

TOWARDS CULTURAL REGIONALIZATION OF THE CZECH LANDS: SUDETEN HALF A CENTURY AFTER THE TRANSFER

P. DANĚK

Department of Geography, Masaryk University, Kotlářská 2,
611 37 Brno, Czech Republic

SUMMARY

In 1945-46 approximately three million Germans have been transferred from the Czech borderland - Sudeten. This expulsion terminated hundreds of years lasting coexistence of two ethnic communities within one country. During following re-settlement of Sudeten a specific social environment has been created, in some respect different from that in non-resettled "inland" of the Czech Lands. After brief description of historical development - both before and after 1945 - the paper asks question what is typical of Sudeten today, half a century after the exchange of population. A number of variables describing population structure, housing preferences and voting behaviour of population in 1990s have been analysed. Analysis of variance have been employed with an aim to find statistically significant differences among three groups of districts: re-settled, partially re-settled, and non-resettled. Population of Sudeten in 1990s has been characterized as in average younger, less educated, more secularized, more prone to migration, more ethnically heterogeneous, less interested in politics, etc. In conclusion paper calls for a regional policy more sensitive to specific sociocultural environment of the re-settled territories.

KEY WORDS

Re-settlement - population structure - voting behaviour - analysis of variance - Sudeten

INTRODUCTION

Czech human geography in the post-war period has stressed the role of economic processes and phenomena, while their broader cultural, political, and social conditioning has been to a large extent omitted. It was reflected even in the name of the discipline:

human geography has been termed economic geography in Czech language, the term being gradually replaced with socioeconomic geography only during the 1980s. This self-imposed limitation of the subject was a logical consequence of mainly three factors:

- (1) It was primarily economic processes like industrialization, employment shifts among economic sectors, extensive urbanization etc. what was the main carrier of social changes in the period of (communist) modernity and thus they justifiably attracted attention of mainstream geographers.
- (2) Cultural and political aspects of social development were ideologized by the totalitarian regime and thus set outside scientific inquiry.
- (3) Methodological basis of Human/Economic geography was still deeply rooted in positivist paradigm and unprepared to deal with the less tangible aspects of social life.

The situation has changed after 1989. The very processes resulting from differences in language, religion, perceived ethnicity or historical appurtenance - that is cultural differences - proved to be a strong social moving force (of course in close connection with economic differences). It seems that society started to develop in cultural and political fields from the state in which it had remained frozen by the onset of the totalitarian regimes. Old unsolved conflicts together with conflicts developed as a consequence of insensitive decisions of ruling party leaders cumulated during the decades of communist regime and broke out after its fall with surprising power. Elsewhere in Europe this development led to the changes of state boundaries and even to violent armed conflicts. One consequence of this development was the division of Czechoslovakia (peaceful, but a painful one).

The Czech Republic is insofar homogeneous from the point of view of internal sociocultural differences that it was not seriously affected by those processes. After the Moravian nationalistic aspirations have cooled down the state unity is not endangered. Nevertheless, considerable spatial differences in sociocultural environment, that were created during historical development, are present also in the Czech Republic. For example, concentration of districts recently assigned as problem regions in borderland and in Moravia cannot be successfully explained only in terms of their economic, demographic, or settlement structure. Existing sociocultural differences can be considered in this context as factors markedly influencing spatial differentiation of the current process of post-totalitarian transition of the Czech economy and society. Awareness of these cultural differences can be helpful in the process of formulation of regional policies aimed at smoothing down the socioeconomic differences brought by the transition.

The aim of the article is to outline several important sociocultural boundary lines within the Czech Lands. Main attention is devoted to the boundary line between the traditionally Czech "inland" and borderland - Sudeten - settled by German speaking minority until the end of World War II. History of the origin and development of this internal cultural boundary is briefly described, followed by a more detailed discussion of consequences of the post-war exchange of population in the present social structure and voting behaviour of population.

OUTLINE OF THE CULTURAL REGIONALIZATION OF THE CZECH LANDS

The principle to be used for defining cultural regions is similar to the principle used in physical geographical regionalization: to minimize differences within and to maximize differences between the regions. The lower hierarchical level of such a regionalization the smaller differences between the regions (i.e. the lower the share of inter-regional variability and the higher the share of intra-regional variability). Thus sociocultural regions can be defined more easily on higher hierarchical levels (continents, states) than on lower levels (intrastate regionalization).

Within the Czech Republic three hierarchical levels of sociocultural regions can be recognized: macro, meso (medium), and microregions. Macroregion is determined by the state boundary: since 1946 it has been identical with ethnic and language boundary and thus political boundary of the present Czech Republic is no doubt followed by a well marked sociocultural boundary. On medium level three historically created boundary lines are of consequence: between Bohemia and Moravia, between border Sudeten and "inland", and between northern and southern parts of the country.

The historical boundary between Bohemia and Moravia is the oldest of them. Natural environment - especially relief and climate - had an important impact on its formation. Even though Bohemia and Moravia were politically united in a single state unit since the end of the 9th century (Great Moravia and subsequently the Czech State), the settlement was mutually separated into two disconnected territories until the late 13th century. Korčák (1938) termed those territories the tribal areas of the Czech nation. While the political unity of both tribal areas led to the formation of a single nation, their geographical separation conditioned some differences in mentality, language, and culture. These differences had been revived by some key historical events. For example, the Hussite revolution in the 15th century was much more a Bohemian movement and its support in Moravia was considerably weaker. The later beginning of the National Revival in Moravia can also be considered a reflection of cultural differences between the population of both historical Lands. Variables indicating the persistence of this cultural boundary line at present are, for example, the share of inhabitants of Moravian nationality and related voting support of the Movement For Self-Governing Democracy of Moravia and Silesia (Daněk, 1993; Kosteelický, 1993).

