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**PROVOZNĚ-EKONOMICKÁ FAKULTA**  
**CZECH UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE PRAGUE**  
**THE FACULTY OF ECONOMICS AND MANAGEMENT**

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**VENKOV JE NÁŠ SVĚT**  
**COUNTRYSIDE – OUR WORLD**

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## ČÁST 1 - Part 1



# Úvodní slovo rektora ČZU v Praze

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Vážený členové čestného předsednictva, Vaše Magnificence, Spectabilis, Honorabilis, Excellence, vážení páni náměstci, vážení zahraniční hosté, dámy a pánové!

Dovolte, abych Vás jménem svým, ale především jménem vedení ČZU v Praze pozdravil a rovněž přivítal. Tentokrát se nesetkáváme na akademické půdě univerzity, ale v prostředí, které je nám všem blízké a z historického hlediska velmi respektované.

Vztah naší univerzity k tomuto regionu se utvářel a posiloval v průběhu doby; již v 60tých letech to byla právě bývalá Vysoká škola zemědělská v Praze, která v Českých Budějovicích založila tehdejší provozně ekonomickou fakultu jako součást univerzity. Od té doby se vzájemné vztahy realizovaly prostřednictvím personální spolupráce, řešením společných výzkumných úkolů, členstvím ve vědeckých grémiích, společným zájmem o rozvoj regionu českého venkova. V 90tých letech vznikla samostatná Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích a v přibližně stejné době došlo i k výrazným změnám v rámci naší univerzity. A samozřejmě, stejně tak, jak jsme se měnili my, doznával velkých změn i charakter českého venkova.

V letošním roce Česká zemědělská univerzita v Praze slaví 100 let své existence. S hrdostí se díváme zpět do historie, ve které naši pedagogové a řídicí pracovníci vychovali desítky tisíc inženýrů, odborníků, pedagogů a vědeckých pracovníků. Dnešní ČZU v Praze se svými cca 15 000 studenty je univerzitou s přírodně–technicko–technologicko–ekonomicko–manažerskou orientací a její absolventy nacházíme v řídicí podnikové, regionální i centrální sféře. Uvedená orientace dokazuje, že jsme si vědomi nejen multifunkčnosti zemědělství, ale i toho, že chápeme agrární prostor ve své celistvosti a podmíněnosti.

Při hledání názvu této vědecké konference, bylo nutné respektovat skutečnost, že se zajišťováním potravin, tvorbou a ochranou krajiny, s využíváním venkovského prostoru je spojena zhruba třetina našeho obyvatelstva. Je dobré připomenout, že na venkově žije přibližně čtvrtina českého obyvatelstva a samotný venkovský prostor zaujímá zhruba tři čtvrtiny plochy naší republiky. A to přitom někdy nabýváme dojmu, jakoby český venkov neexistoval!

Ve sdělovacích prostředcích se většina důležitých informací se týká života měst, kde mají letiště, nádraží, obchodní síť, školy, divadla, koncertní sály a další místa pro rozvoj různých aktivit. Města určují módu a rozhodujícím způsobem ovlivňují životní styl. Do měst směřuje kvalifikovaná pracovní síla, mládež, migranti z cizích zemí, intelektuální elita, ale i kriminální živly. Města žijí vzrušujícím životem plným změn.

Jaký je tedy venkov? Je doopravdy tak bezvýznamný? Je nezajímavý, konzervativní a téměř nudný? Doufám, že mohu tvrdit, že česká, ale i evropská realita je jiná! Vztah města a venkova ztrácel ostré kontury již v průběhu 20. století a mnoho odborníků se jím zabývalo, analyzovalo jeho trajektorii, směr migračních procesů.

Pro Československo, ale i pro Českou republiku bylo charakteristické postupné prolínání městských a venkovských prvků života. Např. fenomén tzv. „chalupářství“, sílící zejména v 70tých a 80tých letech 20. století, byl nejen vyjádřením návratu k přírodě, ale měl i své

ekonomické a společenské důvody. Nabízí privátní svět průhledných a srozumitelných vztahů v tehdejší neprůhledném společenském prostředí.

Nikdo si nemůže myslet, že dnešní společenské prostředí je průhledné a srozumitelné. Transformace zemědělství a současná ekonomická a společenská situace nás o tom přesvědčují. Průběh současné transformace venkova naznačuje, že může přinést jak změny k lepšímu, tak i k horšímu. Otázkou zůstává volba kritérií tohoto hodnocení a nabízí se rovněž otázka, zda budeme mít k dispozici dostatek času, možností a příležitostí případné chyby napravovat.

Proto při volbě názvu konference „**Venkov je náš svět**“ jsme neměli v úmyslu vyslovovat nároky na jeho zkoumání, ale pouze konstatovat, že venkov je svět nás všech, tedy těch, kteří na základě své profese mohou a chtějí řešit jeho ekonomické, sociální, ekologické, demografické a další problémy.

Z geografického hlediska je venkov zázemím měst, má funkci rekreační a volná krajina patří k největším hodnotám civilizovaných společností.

Z kulturního hlediska je venkov autentický, jsou-li vytvořeny podmínky pro uchování jeho hodnot a to nikoliv ve smyslu pouhé konzervace, ale naopak modifikace pro současný život.

Z politického hlediska je venkov významným voličským potenciálem, který čeká na vhodný způsob oslovení.

V České republice, stejně jako v celé Evropě venkov nabízí mnoho podob. K venkovskému prostředí má každý člověk svůj specifický vztah s různou úrovní emocionality a racionálního přístupu. My, kteří máme a můžeme určitým způsobem pomoci rozvoji venkova, bychom měli mít na paměti základní cíl našeho snažení. Tím je udržení homeostáze vesnic a měst, udržení životaschopnosti venkova, bez něhož je budoucnost lidstva ohrožena. Venkov je vhodné místo pro život člověka!

Vážení účastníci konference, je pochopitelné, že po čas našeho setkání zazní na toto téma i odlišné názory. A to je dobře! Právě pro tuto výměnu názorů se zde scházíme v naději, že přispějeme k rozvoji venkovského prostředí a celé naší společnosti.

Dámy a pánové, chtěl bych v závěru svého úvodního vystoupení poděkovat organizátorům této vědecké konference za úsilí, které vynaložili na její přípravu. Děkuji Jihočeské universitě v Českých Budějovicích a osobně panu rektorovi za spolupráci, stejně jako i dalším spoluorganizátorům. Věřím, že po skončení této konference v krásném prostředí Českého Krumlova budeme bohatší o názory druhých, o uzavřená přátelství a naději v další spolupráci při hledání cest.

Jan Hron

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Vážené dámy, vážení pánové,

Je mi velkou ctí, že mohu dnes zastupovat ministra zemědělství pana Jana Mládka na zahájení mezinárodní konference Venkov je náš svět.

Důležitost tématu pro naši zemi je dnes, na počátku třetího tisíciletí je nesporná. Koneckonců jen za vládu se tady sešli, pokud dobře počítám, zástupci šesti ministrů. Vzhledem k tomu, že ve středu je pravidelné zasedání vlády, pan ministr zemědělství se nemohl zúčastnit této konference osobně a proto mne požádal, abych Vám vyřídila jeho omluvu a pozdrav. Nepřítomnost ostatních ministrů může být dána stejným důvodem.

Jeden z odborných příspěvků, který je v programu uveden na dnešní odpoledne, se zabývá tématem proti-urbanizace nebo de-urbanizace (counter urbanization), jakožto novou tendencí 21. století. Z pohledu ministerstva zemědělství České republiky, které se cítí být spoluzodpovědné za rozvoj venkova, mi dovoluji říci: ano, prosím! Je velmi žádoucí, aby tento trend pokračoval! Nemáme na mysli vyliďňování měst ve prospěch nárůstu příměstského osídlení, ale nutnost zastavit opouštění krajiny jako takové, zastavit vyliďňování venkova.

Naše zemědělství prošlo od počátku 90. let rozsáhlou transformací, spojenou s přechodem na tržní hospodářství a postupným otevíráním se evropské konkurenci. V důsledku této transformace se od počátku devadesátých let snížil ekonomický rozsah zemědělství a počet pracovníků v zemědělské prvovýrobě poklesl z 533 tisíc v roce 1989 na 141 tisíc v r. 2004. Tento trend dále pokračuje, byť pomalejším tempem. Je to nutný důsledek pokračujícího zvyšování produktivity práce a konkurenceschopnosti našeho zemědělství. Nemůže a nesmí ale vést k opouštění venkova, k rezignaci na problémy jeho rozvoje!

Řešením je především diverzifikace. Diverzifikace zemědělské produkce, kdy vedle potravinářské produkce je čím dál tím podstatnější produkce nepotravinářská – například pěstování plodin pro energetické využití. Diverzifikace funkcí zemědělství, kdy vedle produkční funkce je stále důležitější jeho funkce ekologická, funkce údržby krajiny. Diverzifikace ekonomických aktivit na venkově, kdy vedle čistě zemědělských aktivit musí mít stále větší význam nezemědělské podnikání, přitahující lidem na venkově, včetně zemědělců, alternativní pracovní příležitosti a alternativní zdroje příjmů. A konečně, dá-li se to tak říci, diverzifikace života na venkově tak, aby si každý mohl najít své místo a svoji příležitost.

Není to jen náš problém a náš úkol; před podobnými problémy stojí více či méně všechny státy EU. Unie hledá a nabízí cesty k řešení mimo jiné i novou konstrukcí své rozvojové politiky pro venkov, jejímž vyjádřením je nový Evropský zemědělský fond pro rozvoj venkova (EAFRD). Tento fond pomocí svých tří os oslovuje tři hlavní priority EU – 1. konkurenceschopnost zemědělské a lesnické produkce včetně zajištění bezpečnosti celého potravinového řetězce, 2. zlepšování životního prostředí a krajiny, 3. kvalitu života ve venkovských oblastech a diverzifikaci hospodářství venkova. Čtvrtá osa EAFRD oslovuje

prioritu metodologickou – podporu aktivity zdola nahoru prostřednictvím místních akčních skupin (LEADER).

Právě včera jsme posledním z osmi regionálních seminářů završili veřejnou diskusi k přípravě hlavních prováděcích dokumentů EAFRD – Národního strategického plánu rozvoje venkova a Programu rozvoje venkova České republiky na období 2007 – 2013. Po vyhodnocení této diskuse a po meziresortním připomínkovém řízení budou oba dokumenty předloženy ke schválení české vládě a poté Evropské komisi tak, abychom byli schopni včas připravit navazující prováděcí legislativu a zahájit čerpání finanční podpory.

Diskuse k jednomu z řady nástrojů, směřujících k rozvoji venkova v nejbližších sedmi letech, v těchto dnech vrcholí. S podrobnostmi budete mít možnost seznámit se v pátek. Tato diskuse však byla pouze součástí širší a trvající rozpravy o proměnách a perspektivách venkova a úvah o jeho budoucnosti.

Dovolte, abych závěrem jménem ministra Mládka i jménem svým popřála Vaší diskusi a jednání této konference úspěch. Děkuji Vám za pozornost.

# Úvodní slovo

Ing. V. Tesař

Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí

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Vážené dámy a pánové,

dovolte mi, abych Vám v úvodu mého vystoupení tlumočil srdečný pozdrav od pana ministra zahraničních věcí Cyrila Svobody, který se zájmem přivítal možnost poskytnout záštitu konferenci s tak aktuální tematikou, jakou je rozvoj venkova v současnosti bezesporu je.

Hovoříme-li o pojmu „venkov“, nelze ho považovat za pouhé geografické místní určení, jako spíše za svébytný hospodářský a sociální mechanismus, který ve své celistvosti zahrnuje rozmanité charakteristiky. Nejedná se tedy pouze o zemědělské aktivity, i když z logiky věci zemědělství stále zůstává hlavním faktorem zaměstnanosti a venkovské krajiny.

Rád bych se v mém příspěvku nejdříve zamyslel nad evropskými i širšími souvislostmi, spjatými s rozvojem venkova. Následně bych se v krátkosti zmínil o reformě evropské společné zemědělské politiky, finančních aspektech rozvoje venkova a o úloze ministerstva zahraničních věcí.

## Obecný pohled:

Zemědělství je všude na světě největším uživatelem venkovské půdy a také klíčovým prvkem, určujícím kvalitu krajiny a životního prostředí. Význam, přikládáný rozvoji venkova se v Evropské unii neustále zvyšuje, zejména s ohledem na skutečnost, že venkovské oblasti tvoří v rozšířené EU zhruba 90 % území. Hlavní zásady Společné zemědělské politiky, tržní politiky a politiky rozvoje venkova stanovila Evropská rada na summitu v Göteborgu v roce 2001 a potvrdila v závěrech lisabonské strategie v Soluni v roce 2003 – solidní hospodářská výkonnost musí jít ruku v ruce s udržitelným využíváním přírodních zdrojů.

Strategie ČR pro rozvoj venkova z těchto hlavních priorit EU vychází; klade důraz na zvyšování ekonomického růstu, vytváření nových pracovních příležitostí a udržitelný ekonomický rozvoj. ČR se také aktivně podílela na přípravě strategie EU pro rozvoj venkovských oblastí v období 2007-13 s akcentem na zvýšení průhlednosti procesu programování rozvoje venkova a zjednodušení tvorby programových dokumentů. V souvislosti s nařízením o rozvoji venkova usilujeme o flexibilitu při využívání přidělených finančních prostředků a podporujeme inovace v souladu s Lisabonskou strategií.

Zemědělství není geograficky oddělenou jednotkou a vzájemná závislost mezi venkovskými a městskými oblastmi bude v budoucnu čím dál tím zřetelnější. Mezi prioritní faktory, které podmíní budoucí mezinárodní konkurenceschopnost evropského agropotravinářského průmyslu a udržitelnost venkovských regionů patří zejména:

## Pokračující reforma SZP EU, beroucí v potaz proces rozšiřování EU.

Výsledek vyjednávání v rámci WTO, zahrnující další liberalizaci světového obchodu, ve spojitosti s prohlubováním globalizace trhů zemědělskými produkty (prosincová ministerská konference v Hongkongu přinesla v oblasti zemědělství například odstraňování vývozních



podpor do konce roku 2013 s tím, že jejich podstatná část má být odbourána do konce roku 2010. Nejrychleji se typ podpor zavázaly odstranit nejrozvinutější země).

**Lisabonská strategie**, v jejímž rámci je za zásadní považováno sladění požadavků konkurenceschopnosti s udržitelností využívání přírodních zdrojů.

Sílící konkurenční prostředí, požadující na jedné straně produkci zdravotně nezávadných potravin v odpovídající kvalitě, jejichž výroba je kompatibilní s environmentálními požadavky a nároky na podmínky chovu zvířat. Dalším, určujícím prvkem budoucí konkurenceschopnosti a udržitelnosti evropského agropotravinářského průmyslu a zemědělství, bude vývoj v oblasti nových technologií a zvláště biotechnologie.

Domnívám se, že v těchto souvislostech lze rozeznat konkrétní záměry, jdoucí v rámci EU v ústrety rozvoji venkova. Hlavní pozornost je přitom upřena na:

- rozvoj mezinárodně konkurenceschopného multifunkčního evropského zemědělství, které bude produkovat trhem žádané a současně ekologické produkty a služby
- diverzifikaci hospodaření ve venkovských oblastech různých částí Evropy
- ochranu a management evropského krajinného bohatství a kulturní rozdílnosti.

Evropský agropotravinářský sektor tak bude čím dál více konfrontován s dlouhodobými cíli EU – konkurenceschopností a udržitelným rozvojem. Ve výhodnější pozici se ocitnou země, které se vhodně strefí do požadavků životního prostředí a spotřebitelů. K dalším oblastem, kterým je třeba věnovat v této souvislosti pozornost náleží:

- podpora podnikání, včetně rozjezdových podmínek mladých zemědělců, ekologického zemědělství a malých a středních podnikatelů na venkově
- podpora a koordinace rozvoje partnerství při realizaci projektů rozvoje venkova a spolupráci s nezemědělskými podnikateli a chalupáři.

