this phenomenon are often discussed in all kinds of media as well.

The sociological point of view includes many questions, which are submitted in the dissertation thesis. For the article's purposes, there have been chosen those questions, which focused on the impacts of the return-migration activities on social potential of rural settlements, i.e. the localities, where the migrants origin from and return there – what are the opinions of the shuttle migration passengers and competent experts. This question was also asked, because the two impacts that are mostly mentioned in the expert literature have completely different influences. The shuttle migration is positively evaluated as a source of innovation and information for another development and simultaneously, there is stressed its power to limit active living in the locality that

people leave. One can assume that the participants (passengers) and the experts, who are concerned about the migration as a spatial behavior phenomenon, will consider the return-migration activities within this frame.

The main conclusion of the article comes from the empirical research that was carried out by the co-author and involves two important points. Firstly, the respondents' opinions on the question what the shuttle migrants mean for rural locality, where they live and secondly, it includes evaluation of pros and cons for the particular locality. The issue is framed in a wide context due to: a) an introductory information on the shuttle migration in the Central Bohemia Region according to the districts of the region (the information comes from official-documents analysis and therefore it was reduced to cases of migration to work and to study); b) final conclusion about perspectives of the migration activities (again we focus only on the impacts on social potential of the rural settlement).²

Methods of the empirical research

The sociological empirical research on the shuttle migration was realized in 5 municipalities in the Central Bohemia Region. Almost one half of the respondents are those, who do not migrate to Prague, but to other places in the Central Bohemia. Those ones are among the respondents, who took part in the survey, i.e. in one of the realized research action (see below). The field work was carried out during the years 2000–2004 and consisted of combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and so by it there were applied many techniques related to those methods.

Due to the fact that the co-author of the article has been an everyday shuttle-migrant (originally he commuted, because of his study and nowadays because of his work to Prague and back to a rural settlement in the Central Bohemia), he had simultaneously carried out a participant observation – he was a listener of chats about daily traveling to work, to school or for other purposes and he was also an observer of the traveling migrants' rituals. Considering the quantitative research, the starting technique was an analysis of statistical documents that had included information on how the citizens in the Central Bohemia Region travel to works and to schools. Simultaneously, the co-author carried out in-depth interviews for the qualitative part of the research.³ The last qualitative

² The empirical research included many more questions. Let us to introduce just a few of them – what are the shuttle migrants for their own families, their employers, the locality, where they are going, and other passengers. How are seen the pros and the cons of the return-migration activities by the actors from their point of view, and from the point of view of their families, employers, environment, economics and employment of the particular region, etc. The co-author also analyzed the factors that influenced and formed the nature of the migration activities. He also focused on perspectives of the migration activities with regard to their alternative solutions.

³ 20 interviews were carried out (each of them took approximately 200 minutes) in three waves. The purpose of the interviews in the first wave was a confrontation of the actual experience based on observations with the experience of the other actors of the shuttle migration. The interviews of the second wave had specific topic with regard to the goals of the research. The interviews of the third wave involved the internal migrants (those who did not travel to Prague) in order to compare them with the opinions of the internal and external migrants. Six respondents (out of the twenty) continued their participation in the research by making a detailed time-and-space map (that consisted of entries of time, duration, means of transport and purposes of the traveling/stays). And so was acquired “the picture of an average day of their own part in the shuttle migration”.

research action consisted of five interviews of the experts. The experts were found among specialists in order to get their expert views on the opinions of the shuttle migrants (whose opinions are based on their common sense and created according to their lived experience). By this, the co-author involved in his research a psychologist, an ecologist, a personnel manager and a local government official (from the locality, where people migrate from).

The designed survey was based on the results of the qualitative research actions. In October 2003, there were placed 300 questionnaires in three municipalities, on spots that are important because of the migration (transport stations and neighboring shops). 115 questionnaires (38%) were returned. 12 out of them were excluded after a brief control and therefore there were analyzed overall 102 questionnaires (i.e. 34% of the all questionnaires, which were distributed). The internal migrants represent a control group for the external migrants.

Results of the secondary data analysis – quantification of the migration to work and to school in the Central Bohemia District

There are 1 122 473 inhabitants in the Central Bohemia. 584 628 out of them are economically active (52.08%) and 185 810 of them are students (16.5%). 240 805 persons (41.19% of the economically active ones)⁴ travel daily to work away from their homes. Within the group of students there are 75 552 persons, who daily migrate (which is 40.66% of all the students in the region).

If we compare the data about the Central Bohemia Region with the data related to the whole Czech Republic, the Central Bohemia is typical of an above-average migration to work (48% in comparison with 33%) and to school as well (42% in comparison with 27%).

