



Trends of Social Changes in Rural Areas and in Agriculture

Prof. PhDr. Ing. Věra Majerová, CSc., et. al.

Sociological Laboratory

1999

Department of Humanities
Faculty of Economy and Management
Czech University of Agriculture in Prague

Condensed version of closing report about research
Financial source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, VS97097

1. Introduction	1
2. Rural Space of the Czech Republic	8
<i>Characteristics of Rural Population</i>	8
<i>Population Development</i>	9
<i>Migration</i>	9
<i>Population Development</i>	10
<i>Qualification Structure</i>	10
<i>Unemployment</i>	11
<i>Population development on the threshold of 21st century</i>	11
3. Description of a field research.....	12
3.1. <i>Data file formation</i>	12
3.2. <i>Selection of respondents by the technique of a random walk - instructions</i>	13
4. Employment.....	14
4.1. <i>Current Work Engagement.....</i>	15
4.2. <i>Work Possibilities.....</i>	15
<i>Working Positions.....</i>	16
<i>Ownership Structure of the Enterprises.....</i>	17
4.3. <i>Work Career</i>	17
<i>Evaluation of Current Occupation.....</i>	18
4.4. <i>Interest in Business.....</i>	19
<i>Business Barriers.....</i>	20
4.5. <i>Private Enterprise</i>	21
<i>Private Enterprises in Agriculture.....</i>	21
<i>Funding the Beginnings of New Businesses.....</i>	22
<i>Success in business</i>	22
<i>Problems of Business in Rural Areas.....</i>	23
4.6. <i>Consideration of Change of Job</i>	24
5. Family and Household	25
5.1. <i>Family Members (Members of the Household)</i>	25
<i>Other household members.....</i>	26
5.2. <i>Marital Status</i>	27
5.3. <i>Husband, Wife, Partner.....</i>	27
6. Incomes and expenditures	30
6.1. <i>Incomes</i>	30
6.1.1. <i>Incomes according to jobs.....</i>	30
6.1.2. <i>Incomes with regard to education.....</i>	31
6.1.3. <i>Incomes with regard to regions</i>	31
6.1.4. <i>Incomes with regard to the size of domicile</i>	32
6.1.5. <i>Incomes according to age</i>	32
6.1.6. <i>Incomes according to gender and marital status</i>	33
6.2. <i>Structure of household incomes</i>	33
6.3. <i>Expenditures</i>	34
6.4. <i>Standard of living</i>	35
6.4.1. <i>Comparison with the year 1989.....</i>	35
6.4.2. <i>Comparison with other inhabitants in the municipality</i>	35
6.5. <i>Conclusions</i>	36
7. Household Equipment.....	38

7.1. <i>What belongs to the typical household equipment</i>	38
7.2. <i>Satisfaction with household equipment</i>	41
7.3. <i>Standard of living in a rural community</i>	42
8. Housing	45
8.1. <i>Type of Housing</i>	45
8.2. <i>Flat amenities</i>	46
8.3. <i>Other flat facilities</i>	47
8.4. <i>Floor space</i>	48
8.5. <i>Conclusions</i>	48
9. Personal holdings	50
9.1. <i>Size of personal holdings</i>	50
9.2. <i>Domestic animals</i>	50
9.3. <i>Work and benefit from personal holdings</i>	51
9.4. <i>Conclusions</i>	52
10. Leisure Time	53
10.1. <i>Leisure Time Activities</i>	53
10.2. <i>Holiday</i>	54
11. The Relatives and Neighbourhood	56
11.1. <i>The Relatives</i>	56
11.2. <i>The Neighbourhood</i>	57
11.3. <i>Cohesion</i>	57
11.4. <i>Excluded Groups</i>	58
11.5. <i>Conclusions</i>	58
12. Municipality	60
12.1. <i>The Length of Life in a Municipality</i>	60
12.2. <i>Considerations about Moving</i>	61
12.3. <i>Conclusions</i>	63
13. Civil Facilities	64
13.1. <i>Features of civil facilities</i>	64
13.2. <i>Municipal Council</i>	69
13.3. <i>Life in rural communities</i>	69
13.4. <i>Conclusions</i>	70
14. Restitutions	71
14.1. <i>Restituted property and its use</i>	71
14.2. <i>Opinions about restitution</i>	73
15. Political and Social Life	76
15.1. <i>Preferences of Political Parties</i>	76
15.2. <i>Member base of political parties</i>	77
15.3. <i>Expectations for the Future</i>	78
15.4. <i>Trust of Citizens in Politicians</i>	78
15.5. <i>Membership in interest and society organisations</i>	79
15.6. <i>Religion</i>	79
15.7. <i>Newspapers, magazines, TV</i>	80
15.8. <i>Return of the Past</i>	80
15.9. <i>Conclusions</i>	81

16. Values	82
<i>16.1. Evaluation of Changes in Society</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>16.2. The nearest life goals</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>16.3. Conclusions</i>	<i>85</i>
17. Final conclusions	87
<i>Literature</i>	<i>89</i>

1. Introduction

Věra Majerová

Sociological research of rural areas and agriculture has quite a long tradition in our countries, however, its development had been repeatedly interrupted in consequence of historical and political events. Pragmatic orientation of rural sociology after origination of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 was dictated by economic and social needs of the new state. The land reform starting in 1919 changed the structure of Czechoslovak village, although it turned out a little differently from what the creators of appropriation and allocation act had intended. Still, the face of village changed, the poorest strata of the population disappeared, the farm middle class was strengthened and the economic and political influence of big landowners was reduced.

The stress on stabilisation of the economic and social structure of rural areas and agriculture brought about the need of a detailed research of the rural population working and life conditions. During the period between WWI and WWII, the monographic method was often used for complex description of the chosen locality. Techniques such as questionnaire investigation and different types of interviews were used. As a necessary complement of the of rural communes studies, document analysis, photographic documentation and drawings were utilised.

The period of collectivisation is unfortunately not recorded from the sociologic point of view, as sociology disappeared for ideological reasons from the curricula of universities and from research institutions methodological apparatus in that time. Only at the beginning of the 60ies, has there begun the renewal of pedagogical and sociological workplaces, which focused on the research of social structure of the socialistic large-scale agricultural enterprises, predominantly on management of these enterprises, creation of enterprise structures and changes of working conditions connected with the continuing industrialisation of agriculture. In the rural research, there continued the efforts of recording the urbanisation processes changing the face of villages.

The rather positive development of sociology of agriculture and rural areas was interrupted after 1968, when the applied rural sociology disappears from the curricula of universities again. Fortunately, it survived, although reduced, in research. However, the contents of research was restricted by the economic orientation of workplaces and by the demands of ministries. The main research themes were the working and living conditions of the workers of co-operatives and state farms, development of the qualification structure of agricultural workers, work motivation, effectiveness of labour management, value system of rural population, changes of settlement structures and others. At this time, namely the absence of international contacts and very limited possibilities to study foreign literature were the hindrance to progress in rural sociology. Scientific isolation soon begun to show in gaps of the methodology of sociologic research knowledge the and loss of orientation in the development directions of the European and world sociology. Still more important were the consequences of liquidation of the pedagogical workplaces of rural sociology because there was still more deeply felt the lack of new scientific generation, which would have continued the started job and gradually give it their own features.

The interrupted research was not re-established again until 1989. At the Agricultural College (later the Czech University of Agriculture) in Prague, teaching rural sociology and sociology of agriculture was renewed again after twenty years and the consolidation of this

field of science began from pedagogical as well as scientific point of view. At present, the Department of Humanities (DH) has a good personnel and material background for education of young rural sociologists. The broken international relationships are being re-established and new ones are created. Foreign study stays and co-operation receive full support from the management of the Faculty of Economics and Management of the CUA. Students and researchers are provided with modern computer facilities including software, the library of contemporary Czech and foreign literature is continually completed. Rural sociologists are equipped with the knowledge of contemporary methodology and techniques of sociological research.

The period of the past ten years has been, however, equally dramatic regarding the development of countryside and agriculture. The change of the political, economic and social system has impacted significantly both countryside and agriculture. We can say, that the transformation of agriculture after 1989 has been one of the further important development landmarks, as were for example the agrarian crisis at the last quarter of 19th century, land reform in 1919 or collectivisation after 1949. The processes of restitution and privatisation changed again the ownership structure in the countryside and agriculture basically and decreased considerably the share of rural population employed in agriculture. Unemployment is growing, offers of job opportunities changes, the religious, social and political life is gradually renewed. New economic and social organisations and institutions arise, the open borders cause both positive and negative social phenomena and processes – possibility of free travel, purchases, education, trade, work, growing knowledge of foreign languages, learning about foreign countries. On the other hand, the open border brought about increased prostitution and crime connected with it, increased drug abuse and trade, new types of criminal offences, such as illicit work and the like.

Rural society is changing gradually. We faced the question, how to record the most important features of these changes, their extent, significance and consequences.

Statistic data, which can give evidence about countryside and agriculture, usually lack a more detailed structure according to size groups of municipalities down to the smallest ones, chosen social groups that are typical for rural settlement, size groups of economic subjects and other useful criteria. Many types of information are very difficult to acquire or are not accessible at all, or only with to high financial costs.

The questionnaire research was, after reflection, divided into 14 parts, which will be described in detail in the following text. In the area of work, we tried to record the most important changes connected with change of ownership relationships, changes in job opportunities and creation of new jobs. There are questions oriented on business in rural areas, its advantages, barriers and success. We decided resign on the precise investigation and specification of the share of agricultural workers, since their percentage in rural areas decreased. Therefore, they are included in the research only as one of the profession-social groups, such as it was created by chance choice.

The questionnaire includes the questions, for which we presuppose a different development from the current state, for example concerning the coexistence in rural areas, neighbourhood relations, functioning of political and social organisations. We suppose that the tendencies of changes will show also in new priorities and values of rural population.

Together with sociological research, we made a photo documentation of the rural space. It illustrates some of the described phenomena and it can be well utilised in lecturing on sociological subjects. It can substitute, to a certain extent, the mediated observations, since certain elements of the present life will disappear after certain time (for example the look and state of certain restituted objects, buildings and roads under construction, state of forests,

surroundings of municipalities, typical elements of the border areas such as the Vietnamese – owned stands and markets etc.). Photographic documentation of these elements will, after time, help to identify the roots of phenomena and events.

The outcomes of this research were included in the comprehensive research report and were published partially in the specialised literature. The presented publication summarises the most important outcomes of this research.

2. Rural Space of the Czech Republic

Věra Trnková, Rudolf Trnka

Rural area and rural inhabitants are defined as area and inhabitants, respectively, of the basic self-governing territorial units (communes in the CR, local communities or municipalities i.e. units of the regional level NUTS 5), that have population density lower than 100 inhabitants per km².

There are almost 5,000 of so defined municipalities in the CR (4,995, which represent 80 % of 6,242 municipalities in the CR), their total area covers almost 60 thousand km² (59,418, i.e. 75 % of the total area of the state), but there lives only under one fourth of inhabitants (2,298,346 in 1998, i.e. 22.3 %).

The typology of rural space according to the OECD methodology uses as an indicator the share of inhabitants living in municipalities with population density lower than 100 inhabitants per km². The regions are then divided into:

Predominantly rural regions (PRR) = more than 50 % of inhabitants live in rural municipalities with population density lower than 100 inhabitants per km².

Significantly rural region (SRR) = 15 – 50 % of inhabitants live in rural municipalities with population density lower than 100 inhabitants per km².

Predominantly urban region (PUR) = less than 15 % of inhabitants live in rural municipalities with population density lower than 100 inhabitants per km².

Types of Regions in the CR

2/1

Type of region	Number of			Area		Number of inhabitants		Density inhabitants/km ²
	Regions	Municipalities	%	km ²	%	Real number	%	
PRR	9	723	11.6	12,240	15.5	613,536	6.0	50
SRR	55	5,082	81.4	59,484	75.4	6,200,466	60.2	104
PUR	3	437	7.0	7,142	9.1	3,485,123	33.8	488
Total	77	6,242	100.0	78,866	100.0	10,299,125	100.0	131

Characteristics of Rural Population

The characteristic feature of the CR inhabitancy is the atomised population net. There were 14, 931 settlements in the CR by January 1, 1997 and the average distance between them was 2.3 km.

At present, almost one fourth of population lives in rural municipalities. The existence of small but compact settlements is typical for the Czech Republic, predominantly in the Central, Southern and Eastern Bohemia. In Southern Moravia, larger settlements prevail and in Northwest Moravia, predominantly in sub-montane regions, houses are scattered. There exist no extremely overpopulated or depopulated areas in the CR. As a result of the past development and reforms after 1989, the problem of unequal development of rural areas has been revealed, particularly in the areas where agriculture still remains an important economic activity. The unequal development afflicts mainly the areas in worse natural conditions, where it is difficult to reach an adequate capital profitability of business. Namely small municipalities lack, owing to the low tax incomes and state budget support, sufficient financial resources for the maintenance of their property and for development of technical and public infrastructure. The development of private business in the sphere of trade, services and crafts has contributed to a certain increase of this, nevertheless, it is evaluated, both by rural inhabitants as well as the mayors of rural municipalities, as insufficient. A great

differentiation of the infrastructure level to the disadvantage of rural municipalities is the result of the inappropriate application of the system of central municipalities in past. These differences continue because this is a very investment-demanding area.

The division of rural municipalities according to population density per km², when a municipality with the population density under 100 inhabitants per km² is regarded as rural municipality, will lead to certain changes in the numerousness of the individual types of rural municipalities within the CR.

Population Development

Since 1994, the number of the CR inhabitants decreases slightly. In the period 1994 – 1998, number of inhabitants diminished by 41,219 persons. In rural areas, this process only affected the smallest villages (up to 500 inhabitants). On the contrary, larger villages and small towns gain inhabitants.

Gradual ageing of the population is a serious result of population stagnation. In the CR, this is not yet so obvious in the increased number of the elderly people as it is seen in the decreased share of children. 1994 was the first year when the percentage of children of age 0 – 14 was lower than the percentage of persons older than 60 years (by December 31, 1998, the age group 0 – 14 = 17.0 % and 60+ = 18.1 %).

After 1990, the increase of the population average age in the CR accelerated. In 1998, the average age of population reached the highest number as yet: 38 years (36.4 years for men, 39.6 years for women), which means an increase by 2.6 years (2.7 years for men, 2.5 years for women). Age structure of the population is in accordance with the European average. The CR is not among the “youngest” neither among the “oldest” countries. However, as a result of a low birth rate, it will soon belong to the oldest population countries in the world. Ageing of population will be the greatest population problem of the CR in near future.

Growing life expectancy is a positive phenomenon in development of Czech population. Life expectancy is considered to be an important demographic indicator in the international comparison which characterises living standards of the given country. Decreasing middle age group mortality, in which the CR used to lag behind the developed countries, now contributes to the improving life expectancy in CR considerably. Mortality in younger age groups corresponds to mortality in the developed European countries including infant mortality, which in 1998 reached the level of 5.2.

Migration

Migration is a second component of the social reproduction of population. The basic change is represented by the direction of migration. In contrary to the long-time development, when small rural villages had lost inhabitants as a result of migration, they now gain inhabitants. The average migration rate per year was the highest in the category of municipalities with 500 to 999 inhabitants and, on the contrary, it was negative in all towns except the category of 2,000 to 10,000 inhabitants in 1997. Especially cities marked great migration lose. After a long-time urbanisation, there are showing reverse tendencies in many areas. Municipalities and regions in the background of regional capitals particularly gain inhabitants by migration.

The balance of internal migration shows still decreasing volume and intensity. Yearly, about 2 % inhabitants change their permanent residence. Mostly (in about 55 % cases), it is the short-distance migration. Migration occurs predominantly between municipalities of one region (between 1991 and 1997, about 40 %). the main reason for moving was to follow a

family member. Although the foreign immigration is active (10,000 persons), the number of migrants does not cover reproduction losses caused by the negative natural population growth.

The change in the migration direction, when the number of incoming persons to the rural areas prevail over the number of the outcoming, means that depopulation of rural areas has actually stopped. All three size-groups of municipalities gain through migration, towns, on the contrary, mostly lose. A great outflow occurred particularly in big cities. Population growth showed in the background of cities and in the closest regions.

The outflow of inhabitants is motivated by the orientation of a certain group of more wealthy inhabitants on a more quality type of housing in the form of family houses in a more attractive environment in the suburban areas. The second group is represented by the less wealthy population, for which getting a flat (house) in the rural areas is the only alternative how to reach an affordable living. In this case, they do not move to the attractive places with connections to region capitals but they use the existing available housing in rural areas which is connected to the decreasing interest in purchasing rural houses for the recreational use. The possibility to acquire housing in rural area is on the first place among the reasons for moving. Other reasons are: 2nd following a family member, 3rd marriage, 4th health reasons. Many people are motivated by the lower cost of living in rural areas. However, increasing lack of job opportunities and the reduction of public transportation present a problem here. There are more men among the migrants (60.2 % of the total migration).

A turn in the demographic development of rural area occurred in 1996, when the number of inhabitants stopped decreasing and even grew a little compared to 1990. This turn was partially caused by stop of migration from rural areas, but mainly this was the result of administrative changes (division of small municipalities from the big ones and their becoming independent). The development in rural areas corresponds with the overall state trend in decreasing the birth rate, which, together with sustaining the current death rate, leads to the natural population decrease.

Population Development

Demographic factors play a great role in the development of individual regions. The initial conditions for further development of rural municipalities were very different in individual regions and that not only from the point of the demography: different age structure of population, different population development (birth rates, death rates etc.), degree of migration, but also in the area of labour market: number of jobs, unemployment rate, presumed economic orientation, level of social and technical infrastructure and allocation of the municipality (distance from administrative centres, attractiveness, quality of environment). Each of these factors will in its way influence the further development of municipalities and regions. However, their mutual co-ordination will be the decisive factor regarding the dynamics of further development.

In this connection, we are mainly interested in the population development and the migration level in the individual regions of the CR. They in turn strongly affect the economic development and therefore the given region development as well. The combination of unfavourable natural conditions and underdeveloped economic base, reflected for example in the limited number of job opportunities and their insufficient diversification, result in growing migration, ageing of population in the given locality (region) and finally in depopulation.

Qualification Structure

Education level of population is an important factor reflecting the development of region. Population in rural regions shows a lower lever of education than the CR average.

Neither a single one of the rural regions reaches the average education level of the CR as a whole. This handicap can seriously interfere with the development of the given regions as their inhabitants may have problems with finding a job in the labour market. The worst qualification structure is in the regions Plzeň –North, Znojmo, Plzeň – South and Břeclav. The best level is in the region Písek, where the share of population with secondary school degree exceeds the national average by 1.7 % and the percentage of population with university degree (7.6 %) markedly exceeds other rural regions although it does not reach the national average.

Unemployment

One of the greatest present European problems is unemployment. In the Czech Republic, the development of unemployment has been different during the whole period of transformation from the other Central European and East European countries (CEECs). The unemployment rate oscillated around 3 – 4 %. The low unemployment rate lead, besides other things, to the pressure on growth of real wages and thus to the weakening of one of the greatest comparative advantages – cheap labour. Other CEECs faced problems with high and long-term unemployment.

At present, the long-term unemployment is growing also in the Czech Republic. First it affected the less qualified workers and women after maternity leave. After 1996, unemployment of handicapped persons grew abruptly and the situation is currently critical regarding new graduates. The unemployment itself would not be such a threat if it were a frictional unemployment, when after losing one job people find a new convenient one in reasonable time. However, it becomes quite difficult nowadays to find a new job if one has lost it. The offer of labour in many professions shows a completely different structure from the demand. Unemployment currently affects even the qualified workers and men, who used to have a better position in the labour market than women or the handicapped.

The unemployment rate in the Czech Republic still is not the highest in comparison with other post-communist countries, neither in comparison with some developed EU countries. However, according to experts, the nine-percent border will not be sustained and the unemployment rate will rise over 10 %. Further development in 2000 and 2001 shows a fluctuation between 9 and 10 %.

Population development on the threshold of 21st century

The Czech Republic enters the 21st century in deep demographic recession. All main indicators showing the dynamics or regression of population reproduction point to that. The 1994 was the breaking point when the negative population growth since 1991 reached – 852 persons. This unfavourable phenomenon continues since with the increasing intensity. The greatest decline occurred in 1996, when the population growth decreased by 12,207 persons. The change in the individual years itself issues without doubt from the negative natural population increase. On the other hand, owing to the positive migration increase, the negative population growth in the CR is no even more profound. The years 1999 and 2000 were no exception in this, the population growth decreased even further, although with a lower intensity than during 1995 – 1998.

3. Description of a field research

Median agency, Helena Nešetřilová

3.1. Data file formation

Median Agency, ltd., has become the partner of the Sociological laboratory for realisation of field data collection of the sociological survey “Trends of social changes in agriculture and in the country” on the selection procedure basis. The quantitative research by the face-to-face method, including 2,000 interviews with the citizens over 18 in villages up to 2,000 inhabitants, representative for the area of the Czech Republic, was carried out. Interviews were conducted according to the unifies questionnaire within about 60 minutes time scope. The field collection itself was carried out in autumn 1999 and at the beginning of the year 2000.

It was a two-step random selection. First of all, the communes were selected by their size to make a representative sample owing to “the region and the size of residence place”. The data of the Czech Statistical Office (CSO) from 1996 was used for this process. In the second phase, the selection of respondents by a random walk method, combined with a quota directive, was carried out in selected communes.

Although the selection structure copied the real structure of inhabitants in small villages, the results of the basic file (SPSS data file of realised interviews) were weighed to the latest data of the CSO from 1998 so that they could be considered fully representative.

The total of 2,490 questionnaires was dispatched, 2,174 of them were completely filled in and returned. During coding and processing, 32 questionnaires were eliminated so that 2,142 questionnaires were used for the formation of the basic SPSS file.

The return rate for the SPSS processed base of 2,142 respondents went beyond initial expectations, it reached 86.0 % ($100 \times 2,142 / 2,490$).

The number of rejected interviews from all interviews was 1,306. It means that it was necessary to conduct 3,480 contacts to reach 2,174 interviews. The success of addressing the respondents was then about 62.5 %. The biggest complications while conducting interviews were caused by the content of questionnaires, namely by the research orientation. People did not like speaking about money and their property. They were afraid that the questioners were somethinh like the secret service agents wanting to find out everything about their families and to use it later on.

After accepting the field questionnaires, there followed control, coding and data forming (forming of the electronic base with 100 % control – so-called verified data). Preliminary cleaning occurred in the course of these operations. Then the SPSS file forming and completion of the whole database cleaning followed. The weight variable for weighting of the data file was calculated (variable WEIGHTS, see beneath).

For minimising of the diversion between the theoretical and selected basic SPSS file with 2,142 respondents, a modified Stephan-Deming method was used (Jan Neudstat: The problems of weights in a selected research, the thesis in the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics of the Charles University, 1997). There was reached almost 100 % harmony of population with the selection by weighting (the differences shifted to one decimal place).

Immediately after the completion of the enquiring phase, a correspondence control followed. Correspondence controls were sent in the number of 666, what represented 30.6 %

of the returned and completely filled in questionnaires. The control confirmed the good quality of the work of the questioners.

3.2. Selection of respondents by the technique of a random walk - instructions

A random walk is the method of a respondent selection in a given commune which tries to ensure the selection of respondents being really random and not influenced by the questioners. This method is not difficult but it places higher demands on the punctuality of questioners. The principle consists in determining the initial point, i.e. the place where to start in a commune, then in determining the direction in which to go and the directive stating in which houses or flats to enquire.

The initial point of a random walk is in the natural centre of a commune. It can be determined by the following list. If there is a place included in the first item of the list, we start there. If there is no such a place, we start in the place included in the second item. If neither this place exists in the commune, we start in the place included in the third item etc.

1. The main (the largest) square or village common and the highest building in that. If it is not possible to determine which building is the highest, we start with the building with the lowest house number.
2. Post office
3. Church
4. Culture centre, Sokol gymnasium, Town Hall
5. School
6. Grocery
7. Bus stop
8. Restaurant, pub, taproom, buffet
9. Monument
10. Post box
11. Chapel

The instructions for carrying out a random walk were as follows: stand with your back to the initial point and then take the first street to the left. If the street does not follow the first direction from the initial point, go along the street in the second direction. If there is no such street, follow the street in the third direction and so on (the directions are numbered clockwise). Of course it makes no sense to go along the street where there are no residential houses, so omit this street and go along the street in the next direction. Follow the selected direction and call on every fifth flat in the houses on the left until you get the required number of respondents, or until you come to the end of the street and it will not be possible to continue in this direction any more.

