# EXPLORING AMENITY MIGRATION TOWARDS COASTAL AREAS OF LATVIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE ENGURE COASTAL AREA

Zaiga Krišjāne\*<sup>#</sup>, Māris Bērziņš\*\*, Elīna Apsīte-Beriņa\*, Maija Rozīte\*, and Guido Sechi\*\*\*

- \* Faculty of Geography and Earth Sciences, University of Latvia, Raina bulv. 19, Rīga, LV-1586, LATVIA; zaiga.krisjane@lu.lv
- \*\* University of Tartu, Ülikooli 18, Tartu, 50090, ESTONIA
- \*\*\* Department of Architecture and Urban Studies, Technical University of Bari, via G. Orabona 4, Strada D. Calvani 8, Bari, 70125, ITALY
- # Corresponding author

Contributed by Zaiga Krišjāne

Migration has key importance in explaining the spatial distribution of the population in Latvia. The study contributes to an understanding of population shift towards coastal areas affected by amenity-driven migration, beach-oriented tourism and land development. This research explores characteristics of the inhabitants of the Engure coastal area, with special attention to individual attitudes on specific life quality attributes. Using a survey of local residents conducted in 2010, we found statistically significant correlations between groups of the research population. The results show that in-migrants differ from long-term residents with regard to most socio-demographic and attitude variables studied. Similarly, differences were found by out-migration intentions of residents. The area selected for the case study serves as a prominent and instructive laboratory for our analysis due to its suburban location, comparatively stable population growth rates and richness in natural amenities. Moreover, the territory is set as a long-term socio-ecological research platform in Latvia.

Key words: amenity migration, coastal areas, population groups, suburban development, Engure.

### INTRODUCTION

In many Eastern Europe countries, the land use and composition of the population in hinterlands of the largest cities has changed dramatically. Today these major metropolitan areas have lost their formerly agricultural character and have been transformed into suburban residential and service areas (Kok and Kovacs, 1999; Boren and Gentile, 2007; Hirt, 2007; Leetmaa et al., 2009; Brade et al., 2009). The suburban development in hinterland of Riga has been no exception (Krisjane and Berzins, 2012). Relatively little is known about the processes occurring in suburban destinations attractive for amenity migrants, despite the widespread nature of suburbanisation. Almost nothing is known about the population composition in amenity-rich coastal areas all over the Post-socialist countries and the Baltic States in particular. Also, coastal areas, especially those in close proximity to large urban centres, are increasingly the focus of research on recreation, tourism and residential development (Williams and Hall, 2000; Gurran and Blakely, 2007; Crawford et al., 2013). Amenity-driven population growth and landscape change are notable features of the coastal development all around the world (Bartlett *et al.*, 2000; Curran *et al.*, 2002). Population growth and migration behaviour associated with coastal development contribute to land use change, as well as changes in social and ecological landscapes (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011). Some of these changes affect coastal areas adversely – increase built-up areas, disturb natural habitats, contribute to landscape fragmentation or even degradation, and alter aesthetic viewscapes and regional sense of place (Crawford, 2007; Gurran, 2008). Such coastal development may also threaten the social sustainability of populations engaged in traditional economies of fishery and agriculture as a result of market forces associated with amenity-driven migration and tourism (Paniagua, 2002; Krannich, *et al.*, 2006).

A long standing debate in migration literature has focused attention on the motivation behind an individual's decision to migrate (Cadwallader, 1989; Boyle *et al.*, 1998). People move to rural areas for both economic and non-economic reasons. In case of amenity migration, previous studies have shown that the movement of people from large urban areas to attractive rural settings is more related to non-economic

pull factors (Rudzitis, 1999; Marcouiller et al., 2002; Moss, 2006). Amenity migration is often linked with the processes of counter-urbanization (Dahms, McComb, 1999; Mitchell, 2004; Johnson et al., 2005), and documents the contributions of amenity migration to administrative, economic, and cultural transitions of regions historically dependent on agriculture, fishery or extractive industries (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011). These transitions reflect a process or rural restructuring where traditional land uses give way to consumption-based industries associated with residential and second home development, tourism and lifestyle activities (Elbersen, 2005; Abrams et al., 2012). Researchers have claimed that amenity-driven population growth in rural destinations is linked with perceived high natural amenity factors like climate, scenic landscapes, and location proximity to urban centres, wilderness, cultural richness and outdoor recreation facilities (Glorioso, 2000; Deller et al., 2001). Water bodies are one of the major attractions for amenity migrants, for their recreational and scenic value (McGranahan, 1999). Thus, the waterfront and access to the water have key importance for amenity migrants. As a result, coastal areas are among the most attractive destinations. However, studies that explore the amenity migration patterns in Latvia are rare. Little is known about the composition and specific destinations of amenity migrants.