**Současná podoba SZP** je předurčena souborem reforem, jejichž základ byl položen v nedávné minulosti. Důležitým aspektem tohoto reformního procesu je, mimo jiné, také **posílení rozvoje venkova** – v podobě výhodnějšího financování, silnější vazby na environmentální aspekty a mimoprodukční funkce zemědělství a také možnosti modulace prostředků z přímých plateb velkých příjemců ve prospěch podpor na rozvoj venkova.

### **Finanční perspektiva a její vliv na rozvoj venkova:**

Několik slov k příštímu rozpočtovému rámci EU. V rámci dojednaného návrhu finanční perspektivy EU, kterého se podařilo dosáhnout v rámci Evropské rady v prosinci 2005 během britského předsednictví, by v ČR na rozvoj venkova pro sedmileté období let 2007-2013 mohla připadnout celková částka téměř 73 mld. Kč. Ročně by z evropských fondů mohlo připlynout 10,407 mld. Kč; při započtení národních zdrojů by do rozvoje venkova mělo plynout celkově 13,3 mld. Kč ročně. Nicméně finální podoba finanční perspektivy dosud nebyla schválena Evropským parlamentem.

Debata v EP se – pokud jde o zemědělskou problematiku – soustředí na tři okruhy. Jedná se především o fakultativní, 20 % modulaci přímých podpor z I. pilíře ve prospěch rozvoje venkova bez povinnosti spolufinancování ČS, specifickou obálku pro zajištění adresných alokací na rozvoj venkova některým ČS a zakotvení revizní klausule. Jednání o těchto položkách probíhají mezi Evropskou radou, Evropským parlamentem a Evropskou komisí s cílem uzavřít mezi těmito klíčovými unijními institucemi konečnou dohodu o finanční perspektivě a posvětit tak politickou dohodu Evropské rady z prosince 2005.

Pokud jde o nařízení Rady č. 1698/2005 o podpoře pro rozvoj venkova, lze shrnout současný pohled EK následovně:

- nařízení o rozvoji venkova **považuje EK za uzavřené** po zahrnutí dvou změn. První bude úprava článku 69 v návaznosti na výslednou výši finančních prostředků, alokovaných pro rozvoj venkova po uzavření meziinstitucionální dohody o finanční perspektivě na léta 2007 - 2013.
- případná druhá změna v nařízení k rozvoji venkova by se týkala otázky dobrovolné modulace z přímých plateb, dohodnuté v Evropské Radě v prosinci 2005 pro staré členské země. V úvahu však připadá i vydání separátního nařízení pro tyto účely, ovšem se zachováním jednotného programování. O tom, která varianta bude preferována, však ještě rozhodnuto nebylo.

### **Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí ČR:**

Na Ministerstvu zahraničních věcí ČR se agrární problematikou zabývá odbor obchodních politik a zemědělství, který je součástí sekce EU. Ve svých koordinačních funkcích tento odbor úzce spolupracuje jak s odpovědným resortem, tedy Ministerstvem zemědělství, tak s příslušným úsekem Stálého zastoupení ČR při EU v Bruselu. Zmíněný odbor na MZV odpovídá i za jednání o finanční perspektivě, na kterých spolupracuje s Ministerstvem financí.

Společně s MZe rovněž definujeme základní zájmy ČR ve vztahu k EU, které zpracováváme do příslušných mandátů a instrukcí pro jednání. Podle povahy problému pak zapojujeme do součinnosti rovněž SM ČR při WTO v Ženevě a síť zastupitelských úřadů ČR.

Při prosazování zahraničně-politických zájmů ČR využívá MZV rovněž regionální spolupráce s ostatními ČS, především v rámci uskupení zemí s podobnými charakteristikami a zájmy, jako např. Visegrádská čtyřka, CEFTA (středoevropská dohoda o volném obchodu), SEI (středoevropská iniciativa), Regionální partnerství (6 evropských států), Pakt stability pro jihovýchodní Evropu apod.

V současné době je nutné, v rámci příprav nařízení Rady k Evropskému zemědělskému fondu pro rozvoj venkova, spolupracovat s EK na přípravě dalších dokumentů, především **Národního strategického plánu a Programu rozvoje venkova**. Národní strategický plán stanovuje základní národní priority a rámce rozvoje venkova, na jejichž základě je pak Program rozvoje venkova dále detailně rozpracováván do konkrétních opatření. K Národnímu strategickému plánu vede ČR s EK v současné době první neformální konzultace. Po schválení Programu rozvoje venkova by jej ČR měla mít možnost využívat od počátku roku 2007.

Pokud jde o unijní platformu, ČR se v postavení ČS aktivně podílela na vytváření klíčového **nařízení Evropské Rady č. 1698/2005 o podpoře pro rozvoj venkova**, které bylo schváleno v září 2005 a stalo se základem pro nový Evropský zemědělský fond pro rozvoj venkova. Model venkovského rozvoje, definovaný daným nařízením, pozitivně přispívá k modelu evropského zemědělství, utvářeného komplexní reformou SZP, včetně cukerní reformy, úspěšně uzavřené v Radě dne 20.2.2006, a vytváří tak i lepší pozici pro EU v rámci jednání ve WTO. Dalším unijním dokumentem, na jehož přípravě se ČR podílela, jsou **Strategické pokyny Společenství pro rozvoj venkova (období 2007 - 2013)**, které byly schváleny Radou téhož dne. Právě tento dokument je klíčový pro zahájení konzultací s Komisí k již zmíněnému Národnímu strategickému plánu.

Doufám, že se mi v mém vystoupení podařilo i přes malý časový prostor alespoň vyslovit ty podstatné aspekty, které se z široké problematiky rozvoje venkova dotýkají působnosti ministerstva zahraničních věcí.

### **Aktuální vývoj (vysvětlení problematiky)**

Právní základ EU pro rozvoj venkova v období 2007 – 13 tvoří tři dokumenty:

1. **Nařízení Rady č. 1698/2005** ze dne 20. září o podpoře pro rozvoj venkova z Evropského zemědělského fondu pro rozvoj venkova (EAFRD).
2. **Strategické pokyny Společenství pro rozvoj venkova (období 2007 - 2013)**, které byly schváleny v Radě dne 20. 2. 2006. Pozn.: Obecný přístup Rada přijala již na listopadové Radě (2005), ale pak čekala na stanovisko EP, které ho dodalo až 16.2.2006.
3. **Prováděcí nařízení Komise** k nařízení Rady č. 1698/2005, které stanovuje podrobné podmínky jeho provádění. Diskuse členských států k danému nařízení, ve smyslu jeho úprav, je teprve v počátcích (ČR zastupuje MZe a SZ Brusel). Předpokládá se, že při optimálním procesu projednávání bude dané nařízení Komise schváleno koncem jara 2006. Pozn.: dále Komise chystá výkladová vodítka pro dané prováděcí nařízení.

### Národní úroveň v ČR:

1. Na základě unijních právních dokumentů ČR připravuje již od minulého roku dva základní materiály pro administraci unijních finančních prostředků na rozvoj venkova pro období 2007 – 13, **Národní strategický plán** a dále vlastní **Program rozvoje venkova**.
2. Národní strategický plán stanovuje základní národní priority a rámce rozvoje venkova, na jejichž základě je pak Program rozvoje venkova dále detailně rozpracovává do konkrétních opatření. K Národnímu strategickému plánu vede ČR s EK v současné době první neformální konzultace. Po zapracování připomínek EK ho ČR následně zašle na EK formálně. EK jej formálně neschvaluje, pouze jej s ČR konzultuje. Nicméně dané konzultace a pozitivní „souhlas“ EK je výchozím předpokladem pro následné jednání o Programu rozvoje venkova, neboť ten už bude ze strany EK schvalován.
4. Je třeba si uvědomit, že Program rozvoje venkova by měl být schválen do konce roku 2006, aby ho ČR mohla začít administrovat od počátku 2007. Nicméně harmonogram bude napjatý. Konzultace s Komisí k Národnímu strategickému plánu jsou v počátcích (čekaly na schválené Strategické pokyny) a potvrzují při optimistickém výhledu minimálně dva měsíce. Zahájení návazných jednání s Komisí k Programu rozvoje venkova jsou odvislá od schválení prováděcího nařízení Komise, opět při optimistickém scénáři ke konci jara 2006. Vlastní jednání s Komisí poběží odhadem dalších 6 měsíců (což je optimistická varianta, vzhledem ke zkušenostem z jednání v tomto období).

Děkuji Vám za pozornost.

# Úvodní slovo

**Mgr. K. Mazáčová, PhDr. P. Vašíček**

**Ministerstvo kultury**

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## **Obsah příspěvku:**

Úvod k problematice kultury na venkově a pozice MK ČR;

Památky a jejich význam pro kulturnímu rozvoji venkova;

Církev a jejich role v kultuře venkova;

Knihovny jako součást systému státní podpory kultury a vzdělávání na venkově;

Neprofesionální a tradiční lidová kultura jako významný jev života na venkově a kulturní prezentace ČR světovému společenství;

Závěr.

## **1. Úvod**

Vážené dámy, vážení pánové.

Dovolte mi, abych v úvodu svého vystoupení poděkovala pořadateli této konference – České zemědělské univerzitě v Praze – za pozvání zástupců Ministerstva kultury k účasti na Vašem jednání.

I toto pozvání je potvrzením skutečnosti, že kultura je významným faktorem života občanské společnosti na venkově a podstatnou měrou napomáhá integraci společnosti jako celku. Přispívá k rozvoji morální úrovně každého občana, k rozvoji intelektuálnímu i emocionálnímu a plní tak zároveň funkci výchovně vzdělávací.

Role kultury má také značný motivační efekt. Participace na kultuře vytváří smysluplnou náplň volného času a je tak preventivním faktorem před nežádoucími společenskými jevy v denním životě mládeže i dospělých.

Avšak v našem pojetí neplní kultura jen funkci integrační, reprezentativní a edukativní, ale je zároveň významným hospodářským odvětvím. Spotřebovává sice prostředky ze státního rozpočtu a z rozpočtů komunálních, ale zároveň se podílí na jejich tvorbě přímo i nepřímo. Například prostřednictvím daňových výnosů z odvětví tzv. kulturního průmyslu v zemích Evropské unie je generován příspěvek pro hrubý domácí produkt od 0,8 % až do 3 %, což je fakt nezanedbatelný. Ne všude však využívá venkov svůj produkční kulturní potenciál, a právě proto patří mezi hlavní cíle kulturní politiky státu tvorba podmínek pro realizaci venkovských kulturních aktivit – zejména podporou aktivit v rámci občanského spolčování.

Vážené dámy, vážení pánové.

Ve vymezeném čase pro mé vystoupení není pochopitelně možné prezentovat všechny cíle a priority naší kulturní politiky. Ve vztahu k ústřednímu tématu této konference mi však

dovolte, abych Vás obeznámila alespoň s několika vybranými kulturními oblastmi, které se venkova bezesporu dotýkají. Jsou to:

- památky a jejich význam pro kulturní rozvoj venkova;
- církve a jejich role v kultuře venkova;
- knihovny jako součást systému státní podpory kultury a vzdělávání na venkově; - a v neposlední řadě -
- neprofesionální a tradiční lidová kultura jako významný jev života na venkově a kulturní prezentace ČR světovému společenství.

V této souvislosti bych ráda upřela Vaši pozornost na některé priority působnosti Ministerstva kultury, k nimž například náleží úkol posilování kooperativního a víceletého financování kulturních činností a projektů z veřejných rozpočtů.

Spoluúčast rozdílných úrovní veřejných rozpočtů na financování kulturních projektů a činností přináší pozitivní výsledky již nyní. A to jak v péči o kulturní dědictví, tak v oblasti profesionálních i neprofesionálních uměleckých aktivit. Ministerstvo kultury bude i nadále upřednostňovat model financování s podílem obecních rozpočtů, jakož i s participací z rozpočtů krajských samospráv.

Víceleté financování kulturních projektů je ověřeno například Programem záchrany architektonického dědictví a programem Výzkum a vývoj. Ministerstvo kultury bude zároveň rozšiřovat okruh projektů financovaných víceletým způsobem vypisováním 2 až 4-letých grantů pro oblast profesionálního umění i neprofesionálních uměleckých aktivit.

Nutno však dodat, že při financování nekomerčně orientovaných kulturních projektů a aktivit může sehrát pozitivní roli také soukromá iniciativa. Zároveň je ale zřejmé, že sponzorský zdroj financování kultury má jen doplňkový charakter. I v těch evropských zemích, kde je institut sponzorství vyvinut a má dlouholetou tradici, nepřesahují tyto prameny v průměru více než 4 % nákladů na nekomerční kulturu. Je známo, že sponzorské příspěvky se soustřeďují jen na některé projekty, a to především na ty, které se těší mediální pozornosti.

## **2. Památky**

Nyní mi dovolu, abych se krátce pozastavila u prvního z avizovaných témat, jímž jsou památky.

Péče o památky je jedním z klíčových úkolů Ministerstva kultury, jak opakovaně deklaroval ve svých veřejných vystoupeních i nynější ministr kultury pan Vítězslav Jandák. Snad si ani nedokážeme představit český, moravský a slezský venkov bez památek, které dotváří naše životní prostředí a do jisté míry i krajinný ráz regionů. Možná si to v běžném denním životě ani neuvědomujeme, ale toliko kulturními a historickými památkami, jako má Česká republika, se může chlubit málokterá země. O památky je třeba pečovat, tedy systematicky a pravidelně je opravovat a udržovat. Dále je třeba jich smysluplně využívat, aby nebyly jen mrtvými památníky zašlých časů. A konečně bychom je měli i na venkově umět „prodávat“ – tedy nabízet k obdivování zahraničním, ale i domácím turistům – což může mít zpětně značný přínos ekonomický. A ten bychom mohli zase reinvestovat do péče o tyto památky a jiné kulturní jevy.

Podle § 16 zákona č. 20/1987 Sb. poskytují finanční příspěvky na zachování a obnovu kulturních památek kraje a obce v jejich samostatné působnosti, a dále Ministerstvo kultury svým rozhodnutím. Příspěvky z rozpočtů obcí a krajů mohou být poskytovány ve zvlášť

odůvodněných případech na zvýšené náklady spojené se zachováním a obnovou kulturní památky.

Ministerstvo kultury může příspěvek poskytnout pouze v případě mimořádného společenského zájmu na zachování kulturní památky, a to prostřednictvím specializovaných programů na úseku státní památkové péče. Programy jsou koncipovány tak, aby poskytnutím finančního příspěvku bylo dosaženo dlouhodobých cílů státu v péči o památkový fond v České republice v souladu s „Koncepcí účinnější péče o památkový fond“ v České republice.

Jde o tyto programy:

- Program regenerace městských památkových rezervací a městských památkových zón,
- Program záchrany architektonického dědictví,
- Program péče o vesnické památkové rezervace a zóny a krajinné památkové zóny,
- Program restaurování movitých kulturních památek,
- Havarijní program.

Dalšími specifickými programy v působnosti OPP MK jsou Program podpory účelově financovaného výzkumu a vývoje v oblasti památkové péče a Program podpory občanským sdružením v památkové péči.

Celkový objem finančních prostředků určených ve schváleném rozpočtu OPP pro tyto programy dosáhl v roce 2005 výše 592 387 tis. Kč.

Účastníky této konference budou patrně zajímat údaje o třech následujících grantových programech:

### **Program záchrany architektonického dědictví**

byl založen usnesením vlády ze dne 22.2.1995 č. 110 jako systémové řešení spoluúčasti státu na záchraně, obnově a prezentaci nejvýznamnějších a nejohroženějších architektonických (kulturních) památek a jejich areálů v České republice, jako jsou například hrady, zámky včetně zahrad a parků, kláštery, kostely, městské paláce, městská opevnění. Schválené rozpočtové výdaje Ministerstva kultury v roce 2005: 336 mil. Kč.