The boundary line between northern and southern parts of the country is the most recent of those mentioned. Economic and social processes played more important role in its formation than natural environment. It was formed during the 18th and 19th centuries in the course of industrialization and urbanization of the country. Industry, which spread into the Czech Lands mostly from adjacent Saxony and Silesia, found the most suitable conditions - both natural and social - for its development in the belt along the northern border between the towns of Cheb and Ostrava. One of the reasons that made the diffusion of capitalist industrial enterprise into the northern borderland easier was language unity of the territories on both sides of the former Austrian-German boundary.

Consequently, in the Czech speaking areas the major concentration of industry was formed also in the northern part of the country. However, the industrialization itself did not influence the sociocultural environment as much as the consequent growth of towns. Higher level of urbanization of the northern part of the country is - irrespective of later changes in distribution and structure of industry - one of the sources of a different sociocultural structure of that area. Employment in agriculture, divorce rate or religiosity of population are variables indicating well this boundary line.

The third cultural boundary line internally differentiating the Czech Lands is the pre-war language boundary between inland and Sudeten. It was formed in the Middle Ages, but it was the events of the 20th century what caused its culmination in a deep social cleavage with tragic consequences. Its origin and historical development is described in chapters three and four, some aspects of its present manifestation being the objective of the fifth chapter.

These boundary lines divide the territory of the Czech Republic into several sociocultural mesoregions. Differences in development of these areas in the past are the source of differences in the present social structure, cultural identity, and reflections of political decisions. Within these mesoregions specific sociocultural areas - microregions - can be identified. They have been formed on the basis of granting medieval privileges (Chodsko region), traditional socioprofessional specialization (highlands with pastoral economy, coal-mining basins), characteristic cultural traditions (Slovácko or Haná regions), or may be related to the activities of a famous writer, painter or composer (Mácha's, Jirásek's regions etc.). Differences between the microregions are expressed in dialects, mentality, habits and traditions, but they are generally smaller when compared with the differences among regions on higher hierarchical levels.

Nevertheless, two specific regions should be mentioned: Těšín and Hlučín regions. While their limited spatial extent is only microregional, their marked cultural differentiation is of a mesoregional type. Both regions developed during some historical periods within boundaries of other states and became part of the Czech Lands only as a consequence of the decision of the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919. Contemporary Těšín region is typical of presence of a Polish minority, high share of Protestants and unbelievers and above-average electoral support of the Communist party (not all mentioned characteristics being positively correlated). Adjacent Hlučín region has only a very small percentage of atheists - believers being predominantly Roman Catholics - and its population strongly supports right-wing pro-reform parties, electoral support of the Communist party being one of the lowest in the country.

CZECHS AND GERMANS IN THE COURSE OF CENTURIES

Czechs and Germans have come in contact with each other since their ancestors settled adjacent areas in Central Europe. A decisive period for the creation of ethnic boundary within the Czech Lands was the first half of the 13th century. Czech rulers of that time invited Germans to found the towns and to develop crafts and in such a way to

encourage overall economic development of the Czech Lands. The majority of the Czech towns was founded by German immigrants and towns thus became German enclaves in the Czech environment. However, as a consequence of higher natural increase of the rural population and migration into the towns a number of towns with Czech speaking hinterland gradually achieved Czech majorities within a relatively short period of time (Hoffmann, 1992). In spite of that numerous German minorities remained in several towns inside ethnically Czech territories - especially in the biggest towns - until the mid-20th century.

During the 13th and the first half of the 14th century the German colonization of the "frontier forest" also took place. It was the territory at higher elevations not settled systematically until that time, with harsh climate and low fertility of soils. That colonization completed the settlement of the Czech Lands. The Germans settled also a large part of the Bohemian-Moravian borderland (Jihlava, Svitavy, and Chrudim-Kutná Hora language "islands") and thus contributed to closer connection of the Bohemian and Moravian tribal areas. The course of the ethnic boundary was to a considerable extent determined by natural environment: the Germans who carried with them knowledge of more sophisticated working methods and technologies managed to make a living in the less suitable areas. Mining, in which the Germans had privileged position, played a specific role. Approximate course of the language boundary in the beginning of the Hussite revolution (around 1420) is expressed in Fig. 1.

Ethnic boundaries formed during the first German colonization remained largely preserved until 1945. But their shape was modified in subsequent centuries by demographic processes, political circumstances, and economic conditions. The first colonization halted after epidemics of "black death" in the mid-14th century. The plague (the strongest was in 1378) severely affected especially towns and it furthered their demographic exchange in favour of the Czech population. The growth of the share of Czech population in towns was accelerated by the Hussite revolution which also caused violent extinguishment of the German enclave of Kutná Hora (Hoffmann, 1992).

New influx of German immigrants occurred only after stabilization of political and economic situation in the 16th century (so called second colonization) and in particular after the end of the Thirty Years' War when the country was desolated and new Habsburg rulers encouraged German immigration (third colonization). Changes in the ethnic structure of the Czech Lands took place also later in connection with the development of industry and consequent urbanization but no fundamental change occurred until 1945. First reliable statistical data about the ethnic structure come from the 1880 population census. At that time 62.1 % inhabitants declared Czech and 36.0 % German common language out of a total number of 8.2 million inhabitants of the Czech Lands. (For detailed description of the development of ethnic structure using statistical data see Koláček (1934) and Häufler (1973).) For spatial distribution of the Czech/German ratio in 1930 see Fig. 2.