In the latter case, go back to the initial point and call on the flats on the opposite side of the street. If, after the return to the initial point, you do not have the required number of respondents, follow gradually other directions clockwise as mentioned above. If you do not manage to conduct the interview in a flat, call on the next-door flat or flats. In that case, every fifth flat should be counted from the flat where the interview was successfully conducted.

4. Employment

Věra Majerová, Helena Nešetřilová

Employment in rural areas belongs to the greatly discussed issues. The employment rate in the individual regions is known but detailed information about its structure and volume in rural areas is rather rare.

Different factors contributed to the growth of unemployment after 1989. The disintegration of big agricultural enterprises (state and co-operative) and their subsequent privatisation and transformation caused a decrease of employment in agriculture. The number of people permanently active in agricultural primary production dropped almost to one third. To find a new job for former agricultural workers belongs to the most difficult tasks regarding their higher average age, lower education, state of health, specialisation on a particular profession or work, lower adaptability in the working process and the fact that they are used to work and live close to nature.

Although the large scale agriculture was in many regards very close to the industrial conception of, most of the agricultural workers in addition kept private plots and did not lack (as lifestyle researches showed) bonds to nature. This need of contact with nature (animals, plants and countryside) strengthened the great stability in place of residence. The possibility to own a house, garden, private plot¹ and livestock was and still is one of the reputable life values. This is why the agricultural population of rural areas has difficulties to cope with the decrease of job opportunities in agriculture and the necessity to find new jobs.

Another factor influencing unemployment rate were bankruptcies and dampening programs of big factories and industrial units which employed commuters from rural areas. Commuting to work was and still is widespread in the Czech Republic and it is a solution for more than half of the rural population living in municipalities with less than 2,000 inhabitants. Similarly as in agricultural professions, these are specialised workers of the age when re-qualification or adaptation to different working routine in different conditions is difficult. Wages for qualified workers in industry, mining and metallurgy used to be more favourable than the present labour market in rural areas can offer. In addition, great percentage of job opportunities in service and administration was tied to these big enterprises. These were jobs for middle and less qualified workers, people seeking part time jobs, etc.

The continuous increase of transport fares and the reduced transport net (both regarding buses and railways) also contributes to the loss of job opportunities in rural areas. Because of the rise in petrol prices, it is also not sustainable to commute using own vehicle. For most of the low income groups, commuting becomes an unfavourable solution because the income does not compensate for the time and other costs connected with work outside the own commune.

In the past ten years, rural population has significantly changed their working habits. Frequent switching of jobs, part time jobs and side jobs appeared but also early retirement, unemployment with drawing unemployment benefits, re-qualification, different ways of supplementary and odd jobs, work in Germany or Austria and grey economy – illegal working and drawing unemployment benefits at one time. For the time being, migration because of work within the CR is still rather rare. This is because the unsteady labour market does not ensure that permanent resettlement to other part of the Czech Republic would mean a long time or life-time security of employment. The exception are naturally big cities, which always

¹ Land allotted to a member of an agricultural cooperative.

attracted the active population, primarily young population, because they offered a wider range of job opportunities as well as cultural and social background.

4.1. Current Work Engagement

The examined sample of rural population provides some information about working conditions and work opportunities in rural areas of the Czech Republic. There is the majority of employed persons (42.1 %) and disability and old age pensioners (27.6 %) in the sample. Other areas of work engagement are represented by private entrepreneurs without employees (5.9 %), private entrepreneurs with employees (1.9 %), housewives (405 %) and students (5.1 %). The total share of unemployed persons is 6.8 %, in that 2 % unemployed farmers from which 1.5 % are former co-operative workers and 0.5 % private farm workers. Other possibilities (free professions, other economically active, other economically inactive, soldiers and apprentices) are represented only by small shares, maximum about 1 %.

There prevail men among the employees, entrepreneurs as well as private farmers. More women are found among the retired and unemployed. More than a half of the unemployed is younger than 35 years.

The sample includes roughly 54 % of currently economically active persons and 46 % of the economically inactive. 8.6 % of economically inactive persons have not yet worked (housewives, students, apprentices and persons who have not found a job after finishing secondary school or vocational training). The others (37.3 %) had been employed before (these therefore include the unemployed, housewives, soldiers and retired persons).

10 % of the previously employed are now not working for more than 10 years and about 11 % for between 5 and 10 years. The rest has been unemployed for a shorter time; 2 – 4 years (8.7 %), 1 year (3.4 %) and less than half a year (3.5 %).

The group of unemployed (6.8 %) is unique in the followed set by the fact, that it represents persons in the economically active age who could and would be employed. There are various causes of their unemployment: they have not found a job after finishing school (0.3 %), their original company has ceased to exist (1.2 %), transformation of the company and reduction of jobs occurred (1.9 %). The others had personal and other reasons for leaving their jobs. Some of the verbally given reasons were: the company dismissed lot of workers, I received my notice, I couldn't commute, the wage was too low, I was not accepted back after maternity leave, I am not qualified enough, I haven't enough practice, I have to care for my old parents, etc.

4.2. Work Possibilities

The range of occupations in rural municipalities was and is very wide. In the open question about current occupation (in the case of the unemployed or retired, about the last occupation), there registered 308 different types of occupation.

Among about 1,900 respondents (about 200 persons did not state their occupation), there are rather more numerous agricultural and forestry workers of different plant and animal husbandry specialisations (6.79 %), construction workers and craftsmen in construction industry (5.01 %), unskilled labour in construction, road maintenance, quarries, mines and transport (4.15 %), drivers of various types of motor vehicles (3.78 %), auxiliary and cleaning services workers (2.97 %), tool-makers and tool settlers (2.91 %), other auxiliary and unskilled labourers (2.65 %), operators of mobile machines and devices (2.64 %), auxiliary workers in agriculture and forestry (2.50 %), dressmakers, tailors, (2.08 %), cooks (2.06 %),

accountants (2.04 %), teachers of different school levels and specialisations (1.77 %). Other types of occupations were represented by less than 2 %.

The above rather detailed list registers only some of the possible occupations, but it testifies for a wide range of occupations and professions being typical for rural areas. Rural inhabitants hold posts beginning from the highly qualified ones (teachers, medical doctors, researchers, managers, free artists, computer specialists etc.) through a middle qualified ones down to the totally unqualified job opportunities.

Using complex terminology of the sectors of national economy, then the following table shows the sequence of sectors according to the share of rural population in them (in % of respondents):

Employment according to sectors of national economy		4/1
1. agriculture (16.72 %)	21. postal and telecommunication services (1.49 %)	
2. engineering (6.63 %)	22. power supply (1.27 %)	
3. domestic trade (5.92 %)	23. forestry and water economy (1.25 %)	
4. building industry (5.25 %)	24. clothing industry (1.01 %)	
5. education (4.87 %)	25. chemical and rubber industry (0.96 %)	
6. other sectors (4.84 %)	26. leather-working industry (0.94 %)	
7. transportation (3.77 %)	27. social care (0.89 %)	
8. food processing industry (3.46 %)	28. public utility organisations and political parties (0.79 %)	
9. textile industry (3.08 %)	29. publishing houses and news media (0.50 %)	
10. other industrial production (2.81 %)	30. insurance companies (0.44 %)	
11. municipal services (2.58 %)	31. monetary system (0.35 %)	
12. health services (2.49 %)	32. building materials production (0.28 %)	
13. accommodation and catering services (2.30 %)	33. culture (0.27 %)	
14. civil service and judicature (2.24 %)	34. army (0.21 %)	
15. wood-working industry (2.22 %)	35. housing economy (0.20 %)	
16. metal-working industry (2.21 %)	36. non-ferrous metallurgy (0.15 %)	
17. paper, glass and ceramic industry (1.77 %)	37. tourism (0.12 %)	
18. iron and steel industry (1.59 %)	38. science and research (0.10 %)	
19. mineral resources extraction (1.55 %)	39. design (0.08 %)	
20. electrical industry (1.51 %)	40. international trade (0.08 %)	

Size of the enterprises corresponds with the diversity of sectors, in which rural inhabitants work. According to the number of employees, the companies form quite balanced groups. The highest number of companies where the respondents work or worked in the last case (25.7 % respondents) falls into the category 101 – 1,000 employees, other categories are 26 – 100 employees (21.9 %), 6 – 25 employees (16.8 %), 1,001 and more employees (9.45 %), 2 – 5 employees (8.5 %), less than two employees (7 % of respondents).

Working Positions

Educational structure of the questioned sample of rural population (34.9 % with primary education, 41.3 % trained without graduation, 20.4 % trained with graduation or with secondary school education and 3.3 % with university degree) influences the possibilities of their working career. Most of the respondents (72 %) work as ordinary employees without subordinates, 7 % hold lower managerial posts with 1 to 5 subordinates and about 3.2 % hold managerial posts with 6 and more subordinate workers. Roughly 1.5 % of respondents work in higher levels of the company management including the highest manager and director posts. 5.9 % of the respondents work in their own companies (as owners or co-owners).

Women prevail among the ordinary employees, but there is the majority of men at all levels of management. There is a minimum of women holding higher managerial posts, the exception is presented by two managing directors – women out of the total eight such positions in the questioned sample. About one third of owners/co-owners are women.

Regarding the age, quite naturally, higher managerial posts are held mostly by workers older than 35 years. Among the owners/co-owners, there are about 30 % people younger than 35 years.

Although after 1989 there occurred a great social mobility, it did not much concern rural population with a considerable share of retired people and housewives. A greater part of the sample (60 %) did not change sector, job, profession or post during this period. One change of sector (job, profession, post) is stated by one fifth of the respondents and multiple change is stated by 5 – 6.5 %.

Ownership Structure of the Enterprises

Before 1989, the greatest number of the examined rural population was employed in state companies (47.7 %). Another type of ownership were Cooperatives, which employed 15 % of the respondents. A smaller number of respondents were employed in other types of companies: budgetary units (2.8 %), state-contributed organisations (0.6 %), joint-stock companies (1 %) and other organisations and companies.

The present ownership structure of enterprises is completely different. The sequence of the greatest owner is as follows: joint-stock companies prevailing (21.9 %), the other places kept by physical bodies private ownership (14.9 %), limited liability companies (14.1 %), state ownership (9.6 %), co-operative ownership (8.2 %), budgetary units (3.2 %), state-contributed organisations (1.2 %), non-profit organisations (0.6 %), public trading companies (0.4 %) and limited partnerships (0.1 %). About 11 % of respondents do not know who is the owner of their company and 14.7 % are employed in companies, which did not exist before 1989.

As a consequence of the privatisation and during the transformation, changes took place namely in state and co-operative ownership and subsequently the percentage of individual ownership grew. Number of respondents employed in state companies decreased from 47.7 % to 9.6 % and in co-operatives from 15 % to 8.2 %. On the other hand, the number of persons employed in companies owned by physical bodies increased from 0.3 % to 14.9 %.

4.3. Work Career

After 1989, both advancements and declines took place in work careers. As data on the changes of sector, profession, post and jobs outlined already, the revolutionary changes concerned rural population only partially. For one third of the respondents nothing changed in their career. About 19 % evaluate their career as upward, 9.2 % as downward and 12.1 % as fluctuating. The rest either did not answer or the question of the career proceeding questions do not apply to them. The evaluations of men and women do not differ much. Upward careers mostly applied to middle age groups, while downward careers to somewhat older respondents. However, the differences are not as pronounced as it might seem. Various opportunities and consequences probably played a more important role than the age itself.

The following table gives evidence of the primary and secondary causes of the upward development of work career. The respondents put the utilization of own abilities definitely on the first place and this reason appears also on the first place of the scale. Development of a

new company in accessible distance, transformation of a company or liquidation of original company played also an important role. These were the facts that helped many people to start a new career. One of the first places on the scale is also kept by qualification improvement or better use of the existing qualification. Removal of political sanctions or use of restitution have not played such an important role in for upward careers.

While men often mention transformation of their company, development of a new company, restitution or use of own abilities and experience as the reasons for their advancement, women's careers were more influenced by personal and family reasons and improvement of qualification. Regarding age, transformation was rather an advantage for the middle age groups, improvement of qualification was important for the respondents about 55 years and the removal of political sanctions applied mainly to respondents older than 45 years.

The causes of downward career are only partially different. Personal and family reasons, especially the age and the state of health, are the main filled limiting factors and they have the first place in the selection as well as on the scale. However, the other causes of declining career are similar to the causes of upward career – company transformation and the following reduction of jobs, liquidation of the original company, transformation of enterprise and increase of job opportunities, development of a new company in the accessible distance and other. The causes of downward careers after 1989 are similar for both men and women. There are no big differences between age groups either with the exception of recourses from political reasons about which there surprisingly talked 40 % of respondents younger than 35 years.

In other words, new job opportunities, which meant chance for better life for part of the population, posed a threat and limited work advancement of others. It seems that political influence and restitutions contributed only a little to the advancements or declines in careers.

Evaluation of Current Occupation

Characteristics and evaluation of current occupation are quite favorable regarding human relations, job description and the use of qualification. Less favorable is the evaluation regarding working hours, working environment, possibilities for qualification improvement, care for the employees, work perspective and salary.

To sum up, occupation fulfils the expectations regarding, social contacts and the job description is satisfying. But according to the respondents it does offer much security of the future employment and the wages are not any too good. An open question shows the positives and negatives of current occupation – for example I enjoy the work, everything is O.K., Christmas gifts, I can buy cheaper goods, I am my own master, close to where I live, employment security, my wife works here too, working clothes and footwear for free, work variability, no need to do the propagation-boards any more, discounts for family members, I don't have go to the May Day parades. The most often sited negatives are: commuting, lack of employment security, frequent changes, late payments of wages, fear of bankruptcy and less free time.

Although in previous question the amount of pay appeared as the last positive point, the detailed evaluation of positive changes shows that after 1989, most of the respondents had their pay raised. This fact corresponds to the general wages development of wages during the past years. Job description and working environment are evaluated positively as well. On the contrary, job perspective and care for the employees stay at the lowest places of the scale. Objectively, the opportunities for qualification improvement increased, the employers, however, prefer workers with the particular needed degree of qualification and it is not in their interest (and sometimes not even in their possibilities) to invest into the education of the

employees if they do not count with them for the future. With the current oversupply of jobs compared to demand in rural areas, low or insufficient qualification means a handicap, which must be usually solved by the worker himself, the employer being the less interested one.

Worsening of conditions sometimes regards the same work elements as improvements. The first place among the negative characteristics is held by the amount of pay, but the following positions are held by the elements which were on last positions in the preceding evaluation, i.e. working perspective, care for employees, working hours, relations with the superiors and opportunities for qualification improvement.

Again, we can conclude that better job opportunities have opened for part of rural population, while they closed for the others. Some earn much more than in the past and have interesting and qualified work, get on well with their co-workers and superiors. Others among the respondents lack employment security, have little work perspective and do not trust their superiors. Competitive relations among co-workers do not show considerably, however.

4.4. Interest in Business

Most of the rural respondents (82.6 %) do not think about starting their own business. Only about 4 % are decided to enter business and about 5 % are still undecided whether to start their own firm or not (the total of 194 from 2,142 respondents). This is only a little more than the average unemployment rate in rural areas. However, it is not certain that it concerns precisely these people. Quite the opposite, it seems that just the successful workers feel the need to be independent and therefore would dare to start their own business.

Branches, in which the respondents would like to start up their business, are very diverse. There were given in total 29 branches, in the following, we list the first ten (according to the number of respondents interested) :

Possible branches of business			4/2
Sequence	Branch	Number of persons	%
1.	Other (non-specific) branches	20	0.96
2.	Domestic trade	19	0.89
3.	Agriculture	15	0.68
4.	Transportation	14	0.63
5.	Building industry	13	0.61
6.	Accommodation and catering services	13	0.62
7.	Food processing industry	12	0.58
8.	Electricity industry	9	0.43
9.	Municipal services	8	0.39
10.	Insurance companies	6	0.29

It is quite evident that the respondents think seriously and realistically about the advantages and disadvantages of rural space and the branches of business which could be profitable there. Small shops, usually with groceries or mixed goods, can compensate deficits in the rural trade network. Other business opportunities are supplied by agriculture, transport, construction industry, accommodation, catering and food industry. Other business ideas issue from local opportunities or the local lack of a certain service.

The types of business correspond with the previously mentioned branches – retail sales, repairs and crafts, catering, agricultural production and its processing, transport, etc. A relatively successful business can also be accounting services and currency exchange in border areas. Otherwise, Czech rural space does not offer many other profitable business opportunities, if the area is not attractive for sports or tourists.

Business Barriers

Hitherto, people were not pushed by the situation in the rural areas to rely on their own initiative and start their own business. The major barrier was naturally lack of capital that would be needed in the beginning of any business. Restitution brought a certain compensations for collectivised and nationalised property but generally these were not as large amounts of money, as would allow to finance larger business projects. Also the other two main reasons on the top of the scale are quite logical: I didn't need to start my own business, I had a good job or personal or family reasons. For the majority, to keep the existing job was more important than to start a new business with uncertain outcomes. Even if a family got back some property in the restitution, it was a question of age and the state of health, whether the original owners were able and willing to start business. Sometimes the children or the heirs of the original owners took over the property, sometimes, however, they had no interest in business activities.

Private enterprising was interrupted for approximately 40 years. Although the present young generation has been growing up in market environment, they do not remember the business climate which the whole family subordinated their interests to and do not know the models of business Cupertino in family. On the other hand, business making has changed considerably. The need of quick reaction to the demand, new technologies (Internet in particular), considerable change of business legislation and rules (sometimes, on the other hand, their non-existence or incompleteness) create the conditions for inter-generation misunderstanding. This is probably also part of the stated family and personal reasons for not doing business.

Main business barriers

4/3

Main business barriers	1. place %	2. place %	3. place %	Sequence	Place on the scale
Lack of financial resources	2.7	1.7	0.3	1	1.000
Did not need to have own business, was employed	2.3	0.4	0.1	2	0.648
Family or personal reasons	1.1	1.3	0.3	3	0.556
Unsuitable business environment	0.	0.9	1.3	4	0.498
Uncertain market	0.1	0.6	1.4	5	0.337
Others	1.2	0.1	0.2	6	0.333
Unclarified business intention	0.1	1.0	0.7	7	0.291
Did not find suitable colleagues	0.2	0.6	0.7	8	0.267
Lack of qualification	0.5	0.4	0.3	9	0.214
Other sources of support	0.5	0.1	0	10	0.136
Finished private business	0.2	0	0	11	0.061
Did not state	90.6	93.0	94.8		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		

More detailed answers do not practically reveal other reasons than the ones mentioned in the previous table – lack of money for business, age, the need to finish studies first.

4.5. Private Enterprise

The people who started business (the total of 178 in the sample) chose the following branches of the possibilities offered by the rural commune:

Type of Enterprise			4/4
Sequence	Type of Enterprise	Number of persons	%
1.	Other	30	1.41
2.	Small enterprise (permanent or occasional)	26	1.22
3.	Agricultural production (fruits, vegetables, meat)	17	0.77
4.	Craft work	15	0.68
5.	Transportation – passenger service or freight transport, machine rent	13	0.61
6.	Product assembly	8	0.38
7.	Car and machine repair, maintenance, house/apartment cleaning	8	0.38
8.	Accountancy, taxes, administration works, money changing	8	0.36
9.	Sewing, knitting, clothing repair	7	0.31
10.	Catering (pub, bar, bistro, stand)	5	0.24
11.	Personal services (barber, cosmetics, massages, etc.)	4	0.18
12.	Wholesale trade	3	0.13
13.	Renting rooms, agricultural tourism	3	0.12
14.	Food production including local specialities	2	0.11
15.	Babysitting, social care	1	0.05
16.	Veterinary services	1	0.02
	Did not state	28	1.32
	Total	177	8.28

As the table shows, the existing types of enterprise do not differ much from the ideas of the respondents who are thinking about starting business in the future or are not decided yet. In rural areas, the scope of the offered services is not wide, but there is no demand for many types of them that are successful in cities. It is known from the previous researches that the majority of craft work is done by people at home as a self-service or with the help of neighbours and so there is no use of paid services. This includes namely most of the house repairs and maintenance (painting, wallpapering, woodwork, other repairs and plumbing etc.), garden and farm work (pruning and cutting trees, grafting, tree/crop spraying), household services (ironing, washing, mangling, clothes cleaning, cloth repair etc.).

Hairdressing, barber and cosmetic services are often done at home as well. Social services – care for the elderly and ill and babysitting are also taken care of in the family, although particularly the rural municipalities with high percentage of elderly and employed young mothers would need this kind of service. However, it is not any too wide- spread yet, probably because the low demand does not hitherto create much supply there. The reason might be also the fact, that the old people who would be in need of the service cannot afford to pay for it and also the earnings of young families or single mothers are not usually as high as to allow payments for child care and household services, either.

Private Enterprises in Agriculture

There were only 23 private farmers out of the total 178 private entrepreneurs in the sample. About one third of them farm areas smaller than 5 ha, so it is more a complementary

activity to another income resource. Two thirds of respondents farm areas larger than 5 ha but only four of them are probably able to fully support their family by it as they farm an area over 50 ha.

Acreage of the agricultural land farmed by private farmers

4/5

	Number	%
Up to 1 ha of agricultural land	2	0.07
1 - 5 ha	7	0.34
6 - 10 ha	7	0.35
11 - 30 ha	3	0.13
51 - 100 ha	4	0.18
Does not concern me	155	7.22
Total	178	8.28

Funding the Beginnings of New Businesses

Beginnings of most businesses (agricultural as well as non-agricultural) were funded from own savings (half of the questioned entrepreneurs) and by the means of credits and subsidies (12 %). About 9 % used both – credits and savings – without having restituted any property. Only 2.2 % of entrepreneurs acquired their firm(farm) directly in restitution and 2.8 % used the property they had restituted for starting a new business. About 4 % entrepreneurs used all the possibilities mentioned: restituted property, own savings, credits and subsidies. Loans from the family members, friends or neighbours are also mentioned.

Although it can be presupposed that rural population saved in the past decades, put incomes together in the family, arranged services on a self-help basis and had little chance for bigger purchases during past decades, the finance reserves were usually not big enough to cover financing of a new business. Considering also the little experience in business and non-transparent business environment, we can conclude, what the questioned rural inhabitants and agricultural workers had already declared shortly after 1989; that investments in non-agricultural enterprises in rural areas are risky and investments in agricultural enterprise (private farming) even more so. People prefer to deposit money in banks at good interest rate, which means, particularly for old people, a certain life security with the continually growing costs of living. However, bankruptcies of “kampeličkas“ (co-operative saving banks) and other finance institutions greatly shaken this security considerably and contributed to the growing distrust in current political representation

Success in business

The entrepreneurs who were willing to give evidence on the success of their firms (120 persons) mostly characterise their profit as average (88 entrepreneurs) or speak about balanced gains and losses (50 entrepreneurs). Only four of them characterise their firms as highly profitable, 16 of them speak about partial loss and 7 entrepreneurs about great loss.

75 % of the questioned entrepreneurs are not planning to finish with the business, 18 % plan it sometime in the future and only two of them are currently closing their business.

Slightly over half of the respondents can turn their firm over to a heir in the direct line of inheritance (a spouse, children, grandchildren, siblings) and about 2 % have a successor in the indirect line of inheritance (uncle, aunt, cousin, etc). However, the sole existence of heirs does not ensure continuing of the firm. Almost 40 % have no heir or know that their heirs will

have no interest in maintaining the business, so that they would be compelled to sell the firm to foreigners.

The analysis of the success reasons of a business is based on quite realistic grounds. It, however, shows a great self-esteem and the feeling of well-deserved reward. Enthusiasm, energy, hard work and quality products (services) appear on the first places of the scale. Other preconditions are not as significant. Good advertisement, good sales and financial conditions (cheap labour, cheap material resources, sufficient investments) are on the last places.