The aim of current paper is to examine population changes and composition associated with amenity migration into coastal areas of Latvia. We focus on the inhabitants of the amenity-rich coastal area, in order to shed light on the most important socio-spatial changes taking place in the suburban residential areas. This study at first presents a brief review of literature related to main aspects of the concept of amenity migration, then describes residential patterns and dynamics in the Engure coastal area and compositional differences of population, as well as identifies trajectories for out-migration intentions. In Latvia, research of coastal areas has focused more on geological processes (Lapinskis, 2005; Eberhards et al., 2009), changes in coastal landscapes (Bunkse, 2001; Bell et al., 2009; Veidemane, 2011; Sture, 2012), problems of spatial planning (Puzulis, 2010; Brunina et al., 2011) and tourism development (Klepers et al., 2009; Rozite and Vinklere, 2011; Laakkonen and Vasilevska, 2011). Little attention is paid to settlement pattern and migration issues in coastal areas (Bērziņš and Krišjāne, 2008; Strautnieks and Grine, 2011; Bērziņš et al., 2011). In this study, we pursued two main goals. First, we sought to identify profiles of amenity in-migrants and long-time residents of the Engure coastal area. For comparison, we examine socio-demographic characteristics and some variables that explain personal attitudes of long-term residents with those of in-migrants. An important aspect of our research relates to comparing newcomers with permanent residents (i.e. those who have lived in the area since birth or for more than 20 years). Second, this study seeks to analyze differences of individuals living in the amenity-rich coastal area by outmigration intentions. Although both research goals are regionally specific and pertain to amenity migration patterns and consequences in the Engure coastal area, they have

broader implications by enabling comparison of population dynamics and characteristics in other post-socialist coastal areas with similar geographical contexts.

The Baltic seacoast is a unique system shaped by natural and cultural landscapes. Latvia has about 500 km of geologically and topographically diverse coastline. The Baltic coastline of Latvia consists of dune forests, coastal meadows, and steep coasts, sandy and rocky beaches. In addition, the coastal areas have always been attractive for human activities in the development of various types of settlements, larger and smaller ports. Nowadays, development of coastal areas is determined by the coordination of economic activities and preservation of the natural and cultural heritage. The coastal areas of Latvia cover the administrative territories of 17 municipalities, including four cities - Rīga, Jūrmala, Ventspils and Liepāja (Fig. 1). The total area of coastal municipalities is 8112 km<sup>2</sup> or 12.5% of the country's area. While the total population of coastal areas at the beginning of 2013 was 889 684 or 44% of the national population, excluding cities there were only 84 783 inhabitants. On average, 6 500 people resided in one coastal municipalty. The average population density in the coastal munici palities (excluding cities) was 26 people / km<sup>2</sup>. This is below the national average (31 people / km<sup>2</sup>). There are disparities between municipalities in the coastal area. In terms of population, economic resources and infrastructure, the coastal areas near to the cities are more advanced than those in peripheral locations. In addition, during the Soviet period, territories at the Baltic seacoast and in northwest part of the Gulf of Riga were controlled by the Soviet military and border guards. Thus, the majority of the coastal areas in Kurzeme were under decline in terms of residential policies, limited economic activity and human mobility. However, the Engure coastal area was not part of the heavily militarized seaside frontier zone of the Soviet Union with restricted access for residents, tourists, residential and tourism facilities.

Today, rural territories of coastal municipalities are rich in forests and forestry plays an important role in the municipal economy (Veidemane, 2011). Forests cover up to 58.1% of the territory of the Coastal Lowland in the Engure coastal area (Laivins *et al.*, 2013, 185). In some municipalities with large rural hinterland, an important in economic structure is also agriculture. Whereas coastal municipalities close to cities rely on tourism, and recreational services and they provides suburban residence for urban commuters, which brings comparatively higher tax revenues (Anonymous, 2012). This also largely explains the ongoing processes of rural restructuring in Latvia. The economic activity relating to fishery and agriculture has been diminishing in the coastal municipalities (Rozite and Vinklere, 2011).