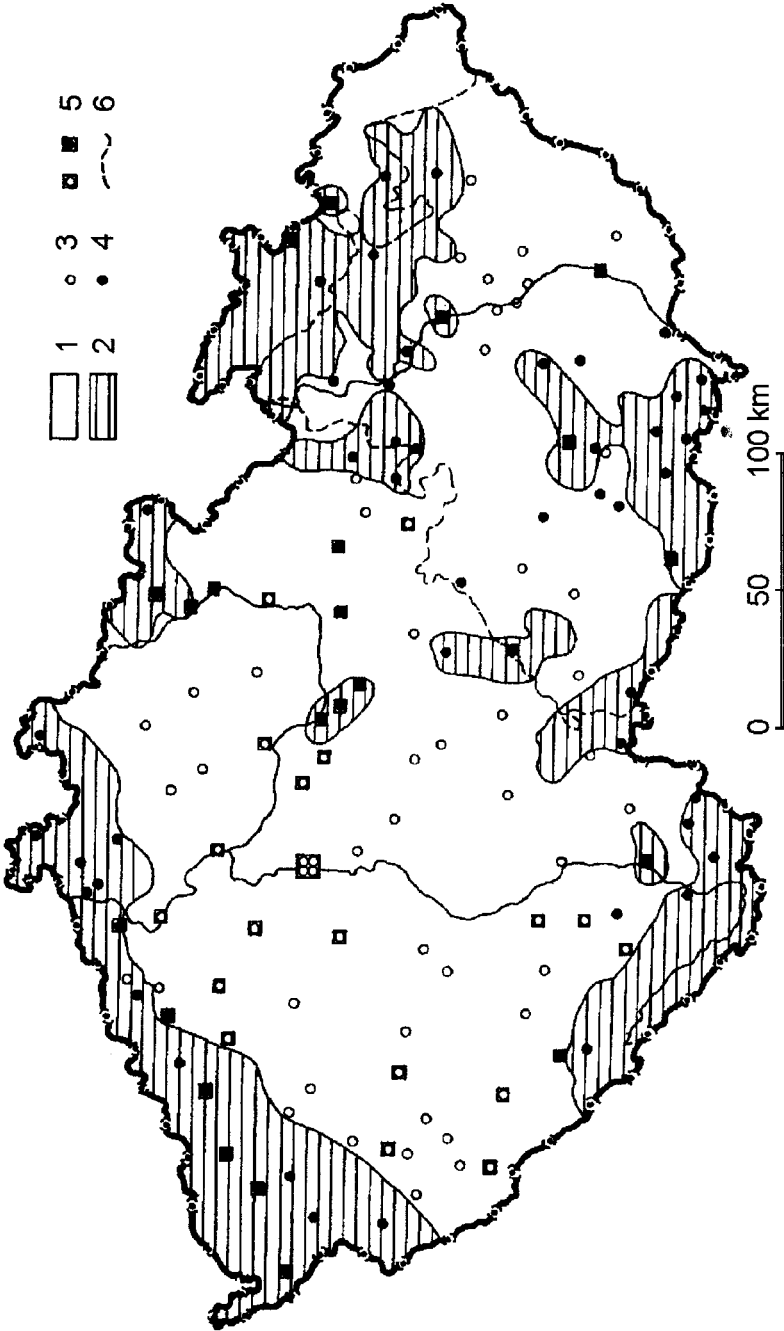


Fig. 1. Ethnic boundary in the Czech Lands around 1421.

Legend: 1 - Czech speaking areas, 2 - German speaking areas, 3 - towns with Czech majority, 4 - towns with German majority, 5 - royal towns, 6 - historical Lands boundaries. Source: Hoffmann, 1992.