The most shuttle migrants, who travel to work, could be found in the districts (their order is based on the level of migration): Praha-západ, Praha-východ, Beroun, Kladno and Nymburk. If we consider the numbers⁵ of the shuttle migrants who travel to school, we receive a similar order of districts: Praha-západ, Praha-východ, Beroun, Kolín a Nymburk. The proportions of migrating inhabitants of the Central-Bohemia districts, who travel to work or to school, do not differ from each other

(in case of the travel to work the number is between 61% in the district Praha-západ and 49% in the Nymburk district, the overall average in the region is 48%; in case of the travel to school the number is between 61% in the district Praha-západ and 43% in the Nymburk district, the overall average in the region is 42%). A different structure of migration (with regards to the above-average level within the Central Bohemia Region) was noticed in Kolín and Kladno. Kolín is typical of a relatively high level of traveling to school and below-average level of traveling to work. Kladno is typical of the opposite pattern, i.e. the above-average level of traveling to work and simultaneously below-average daily traveling of students. The lowest position, according to the level of both types of migration – traveling to work and to school, in the Central Bohemia belongs to the districts Kutná Hora, Příbram and Mladá Boleslav (all of them are the districts that are distant from Prague). Other two districts Benešov a Ra-kovník, which are also far from Prague, have the similar structure of the shuttle migration. We can characterize it as a below-average one and at the same time relatively high in case of the migration that includes traveling to school. In absolute figures, it is higher at the group of people, who travel to work – just like in other districts.

The other available data tell us that the differences in the shuttle migration of citizens according to their gender are minor. Education structure of the participants is heterogeneous (persons with secondary education prevail). They themselves think that their activities are long-life (they have done them in the past and most likely will do until end of their active economic life) and they classify their financial situation as satisfactory. The least typical social category among the shuttle migrants are people with the lowest level of education and those who consider their financial situations as the worst.

The choice of the type of transport is determined by three factors – financial, spatial and time availability (many of the migrants combine the mentioned types of the transport). Those factors are obviously shaped by the present circumstances such as the misbalance between the price and quality of the railways services; price of the individual transport by car with regard to the current frequency of the traffic jams and so on. People tend to prefer car as a mean of transport in case of the transport of group of people, who can arrange suitable time dispositions.⁶

⁴ Both types include the districts with the above-average level of migration in comparison with the overall level in the Central Bohemia Region.

⁵ There are 181 038 persons within the municipality, who travel to work, that is 30.97% of economically active inhabitants of the Central Bohemia District.

⁶ The table simply shows preferences of the types of transport according to the four factors that were analyzed.

Preferences	Cost	Speed	Comfort	Frequency
1	bus	car	train	car
2	train	bus	bus	train
3	car	train	car	bus

What do the shuttle migrants mean for a rural settlement, where they leave from and where they go back

This question was not explicitly asked, but the research focused on it as one of the basic aims. The answer is not easy and is formed into a few points, which are based on the heard interviews as a part of the observation technique and also on the realized interviews that were done with the shuttle migrants and the experts. All the time we proceeded from the assumption that we want to answer the question about the role and positions of the shuttle migrants in relation to the social potential of the settlement, i.e. towards the set of the social and cultural conditions that could be mobilized, eventually that indicate the ability of citizens to act in order to improve their lives.

The respondents' evaluation was obviously based on the type of settlement. From this point of view, one can distinguish a type of settlements with the brand "the closed one" (a typical sentence representing this type would be: "a man shall work there, where his/her home is and not to try his/her luck in a city"). The migrants returning home are then seen as an incoherent element and so they are not too much involved in the activities of the municipality. A strongly limiting factor of their possible contribution to the social potential is the mistrust towards them (for instance because they diminish traditions or implement inadequate innovations). We can place on the other side of this "ideal-type" scale "the open settlement" and at the same, the strongly urbanized one. Here, the shuttle migration is seen as an everyday issue without judging the distance from the place of living. In case of the mixed type of village (by this we mean a position between the extreme poles) that is the most common in reality, the shuttle migration is seen as a carrier of new ideas and as a source of effective solutions of the current problems of the rural settlements. The mistrust that was mentioned above has got a preventive and protective function. It does not necessarily mean a refusal of the innovative elements, but it does mean vigilance due to the eventual excesses originating from doubts about possibilities to accept the cultural innovations.

The mentioned characteristics of the "closed" settlement, with regards to the basic attitude towards the shuttle migrants, do not exclude the possibility that some of them could act relatively independently and creatively in administrating public issues. However, more common is the possibility that they become members of associations, unions and other institutions and organizations of public administration, in which the non-migrating ("the firmly embedded ones") citizens dominate. It is not rare that the shuttle migrants enjoy certain privileges in their settlements and are given certain exceptions within the sphere of the community life (such as a place of honor in organization, a possibility of paying-off instead of voluntary work and so on). Meetings of the shuttle mi-

grants and the embedded citizens in field of the public administration are, in case of those municipalities, delicate things. Actually it is (in symbolic expression) more like a clash than a gathering, because of the social tension that is always present. One can therefore say that solving the problems is becoming more complicated and the positive contribution of the shuttle migrants, considering the social potential of the settlement, is minor.