### **Program péče o vesnické památkové rezervace a zóny a krajinné památkové zóny**

byl založen společným opatřením ministerstev kultury a financí v roce 1997. V rámci něho jsou finančně a odborně metodicky podporováni vlastníci nemovitých kulturních památek (zejména památek lidového stavitelství) při jejich obnově, které se nalézají v památkových rezervacích a památkových zónách uvedeného typu. Schválené rozpočtové výdaje Ministerstva kultury v roce 2005: 18 mil. Kč.

### **Program restaurování movitých kulturních památek**

založený usnesením vlády ze dne 16.7.1997 č. 426 se zaměřuje na obnovu (restaurování) a prezentaci movitých kulturních památek a jejich souborů, uložených zejména v sakrálních objektech a na hradech a zámcích, zpřístupněných veřejnosti. Schválené rozpočtové výdaje Ministerstva kultury v roce 2005: 18 mil. Kč.

### 3. Círky

Círky a náboženské společnosti jsou rovněž nedílnou součástí kultury v České republice, ať již máme na mysli církevní budovy nebo drobné sakrální stavby v přírodě, či duchovní a kulturně-společenské aktivity členů církví a náboženských společností na veřejnosti. Nepopíratelně je venkov těmito kulturními aktivitami - zejména tradičních křesťanských církví - obohacován.

I proto je péče Ministerstva kultury zaměřena na jejich podporu. Z celkového objemu veřejných financí pro církve a náboženské společnosti byly v roce 2005 poskytovány rovněž granty občanským sdružením a jiným právnickým osobám. Odbor církví MK ČR vyhlásil dva granty pro nestátní neziskové organizace:

1. Pro církve a náboženské společnosti ucházející se o granty v roce 2005 byl vyhlášen konkurz na podporu významných kulturních aktivit.
2. Pro občanská sdružení ucházející se o granty v roce 2005 byl vyhlášen konkurz na podporu rozvoje náboženských a nábožensko - kulturních aktivit.

Oba granty byly vyhlášeny v souladu s „Hlavními oblastmi státní dotační politiky vůči nestátním neziskovým organizacím“, a to na základě interního předpisu MK, tj. příkazu ministra kultury č. 16/2005.

V roce 2005 byla poskytnuta na podporu významných kulturních aktivit CNS částka 2 344 000,- Kč a na podporu rozvoje náboženských a nábožensko-kulturních aktivit občanských sdružení částka 470 610,- Kč.

### 4. Knihovny

Veřejné knihovny na venkově se významnou měrou podílejí na zpřístupnění kulturního a intelektuálního bohatství občanům. Vytvářejí pro každého z nás příležitosti k realizaci našich ústavně zaručených práv, mimo jiné také právo „vyhledávat, přijímat a rozlišovat ideje a informace“ a právo na vzdělání, přičemž právě knihovny umožňují celoživotní vzdělávání.

V rámci kulturní politiky státu se v současnosti vymezují úkoly veřejných knihovnických služeb při vytváření tzv. „informačních dálnic“ a budou prosazována jednotná, standardní a ekonomická řešení automatizace a propojování knihoven v celé České republice.

Knihovnám, resp. jejich provozovatelům, zapsaným v evidenci knihoven MK mohou být poskytnuty účelově určené dotace z peněžních prostředků státního rozpočtu. MK podporuje oblast knihoven následujícími každoročně vyhlašovanými programy:

#### 1. Veřejné informační služby knihoven

Základním cílem programu je inovace veřejných informačních služeb knihoven na bázi informačních a komunikačních technologií (ICT). V jeho rámci jsou knihovnám poskytovány dotace na vzdělávání knihovníků v oblasti informačních a komunikačních technologií, na projekty z oblasti tvorby a zpřístupňování dat v síti (vytváření elektronických katalogů, zavádění automatizace do knihoven, digitalizace starých a vzácných tisků, mikrofilmování dokumentů ohrožených rozpadem kyselého papíru, budování digitální knihovny), na nákup elektronických zdrojů atd.

*Program je vyhlašován v 9 samostatných podprogramech. Účastníky konference bude patrně nejvíce zajímat podprogram VISK 3:*

## Informační centra veřejných knihoven

Dotace jsou poskytovány na zahájení automatizace knihovnických činností v knihovnách menších měst a obcí, zvýšení a zkvalitnění produkce, zpřístupnění a prezentace primárních a sekundárních informačních dokumentů v elektronické podobě, zlepšení vzájemné kooperace knihoven v oblastech získávání, zpracování a sdílení informačních zdrojů.

**Tab. č. 1: Přehled poskytnutých finančních prostředků v tis. Kč (program jako celek)**

2003	2004	2005
20 900	40 903	30 239

## 2. Kulturní aktivity – grant Knihovna 21. století

Je určen na zlepšení práce s národnostními menšinami a integrace cizinců, podporu všeobecné dostupnosti knihovnických služeb pro občany se zdravotním postižením (nákup zvukových knih a nákup speciálního software pro zrakově postižené), podporu kulturně vzdělávacích projektů knihoven a ochranu knihovního fondu před nepříznivými vlivy prostředí (restaurování rukopisů a starých tisků).

**Tab. č. 2: Přehled poskytnutých prostředků v tis. Kč:**

2003	2004	2005
1 800	2 000	2 000

## 3. Kulturní aktivity – grant Česká knihovna

Cílem je zajistit dostupnost současné české literární tvorby v síti knihoven. Do programu se každoročně zapojuje přes 600 základních knihoven a knihoven filozofických a pedagogických fakult vysokých škol, které si mohou vybrat z nabídky asi 130 titulů knih v hodnotě cca 3.000,- Kč/knihovnu a kolem 35 nakladatelů vydávajících českou knižní produkci.

**Tab. č. 3: Přehled poskytnutých prostředků v tis. Kč:**

2003	2004	2005
2 000	2 000	2 000

## 5. Tradiční lidová kultura

Poslední oblastí, které bych se ráda také dotkla, je oblast neprofesionálního umění a především tradiční lidové kultury. Pro venkov to jsou typické jevy.

Především tradiční lidová kultura je nositelem historické paměti. Zahrnuje zejména lidovou slovesnost, hudbu, tanec, hry, obřady, obyčeje, zvyky a technologické dovednosti, řemeslnou výrobu, metody a díla lidového stavitelství a další druhy lidové umělecké výroby.

V těchto projevech se uchovávají a z generace na generaci předávají místně nebo regionálně vymezené zkušenosti každodenního materiálního i duchovního života, povědomí souměřitelnosti s obcí, regionem nebo státem.

Nebezpečí ztráty či oslabení kulturní diverzity, kterou především venkov nabízí, uvědomuje si světové společenství již po několik desetiletí. V roce 1989 byl schválen dokument organizace UNESCO pod názvem „Doporučení k ochraně tradiční lidové kultury“ a následně, i když až v roce 2003, vláda ČR schválila svým usnesením č. 571 „Koncepci účinnější péče o tradiční lidovou kulturu.“



Jistě účastníkům konference neunikla informace v roce 2005, že zejména přičiněním Národního ústavu lidové kultury ve Strážnici byl prohlášen slovácký verbuňk za Mistrovské dílo ústního a nemateriálního dědictví lidstva.

K doplnění uvádím, že Ministerstvo kultury zvažuje a připravuje k prohlášení za další Mistrovská díla ústního a nehmotného dědictví lidstva následující jevy:

- Jízdu králů na Slovácku;
- Masopustní masky a obchůzky na Hlinecku;
- Mečové tance na Uherskobrodsku.

Avšak nejen tradiční lidová kultura dotváří charakteristický rys venkova – našeho světa. Je potřeba zmínit ještě neprofesionální umění, tak častý kulturní jev na venkově. Stačí jen připomenout folklorní soubory, lidové hudby, amatérská divadla a další kulturní formy.

Neprofesionální umění na venkově je zakotveno v místní a regionální kultuře, je zásobárnou talentů, vytváří celoživotní potřebu kontaktu s uměním, pozitivně působí jako socializační faktor, má prokazatelně terapeutické účinky, rozvíjí osobnost člověka, jehož vybavuje pro život kulturním kapitálem.

Význam a potřebu státní podpory zmíněným jevům naplňuje Ministerstvo kultury pravidelným vyhlašováním konkurzů, chcete-li dotačních titulů, na které bylo vloni vyčleněno přes 42 mil. Kč a v letošním roce více jak 55 mil. Kč.

Tématicky to jsou následující okruhy, které se více či méně dotýkají života na venkově:

- podpora tradiční lidové kultury;
- podpora neprofesionálního umění;
- podpora zahraničních kulturních kontaktů;
- podpora kulturních aktivit zdravotně postižených občanů;
- lokální tradice a výročí;
- integrace Romů kulturními aktivitami;
- podpora kulturních aktivit národnostních menšin v ČR;
- podpora integrace cizinců kulturními aktivitami.

**Tab. č. 4: Přehled poskytnutých dotací ORNK v rámci jednotlivých programů v roce 2005**

<b>Kód programu</b>	<b>Název programu</b>	<b>Dotace v Kč</b>
A	podpora kulturních aktivit zdravotně postižených občanů	6 615 000
B	podpora tradiční lidové kultury	5 462 000
C	podpora rozvoje zájmových kulturních - mimouměleckých aktivit	521 000
D	podpora neprofesionálních uměleckých aktivit	13 068 000
E	podpora zahraničních kontaktů v oblasti neprofesionálních uměleckých aktivit	1 516 813
F	podpora kulturních aktivit příslušníků národnostních menšin	10 193 412
G	podpora integrace příslušníků romské komunity	2 000 000
H	podpora lokálních kulturních tradic	2 356 000
J	podpora integrace cizinců žijících v ČR	800 000
<b>c e l k e m</b>		<b>42 532 225</b>

## **6. Závěr**

Vážení účastníci konference,

Účelem mého vystoupení nebylo podání detailních a vyčerpávajících informací o působnosti našeho Ministerstva kultury. Avšak i přednesenými tématy lze doložit, že venkov a kultura patří nedílně k sobě. Kultura i na venkově plní mnoho funkcí. Přispívá k sebeidentifikaci občanů jako svobodných a tvůrčích individualit, přispívá k identifikaci občanů se společenstvím i životním prostředím, v němž žijí – s regionem a státem, především však s obcí a venkovem. A to jsou funkce žádoucí a obecně prospěšné.

Tolik jsem považovala za užitečné Vám sdělit, dámy a pánové. Na závěr mi dovolu – abych Vám popřála příjemné tvůrčí jednání v průběhu všech tří dnů, kdy Vaše konference potrvá a především zajímavé, motivující a přínosné výstupy s budoucími příznivými dopady na venkov – náš svět.

Děkuji Vám za Vaši posluchačskou pozornost.

# Úvodní slovo

**Mgr. P. Wija**

**Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí**

**e-mail: wija@mpsv.cz**

Vážené dámy a pánové,

je mi potěšením, že mohu na úvod dnešní konference říci několik slov k problematice sociálního rozvoje venkova z pohledu Ministerstva práce a sociálních věcí.

Sociální rozvoj venkova je důležitou průřezovou a komplexní problematikou významnou pro koncepci sociální politiky a současně jednou ze strategických priorit Ministerstva práce a sociálních věcí.

Cílem sociální politiky je vytvářet podmínky pro ekonomický a sociální rozvoj společnosti, sociální soudržnost a solidaritu. Současně by sociální politika měla minimalizovat dopady různých sociálních událostí a sociálních a ekonomických změn.

Tyto cíle musí být realizovány nejen s ohledem na sociální potřeby a rizika různých skupin obyvatel, ale také potřeby a rizika regionů, specifika daná venkovským či městským typem osídlení a místní podmínky. Důležitou roli v této oblasti hraje regionální a místní politika, včetně politiky sociální.

Opatření zaměřená na sociální rozvoj určité oblasti by měla být připravována a ve spolupráci státní správy, regionální a místní samosprávy, sociálních partnerů a za účasti samotných občanů. Regionální a místní sociální politika by přitom v budoucnosti měla hrát stále významnější roli.

Úroveň vyspělosti určitého územního celku, jeho ekonomického a sociálního rozvoje má přímý a významný dopad na zdraví, spokojenost a celkovou životní úroveň jeho obyvatel. Rozvojem venkova tak vytváříme podmínky pro zdraví a rozvoj jednotlivců, rodin a komunit. Tato skutečnost podtrhuje význam zájmu o sociální rozvoj a potřebu získání poznatků o demografické, ekonomické a sociální situaci na venkově. Proto lze pouze uvítat aktivity, které přináší nové poznatky a přístupy v této oblasti.

Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí reflektuje specifika venkova v rámci dílčích koncepcí, ať už se jedná o koncepci politiky zaměstnanosti, rodinné politiky, sociálního začleňování, rozvoje sociálních služeb, sociálních dávek a jiných.

Dovolte, abych se stručně zmínil o dvou průřezových koncepčních dokumentech a otázkách, které mají významný regionální aspekt a specifika, pokud jde o rozdíly mezi městem a venkovem. Jsou jimi stárnutí populace a problematika sociálního začleňování.

Stárnutí populace je ovlivněno vývojem porodnosti, úmrtnosti a migrace. Odlišná míra těchto trendů v různých regionech a lokalitách vede k tomu, že věková struktura populace se liší nejen mezi regiony, ale také v rámci regionů a v závislosti na velikosti obce či města.

V roce 2002 přijala vláda Národní program přípravy na stárnutí na období let 2003 až 2007 jako širokou koncepci, která stanovuje priority a opatření reagující na demografický vývoj a jeho prognózy. Vláda současně vyzvala hejtmany a primátory největších statutárních měst ke spolupráci a k vypracování regionálních programů přípravy na stárnutí a podpoře regionálních a místních aktivit v této oblasti.

Program stanovuje opatření v oblasti zaměstnanosti, zdravotní péče, sociálních služeb, bydlení, dopravy, hmotného zabezpečení, vzdělávání, společenských aktivit a dalších. Cílem programu je připravit podmínky pro zdravé, aktivní a důstojné stáří v České republice a pro aktivní účast starších občanů na sociálním a ekonomickém rozvoji společnosti.

V listopadu 2005 vláda schválila první informaci o plnění tohoto programu a současně záměr na ustavení nového poradního a iniciativního orgánu vlády pro problematiku seniorů a stárnutí populace. Ministerstvo připravilo návrh na zřízení Rady vlády pro seniory a stárnutí populace, který vláda projedná v nejbližší době. Rada by se měla věnovat také problematice dostupnosti služeb a životních podmínek seniorů na venkově. V této radě bude zastoupen mimo jiné Svaz měst a obcí České republiky a Asociace krajů České republiky.

Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí se zapojilo do mezinárodního programu „Regions for All ages“, který se zaměřuje na rozvoj regionální a místní politiky v kontextu stárnutí populace.

Skutečnost, že se více lidí dožívá vyššího věku je chápána jako úspěch a příležitost pro ekonomický a sociální rozvoj spíše než jako hrozba. Program zdůrazňuje roli starších lidí v rodině a komunitě a tzv. sociální kapitál, potřebu poskytnutí příležitostí pro flexibilní přechod mezi prací a plným penzionováním, příležitosti pro podnikání starších lidí a další aktivity, včetně vzdělávacích a kulturních.

Rozvíjí se tzv. stříbrná ekonomika, tj. příležitosti pro zaměstnanost a podnikání, které představuje poptávka po službách a produktech u starší generace. Ta je sice velmi heterogenní, současně však celkově zdravější a bohatší než v minulosti. V rámci tohoto programu je kladen velký důraz na rozvoj venkova a dostupnost veřejných služeb.

V listopadu minulého roku se v rámci tohoto programu konala v Bruselu konference s názvem „Building Cohesion in an Ageing Europe“, která byla organizována ve spolupráci s Výborem regionů Evropské unie. V další fázi tohoto programu bude vydán tzv. „age-proofing toolkit“, tedy manuál, který poskytne návod, jak otázku stárnutí populace reflektovat v regionální a místní politice. Výbor regionů zajistí překlad tohoto manuálu do 18 jazyků.