On the contrary, in the analysis evaluating the lack of success, there predominate the objective reasons over the subjective. High taxes, expensive inputs, insufficient investments, small market space, inaccessible credits, personal problems, insufficient or no subsidies are the main reasons for the lack of success. Reasons caused by the entrepreneur appear only at the bottom of the scale. These are: slow reaction to the demand, poor marketing policy, insufficient advertisement, bad business project or lack of tenacity etc.

Problems of Business in Rural Areas

The table shows that rural respondents derive improvement of the conditions for business and the general business climate in rural areas from the general financial situation of the state. Criticism of the business legislation was not expressed very much, although this could also be a hindrance to the progress of business activities. Clear and obligatory business rules for all entrepreneurs regardless the form of ownership and the size of the enterprise would doubtless improve business conditions in rural areas.

Problems of Business in Rural Areas					4/6
Problems of Business in Rural Areas	1. place %	2. place %	3. place %	Sequence	Place on the scale
Financial problems on state level	13.2	3.4	0.9	1	1.000
Low income, low purchasing power	8.5	4.4	0.7	2	0.752
Small market	4.6	3.5	0.9	3	0.487
Depopulation of rural areas, lack of young people	4.6	1.7	0.3	4	0.371
Small choice of job description	4.7	1.4	0.2	5	0.359
Nothing, none	5.8	0	0	6	0.355
Expensive loans	2.5	1.3	0.7	7	0.245
Other	2.4	1.2	0.5	8	0.226
High prices of input and low state purchasing price	1.5	1.7	0.6	9	0.199
Fear of failure, does not want to risk	2.3	0.9	0.1	10	0.186
Transportation problems or lack of transportation	1.8	1.3	0.4	11	0.185
Overall bad conditions	1.9	0.5	0.4	12	0.155
No effort, enthusiasm, interest of inhabitants	1.6	0.8	0.2	13	0.147
Bad state policies	1.9	0.6	0.1	14	0.146
Lack of clients, orders	1.2	1.1	0.1	15	0.130
Low state support	1.1	0.6	0.4	16-18	0.110
Distance from bigger towns	1.5	0.3	0.1	16-18	0.110
Low possibilities of employment	1.3	0.5	0.1	16-18	0.110
High taxes	0.9	0.9	0.3	19	0.105
No premises, high rent	1.2	0.4	0.3	20	0.104
Does not know	19.8				
Did not state	5.8				
Total	90.1				

4.6. Consideration of Change of Job

Most of the respondents (83 %) for which the question was relevant do not consider changing of their job at present. Only 2 % are currently changing their job, about 5 % consider changing their job in one year time and 6 % want to change their job during the next five years.

Considerations regarding change of job are most often caused by low wages, bad perspective of the enterprise, personal and family reasons, operating and organisational difficulties of the enterprise, fear of dismissal, financial and time demand of commuting. The wish to work in the hometown, planned founding of a family, illness, high age, difficulty to cope with the work are the less usual personal reasons.

The chances to make the change are limited, however. Only little less than 1 % of respondents can choose a suitable job close to their place of residence. About 13 % believe that there is not great choice of jobs but it still they would be able to find a job, almost one quarter opines that there is lack of suitable job opportunities for them in their municipality and its surroundings. A similar share, about 22 %, do not see any chance to find a suitable job for themselves. The rest of the respondents never thought about this problem because either it does not concern them – they do not work yet or any more or they have a job and see no need to think of another, because in the case of dismissal they would choose other option than to look for a new job (retirement, starting own business, staying at home).

The job opportunities in rural areas have undergone great changes during the past ten years. They reflect both the development of labour market in the Czech Republic and the gradual accommodation to the current requirements of transforming enterprises and social relations in rural areas.

5. Family and Household

Irena Herová

In the last decades, the life of rural inhabitants approaches in many aspects the life in the town, but a rural family traditionally differs from an urban family. This is given by the type of accommodation, way of country life, mutual help between generations, closer relations or ties among relatives and further conditions. The structure and size of family is adapting to the functions, which the family fulfils. In the traditional society, the family fulfilled the production, security and caring, religious, cultural and educational functions. Many of these roles have weakened or almost disappeared in the modern society or their content is modified. How does the structure of a rural family and household change with the new reality? In Czech specialised literature, a sufficient attention is paid to the sociology of the family, but very few papers are engaged solely in the rural areas.

The sociological research was oriented at the environment of social relationships, marital status, family structure and the number of generations in rural households. We assumed that families in the country are more numerous, eventually multi-generation and the relations among family members are closer. We supposed further that even if it is a nucleus family (parents and children), other relatives live within easy reach and keep frequently in touch.

5.1. Family Members (Members of the Household)

In this investigation, we considered the family not in relation to family ties (family members can live in different places and remain family members), but in the sense of household and housekeeping of a country family. The family, (respectively household) was characterised as a total of all people living at present permanently the followed household (during the last 3 months). As far as the number of persons is concerned, we have also counted in the persons having a permanent abode here, but at present (e.g. during the working week) staying away from home.

In the focus group, there were as the most numerous represented four-member families (27.6 %). We can assume that they are the families, in which there live a husband and wife with two children. Next in the sequence are two-member families (24.8 %). They are supposedly married couples without children in a common household. According to the age, we can judge whether they are couples which have not got children yet, or whether the children have already left home. According to the frequency, there follow three-member households (20.8 %). These can be families with one child, or couples which live together with one of the own parents or in-laws.

Single living persons occurred in 13.4 %. More numerous than four-member families occurred in 13.4 %, one respondent was a part of a ten member family, one of an eleven - member family, still more numerous families did not show among the participants.

The most common family type is a matrimonial or partner type. In this type of alliance, there live in a common household 65.9 % of the questioned people. In households without a partner, there live 34.1 % respondents.

Less than half (47.9 %) of rural families have children who are not provided for. About one third of the families has one or two unprovided-for children living with them so far. This reality can be connected to the age structure of rural inhabitants and to the trends of decreasing birth-rate in the Czech Republic.

Provide-for children do not usually live in the common household with their parents (82 %). With one unprovided-for child, there live 13.4 % respondents, with two children 3.9 % respondents and 1.6 % of respondents live with three or four children.

There appear certain regularities in the population trends, which are valid for the inhabitants in general, without regard to their social characteristics. Changes are also connected to the age of the newly weds, religious habits, ethnic structure of the inhabitants, impact of the population policy economic tools etc. Generally it is supposed that families of more educated parents have less children. This presumption has not been confirmed in the investigated focus group.

In the investigated group the respondents with higher education have on the average a higher number of children (secondary school leavers and university graduates from 1.08 - 1.2 children), whereas respondents with basic education and skilled ones state on the average 0.63 - 1.02 children. Even when taking into consideration the inaccuracies, which originate due to our lack of knowledge, how many respondents live in a partnership or marriage, i.e. speak about the same children, it seems that higher educated rural families are more numerous.

Other household members

The structure of rural households shows, that nucleus families prevail, i.e. married couples (partnerships) with children. After the children become independent, the parents stay alone, adult children set up their own separate households.

With a son-in law or daughter-in law, there live 1.3 % of respondents in a common household. One person has two daughters-in-law in the common household. Without any grandchildren in a household, there live 97.4 % of people, with one grandchild 1.6 %, with two grandchildren 1 % of respondents. Two respondents live with four grandchildren and one respondent with six grandchildren.

Most of the respondents – almost 80 % of the people questioned - do not live in a common household with their parents nor with their partner's parents. If the parents of the respondents live in the common household with the, it is mostly two people (14.4 %) or one person (6.2 %).

With one grandparent including the partner's grandparents, there live in the common household 1.9 % of respondents, 0.5 % respondents live with two of them. However, most of the people questioned (97.6 %) live without their grandparents.

Neither is usual a common household with further persons (siblings, uncles, aunts, other relatives or non-relative persons). Only about 4 % of the persons questioned mentioned it, so we can judge, that it is rather an accidental constellation of persons than a trend in the rural families cohabitation.

The presumption that in the country there are more people living together in one household has not then been confirmed. If the family lives in a family house, it is not so difficult for the young family or for the old parents to build a new sanitary facilities or a kitchen. Then we cannot speak about living in a common household any more. In the country, there more often live several generations in one family house, but they do not pay the expenses from a common family budget. When defining a common household as a group of people, who live together and pay their expenses from common resources, then we have to rely on the data of the respondents, which contradict the frequent occurrence of the model of a family with more generations in the common household.

5.2. Marital Status

The division of the marital status categories of rural inhabitants slightly differs from the state in the Czech Republic as a whole. According to the Statistical Yearbook of the Czech Republic from 1999, there was among the inhabitants over 15 years the whole republic was at that time a greater percentage of single persons than among the respondents in rural areas. However, we have taken into consideration there a certain inaccuracy, because our investigation was aimed at rural inhabitants over 18 years of age.

Compared to the CR as a whole, there is a slightly higher percentage of people living in matrimony in rural areas. Divorced persons were represented by 3 % more often in the complex statistics than shown by the research in rural areas, what can be taken as a proof that country people think more about breaking marriage. However, it is also possible, that there plays a certain role the fact, that divorced partners more often have to meet more often in a small community and it is not easy to find a separate housing there, so that a divorce does not solve the pointed mutual relationships, as it might seem to the town people.

There were little more widowed people in the countryside than in the whole Czech Republic, which is also related to the age structure of rural inhabitants. The sample of investigated rural inhabitants proves, that in the country there is obviously a greater stress laid on the official partnership – marriage. In this investigation, the respondents were asked about their mutual cohabitation with unmarried partners. The question was positively answered by 2.6 % respondents. Such a category is not shown in the statistic report of the whole CR, but we suppose, that there can be also included single people into the category, who live in the so-called partnership, where mostly young people make an attempt to find out how a common life would suit them.

It can be supposed that such a form of living together is less usual in the rural areas, because it is still socially less acceptable. Young people go to the town to study and they obviously return to the country only after marriage because of a cheaper housing, or that the married people move into the country more often. A further reason why there are less single people in the country than in the CR as a whole can be also the social climate, which urges young people not to postpone marriage for too long.

In the research, the dependency of marital status was investigated with regard to the age of the respondents. At present, when traditional alliances cease to be a rule, there was the cohabitation of young people with a partner in the common household would be more frequent. It can be judged from the results, that it is still apparently necessary to sanction living together by a wedding in rural areas.

In the age category over 65, there are more respondents living with an unmarried partner than in the age category of 55 – 64 years. Among older people, the number of widowed persons is rising, which is connected to the prolongation of age and a longer life expectancy of women than of men (there are three times more widows than widowers).

5.3. Husband, Wife, Partner

Hitherto, we do not have enough reliable information on which basis of social and economic criteria young people enter marriage in the country, what role is played by neighbourhood, relatives, what demands do young people set on their partner from the point of view of education, profession, property, etc. This investigation has tried to get at least the most important information about education and profession of the partners.

We supposed that the partners would have the same education, or that the difference in education will be only one grade. From the overall number of 2,142 respondents, 1,376 people living in marriage or partnership participated in the inquiry.

What is the highest education your husband (wife) or life partner reached ? 5/1

Education Respondent's	Partner's											
	Basic		Vocational s.		Secondary		Univ.		Not stated		Total	
	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.	abs.	rel.
Primary school	184	13.37	242	17.59	47	3.42	7	0.51	5	0.36	499	36.26
Vocational school	66	4.8	359	26.09	102	7.41	11	0.8	9	0.65	594	43.17
Secondary school	10	0.73	114	8.28	81	5.89	15	1.09			235	17.08
University degree	2	0.15	10	0.73	18	1.31	15	1.09			48	3.49
Total	262	19.04	725	52.69	248	18.02	48	3.49	14	1.02	1,376	100

The presupposition of the same education level or that differing by one grade only was confirmed in the most pronounced way with skilled workers (see the table), which were also the most numerous group represented in the investigation. Most of them have a partner with the same education level or with the secondary school education. Respondents with only basic education share a common household most often with a partner of the same education.

The respondents with secondary school education have mostly a partner with professional (vocational) education, then there follow the partners with secondary education. University graduates have generally partners with secondary education followed by partners with university education. There were only 3.49 % university graduates among the respondents, which corresponds to the educational structure of rural inhabitants in the CR as a whole.

When choosing a life partner in the rural environment, a limited number of suitable partners can also play its role. It is obvious that the closeness of rural communities is not as narrow as it was in the past, but young people, who do not commute to another municipality for education or work or do not do their military service in a different town etc., have more limited possibilities to meet a suitable partner. In the country, there lives lower share of educated people than in towns, which can also limit the possibility of choice. In the modern times, when thanks to the transport and information systems the distances are shortening, these factors may not play such an important role any more.

Also the traditional division of roles among family members is changing. With the emancipation process, women more often take part in the external relations of society. In our republic, the employment rate of women is traditionally very high. In the rural areas, in agriculture, women in the past performed prevalently the less skilled labour and besides they had to take care of household and children, eventually also of elderly people. With growing education, opening of the frontiers and accepting democratic patterns of behaviour by the individual members of the society, women ensure more responsible roles for themselves.

After 1989, some employees secured an independent position for themselves by founding their own business. In such cases, the household functioning changed mostly dramatically and the division of labour changed also, namely when it were the wife who started business. We can get the notion of working conditions and possibilities in the country from the fact that more than one half (51.9 %) partners of the respondents are in employee position, further there prevail pensioners (24.6 %), what corresponds to the age structure of the rural areas. The respondents living with partners, who have their own enterprise amount to

8.5 %, what can testify of a low willingness to take a risk in the country and to try reaching an economic independence, or of difficult conditions for business activities in rural areas. Further types of the partners working activities (housewife, unemployed, member of an agricultural co-operative working in agriculture, etc.) do not exceed 5 %.

Partners of the respondents work mostly in agriculture (5.34 %), in building industry (3.48 %) and in machinery industry (2.17 %). Notwithstanding the structural changes in agriculture (restitutions, abolishing of agricultural Cooperatives and state farms) this branch is still the most common employment of rural inhabitants.

Personal and family life of the country people was influenced by the economic changes after 1989 in both a positive and in a negative way. People in the whole republic had to realise, that only themselves are responsible for the course of their life. Rural inhabitants can come to terms with this often hard reality. They are able to find work in harder conditions, eventually to create their own jobs. The family model is more traditional there than in the town, but country people have adapted certain behaviour patterns of the village life to the ways of modern life and so the borderlines of the two life styles become less distinct.

6. Incomes and expenditures

Helena Nešetřilová, Pavlína Maříková

6.1. Incomes

In the period before November 1989, wages in the former Czechoslovakia, and together with them the per capita household incomes were only slightly differentiated. After the economic reforms, the differences began to deepen – though the minimum salary was set up and the dynamic of salary increase was regulated on one hand, possibilities of private and foreign companies enterprising appeared on the other hand. In the first years after 1989, the real income decreased, but incomes in the highest income group went up all the time.

Incomes of rural households are not followed separately in the statistical surveys. Therefore, it is possible to obtain some data regarding farmers' households only, but their share in the rural areas is so low nowadays that their incomes cannot be considered as a representative sample of rural inhabitants incomes. Thus the results of our research can be compared only with the average of the CR as a whole. Another problem is that these data are rather sensitive, for not everybody willing to discuss his/her income even in the case of anonymous research.

In our research, nearly 20 % of respondents refused to answer. However, it is possible to estimate from the other obtained data, that the most frequently mentioned income group is in the range of 10,001 to 12,500 CK. Most households (94.7 % of those who have answered the question) moved inside the income range of 4,001 to 30,000 CK. Only 43 respondents mention a lower and 48 respondents a higher income.

Average monthly income of a household $x = 13,741.44$ CK (calculated as the weighted average from the medians of the individual income intervals of the respondents who answered the question). This number can be compared with the data of the Czech Statistical Office – in the year 1999, the average monthly net income of an average household was 16,760 CK. The results obtained by the research can be a little distorted as they were calculated from the medians of income intervals and because it is merely an estimate of the individual respondents.

Household incomes are influenced not only by the respondent's wages, but also by incomes of other household members, (wife, adult children, etc.), social benefits and other incomes. The important factor is also the size and structure of the family, i.e. the ratio of active and dependent members of the household.

So that the economic situation could be compared on the real level, the total monthly incomes of households were converted per one member of the household. In the following part, we therefore analyses the variables thus obtained.

The average number of a rural household members is 3.09, and the average monthly income per one member is therefore 5,023 CK. According to the data of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MLSA) CR, the net per capita monthly incomes of households in the first half of 1999 were 6,555 CK (according to the Household Budgets Statistics – the estimate for an average family).

6.1.1. Incomes according to jobs

Jobs, or rather the type of economic activities of respondents is not the only factor influencing income level of the household, but nevertheless it is the factor that, with regard to

the considerable income differences among employees, entrepreneurs, pensioners and other investigated groups, can show differences.

The highest average incomes per capita are earned, as supposed, by the respondents who are private businessmen (7,915 CK). Their incomes are about one half higher than the average (5,189 CK), but this figure is valid only for businessmen with employees. Further, working pensioners have a relatively good income (5,767 CK), too. The explanation lays in the wages raising together with the person's age, since both statistical surveys and our research showed that the person's age is one of the important factors influencing the income (see chapter 6.1.5.).

The groups of employees, businessmen without employees (small businesses) and non-working pensioners have very similar incomes, (approximately from 5,248 to 5,CK). A little worse off are the co-operative members (4,952 CK). Considerably bellow average are the per capita incomes in the households of private farmers (4,018 CK). It can be explained by the relatively small sample (only 8 persons in our research), by larger families (3.38 persons in average) and the considerable seasonality of incomes which makes the estimate of the average monthly income extremely difficult. However, statistics confirm that incomes of farmers are really bellow average.

6.1.2. Incomes with regard to education

In the socialist era, Czechoslovakia belonged to the countries with the lowest rate of education evaluation and the situation did not change even in the first years after the revolution. According to Microcensus results, one year of studies brought about the salary raise of about 4.0 % for men and 5.7 % for women in the year 1988; four years later, it was 5.3 % for men and 6.7 % for women. At that time, education then started to be more appreciated, but in the following years, the trend did not continue in a more pronounced way. According to a selective statistic investigation mapping the income situation the middle of 1996, workers with secondary education are getting 105 % and university graduates 172 % of the average wage.

A simple dispersion analysis for the PCMP variable with the classification factor equal to the highest finished education of the respondent did not prove a statistically significant difference among the average income of individual groups of the rural population (the level of significance was $\alpha = 0.05$), but a certain dependence of the income level on the respondent education can be stated anyway. Notwithstanding a certain fluctuation of values regarding persons with secondary school education, there is an obvious difference between the wages of the workers with professional training (4,867 CK) and university graduates (5,833 CK).

These results also imply, however, that education level the of one family member is not the most important factor influencing household income, but still impacts it partially, together with other factors. We can suppose that in future the significance of education and qualification will be still higher.

6.1.3. Incomes with regard to regions

Regional inequalities in incomes can be caused by the different economic situation in the individual regions, by the unemployment rate, situation in big industrial enterprises influencing the whole district both in positive as well as negative way, but also by the climatic and natural conditions that impact not only agriculture, but also tourism and the related services.

A simple dispersion analysis for the PCMP variable with the classification factor equal to the respondent domicile showed highly statistically significant differences among average incomes in different regions of the CR.

According to the CSO data for the year 1999, the highest average gross monthly incomes were recorded in Prague and the Mid -Bohemia region. In evaluation according to districts, the big cities (Prague, Brno, Ostrava, Plzen) are leading, followed by the districts Prague-East, Prague-West, České Budějovice, Mladá Boleslav and Most. It is therefore obvious that high wages are connected with big cities and industrial regions.

The situation in rural areas is different. The incomes of rural households can be also influenced by the high wages in cities, since a part of country people commute, but there is shown also the influence of other factors, for example unemployment, sector composition of jobs, etc. The highest incomes were reached in the former North- Bohemian region (5,697 CK), the lowest ones in the South-Moravian, South- Bohemian and Mid-Bohemian regions (4,500 – 4,995 CK). We are not able to explain that in a satisfactory way.

6.1.4. Incomes with regard to the size of domicile

The size of domicile can influence incomes for example through a larger offer of jobs which decreases the necessity of commuting but also through a better public transport system which enables commuting etc. The relation between the level of incomes and the size of town was already mentioned in the former chapter, but we are not quite sure if it is valid also for small municipalities.

Differences among averages of the PCMC variable in the individual size groups of municipalities are statistically insignificant ($\alpha = 0.005$), but the concrete figures show a certain relations. Average per capita incomes are 4,792 CK in municipalities with less than 200 inhabitants, and they grow with the increasing size of the municipality up to 5,118 CK in municipalities with one to two thousand inhabitants.

The correlation between the level of incomes and the size of municipality was then proved also for rural municipalities. Our results were confirmed by other researches, as well. According to J.Vecernik, the influence of the municipality size on the household per capita income per head was increasing in the period 1988 to 1992.²

6.1.5. Incomes according to age

The age, together with other demographic indicators, used to play an important role in the income level. Today, the criteria of profession and qualification have become more important. It is still statistically significant, however, that people shortly before retiring are earning the highest incomes.

A simple dispersion analysis showed a statistically significant difference among some couples of PCMP averages in the mentioned age categories. It follows from the detailed classification that the average per capita net monthly income in two categories with the lowest incomes (25-34 years of age, 35-44 years of age) differs in a statistically significant way even from the average income of the age category 45-54.

Our results also confirm the correlation of incomes with age. The highest incomes are reached by persons aged 55-64 (5,449 CK), only a little lower ones by older people (5,431 CK). It could mean that pensions are higher than current salaries, but we have to consider that

² Vecerník, J.: *Občan a tržní ekonomika*, nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 1998,p. 76

a part of pensioners go on working (and thus are reaching salaries corresponding to their age), and also that the household of pensioners are formed mostly by only one or two persons.

Respondents in younger categories reach the lowest incomes (4,568 - 4,794 CK). We can suppose that in their households, there are still children to be provided for, and so it is necessary to divide the obtained incomes among more persons. On the contrary, respondents about the age of 50 may have their incomes (5,333 CK) increased due to the fact that their children are either already earning or have left home and do not take share in the household income.

In conclusion, we can state that the influence of the head of the household age on the total household income and the per capita income is decreasing.

6.1.6. Incomes according to gender and marital status

Differences in wages according to gender are statistically proved not only in our country, but in the world as well. In most professions, women in the same position get lower wages than men. In Czechoslovakia, average wages of women were under 70 % of the average of men for many years, however, the mentioned difference is decreasing since 1992, but it still persists.

The comparison of average net monthly incomes per one household member with respect to gender has brought very interesting results. Comparison of the average of the PCMP variable for men and women without differentiation of their marital status shows a statistically highly significant difference between men and women. Incomes of women reach 88 % of men's incomes in average in our research.

A more detailed picture can be obtained by the further classification of the observed file with respect to marital status. The average household net monthly income per capita was 5,549 CK for single men, which is by 1,361 CK more than for single women; the difference is statistically highly significant. It is logical that differences in average incomes per household member do not significantly differ for married men and women as well as the average of this variable for men and women sharing households as partners. We can see a considerable and statistically significant difference in average net monthly incomes of divorced men and women (8,687 CK for men, 4,557 CK for women). Average net monthly incomes of widowers are also higher in statistically highly significant sense than incomes of widows (6,853 CK for widowers, 5,342 CK for widows).

6.2. Structure of household incomes

Household income is not influenced merely by the individual incomes of household members. Among other possible sources of finance, there belong for example social benefits, incomes from capital assets (interests, dividends, etc.), yields from personal plots and other. We suppose, however, that the significance of those additional incomes is not very high in the Czech rural areas.

Most respondents (82.7 %) did not mention any additional incomes. The others got extra incomes from interests, dividends or personal plots.

For those with additional incomes, their contributions were mostly small or insignificant (from 70 %). Only 23.6 % of people consider it significant and 2.5 % very significant. In total, we can state that our assumption about the small importance of additional incomes has been confirmed.

Another of the possible income sources are those from the properties regained in restitution (see Chapter Restitutions). Property restitution regarded approximately one quarter of respondents, but only 4.3 % stated that the family financial situation had improved thanks to restitutions. It cannot be judged, however, whether the improvement was temporary or permanent, for example in the form of yields from farming or incomes from lease of property.