There are quite different specificities in case of the "open" settlements. Unlike the "closed" settlements, here it may happen that the shuttle migrants act almost independently in the field of public administration and so there do not occur any conflicts with the non-migrating citizens. The shuttle migrants take part after coming back from work. A different situation appears in the sub-urbanized settlements, where the representatives, who tend to technocratism, dominate the public administration. Public in fact does not intervene in it at all. General prosperity of those settlements is based on: a) facilitating shuttle migration (through arranging connections), b) preparing the best possible background for shuttle migrants (i.e. the infrastructure for the preferable types of living, appropriate consumers' infrastructure, educational institutions, etc.). The actual living in the locality is not in the limelight. The ability to act may be relatively good, however it misses its main goal – to preserve the identity. One cannot talk about the social potential in the real sense.

The shuttle migrants have made a decision not to move away from the rural locality, where they live and where they daily return. Some of them are engaged in the issues of the locality. The shuttle migrants represent a large group that keeps rural localities populated (especially in case of the Central Bohemia Region). This function has not been widely discussed in public yet – in comparison with the case of cottagers (people, who own weekend houses in villages), who have been seen for last 15 years as savers of dwelling in rural areas (although it is not always done in the best way from esthetical point of view).

The last note that comes from the observations and interviews is dedicated to the phenomenon of urban cultural customs diffusion, which the shuttle migrants bring to their rural households. The interviews of the respondents from mixed households (that consist of a migrating and a non-migrating member) in particular prove the non-trivial mingle of everyday cultural practices of urban and rural inhabitants. They mentioned frequent squabbles (arguments, quarrels) due to the differences in the used language and non-verbal communication means, life rhythms, ways of solving problems, choices of leisure-time activities, needs and personal interactions.⁷

Positives and negatives of the shuttle migration activities for rural settlements

The involvement and exercising the shuttle migration brings new elements to participants' life styles. In order

⁷ We are aware of the fact that this issue is not directly related to the impacts of the shuttle migration on social potential of a settlement. Nevertheless, we considered it quite interesting and therefore we decided to share it with the readers.

to use them successfully (i.e. to achieve the desired effect), the participants must count on imposing them.

However, we ask in this article about the effects for a settlement, respectively for its social potential. What is decisive then is the number of the shuttle migrants within the population of the municipality.

If the shuttle migrants are in the minority, which is well balanced by the number of economic active citizens staying in the settlement, the shuttle migrants are not a problem. But they do not contribute to the social potential either.⁸ This was the case of the “open” villages with their own economic activity (this kind of a village is in expert literature called the “developing” village or the village “on the road of development”, i.e. the villages are in the administrative and economic sense relatively independent on cities).

An opposite example is a village with the majority of the shuttle migrants (out of the group of economically active inhabitants of the settlement). This state leads to a strong orientation of development strategies on facilitating and implementation of transport infrastructure. This again includes the “open” villages (economic dependent though), which are also called “lodging villages”.

As one can see from the research – if we think of the relation between the shuttle migration and the development potential, it is always necessary to focus on the problems of transport infrastructure (this is valid no matter of the type of village – the open relatively independent one, open dependant one, closed one, mixed type):

- a) Possible benefits for economy, employment and settling of productive inhabitants in the locality (respectively reducing the shuttle migration)
 - Operating the transport communications requires investments that include building and maintaining the system
 - This sphere offers employment to rural inhabitants

- The quality transport infrastructure may stimulate tourism and other services (there is again a potential for another increase in employment)
- The quality transport infrastructure (as well as other preconditions) may become an important factor of decisions and allocations of investment projects (there is again a potential for another increase in employment in the locality)
- b) Possible negatives for economy, employment and settling of productive inhabitants in locality (respectively increasing the shuttle migration)
 - If the infrastructure is operated and maintained by companies from a city, the new working opportunities may not concern the rural inhabitants from the locality
 - The developed transport infrastructure may become an argument for centralistic decisions of the public administration executive body
 - The quality transport often requires additional costs (for instance due to negative externalities in natural landscape), which is always a financial burden for the locality as well as the basic operation of the transport
 - The quality transport infrastructure may stimulate shuttle migration, because time, work and consumption can be easily taken away from the locality.