V červenci roku 2004 vláda schválila první Národní akční plán sociálního začleňování na léta 2004 až 2006. Tento strategický dokument klade důraz na zvýšení zaměstnanosti, zejména znevýhodněných skupin občanů, regionální rozvoj a snižování regionálních rozdílů. Klade důraz na dostupnost dopravy, zdravotní péče, bydlení, sociálních služeb, informačních technologií, právních služeb a poradenství občanům sociálně či zdravotně znevýhodněným a také na dostupnost těchto služeb ve vzdálenějších venkovských oblastech.

Evropská komise dlouhodobě podporuje přiblížení národních akčních plánů regionální, resp. lokální úrovni. Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí se proto zapojilo do projektu zaměřeného na vytvoření metodiky pro rozvoj lokálních a regionálních akčních plánů sociálního začleňování.

Současně se ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí zapojilo do mezinárodního projektu zaměřeného na integraci sociálně vyloučených seniorů do života komunity, který se zaměřuje také na specifické podmínky a rizika spojená s životem ve městech a na venkově. Tento projekt ministerstvo realizuje ve spolupráci s Královéhradeckým krajem.

Sociální služby jsou důležitým nástrojem k prevenci sociálního vyloučení. K zajištění dostupnosti sociálních služeb v daném území významně napomáhá komunitní plánování, do kterého jsou zapojeni zástupci obcí, resp. regionů a krajů, poskytovatelé a uživatelé sociálních služeb a také veřejnost.

Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí v oblasti komunitního plánování spolupracuje s regionální a místní samosprávou. Obce mohou získat finanční prostředky na komunitní plánování prostřednictvím programů financovaných z Evropského sociálního fondu, např. v rámci opatření 2.1 Operačního programu Rozvoj lidských zdrojů, které spravuje odbor sociálních služeb ministerstva práce a sociálních věcí.

Na závěr bych rád zdůraznil, že strategická vize sociálního rozvoje a formulace konkrétních opatření v jakékoliv oblasti musí být podepřena mimo jiné o poznatky a empirická data poskytující informace o specifických podmínkách, potřebách a problémech různých skupin obyvatel, oblastí a lokalit.

Z tohoto důvodu Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí v rámci účelové podpory výzkumu a vývoje významně podpořilo několik projektů zaměřených na problematiku venkova. V rámci jednoho z těchto projektů se koná také tato konference.

Doufám, že tyto projekty a také dnešní konference poskytnou nejen Ministerstvu práce a sociálních věcí doporučení a další podněty pro koncepci strategické vize a politiky rozvoje venkova.

Děkuji za pozornost a přeji Vám hodně úspěchů v dnešním jednání.

# **Rural Development: A Challenging Assignment The Social Sciences**

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It is a pleasure and an honour to be here with you in this important conference, and to discuss with you some of the key dimensions of rural development processes as they are unfolding throughout Europe. I would like to express my gratitude to the Czech Agricultural University in Prague for this invitation. I especially want to thank Prof. Vera Majerova, the initiator of this conference, who I have met at several European meetings in which rural development policies were discussed. I was, time and again, impressed by the valuable contributions of professor Majerova.

I honestly have to say that I am impressed by the broad range of contributions already presented this morning by the representatives of the different ministries. These contributions clearly show that rural development is institutionally well embedded (probably far more than is the case in some other member states of the European Union), whilst they indicate at the same time that there is a strong need to further unfold the theoretical groundings of rural development practices and policies.

What I will do in my contribution is to bring forward some points, which are especially linked to experiences in the North-Western and Southern parts of the European Union. These points regard the nature as well as the relevance of rural development processes and they might be, I hope, useful for the practices and the debates here in the Czech Republic. I will especially focus on the role of science in the ongoing processes of rural development. It is very remarkable, indeed, that rural development appears to be, until now, a practice without a theory. It is a widespread, multilayered and dynamic process, in which many actors play a role. They often do so in a deliberate, goal-oriented way. But at the same time it is a process, an endogenous process, that is not having an all encompassing theory – a solid and empirically grounded theory that explains what is happening, why it is happening, what the expected results might be and how the process can be effectively governed. In itself this lack of an adequate theory is no absolutely reason for crying. Ships have been floating the seas before the famous Greek men shouted Eureka. Equally, canons and guns have been shot before science understood the essence of ballistics. Having said this, we have to add as well that the disposal of a good theory about the practice of rural development would not be detrimental. On the contrary, such a theory could be a highly useful instrument to improve and to strengthen the process of rural development. The disposal of a good theory would allow for a better fine-tuning and optimization of the practices of rural development. In the end it still holds that nothing is as practical as a good theory.

A first and crucial feature of such a theory is that, particularly in the West and South of Europe, rural development is not just an addition to existing agrarian policies. To explain this feature is a little bit tricky, because even the language that is used at European level talks about the first pillar which is massive, well established with a lot of money and a second pillar that still is the Benjamin. A language constructed in this way nearly inevitably produces the impression that rural development is just additional to the already existing agricultural policies. It is “second” to the “first pillar”. However, to assume such a sequence in, and for, the North-Western and Southern parts of Europe would be completely wrong. It is, to put it

bluntly, exactly the other way around. In practice, rural development represents, in the indicated parts of Europe, a complete turnover. What we know as rural development practices, attributes far more value to the countryside than conventional agriculture is doing. Not only symbolically, but, as I will discuss further on, also in hard, material terms – that is in terms of value added, income and numbers of participating farms. As a matter of fact, several colleagues have observed that as a matter of fact rural development is, at this moment, literally supporting and sustaining agricultural production in the classical sense. Without being linked to, if not embedded in rural development practices, many farms would already have disappeared quite some time ago. To paraphrase the current language: at the moment “the second” is taking the lead of, and dragging, the “first”. Rural development represents, as widespread and firmly rooted process, a major shift. It could even be argued that rural development is a paradigm shift – a paradigm shift that fully active in practice and in a somewhat hesitant way also emerging at the level of policy. At the same time it applies that it is, as yet, not well understood at the level of theory. Rural development is a paradigm shift because it alters the interrelations between town and countryside. It is increasingly being understood that with the quickly proceeding urbanization of our societies, the importance of the rural is not diminishing but growing exponentially. The rural is not just a residual category that is disappearing whenever societies are urbanising, nor are the rural areas just residual spaces. The more our societies become urbanised, the more their need for rurality. The rural improves and sustains the quality of life, it is indispensable to have rurality in a highly industrialized, urbanised and globalising society. Especially in the highly densely populated areas in Western Europe as for instance The Netherlands, Belgium and considerable parts of France, England, Germany and Italy. But there are many similar areas throughout the rest of Europe where exactly the same applies.

A second, important feature (that is clearly related to the foregoing one) is that the countryside cannot be dedicated to agriculture only – that is an agriculture that is specialized on the large scale production of raw materials for the agro-industry. The countryside is not just a space of, and for, such agricultural production. It is equally a space of, and for, consumption. It is the space where rurality is being produced as well as being consumed.

The countryside entails a rich and multi-chequered capital: ecological capital, cultural capital, social capital and economic capital. This capital has been damaged a lot in the past decades; we can be clear about that. It is very important now to rescue this multi-chequered capital, to use it, to develop it further in order to enrich the rural.

A third and probably decisive feature (that is lacking often in political discourse on rural development) is that we need, throughout Europe, a new type of agriculture, that is sustainable, multi-functional, which links to the territory as well as to society at large and which at the same time converts the countryside in a nice and accessible place - into an attractive part of our society. What we need, in short, is an agriculture that not only produces food but also creates and sustains rurality. From empirical research it might be concluded that large segments of our European agriculture are currently being reconstituted into such a new agriculture that is again meeting the broad and diverse demands of society as a whole. This implies that changing agriculture is becoming one of the main drivers of rural development processes. Of course, rural development is having many drivers. There are important non-agricultural drivers and there are also the agricultural drivers. But whilst we notice in the West and the South of Europe that agriculture is not the only driver, it shows that it is, anyway, a very important and indeed indispensable driver of rural development. It is one of the important social carriers of rural development and it becomes a more important social carrier the more it associates, the more it intertwines and interlinks with other carriers. Let me

give you some data, data that are derived from a recent study<sup>1</sup> realised in 7 countries (Ireland, the UK, Spain, Italy, Germany, France and The Netherlands) and that will again be carried out as well for the EU of 25 countries. In this study we simply asked what is the real situation'; how many or which percentage of farmers is engaged in RD-activities of which type, why are they doing this and what is the impact of all this activity. The obtained data show that in those 7 countries, more than 50 % of the professional farmers (the microscopic farms with just minimal agricultural activity are excluded) are involved in one or more rural development activities. They are raising the added value of their products by converting them into high value products and/or regional specialities. They are engaged in on farm transformation of their products. They are entering into various associations, which build new short circuits between producers and consumers. They are engaging in the management of nature, landscape and biodiversity. They are also engaging in energy production and water retention, activities that might be very strategic in the next ten years. They are engaging in agro tourism and in offering care facilities. Rural development results in, and entails, a broad and growing range of activities. The interesting and promising point is that currently more than 50 % of the professional farmers are engaging in one or more of such activities. Who are these farmers and what farms do they have? It concerns the somewhat larger farms although not exclusively; it concerns the younger farmers, the better educated ones and it shows also that it are especially farmer's women who play an important role.

These data bring me to a fourth feature. So far, rural development has been mainly an endogenous process: an autonomous process that is born out of the well understood interests of the involved people. It is not in the first place a political project. It is in the first place an endogenous process that might be strengthened and facilitated by political interventions, by creating the good political conditions. Time and again, the question is whether we can design policies and programs that fit with the reality and dynamics of rural development as endogenous process. If there are too many frictions between policy and practice, policy might very well disturb and hinder the rural development processes that already occur.

It is important to signal that these same endogenous processes produce a bewildering variety of experiences, of successes and of failures as well. Some of these experiences are hidden, others are highly visible, some are grounded in markets, others very dependent on state financing, some are long standing, others are very recent, They also differ highly in impact, some are limited to specific sectors, others cross the boundaries between sectors and regions, whilst they integrate different actors and activities. In the north, the west, the south - and I am convinced also in this part of Europe- there is developing, right before our eyes, a huge laboratory in which people create new rural development expressions. But that laboratory still needs good theory. It needs good social science in order to understand it, in order to create good theory that goes beyond case studies and which is applicable at the national and international level. Social science is to have a very important role here, also in order to inform policy and to communicate experiences throughout Europe. Good social science is also needed to create an adequate language that corresponds with the new identities, the new networks and the newly emerging realities. At the same time, social sciences, and more specifically rural studies, might learn a lot through a critical involvement in this new 'laboratory'. I am convinced that research in new rural development processes will induce new theory, provoke new insights, especially because what is happening outside there in the laboratory I referred to, is a multi-actor, multi-level and multi-dimensional process, which entails several new forms of governance. The indicated processes revive and strengthen 'co-production', that is the ongoing interaction and mutual transformation of men and living

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<sup>1</sup> See J.D. van der Ploeg, A. Long and J. Banks, *Living Countrysides. Rural development processes in Europe: the state of art*, Elsevier Bedrijfsinformatie, Doetinchem, 2002



nature. This „revival“ is resulting into new micro-macro interactions and new institutions, as well as into new landscapes and new products. In short, science might benefit a lot from studying this new area.

Within this scientific perspective it will be strategic that the web of social, economic, institutional and technical relations, that might be identified in each region and that not only interlinks the enterprises as such, but equally links these enterprises with the territory, with the consumers, etc. is carefully identified, explored and described. It will turn out, this is a first hypothesis I present here, that especially in rural areas with a large tradition of rural development activities will show to have very dense webs as compared with other areas. These densely organized a widely extended web will produce, this is the second hypothesis, highly positive externalities through which rural development, and associated with it, the general economic development of the area will be strengthened considerably. A third hypothesis, plausible as the foregoing, is that a same dense web will imply that economic activities in the area will be built especially on locally available resources and that there will be a relatively high flow of innovations as well the creation and, subsequently, the institutional defence of new markets. All of this is of course highly important in the epoch of globalisation where we have to confront a very harsh competition from south-east Asia. It is crucial that rural development then functions as a response against these new threats and simultaneously strengthens our economies. At the same time, such a dense web translates, theoretically speaking, into new territorial arrangements. We see that everywhere in Europe, new territorial co-operatives are emerging (as „organizational expression“ of dense webs that are underlying them). Such new co-operative arrangements are having an important role in Germany, the Netherlands and in parts of France. Thus, social capital is strengthened, landscapes and biodiversity are maintained and unfolded further, whilst local and regional economies are strengthened. The effects on the quality of life are notable.

Let me give a brief illustration from Italy. In ongoing research realized over there, three areas are distinguished. These are (1) the classical, very specialized agricultural areas with conventional agriculture and nothing else; (2) the suburban areas where agriculture is disappearing and which have a high inflow of people and (3) the areas that are called the “new rural areas”. In these latter areas (type 3) a multi-functional and highly diversified agriculture that also produces for newly emerging local markets, is encountered. It is the new type of agriculture that produces an attractive ‘rurality’. These zones attract also many people: these are attractive places to live (and to work). The big difference between areas of type 3, as compared to 1 and 2, is that agriculture is not decreasing. It stays stable or is even growing significantly (both in terms of numbers of enterprises and employment and income levels). This is a considerable contrast with the other areas where the number of farms goes down. Another, probably even more important finding, and this has been assessed through a wide national survey, is that *quality of life* as perceived by the rural residents is low and diminishing in the specialized agricultural areas and in ‘suburbia’ as well, and that it is high and increasing in the “new rural areas”. This is clearly related to the creation of new networks (new „webs“) that links people, enterprises, activities, etc. and which produce a sense of belonging and thus result in social capital, which in turn transforms into quality of life.

Yesterday I was informed, that here in the Czech Republic there are more than 3 million restituted lands of a total population of about 10 million inhabitants. This implies that on average nearly each family is having some land. They have a direct link with the land. That is, I guess, a unique and promising situation (whilst it would emerge, within the conventional modernization approaches, as a big hindrance). It refers to a unique and strong axis that links the towns and the countryside. One of our previous ministers of agriculture once said that the Dutch countryside belongs to all 16 million Dutch inhabitants. It was a bit painful because it

is not true it belongs to 80.000 farmers. In retrospect he would have been a better minister if he had been the Czech minister of agriculture.

Anyway, here in the Czech Republic you have your specific history and, currently, a specific if not unique situation here, which is reflected in the fact that so many families are having a direct relationship with the land. That makes for a thought provoking constellation - you scientists should really reflect and work on such specificities. What does it mean? How can we build upon it? What are the opportunities and the new possibilities that lay hidden in it? How can such relationships go beyond strictly individual patterns? If I still were a young researcher, I would love to come to the Czech Republic and work with you on such themes. It could be a crucial experience in terms of rural development. You are having a specific history, a specific current situation and there will be a specific future. I think that the people, who are constructing parts of the Czech rural development trajectory, are in a very lucky situation. I wish them, be they politicians, practitioners or involved scientists, good luck and success. It is an important endeavour you are having in front of you. Enjoy it!