6.3. Expenditures

Consumer expenditures are investigated not only by sociologists, but also by statisticians and economists. Our research limited this broad and heterogeneous problem, with regard to the extent and scope of the problematic, to a single question. We wanted to know what is the main regular (monthly) expenditure for the respondents. They should state three highest expenditures of their household and try to estimate their share in % of the total expenditures.

It became obvious that the biggest part of the total expenditures is formed food expenditures. A rural household spends 40.4 % its average expenditures for purchases of food. According to the data from the Household Budget Statistics for the year 1999, an average household spends 27 % of their expenditures for food. It follows from comparison, that food expenditures are higher for rural inhabitants. One of the possible explanations follows from the comparison of net incomes - they are rather lower in the rural areas (5,023 CR average of 6,555 CK). However, food expenditures are inevitable and so their share is higher. The other possibility is a certain inaccuracy by the fact that the data are a mere estimate of the respondents.

We supposed, however, that people in the country have other opportunities how to get food, for example as in-kind benefits from agricultural Cooperatives or from their own personal husbandry. But the obtained results do not indicate this, and it seems that these additional sources are not of a great importance in spite of the fact that half of the respondents have their personal husbandry and three quarters of them confirm that it supplies at least a small economic contribution in the form of food for their own use.

The second most significant expenditure item is housing. The rural household spends in average 24.77 % of its expenditures for housing. In the country, this share should be lower than in towns, as most people live in their own house and therefore do not have to pay a rent.

However, the item also includes for example the price of energy supply (electricity, gas) and telephone. These prices are increasing everywhere by the same rate, so there cannot be any significant difference between town and country. Perhaps these expenditures can be even higher in rural areas, as for example heating a separate house needs much more energy than heating a flat in an urban block.

Another item is connected to housing – expenditure, on repairs, maintenance and refurbishing, household equipment and furniture. Only less than 30 % respondents included this item among the three most important, but they stated that in average it forms 21.8 % of their expenditures.

About 20 % of respondents mentioned the expenditures on operating a car or spent on public transport as ones of the most important. It is connected with the worsening transport services in the rural areas and a small offer of jobs, which makes people to look for job in a greater distance far from their domicile.

The problematic of consumer expenditures would deserve a deeper analysis and evaluation with regard to household types, economic position, age and other criteria, but the

sociological data are not sufficiently significant for the obtained information to be really objective.

6.4. Standard of living

Evaluation of the households standard of living is closely connected to the problematic of incomes and expenditures. Respondents' evaluation is rather subjective, but it can show us what they themselves think of this problem. According to the objective data, the standard of living in the CR has been increasing during the recent years. And what have country people to say about that?

6.4.1. Comparison with the year 1989

Less than half of respondents (41.9 %) think that their standard of living stayed the same as in the year 1989, but nearly one third is convinced that it is lower. For 6.5 % of them, it is even substantially lower. On the contrary, 22 % evaluate the present one as higher and for 2.7 %, it is significantly higher.

Big differences in evaluation are observed in dependence on age – the better evaluation predominates at the age categories up to 44 years (for 36.3 %, it is higher and significantly higher in the age category 25–34), on the contrary, the lower evaluation predominates at older categories (at the most – 42 % - at pensioners over 65). Only 15.8 % of respondents from the oldest category think that their standard of living is higher than in 1989 (in that, for 1.6 % of them it is significantly higher). The youngest age category (18-24 years) also belongs among the group where improvement of the situation prevails, but only slightly. However, evaluation is very difficult for these respondents – in 1989, they were 8-14 years old, so their evaluation can be distorted. In the second category (25-34 years of age), there predominate people who entered their first job during the last 10 years, and therefore their incomes and independence on their family significantly increased, so their standard of living improved. Nevertheless, the majority (37.6 %) states that nothing changed even in this group, but their number is the lowest of all categories.

Evaluation of changes in the standard of living is significantly dependent also on education.

Only people with basic education think that their present standard of living is lower than it was 10 years ago. Among other groups, there prevails the opinion that it is higher. Among people with university education, there are even more respondents whose standard of living has increased (39.3 % + for 4.9 % significantly) than those whose standard of living has not changed (36.1 %). 40.2 % of respondents with basic education think that their standard of living did not change, further 40.5 % think that it went down (in that, for 7.4 % significantly) and only 18.7 % are convinced about the improvement of their standard of living.

6.4.2. Comparison with other inhabitants in the municipality

Standard of living of the respondents' families roughly the same is in comparison with other families in the municipality according to two thirds of them (65.1 %). 20 % of respondents think that their standard of living is lower and 2.8 % regard it as significantly lower than the standard of other inhabitants in the municipality. Only a smaller part of respondents is of an opposite opinion – 10.5 % think that their standard of living is higher and for 0.8 % significantly higher.

With increasing age, there are more people who think that their standard of living is lower than that of the others, and that from 16.1 % (lower and significantly lower in the age

category 18-24) up to 32 % in the category over 65 years of age. On the contrary, the share of content people (having higher and significantly higher standard of living) is decreasing from 15.6 % in the category 25-34 years of age to 7.1 % at the eldest people.

Dependence on education is significant as well. People with university and secondary school education think that they have a higher standard of living than the other people in the municipality while those with professional training or only primary school education have a lower standard of living. As to university graduates, there are 23 % of people with higher and only 9.8 % with lower standard of living than the others. This ratio is 18.3 % to 11.2 % for people with secondary school education. For people with professional training, the ratio is 12.3 % to 20.7 %, and the difference is still more pronounced for people with basic education – 7.2 % state a higher and 30.1 % a lower standard of living than the others. Other people in each category are persuaded that their standard of living is approximately the same as that of the rest of inhabitants in the municipality.

A more detailed evaluation of the standard of living is also given in chapter Household equipment.

6.5. Conclusions

Incomes of the country households are influenced either directly or indirectly by many factors. One of the most important is the composition of the household, i.e. the number of economically active and inactive persons. Therefore, we have excluded this factor for the needs of further evaluation and we then evaluated only the per capita incomes.

Incomes were further evaluated according to impact of other factors. It was proved that household incomes are influenced both by external factors (size of domicile, region) and by the economic position, education, age and gender of one of its members (the respondent). Influence of gender and marital status, age, economic position of the respondent, and the regional influence from the external factors, were found statistically significant.

According to Jiří Večerník, inequalities in household per capita incomes in the year 1989 could be, above all, explained by the differences in the number of children to provide for. In the following years, the demographic determination of household incomes still predominates, but its significance is decreasing and the importance of social- economic and other factors not followed in the statistics is increasing. Education of the head of household and the size of the municipality influence the household income inequalities to a great extent.

Household expenditures are, similarly to incomes, influenced by a whole range of factors. Their deeper analysis was not, however, within the scope of our research. It is merely possible to state that the highest share of expenditures is formed by food a housing expenditures.

Evaluation of the standard of living is based on subjective feelings of respondents. This fact can highly influence the results, as J. Večerník writes in his book “Citizen and market economy”³:

“The measure of satisfying the needs or fulfilling consumer preferences is always difficult to measure objectively. Due to the same reason, it is problematic to the level of satisfying the needs in time or among individual groups of population. It is common that dissatisfaction always predominates over satisfaction. The selective memory and distorted optics lead to the opinion that the past situation is, from the distance, often perceived as

³ Večerník, J.: Občan a tržní ekonomika, nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 1998, p. 76

having been better than the present one, and the position of reference groups is perceived to be better than the own position. Subjective evaluations are far from being a true reflection of the real situation, for they are filtrated through the social values and expectations. Due to all these reasons, we have to be very careful when analysing the research data, namely regarding retrospective questions comparing the present situation with the situation before the year 1989.“

7. Household Equipment

Lucie Kocmánková

It crosses everybody's mind that there occurred changes in household equipment with the long-term consumption goods after 1989. In the first place, the market has been flooded with a number of various foreign products, which, after opening the borders, started to find their way to customer. After many years of unsatisfied demand, it evoked an almost unbelievable shopping fever in many of us. At the same time, it often regarded products we often new only from a hearsay (from those who were able to travel out to the free world) or we had not even been aware of their existence. It is interesting that human memory, even if it has been "only" ten years since then, forgets quickly such things (and surely it is not formed like that only by chance) and after years, it recollects only positive and pleasant experiences, while those that were not perfect or were unpleasant fade out and disappear from our memory gradually.

7.1. What belongs to the typical household equipment

The chapter dealing with household facilities will be introduced by a table containing information about equipment which is frequently used in our respondents' households and which we (on the basis of percentage of individual items) included among the typical household equipment.

Household equipment with products of a long-term consumption

7/1

Order	Product	% of equipped households	Typical household equipment
1.	refrigerator	98.7	yes
2.	TV set (black and white or colour)	98.5	yes
3.	wireless	94.3	yes
4.	bicycle, mountain bicycle	83.2	yes
5.	freezer	80.0	yes
6.	automatic washing-machine	76.4	yes
7.	kitchen robot, electric kitchen equipment	67.5	yes
8.	sewing-machine (common or electric)	66.1	yes
9.	car	64.9	yes
10.	telephone, mobile phone	60.5	yes
11.	video, hi-fi, CD, tape recorder	52.4	no
12.	domestic workshop equipment	48.7	no
13.	micro-wave oven	43.6	no
14.	book-case with more than 100 books	40.3	no
15.	ordinary washing-machine	39.9	no
16.	sports equipment, e.g. skis, surf, boat, rogallo	31.2	no
17.	small tractor, Terra, garden mower etc.	27.2	no
18.	motorcycle	25.9	no
19.	musical instrument	21.2	no
20.	satellite or a cable TV	18.1	no
21.	personal computer (printer)	15.2	no
22.	tractor, lorry, van	9.9	no
23.	dishwasher	4.3	no

*(% of the total household number, n = 2,142)

It seems that a typical household equipment involves, regarding 2,142 asked respondents, a refrigerator, TV set (black and white or colour) and a radio, for the mentioned products can be found in almost all respondents' households at least once. The typical household equipment further includes a freezer, automatic washing-machine and a bicycle which are possessed by more than 4/5 of respondents. Among ten products that can be found most often in their households (therefore we regard them as typical because they belong to almost 2/3 of asked respondents households) belongs also, beside the already mentioned (refrigerator, TV set, radio, freezer, washing-machine and bicycle), a kitchen robot, sewing-machine, car and telephone (either a stable line or mobile phone).

99 % out of 2,142 respondents answered positively the question regarding ownership of a *refrigerator* in their household, 4 % of respondents own two or three refrigerators, only 21 respondents (that is 1 %) have no refrigerator. Almost 4/5 of respondents own one, the rest owns more than one TV set. For 1.6 % of respondents, a TV set is not a part of the household equipment. 74.6 % of respondents register one *wireless set*, others own more than one, and only 109 respondents (5.1 %) have none.

More than 4,5 of respondents equipped their households with a *freezer*, out of which 7.5 % with more than one freezer. One fifth of respondents does not own a freezer. In most households, a *washing-machine* belongs among the typical equipment, *automatic washing - machine* being the more frequent, which is not owned by 471 (that is 22 %) households. However, 1/9 of respondents still have an "ordinary" washing-machine. As for *bicycles*, including mountain bicycles, more than 2/5 respondents have a bicycle, 2/5 of them having more than two, including those who have even three or four. Only 1/5 of respondents have no bicycle in their household.

2/3 of respondents own a *kitchen robot* or other electric kitchen equipment, almost the same number (2/3) mentions a *sewing-machine* as a part of their household equipment. Respondents not owning a *car* are represented by one third, 2/3 of respondents, on the contrary, own a car and 5.6 % of respondents mentioned more than two cars. An indispensable item in a household seems to be a *telephone* (ordinary or mobile) which is owned by 56.7 % of respondents, however, 38 % of respondents do not possess a telephone yet.

For comparison, it is suitable to list changes in household equipment during the past two decades as presented by P. Machonin, M. Tuček and H. Friedlanderová.

Household equipment with products of a long-term consumption in % out of the total household number
7/2

Year	Colour TV	Automatic washing-machine	Freezer	Bookcase with 100 books	Car	Cottage
1978	3.0	24.7	2.0	52.7	47.2	14.5
1984	20.3	45.5	16.6	45.8	55.2	15.0
1993	83.1	63.5	66.5	69.5	51.7	14.2
1998	96.7	71.7	41.1	-	60.6	17.2

Source: P. Machonin and M. Tuček – Czech society in transformation, 1996 (data from 1978, 1984, 1993)
H. Friedlanderová and M. Tuček – Czechs on the threshold of a new millennium, 2000 (data from 1998).

In the table below, it is possible to compare the development of household equipment with selected long-term consumption products in the Czech rural households in 1999 as found by our research :

Rural households equipment with products of a long-term consumption in % in 1999

7/3

Year	TV (Black and white, colour)*	Automatic washing-machine	Freezer	Bookcase with 100 books	Car	Cottage
1999	98.4	78.0	81.2	40.9	51.7	-

*) Note: Data from 1999 were obtained for any TV set (black and white as well colour), data for the category of cottages were not followed.

It results from the tables, that the level of Czech household equipment (and it seems that rural households follow this development) has been still growing in the individual years. The increase is apparent for all mentioned items. The greatest differences are evident in the equipment with a colour TV set and an automatic washing-machine. During the past two decades, households became completely equipped with colour TV sets (from almost a zero level) and it can be stated, that there occurred both increase in the total number of TV sets as well as replacement of old types by the new ones thanks to progressing technologies and a constantly increasing supply of more modern products in the market.

The second item with the greatest increase compared with the past is an automatic washing-machine where a growth by more than 2/3 growth is apparent. The washing-machine which used to belong to the top Czech household equipment in the 80ies (more than 1/2 of Czech households were not equipped with it then) became a standard equipment by the end of the 90ies. Many of us still remember spending hours in long cues in front of department stores for a number of goods, including washing-machines, still in the 80ies. And there was usually only one type and one brand “choice” available.

A two-third growth is also apparent regarding freezers, however, only up to the year 1993, after which a one-third decrease is noticeable as opposed to the beginning of the 80ies. This might be caused by an increasing offer of more quality goods of this kind, but also by the possibility of purchasing more modern types of refrigerators, a freezer being their common component.

Equipment with cottages stagnates and there is only a mild growth in cars which leads to thinking about the growing heavy traffic (not only on highways on Friday afternoon but also on weekdays) and to the conclusion that a number of cars must have increased in some households and that a car is most probably used also for other purposes than before (weekend shopping, transport to work and other activities).

Above all, the car market has changed, every other customer is more likely to choose a second-hand car rather than a new one. The second-hand car market offers various models in different price categories enabling thus even the “poorer” to buy at least a second-hand car. The attitude toward cars is different as well. Whilst before cars were used much less often, rather as luxury means for holidays or at weekends, today they are used daily by many more owners and are rather perceived as a production asset by them.

We could for sure find out quite a number of other interesting facts regarding cars as well as the household equipment with other long-term consumption items, but let us draw our attention to the products that our respondents would, sooner or later, like to possess.

Products of a long-term consumption which respondents would like to purchase as soon as possible 7/4

Order	Product	Position on the scale
1.	micro-wave oven	1.000
2.	dishwasher	0.721
3.	automatic washing-machine	0.693
4.	car	0.588
5.	telephone, mobile phone	0.575
6.	personal computer (printer)	0.474
7.	video, hi-fi, CD player, tape recorder	0.385
8.	satellite or cable TV	0.363
9.	small tractor, Terra, lawn mower etc.	0.322
10.	kitchen robot, electric kitchen equipment	0.312
11.	freezer	0.247
12.	sports equipment	0.167
13.	bicycle, mountain bicycle	0.156
14.	tractor, lorry, van	0.151
15.	refrigerator	0.140

Table created by Doc. RNDr. Helena Nešetřilová, CSc.

Note: To create the scale, an arbitrary scale (-5, +5) was used, +5 for 1st place, +4 for 2nd place and +3 for 3rd place, the individual places then having the weights: $w_1=1.25$, $w_2=1$ and $w_3=0.75$, $n=1,965$.

These are products that have, not very long ago, belonged (and some still do belong) among the most modern, and, in particular, the most luxurious that were little or not at all available in the market or did not exist as the everyday use products in almost every household (see e.g. mobile phones). To express in a more distinctive way, what the Czech consumer market longs for and what the respondents would like to possess in their households as soon as possible, we formed the following summarising table for the total of 15 products, expressing the demand situation in the Czech market according to our respondents in a more precise way.

The table is dominated by three products which ease the household chores (especially for women), therefore we can call them “female” products (micro-wave oven, dishwasher, automatic washing-machine). The following three products are, on the other hand, more technical, therefore we could call them “male” products analogically (car, mobile phone, personal computer). Desire for those products can be caused, for one, by an effort to further equip households with products still lacking in them, by an effort to replace the existing products by the same, but more modern, newer products, and furthermore, by the fact that the current long-term consumption products, which is moving still forward by long steps, especially in the area of electronics, is offering these possibilities.

7.2. Satisfaction with household equipment

Evaluation of current state of household equipment as it was presented by individual responses of our respondents is shown in the table below. In 71 % of cases, household equipment was evaluated by respondents as rather satisfying. If we add to this number 11 % of respondents who were highly satisfied, we come to a conclusion that more than four fifths of the total number of respondents were rather satisfied or highly satisfied with the equipment of their households. In spite of the percentage being quite high, we could assume that it will grow further, provided some (if not all) of presupposed purchases of long-term products which were discussed earlier take place. 14.2 % of respondents represent the category of rather not satisfied and only 1.3 % out of the total are very unsatisfied with the equipment of their household.

Respondents' satisfaction with their household equipment

7/5

	Very satisfied	Rather satisfied	Rather unsatisfied	Very unsatisfied	Not answered	Total
Number	280	1,520	304	24	10	2,142
%	13.1	71.0	14.2	1.3	0.5	100.0

Products of the long-term consumption is obvious at most of the respondents and it testifies for a relatively good level of our households equipment. Most respondents showed satisfaction with the household facilities and (in accordance with further purchases of long-term consumption products and further household equipment with them) its further increase can be assumed.

7.3. Standard of living in a rural community

Household equipment with products of the long-term consumption, about which much more could be written, is connected with the respondents' opinions regarding their perception of social classification of their village in terms of the standard of living. Inhabitants of a rural community in which the respondent lives, were in his or her own opinion "diversified" into categories A-E. In each category, the standard of living is specified as very good – category A, good – B, average - C, bellow-average – D and bellow the level of poverty – E. Categories are characterised by chosen parameters (house, car, standard of living, level of limited expenditures).

Stratification of rural community inhabitants from the point of view of their standard of living according to the respondents' opinions – perceiving of others (n = 2,110)

7/6

Category	Average relative abundance	% inhabitants in this category	Relative abundance of respondents (%)
A very good standard of living (nice house, good car, high standard of living, consumption need not be limited)	9.8	0 – 25	93.7
		26 – 50	5.8
		51 – 75	0.5
		76 – 100	0.0
B good standard of living (solved housing problem, car, relatively good standard of living, but have to save a little)	30.1	0 – 25	49.6
		26 – 50	39.6
		51 – 75	9.1
		76 – 100	1.7
C average standard of living (not living in need, but have to restrict expenditures)	41.9	0 – 25	21.0
		26 – 50	54.3
		51 – 75	19.2
		76 – 100	5.5
D bellow- average standard of living (accommodation of not very good quality, no own means of transport, try to make both ends meet between pay-days, no savings, must curb their expenditures considerably)	15.6	0 – 25	84.4
		26 – 50	14.0
		51 – 75	1.5
		76 – 100	0.2
E bellow the level of poverty (bad housing or without own flat, with minimum or no financial means, e.g. homeless people)	2.6	0 – 25	99.7
		26 – 50	0.2
		51 – 75	0.0
		76 – 100	0.0

Table created by doc. RNDr. Helena Nešetřilová, CSc.

Basically, the marginal categories (A, E and D) were classified in the same way by the respondents, only C category (average standard of living) is an exception in terms of standard distribution (i.e. small representation of very good and very bad standard of living). Out of the relative numerousness in respondents' answers, the average relative numerousness was calculated, giving the average results of the respondent perceiving the standard of living with

regard to other inhabitants of their village. More than 1/10 village inhabitants of the village in which the respondents live (12.4 %, precisely) thinks that the standard of living of other village inhabitants is extreme, that is either a very good (A category) in 9.8 %, or below the level of poverty (E category) in 2.6 %. The below-average level of living is perceived by the respondents as relevant for 15.6 % of the inhabitants of their village. A very good (B) and average (C) standard of living is perceived in total as regarding 72 % of inhabitants, which means that three quarters of all inhabitants of the rural community in which an individual respondent lives are included in those two categories by the opinion of respondents.

In this connection, it will be very interesting to compare later on the perceiving of the standard of living of other inhabitants of a rural community in which our inhabitant lives (*perceiving others*), as opposed to the respondents' own opinion regarding the group (according to the above mentioned categories) he or she places his or her own household (further only *self-evaluation*). Let us now have a look at a numerical expression of self-evaluation.

Evaluation a standard of living – self-evaluation

7/7

Standard of living	Very good	Good	Average	Bellow-average	Bellow the level of poverty	Not mentioned	Total
Category	A	B	C	D	E		
Number	80	693	1,047	200	11	111	2,142
%	3.7	32.4	48.9	9.3	0.5	5.2	100.0

In more than 4/5 of cases (81.3 % in total), respondents placed their standard of living to B (92.4 %) and C category (48.9 %). It is worth noticing that half of the respondents evaluates their standard of living as average. On the contrary, considering the two marginal, therefore extreme categories, only 0.5 % of respondents perceive their standard of living as below the level of poverty, 3.7 % of respondents evaluate their standard of living as very good. As being below average, there evaluated their own standard of living 1/10 of those who answered the question.

Now we can move to the advertised comparison of both results of our research as they are presented first in the table and then, for a better illustration, by the following diagram.

Standard of living – comparison of self-evaluation and perceiving others

7/8

Standard of living	Very good	Good	Average	Bellow-average	Bellow the level of poverty	Not mentioned	Total
Category	A	B	C	D	E		
Perceiving others	9.8	30.1	41.9	15.6	2.6	-	100.0
Self-evaluation	3.7	32.4	48.9	9.3	0.5	5.2	100.0

The complex distribution of perceiving the other inhabitants standard of living and the respondent's evaluation of his/her own standard of living basically corresponds to the results obtained from both types of evaluation with only minor differences. The differences are noticeable especially in the categories A, B, E where the percentage of perceiving the standard of living of others is higher compared to the percentage issuing from of self-evaluation. It reveals the fact that fewer respondents included themselves to these categories but others perceive them differently. This may be caused either by under-estimation of one's own standard of living in the A category and by over-estimation in categories D and E, or by perceiving others in such a way that more of them are evaluated better than in their own opinion (A) and also more of them is evaluated worse than in their own self-evaluation (D, E).

A totally opposite evaluation prevails in the two remaining, most numerous categories (B and C). Others perceive these categories as less numerous, however, more respondents placed themselves within these categories, which results in the fact that more respondents evaluate their standard of living as being better than it is perceived by their environment.

8. Housing

Pavčina Mařiková

8.1. Type of Housing

We can assume, quite logically, that most inhabitants of rural areas live in family houses, farm houses or other buildings designed to accommodate one or more related families. In our research, this was true of 86.5 % of respondents. This number includes people living in their own houses (67.6 %), or with their parents or other family relatives (15.3 %) or in rented houses (3.5 %). Another 11.6 % of respondents live in blocks of flats, which is not too many considering the relatively large number of so-called “co-operative tenement houses” to be found in almost every larger Czech village. The remaining 2 % of respondents live in temporary housing facilities, hostels, rented rooms or flats, etc.

When sorting according to the size of the village, we have assumed that the proportion of people living in housing units would increase in larger rural communities (as a result of “centralisation tendencies” in the seventies, when housing was concentrated to the selected “centre villages”). This assumption was confirmed by our data - in the smallest communities (under 200 people), only 6.9 % respondents live in blocks of flats, while in larger communities (from 1 000 to 2 000 inhabitants), the share increases to 15.8 %.