Since the 1990s, Latvia has experienced population losses due to emigration and natural decrease. Migration made a substantial contribution to urban and rural population change. However, in coastal municipalities the key indicator for population decline is negative natural growth. Net migration loss of the population over the past 15 years totalled

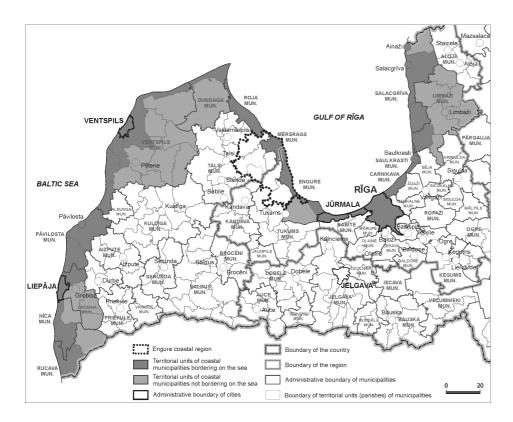


Fig. 1. Coastal areas of Latvia (source: Anonymous, 2012).

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Table 1

### REGIONAL POPULATION CHANGE, 1989-2011

Territory	1989 population	2000 population	2011 population	% change	
				1989/2000	2000/2011
Latvia	2 666 567	2 377 383	2 070 371	-10.8	-12.9
Coastal municipalities*	99 710	96 085	85 811	-3.6	-10.7
Pierīga region	376 959	357 492	371 431	-5.2	3.9
Engure coastal area	12 657	12 473	10 693	-1.5	-14.3
Engure civil parish	2 624	2 645	2 473	0.8	-6.5
Mērsrags civil parish	2 111	2 084	1 638	-1.3	-21.4
Kulciems civil parish	499	541	431	8.4	-20.3
Zentene civil parish.	1 285	731	545	-43.1	-25.4
Vandzene civil parish	2 079	2 081	1 676	0.1	-19.5
Lauciene civil parish.	1 789	2 015	1 786	12.6	-11.4
Balgale civil parish.	955	1 110	856	16.2	-22.9
Sēme civil parish	1 315	1 266	1 288	-3.7	1.7

<sup>\*</sup>excluding largest cities (Rīga, Jūrmala, Ventspils and Liepāja)

Source: Population Census of Latvia, 1989, 2000, 2011

approximately 3 800 people, or 30% of the total population decrease in the coastal areas. Despite this, the population of the coastal municipalities has not diminished as rapidly as in other regions of Latvia. Moreover, the Pierīga suburban region located near the coast of the Gulf of Riga has experienced population growth over the past decade (Table 1). This is confirmed by the analyses of migration flows, which indicated high in-migration rates for municipalities around Rīga.

Population size and growth rates varied across the coastal municipalities and within the Engure coastal area over the past 20 years. For comparison, population of the Engure coastal area decreased by 14.3%, while for all coastal municipalities by 10.7% and national population decreased by 12.9% from 2000 to 2011 (Table 1). Nevertheless, net migration rates were positive in coastal territories of the suburban hinterland of Riga over the past 15 years. Factors such as the availability of housing and coastal amenities have been the major drivers for in-migration.

The Engure coastal area is located in the Coastal Lowland in the western part of the Gulf of Riga (Fig. 1). Specific attraction of the area is Lake Engure, the largest lake (41.3)

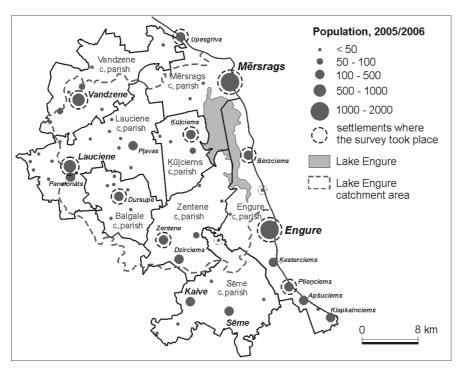


Fig. 2. Engure coastal area (source: Envirotech Ltd.).