## ČÁST 2 -Part 2



# Personal Portfolio of Knowledge: Knowledge Level Verification

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## Klíčová slova

explicitní znalost, tacitní znalost, dotazník, osobní portfolio, vzdělávací modul, znalostní společnost

## Abstrakt

Cílem projektu evropského projektu Leonardo da Vinci „Young Entrepreneurs Portfolio“ (YET) je vytvořit osobní portfolio znalostí cílové skupiny. Portfolio potřeby explicitních znalostí si bude vytvářet konečný uživatel sám. Nejprve pomocí dotazníku zjistí úroveň vlastních znalostí. Bude následovat sestavení portfolio vzdělávacích modulů, které budou sloužit k samostudiu. Po prostudování bude opět pomocí dotazníku ověřeno, zda uživatel získal požadované znalosti. Projekt je v souladu s e-Europe 2005 Action Plan. Podporuje přesun od informační ke znalostně orientované společnosti. Plánované studijní materiály vycházejí ze znalostně orientovaného kurikula, ve vzdělávacím procesu budou využity znalostní mapy, databáze a také analýzy best practices. Uživatelé budou směřováni k získání dovedností potřebných pro dosažení úspěchu ve znalostně orientované ekonomice. V současné době není možno předávat vzdělání pouze formou textu s informacemi. Studijní materiály musí obsahovat znalost. Znalosti můžeme chápat jako tacitní, tj. takové, které vycházejí z osobních zkušeností, dovedností a explicitní, tj. formální, formulovatelná apod. Tacitní znalost je nesdělitelná, proto studijní materiály mohou obsahovat pouze znalost explicitní. Sestavení kvalitních dotazníků ověřujících úroveň explicitních znalostí před i po studiu je klíčovým faktorem úspěchu projektu. Důležitým faktem je, že dotazník bude vyplňovat uživatel sám, bez pomoci učitele. Měl by tedy být jednoznačný a snadno pochopitelný. V článku autoři navrhuji možnou formu dotazníků a zároveň očekávají diskusi nad uvedeným tématem, ze které by vyplynuly zlepšující náměty pro řešení projektu YET.

## Key words

explicit knowledge, tacit knowledge, questionnaire, personal portfolio, educational module, knowledge-based society

## Abstract

Goal of the EU project Leonardo da Vinci "Young Entrepreneurs Portfolio" (YET) is to elaborate personal portfolio of knowledge of final users. Portfolio of needed explicit knowledge will be asked from final user. First he/she will find his/her knowledge level with help of questionnaire. After that will be given portfolio of educational modules for self-study. Final knowledge level will be verified by questionnaire. The project is in concordance with the e-Europe 2005 Action Plan. It supports the crossing from information to knowledge-based society. Planned educational materials will be based on knowledge oriented curriculum, the knowledge maps and databases as well as best practices analysis will be used in educational process. The users will be trained to have the skills necessary for successful living and work in knowledge-driven economy. Knowledge is the result of learning. Knowledge is the internalization of information, data, and experience. Tacit Knowledge is the

personal knowledge resident within the mind, behaviour and perceptions of individual members of the organization. Explicit Knowledge is the formal, recorded, or systematic knowledge in the form of scientific formulae, procedures, and rules, organizational archives, principles, etc., and can easily be accessed, transmitted, or stored in computer files or hard copy. Educational modules have to include explicit knowledge in knowledge-based society. Questionnaires quality is key factor of success of project YET. There is suggested version of questionnaire in the article, and authors want to increase discussion about it and get new ideas for their work on project.

## **Personal Portfolio of Knowledge: Knowledge Level Verification**

### **Introduction**

In several EU countries there are a growing number of young people with higher education qualifications who remain unemployed or inactive in the labour market because their skills, competences do not respond to the employers' needs. Majority of these people either continue looking for jobs, or remain unemployed as they give up searching; and they do not really plan to become entrepreneurs simply because they are short of motivation, knowledge, information and training that is required to be able to enter this area. It is in the interest of the whole society and themselves to get them to become active in the labour market. They can find other ways based on their own developed skills, they can get motivated to start their own entrepreneurial activities, following their own ideas, building on their existing competences, creative thinking, etc. The YET programme will be focused on the information and training needs of primarily SME activities.

### **Methodology**

The web-based and computer-based interactive self-assessment and self-learning materials run under motivating, enjoyable multimedia applications within a web-based tailor-made Personal Portfolio will enable the learners identified from databases of Labour Centres to identify what skills, competences they have and what else they need in order to start, ideally, their partnership enterprise. They can use the interactive materials and tutors' help to get trained according to their own needs. The needs analysis of from the market through Agrarian and Industry and Commerce Chambers and from successful entrepreneurs, trainers and the trainees will continually be monitored to facilitate the development and updating of the information and training materials as well as maintain their quality according to TQM.

All the system described above serves promotion of life long learning and self-development, improvement of motivation, personality, attitude, skills and competences of the future and existing SMEs, the final users.

### **Expected results of project**

Expected results:

- Web-Based and Computer-Based Personal portfolio system in which users are in control of their learning experience, with Personal and Experiential approach;
- Training Programme with Selectable Modules and Handbook with Methodology, Curriculum, Training Modules and Tests;
- Roadmap to study for Entrepreneurs' Success.

Education modules will be developed in English language:

M1) Self-development of Essential Personal Competences, Skills and Proficiency (introductory training material).

M2) Essential Entrepreneurial Competences, Skills and Proficiency in Knowledge Economy.

M3) Public Relations, Marketing, Ethics.

M4) Finances, Investment, Banking.

M5) ICT competences and skills.

M6) Decision Support Systems in Entrepreneurial Decision making.

M7) Intellectual Property.

M8) Vocationally Oriented Language - Glossary and Situational Exercises.

Learners' work progress can be choose e.g. as follows: Motivation, Self-Esteem, Self-Improvement; Program Tools: Tools of making private notes (reminding myself), Communication with others, share my ideas with other users, learners; personalised First Aid Kit (with useful information), exercise and test results. Charting My Progress to show improvement of self-image, skills, and competences in graphs. Generate Graphs to monitor the frequency of my problems. Identify Patterns of behaviour, methods that work and do not work for me. Use results to help speed up learning and improving. Self-Evaluation Tools to evaluate my behaviour and emotional reactions. Track Individual Incidents and Responses in situations. Identify Possible Causes for my behaviour and learn how to control them. Obtain/Learn coping skills and techniques to relieve problems and draw a path for solutions. Change My Perspective. Learn how to change. Save the Feedback and Information I find helpful and I find that may work for me. Find out how I can work with others in a Partnership in a Team.

**Learning Diary (Schedule) with calendar feature will allow users to schedule exercises, tasks, help and reminders.**

tasks, help and reminders.

WEB SURFACE FEATURES AND PARTS:				
My Portfolio	Table of Contents	Tutorial	Journal	First Aid Kits
My professional goals (what I want to do)				
My present knowledge portfolio				
My necessary portfolio				
My knowledge needs for the necessary portfolio				
All Available Programmes				
All My Programmes/Modules				
My Actual Programme				
My Actual Module				
My Actual Level				
All My Exercises/Tasks				
My Actual Task/Exercise				

#### **ICT structure of the web-based e-learning Personal Portfolio**

The individual participants, potential young entrepreneurs form their own web-based Personal Portfolio where they can register, collect, follow, monitor their attained skills, competences, and capabilities; use their learning modules, units, step by step, at their own pace. Their personal development, improvement of skills can be assessed at several levels. Communication with tutors and experienced entrepreneurs will be available.

Components	Content
<b>Diagnostic Tools</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Presentation of content in brief</li> <li>▪ Self-assessment of business development needs</li> </ul>
<b>Introductory Content</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Initial introduction to the module</li> <li>▪ Aims, notes, motivation of reader</li> </ul>
<b>Descriptive Content</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Structured in text units “screens”</li> <li>▪ Lines to other levels</li> <li>▪ Lines to neighbour levels</li> <li>▪ Illustrations: tables, pictures, graphs</li> <li>▪ SW support, introduction into SW tools</li> <li>▪ Summaries and practical recommendations</li> </ul>
<b>Case Studies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Best practices</li> </ul>
<b>Evaluation and Assessment</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Questions and tasks</li> <li>▪ Self-examination and self-evaluation</li> </ul>
<b>Useful Resources</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ List of other sources of information (web links, study literature, books, advisory services, institutional services, etc.)</li> </ul>
<b>Next Steps</b>	<b>What to do next</b> <b>How and where to get help</b>

**General structure of module in Personal Portfolio**

## Questionnaire

Basically, current level of user’s knowledge of chosen topic/s has to be determined by questionnaire. Checking process shouldn’t be complicated by any way, e.g. from technical point of view. Except this, more aspects should be involved in questionnaire.

There are three dimensions of questionnaire, which have to be discussed before the project starts. These are “simple English; experience with study (not with self-study; motivation (learning by doing)”. Process of questionnaires elaboration has to respect these three dimensions with respect to their extent and importance in YET.



View	Motivation	Examples of realisation
<b>Simple English</b>	Main goal of project is to transfers new knowledge to users. English is essential for study, but mostly it is not maternal language of expected users. The communication should be in understandable, simple English.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Short sentences</li> <li>• Unified terminology</li> </ul>
<b>Experience with study</b>	Some experiences with study are required from users (not with self study)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intuitive communication interface of educational system</li> </ul>
<b>Motivation</b>	Motivation (not only for questionnaire fulfilment) is essential part of study. Motivation elements have to be in all materials for users.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Compliments after successful response from user</li> <li>• Sensitive access to unsuccessful user</li> <li>• Understandable help for fulfilment</li> <li>• Graphical help with full filling (schemes, graphs)</li> </ul>

Questionnaire analysis and processing allow improving ex-ante identified training needs and type of practices where help is needed. The other aspect is the feedback, which is obtained by the questionnaire. The initial and final level of knowledge can be easily compared.

## Conclusions

The YET personal portfolio system enables learners to be in control of their learning experience in this Personal and Experiential approach. The learner is encouraged to acquire knowledge and then share that knowledge with other learners and mentors. A self-help, self-learning programme of several modules, subjects, units, extensive information, exercises, and tools: Comprehensive step-by-step programme for getting up-to-date, competent, skilled, enabled, empowered, etc. Positive examples of successful entrepreneurs, their website and periodicals info to motivate learners. The Roadmap to Entrepreneurs' Success will encourage and motivate people to manage their own lives.

Questionnaires quality is key factor of success of project YET. There were suggested three aspects of future questionnaire in the article, and authors want to increase discussion about it and get new ideas for their work on project.

## References

Project YET internal materials

## Dedication

**This project is financially supported by the European Union. The content of this project does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the European Union who assumes no liability.**

# **Sustainable Rural Development - How does it Affect Rural Societies in Europe and the Third World?**

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## **Key words**

sustainable rural development; Europe; Third World; globalisation

## **Abstract**

The idea of sustainable development is spread through policy programmes at global, national and local levels. Unclear is how the guiding idea affects the ongoing changes in rural societies, economies and policies, how far it helps to tackle global problems of environmental destruction and poverty, how far it leads towards unifying development trends or towards new separation and splitting in the development process. This paper analyses and compares rural development trends in the global macro-regions “Europe” and “Third World”. To illustrate the reflection empirical cases and examples from European, Asian and African countries are used. With the general typology overall trends in rural development and in rural policies in Europe and the Third World should be summarised. A global diagnosis for the Third World used here is that of rural development as still strongly influenced by sectoral policies for agricultural production because the majority of the population still lives in the countryside and rural livelihoods are directly dependent from agricultural production (in subsistence or other forms). In striking contrast the rural population in Europe is since long a minority and the main purpose of rural development is no longer food production. A comparison of the policies says more clearly for the European countries that most of these follow the model of “ecological modernization” which seems to express the smallest common denominator of joint interests of the European and Western countries. It is more difficult to identify the joint features of rural development in the South and an inherent model of sustainable development for developing countries – as a preliminary model that of “environmental democracy” is used.

## **Sustainable Rural development - How does it affect Rural Societies in Europe and the Third World?**

### **(1) Sustainable development as contested concept**

After 20 years of intensive international debate about sustainable development (SD) both in science and policy two obviously contradicting trends can be identified:

SD has not been clearly defined after the vague and wide idea given in the Brundtland report (of maintaining the undiminished natural resource base of the earth to the following generations), but has splintered in many different scientific and normative interpretations.

Simultaneously SD had an astonishing career in national and international policies and advanced to a guiding idea worldwide, in global, national and sub-national policies.

SD has been translated into policy and resource management programmes, also such for rural development, and it has become the unifying concept in the less specific policy concept of “integrated rural development” that has been revitalised in European rural policies since the 1990s. SD, a contested concept, has gone into practice without having gone through rigorous scientific reflection and criticism. It is still difficult to see how it has influenced rural areas and rural development processes.

#### **1.1 Sustainable development in the context of globalization**

Badly understood processes in large and complex systems and at global scales, such as SD and globalization, are described with generalized and de-contextualized scientific notions. There is an increasing use of abstract concepts in the interdisciplinary environmental discourses throughout the past decades – with “global change” as another “essentially contested concept” in search for the reality depicted in it. How are SD and globalization interrelated? Do they indicate countervailing or parallel trends? “... Is globalization a threat or a strong push towards a sustainable ‘world society’? It makes a difference to answer those questions within the frame of the sustainability discourse or within the globalization debate.” (Becker1999, 288).

Ill-defined as the notions are they grasp contradicting ideas and aspects of complex processes in present “world society” (one more contested concept):

SD is understood as the “maintenance of the natural resource base for the long-term survival of mankind”, but it is not only an environmentally targeted concept. A mainstream variant of SD has become to splinter the term in social, economic and environmental sustainability and assuming that the “three sustainabilities” imply contradicting aims.

Globalization is widely understood as accelerated economic process of building global markets and sharpening the competition between states, regions, firms, but also “knowledge producers” such as universities and research institutions. However, globalization is more than an economic process with such core components as deregulation, “maddening states” (Aretxaga 2003), and commercialisation. This “more” is more unclear in spite of some efforts to conceptualize cultural and political globalization or the dialectics of globalization in the notion of “globalization” (R. Robertson).

Both terms are not scientific concepts in the sense that one discipline provides theories or knowledge to define them, but they are inherently normative and transdisciplinary, the normative criteria interpreted differently by different users.

In this paper globalization is not discussed further, however, to sort out the connections to SD we understand it in a preliminary assumption as the context of SD, as a changing cultural, social, political, economic reality at global scale into which SD is entering as an additional complex man-made process which is shaped and limited by globalization. The relationship between both is methodologically seen as that between independent and dependent variables, without ascribing this interpretation a causal or explanatory value – at this level of complex processes it is impossible to formulate causal relations.

A conventional way to work with such notions is to specify them via interpretation and definition and then operationalize them through a set of indicators that should allow to measure progress towards the goals (Parris & Kates 2003). Complex as both processes are, such methodological treatment is, however, difficult for SD or globalization:

The notions are not readymade concepts but abbreviations for ongoing discourses and the discourses do not allow for rapid consensus about definitions. SD and globalization are “moving targets” that can be understood better as bridge- or platform-concepts or bearers of an ongoing discourse (between scientific, political and other stakeholders) in which several variants and interpretations compete with each other at every point in time and place in the discourse.

Is the definition of the concepts difficult because of their discourse quality then it is also difficult to formulate indicators. With different interpretations and different interests linked with them, indicators are constructed differently. They do not measure the same process in a methodologically controlled triangulation but different phenomena – reality falls apart in multiple actor-related subjective realities (Mol 1999). For SD there has been counted already twelve main indicators systems (Parris & Kates 2003) and more are certainly in use.

With all such difficulties to make the concepts applicable they work in practice and minimal consensus is achieved – more through political debates than scientific ones. SD as a transdisciplinary concept takes up components from different scientific disciplines and from political discourses – it can support a global discourse and in practice it means to identify local, ecologically and socio-culturally specific development trajectories. Today it is easier to understand SD as maintaining (or restoring) cultural and biological diversity than in the earlier years of the debate when the imperative of “maintaining the global resource base for future generations” has not yet been specified.

There are several disciplinary-bound critical interpretations of the term of SD. Rural geographers have, for some time, intensively discussed the concept and already passed the point where the idea “beyond sustainability” is emerging (Sneddon 2000; Roche 2002). It is more difficult to identify a sociological tradition of understanding SD, which can be found for example in environmental sociology (Brand 1997; Buttel 2000). A rather intensive discussion and interpretation of the term happened in economics (Rao 2000, 67ff), also about the interdisciplinary integration of ecology and economics, with SD meaning the “non-depletion of natural capital” (H. Daly et al.), not differing much from the Brundtland-report formulation. In all debates it is intuitively clear, although not always clearly outspoken, that the resources or the natural capital, which need to be maintained, are found in rural areas mainly. Although the growth and concentration of population worldwide happens more and more in urban and metropolitan areas the resource base for the survival of humans is in rural areas.