The share of family houses, i.e. of respondents living in their own family houses, in their parents’ houses or in rented family houses, varies from 90.6 % in the smallest communities up to 83.3 % in the largest rural communities.

The data from the 2001 census are slightly different, due to the fact that they reflect the structure of the housing resources, i.e. the number of houses, not the number of the inhabitants. In communities under 1,999 inhabitants, the share of permanently inhabited family houses is 94.7 % (in settlements under 1,000 inhabitants, it is 95.3 % of the total housing available, but proceeding to higher categories of settlements, the proportion of family houses falls to 60.4 % in settlements near Prague, while the average number for the Czech Republic is 85.6 %)⁴.

Almost all categories of housing reflect their relation to the age of the population. Thus for the category of “home owners”, we can notice an increasing tendency starting from the youngest age categories, while in the category “living with parents”, a considerable decrease of the proportion with increasing age can be noticed. These data can be explained quite easily - young people usually live with their parents until they have an opportunity to have their own home. So almost half the people aged under 24 live in their parents’ houses (however, one third of them live already in their own houses), while in the next age category (25 - 34 years), the proportion is reversed: almost 50 % are home-owners already, and only 27.4 % live with parents. This tendency further continues: almost three-quarters of respondents between 35 and 44 years are home owners, and only 8 % live with parents. Then this rise is slowing down, and it breaks completely in the last age category - over 65 years - when the proportion of persons living with parents or other relatives rises by several percentage points at the expense of persons living in their own houses. This is probably due to the situation when “young people take their grandmother to live with them, as she is unable to take care of herself”, which rather means living with own children or grandchildren than living with parents.

⁴ Pištora, L.: Stručný pohled na předběžné výsledky SLDB 2001, ČSÚ 2001

Another interesting differences can be found in the category “living in blocks of flats”, which applies much more often to younger people than to older people. This can be explained with reference to the date of these blocks of flats construction (i.e. 40 - 10 years ago) and to the fact that it were young families who moved there as the first then. Therefore, people under 44 can be found most frequently in this kind of housing. Elderly people preferred staying in their own private families houses. Currently, only about 7 % of them live in blocks of flats.

8.2. Flat amenities

In this research, we include under the term of “amenities” the equipment such as water supply system (i.e. water piping in the house without regard to the water source), bathroom and toilet, the kind of heating and hot water supply system, and the type of kitchen stove.

The data collected are related to the technological infrastructure of the community (water supply, gas main), described in another chapter (Public Utilities). Other amenities of the flat (regarding the ownership of long-term-use objects) are specified in the chapter Household Equipment. Thus, the objective of this part was to get an outlook of the standard of rural household amenities considering only the criteria selected and mentioned above, to be able to confirm or disprove the traditional image of the backwardness of the countryside. In fact, the very first criterion - water supply facility - shows us that the country households are quite well equipped. 97 % of respondents have water supply systems in their homes. The same proportion of respondents mention toilets, bathrooms or showers.

However, in some places the problem is the water quality. There is not a municipal water supply system in every village (see chapter Public Utilities); many households use water from their private wells, and it not a 100 % rule that every water tap supplies drinking water.

The majority of people questioned (84.7 %) give evidence of a hot water supply system, mostly using electric or gas boilers, or long-distance supply; 26 % mention use of solid fuel heaters. A more detailed research shows that 15 % of respondents use both sorts of heaters, and 4.3 % do not have hot water supply at all.

According to the system of heating, we can distinguish among three types of households - those with solid fuel heating in a stove, households with central heating using solid fuel, and those with central or local gas or electric heating (or long-distance heating). This simple categorisation indicates that almost half (49.4 %) of respondents use solid fuel heaters for central heating, and almost the same number of households have gas or electric heating. Another 21.6 % of respondents use stoves for heating. So we could simply state that half the rural population use ecological heating (i.e. using gas or electricity, which is easier) and the other half use non-ecological heating (with coal or wood). In communities with gas distribution system, the proportion is 2:1 in favour of ecological heating, while in the remaining ones it is 1:3 against ecological heating.

Bellow, we present some data from the 1991 Census of Flats and Houses to be compared with our research:

Indicator I	Total number of flats	Share in per cent	Other communities*	Share in per cent
Permanently inhabited flats in total	3,705,681	100.0	1,115,581	100.0
of which, those equipped with:				
water supply system	3,591,476	96.9	1,033,021	92.6
water closet	3,390,079	91.5	971,679	87.1
bathroom, shower	3,414,560	92.1	962,900	86.3
solid fuel stove	478,663	12.9	280,090	25.1
flat central heating, solid fuel	484,101	13.1	297,540	26.7
house central heating, solid fuel	1,464,768	39.5	442,656	39.7

* i.e. communities other than towns

The differences might be explained by the different space classification, but mainly by the impact of a significant time influence. It is probable that in 8 years, from the Census up to now, the number of households equipped with water piping, water closet and a bathroom has increased by 5 % and 10 % respectively. On the other hand, the number of people who use solid fuel stove has decreased by several per cent points.

A still more significant progress can be noticed in kitchens – 92.1 % of respondents have an electric or gas cooker (both using natural gas and propane-butane) and only 16.8 % households use solid fuel kitchen stoves. The percentage of households using only a cooking stove is even lower (only 5.4 % of the respondents). Then there are another 2.6 % of respondents who did not mention any kind of kitchen stove at all.

8.3. Other flat facilities

By other facilities we understand other rooms, spaces and constructions used by the owner, such as an attic, cellar, garage, workshop, shed, etc.

The most usual facility of a country house is a cellar – it is to the disposal of 90 % respondents, no matter whether they live in houses or in blocks of flats (in blocks of flats, the percentage is 86 %). In the second place, an attic is mentioned by 80.8 %. The third most frequent facility is a shed (almost 72.2 %).

Here we can find the connection to the way of living – 80 % of respondents who live in their own houses or in their parents' houses have a shed at their disposal, while this applies to only half the respondents who live in rented houses and to only 30 % of those who live in blocks of flats.

Less than half the rural population have access to a workshop and a cow-shed or pigsty. It is interesting, that the highest percentage of those equipped with it is found among the respondents who live “with their parents or relatives”.

However, this difference is minimal when compared to those who “live in their own” (some 2 - 4 %).

From a long-term point of view, this might be perceived as a signal of some decline from the traditional “self-supply” and “do-it-yourself” behaviour, when only the older generation would engage in breeding farm animals for their own needs and apply the “Why should I spend money on it when I can do it myself?” attitude. Younger people may prefer independent modern housing, where there is no place for sheds, cow/sheds and workshops. Their attitude has already been influenced by the consumer approach “Why should I make it myself when I can buy it?”.

Some respondents mentioned, to a lesser extent, also other spaces: e.g. barns, glass houses, hen-houses, arbours etc.

8.4. Floor space

According to the statistics, the floor space of flats in rural communities is somewhat larger than in the cities. This is due to the character of the housing available, since family houses - the most common type of housing in the country - have more rooms in average than we can find in blocks of flats.

An average flat in communities from 200 to 2,000 inhabitants has three rooms. The higher the number of flats in the blocks, the lower is the number of rooms, and in the cities of over 50 thousand inhabitants, this average number falls to 2.5 rooms per one flat. This indicator is the lowest in large cities (2.36); in Prague it is 2.29⁵. The data given by the respondents regarding the floor space of their flats in square meters (disregarding kitchen, bathroom, pantry etc.) vary from 7 to 400 meters. The average floor space of one flat in a rural community, according to our data, is 75.18 m².

For a more detailed study of this phenomenon, it would be necessary to know some further data, because the size of a flat is related to the number of people who live in it. According to the statistics from 1991, the average number of persons living in one flat was 2.78: ten years later, it was approximately by one tenth less – 2.69 persons. In smaller communities, we can find a higher number of persons per one flat, and in larger cities it is the other way round.

The rural households considered in this research had in average 3.07 members (most often 4 or 2). There were found 5 and more persons living only in 13 % of households. This means that a household is usually formed only by one or two generations (parents and children), and the coexistence of more generations is not very frequent – though it used to be quite common in rural areas in past. The average floor space per one member of household is therefore 25 m².

8.5. Conclusions

Up to now, we have studied the issue of housing from an objective point of view (the way of living, facilities of flat, size of flat). Our research has showed that the quality of life in the country is not worse than in cities. Most of the rural population live in their own houses, which is - according to the number of rooms - larger than an average flat in the cities, and, moreover, it has other utility spaces (attic, cellar, sheds, garage) and, of course, a garden (see chapter Personal Husbandry). Almost everyone has a water supply system, bathroom and water closet at his or her disposal. Half the rural population has gas or electric heating. Even if one tenth of them mentions a solid fuel stove as the only form of local heating, this percentage is decreasing year by year, as we can see when comparing our data with the data from the 1991 Census. So we can say that the quality of life in the country continues to improve.

Our aim, however, was also to establish the subjective (individual) evaluation provided by the inhabitants of small rural communities. Almost half of them (49.6) consider their housing standards to be good, and others regard them as average (39.3 %). Only 4.7 % see the quality of housing as above-average or below-average. Only 19 respondents find it inconvenient. In comparison - according to the IVY data from May 1999 - 86 % of Czech citizens are satisfied with their standard of housing.

⁵ Pištora, L.: Stručný pohled na předběžné výsledky SLDB 2001, ČSÚ 2001

The chapter concerning housing could be summarised by describing an average rural household: a three-member family lives in their own house (or farm house) with the floor space of 75m², with a water supply system, toilet and bathroom, hot water (from a boiler or gas heater); they use a solid fuel stove for heating or electricity or gas, and they have an electric or gas kitchen stove. Their house has a cellar and an attic as well as a garage and sheds. Cow-sheds and workshops are only found in every second house. They consider their standard of housing to be good.

9. Personal holdings

Pavčina Mařiková

The characteristic feature of the rural areas was, for a long time, the dependence of most of its inhabitants on agricultural production. Only the development of industrial production in 19th century that brought about new technologies of land cultivating, fertilisers etc., increased substantially the efficiency of agriculture and as a consequence of this, the proportion of active agricultural population rapidly decreased, and this share is still decreasing. In spite of the fact that rural population began to take part also in the non-agricultural activities, their relation to the land was sustained. Thanks to the land reforms, they could obtain the land, and as a consequence of the later collectivisation process, they lost it again. But every farmer endeavoured to keep at least a personal plot. In the poor times, the fields, gardens or domestic animals were the only and the main source of living not only for their owners but also for their relatives in cities. And so even after several decades of socialism, traditional domestic small holdings persisted in rural areas even if often limited to the courtyard and garden.

9.1. Size of personal holdings

From the total number of 2,142 respondents, 1,252 of them (i.e. 58.5 %) stated that they had small personal holdings. This number is relatively low regarding the fact that in villages, there are not many apartment houses (11.6 %) and most inhabitants thus live in detached houses, to which at least a garden inevitably belongs.

Two thirds of people who live in their own house have a personal holding, i.e. they keep domestic animals or grow fruit and vegetables.

However, personal holdings are possessed by nearly every fifth person living in an apartment house or in lodgings. It means that also these people who are housed more or less in a town style still sustain have a relationship to land.

The ownership of personal holdings is more common in smaller villages (201 – 500 inhabitants) – 65.6 %, the least common it is in the biggest rural communes (1,001 – 1,999 inhabitants) – less than half of the inhabitants. The greatest share of the personal holdings owners is in the age category 45 – 64, and on the contrary, only 47 % of respondents younger than 34 have personal holdings. In South Moravia, the proportion of personal holdings owners is the highest, the lowest one is recorded in South Bohemia. Small gardens (up to 2 acres) are owned by 47.1 % of respondents (with personal holdings), medium-sized gardens (3 – 50 acres) are owned by 47.5 % of respondents and large ones (over 50 acres) by 6.9 % of respondents (20 respondents stated two figures). It means that everybody who has a personal holding owns a smaller or larger garden as well.

Fields and meadows up to the size of 1 ha are possessed by 15.3 % of respondents and larger ones by 9.3 % of respondents with personal holdings, making a total of 14.4 % of all respondents. Orchards, vineyards or hop-gardens are possessed by 9 percent of rural inhabitants and forests or ponds by 5.1 % of rural inhabitants.

9.2. Domestic animals

Breeding of domestic animals is equally traditional as agriculture itself. After collectivisation of agriculture, breeding of big domestic animals (cows, horses, etc.) ceased to

be common, but breeding of rabbits, hens and other poultry is still a very common activity in the rural areas.

Domestic animals

9/1

Kind of animals	% share of respondents possessing personal holdings	% share of all respondents
Poultry, pigeons	72.9	42.6
Rabbits	63.6	37.2
Sheep, goats	10.0	5.8
Cattle, horses	6.8	4.0
Pigs	5.6	3.3
Bees	5.8	3.4
Special breeds	1.0	0.6

The supposition that the most commonly bred domestic animals are hens and rabbits was confirmed, even if to a lesser extent than we expected. Sheep or goats, horses, cows and pigs were next most often bred animals. Bee-keeping is also popular in rural areas.

9.3. Work and benefit from personal holdings

In order to benefit from personal holdings, it is necessary to exert a certain effort, what is a daily duty for some, and a pleasant relaxation for the others. Most rural people regard this “second shift” as a common part of their life.

Nearly half of respondents (42.6 %) possessing personal holdings do not work on them for more than 1 hour every day, 36 % of them from 1 to 2 hours and the others for more than 3 hours daily (20.5 %).

As can be seen in the following table, all members of household are engaged in this work (compare with the data from the chapter Family and household).

Participation of individual family members in work on the personal holding

9/2

Family members	% of those who participate in work on personal holding
Respondent	91.6
Husband/wife	64.4
Children	33.8
Parents	23.3
Other members of the family	11.3

Benefit from small holdings is expressed by the proportion of food for own consumption and revenue from market production. 58.5 % of respondents benefit from personal holdings just in the form of part of food for their own consumption.

For further 20.9 % of respondents, work on personal holdings is considered to be a hobby, and economic contribution is not important. Only for 9.6 % of respondents, self-supply of food form an important part of the total food consumption for the remaining 9.8 % of respondents, personal holdings present also economic contribution – in the form of revenue from market production.

9.4. Conclusions

At present, more than half of all rural households have a personal holding.

It is usually a small or a medium-sized garden. A lot of people breed rabbits or hens, some also horses, cows, pigs, sheep or goats. Small holdings bring economic revenue for more than three quarters of respondents, the others find this activity to be their hobby and relaxation. It is interesting, that regarding the ownership of personal holdings, there is no great difference between younger and older people (46 % of respondents up to the age of 35 own personal holdings, the share then increases up to approximately 65 % with pensioners).

The time devoted to this activity increases with the age of respondents.

It seems evident, then, that no obvious diversion from the rural way of life is shown here and that personal holdings remain a matter-of-course part of the rural household even for the younger generation.

10. Leisure Time

Leoš Kudrna

Leisure time can be comprehended as the time that remains to people after fulfilling all their necessary duties (job, doing business, transport to work etc.). Leisure time thus represents time space and the individual himself/herself decides about its use and content and the activities in it are voluntary. Leisure time activities can have the form of active or passive rest and they serve for the regeneration of the physical and mental forces of the individual.

Spending leisure time is influenced by a number of factors. The most significant is the socio-economic position, standard of living and life-style of the individual.

10.1. Leisure Time Activities

In general, the way of spending leisure time differs on ordinary working days the holidays, because during working days the individual must spend an important part of the day at work (1/3 of the day at minimum but sometimes even more). On the contrary, during free days individuals have time for themselves, their families, friends and their hobbies.

On the basis of research, we tried to find out what types of activities the respondents devote their time to during the free days.

Activities realised in leisure time during working days

On the basis of research, we found out that the activities most commonly enjoyed on working days are the following:

- 1) *watching TV and listening to the radio (84.6 %)*
- 2) *reading newspapers and magazines (55.6 %)*
- 3) *gardening (49.9 %)*
- 4) *taking care of children (31.5 %)*
- 5) *reading books (25.8 %)*

On the other hand, attending church is among the least often carried out leisure activities during working days. (19th position). In 20th position, there are active cultural activities as for instance playing theatre, singing, dancing etc., and in the last position, there are the activities in various societies and organisations (21st position).

This might be, to a considerable extent, caused by the fact, that people, after returning from labour, have neither energy nor inclination to carry out the more demanding activities. That is why they prefer less demanding activities such as listening to the radio, watching TV, reading newspapers and magazines.

Activities realised in leisure time on weekends

If we focus on spending leisure time during working days and on weekends, the situation is partially different.

In the first position, there is also listening to the radio and watching TV (77.6 %) which can be contributed to the fact that this is the easiest and most accessible means of spending free time. *In the second position*, compared to the weekday situation, there is visiting relatives and friends (43.3 %) – 6th position on weekdays. Reading newspapers and magazines is *the third* most often enjoyed weekend leisure activity (38.6 %) – 2nd position on working days. *The fourth* most commonly carried out activity are trips and walks in the country (35.3 %) – 8th position on working days. *The fifth* most often realised weekend activity is idling away and having a rest (32.6 %).

On the other hand, cultural activities and active participation in various societies and organisations are among the least often carried out activities during the weekend free time.

There are particular differences in spending leisure time not only as far as weekdays or weekends are concerned but also from the gender point of view. These differences are evident regarding activities typical for different sex. Working in a home workshop or visiting pub are among typical male activities. These activities are carried out by approximately one third of male respondents on both working days and weekends. On the other hand, these typically male activities are carried out by only a small percentage of female respondents in their leisure time. A similar situation is with regard to the typically female leisure time activities such as needlework and knitting or taking care of children.

Generation differences become evident with activities such as active sport, cinema visiting, active cultural activities in societies and frequenting a pub. Especially younger respondents devote their time to these activities. Older people prefer gardening, reading newspapers and magazines and attending church to other activities.

Minimum differences, as far as the age or gender are concerned, can be seen with regard to the universal leisure time activities such as listening to the radio, watching TV, visiting friends, going for walks and trips or idling away. These activities are also among the most commonly enjoyed leisure time activities.

It can be stated that spending free time is very individual and variable. The differences found have their origin in various factors - based on the age, gender, education or social position.

10.2 Holiday

By the means of the research we tried to find out how the respondents spent their holiday. The majority of respondents answered that in 1998, they did not have any holiday at all (35.1 %). Mostly people with basic education (55.2 %), people over 65 (34.4 %), the youth up to 24 (10.7 %) and people with university education (1.5 %) did not have any holiday.

We have also found out that in 1998, a high percentage of respondents spent their holiday either at home (30.8 %) or in a domestic recreation site (12.3 %). 5.8 % of respondents spent their holiday with their relatives or friends and 1.4 % of respondents spent their holiday at their summer cottage.

Mostly people with basic education (40.2 %), professional training (42.0 %) and people between 45 - 54 (27.6 %) spent their holiday in the place of their permanent residence.

Mostly young people up to 24 (25 %) and people between of 25 - 34 (27.0 %) spent their holiday in a domestic recreation site. From the point of view of education, this way of spending holiday was preferred especially by the people with completed secondary education without leaving examination (42.6 %). Presumably this type of holiday is more interesting and advantageous for these groups of respondents because of the finances, but also thanks to the quality improvement of domestic tourism offered services in the recent years.

A relatively low proportion of respondents (11.3 %) spent their holiday abroad. Largely it could be caused by the economic development in the Czech Republic (1998 - economic recession) and also by the fact that the boom when every Czech family travelled to spend their summer holiday by the seaside has passed away already. From the age point of view, holiday abroad was spent rather by young people up to 24 (23.5 %), by people between 25-34 (24.3 %) and by people with university education.

With a certain reserve, we can conclude that for rural areas, there is characteristic a lower interest in travelling. One of the main causes can be the care for garden and personal holding (see the chapter on small holdings) because for some respondents it can be a problem to find a substitute who would take care of their personal holdings during the time of their holiday. Therefore, people prefer holiday in the place of their permanent residence to going abroad.

11. The Relatives and Neighbourhood

Pavčina Mařiková

The relatives (the “wider family”) and neighbourhood are especially important factors in the creation of the social networks in the rural areas. They create the complex of the mutually dependent relations among the individuals. In contrast to the towns, where these networks are prevalently on functional ties, in rural areas still persist also the traditional forms based on relationships to relatives and neighbours. With these ideas, there is closely connected the sense of the solidarity and cohesion which is also the characteristic feature of rural communities. In our research, we were interested also in the opposite phenomenon – excluding from society.

11.1. The Relatives

The village is, from the sociological point of view, an important component of the social structure, a specific community. One of the signs, which traditional communities were noted for, were numerous relationships to relatives. Their importance was the greatest at the beginning of the evolution of rural settlement, but after the breaking up of the ancestral society it was decreasing. However, the village still maintained its compact social structure.

We presumed that also in the contemporary rural areas, the relationships to relatives are developed but the wider families do not necessarily live in common households. The further hypothesis was that in smaller villages, the relative relations are more frequent. We were also interested in whether or not the closeness of the relatives is agreeable or not, what would mean that the traditional social relations are affected and young people would, for example, prefer to live by themselves, as far as possible from the relatives.

More than three quarters of respondents mentioned that one of their relatives lives in the same municipality or in the accessible surroundings; 74.2 % of them mention several relatives (families). Of the total number (2,142) of respondents, only 464 (i.e. 21.7 %) mentioned that there does not live any of their relatives in the surroundings. To three quarters of the respondents, the proximity of the relatives is agreeable; the others do not care. Only 2 % of the respondents mention that the relatives hamper them.

The hypothesis supposing that the smaller municipality the more relatives, was not acknowledged. The respondents in South Moravia region mention the highest numbers of relatives in the municipality and surroundings, the fewest are mentioned West Bohemia region (probably the influence of repopulating of the border areas where, after the World War II., people came from all parts of Czechoslovakia and also from abroad). Little time so far has passed for creation of more developed relative relations there.

Most respondents mentioned that the proximity of relatives is pleasant for them. The presumed connection with the age is reflected there, however - the age category 18 – 24, this answer appeared at 65 % of respondents, but in other age categories, the share was still increasing up to 84 % in the category over 65. An insignificant number of answers “I am do mind the proximity of the relatives” appeared mainly in the categories from 25 to 54 years. The answer “It does not matter” is, on the contrary, decreasing from the youngest categories (33 %) to the oldest ones.

11.2. The Neighbourhood

The definition of neighbourhood can be found in the Big Sociological Dictionary. It mentions that neighbourhood is, in a narrow sense, the set of persons who, based on the more permanent living in close proximity, are keeping up the specific kind of social interaction and mutual relationships the form and content of which are to a considerable extent given by the cultural pattern of a “good neighbour”.

As the basic functions of the neighbourhood, there are usually mentioned: 1. ceremonial functions (ratifying the pertinence of the neighbourly unit; the minimum manifestation is greeting); 2. protection and help (in principle it is granted informally and free of charge, either one-sided or mutual), 3. Cupertino (mostly of the self-help character); 4. social communication of the self-purpose character (companionship); 5. sharing of information (among others, the type known as “local grapevine”); 6. social control (informal supervision over keeping the standards of the neighbourly as well as more common social behaviour); 7. socialisation (informal family upbringing of children, etc.).

We assumed that the neighbourly relations are similarly developed in rural areas country as relative relations, and from that also followed the same working hypothesis regarding the level of neighbourly relations in connection to the size of the municipality and the age of respondents.

Most respondents (86.3 %) mentioned that they have good neighbours at the village whom they can depend on. 70 % of them mention that they have several such neighbours; 30 % have only one or two. Only 207 of respondents (i.e. 9.7 %) do not have neighbours whom they could depend on.

The influence of the size of the municipality is not too expressive. A slightly higher figures with reliable neighbours are at the smallest municipalities up to 200 inhabitants. On the contrary, the lowest are in the largest municipalities (1,001 – 1,999 inhabitants). Likewise, there is a slight difference in classification according to education – the secondary school graduates and university graduates are considered to be more reliable neighbours. There are better relations in the South Bohemian region and South Moravian region, worse in West Bohemia region.

According to length of life in the municipality, there was shown a clear connection – people living in the municipality for more than 20 years or all their lives have 60 % of reliable neighbours and 27 % of them have one or two. Further on, the similar figures are shown by the categories from 1 to 20 years of age, i.e. 50 % with several and 34 % with one or two reliable neighbours.