km<sup>2</sup>) in the Coastal Lowland. Following the European initiative, Latvia selected the Lake Engure catchment area as the Long-term Ecological Research (LTER) platform. The area is one of the best investigated territories in relation to ecosystems and biodiversity (Melecis, 2011). The Engure coastal area comprises several seacoast and inland civil parishes (pagasti, rural territories) (i.e. Engure, Mērsrags, Kulciems, Zentene, Vandzene, Lauciene, Balgale and Sēme civil parishes) within the catchment area of Lake Engure. The largest settlements of the area are the coastal villages Mērsrags and Engure (Fig. 2). Several smaller villages also are located near the coast. The territories west of Lake Engure are more associated with agricultural activities. Nowadays, most of the population of the civil parishes lives in villages. The largest rural centres in the Engure coastal area are the villages of Vandzene, Lauciene, Zentene, Dursupe and Sēme. According to previous studies, during the second half of 20th century, a large number of farmsteads disappeared in areas distant from villages and main roads (Strautnieks and Grine, 2011). In coastal villages seasonal changes in population numbers were observed. The population in some villages, especially those closer to Rīga, increases several times during summer (Anonymous, 2012). Development of second homes occupied during summer vacations and on weekends characterises most of the coastal villages (Strautnieks and Grine, 2011).

### MATERIALS AND METHODS

**Data.** The case study is based on field work conducted in the Engure coastal area. Our empirical analysis derived from a survey of local residents, which was conducted in summer 2010. The survey questions were selected by the authors of this paper according to specific goals of the whole project of the Long-term Ecological Research network (LTER). The data was generated via face-to-face in-

terviews in the 12 largest settlements of the area (Mērsrags, Bērzciems, Zentene, Dursupe, Kulciems, Plienciems, Engure, Abragciems, Lauciene, Upesgrīva, Vandzene and Rideļi). A random sample was chosen for the survey excluding tourists, holidaymakers and second home owners. The main stratification criterion was settlement size. The respondents were selected according to the random route procedure. The dataset contains 382 observations, corresponding to about 5% of area's population aged 18–74. The sample is representative, insofar as it closely replicates gender, age and territorial distributions of the general population. Unique empirical data allows describing population characteristics in the amenity-rich coastal area and also allows to characterise human mobility patterns.

A survey question of primary interest for this study was "How long have you lived in the Engure coastal area?" On the basis of the results, respondents were divided into two main groups: in-migrants and long-term residents. In this study, migrants are those residents who changed their place of residence by moving to the Engure coastal area over the past 20 years. Considering the 18-74 years range of the sample, the 'in-migrants' category includes also some young respondents. Those who are in the age group 18-24 during the particular period of 20 years could have either be born in the area or arrived there as tied-movers with their families during childhood. Thus, some of those respondents may not exactly fit with the 'in-migrants' label. However, the main scope of the dichotomy is to underline the different degree of rootedness (and the potential difference of place-related attitudes) between people who settled and lived in the region before and after the socio-cultural and economic changes brought on by Latvian independence.

The survey found that 47.1% of respondents arrived in the area for permanent living. Respondent probability of outmigration derived from their answers to the question "Are

you planning to move in the near future?" Only 9.8% of respondents had a plan to change their place of residence in the next two years. We must note that the question used to build the dependent variable did not allow distinguishing between intentions to migrate temporarily or permanently.

**Statistical methods.** Subgroup comparison of respondents was performed using the non-parametric Kruskal–Wallis test completed with a paired comparison using the Mann–Whitney U test. These tests assess our hypothesis that the studied respondent subgroups came from different populations. Both tests are non-parametric equivalents for ANOVA, and are commonly used when a normal distribution of the population cannot be hypothesised – hence, they are appropriate in the present case, where the considered variables are non-metric (ordinal and nominal). The SPSS statistical package was used for all the following statistical analyses, and a two-sided *P*-value of *P* 0.05 was considered as the significance level for all the variables analysed.

### **RESULTS**

Using quantitative analyses, we explore the profiles of inmigrants and long time residents in the Engure coastal area, and differences of out-migration intentions by selected socio-demographic and attitude variables of individuals. Our analysis focuses on the basic socio-demographic (gender, age, employment status, dwelling type, land ownership) and attitude (personal career change, landscape change) variables of population subgroups.