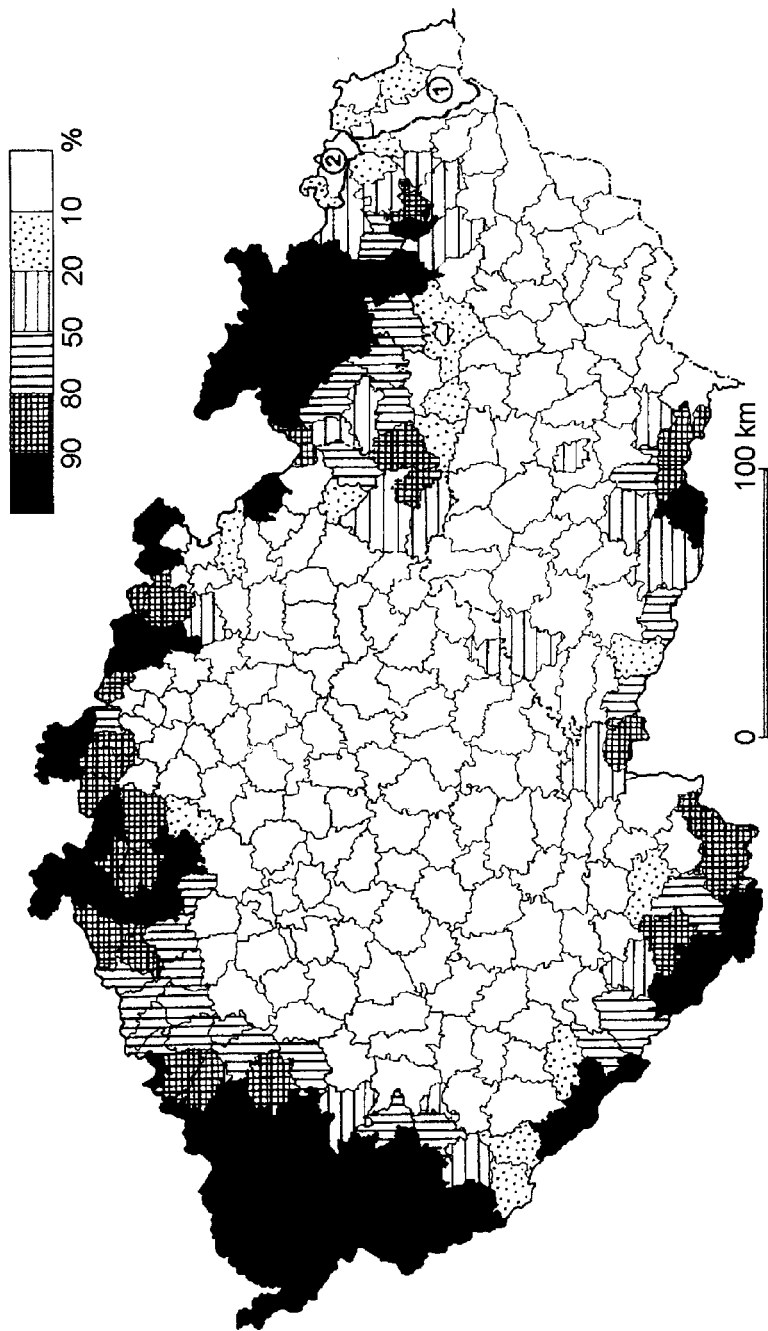


Fig. 2. The share of Germans in 1930 (in %). (Judicial districts used as territorial units.) Explanation: 1 - Těšín region, 2 - Hlučín region. Source: the 1930 population census

Coexistence of Czechs and Germans in the Czech Lands was never without problems. Higher political and economic position of Germans stood in the way of the Czech middle estate and resulted - mainly in towns - in a number of disputes. However, these disputes were usually motivated by political or economic interests and ethnicity did not occupy any important position on the scale of values of the period. That began to change at the end of the 18th century as the feudal way of life started to be replaced by the capitalist mode of production. Nationalism is the key expression for an explanation of the following development.

An engine driving nationalism in the Czech Lands was first of all the fear of assimilation - of a loss of gradually developed national identity. The fear of assimilation was motivated among the Czechs by higher economic and - until 1918 - political status of the Germans, and later also by geographical connection of the territories the Germans settled in with the powerful German Empire. Among the Germans living in the Czech Lands was the fear actuated especially by higher population increase of the Czechs¹ and their immigration into the German speaking territories (with developing industry). The development of nationalism among both communities would be unthinkable without intentional or nescient support from among politicians, artists, and scientists. Geographers played an important role among them².

Mutual confrontation between both ethnic groups advanced development of national awareness. Ancestors of Germans who settled in the Czech Lands came from Bavaria, eastern Franconia, Upper Saxony, Silesia, or Austria. Language and cultural differences remained preserved among them (see Schwarz, 1935) and an awareness of common national identity of Sudeten Germans did not develop before the 20th century. Personal self-identification on the territorial principle - with historical Land - prevailed and Sudeten Germans often called themselves Bohemians (Böhmer) or Moravians (Mährer). It was political development in the 20th century what led to the promotion of national identity above territorial identity and it resulted in the tragic fate of both communities.

That of both ethnic communities tended more strongly towards nationalism which was - irrespective of its share in whole population - in subordinate position from the political point of view. In Austro-Hungarian Monarchy of the 19th and early 20th century it was the Czechs who felt greater fear of assimilation and shielded themselves with nationalistic ideology. The situation changed after creation of independent

¹ Yet in the inter-war period some Czech politicians were seriously engaged in reckoning when Czechs will outnumber Germans insofar that the share of Germans drop below the limit (20 %) for which the League of Nations guaranteed protection of nationality minorities (Prinz, 1990).

² For example, Kolářček (1934) when describing ethnic structure of the Czech Lands employed expressions such as denationalization, jeopardy, Czech character in danger, rule of unnatural German minority, aggressive ethnic island, apostasy from German character, etc.

Czechoslovakia in 1918. Now Sudeten Germans feared of consequences of the transfer of political power from Vienna to Prague and their nationalism quickly developed. Occupation of Sudeten by the Czech army which followed a proclamatory declaration of independent German provinces in Bohemia and Moravia in 1918 (Prinz, 1990) have helped in this process. Growing national awareness of Sudeten Germans complemented with political demands was strongly encouraged by Nazi ideology from Germany in 1930s. The development culminated in autumn 1938 in German occupation of Sudeten, including nationally mixed and some predominantly Czech speaking areas, and their incorporation into the German Reich. Thousands of Czechs were forced to leave their homes and move into the inland³.

However, it should be mentioned that these events were to a large extent consequences of the geopolitical distribution of power in contemporary Europe and not only of purely internal causes. This was also true at the end of World War II when the defeat of Germany caused another shift of political power from one ethnic community to another. Expulsion of Germans from the Czech Lands terminated hundreds of years' lasting coexistence of two nations - coexistence full of conflict, but also formative.

DEVELOPMENT AFTER 1945

Final decision on the transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia was made at the Peace Conference in Potsdam in August 1945. At that time the so called "wild" transfer had already taken place. Prinz (1990) describes how the consent of powers with this "ultimate solution" of nationality problem in the Czech Lands was gradually prepared by the Czech exile government in London from the end of the 1930s. Approximately three million people were transferred from the Czech Lands in 1945-1946⁴. Sudeten German sources gave evidence that 240,000 people died during the transfer (Franzel, 1980; see also Turnwald, 1990). Together with transfer of Germans from Poland and several other countries it was the biggest compulsory migration in European history.