Finally, what may be a controversial output of the improved transport infrastructure is an increase in number of the shuttle migrants in rural settlements. This eventual result reflects the ambivalent impact of the shuttle migration activities on rural settlements. Their typical vitality is preserved (amount of labor, purchasing power the activity of enterprises also remains or grows) their social vitality is decreasing, because various offers satisfying all kind of needs are still available, however, out of the locality.

⁸ The structure of the shuttle migrants and non-migrants in the researched settlements (out of 100% of inhabitants of the municipality)

	Non-migrating economically active	Migrating economically active	Non-migrating students and pupils	Migrating students and pupils
Municipality 1	25	23	10	7
Municipality 2	14	33	3	14
Municipality 3	9	26	13	5

Source: Population and Housing Census March 1, 2001.

The Municipality 1 is an example of the well-balanced structure of shuttle migrants and non-migrating inhabitants. There is 1/3 of those, who migrate regularly and the ratio of migration and non-migrating economically active inhabitants is approximately 1 : 1. The municipality is relatively strong in the number of people in productive and near-productive age, who manage to find jobs within the area of the settlement.

Considering the structure of the Municipality 2, it corresponds with the image of the “lodging-village”. This fact is especially discernible in case of the category of students and pupils (there is lack of educational institutions within the settlement). If we consider location of this municipality (near a regional center), the fact that 2/3 of the economically active citizens regularly migrate should not be too surprising.

In case of the Municipality 3, the situation is more complicated because of the relatively large proportion of the non-productive inhabitants within the population. The educational institutions are present and adequately used. However, economic/employer potential of the municipality has been limited because of the current development and so the economically active inhabitants are forced to shuttle-migration.

CONCLUSIONS

The shuttle migration is a phenomenon of spatial behavior that was spread due to the urbanization process. The empirical research also proves that it is differently seen in rural settlements. This attitude then determines whether the potential of the locality is used or wasted.

The dissimilarity that comes from the different cultural customs – such as the used language, non-verbal communication means, daily routines, choice of leisure-time activities and personal interactions – is perceived and strictly judged in those households, which consist of migrating and non-migrating persons. The dissimilarity is also perceived on the level of community life, especially in case of motivation to common actions and ways of solving problems, and acting.

Evaluation of the shuttle migration in rural settlements is also useful due to the fact, that one of the traits of the decentralized public administration is its ambivalence. It concerns rural areas and their communities – on one side civic activities, which make an opposition to the centralized power of the state administration, penetrate to localities, on the other side, it reveals (justifiable and unjustifiable) disparities, which lead to “looking for culprits from inside”. The shuttle migrants can easily become objects of such practices. As a result of it, the generally accepted benefits of the shuttle migration for countryside – as a source of information and innovative thoughts and actions – may be challenged. Eventually, one can put stress on the generally accepted con – the potential erosion of the local culture and identity (both aspects are parts of the social potential of rural settlements).

This work (due to the research probe) contributed to identification of the spatial behavior, respectively the shuttle migration and its impacts on social potential of villages. Its results may be used as a starting point for a larger research on this topic. One can see that the impacts of the shuttle migration differ accordingly to the easily objectified indicators (level of the shuttle migration, population structure) and accordingly to the indicators, which are harder to objectify (goals and reasons for shuttle migration, social character of shuttle migration). That kind of impact on social potential (in summary we can name them as an ability of non-migrants to act in cooperation with migrants) can be observed only by using the so-called “soft research”.

This research can be applied to selected villages using an ad-hoc scale that would illustrate geographic and demographic aspects of urbanization (spatial distance of urban centers, level of economic dependency on them, selected structures of inhabitants). Then we could add positions on a second scale concerning social and cultur-

al aspects of urbanization (i.e. openness/closeness towards the shuttle migration, the level of shuttle migrants' engagement in public issues etc.). Nevertheless, one cannot assume a vivid relation between the both positions of the researched phenomenon (just like in case of the continuum concept urban – rural). One should especially focus on problems of transport infrastructure, but again, with an unclear impact on the settlement development.

Without repeating the results of the researched topic, let us to emphasize at least a few points, which were chosen for the purposes of the issue of the shuttle migration and its influence on social potential of settlements.

1. Endogenous approach to local development considers the local social potential as one of the basic points.
2. The assumption that building, operating and maintaining the transport infrastructure is a solution of development, which will directly bring benefits, may become tricky. Although it is a crucial question of life quality in the locality, especially for the shuttle migrants, it may result in opposite effect.
3. Uneasy, but possible solution appears to be to profit from building, operating and maintaining transport infrastructure by employing local inhabitants and by taking the advantage from the opportunity to form its own economic independency on a regional center.
4. The shuttle migration can then reach a level that would not objectively and subjectively threaten life in the locality. One can therefore think of it as a contribution to local social potential.

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