Table 2 presents the composition of the research population based on the available data. The following points are noteworthy. First, the share of younger age groups is higher among in-migrants than for long-time residents. Secondly, in-migrants slightly more prefer to live in coastal areas with higher amenity value. Thirdly, in-migrants are less likely to be land owners than long-term residents. Similarly, they less likely prefer to live in private houses than apartments. The long-term resident profile, according to results, is characterised by age above 40, land ownership, and stable occupation profile. Attitudes towards change (i.e. intentions to change residence place and occupation) and young age are strongly associated with the in-migrant resident profile. There were no major statistically significant differences of the two analysed groups by gender, place of residence, dwelling type and assessment of landscape change indicated using the Kruskal-Wallis test.

Next, we compared people by intentions to migrate (Table 3). This comparison of "movers" and "stayers" yielded many similar results, which were obtained for in-migrants and long-term residents. We found no differences between "movers" and "stayers" by gender, place of residence and assessment of landscape change using the Kruskal–Wallis test. Positive attitudes towards residence change were influenced by age, rootedness, dwelling type and land ownership, employment status, and attitudes towards career and occupation change. Overall, profiles of respondents with a

PROFILES OF "IN-MIGRANTS" AND "LONG-TIME RESIDENTS" OF THE ENGURE COASTAL AREA

		In-migrants	Long- time residents	P value / Asymp. sig. (two-tailed)
Gender	Males	41.1	39.6	0.765
	Females	59.9	60.4	
Age group	18-24	35.0	3.5	0
	25-39	27.8	17.8	
	40-54	25.0	32.2	
	55-64	5.6	23.3	
	65<	6.7	23.3	
Place of residence	Coastal area	62.4	57.9	0.372
	Inland area	37.6	48.1	
Employment status	Employed	53.9	59.4	0.022
	Inactive	46.1	40.1	
Dwelling type	Apartment	34.4	30.3	0.659
	Private house	32.8	36.3	
	Farmstead	32.8	32.3	
Land ownership	Yes	28.2	37.8	0.016
	No	71.8	62.2	
Personal career change	Yes	26.3	46.3	0
	No	73.7	53.6	
Intention to change occupation	Yes	20.9	10.0	0
	No	70.1	90.0	
Intention to change the place of resi- dence	Yes	12.3	7.9	0.036
	No	87.7	92.1	
Assessment of land-scape change	Improved	68.8	65.5	0.732
	Deteriorated	6.5	11.8	
	Constant	24.7	22.6	
		N = 180	N = 202	

positive attitude towards migration were characterized by young age, previous migration experience, low rootedness, living in a rented apartment, and favourable attitudes towards changes in occupation and career. Mostly younger respondents (aged 18–39) intended in the near future to move to another place. It can be hypothesised that such an attitude depends on education- and employment-related factors.

### DISCUSSION

There has been little focus in Latvia on the analysis of place attractiveness, pleasant living environment and quality of life aspects in migration studies. Far less attention has been devoted to issues related to attractive landscapes or the advantages of the rural life. This can be explained with a lack of objective indicators regarding evaluation of the amenity-rich destinations for migrants. Nevertheless, coastal areas with unique nature complexes and settlement patterns historically evolved as amenity-rich territories attractive for

 $$\operatorname{Table}\ 3$$  Intention to Migrate. Profiles of "Movers" and "Stayers"

		Movers	Stayers	P value /
		MOVEIS	Stayers	Asymp. sig.
<u> </u>	3.5.1	20.7	200	(two-tailed)
Gender	Males	39.5	39.9	0.965
	Females	60.5	60.1	
Age group	18–24	48.1	16.1	0
	25–39	36.8	20.7	
	40–54	15.8	30.5	
	55–64	2.6	16.1	
	65<	2.6	16.7	
Migration experience	In-migrants	57.9	45.8	0
	Long time residents	42.1	54.2	
Place of residence	Coastal area	66.7	58.9	0.366
	Inland area	33.3	41.1	
Employment status	Employed	60.5	56.3	0.032
	Inactive	39.5	49.7	
Dwelling type	Apartment	44.7	31.1	0.025
	Private house	34.2	35.2	
	Farmstead	21.0	23.7	
Land ownership	Yes	16.7	35.4	0.024
	No	83.3	64.8	
Personal career change	Yes	24.3	38.6	0.018
	No	75.7	61.4	
Intention to change occupation	Yes	42.1	12.2	0
	No	57.9	87.9	
Assessment of land- scape change	Improved	56.7	68.8	0.208
	Deteriorated	13.3	8.9	
	Constant	30.0	22.6	
		N = 38	N = 348	

in-migration. As a phenomenon, amenity migration affected population changes in the coastal areas of Latvia. While not an entirely novel phenomenon, amenity migration rises as a transformative process and implies significant changes in the dynamics of rural places.