Turning from the definition of the concept to its “political operationalization” a debate about strong or weak sustainability has unfolded in trials to model the transition processes towards sustainability. The difference is whether change of livelihood and consumption styles is understood radically in the short run or as a long and complicated process of social,

economic, institutional change. In the early debates during the 1990s several variants of more system-conforming or more transformatory variants have been sorted out (Moffatt 1996; O'Riordain & Voisey 1998). Regarding models and strategies for a transition to sustainability, SD can be specified in contrasting strategies such as ecological modernisation (Spaargaren & Mol 1992; Hajer 1995; Mol 1996; Spaargaren, Mol, Buttel 2000; Buttel 2000; Berger et al., 2001; Buttel 2003; York & Rosa 2003; Mol & Spaargaren 2005) or systems transformation (for which it is difficult to find state descriptions above local levels). Ecological modernisation has developed as the strategy formulated in and for the industrialized countries on their way to a post-industrial development that tries to reconcile the dominant economic growth model with environmental sustainability. A strategy that can be understood more as linked with the idea of transformation instead of another modernizing adaptation of the industrial system emerges through the ecological research about the sustainable management of common pool resources in local case studies. The socio-ecological research with such ecological concepts is looking at practices of use or management of natural resources and collecting examples from case studies in many countries, cultures and historical epochs (Becker & Ostrom 1995; McCay 1995; Ostrom 1999; Agrawal 2003).

With alternative interpretations of "conservative" and "radical" paths of SD that Davidson presents (2000, 29) the requirement of political choice is indicated, and at this points the debates tend to end presently. The vision of SD is handed over to political and economic actors to be realised through policy programmes and development projects. When this is the decisive step in politically operationalizing SD, the realization of the visions and goals is in the hands of the established powerful actors in the "development business", the "project class" (I. Kovach) as it has been called with regard to the European Unions rural development programmes, or the international coalitions of governmental and non-governmental donor agencies, their field staff, the target groups of rural development projects and the economic firms profiting from the projects.

The operational processes of SD have not been studied thoroughly so far. At this point we touch the presently ongoing European research project CORASON where sustainable rural development (SRD) is understood as "a knowledge-based set of practices of different rural actors" (CORASON-project: Tovey et al 2004). This formulation dissolves into the idea that SD is not a concept that can be defined once and for all, but needs to be operationally specified in two ways:

It is a platform concept that is interpreted differently, communicated and negotiated between actors in rural development. Whatever the diversity in understanding the concept by rural actors is, it can be assumed: the notion of SD serves as a platform in rural development discourses where different actors, scientific and political, can meet and bring their different views into the development discourse.

SD means a process that is organised in the temporal structures of projects as time-limited activities for managing development processes. It becomes a managerial process, although the convincing argument has been formulated already in ecological research that the "era of management is over" (D. Ludwig) and is followed by that what is called "adaptive management" of natural and rural resources.

Both the discourse and the project components of SRD are nothing new or surprising. The prior debate about SD illustrates well the functioning of the notion as discourse-driver. The implementation of SRD through rural development projects shows that conventional forms of process organisation are used as in rural development before – except that the projects for SRD have new objectives and become "laboratories and field projects for adaptive

management". One of the specific qualities of SRD-projects that has been identified in the research about the management of common pool resources is the requirement to change and broaden the knowledge base of rural development to include not only the powerful forms of scientific and managerial-bureaucratic knowledge of experts that hitherto dominated development projects, but the local knowledge of resource users and producers, be it local ecological knowledge or knowledge about traditional resource use practices. The question of the changing knowledge bases and practices in European rural development is a core question of the CORASON-project mentioned already. It is through such sociological or similar research that the actor-specific practices of knowledge use in rural development can be found - how actors interpret, apply and combine abstract terms such as sustainability with their knowledge about development.

To understand SD as a platform concept which allows different actors in an ongoing process to discuss, negotiate and fight about the understanding of the idea was also a way to come around the dead end of the early debate in the 1980s where the deterrent vagueness of the concept was the topic of critical discussion – as a concept for everyone, for the environmental movement and for the development business (as T. O’Riordain has formulated at that time). The point is not to deny that SD is vague, abstract, and serves irreconcilable interests, but to identify another creative role of it which follows from the diagnosis that the concept within several years has arrived at the top of political agendas and has inspired many actors to reformulate their ideas and interests, to participate in the process, or to change their knowledge and practice. The idea of a platform concept that develops along different interpretations in the practice of rural development may finally be linked with the diagnosis of differentiating functions of rural areas and different development trajectories at regional levels that has evolved since the 1990s catalysed by the discussions about integrated rural development and multifunctional agriculture. It seems important to add that this is not meant only as “territorial differentiation at local or regional levels or differences in local ecosystems”, but much more including socio-cultural (and political or ideological) differences and “knowledge fights” that result from the different interests and knowledge practices of rural actors. The understanding of SD as platform concept can help to identify and “map” practices of knowledge use by different actors and stakeholders.

## **1.2. The problems to be solved through sustainable development**

What is common ground in the controversial interpretations of SD? Among the main problems that should be solved or prevented through a transition towards sustainability are more environmental problems than poverty or inequality. Unclear is how the guiding idea affects the ongoing changes in rural societies, economies and policies, how far it helps to tackle global problems of environmental destruction and poverty, how far it leads towards unifying development trends or towards new separation and splitting in the development process. On the way towards sustainability in long transition processes the known problems of today will have to be solved in rural development. SD aims to prevent social and ecological problems as we have them today worldwide, but to come at such a - still utopian - state the practice of SRD is for a long time of several generations to work with the solution of the problems from prior industrial and economic development. In the European discourses about SRD it is more covered than uncovered under the strategy of ecological modernization that prevails in European policies that SRD means in practice: to create or recreate the conditions for the short term survival of the rural poor in the expectation that the many local resource management projects will also open paths to a more sustained survival not only for the present rural populations but for the future ones.

Whereas there is little doubt that the problems brought to the forefront with SD are environmental problems in multiple connections with other social and economic problems both in North and South, there is more controversy whether these environmental problems indicate the physical and ecological limits to economic growth as was formulated in the “Limits to growth” report of the Club of Rome in 1972. Until today the discussion about the reasons and causes of global problems in the SD-discourse is characterized by the cleavage of “lack of knowledge vs. lack of resources”, and it can be seen that the strategies for a transition to sustainability existing today in political discourses are constructed around mutually excluding problem diagnoses (see below).

### **Sustainable rural development – European and global sustainability discourses**

Rural development has been reformulated under visions of SD since the 1990s in European countries and worldwide, by governmental and non-governmental actors. The notion of SD is now widely spread and used in many national and international documents where its normative, operational and action-related components are specified in different ways. International strategies of sustainable development (Agenda 21, EU-policies) have been designed by using this guiding concept and national strategies. Much of the general debate about SD is repeated in rural development discourses and practices. The SD- and SRD-discourses cannot be strictly separated. They use the same ideas of locally specific and differentiated rural development that takes into account as well the properties of ecosystems as of social systems.

Interdisciplinary research about natural resource management of the kind mentioned already with the examples of research about common pool resources is closer to SRD than the general discourse about SD. A general trend in science during the past decades is towards interdisciplinary approaches such as “sustainability science” or “integrating social and ecological systems” with a “human-in-ecosystem perspective” or “dwelling perspective” constructed by ecologists, ecological economists and anthropologists (Berkes, Colding, Folke 2003). An interdisciplinary sustainability science is presently at the beginning, with a terminology inspired by the new (non-equilibrium) ecology, following guiding ideas of “adaptive management”, with policies seen as experiments for resource management and with key concepts such as social and ecological resilience (Holling et al.) or “polycentric systems” with local management of natural resources as their core (Ostrom et al.). Such interdisciplinary approaches to SRD allow, in spite of their abstract terminology, for intercultural comparison and research where the socio-cultural varieties and the different knowledge use of rural actors can be taken into account and also the ecological concepts used support the ideas of local and regional differentiation of rural development. The socio-ecological research has developed in a practice of “illustrative operationalization” through case studies for local sustainable development and resource management in many countries, cultures and historical epochs. However, the actor-specific practices of knowledge use in rural development - how actors interpret, apply and combine abstract terms such as sustainability with their knowledge about development – are still not analysed in scrutinized forms in this research as has been formulated above. For that reason further, more specific sociological research about rural development is required which may be guided by questions as the following ones: How do rural actors specify SD in the development process itself? How do different actors link their specific interests with the idea of SRD, and in doing so, what are actor-specific practices of knowledge use in SRD?

Interpreting SD does not necessarily mean to end with a single concept, strategy or a finally revealed “nature of sustainable development” in a universal concept. But also the other extreme is not necessary: understanding SD as a particularistic patchwork of many and

different, locally specific and culturally varying forms without similarities. It seems that a more open interpretation of SD as a platform concept and a pluralistic concept, with knowledge generation and application as its core problem in the search for improved transition strategies is more meaningful and important than a narrow view as policy programmes and their successful implementation, where the attainment of goals is only measured through conventional evaluation that never allows for such large time horizons as are to be taken into account in transitions toward sustainability.<sup>2</sup>

### **The European discourses about sustainable (rural) development**

Limiting the review of scientific discourses about sustainable (rural) development in Europe to more sociologically influenced ones since the early 1990s; one can identify the following ideas:

The debate “beyond modernisation” (van der Ploeg & van Dijk 1995) or the discourse about “endogenous and exogenous development” signalled the introduction of a SD-debate under the auspices of a crisis of the dominant modernization paradigm. From this debate remained the concept of endogenous development. It can be understood in the context of the larger SRD-discourse as a first step or trial to formulate another paradigm for rural development to grasp better the local reality and a perspective for long-term development. The idea of endogenous development reconciles with the socio-ecological resource research mentioned above in the ideas to mobilize local actors with their knowledge and capacities. But for reasons that will not be followed further here, it has not become the mainstream paradigm for SRD. Already in the debates of the mid-1990s the critical conclusion was formulated to go beyond the exogenous-endogenous dichotomy of rural development.

Ecological modernisation (EM) emerged, after the precedence of policy scientists in the 1980s (M. Jänicke), as a concept elaborated by sociologists (Spaargaren and Mol 1992, Hajer 1995). It advanced quickly to a mainstream idea and guiding policy concept to specify a development path towards sustainability, although the idea remained a multifaceted one (Buttel 2000). In difference to the endogenous development concept it was explicitly tried with EM to formulate a strategy for SD, a political strategy of reform and adaptive change that made it easy for – governmental – actors to adopt the strategy and implanting it in national environmental policies. Furthermore, the EM-concept is not a specific rural development concept it was only later on widened to include consumer and rural development aspects; it was a concept starting from the industrial sectors – and it is constructed from the history and situation in the European countries that have stuck in a dead end of industrialization. The challenge was to find ways out of that situation but simultaneously keeping the advantages or welfare gains of modernization and industrialization. That EM was consciously formulated by its sociological advocates as a “reformist” political concept to combat the radical parts of European environmental movements seems more a side-product which finally has not become effective in combating the radical environmentalism in Europe but more in blocking the unfolding of other paradigms of SD from the developing countries. The theoretical reflection about EM has been guided by the idea that this concept and SD form two conceptual frameworks underlying environmental policy making in industrialised countries (Berger, Flynn, Frances, Hines, Johns 2001). An explicit effort to formulate the framework of EM for the more specific purposes of rural development was done by Frouws and Mol (1997).

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<sup>2</sup> A “pluralistic” understanding of SD would allow as well for the formulation of universalistic components (such as in the guiding idea of maintaining the natural resource base and ecosystem functions), as culturally and locally specific components (such different cultural traditions and local practices of agriculture).



After 2000 historically specified models for rural development have been discussed in the trial to grasp the changing nature of European rural development more systematically with historically specified conceptual models. Marsden (2003) presented a sequence of three models guiding policies and rural development processes: the agro-industrial model, the post-productivist model and the rural development model which can be seen as the most recent, most unclear and most wishful one, but with this one the idea of SD breaks through. The changes in rural development under way with the guiding idea of SRD can be understood as “differentiation”. The agro-industrial model represents the out-phasing debate of the post-war rural modernisation thinking with priority on increasing food production that has come into crisis with the discussion about environmental impacts of agriculture since the late 1970s.<sup>3</sup> The post-productivist model covers a new phase of European rural development since the 1990s and it has already been commented as the “new orthodoxy” (Evans, Morris, Winter, 2002).<sup>4</sup> This model is influenced by the parallel SD-discourse and is now confronted with a new, not yet elaborated model of rural development with some vague and guiding ideas of what European rural development might be in future, when answers to the requirements of sustainable development have to be found more consequently than in the post-productivist model that did not help to solve the problems resulting from agro-industrial production with its shift towards consumers perspectives and environmentalism. The new model for rural development has agro-ecology as focus and ecological modernisation as a wider framework and is suggested as “evaluation paradigm for rural sustainability”. In spite of their different ages the three models do not exactly reflect the changes in the rural development processes, only that in guiding ideas, organising principles of agricultural and food production, and common trends in (European) rural development.<sup>5</sup> With all three models agriculture is in view, although in the last one from a perspective of diversified rural economy in which agriculture needs to find its future roles. It is this last model which adopts a more “holistic” view of rural development as this is unfolding in the concept of rural livelihood (one of the components of the model). The models can be understood as ideal types that co-exist and are combined in different forms in the rural development process in different countries in manifold variations and combinations and can also be linked with other conceptual models from the SD-discourse.

Another “hybrid” sub-discourse about development of rural areas after the end of “productivism” is the more sector-specific debate about agricultural development that has been going on in policy and science under the heading of “multifunctional agriculture”. The MFA-discourse ongoing in rural sociology since the 1990s had a fast political success after 2000 when the term, with all its splintering ideas, became a guiding concept for the reform of CAP. The discussion about MFA, in the practice of agricultural and rural development linked with the agri-environmental policy programmes from the EU-CAP reforms since 1992

<sup>3</sup> In Marsden 2003, the agro-industrial model is of importance not mainly because of its content but because of its negative or “unsustainable” consequences – although agriculture is in focus here and rural space defined as agricultural space, it contributes to the marginalisation of agriculture through decreasing value of primary production (with all its capital intensity and increasing quantities of production) and it has raised growing concern about food quality and the environmental effects of modern agriculture.

<sup>4</sup> Marsden (2003, p. 93) describes the post-productivist model as following another logic of marginalisation and centralisation of rural space and people: marginalising the agricultural productive sphere and food supply chains, where the farm appears as “dirty and criminal place”, whereas nature and the agricultural landscape become a preferred good for the consumer, because of its attractiveness and aesthetic value – the consumer perspective dominates agriculture.

<sup>5</sup> The models for rural development are formulated with the help of knowledge from certain countries or cases and therefore they are never free of particularities. There are problems to apply the models in all European countries, especially in Southern and Eastern Europe. They can be applied when they are modified or only be seen as grasping “partial reality”.

onwards, can be read today as mapping of quite different national discourses about the future of agriculture in search for new roles beyond food production, but also as a step-by-step retrieval of societal functions and services of agriculture that have been lost during modernization and specialisation. That connects well with the objectives of SRD where agricultural producers are also seen as stewards of the rural landscape and the natural resources.