At the same time with transfer the re-settlement of Sudeten took place. Among the first immigrants were the so called gold-diggers who returned back after short period of time enriched with possessions left by Sudeten Germans. Government policy of industry migration, which was a part of the two-year plan of post-war renewal, contributed to the deterioration of economy in Sudeten. Its aim was to displace machines and whole

³ A number of 114,577 Czech emigrants from Sudeten in 1938 was given in a current parliamentary debate (*Lidové noviny*, 1994).

⁴ At the beginning of 1947 approximately 200,000 Germans remained in the Czech Lands, till 1950 population census their number dropped to 165,000. As a consequence of continuing emigration and unfavourable age structure their number declined to 48 thousand in 1991.

factories from borderland to less industrialized areas, especially to Slovakia (Žůrek, 1960).

State authorities encouraged the re-settlement by all possible means. The State Settlement Office was established for regulation and speeding-up of the re-settlement. Each inland district was assigned a quota of re-settlers and an area in Sudeten in which re-settlement they should take a part. Complicated and administratively determined relations thus developed between emigration and immigration areas. Until May 1947 1,244,000 inhabitants came to Sudeten and settled there. The number of immigrants represented 20 % of the population of Bohemia and 13 % of Moravia and Silesia. The re-settlement was more successful in areas immediately adjacent to continuously settled inland (including former language islands) and also in the northern more industrialized part of Sudeten. Immigrants preferred towns to countryside and thus advanced urbanization of the borderland (Häufler et al., 1960).

In spite of great engagement the population potential of the Czech Lands could not be sufficient for the re-settlement of such a large area. It became a task of "all Czechoslovak people". Only until 1947 116,000 inhabitants from Slovakia came to Sudeten and their influx continued at a rate of 10,000 immigrants a year on average yet in the 1950s (Häufler et al., 1960). Some of them were Slovak Gypsies, not all of them migrating voluntarily. Also immigrants from abroad - especially from Balkan countries - participated in the re-settlement of the Czech borderland.

Each group of immigrants carried with them from their home area a specific way of life, habits, and culture and often different ethnicity, religion, or language. It resulted in the formation of a varied sociocultural structure of population, different from that in the continuously settled inland.

Some of the re-settlers did not succeed in successful reshaping of their new place of residence into a new home and a feeling of a loss of roots, commonly referred to as rootlessness, have spread among them. Some of the immigrants were also perennial migrants who moved to other places after a certain period of time. Others came in only to make money and after several years or months returned. High intensity of migration with a high share of fluctuation component remained typical of Sudeten during whole post-war period (Häufler et al., 1960; Drbohlav, Blažek, 1992). On the other hand, in some areas the re-settlement came about quite successfully and a specific sociocultural environment was formed.

The re-settlement and economic integration of Sudeten appeared periodically on the list of priorities of the state regional policy (regional planning) during whole post-war period. Borderland was repeatedly assigned a problem region, delimited in different ways (see Fig. 3), and subsidized by house-building preferences and perquisites to wages. But the efficiency of such schemes was low under the conditions of command economy (Kára et al., 1993).

The situation changed quickly after 1989: demolition of iron curtain coupled with introduction of democracy and market economy changed the location of most of Sudeten from periphery on the edge of the (second) world to a highly exposed region. Location of large part of Sudeten on the "way to Europe" provide great potential for development of

those regions. However, their specific sociocultural structure makes utilization of that potential more problematic than was originally anticipated, or it shifts it into a specific position (for example, it is concentrated at only immediate or short-term profit and a weak orientation towards the future is developed - Hudečková, 1992).

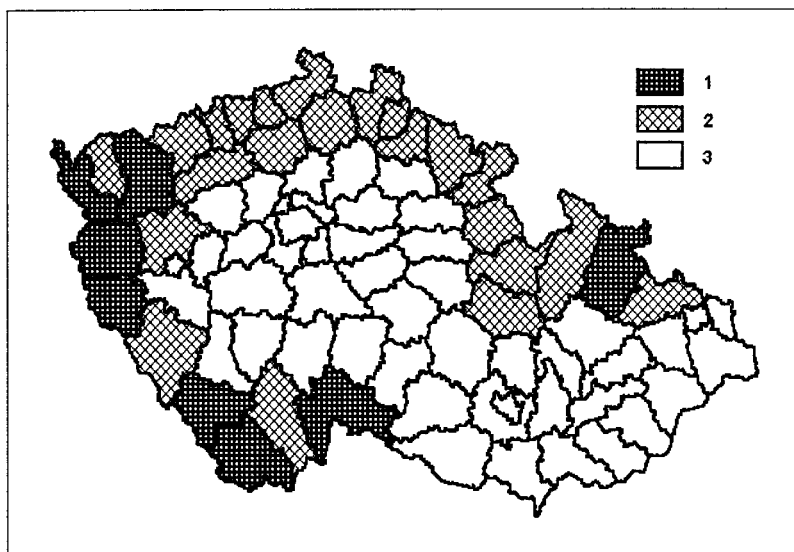


Fig. 3. Districts assigned for special support schemes by the government in 1960.

Legend: 1 - districts with a need of a complex support, 2 - districts assigned for a support of agriculture and services, 3 - other districts. Source: Kára et al., 1993

SUDETEN IN THE 1990s

Method of analysis

What is typical of Sudeten today? Do people living in the re-settled territories differ from people residing in the continuously settled inland? If yes, in which respect? Looking for the answer to these questions is objective of this chapter. The method employed is simple: a number of variables have been chosen characterizing socioeconomic and sociocultural structure of the population, its voting behaviour, etc., and their spatial differentiation was evaluated with respect to the pre-war ethnic boundary.