This research examined amenity migration in the Engure coastal area, a heterogeneous territory with coastal amenities, unique ecosystems and high biodiversity, attractive for tourism and recreation. In order to understand processes, it was important to determine amenity migration trends by population sub-groups. The survey that was used for this purpose offered representative and explanatory data about residents of amenity-rich coastal area. Our study revealed differences between in-migrants and long-term residents. As expected, in-migrants were most likely young people with positive attitudes towards changes in occupation and place of residence. Surprising, among in-migrants there were more inactive persons than among long-term residents. Also, for the majority of in-migrants, personal career was

not affected due to the change of residence. Possibly, most of those who changed their place of residence did not change their jobs and became commuters. Today, Rīga, Jūrmala, Jelgava and Tukums are important employment centres of the area and close to the Engure coastal area. Moreover, with the improvement of the economic situation, the Engure coastal area will become more attractive to affluent migrants who may relocate to the sea coast as a permanent place of residence, commuting to their workplaces in surrounding cities. In our research we found no differences with respect to gender. Interesting results were observed for individual attitudes towards landscape change. More inmigrants considered that the landscape has improved, while the long-term residents thought that it had deteriorated. Our results indicated that, in addition to differences by degree of rootedness, the intentions to relocate and personal characteristics associated to this are important to explain future migration flows. Thus, we found that respondents who tend to move in the near future are characterised by young age, low rootedness, live in a rented apartment, and have favourable attitudes towards changes in occupation and career. This allows us to argue that education and employment related out-migration of young population, even from the amenity-rich rural areas, is a common feature of the Latvian countryside.

In conclusion, this brief review of Engure case study provides insight into the development of research on amenity migration and its diversity in Latvia. Being a relatively new field of study, amenity migration raises many unexplored questions and opportunities for new studies and comparative work in the future. Therefore, future research in amenity-rich rural areas elsewhere away from the coast could also use the same analytical framework to further explore the presence of different groups of residents. It must be underlined that results seem to point out the existence of relatively complex (and possibly, causally ambiguous) patterns connecting migration-related choices and attitudes with socio-economic and socio-territorial factors, in ways that could perhaps be better grasped through path analysis models. Therefore, it would be useful to integrate the above described inferential methodology with further analysis based on structural modelling methodology, which would allow to shed more light on the hierarchical role of relevant variables in the causal chain.

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# PIEVILCĪGAS DZĪVES VIDES MEKLĒJUMU MIGRĀCIJA LATVIJAS PIEKRASTĒ: ENGURES PIEKRASTES PIEMĒRS

Migrācijai ir būtiska nozīme iedzīvotāju skaita un izvietojuma pārmaiņās. Latvijā maz pētīta iedzīvotāju pārvietošanās uz ainaviski daudzveidīgām un kultūrvēsturiski bagātām teritorijām pievilcīgas dzīves vides meklējumos. Baltijas jūras Latvijas piekraste ir augstvērtīga teritorija ar unikāliem dabas kompleksiem – kāpu mežiem, piekrastes pļavām, smilšainām pludmalēm, kā arī savdabīgām augu un dzīvnieku sugu sabiedrībām. Turklāt piekrastē ir bagātīgs kultūrvēsturiskais mantojums, ko nosaka savdabīga saimnieciskā darbība un aizsargājamo dabas teritoriju apsaimniekošana. Raksta mērķis ir novērtēt iedzīvotāju sastāva atšķirības pēc migrācijas pieredzes un indivīdu attieksmē pret noteiktiem dzīves kvalitātes rādītājiem Engures piekrastes teritorijās. Pētījumā izmantoti 2010.gadā veiktas iedzīvotāju aptaujas dati, bet to analīzē lietoti neparametriskie datu testi. Iegūtie rezultāti parāda atšķirības starp pastāvīgajiem iedzīvotājiem un iebraucējiem pēc noteiktām pazīmēm. Līdzīgas atšķirības parādās, salīdzinot iedzīvotājus pēc to nodomiem pārcelties no Engures piekrastes uz citām teritorijām Latvijā.