More as an appendix to the sociological and economic discourses happened the construction of indicators for rural development (Parris & Kates 2003), of minor importance for clearing the concept or its operationalization because it replicated the multiplicity and variety of SD-variants. The most prominent of these indicators, and still a methodologically contested one, has become the ecological footprint indicator as a measure to redefine progress in development – in similar way as the “human development index” of UNDP (which itself can be understood as an indicator for social sustainability) has been constructed to allow for a better measurement of progress in development. The ecological footprint is a measure of humanity’s use or overuse of renewable natural resources. WWF (2002) has presented calculations for every country and for the global ecological footprint. These calculations try to make visible how the progress in agricultural production and economic development (that made possible to feed three billion more people on the planet in the past decades) has “swallowed” most of the natural resource base of regenerative, biologically productive resources of the earth (see WWF 2002, 2). Several institutions, for instance the EU have contributed to the indicator discussion and from the Directorate General for Agriculture of the European Commission (EC 2001) a framework for the social and economic dimensions of SRD has been elaborated.

Simultaneously with the scientific discourses, linked and mixed with these, political discussions about sustainable development can be identified through which the transfer of the concept of SD in policy programmes was prepared and carried out:

The Cork Declaration in 1996 highlighting a consensus between governmental and nongovernmental actors in European rural policies about the paradigm of integrated rural development was a major step towards the ideas that catalysed SRD although not necessarily being synonymous with it – the importance of non-governmental actors, decentralization and regionalization of resource management, participation of stakeholders, rural diversity, multifunctionality and integration of rural development.

Adoption of the “ecological modernisation”-debate in the policy processes at national levels happened, for example, with the ecological debates about “factor 4/factor 10”, the measurement of ecological footprints, and studies that tried to specify national transition processes towards sustainability in such reports as “Sustainable Netherlands” or “Sustainable Germany”.

Adoption of the MFA-debate in the rural policy processes happened with the Agenda 2000-reforms in the EUs rural development policies where integrated rural development came to be a guiding idea. The MFA-debate was not only a European one, included at least all Western countries of the OECD-club (the OECD had initiated the debate before the EU), but should also be a model for non-European countries. However, it stuck in the policy discourses of the OECD countries where it remained for a certain – not yet ended – time the concept with which the EU tried to formulate its rural policies under the auspices of the gradual opening of agricultural markets and in competition with the USA. The MFA-discourse can today be understood as rediscovering an agriculture that (in the specific industrial country context of going “beyond modernization”) with functions and services that it had formerly, before agricultural modernization in European countries, and that match also with the multiple

functions that small-scale agricultural livelihood systems still have in many parts of the developing world.

The European environmental movements with their intellectual and rural wings have participated in the scientific as well as the political discourses about SD, and contributions that show their specificities can, for example be found in such methodologies and strategies as the ecological footprint measurement mentioned above (WWF 2002)<sup>6</sup>, or in their contributions to a “new governance” debate in the broader discussion of global governance (Brand et al. 2000).

What can be seen in the European scientific and political discourses about sustainable rural development is the dominant model of sustainable development as EM which is today incorporated in most national policies and strategies of European countries, with a rather industry- and technology-oriented view of SD, driven by innovation policies, although the political rhetoric of regional differentiation, participation of stakeholders and local management approaches is not missing in that discourse. As far as EM tends to become reformulated in socio-ecological terms (as happens with the more recent contributions of Mol & Spaargaren 2005) it is approaching the perspectives of socio-ecological research about common pool resources that has catalyzed such local and participatory management thinking. However, the dominant political strategies of EM echo still the earlier variants. Among the European countries that have started early policies for ecological modernization of the national economies count the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden and Norway, outside Europe Japan (Baxter 1999, 201). Although EM is not very often described as a model for rural development (Frouws & Mol 1997), this was not absent in the EM-thinking. EM follows an industrialist logic where agriculture and rural economy were seen only as the minor part of national economies as which they appear in the European GNP-statistics, not with regard to the natural resource base.

### **The global discourses about sustainable (rural) development**

In the global sustainability discourses, both scientific and political, often Western institutions and associations speak for the joint interests of the global community. One of the important steps of interpretation of the concept of sustainable development that happened shortly after its popularization through the Brundtland report, but initiated through that, is the interpretation as a pluri-dimensional concept including as well environmental as economic and social - or more - dimensions and that each of these implies different criteria and objectives, so that a problem of “co-optimizing” a contradicting goal-set appears.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of the ecological footprint was originally formulated by Mathis Wackernagel based on prior work of William Rees (see Wackernagel and Rees 1996), although the idea was in quite similar form also found under the metaphorical notion of “ghost areas” in the writings of Georg Borgström (1971, 18).

<sup>7</sup> In the 1990s it was especially the Environmental Department of the World Bank from which the pluri-dimensional concept of sustainable development was spread, with the “magic triangle” of achieving three sets of objectives under the overarching concept of sustainable development, 1) economic objectives (growth, equity, efficiency), 2) social objectives (empowerment, participation, social mobility, social cohesion, institutional development), 3) ecological objectives (ecosystem integrity, carrying capacity, biodiversity, global issues) – see, for instance, Serageldin & Steer 1994. This idea was taken over by the EU and is today, after the Johannesburg summit, the mainstream model. Its methodological implications as such requiring transdisciplinary cooperation have also been discussed rather early. “Since sustainability is a function of various economic, environmental, ecological, social and physical goals and criteria, analyses must involve tradeoffs among multiple criteria in a multi-disciplinary and multi-participatory decision-making process. No single discipline, profession or interest group has the knowledge to make these tradeoffs. Appropriate tradeoffs can only be determined through a political process involving all interested and impacted stakeholders.” (Simonovic et al. 1997, 233f).

Theoretically seen this is not an unknown problem and has been discussed sufficiently before in economics, organization and management science as a problem of multi-criteria decision - making, with solutions sought through quantification of goals in combinations where each of the goal-sets is limited to a “tolerable degree” by the others. Whereas such formalized solutions may sufficiently work with regard to less complex organizational goals they do not seem to work with the very complexity of such large or universal goals as that of sustainable development that should finally include all presently living people. It seems unavoidable to come to the conclusion that there is not one standard formula and solution but sustainability needs to have many different forms that still can be seen as sustainable. The discussion seems to have stuck in the unavoidable debate of primacy of objectives under the principles of sustainable development – has environmental or social sustainability priority, which of the goal sets can be reduced without endangering the others or the whole goal-set?

Still less than at European level there are purely scientific discourses about SRD to be found at international and global levels. Most of the debates and concepts are “hybrid”, with scientific input directly formulated for and addressed to the specific practices of rural policies, resource management and rural development. It is difficult to reconstruct SRD-discourses for the so-called developing countries, not only because of their cultural and social differences, but also because of the blending of this discourse with the discourse of global development players (both GOs such as the World Bank or NGOs). We follow here the easier way to identify from a global development discourse components that were specifically targeted or formulated for rural development in the South.

Development anthropology and anthropologically informed action research in international development cooperation have since the 1980s worked with ideas, methodologies and strategies for rural development that finally became part of the mainstream of SRD. Well-known examples for that are the methodologies called “Rapid Rural Appraisal” or later “Participatory Rural Appraisal” (PRA) in rural development research and practice (linked with the International Institute for Environment and Development in London and the names of Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway). The PRA is not only a methodology to collect data in rural development projects, but an approach to bring into the process the local knowledge of rural populations and producers and to empower marginalized groups. Later on this was adopted for rural development in European countries too, linked with the research on common pool resources and the hitherto neglected resource of local knowledge for rural development.

During the 1990s the transdisciplinary conceptual framework of sustainable rural livelihoods has been formulated – as a “second generation” action research methodology that succeeded the PRA-debate. This was done with the active participation of the main authors that earlier had elaborated the PRA methodology. “A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.” (Murray, 2001, 6) What the practically felt necessity to formulate a new and broader concept than that of PRA means for rural development can be understood partially from the situation in international development cooperation since the 1980s, especially the lack of success of the big development objectives that have motivated effort to cooperation earlier. The “take off” for successful economic development happened in exceptional cases only and the problems of rural areas with marginalized and poor population majorities remained. With concepts such as sustainable rural livelihoods the combating of poverty and creating of welfare was refocused – and reduced – from an economic goal to a subsistence goal in ecological terms where no longer income generation

and access to markets or building private property systems have primacy but the survival under deteriorating economic and ecological conditions.

After 2000 the harvest from former, more conceptual, theoretical and academic debates about a new environmentally sound economic order in ecological economics (Georgescu-Roegen and Daly) has happened in the popularization of concepts and approaches of economic thinking addressed to the practitioners of environmental movements and sustainable development. This happened under the notion of “eco-economy” and the construction of ecological indicators such as the ecological footprint. The core idea of the prior scientific debates was to show the dependence of economy from the natural resource base, and this was now communicated to a broader political audience. “The economic policies that have yielded the extraordinary growth in the world economy are the same ones that are destroying its support systems. By any conceivable ecological yardstick, these are failed policies. Mismanagement is destroying forests, rangelands, fisheries, and croplands – the four ecosystems that supply our food and, except for minerals, all our raw materials as well.” (Brown 2001, 7).

“Agro-ecology” studying the interactions between plants, animals, humans and the environment in agricultural systems has developed as an interdisciplinary science which influenced the sustainability debate with the critical analysis of productivist agriculture. “The first Green Revolution was achieved primarily through the development and application of technology. Whilst successful in terms of food production, serious questions have been raised concerning the impact of these agricultural practices on the health of the cultivated land ... Conway ... argued that a second Green Revolution is required, which is even more productive than the first Green Revolution and even more ‘green’ in terms of conserving natural resources and the environment. In addition to the productive and environmental aspects, the social and economic dimensions of agricultural systems must therefore also be considered.” (Dalgaard et al., 2002, 48f).

The global policy discourses about SD, although showing higher priorities for agriculture and rural development, have been dominated by international institutions and global players that do not necessarily give voice to the common interests of the developing countries and their rural populations. Global SRD-policies have been formulated as part of encompassing programmes from which two are important today:

The “Agenda 21” programme for global sustainable development in the 21st century that was adopted in consensus between governmental and non-governmental actors in the UNCED-conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (with its follow-up programmes through the Johannesburg Summit in 2002) and the “Millenium Development Goals” by the UN in 2000 that brought to the forefront of development cooperation more clearly new efforts to combat the still unsolved problems of poverty, health, education and gender equality.

These overarching goals and action frameworks are connected with more specific approaches supporting SRD such as the adoption of the SRL-framework in international development cooperation rather quickly after its formulation in the 1990s and the spreading of such approaches as that for sustainable agriculture and rural development (SARD) formulated by the Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO).

The environmental movements in the South have found their roles in supporting local initiatives and paradigmatic grassroots projects for SRD, as, for example in India, with many such movements and NGOs. A more active discussion and formulation of another strategy to SRD to counter the dominant Northern model of EM have not yet happened.

The Southern debate about SRD is more focussed on the guiding ideas of global equity, development as instrument to improve that what is called “human development” now (with education, health and well-being, poverty reduction as core components (UNDP 2005). There is no – not yet – a dominant model of how to interpret SD that finds consensus among the actors and organizations in developing countries. The practices are more splintered and incoherent than in Europe, but there can at least be seen an emerging trend towards the formulation of a paradigm that contrasts in important aspects to that of EM: SD as “environmental democracy” summarizes much of the oppressed interests and unrealized development aspirations of the poor and the rural poor, although both models as applied in the policy processes use the similar rhetoric of participation and local interests. In the channelling of guiding ideas for the purpose of formulation of political strategies there happens a reduction to two contrasting and competing paradigms (as elaborated below), which also levels out the differences found in the scientific interpretations of SD. The more important variants of SD found from the European and global discourses are formulated in the following typology (box 1).

Box 1: Typology of sustainable development/sustainable rural development in the European and global discourses

1. SD related to societal structures and subsystems (economy and polity – macroscopic approaches, changing of formal or “hard” institutions):

1.1 Trans-disciplinary and pluri-dimensional approaches: achieving simultaneously different and competing goals (social, economic, ecological sustainability)

1.2 The extension of disciplinary into interdisciplinary concepts - economics of SD: natural, economic, human, cultural, social capital to be maintained and developed (the economic terminology is also applied in other variants, e.g. in the sustainable livelihood framework)

1.3 The translation of scientific into political concepts – a political-institutional perspective: transforming political and economic institutions that influence rural development (weak, strong sustainability)

2. SD related to changes in thinking, knowledge, behaviour (of persons and actors – “soft institutional change”):

2.1 Ethical interpretations of SD: intra- and intergenerational solidarity and new principles of distribution and use of natural resources (not to destroy diversity of natural and cultural life: Brundtland Report and Agenda 21; “ethics of being part of nature”; “sufficiency”)

2.2 Changing lifeworlds, livelihoods and cultures of resource use: livelihood changes, sustainable livelihood systems of individuals, households, communities and groups (including production and consumption; see the conceptual “sustainable livelihood framework”)

2.3 Scientifically based learning and paradigm change: “mode 2”, “sustainability science”; “adaptive management”

3. SD related to agriculture and rural areas:

3.1 Learning from traditional rural and peasant knowledge about agriculture and resource management for the maintenance of agro-biodiversity (traditional agriculture, small scale agriculture, extensive agriculture, low external input agriculture)

3.2 Sustainable agriculture as organic farming

3.3 “Multifunctional agriculture” and rural development: maintaining agro-ecosystems and agro-biodiversity through landscape-, biotope-, habitat- and species management;

maintaining socio-cultural diversity and rural communities through governmental support programmes, capacity building, participation and self-management etc.

Sources: Own enquiries – CORASON-project; O’Riordain & Voisey 1998; Rao 2000; Gundersen & Holling 2002; Berkes, Colding, Folke 2003

Linked with the sustainability discourses in science and politics, but not at their core further debates and concomitant discourses are going on that finally may reveal more of the latent and deeply rooted problems and conflicts to be resolved on the way towards sustainability. We mention only two more important of them without following these in the paper:

There is a significant theoretical and political-economic debate about the status of the principles and policies of SD for structural changes of the global and economic order and the world system (Altvater 1992; Hopkins and Wallerstein 1996; Wallerstein 2000). Such reflections may be of importance to countervail the inclinations to remain superficial with regard to scientific knowledge and only normative in interpreting SD.

There is a significant debate about environmental conflicts, risks and security that is notoriously kept out of the broader SD-discourse in the illusion that SD is not guided by conflicts but by joint interests and cooperation. This security discourse (WWI 2005) resulted in trials to reformulate a global security concept.<sup>8</sup>

Sustainable rural development - still the North and the South?

### 3.1 Summarising an unlimited debate

In one of the rare trials to summarise and systematise the global discourse about SD for its progress and the more specific interpretations and conceptual models found within it (Lee, Holland, McNeill 2000), the following diagnosis resulted from the inspection of the debate around the turn of the millennium: The debate goes “beneath the simplifying dichotomies of ‘North’ and ‘South’, ‘developed’ and ‘developing’, and find elements that at least give grounds for hope. A current theme is the contrast between different approaches to realising the objective. One may be called the prevailing vision, variously referred to ... as ‘ecological modernisation’, ‘global eco-liberalism’ or, simply, ‘global development’. This assumes the operation of the global market economy and seeks means of accommodating environmental objectives within that framework. It tends to be managerial in style, to favour command and control instruments, and to take an instrumental view of environmental assets. On the other hand, we also glimpse a variety of alternative visions that emanate from and find response among more marginalised peoples. These tend to involve decentralised, unmanaged approaches that present a challenge to existing institutions of property and power.” (Lee, Holland, McNeill 2000, 2)

The diagnosis is both clearing and disappointing – beyond the emerging models of interpreting SD comes forward again the cleavage between the powerful and the powerless or

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<sup>8</sup> “The concept of environmental security invites a departure from the increasingly obsolete concept of security being attained by states safeguarding their sovereignty over defined territory and populations, and managing the threats posed by other states in the international system. Environmental threats lack the intentionality and often territorial elements of this view ... ‘Common security’ is an alternative concept, which relies less on potential sanction and more on promoting security through trust and cooperation amongst states, based on a recognition of interdependence and a commitment to joint survival ... It recognizes differential state responsibilities and transboundary interdependence. In 1995, the Commission on Global Governance expanded the concept of common security not just of states, but also of all people and the planet, with a central role for the United Nations. It emphasized the need to prevent the development of crises and threats to security, and the need to maintain the integrity of the environment and the planet’s life support systems ...” (J. Sutherland in: Fry & O’Hagan, 2000, 187).

marginalised, the rich and the poor, the industrialised and the non-industrialised, the North and the South in one or the other way – and this is where the debate is stuck at this time, under the auspices of an accelerating economic globalisation. Whether this reflects realism or lack of progress in the discourse and in the development processes themselves needs to be discussed further.