Only 29 % of respondents living in the municipality for less than one year have more reliable neighbours, half of them have only one or two neighbours which they can rely upon. Also this figure is, however, quite high and it is the proof of the cohesion of the rural inhabitants.

11.3. Cohesion

Higher solidarity with the municipality and the cohesion among its inhabitants are among the basic characteristics which are significant for the traditional rural society.

60 % of respondents are persuaded that people in the villages associate with each other and help each other; over 30 %, on the contrary, think that it is not true. In each category, there is an expressively higher share of those who answer rather no/rather yes (only certain

groups). But almost 20 % of respondents replied that the people in the village hold together quite considerably.

The people hold together more in smaller municipalities (up to 1,000 inhabitants) and furthermore, they are expressively differentiated according to the region – all people hold together mostly in Moravia and South Bohemia (24 %); only some groups in the East and North Bohemia (42 – 46 %). In West Bohemia, almost one half of the people are persuaded that the inhabitants rather do not hold together or not at all. Regarding education, there are no perceptible differences. People who have lived in the municipality for less than one year, have more frequently answered the question about the cohesion by “I do not know” (30 %).

An expressive relation was shown in the comparison of the answers to the questions concerning the neighbourhood and the cohesion. Most of respondents who have reliable neighbours mention that the people in their village are cohesive (and on the contrary as well).

11.4. Excluded Groups

Social exclusion is defined as the mechanism or the strategy by which one group protects its privileges and advantages by closing the access to the resources, positions, awards, and possibilities to other groups, and that based on the authoritatively sanctioned declaration of these groups as undesirable or unsuitable.

In our research, however, the conception of exclusion was comprehended and defined as more or less voluntary avoiding of the society, and the social life. We were interested which groups will be thus designated by the respondents. Regarding the specific way of the rural life, we presumed that one of such groups will be “immigrants”; it means the people who have recently moved into the country from the towns and are still not unified with the local community.

Half of the respondents mentioned that there are groups of people excluding from society in their municipality, i.e. those who keep apart from the social life, one quarter is not persuaded about it, and the others do not know.

In the concrete answers, there was mostly reflected excluding of certain age categories of people. The most frequently mentioned group were older people (pensioners), and that in 35.7 %. The further group of answers was general – different age categories – 9.7 % of respondents mentioned it. Young families or young people were mentioned by 3 % of respondents. Further, there were mentioned the groups of persons which differ in something – 9.1 % of respondents think that they are the people who differ by the way of life or by the life-style. The racial, ethnic or national groups or seasonal foreigners were mentioned by 5.4 % of respondents, immigrants in general 6.7 %, however, cottagers, weekend house people, holidaymakers only by 1 %.

11.5. Conclusions

The results of our research proved that in the Czech countryside, it is still possible to find the elements which are characteristic for the traditional country society.

It regards mainly the developed network of the relationships to relatives, neighbourly relations and solidarity of the inhabitants. Although the cohabitation of the wider family in one household, neither multi-generation cohabitation, is not a common feature in the present rural areas any more, more than three quarters of respondents mention that other relatives live in their proximity.

The neighbourhood has a major significance in small provincial municipalities because the neighbourly group can be created there by the whole municipality. It is also proven by our results – most of respondents have neighbours whom they can depend on.

The further characteristic sign the existence of which was proven by our research is the solidarity of the village inhabitants. At present, the strength of this feature is showing mainly in case of the distress of the municipality, for example with by floods and other disasters.

Excluding of certain social groups occurs only to a limited extent in rural areas. There were proved only minimum implications of the racial or ethnic intolerance. The hypothesis regarding excluding of “the immigrants” was also shown only to a small extent. The most frequently mentioned were different age categories, but these data may not attest to their general excluding, but only to the limited intergeneration contacts.

12. Municipality

Pavčina Mařiková, Jan Srb

The life in rural commune brings lots of positive and negative qualities by which it differs from that in town. However, there are marked differences among individual municipalities – for example in transport facilities, shopping and services supply, labour possibilities, the accessibility of the school and the medical care or in the quality of the environment, etc. If somebody is not satisfied by the conditions in the place of his/her abode, he/she has the possibility to move somewhere else. However, this possibility seems to be still rather theoretical and accessible to only a limited part of population.

The group which is concerned the most by it, are the young people who would like to become independent, even possibly to found a family. The housing market stagnates and hardly anybody has a sufficient financial possibility to satisfy this need completely. However, the situation in rural areas is not as critical as it is in towns.

12.1. The Length of Life in a Municipality

The moving or migration is a long-term process which has changed in the course of time. In the last century, there occurred outstanding urbanisation changes in the Czech countryside, both in the sense of urbanising the country way of life and in the sense of the country inhabitants moving to towns. The country gradually became depopulated. Toward the end of the 90s, there came the reversal. Medium sized municipalities record, after a long time, increments of inhabitants and in the surroundings of big cities, the suburban process is being promoted. We can get the picture of the migration tendency from the answers to a few questions concerning the problems of moving.

Slightly more than half of respondents mention that they have been living all their lives in their municipality so it means that the rest, 46.6% of them, had moved in. These data could certify to the developed migration of the rural inhabitants, but it is not possible to find out how many times they have moved. We suppose that it is usually only once, and that in consequence of marriage, because the great part of people who moved in were 18 – 30 years of age at the time of moving. They were women more frequently than men which supports this theory. In other research we made, we asked about the reasons for moving as well. It was apparent that 56 % of respondents moved due to family reasons, 30 % for housing reasons and 11 % because of their jobs. According to the statistics quoted in chapter 2, the most frequent reasons for moving are the following: housing reasons, following a family member, marriage, health reasons, divorce, change of workplace and study.

20.2 % of persons who have been living in the municipality all their lives are in the age category of 45 – 54 which indicates that they were born shortly after the Second World War and they have never left their native municipality. Nearly the same figures are in the category of 18 – 24 years of age (20.1 %) – these are the young who have not yet had the opportunity to move from the parents' home either for financial or other reasons. Moving into small municipalities has increased in the last ten years. During this time, 32.5 % of the immigrants moved in, in the 80ies, it was only 23 % and earlier only 44.5 % immigrants.

The direction of moving is statistically recorded only on the level “from one region to another region”, “from district to district” or “within district”. It is also possible to get the data for individual size categories of the municipalities. It is also possible to derive some basic tendencies from those data and the directions of moving as well. For example, in 1997 most

people moved out of large cities and moved into the municipalities of up to 5,000 inhabitants but the opposite processes could have simultaneously proceeded to a lesser extent.

We were interested in what directions the migration at the level of the small rural municipalities proceeds. We presumed that in the consequence of the socialistic centralism tendencies, the prevailing moving direction would be from smaller to larger municipalities. The most frequent answers to the question “Where did you move from?” were “from smaller village” or “from smaller town” (both by 24 % from those who moved). Only a few respondents moved from a larger village to a smaller one.

In the age category of 18 – 24, almost 70 % were natives. For the rest, most frequently they moved from towns (17.6 % in all), and almost nobody moved from a larger village. In the category of 25 – 40 years of age, there were only 51 % natives and then the most often mentioned answer was “from a smaller village” (13 %), followed by „from a big town” (10.5 %). In the next category of (35 – 44) years of age, only 42.4 % were born in the municipality, only a bit more of them (45.6 %) were in the category 55 – 64 years of age. The younger most frequently moved from a little town (16.5 %); the older from a smaller village (15 %). In the remaining categories (45 – 54 and more than 65 years), 55 % were natives. The people about 50 years moved more frequently from a smaller town, pensioners from a smaller village.

Regarding the classification of the moved - in people according to their education, this connection became evident: the lower the education, the smaller the municipality from where the respondent moved in; the higher the education – the larger the town. 57.6 % of people with only basic education live all their lives in one municipality and the same applies to 52.3 % of those with professional training, however, only to 34.4 % of university graduates. 45.9 % of university graduates moved in from a town or a larger village.

If the answers to the questions “Do you think about moving?” and “Where did you move from?” are compared, 91.8 % of respondents do not think about moving at all; the others would most frequently like to move to the large or to the small town. Certain connection in the fact that those who moved in would choose the same size of the municipality in case of further moving.

Most of the respondents spent a major part of their lives in rural area, and that in 16.8 % in a small village or at a dispersed dwelling (about 200 inhabitants) and 61.8 % in a larger municipality (about 2,000 inhabitants). 6.5 % of the questioned people lived in a small town, 3.8 % in a medium sized town (10 – 50,000 inhab.) and 5.2 % of inhabitants in a large town.

12.2. Considerations about Moving

The analysis of the question concerning the prospective moving in the future can show to what degree the country settlement is potentially stable and it indirectly refers to the general contentment of inhabitants with the life in the rural municipalities. From the point of view of the Czech countryside perspective, it is positive that more than 90 % inhabitants in the country do not think about moving. Those who speculate about it prefer mostly large cities (3.3 %) and small towns (2.8 %). Quite an insignificant share of those who speculate about moving want to move to a smaller village (0.6 %). The answers to the previously mentioned question can be evaluated from the whole range of views, i.e. it is very likely that the answers to the question will differ depending on age, education, the size of municipality in which the respondent lives, etc.

Between the size category of the municipality and the share of inhabitants who think about moving in the future, there was found a negative dependence. This means the greater

the size category of a municipality is, the lower the number of inhabitants who think about moving.

In the smallest followed category of municipalities, up to 200 inhabitants (it was joined with the category dispersed houses), more than 10 % respondents living in the municipality of the relevant size category speculate about moving while in the category of the largest country municipalities (1,000 – 1,999) it was less than 7 %.

From the point of view of time period which the respondents in the municipality, it is surprising that those who moved into the municipality during last ten years (13.6 %) think more about moving, than those who have lived in it for more than 10 years or all their lives (6.8 %). It might indicate the fact that a relatively big share of inhabitants who moved into the rural areas after 1989 did not do it quite voluntarily but for example for housing reasons and they are not satisfied, resp. they are thinking about moving.

There are shown significant differences in the answers to the question “Do you think about moving?” according to individual age categories. On the whole, according to the expectation, young people in the age category of 18 – 24 (23.1 %) speculate about moving. In the following age category (25 – 34), the share of the respondents speculating about moving is significantly lower (10.7 %). The share of those who speculate about moving is being gradually reduced also and it is the same in other age categories. This means that there is the negative correlation between age and number of the respondents who speculate about moving. The risk of ageing of the provincial population and the potential emigration of the inhabitants, namely of those in the productive age is high (of course there is a question what share of the inhabitants from the total number of potential migrants would be successful in the realisation of moving – i.e. how many of them will really decide and will for example have the means to buy a flat in other municipality).

In the dependence of the level of education, there are no significant differences in the answer to this question. The people with full secondary education speculate about moving in the highest percentage and on the contrary, the respondents without professional training in the least. The presumption that the inhabitants who are university graduates would namely think about moving was not confirmed.

Most of the respondents who speculated about moving were in regions Plzeň, Ustí and Liberec – over 10 % (apparently the influence of an unpleasant situation in the rural municipalities in the borderland with a not very stable population), and, on the contrary, very few respondents speculated about moving in Ostrava region (only 3.5 %).

The last question concerned the reasons which lead to thinking about moving. The answers to this open question were classified into thirty detailed categories. However, only 162 respondents answered. The absolutely most frequent answer was “finding a the job, more job opportunities” (30 % of those who gave a reason). More than one half of them were in the category 18 – 24 years of age. Further, there were mentioned “personal and family reasons”, which together with other similar ones (love, living with the partner, family, moving to the children in the old age) were mentioned by 18.5 % of the respondents. Additional reasons were “housing reasons” and “getting a flat or a house” – 15 %, followed by “bad transport, commuting” together with other problems of the municipality (facilities, infrastructure, limited shopping net, etc.) with 14 % respondents.

Second reason for moving was mentioned by 102 respondents. Most frequently it was “bad cultural and sport possibilities” which 31 % mentioned, further problems of the municipality and then work reasons – 25 % of respondents. Only 42 respondents mentioned a third reason, and that in a similar sequence. Work reasons are most frequently mentioned by

the respondents from South Bohemian and North Bohemian regions, housing reasons in West Bohemian and North Bohemian regions.

12.3. Conclusions

We can conclude that, while people moved into the researched rural municipalities most frequently for family reasons or because of housing and were coming mostly from smaller municipalities or small towns, in future they want to move mainly because of work and into the towns. With the young people, it testifies for the results of other researches which show that their priorities are at the present times mainly “to achieve a good position in employment” (i.e. career) and “to devote time to their interests and hobbies”. Since there are fewer work occasions in the country, they leave for towns. To establish the family is currently being postponed for later time.

13. Civil Facilities

Pavína Maříková

There are considerable differences in the range and quality of civil facilities in rural communities. However, during the past few years the level of facilities of rural communities has been increasing. Our research focuses on the present situation and evaluation of changes that took place after 1989.

The term civil facilities includes the whole complex of features which are possible to be divided in a more detailed way to further categories. The first one is the basic civil equipment, including primary school, nursery school or kindergarten, medical centre, post-office and police station. These are public services institutions that should be distributed in the area relatively equally so that the level of their accessibility is, for rural communities inhabitants, roughly the same. The second category, so called cultural, holiday and sport facilities, includes cinema, dance hall, gymnasium, sports ground and public swimming-pool. These are institutions for leisure time or social activities, which are not vital for the rural life but they increase its quality. This category also includes the church.

Another category is **technological infrastructure**. It includes equipment with public water supply, sewage system with sewage plant and gas pipeline. Sometimes also telecommunication system is being included within this category. Existence or non-existence of these networks in technical infrastructure presents one of the basic assumptions for further development of each household, as well as transport accessibility represented in our case by a bus stop or a train station.

The last observed category is the level of equipment in the area of **trade and services** (that is shops, pubs, stalls, restaurants, services). The described state corresponds to the situation at the end of 1999, when the selected research took place.

13.1. Features of civil facilities

In the majority of rural communities, the basic feature of civil facilities should be the presence of an educational institution. Almost two thirds (65.2 %) of respondents in our research confirmed the presence of primary school in their village, some mentioned even more than one. However, it probably concerned only several buildings, e.g. for the first and second part of the primary school. As far as nursery schools (71.1 %) are concerned, the situation is similar, in some places there are two (perhaps a kindergarten and nursery school). According to the objective numbers (see table no. 13/1), situation is worse in this area - both stages of primary school are only in one quarter of rural communities. However, our research did not differ between the two stages and therefore we reached higher numbers. It has been probably caused by the fact that in many villages, there is only the first stage of primary school.

Less than a half (45.1 %) of respondents mentioned a medical care centre in their village. These respondents, however, mentioned more or less the number of surgeries (most often one to three) and therefore this number also does not correspond to data from the Lexicon of Municipalities, which says that a medical centre is only in 28 % of rural communities. In many cases, we deal with the situation when there is only one surgery in a village but to which a medical doctor only commutes regularly (e.g. twice a week).

Post-office can be found, according to our respondents, in almost two thirds of villages, 61.3 % to be exact. A police station is only in 13.7 % of villages. Data comparable with data from the Lexicon of Municipalities are presented in the following table.

Level of civil infrastructure⁶

13/1

Rural communities	Abs.	%
Number	5,645	100.0
primary school	1,433	25.4
medical centre	1,578	28.0
post-office	2,288	40.5
police station	327	5.8

Source: Lexicon of Municipalities, 1999

Regarding the sphere of cultural institutions, let us start with a dance hall. This traditional part of country pubs is in three quarters of communities – the question being whether it still serves the purpose of dance parties. To a much lesser degree, a cinema can be found in the rural areas. Only 14.5 % of respondents have a cinema in their village. A considerable number of communities then have no cinema at all at present.

There is no church in less than one third of villages, however, there is one in the majority of communes. 7% of respondents mention even more than one church in the municipality. However, one more it is difficult to say whether and how often it is being used. Especially in the area around the western border, churches are in desolate conditions and if there are money for their construction at all, it comes from ejected former inhabitants, now living in Germany. However, more than one quarter of respondents from just the West Bohemia mention two churches in their commune. In total, however, there are most churches in the North Moravia (more than 80 % of villages), and on the contrary, fewest in the Central Bohemia (less than a half of villages).

There are sport and holiday resorts in most of villages. There is a gymnasium, either separate or as a part of school, in 56.5 % of villages, out of which, in 2.8 %, there are two or three in some communities. There are even more sport fields – they are in 84 % of villages (there is one in 70 %, two in 12 % and three or four in others). In average, one sports ground amounts to one village. Sport still remains very attractive for rural inhabitants and almost every town or village has a football team. Existence of a public swimming-pool depends on a suitable locality, therefore there is a swimming-pool only in every fifth village.

In the area of technical infrastructure, at the first sight, the situation seems to be satisfying. Public water supply (and/or sewage system) is in most villages – it lacks only in 12.6 %. Quality of water – not everywhere drinking water is available – still remains to be a problem.

As for gas mains, the situation is worse as there is no gas supply system in 41.6 % of villages. Gas supply depends on the existing routes of high compress gas pipelines and public distribution systems are being built only in their close proximity. In a number of localities outside these routes, it will not be possible with regard to the expected low gas consumption, to construct the system at all in the near future.

The following table shows the objective situation in rural communities. It differs from the data obtained from our research due to the different technique of data collection.

⁶ Adapted from: Perlín, R.: Typology of rural space on the example of villages of Central Bohemia, in: Regional and social development of rural areas, Czech University of Agriculture in Prague, 2001 (modified)

Level of technological infrastructure¹**13/2**

Rural communities	Abs.	%
number	5,645	100.0
public water supply	4,126	73.1
Sewage system	1,113	19.7
gas pipeline	1,446	25.6

Source: Lexicon of rural communities 1999

Development of telecommunications proceeded till recently by a very slow tempo. It was possible to obtain a home telephone station only after a several years waiting period and a majority of villages had only one public telephone. Even during the research, more than half (53.8 %) of respondents mentioned only one public telephone or telephone booth in a village. In 3.8 % of communes, there is not even one. Two telephone booths are in one quarter of communes and three to five in other 16.5 % of them. In some cases, even 15 telephone booths are mentioned. Recently, there has been, however, a considerable development in the area of telecommunications systems (especially mobile phones), therefore these data will not be topical at present.

Transport infrastructure of the Czech rural areas, as far as public transport is concerned, is ensured quite well - there is a bus stop in almost all municipalities. Only 3.7 % of respondents mentioned its absence. About one half has one bus stop, almost one quarter mentions two and others more. However, only one third of communes has a train stop or a train station (and it can be located even several kilometres from the commune). Whether suitable public transport connections are accessible, how often they go and – last but not least - how expensive they are, remains a question. Existence of some connections depends mainly on financial possibilities of the communes themselves, which are obliged to support the transport financially.

Another very important area of civil facilities are shops and services. In individual rural communities, the number of shops is different. Some of the respondents mentioned even about 30 shops in a commune. In half of the cases, there are only one or two shops, another third of respondents mentions three to six shops. However, there still (or maybe again) exist communities with no shop at all. Nonetheless, almost four shops amount the average commune.

The second item the existence of which was observed by our research was a pub. It used to be and still is the centre of all happenings in a village and therefore it is regarded as a traditional rural social institution. Their number ranged from one to three. Only 0.5 % of respondents mention more than six pubs. Most often, there is one pub in a village, one quarter of the communes has two and there are three premises of this kind in 17.6 % of all villages. A little less than 10 % of respondents mention no pub in their village. In average, there are two pubs per one village. There is no not even a buffet or a fast food stall in three quarters of villages, at least one stall exists in 21.4 % of villages. Six facilities of the kind were mentioned as maximum.

The number of services, as for example a barber's shop, cleaners, repair shops and the like is different. There are no services in 38.4 % of villages, one exists in less than one third, there are two or three premises of services in another fifth.

Respondents were able to mention other features of their civil facilities as well, which exist in their villages but were not offered by our list. Most frequently, although in minimum numbers, they mentioned a cable TV, telephone net, savings bank, library, skiing downhill course and many more.

On the whole, the typical Czech village can be described from the point of view of its facilities as follows: there are four shops in a village, two pubs, one services shop, sports ground, two bus stops, two telephone booths and a water supply. In every second village, there is a post-office, medical centre, gymnasium and gas mains. There is a school and a nursery school, church and a dance hall in three quarters of villages. There is a train stop in every third village, a public swimming-pool in every fifth village and a cinema and a police station in every sixth village.

The above description applies to an average village, however, we can distinguish between rural communities in terms of their size. Differences in their facilities are noticeable from the following table. It shows how many percent of villages in individual categories have the relevant feature of civil facilities, notwithstanding the number of those features.

Element	Size of place of residence				Municipalities up to 2,000 inhabitants in total
	up to 200 inhabitants	201 - 500 inhabitants	501 – 1,000 inhabitants	1,001 – 2,000 inhabitants	
bus stop, bus station	96.6	98.0	94.2	97.1	96.3
public telephone station, telephone booth	86.2	96.7	97.6	96.6	95.8
shops	67.7	98.7	97.8	98.7	95.1
Pubs and restaurants	57.8	90.7	92.8	98.4	90.1
public water supply, sewage system	73.3	90.0	89.2	87.5	87.2
playing field	45.7	75.4	91.5	95.2	83.5
dance hall	37.9	70.7	76.7	90.5	75.0
nursery school, kindergarten	9.9	56.6	83.9	91.6	71.1
church	35.8	57.4	73.1	85.5	68.6
school	3.0	41.9	78.1	93.6	65.2
post-office	13.4	43.9	68.7	85.9	61.3
services (barber's shop, cleaners, repair shops)	20.7	42.3	67.4	85.7	61.2
gas mains	22.8	49.7	65.8	69.0	57.9
gymnasium	5.2	33.0	60.1	82.5	53.7
medical centre	3.0	22.0	47.2	78.6	45.1
train stop, train station	14.2	25.9	31.7	52.9	34.5
Buffet, fast food stall	7.3	12.8	32.9	30.5	24.3
Public swimming-pool	11.6	19.7	22.2	18.5	19.3
Cinema	0.4	4.9	17.2	24.9	14.5
Police station	1.7	6.4	7.6	31.8	13.7

It is evident from the table that the village facilities increase together with the village size. It is apparent especially for such features as school, nursery school, post-office, medical centre, police station or cinema. On the contrary, water supply, telephone station, bus stops and shops can be found in all villages, notwithstanding their size. Police stations signal the greatest differences – in villages with 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants, there are three, but in smaller villages, only two in every hundred. It is also interesting that there is a slightly higher number of nursery schools and kindergartens in smaller villages (to 1,000 inhabitants). It is also worth noticing that there is a sports ground at least in every second village even in the smallest size category.

We can comment the development in civil facilities after 1989 according to the following responses. Our respondents were able to mention up to three features from the offered list, which appeared in their villages. They most frequently mentioned construction of gas mains (almost 40 % of respondents) and new shops (62.6 %), further new telephone

booths (maybe also in the sense of telephone system distribution – 26.3 %), pubs and restaurants (17.9 %) and water supply or sewage system (17.8 %) Features that have not appeared at all recently or only in a minimum of cases are e.g. cinemas, post-offices, nursery schools but also police-stations and churches.

In the 90s, there occurred a considerable development in the area of trade and services, especially in the private sector, thanks to economic changes. Many premises changed their owner, some even several times, the majority of changes, however, lead to the better quality of services and wider offer. In evaluation of what has improved in villages, shops are in the first place (mentioned by 23.1 % of respondents), being followed, with a considerable gap, by pubs and restaurants (14.4%) and telephone booths (12.1 %). The improvement in the category of shops, restaurants and services may as well include both appearance of new ones as extended offer of the hitherto existing premises. Cinemas and police-stations belong among those features which have not improved neither originated in the last years.

As a consequence of social and economic changes, many of the features not only appear but some of them also cease to exist. It does not concern only bankrupt businessmen. During the last years, in smaller villages, even schools instance nursery schools and kindergartens were closed down due to economic reasons. However, a cinema (22.1 %) has the most considerable position in the evaluation of disappearing features of civil facilities. One tenth of respondents mentioned services, other a kindergarten or nursery school (6.6 %) and school (6.1 %). In some villages, also shops (6.5 %) or restaurants (5.2 %) ceased to exist.