The first important question in such an analysis is selection of appropriate spatial units. Contemporary districts (76 units) are too internally heterogeneous to provide a suitable base for such an analysis. Moreover, they do not respect former language boundaries in any case. On the other hand municipalities (6200 units) are too numerous to provide interpretable results. Thus there was a need of spatial units smaller than districts but larger than municipalities. Two alternatives came into consideration: districts of municipal councils with delegated competencies, and former judicial districts. The second alternative was chosen. Its advantage is the possibility to compare socioeconomic variables for the present with extensive data sets from the period before 1948, when judicial districts were abolished as administrative and statistical units. On the other hand, its disadvantage is a limitation to use only that data for the 1990s which are statistically collected (and made available) on the municipality level.

The value of a respective variable for the area of former judicial district in the 1990s was achieved by summing the data for municipalities situated in its territory. Several judicial districts with very low population number in 1990s - mainly in Sudeten - were joined with adjacent districts so that the variability of their population size was reduced. The number of spatial units after this modification is 314.

The judicial districts were divided into three groups according to a degree of post-war exchange of their population. It was measured by the share of Germans in 1930 (the date of the last pre-war population census). Group A (177 units) was formed by the "inland" districts in which the share of Germans in 1930 did not exceed 20 %. These territories were affected by the re-settlement only as source regions. Group B (49 units) was formed by the districts with partially exchanged population (the share of Germans 20-80 %), and group C (80 units) by the "true" Sudeten districts with more than 80 % of Germans in 1930 and with almost complete exchange of population after World War II⁵.

The effect of this simple classification of districts on the respective variable was tested by one-way analysis of variance. This method enables to resolve the total variability of a given variable into variability between groups and variability within groups (that cannot be explained by differences between the groups). The higher the share of variability between groups the more is given phenomenon (variable) influenced by the employed classification of districts into groups (i.e. on the degree of post-war population exchange).

In Tables 1 and 2 the share of variability between groups is given (illustrating how is given variable influenced by the division of districts into the three groups) and average values of given variable for each of the groups of districts (showing direction in which given variable increases its values). Only those averages are given whose confidence intervals did not overlap - i.e. did not form the same homogeneous group - at 0.95 confidence level. In case that average for the group B is not given in the table that group belongs to the same homogeneous group with either group A or C (i.e. the difference of the group B from either group A or C has not been statistically proved). The differences

⁵ Six districts of Těšín region and two of Hlučín region have been excluded from the analysis because they too increased variability within the group A.

between the groups A and C are statistically significant for all given variables at 0.01 significance level.

A precondition for employment of analysis of variance is approximately the same variance within the groups. In case of variables that have not met this qualification (critical values of Cochran and/or Bartlett's tests were below 0.1) the Kruskal-Wallis analysis by ranks was employed testing the effect of the classification factor on the variable by evaluating the average rank of the districts in each group.

Inland - borderland differences in population structure

First the variables characterizing different aspects of the population structure are dealt with. The source of data was the 1991 population census (Table 1).

Variable: The share (in %) of ...	Percentage of variability between groups	Average for the group		
		A	B	C
<i>Age structure</i>				
... population in productive age (M 15-59, F 15-54)	45.5	57.1	58.9	60.0
... population in postproductive age (M 60+, F 55+)	48.2	22.0	19.2	17.3
<i>Educational structure</i>				
... population with only primary or no education	18.3	37.4	40.1	42.5
... population with secondary or university education	8.4	25.0	.	21.2
<i>Ethnic structure</i>				
... population of Czech/Moravian/Silesian nationality	59.6	97.5	94.8	88.8
... population of Slovak nationality	57.9	1.78	3.34	6.94
... population of Gypsy nationality	24.5	0.18	0.34	0.58
<i>Religious structure</i>				
... population with no religious affiliation	21.1	48.2	56.6	64.2
... believers affiliated to "other" religions	32.9	0.79	2.19	2.99
<i>Spatial stability of population</i>				
... inhabitants living in their birth-place	49.9	50.3	44.2	36.2
... inhabitants living in their birth-place - males	51.8	53.6	46.7	38.4
... inhabitants living in their birth-place - females	46.2	47.3	41.9	34.1
<i>Households</i>				
... incomplete households with dependent children	28.7	4.6	5.3	6.2
... flats occupied by two or more households	18.5	9.5	.	7.3
<i>Housing quality and structure</i>				
... flats of the fourth (last) standard class	10.8	7.9	.	5.5
... flats in family houses built in 1981-1991	18.7	48.9	.	27.6
... population living in family houses	29.4	64.9	.	43.5

Table 1. Effect of the classification factor on selected characteristics of population structure. Group A - "inland" districts without population exchange (less than

20 % of Germans in 1930), group B - districts with partially exchanged population (20 - 80 % of Germans in 1930, group C - Sudeten districts with almost complete exchange of population (more than 80 % of Germans in 1930). Source: the 1991 population census.

Age structure of population was simply expressed by the share of inhabitants in preproductive (0-14), productive (females 15-54, males 15-59) and postproductive age (F 55+, M 60+). Sudeten districts are typical of their higher share of population in productive age and lower share of older people - it is partly consequence of a specific demographic structure of re-settlers (in the later periods of re-settlement), and partly a reflection of the fact that Sudeten still is more the place for making money than a place of retirement. A number of people who did not take their roots in the borderland came back for retirement to their relatives in the inland⁶.

Differences in educational structure of population are explicable only relatively little by the employed classification of districts (low percentage of variability between the groups). Level of urbanization is the main explanation factor in this case. Nevertheless, generally a lower level of education in borderland is obvious (higher share of population with only primary or no education and lower share of population in all other categories). Borderland - inland differences would be more marked if the level of education was weighted by age structure.