Economic changes had, besides positive, also negative consequences for the society. Not all businessmen were successful, not everybody managed to fulfil his or her business intention, some lost in the competition, others were deceived. These, however, were not too numerous, as the number of respondents, mentioning worse quality of some features of civil facilities, was lower than of those mentioning certain improvement. It might mean, that the situation in the country differentiates but, on the whole, it rather improves than deteriorates.

Among the most frequent deteriorating features that were mentioned, shops were in the first place (9.4 %), than restaurants (4.5 %) and services (4.5 %). It is evident that in this area, there were considerable changes in quality, and that in both directions – towards the improvement as well as the deterioration. The situation in the bus transport (8.5 %), that is transport accessibility, deteriorated as well.

At present, citizens evaluate as worse the offer of shops (12.3 %) and services (8.8 %) and bus transport (6.9 %). This attitude, however, is expressed by only a small number of respondents, therefore the satisfaction seems to prevail. Some problems are differentiated regionally, others concern only some villages. For instance, problems with bus transport occurred mainly in the South Bohemian and West Bohemian regions and, in general, in the smallest villages. The offer of services is, on the contrary, worst evaluated in big villages. Citizens most often lack a medical centre (12.9 %) in their village, swimming-pool (10.6 %) and services (10.4 %), as well as cinema, gas mains, and to a smaller degree, shops, a post-office and a police station.

In the smallest villages, people lack practical things – shops, services, medical centre and gas pipeline. In other rural communities where there is an abundance of shops, they lack a medical centre most, further services, gas pipeline and a swimming-pool, in bigger villages people lack swimming-pool, services and cinema. Here, the diversion from the necessary to less necessary items (swimming-pool, cinema) is noticeable, which is most striking at the category of the largest villages where, among the items lacking, a swimming-pool wins with high prevalence, followed by services and cinema, and only then by a medical centre.

13.2. Municipal Council

One of the further factors influencing quality of life in rural communities is the “activity” of municipal representatives. The example illustrating that the people in the country are being closer to each other is the fact, that more than one third of people (35.9 %) knows all the municipal council members in person and another almost 30 % knows the majority of them. Still another 20 % knows personally at least some members and only the remaining 15 % does not know them at all. *Try to give such a question to a person living in any larger city...*

According to the IVVM data from June 1999, 59 % of the CR citizens know at least a smaller number of the municipality council members. As follows from our research, in rural communities there are many more – 85 % of inhabitants.

It goes hand in hand with the evaluation of representatives - most inhabitants of small communes evaluate them positively (very positively 8.3 %, positively 57.2 %) and only 3.9 % negatively. For comparison - according to IVVM, 60 % of respondents expressed their trust in a municipal council and 21 % responded negatively.

13.3. Life in rural communities

The total evaluation of the life in rural communities comprises both objective as well as negative factors among which we may include environment, solidarity of people, maintaining traditions and so on. We have already discussed some of them in the previous chapters (chapter The relatives and neighbourhood), other will be described here.

70 % of respondents evaluated *environment* in their village as good, 14.7 % regard it as excellent. 13.5 % sees it as rather worse and only 1.6% of respondents as very bad. West Bohemia was evaluated as the worst, the South Bohemia as the best.

In 30 % of villages, *national habits and traditional ceremonies* are regularly maintained, on the occasion of which all people meet (in South Moravia, it is more than 50 %). Another 12 % meets regularly, but only within certain groups (young, old) and in another third of villages people gather irregularly or only exceptionally. In the remaining one quarter of communities, nothing of the kind ever happens.

Beside the positive views, it is necessary to take into account also the negative features of life. *Criminality* is one of them. Rural areas always had better image in this respect than towns. After the revolutionary changes, this situation has changed only a little. Less than half of respondents think that the level of criminality in their village is the same as before. One third mentions, however, that criminality has increased, but that there are only minor robberies and fights and so on. The whole 9 % is confirmed, however, that during the past 10 years there emerged grave criminal acts in their village. Only 2.4 % of respondents think that their commune is now more secure.

As far as the *future development* is regarded, 31.2 % of respondents perceive their commune as perspective (up to 40 % in the North Moravia, less than 20 % in the South Bohemia), less than half regard the situation as stagnating. Only 13.3 % of respondents are confirmed that the situation is getting worse and 3.1 % think that their municipality is disappearing. Only in the size category up to 200 inhabitants, there are more people (10.8 %) who think that the life in their village is deteriorating or perishing.

13.4. Conclusions

What sense have civil facilities got for a commune and what other factors influence the quality of rural life, that can be summarised in the following quotation:

“To evaluate a possible developing potential of individual rural communities, it is important to observe the overall level of equipment with basic features of civil and technological infrastructure. The key for further development of communes then is the existence of a primary school, medical centre and post-office and from the technological infrastructure, it is the existence of public water supply, sewage system and the distribution system of gas supply. Municipalities, which have the above mentioned equipment, have better prerequisites for further development, they can become attractive places to locate other economic activities, they have good conditions for location of certain economic activities and, last but not least, they are attractive for potential migrants. Of course the existence or non-existence of some of these facilities in individual communes cannot in itself guarantee further successful development of them, but they only create good prerequisites. The self - development of communes further depends on the whole number of objective and subjective factors. From the objective factors that influence the development of a commune, it is mainly its location with regard to important centres of settlement and location with regard to transport networks, and further also good and unpolluted environment. The most significant factor, which is, however, not measurable in the exact way, is the activity of local representatives of the community (mayor, representatives and other people in the community) and the overall social climate in it, its outlook and tidiness and other highly individual and, therefore, not measurable factors.” (Perlín, R.: Typology of rural space on the example of villages in Central Bohemia, in: Regional and social development of rural areas, ČZU Prague, 2001)

14. Restitutions

Věra Majerová

One of the main changes after the year 1989 was the return of properties nationalised and collectivised at the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties. Nationalisation of industry started in 1948, collectivisation in 1949 and continued till the end of fifties. But Czech village was not too rich. Besides a few richer farmers, it was formed mainly by small and middle peasants who, more under pressure than voluntarily, entered the United Agricultural Cooperatives (UACs). During several of years, private farming ceased to exist, with only few exceptions.

The restitution process after 1989 returned the land and other property to their original owners. In Czech society, there are still sustained not only the egalitarian principles but it also is considered to be unusual to own and manage one's own property and sometimes there is felt the fear to be different from others. In the opinions regarding restitutions, personal and family experience is reflected and also the ideological impact of the past forty years. The results of sociological research speak about the consequences acquiring property has for the life of an individual and his/her family, about changes in family, in relationships among relatives and neighbours, perceptions of the change of people's social status and the status of the family, changes of lifestyle, near and further perspectives and the relevant value changes. This information supplements the view on the seemingly simple fact of gaining property.

14.1. Restituted property and its use

From the examined sample, restitution concerned only one quarter of respondents. The biggest part of them (18.4 %) owned land and other agricultural property, the remaining – smaller - part of people (maximum 1.4 %) owned houses, building plots, workshops and shops.

Ownership of property before restitution	Absolute frequency	%
owned nothing	1,622	75.7
owned agricultural farm with land	394	18.4
owned houses, building plots	9	0.4
owned workshop, shop, factory	11	0.5
owned several kinds of property from the above mentioned	8	0.4
owned something else	29	1.4
does not know	24	1.1
information missing	45	2.1
Total	2,142	100.0

Restituted property does not fluctuate in value by much. Only two restituted (0.1 %) speak about big property value of about 5 million CK and 65 restituted (3.0 %) about a medium property value from 1 to 5 million CK. The biggest part of the questioned people (14 %) value their restituted property by less than 1 million CK.

Value of restituted property

14/2

Value of restituted property	Absolute frequency	%
big (over 5 million CK)	2	0.1
medium (1 - 5 million CK)	65	3.0
small (up to 1 million CK)	300	14.0
cannot estimate	51	2.4
does not know	17	0.8
information missing	16	0.7
Total	451	21.1

Regarding the present land and farm property, it corresponds to smaller farms with smaller area, as is illustrated in the following table.

Acreage of a restituted farm

14/3

Acreage of a restituted farm	Absolute frequency	%
up to 1 ha of agricultural land	53	2.5
up to 5 ha	154	7.2
up to 10 ha	97	4.5
up to 30 ha	75	3.5
up to 50 ha	9	0.4
up to 100 ha	2	0.1
more than 100 ha	2	0.1
does not know	22	1.0
did not reconstitute a farm	6	0.3
information missing	11	0.5
Total	431	20.1

Restituted farms belong mainly to the category of small and middle sized business enterprises. The most frequent acreage is up to 5 ha (7.2 %), then up to 10 ha (4.5 %) and up to 30 ha (3.5 %). Restituted farms up to 1 ha (2.5 %) can be classified at present in the category of private plot. Big farms are rare, more often the answer is that the questioned person does not know the exact acreage.

The use of restituted property

14/4

The use of restituted property	Absolute frequency	%
reconstruction of private farming	64	3.0
investment into another firm in which the person concerned works	36	1.7
renting it to another firm in which the person concerned does not work	220	10.3
selling	51	2.4
gift	41	1.9
request for restitution filled, but it is still not solved	19	0.9
information missing	20	0.9
Total	451	21.1

Only 3 of the restituted restored private farming. We can suppose that the restituted property was used more for enlargement of the existing private plot, garden or small farm. In the present situation, farming is a risky business, so the best solution is to let on lease (10.3 %) or to sell (2.4 %). Gift is probably made in the framework of family and relatives. Although quite a long time has past since the beginning of the restitution process, there still

exist restitution cases unsolved by the legal courts, even though in our sample, there is only a small percentage of them (0.9 %).

Restitutions have not influenced working life of many people considerably. From the subgroup of restituteds, no change occurred in 16.4 %, changes for the better are a bit more numerous than changes for the worse. But we it is impossible to conclude from the information we got, what caused the changes for worse. It is possible that in taking care of the restituted property, which was not always in an ideal state (more often the opposite), certain problems have appeared that people were not used to. It is also possible that the expectations of restitution advantages were bigger and the real situation is more disappointing.

The financial situation of a restituted family has not changed too much, according to their statements. Considering the amount of restituted property, this is quite understandable. There is a larger proportion of those who have noticed certain changes for the better. Although in some cases property did not bring a direct profit, it means life security and guarantee which is accepted in a positive way.

Change of the financial situation of a family 14/5

Change of the financial situation of a family	Absolute frequency	%
change for better	92	4.3
change for worse	18	0.8
they have restituted property but there is no change	309	14.4
information missing	32	1.5
Total	451	21.1

Neither has the restitution brought about much problems in the relationships with restituteds' relatives; in most cases, nothing has changed, according to the answers of 17.3 % of respondents. But it is true that for a small proportion of them, relationships have worsened. In a similar way, there seem to have developed the relationship with neighbours. For the biggest proportion of restituteds, their relationships with neighbours have not changed and the occurring changes have been rather more often for worse than for better.

14.2. Opinions about restitution

Much more interesting is the general opinion on giving back the property. This question has been considered without relation to people's own experience, but this is only a small proportion of respondents and, moreover, the restituted property in most cases is not very big and valuable.

Opinions on giving back property 14/6

General opinion on giving back property	Absolute frequency	%
property should not be returned to anybody	394	18.4
property should be returned in a restricted way, up to 1 million CK	346	16.2
property should be returned in a restricted way, up to 10 million CK	201	9.4
property should be returned in a restricted way, up to 50 million CK	39	1.8
property should be returned in a restricted way, up to 100 million CK	25	1.2
property should be returned in full extent	999	46.6
information missing	3	0.1
Total	2,007	93.7

Almost half of the questioned people (46.6 %) think that property should be given back to its full extent. This response was given also by those who knew that this hypothetical possibility did not concern them. Another large share of respondents (almost the same size)

would limit the return of property. Out of them, 18.4 % of the questioned people are completely against property restitution. About 16 % would limit it up to 1 million CK. A higher limits for returning property (up to 5, 10, 50, 100 million CK) also appear but the higher the acceptable value, the smaller is the percentage of respondents. Probably these big numbers bring about the idea that all property should be returned.

Opinions of men and women do not differ, but age and education play its role. Younger people are much more often for returning the property, whereas amongst older people (more than 55 years old), there appear opinions that property should not be returned, or at least not to the full extent. These opinions are probably connected with other ideas regarding to whom the property should be returned and to whom it should not.

With higher education, there is a larger number of people who think that property should be returned. According to the membership in political parties, only a part of the communists are against returning property. Among voters of other parties, there prevails an opinion that the property should be restituted. The geographical location of the respondent abode had almost no effect.

In the line of several subjects which may be concerned in restitution, there predictably appears the biggest agreement requirements regarding restitutions to individuals on one hand, and to associations and organisations on the other. The least approved of are restitutions of the former nobility estates and restitution of church property.

To whom should the property be returned		14/7
To whom should the property be returned	Absolute frequency	%
individuals	1,579	73.7
former nobility	697	32.5
associations and organisations	1,066	49.8
church	812	37.9

Regarding property restitutions to individuals, there are not many big differences among the respondents, according to gender, age, education, region or size of village. Even among the voters of different political parties, there are no opinion differences and roughly all of them are at the same level, as regards returning property, including the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

The attitude towards the nobility is different. Less than one third of the questioned people, who are internally differentiated, agree with returning property to them. Among men and women, age groups and education groups, there are no strong opinion differences. As can be expected, different opinions are expressed by the voters of different political parties: right wing parties support returning of property, left wing parties are more against it.

Almost one half of respondents people are property restitution to associations and organisations. Women rather more often replied that they did not know, according to the age and education, there are no important differences. In the North Moravian region, there is a bigger number of those who do not agree with the return of property, in other regions the answers are balanced and around the average.

The attitude towards returning church property is similar to the opinions towards returning property to nobility, i.e. rather negative. Women more often than men agree with the property restitution. From the point of view of age categories, there are no major differences, but from the point of view of qualification there are: with the higher education, the proportion

in agreement with the return of property rises. According to the regions, the most accommodating towards the church is the South Moravian region. The central Czechs are on the other hand most often against the church property restitution.

The restituted property is mostly used for its original purpose. In view of the fact that in most of the cases, the restitution of land live and material inventory and other kinds of land (especially forests) and farm buildings were concerned, not many other possibilities for their use exist.

Restitutions were of a big importance from the moral point of view and it is a sort of levelling with the past. But owing to its size, it presented no high penetration into the property structure of village inhabitants, neither did it influence the relationships among people to a great extent. It did not change the picture of Czech village as a whole.

15. Political and Social Life

Pavel Sládek

The transformation of Czech society has also changed its face in the political sphere. Citizens can choose from a wide range of political parties which are trying to win their favour. In this competition, the parties divided already at the beginning according to their success, and today it is almost impossible get into this “club of successful parties”. The victorious party in the elections in 1998 was the Czech Social Democratic Party- CSSD (32.30 %). The Civic Democratic Party – ODS gained 27.74 % and it became the most powerful opposition party and after signing of the so called opposition agreement, its influence in running of the state further increased. Other opposition parties are the Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak Peoples Party KDU-CSL (8.99 %) and Union of Freedom – US (8.60 %) which became the basis of the four-coalition. The Communist Party of Czechia and Moravia – KSCM (11.30 %) also entered the Chamber of Representatives. Rural inhabitants traditionally differ in their voting preferences. At present, in rural regions especially the Christian and Democratic Union - Czechoslovak Peoples Party - Czech Party of People and the Communist Party of Czechia and Moravia have a big influence Right wing parties have, however, much worse results here. The results of those parties differed most also in our research.

15.1. Preferences of Political Parties

On the basis of the performed sociological research which took place in September and October 1999, it comes out that if in 1998 there were elections only in the observed villages, the Czech Social Democratic Party would have won (22.2 %). In second place, there would have been the Civic Democratic Party (14.8 %) To the Chamber of Representatives of the Parliament, two more parties would also have entered: the Christian and Democratic Union (8.9 %) and the Communist Party of Czechia and Moravia (8.5 %). Other parties would not have got over the 5 % margin. It is interesting that the Union of Freedom which is relatively successful in towns would have got only 4.3 % in rural areas.

If we compare election results and the “satisfaction with the way how individual parties defend the interests of rural areas”, we will find out that the ruling Social Democracy has paradoxically the lowest number of satisfied voters (only 16 %), while the unsatisfied present 60 % and 24 % respondents cannot judge. The ODS also has more unsatisfied voters (32.7). Voters satisfied with the agricultural policy of the ODS amount to 44.7 % and 22% voters cannot decide whether they are satisfied or not. The Communist Party has the most satisfied voters (74.9 %), while unsatisfied voters count only 9.8 % and 14.2 % cannot judge. Another party which has rather satisfied voters, is the KDU-CSL (59.5 %), with only 20.5 % unsatisfied. 20 % of voters of the KDU-CSL cannot judge. In the case of the KDU-CSL and the KSCM, the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of voters can be influenced by family tradition.

As regards religion and election preferences, highest number of voters without any religious beliefs voted for the KSCM (56.6 %). In the next places, there were voters for the ODS (40.5 %) and the CSSD (36.9 %). It is logical, that the lowest number of voters without religion was belong to the KDU-CSL (8.8 %). The highest number of respondents were Roman Catholics (49.7)

The highest number of citizens who did not participate in the elections were people between 18 and 24 years of age (34.16 %). This rather plays into the hands of the left wing parties and the KDU-CSL, which stress has social security and a higher state ingerence in their programs. In difference from the older voters, the young ones are often not interested in

politics at all. This phenomenon appears in the majority of the West European countries. The highest number of voters was in the age group between 55 to 64, only 8.36 % of them did not attend elections. From the point of view of political parties, it is interesting that the youngest voters (18-24 years) vote especially for the ODS (10.3 %), then for the CSSD (8.46 %) and the KDU-CSL (6.34 %). Younger voters rather prefer parties which were created (re-created) after 1989. In the case of the oldest generation (65 years and more), most people voted the KSCM (35.52 %) and then the KDU-CSL (25.37 %), the ODS (14.29 %) and the CSSD (12.47%). The oldest generation votes for the parties which are considered conservative. Compared to the average, especially the KSCM and the KDU-CSL have improved their results. The CSSD has the best results in the age group 45 - 54 (30.3 %) and the ODS in the age group 35 - 44 (22.26 %).

Citizens with basic education, in comparison with the whole population, mainly give their votes to the KSCM (3.8 %) and the KDU-CSL (1.5 %), other parties in this group are losing their votes (CSSD - 4.6 % and ODS - 5.4 %). In the group of university graduates, the ODS (14.8 %) and the CSSD (6 %) had the highest number of votes. The most levelled results were, from the point of view of education, achieved by the CSSD. Here it is interesting to compare the results with Prague because the electoral results of university graduates, and to the same degree also of secondary school graduates, partially correspond with the results reached in Prague. As for the differences between men and women, no substantial differences were noticed.

15.2. Member base of political parties

The next interesting aspect of political life is the membership of political parties. Although in the Czech Republic, there is a minimum interest in membership of political parties, the members exert, through their parties, a certain influence on the running of society. There exist political parties the development of which development has never been interrupted in history, but between the years 1948-89, it was distorted. This is especially true of the KSCM and the KDU-CSL. Both parties functioned without a break since their establishment and their membership is influenced also by family tradition. Different situation is with regard to the CSSD which started functioning anew after 1989, after having been forcibly united with the KSCM in 1948. The CSSD could continue in its pre-war tradition before the war and get back its property. Another situation was especially with the ODS which separated from the Civic Forum in 1991.

Parties can be divided not only as right wing and left wing, but also as conservative and liberal. Among conservative parties, there belong the KSCM and the KDU-CSL. The base of voters of these parties is stable and reliable. The hypothesis that these parties are elected especially by older people and people with lower education level has been proved in both cases.

The KSCM has the biggest base of voters but 63.5 % of them are older than 55. None of the respondents, members of this party, was younger than 35. The second numerous party, the KDU-CSL, is in a similar situation, 44.6 % of its members are older than 55 and only 21.3 % are younger than 35. The most levelled regarding age are members of the ODS and the CSSD.

The KSCM has the biggest number of members only with basic education (57.7 %), what is also the case of the KDU-CSL (47.9 %). Most parties have got the highest number of members in the categories "professional training/without the final examination" and "secondary school with final examination" (the ODS 90 %, the CSSD 71.4 %, the KDU-CSL 48 %, the KSCM 40.3 %).

As for the percentage of men and women in political parties, in rural areas, the most levelled party is the KDU-CSL, where there are 50% of women. The lowest number of women is surprisingly in the CSSD (2 %). In the KSCM, there are 35 % of women and in the ODS 42 %. The number of male members of political parties is thus slightly higher than the number of women. The membership in a party is influenced by different factors. An important factor is education, with the exception of the ODS, the willingness to enter any political party decreases with higher education. In the ODS, there is an interesting result at the category of people with professional training, in which this party has the biggest number of members.

15.3. Expectations for the Future

The impact of economic and political changes is reflected also in the views of respondents about the future. In the opinions of respondents, there was reflected the more complicated situation in rural areas and in many cases, a heavier impact of the economic transformation. Some inhabitants of rural areas think that the main burden of transformation was carried namely by them because the prices of inputs grew faster than the prices of agricultural producers. It has caused big losses to many people in rural areas.

Social changes after 1989 have brought many problems to the inhabitants of Czech rural areas and that is why there are very interesting answers to the question of what people expect from the future. Among optimists are especially secondary school graduates (34 - 44 years old). Mild optimists are university and secondary school graduates (25 - 34 years old). Almost one fourth of respondents are more pessimists. Mildly critical are secondary and university students. Among pessimists who think that the situation in villages will be much worse are 6 of respondents. The biggest number of them are people with basic education only. It is interesting that young people (18 - 24) are more optimistic than older citizens. The oldest respondents have also more often the opinion that nothing will change, that probably comes out of their life experience from life in a village. There are no big differences among the answers of men and women, women more often answered that they did not know or they did not give an answer.

15.4. Trust of Citizens in Politicians

The popularity of politicians is a frequent question in the majority of sociological researches. This popularity can be in some cases very deceptive. Sir Winston Churchill, for example, had the merit of winning the Second World War but he did not win the elections. Nor is it the case in the Czech Republic that only popular personalities should win the elections. The representatives of the Civic Movement, for example Jiri Dienstbier, were frequently placed on the top of the popularity ladder but that did not get him to the Chamber of Representatives. The popularity of some personalities, who are placed on the top, is sometimes supported by their medialization and in some cases, by their unwillingness to express their opinion on unpopular topics.

In the research done in September and October 1999, most respondents trusted namely the following politicians: P. Buzkova (3.7 % - supporters of all age categories, secondary school graduates), V. Fischer (3.5 % - up to 34 years of age, secondary school and university graduates), S. Gross (5.7 %- all groups, but the lowest trust was in the group between 35 and 44 years and 65 and more, and this especially with secondary school graduates), V. Havel (6.8 %, the highest trust was noticed in the age group around 65 years and more and with university graduates, the least trust was in the age group 45 - 54), V. Klaus (6.3 %, the biggest trust with young people up to 34 and secondary school graduates), M. Zeman (1.9 %, the smallest trust from young people up to 24 and from university graduates).

15.5. Membership in interest and society organisations

Membership in interest and society organisations has a long tradition in the Czech Republic, which started already in the time of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. This tradition was interrupted in the years 1948-1989. Even if after 1989, it became possible to establish new societies and organisations, the biggest demand was for the organisations which, sometimes even under another name, existed in the past. These organisations helped to create the shape of life in rural areas also owing to social activities.

The biggest percentage of respondents are members of the Society of Voluntary Firemen (7.5 % – the most active age range is between 45 and 54 years, the most passive is between 35 and 44 years. Most often they are people with professional training). In the second place, we can name the Sokol (4.6 %). Sokol, as physical training and sporting organisation, is most popular among the young up to 24, but it has its own members also in the older categories. We can state, that with higher education there generally increases the interest regarding membership in the interest and society organisations (basic education – 3.7 %, university graduates – 8.5 %) and that men slightly prevail. A typical female organisation is the Red Cross (only six men). The members are about 45-64 years. The Red Cross is popular with all groups except for the category “ professional training without final exam”. The item “Other organisations” represents an important share of the answers, but the value of individual organisations do not exceed 1 per cent. 50.8 % of respondents who answered this question are not members of any organisation, the most passive are young people up to 24 with basic education and women. Even though some inhabitants are active as members of society and interest organisations, their numbers do not by far reach the level of the pre-war Czechoslovakia, when the interest in these organisations was much higher.

Regarding the question whether the respondents take part in the activities of political, social or interest organisations only 16.9 % of respondents replied positively. 28.8 % were only formal members and the others were not members (58.4 %) or their did not state any membership (12.8%).

15.6. Religion

Although in the Czech society, no considerable importance is attached to religious life as it is in the neighbour countries, even here are regions where religious life influences the local and national politics. From this point of view, there is interesting especially the situation in South Bohemia and South Moravia, where the religious tradition is still alive. After 1989, it was possible to notice a big interest towards religion caused by the positive role of church representatives during and after the November developments. At present, this interest has decreased a bit.

As for the religion of the respondents, the biggest group are Roman Catholics (49.7). From the others, only the Evangelic Church of Czech Brethren (3 %) and the Czechoslovak Hussite Church (1.2 %) represent more than one percent. Although the inhabitants who live in rural areas are closer to religion than town inhabitants, many of them are without any religious belief (42.4).

The research did not encounter the differences between the answers of men and women. As for education, the biggest number of respondents without religion were among secondary school graduates and the least among people with just basic education. It was found that with age, the number of respondents who are without religion decreases and the number of the Roman Catholic Church and other churches increased.

The research took place in all regions (according to old administration structure) which allows us to make comparison between the individual regions. The highest number of respondents without religion was in the North Bohemian region (69.5 %) and Central Bohemian region (60.2 %). The smallest number was in the South Moravian (25.1 %) and South Bohemian region (30.2 %). The results concerning other than the Roman Catholic Church are distorted by the small number of respondents claiming to belong to these churches. Notwithstanding this fact, there were big regional differences in results in the South Moravian and East Moravian regions, where the bigger number of respondents were protestants. In these regions, traditionally there was a higher number of believers than in the rest of the republic.

15.7. Newspapers, magazines, TV

Newspapers, magazines and television are not only sources of entertainment but they also represent important instruments for influencing the attitudes of inhabitants. That is why there is a great attention dedicated to media in sociological research. In the research, we included both regional and national media.

From the national daily press, the most often read is the MF Dnes (20.5 %), the Blesk (17.7 %), the Zemske noviny (16.2 %) and the Pravo (16.2 %). The sequence of other dailies is shown in the table. The very low popularity of Hospodarske noviny (1.5 %), which are the least often read newspaper with the national importance, with rural inhabitants is quite interesting. Regional newspapers represent an important part of the daily press market in rural areas – 40.3 %. Inhabitants of rural areas mostly prefer the local press because they suppose that regional newspapers will be dedicated especially to local problems. In the Czech Republic, however, a substantial part of the market is ruled by one company which centralises some news and that is why their appearance, and to a certain extent also the news in general are rather unified.

The most widely watched TV channel is Nova (88.8 %), in the second place, there is CT1 (81.3 %). With the channel CT2, the rating is 47.5 %. There is a very low interest for foreign television channels (12.7 %). CT1 is watched by women and men equally, slight differences have been noticed with CT2 (men 50.5 %, women 44.6 %). Minimum differences were noticed regarding two commercial TV channels Nova and Prima. Foreign channels were watched more often by men (15.6 %) than women (9.8 %). If we compared Nova to CT1, we would have to notice a very small difference in the rating.

With increasing age, watching CT1 and CT2 increases. Watching of the commercial channels Nova and Prima decreases with age, the same happens regarding watching foreign channels.

CT1 is watched more by university graduates (86.4 %), with secondary school graduates it is only 78.8 %. Watching CT2 channel rises with the level of education. With commercial programmes, watching rate does not change much with age. The differences are much bigger regarding foreign channels. These channels are watched least by the respondents who have only a basic education (8.9 %), the most often by secondary school graduates (16.2 %).

15.8. Return of the Past

At the present in sociological researches, there often appears a question how many people would like the return of the before –1989 times. It occurs that the majority of respondents wish for the return to the past. The people questioned by us reacted in a different way – they usually did not want to return to the times before 1989.

The majority of respondents did not want the return of past (73 %), and if so, they most often wanted to return to the period 1971-89 (11.3 %). If respondents replied that they wished to return into the past, the most frequent reason of such an answer was longing for their lost youth or social security.

15.9. Conclusions

After 1989, the political situation in the Czech Republic changed profoundly. Voters can choose today from a very wide range of political parties and movements. But majority of the parties cannot get over 5 % of votes, which according to some comments and especially to the representatives of these parties limits democracy. On the other hand, its existence makes the political map of Czech society transparent. The behaviour of voters is influenced by many factors, for example by age, education and individual attitudes. Although social life in rural areas has changed considerably, it is possible to notice a recent revival of interest and society organisations. The biggest interest is for organisations which offer active fulfilment of free time and which are useful also for the non-members (firemen, cultural and educational events).

The churches have a specific position in social life, the Roman Catholic Church has a dominant position in Czech rural areas. In the research, big regional differences were found. The attitude towards religion is also influenced by age.

Comparison of life after 1989 with the situation before that year is still a very frequent point in the majority of sociological researches. From this point of view, it is positive that the majority of our respondents did not wish for a return. If so, it is rather because of nostalgic memories about their youth or first love than because of a wish to return to the social structure before 1989.

16. Values

Pavčina Mařiková

Social changes are always reflected in the opinions and values of individuals. According to one of many definitions, values can be considered as complex significances in the sense that they determine and express the significance of different objects, activities, possibilities for us, for our orientation activity and for the activity itself. Values influence our “orientation”, choice of goals and means, ways of activity. They are expressed in “standpoints”, in attitudes, which we take towards these matters.⁷

16.1. Evaluation of Changes in Society

Changes, which happened after 1989, distinctly showed in the life of every citizen. It was especially the change of the political system, restitution of property etc. But it were not only changes for the better, although they prevailed, some could appear as change for the worse - the division of our republic, the dissolution of some political parties, the changes of government). However, the judgement depends on each individual, on his/her personal opinion. The table summarises the opinions of rural inhabitants towards social and political changes, which took place in our country after 1989.

The possibility of private enterprise is valued as the best (87.8 % respondents) and is followed by the possibility to travel abroad (87.6 %), possibilities of education (82.9) and the possibility to express freely one's opinions in public or in the press (more than three quarters of respondents). More than half of the respondents value positively the restitution of property, the possibility of return for immigrants and the origin of new societies or associations and movements and the renewal of religious life after 1989.

Negatively valued are only the changes of governments and the division of the republic (more than 60 % respondents), and further also the origin and dissolution of political parties (39.8 %). One fifth of the questioned people values negatively also the restitutions of private property, but the majority of people 62.4 % value it positively.

Membership in the NATO and the prepared membership in the EU are mostly valued positively, but only by 39 %, respectively 40 % respondents. Nearly one quarter was against. According the IVVM data from autumn 1999, the citizens of the Czech Republic expressed their opinions regarding these questions in the following way: for entering the EU are 57 %, against 25 % citizens of the CR, and with the membership in the NATO, 53 % are satisfied and 34 % are not satisfied. From this follows, that in the rural areas, there are less advocates and also less opponents. From that follows, that people who did not express their opinion to these questions are either not interested in this topic or they do not know how to decide.

For a more detailed illustration of opinions and standpoints, we inserted one more block of questions into the investigation. It contains statements concerning the everyday reality. Its perception is often disputable or contradictory, people have different opinions according to general problems, but they perceive differently those, which affect them personally.

⁷ Big Sociological Dictionary, Karolinum Praha, 1996, p. 375

Evaluation of Changes in Society

16/1

	Statement	Agree	Disagree	Do not know
E	If a person is capable and hardworking, it is right for him/her to be richer than the others	86.8	6.3	6.7
J	An ordinary citizen has nowhere to appeal against injustice	66.2	22.4	11.2
A	Diligent and capable people nowadays have the possibility to excel and get rich	65.5	24.3	9.9
H	Success in life depends mainly on connections with important and influential people	63.0	23.1	13.4
B	It is impossible to get rich in an honest way	62.5	27.3	10.0
I	Success in life depends mainly on fair and assiduous work	56.7	33.7	9.3
D	Our children have a better prospect into the future than we had	44.9	30.7	23.3
N	Membership in the NATO ensures our safety	43.1	23.3	33.2
C	I have opportunities and possibilities I could not even think of before 1989	41.2	39.4	18.9
F	The state should supervise equal division of wealth among the people	37.6	44.2	17.9
M	EU membership will be rather advantageous for us	37.2	26.2	36.4
K	If one consequentially follows one's goal, he achieves justice	35.9	44.6	19.0
G	Regulations and restrictions of free enterprise lead to economic decline	33.4	27.4	38.8
L	The citizen can, by his actions and attitudes, influence public actions and politics	29.5	52.1	17.8

Statements A, E and I express more or less the same (capable and industrious can be successful), most people (87 %) agree with the formulation, that it is correct for capable and hardworking people to have more money than the others. Statements B and H express a contrary meaning (it is necessary to have connections, fairness is not enough) nevertheless more than 60 % of the respondents agree also with these statements.

Statements J and K show that in the sphere of justice our country still has insufficiencies.

Two thirds of the respondents think that an ordinary citizen has nowhere to appeal against injustice and 44.6 % of the questioned ones had the opinion that man does not achieve justice, even if he consequently follows his goal. More than one half of the questioned people are convinced that an ordinary citizen cannot influence public actions and politics by his actions and attitudes.

It is strange, that so many people (more than one third) agree with the statement that the state should supervise equal division of wealth among the people. It testifies a still deeply rooted idea of socialist equalitarianism.

Questions concerning the NATO, the EU and also the regulation of free enterprise showed, that this topic is not well known or is little known or too complicated, because more than one third of the answers was "I do not know". The other answers to all of these questions concerning the NATO and the EU were very similar. Forty per cent of the respondents agree with our membership in the NATO and with the prepared accession to the EU and also with the opinion that the contribution of these steps will be positive for our country. On the contrary, 25 % of the respondents disagree. A positive evaluation of the membership in the NATO is distinctly higher with younger age groups (most of all – 47.7 % in the category 25 – 34 years), only with pensioners over 65 years of age, there prevails negative evaluation. It was evaluated best by people with university education (59.2 %). If we consider membership in political parties, then joining the NATO is distinctly positively valued by members of the ODS, distinctly negatively by the KSCM members. The same is valid also for the comparison with the question "Which party did you vote for in the last elections?". Advocates of the

CSSD are not unanimous in their opinions or views - a slight majority is for a positive evaluation, similarly to the voters of the KDU-CSL and the ODA.

The prepared membership in the EU is above average positively evaluated by most of the respondents up to 44 years of age (in the age category 18-24 years 52.5 %), worst by pensioners (positively 26.8 % and negatively 31.7 %). Similarly as with the previous question, the EU membership has most advocates among university graduates (70 % of them give a positive evaluation), with lower education, the evaluation decreases (people with basic education - positive evaluation from 31.6 %, negative 24.5 %). According to the voters of the different political parties, an inclination to positive evaluation is visible with the same parties as in the previous question, but here is a more distinct difference.

For comparison – according to the inquiry of the IVVM from the time when our investigation was taking place, the opinions of the Czech public according the NATO membership were as follows: 53 % were satisfied and 34 % were not satisfied, with entering into the EU, there agreed 57 % and against were 25 % citizens of the Czech Republic.

16.2. The nearest life goals

The life of every individual should be directed to certain goals. These can be material (to build a house, buy a car...) as well as non-material ones (to have a family, children, good work, friends, ...). In our investigation, we offered twenty different goals, from which the respondents could choose five, which they would like to achieve in the next three years. The following table shows the chosen life goals ranked in a scale.

The nearest life goals (the first 10 goals)

16/2

The nearest life goals	1. goal %	2. goal %	3. goal %	4. goal %	5. goal %	Ranking	Goals ranked in a scale
Get and keep a life partner	33.9	10.7	8.4	6.0	6.4	1	1.000
Nice accommodation (house, flat)	10.6	18.2	5.1	8.0	4.9	2	0.817
Earn enough money, have good and reliable friends	3.3	8.7	12.2	15.3	10.1	3	0.645
Educate children	15.0	16.6	4.7	2.8	2.2	4	0.635
Reach success and acknowledgement at work	7.6	10.3	10.3	8.7	5.2	5	0.590
Material security for the future (suitable investments)	6.5	9.5	10.3	9.2	6.6	6	0.578
Peaceful and satisfied life without great changes	9.6	4.5	4.5	6.8	7.2	7	0.451
Keep moral credit by all means	3.8	5.0	7.0	5.4	6.0	8	0.365
Have a garden, personal plot	1.3	3.0	5.4	3.7	1.9	9	0.204
Reach success and acknowledgement at work	1.7	2.4	3.7	3.6	3.3	10	0.195

For the compilation of the scale, an arbitrary scale was used (-10, +10), +10 for the 1st place, +9 for the 2nd, +8 for the 3rd, +7 for 4th place, +6 for 5th place, individual places then had these weights: $w_1 = 1.25$, $w_2 = 1.125$, $w_3 = 1$, $w_4 = 0.875$ a $w_5 = 0.75$, number of respondents $n = 2,142$)

The table was elaborated by doc. RNDr. Helena Nešetřilová, CSc.

If this question is evaluated in complex way (i.e. that all respondents who mentioned individual goals are added up without regard to ranking), it can be stated that most of the respondents long for a partnership - the goal to get and keep a life partner was given by almost 65 % of the respondents.

More than one half also longs to have a nice accommodation (flat, house). Further, they want to have a circle of good and reliable friends.

The following three goals were stated almost identically by more than 40 % of the respondents - to reach financial security for the future, to earn enough money and to pay particular attention to the education of children. Only then, there follow goals such as: keeping moral credit by all means, reaching work success and acknowledgement, eventually to have the feeling of self-realisation, to utilise one's abilities.

From the following table, there are obvious differences between men and women:

The nearest life goals (horizon of c/a 3 years) - comparison between men and women 16/3

Ranking	The nearest life goals of men	The nearest life goals of women
1	Get and keep a life partner	Get and keep a life partner
2	Nice accommodation (house, flat)	Nice accommodation (house, flat)
3	Earn enough money	Dedicate herself to the education of children
4	Have good and reliable friends	Have good and reliable friends
5	Material security for the future (to invest)	Material security for the future (to invest)
6	Dedicate oneself to the education of children	Earn enough money
7	Peaceful and satisfied life without great changes	Peaceful and satisfied life without great changes
8	Keep moral credit by all means	Keep moral credit by all means
9	Reach success and acknowledgement at work	Have a garden, private farming
10	Have a garden, private farming	Care about ageing parents and relatives
11	Feeling of self-realisation, apply one's abilities	Reach success and acknowledgement at work
12	Care about ageing parents and relatives	Feeling of self-realisation, apply one's abilities
13	Manage one's own firm/farm	Others
14	Others	Gain specialist experience through a stay abroad
15	Have useful and beneficial acquaintances	Have useful and beneficial acquaintances
16	Have social standing, be a respected personality	Engage in social and beneficial work
17	Engage in social and beneficial work	Manage one's own firm/farm
18	Gain specialist experience through a stay abroad	Have social standing, be a respected personality
19	Reach success in sport	Reach success in sport
20	Engage in political activities	Engage in political activities

Even from a simple comparison according to the scale, there is a visible difference – after two common goals (partner, accommodation), there follows earning money for men, whereas for women it is education of children. Further on the goals are identical again (friends, investments), and on the sixth place, the above mentioned reverses (women – money, men – education of children). From the further differences we can choose: success at work is on place 9 with men, while with women, it is on place 11. To own one's own firm is the wish of men on 13. place and for women, it is on the place 17 to 18.

It can be supposed that life goals are changing with age. But getting and keeping a life partner is the first goal of all age categories. Most (38.8 %) often it is for those of the age category between 25 - 34 years. After that, there is mostly put the education of children (in the age categories of 25 - 34 years 32.5 %, 35 - 44 years - 24.5 %). For the youngest people, the most important thing is to earn enough money and for the older ones to have nice accommodation. With age, there increases the share of those, who long for peaceful and content life without great changes, and with people over 65, this goal is on the second place (21.7 %).

16.3. Conclusions

Rural inhabitants positively perceive the changes which took place after 1989. They appreciate mainly the possibility of private enterprise and free travelling abroad, wider

possibilities of education and the possibility to express freely their views in public or in the press. The opinions or views of people are influenced by the current political situation but they change according to it. Nevertheless, a generally positive evaluation of social changes is prevailing.

Expressively negatively, there are evaluated only those consequences, which were brought about by democracy, and that is the change of governments and the origin and dissolution of political parties. More than 60 % of the respondents also do not agree with the division of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The rate of agreement with our membership in the NATO and with the prepared EU accession is a bit lower in rural areas than with all inhabitants of the Czech Republic (according to IVVM). But there are more people, who were not able to express themselves regarding these questions or who did not want to express their opinions since this problem has not affected their everyday life so far.

Most of the respondents agree with the differentiation of income according to abilities, but they are pessimistic concerning the question of reaching justice.

Life goals of rural inhabitants are aimed at family values (partner, accommodation, children), and further at financial security. However, friendship has a greater value than money. Work goals do not appear on the first places.

17. Final conclusions

Věra Majerová

The presented research study comprises the results of sociological research in the basic spheres of rural labour and life. In some of the chapters, the results are as expected and our hypotheses were verified, in others, we were rather surprised when interpreting the data. We leave it to the reader to confront his/her ideas of rural areas with the presented research results.

We have realised, that certain stereotypes emerging in connection with rural areas and agriculture are rooted in our minds and some myths are still sustained, without regard to the changing reality.

First of the myths is the traditional idea that the village was fully dependent on the high state subsidies, which conditioned functioning of the large-scale agricultural enterprises. Lowering of subsidies and agricultural enterprises transformation with the subsequent reduction of labour deprived rural population of its basic means of living, from what it recovers only with difficulties. Not only this, but also the preceding researches reflect a considerable differentiation in the approach of agricultural workers to their own future. The country was never fully dependent on agriculture only, commuting to the nearby municipalities and towns always exceeded fifty percent at the economically active population.

Transformation impacted negatively certain social groups, namely those with low or no qualification, health or socially handicapped persons unable to re-qualify and less adaptable. The scope of sectors, in which rural population worked, was and is very wide. Loss of job opportunities was not influenced only by decreased opportunities in agriculture, but also by the reduction and price increase regarding public transport, bankruptcies of big industrial entities and dampening programs of some sectors (mining, metallurgy), in which many of rural inhabitants used to find jobs in auxiliary and administration activities.

The second myth is that of the conserve nature of rural population, their unwillingness to change their habits, to move after labour, to re-qualify. This characteristics regard only a part of rural population. Rural habits issue from the possibilities supplied by the rural community and they change, if its economic and social conditions have changed. Moving after labour would be hitherto a risky step in the unstable environment of Czech labour market. Waiting and streaming for better conditions seems to be a more reasonable way. Part of the rural population business activities can be well compared with the elasticity and enterprising of business subjects in urban environment. There are emerging certain types of agri-tourism, business co-operation with foreign partners, with NGOs in the neighbouring countries, micro-regions and other. The country has a considerable, but hitherto little utilised entrepreneurial potential.

Third myth states, that the village is not satisfied with the present development and therefore it is strongly left-oriented. Membership in political parties is very low regarding rural population (about 10 % of respondents), there prevail the KSCM members with 2.5 %, KSČM and the KDU-CSL members with 1.8 %. Thos does not mean, that rural population has not got its political opinions, which it expresses at the election. Their results at the last elections corresponded roughly to the election preferences distribution for the CR as a whole. – the sequence being the CSSD, ODS, KDU-CSL, KSCM, US. Other parties were represented by only very low shares.

Another myth regards deterioration of human interrelations in the village as a consequence of restitutions. In reality, restitutions did not mean any profound change of the property relations and life ways of rural population, either from the economic and still less from the social point of view. The restituted properties were rather small and in some cases, they did not compensate the new problems regarding their management and maintenance. Restitutions in rural areas regarded mainly land and agricultural property. Both is mainly utilised to the original purpose, because there are not many other possibilities. Without doubt, there emerged envy, hostility and disappointment. But the results of the research do not speak of any more important discrepancies among people which would have been caused by it.

The fifth myth is the decrease of the level of living in rural areas.. The results of this research, as well as of others, prove this only partially. We can speak about a considerable social differentiation, which, however, testifies for the growth of the level of living as a whole. Neither does the classification of rural household into groups according to the level of living indicate, that rural population would be considerably worse off.

We could continue, explain and analyse certain inaccurate or false ideas. These are, to a considerable extent, supported by a not very precise labour of the media, which – if they are interested in the rural problematic at all – prefer sensational news and dramatically accentuated suppositions before a rather dull news about the everyday small labours and their results. Consolidation of the local communities on the economic and social side is not the matter of several years, but a long-term process. For part of the rural population, life job opportunities have opened, for the others, they closed down. Municipal representatives, fare learning to labour and co-operate under different condition and in different environment than in past.

If we think of the present status symbols of the village, it is difficult to chose the most important of them. The village was entered by personal computers, mobile phones, new cars and motorcycles, by computer games. Gardens and personal plots, the interest in handiwork and handicraft remained. The image of villages adjusts to the prevailing modern trends in architecture, besides the reconstructed farms or cottages and the almost typified family houses ofv the 70ies and 80ies, there emerged the closed-in residential villas of rich people, living mostly in seclusion from the local inhabitants. The face of Czech village is certain to change considerably in the future.

Literature

- Andrle A.: Zásadní proměny venkova. *Obec a Finance* 2/98, str. 36-37
- Andrle A.: Další zhoršení reprodukce obyvatelstva? *Veřejná správa* 98/43, příloha III, str. 3
- Andrle A.: Minulost, přítomnost a budoucnost venkova. MMR, březen 1999
- Bulletin 4/1999. ČSÚ, duben 1999
- Evidenční počet zaměstnanců a jejich mzdy v krajích a okresech ČR za rok 1997. ČSÚ, 1998
- Hampl M., Müller J.: Jsou obce příliš malé? *Obec a Finance* 1/98, str. 37-38
- Hiršl M.: Počet nezaměstnaných bez nároku na podporu rychle roste. *Sondy* 13, duben 1999
- Hudečková, H., Lošťák, M.: *Sociologie I.*, ČZU, Praha 1996
- Karpíšek Z.: *Nezaměstnanost je odrazem zaostávající ekonomiky.* VÚPSV Praha, 1999
- Malý lexikon obcí ČR 1998. ČSÚ, listopad 1998
- Okresy ČR v roce 1997. ČSÚ, listopad 1998
- Perlín, R.: Typologie venkovského prostoru na příkladu středočeských obcí, in: *Regionální a sociální rozvoj venkovských oblastí*, ČZU Praha, 2001
- Pišťora, L.: Stručný pohled na předběžné výsledky SLDB 2001, ČSÚ 2001
- Plán rozvoje venkova ČR na léta 2000-2006, analýza venkovského prostoru ČR. Terplan Praha, leden 1999
- Plán rozvoje venkova ČR na léta 2000-2006, porovnání českých a evropských ukazatelů a politiky rozvoje venkova. Terplan Praha, leden 1999
- Pohyb obyvatelstva v ČR v roce 1997. ČSÚ, listopad 1998
- Ročenka HN 99. Příloha *Hospodářských novin* 3. ročník
- Rozvoj venkova – situace a výhled, pracovní dokument EK (DG VI). Brusel, červenec 1997
- Sbírka zákonů ČR 1999, částka 33, 18. 5. 1999
- Trnková V., Hrabánková M.: *Hodnocení území z pozice agrární regionální politiky a rozvoje venkova.* Výzkumná studie č. 35, VÚZE Praha 1996
- Večerník J., Matějů P.: *Zpráva o vývoji české společnosti 1989-1998.* Academia Praha 1998
- Večerník, J.: *Občan a tržní ekonomika,* nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 1998
- Velký sociologický slovník,* Karolinum Praha 1996
- Vývoj obyvatelstva ČR v roce 1998. ČSÚ. červen 1999
- Zaměstnanost a nezaměstnanost v ČR (VŠPS). ČSÚ 1998