The share of inhabitants of Czech, Moravian and Silesian nationalities is one of variables indicating well former language boundaries at present. Slovaks are the most numerous ethnic minority: their migration into borderland was often motivated by economic reasons and encouraged by campaigning measures of Czechoslovak government; there were no administrative barriers for it until the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993. Gypsies are significantly more concentrated in Sudeten, too. However, their share in population is higher than what is stated in the table since a number of Gypsies declared Czech or Slovak nationality in the 1991 census. Several immigration waves from abroad (e.g. from Greece after 1967) resulted in higher share of other ethnic minorities in Sudeten. It is typical that still in 1990s the majority of accommodation offered to refugees and immigrants from abroad (including Czech re-emigrants from Volyně and Banát) is concentrated in Sudeten. Borderland districts are also characteristic of above-average concentration of aliens who were granted working permission in the Czech Republic (Drbohlav, 1994). Small German minority contributes to ethnic diversity of borderland, too (Germans form more than 10 % of population in judicial districts of Vejprty - Hora Sv. Šebestiána, Žacléř, and Jáchymov - Horní Blatná).

Foreign immigrants to Sudeten came later than immigrants from the Czech Lands and they settled - or were settled - in more peripheral parts of the borderland. For instance the judicial districts with the highest share of Slovaks are those located in extremities of the

⁶ *A more complex analysis of regional differences in mortality conditions was not possible due to unavailability of relevant data.*

state territory: Vyšší Brod, Javorník, Vidnava, Skalná, Aš, and Přimda (all more than 12 %).

Secularization of society was one of typical processes of the post-war period. This process was the most intensive in the borderland (Daněk, Štěpánek, 1992). Migration into new environment was for a number of re-settlers connected with a loss of traditional values otherwise protecting against atheist propaganda of the communist regime. Besides higher share of unbelievers contemporary Sudeten are characteristic of a higher share of adherents of several small churches. Believers in the Czech Lands are 89.0 % Roman Catholics, 5.6 % Protestants, and 3.9 % confessors of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church. Remaining 1.5 % of believers are adherents of several small churches and statistically significant concentration in Sudeten is typical of them.

From the presence of religious and/or ethnic minorities in individual Sudeten districts it is possible to judge indirectly about migration flows in the past, both within the Czech Republic and from abroad. For example, the above-average share of Silesian Lutheran Church adherents in judicial districts of Sokolov and Loket may refer to participation of people from Těšín region in the re-settlement of that area. Approximately 3 % share of Orthodox Church adherents among the population of the district of Podbořany and three adjacent districts could be explained by immigration from the Balkan countries.

Spatial stability of population (as measured by the share of inhabitants living in their birth-place) is to a considerable extent a delimitation criterion of the Czech borderland. It was confirmed by the high share of variability among groups in case of this variable. Women are generally less stable in space than men, but interdistrict differences in female spatial stability are slightly less affected by the employed classification factor - other factors (e.g. following a partner, attraction of large cities, etc.) are more important stimuli for women's migration than specific attraction of borderland. To make money in Sudeten (one of the migration attractors of that area) is more a men's business.

The socioprofessional structure of population was analysed in the same way (with economically active population being divided into eight groups according to appurtenance to basic branches of economy). But no significant differences in economic specialization among the three groups of districts were found. Higher percentage of population active in "other" branches (including military personnel) in borderland is on the edge of statistical significance.

Households structure and characteristics of housing

Incomplete households with dependent children are usually formed by a single or divorced mother and her child/children. This variable is considered an indicator of the quality of social environment. Higher average values of this variable thus witnesses higher erosion of social relations in borderland as compared to inland.

Following variable (percentage of flats shared by two or more households) is a rough indicator of housing shortage. Lower average values in borderland can be considered a consequence of subsidized house-building in these areas. A possibility to gain a flat was for a number of people a decisive factor for migration into the borderland.

Differences among the groups of districts from the point of view of housing stock quality (expressed by the share of flats in each of four standard classes) and age (with respect to period of construction) are only small or statistically insignificant. But the structure of the housing stock is different. The share of flats of 1st or 2nd standard classes in family houses built in 1981-1991 on the sum of flats built in that period is significantly lower in borderland as compared to inland. It is related to the higher share of population living in family houses in inland districts. Different housing preferences and/or possibilities of population are reflected in those facts. Continuously settled inland is characteristic of strong orientation of population to living in privately owned family houses (partly because it is considered an ideal way of housing and partly because no other choice was often available in non-subsidized regions of inland), while the population of borderland live more often in blocks of flats, whose owner is either state, municipality, or housing cooperative.

Differences in voting behaviour

Similarly to census data also electoral behaviour of population as expressed in the 1992 parliamentary elections was analysed with an aim to find differences among the three types of districts (Table 2).

Variable:	Percentage of variability between groups	Average for the group		
		A	B	C
Electoral turnout (%)	46.6	89.9	85.9	82.2
The share (in %) of votes cast for ...				
... four coalition parties	19.0	40.4	.	33.8
<i>Among them:</i> ... Civic Democratic Party	7.0	5.3	.	3.8
... Christian Democratic Party	16.9	8.6	6.4	3.9
... Social Democratic Party	12.8	6.2	.	7.8
... Communist Party (Left Block)	8.2	13.9	.	16.2
... Association for Republic - Republic Party of Cz.	10.5	5.6	.	7.3
... Movement of Pensioners for Securities of Living	36.5	3.7	4.2	5.4
... 7 small parties (each with support below 2% of votes)	25.0	8.4	.	10.6

Table 2. Effect of the classification factor on voting behaviour of population. Source: the 1992 parliamentary elections

The variable most affected by the employed classification factor was electoral turnout. Public interest in politics and/or confidence in contemporary political line - as indicated by turnout - was considerably lower in the re-settled areas. Moreover, voting support of the four parties of the present coalition government was lower in borderland, too. The explanation of this difference is in a lower support of the Civic Democratic Alliance

(ODA) and especially of the Christian Democratic Union (KDU) in borderland - in case of the latter party conditioned by lower religiosity of population in those areas. Consequently, borderland and inland are mutually distinct in the level of their support of the process of post-totalitarian transition, whose main carrier is the coalition parties. However, electoral support of the strongest political party in the government coalition - Klaus's Civic Democratic Party (ODS) - is not significantly different in borderland from inland and its spatial differentiation depends on other factors than post-war exchange of population.

On the other hand, voters in Sudeten gave more support to left-wing parties, especially the Social-Democratic Party (ČSSD) and the Left Block (electoral coalition of the Communist Party (KSČM) and a small left-wing party). It can be considered a consequence of two factors:

- (1) Persisting "tradition" of the Communist Party voting support, that was formed at the beginning of the re-settlement and contributed to the victory of the Communist Party in the 1946 parliamentary elections (Daněk, 1994).
- (2) Economic preferences of borderland in the period of communist rule caused that the population of these areas perceive the totalitarian regime less negatively than the population of inland.

But other issues came into consideration, too. For instance the issue of policy towards Germany (and particularly towards Sudeten German community in Germany) connected with certain apprehension of voters in the re-settled territories about possessions in Sudeten could be a source of higher voting support of the left-wing parties.

Extreme right-wing Association for Republic - Republican Party of Czechoslovakia (SPR-RSČ), openly opposing current economic and political transition, did also better in borderland as compared to inland. Concentration of Gypsies - as an easy target group for violent actions of some followers of that party - is one of the explanatory factors for that phenomenon, but its conditioning is more complex with erosion of social environment in Sudeten playing its role.

The newly established populist Movement of Pensioners for Securities of Living (HDŽJ), the second strongest non-parliamentary party, gained higher support in Sudeten, too. It is surprising especially with respect to the lower share of older people - main supporters of that party - among population of borderland.

Furthermore, other small and newly established political parties did better in Sudeten while voters in inland preferred traditional and/or large political parties.

To sum up, population in borderland is characteristic of lower participation in political process, lower support of transition towards democracy and market economy, and higher support of extreme (both left-wing and right-wing) and marginal political parties. Besides spatial instability thus also political instability can be considered a typical feature of population in contemporary Sudeten. However, it must be kept in mind that variability within the groups of districts is in the case of all electoral variables higher than variability between the groups.

CONCLUSION

The boundary line between the Czech borderland and inland has been formed since the first German colonization in the 13th century. But it was the development of nationalism within both ethnic communities in the 19th and 20th centuries what had the key impact on its present character. It resulted in the tragic events of late 1930s, the war, and in the compulsory transfer of Germans in 1945-46 which terminated hundreds of years lasting coexistence of Czechs and Germans in the Czech Lands. In the course of the consequent re-settlement of Sudeten specific sociocultural structure of population has been formed.

In the 1990s the inhabitants of Sudeten - as compared to population residing in inland - are on average younger, less educated, and less rooted in their living-place (more prone to migration). Higher share of unbelievers and incomplete households among them indicate greater erosion of social environment. Tendency to build privately owned family houses is less popular (or less urgent) among them and they more often live in state or cooperative blocks of flats. Presence of various ethnic and religious minorities contributes to sociocultural diversity of Sudeten.

Borderland - inland differences in population structure are reflected in differences in voting behaviour. Voters in Sudeten are less interested in politics and they more support left-wing and extreme political parties at the expense of parties putting across economic transition. They more experiment with politics: political parties cannot rely on the support of their partisans in Sudeten as much as in inland and electoral results in borderland would be more dependent on political issues of the day.

The paper has paid attention only to chosen quantitative characteristics. But they represent only outer manifestations of inner causes, hidden in people's minds and their life experiences. Those people who decided to move into the borderland did not constitute a representative sample of the Czech population, and differences created between both groups in the process of re-settlement were increased by consequent development. To approach the "roots of rootlessness" more humanistic and sociologically based methods would be inevitable.

Nevertheless, from the given facts it is clear that in Sudeten, where society of immigrants developed almost completely under the totalitarian regime, the totalitarian way of thinking remained more strongly conserved. Nonexistence of relations to pre-totalitarian civic traditions made easier a deeper penetration of totalitarian ideology through the society. Economic measures targeted at the promotion and economic integration of Sudeten contributed to the fact that population in borderland did not perceived the communist period as negatively as population in inland. Those facts stand behind the present differences in religiosity, housing preferences, voting behaviour, etc., and that is what makes the process of transition in Sudeten more difficult.

Two concluding remarks have yet to be mentioned. First, the method employed divided the districts into only three groups. But inside each of the group - and especially among the Sudeten districts - considerable differences exists. In some parts of borderland the re-settlement resulted in formation of a dynamic social environment with a specific

culture. Generally the most problematic regions from the point of view of their social and economic structure are concentrated in the most peripheral areas whose re-settlement had to be strongly encouraged by campaigning measures.

Secondly, despite that some of the characteristics of borderland can a reader find more positive or negative, it is not possible to judge which side of the boundary line is "worse" and which is "better". The only possible conclusion is that they do differ and in which way. These differences should be kept in mind when preparing or implementing any development schemes because they can find different response in different sociocultural environment.

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