The important - not always clearly outspoken - conclusion from the global development discourse is that of dissolving the dichotomy of developed/industrialised and developing/non-industrialised countries in the debates in the second half of 20th century. The new discrepancies in global development emerging in the globalization process are such of patchy patterns of regionally splintered development, simply said: the simultaneous existence of developed and marginalized regions and groups everywhere, in every country or region. For the discussion of sustainable development the questions is: Has it broadened the chances not only for the long-term survival of mankind, but also the chances to combat the present problems of population growth, poverty, unequal access to natural resources, resource degradation, famine? Whereas the theoretical variants to interpret SD seem still manifold as table 1 can show, the question of the politically realized variants does not give that impression of the breadth of the sustainability spectrum and plurality of development paths possible. There may be manifold and creative “sustainable solution” for local rural development that are framed in projects, but these have to struggle for success and durability at local level, do not merge into a concerted action at regional and national or international levels. What blocks their long-term success is the simultaneously ongoing accelerated process of conventional economic development and late industrialisation in many countries.

In the policies practiced through programmes and development projects only two basic strategies are left that exclude each other and can be defended with different arguments about the problems and the environmental disruption only. These two strategies are reconstructed in appendix 1 as conceptual models or ideal types of ecological modernisation and environmental democracy, using the terms from Lee, Holland, McNeill 2000. Their contrasting logics of reasoning seem to reveal much of the older picture of a global cleavage between industrial and the developing countries. The construction of strategies of transition as ideal types highlights the core-ideas in one-sided views. The closeness to historical and empirical reality needs to be discussed critically for every construction when applied in the study of cases or countries.

How is this dichotomy of a top-down and bottom-up strategy for sustainable development corresponding the empirical knowledge and data about rural development from different regions of the world and from the statistical indicators of progress towards sustainable development that are meanwhile available? To decide about the practical use of the ideal types we discuss them in the following part with regard to – again simplified – descriptions of problems, principles and practices in the transition towards sustainability that we summarize for four global macro-regions in the Northern and Southern hemisphere (see below). We argue that with these four examples the global spectrum of basic differences in the present situation regarding the transition towards sustainability can be described.

With regard to the logic of construction of the conceptual models not much needs to be said here (where the discussion is not about the epistemology of such conceptual models). The ideal types formulated are much more detailed, systematic and complete than in the state they can be filtered from the ongoing sustainability discourse. The conceptual models presented include aspects and components that are usually not spelled out in the formulation of the political strategies, for instance, the ethics, values and worldviews, knowledge bases. A more



systematic formulation of criteria should help to understand better their logic of thinking, although it may in some points tend to become redundant.

The models are mutually excluding from their construction as a top-down and bottom-up approaches. However, in practice it is difficult to reclaim specific criteria and ideas for one or the other of the models. They both use a large part of similar ideas that have come up with the SD-discourses, but the cleavage which runs through these global discourses is more resulting from the hitherto unresolved problems of development that now come again and in different form on the political agendas through the SD. One obvious weakness of the environmental democracy concept is that the systems transformation that is envisaged as the strategic goal of SD is conceived in normative terms and claims, hardly formulated with the help of a systems analysis of the global system. Such an analysis may nevertheless be implicit in the discourse, but there are only few trials to make it explicit (for example: Sachs 2000).

### 3.2 Sustainable rural development – progress and practice in Europe, Asia, Africa

How is sustainable rural development conceived of and practiced or implemented beyond the general discourses at the level of countries and regions? From the information about political programmes and rural development projects presently implemented we try to formulate a summarizing picture about trends and trajectories that sustainable rural development has taken in four large-scale areas we call “macro-regions”, Europe (synonymous with the European Union), Russia and Northern Asia (the territory of the Russian Federation), Asia (Central, South and East Asian countries, with focus on China and India) Africa (Sub-Saharan Countries).

For an analysis of the implementation and application of SD-principles in political programmes and resource management it is rather difficult to obtain a clear and more than superficial picture – in spite of the many data meanwhile compiled about the state of ecosystems worldwide, the annual reports from the United Nations about the progress of human development in all countries (UNDP 2005), the annual progress reports towards sustainable society by the Worldwatch Institute (WWI 2005), global development trend reports (WWI 2003), the availability of monitoring reports on the progress of the formulation and implementation of national strategies by the UN (Commission for Sustainable Development: UN 2006) before and after the Johannesburg summit in 2002.

Even in the well coordinated, well-documented and well-investigated EU-countries the assessment of the impact of rural development policies creates more methodological problems than clear statements – at the end it is the data set documented in public statistics that limits the exactness and depth of analysis, and the results are derived from economic indicators of limited scope, about income changes mainly (van der Ploeg, Long, Banks 2002, 180 ff, 214 ff). Two difficulties need to be taken into account from the beginning:

There is no synchronisation of the SD-processes: different actors/institutions enter at different times with different ideas in the policy process.

There are differences in the interpretation and cultural valuation of the SD-principles, which express the vested interests in development.

Within the SD-discourse and the programmes prepared and implemented the controversy between the industrialized and the developing countries comes up until today. It was formulated in more crude words early in the international discourse: SD is “environmental colonialism” of the North. The industrial countries - having successfully completed their historical industrialization projects under tremendous destruction of natural and human capital - accepted depletion as the “price of welfare”. These countries are now depriving the

South from the “right to development”. The debate indicates that there are deeply rooted problems connected with the SD-policy that tend to be veiled in the construction of joint interest for survival and a common future. That industrialization is a “positional good” is a topic for more controversial debates to come.

The situation in which policies for SD and SRD are realized is characterized through the North-South cleavage as a new political tension and conflict line: The rich countries of the OECD have formulated their positions and policies and their governments have shown how they interpret SD and how far they are willing to go in a global policy of SD. Most of the OECD and EU-member states have adopted the strategy of EM that serves the vested interests of the private economy best. In the countries of the South there is less of a joint strategy of the governments and this makes their position, influence and interests weaker in the interpretation fights about SD that precede the formulation of strategies. There is not much guidance found today beyond the two conceptual models formulated above that are at different stages of elaboration, ED more incomplete and fragmented than EM.

**Table 1: Problems, principles and practice of sustainable rural development in four macro-regions**

Europe (European Union)	Russia (Eastern Europe/Northern Asia)
<p>Problems: The experience of modernized agriculture as an environmental polluter has since the early 1990s led to policy reforms of CAP where stepwise a strategy for sustainable rural development evolved from the agri-environmental measures; today the policy is formulated as one for integrated and sustainable rural development following the principles of EM. There is no strong social basis for SRD because the largest part of the population has no rural livelihood and income (few rural producers). SRD is to a large degree a politically administered process that is supported by parts of the urban and rural population (for different reasons) and by environmental movements. SRD according to the generic model of EM does not meet well the problems of rural areas in Southern Europe and in the new Central and Eastern European member states.</p> <p>Principles: The strategy of EM adopted to implement SD-goals gives priority to industry, transport and urban problems, not to SRD. SRD is dominated by the interests of an urbanized population (for consumption of the rural landscape, for recreation and dwelling, but not for productive use – also</p>	<p>Problems: The negative population growth is seen as a long-term threat to economic development. As one of the Eastern European “transition countries” Russia has experienced strong decline in agricultural production and social and economic degradation of rural areas after 1991, with growing poverty of rural population. The unclear policies with delayed privatization of land and lack of economic resources have blocked rural development and resulted in a late start of SRD-projects – there are hardly examples, although Russia has adopted a national strategy for SD already in 1996. There are presently weak driving forces for SRD (dominant interest is fast growth). To combat rural poverty is a main problem - for this purpose not SRD is the guiding idea, but a conventional understanding of modernization and development (to copy the modernization and development model of the West).</p> <p>Principles: The presuppositions of SRD have been identified (improving settlements, improving the quality of education, improving employment in agriculture, building of effective institutions, creating</p>

<p>rural areas are characterized by urbanized lifestyles and the vast majority of rural inhabitants are no longer producers). EM is improved and controlled with regard to ecological indicators, but does not (yet) address questions of distribution and sharing of resources between countries, with developing countries and their populations, or effective reduction of the over-consumption of resources in Western lifestyles (the ecological footprints for energy, water and forest use are especially high in European and Western countries).</p> <p>Practice/examples:</p> <p>The EU policy for integrated rural development that has been adopted in all member countries since the late 1990s (shifting from agricultural to MFA and rural development).</p> <p>The EU and national support for organic farming that has led in most member countries to a rapid growth of this sub sector since the 1990s.</p> <p>As national example: the Swedish policy for sustainable rural development with a system of national environmental objectives (to be achieved within 20 years).</p> <p>Local projects, networks and initiatives for rural development in form of non-governmental policies (supported by NGOs, environmental movements and local groups).</p>	<p>access to information, effective law, participation of stakeholders). Reduction of rural poverty is a main priority for rural development. As far as environmental problems are addressed, priorities are given to acute resource use and conservation problems (forestry conservation and water protection for lake Baikal). The SRD-strategy to be expected for the future seems to become the replication of the bad practice of the West (first give priority to economic development and growth at the price of neglecting the environment – environmental protection and SRD can come later on when the rural economy is rebuilt: then can follow the replication of the Western model of ecological modernization).</p> <p>Practice/examples:</p> <p>Projects and successful examples for local or regional SRD are widely lacking because of the many blocking factors for rural development. The weak environmental movements cannot convert the trend up to now.</p> <p>Some initiatives and progress in sustainable management and conservation of forests and forest biodiversity through international cooperation happened.</p> <p>Furthermore there are initiatives to protect the world greatest drinking water reserve (Lake Baikal).</p> <p>Cooperation started with Central Asian countries of the former Soviet Union to solve the problems of desertification and water use for agriculture.</p>
<p>Africa (Sub-Saharan Africa)</p> <p>Problems: The Sub-Saharan African countries depend more than any other region in the world on the natural resource base for rural development (two thirds of the population make their living directly from agriculture and other resource use). The region has one of the highest population growth rates. Deforestation is one of the most</p>	<p>Asia (Central, South, East Asia)</p> <p>Problems: The South and East Asian regions have the highest part of global population, of rural and poor population. Vulnerable rural ecosystems are found in many parts of rural areas, both because of natural or manmade reasons and high population density. Water more than land is a limiting factor of rural development. Rural poverty has been</p>

<p>pressing environmental problems (and happens mostly in areas with fast growing populations). Most countries depend on traditional biomass for national energy supply with health threats and air pollution in many areas (renewable energy and modern biomass are increasing but still marginal, as worldwide). AIDS epidemic and malaria is threatening the region most in comparison to others and undermining rural development. Income inequalities in Sub-Saharan Africa have increased during the past two decades and rural poverty is at the highest level worldwide. Rural populations live in many vulnerable ecosystems. National strategies for SD are hardly found. New local and rural energy services are highly important for rural areas to reduce the dependence on traditional biomass.</p> <p>Principles: Agricultural development strategies are of most importance for the rural areas (in terms of livelihood, income and employment). During the past decades a heterogeneity of strategies have been implemented that turned out one by one to be inefficient, also such directly addressing SRD-questions (as the “regional integration/food first” strategy supported by the EU). After the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s, SD is presently discussed to deliver a new strategy for integrated development, however not much progress happened.</p> <p>Practice/examples:</p> <p>The NEAP-movement of the 1990s</p> <p>Projects to reduce rural poverty have priority but limited success so far.</p> <p>Combat of deforestation and desertification has become a priority are after the Johannesburg summit, but progress can only be expected trough international cooperation.</p> <p>Not many new examples and projects for SRD: only principles and guiding ideas for future projects are presently discussed (e.g.: capacity building, community participation,</p>	<p>reduced in large parts of the region, especially in India and China. SD is presently focussing on the millennium development goals and the priorities for access to water, sanitation and development of human settlements (which reflects the trend towards urbanisation which will soon count higher populations than rural areas). Local rural energy services are of increasing importance for rural development. Clear and concerted principles, policies and subsequent model projects for SRD are lacking.</p> <p>Principles: Rural development is still highly influenced by agriculture and small agricultural producers. In many countries initiatives and projects for SRD exist since the 1990s, often initiated by NGOs in the South or their cooperation with Northern NGOs, but imbedded in the established policies for international development cooperation (as controlled by governmental and government-dependent agencies in the North and the global institutions). Priorities given to poverty reduction, have yielded some success already.</p> <p>Practice/examples:</p> <p>(Participatory) watershed management projects.</p> <p>(NGO-supported) projects to develop traditional/low external input agriculture.</p> <p>Projects to support small-scale rural producers (e.g. through micro-credit programmes).</p> <p>Rural development projects initiated and carried out by NGOs (especially in India)</p> <p>Projects to improve the situation of rural women.</p> <p>Micro-credit projects (Bangladesh).</p> <p>Flood control projects and river management (e.g. Bangladesh, China).</p> <p>Local projects to develop new energy sources in rural areas.</p>
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<p>strategic environmental planning, land and land tenure development).</p> <p>So far Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced the most extreme cases and consequences of non-sustainable development and livelihood conflicts (genocide in Ruanda, for example), but hardly SRD.</p>	
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*Sources: Own enquiries; WWF 2002; WWI 2003, 2005; UNDP 2005; UN 2006*

The comparison of the situation regarding the introduction of SRD in policies and rural development projects shows, with all inexactness and incompleteness of the information available, that the progress towards SRD is slow. Effects of such rural development projects are, beyond local levels and the level of individual projects, lacking in all four regions – for different reasons.

In Europe SRD is advancing slowly because of the neglect of rural areas in European national economies and the limited economic significance of these areas in GNP-terms. SRD is in the present phase mainly repair work and restoration of environmental damages that happened throughout modernization and conversion of agriculture towards organic farming or more moderate agri-environmental measures. Some SRD-strategies implemented earlier (e.g the agri-environmental schemes) have also contributed to non-intended effects of regional disparity (areas with intensive/others with environmentally sound agriculture). The adopted strategy of EM is the paradigmatic example of the expensive high-tech solution of the North, but knowledge and consensus is often not available for the purpose to adapt the strategy for rural areas. Widely unsolved are the questions for SRD that result from the adoption of the ecological footprint measurement: How to reduce the over-consumption of natural resources in most European countries?

In Russia SRD is blocked. It has not yet successfully started because of the stagnation of economic development in rural areas and the political/legislative difficulties in the transition phase after the end of the Soviet Union and delays in the building of a private economy and the privatization of land. It is rather clear from the diagnosis of the situation and from the present discussions that the coming policy of SRD will be part of a contradictory process of “first development and economic growth, then, after the accumulation of wealth, also care for the environment and eventually repair strategies following the EM-model”. Population reduction causes more problems for rural development presently than environmental problems. Lack or increasing shortage of natural resources (as in Asian and African countries) is in many rural areas not yet a pressing argument for SRD.

SRD is slowly advancing in Asian countries, although there are many local initiatives and projects found that keep the process alive. Their effects are “swallowed” by present population growth, accelerated economic growth and industrialization, especially in China where industrial pollution has now forced the government to give priority to this problem. Population growth and overuse of rural ecosystems – in spite of the lower ecological footprints – will remain among the dominant problems in the decades ahead.

The situation in Sub-Saharan Africa is the most dramatic one regarding SRD, with no prospects of changes and improvements in the short run. After the early history and relative success story of the NEAP-movement in the 1990s (“National Environmental Action Plans”, supported by the World Bank, but blocked in their further spreading through the same

institution by trying to make them conditional for receiving development aid), the take-off in SRD collapsed and new problems of disastrous dimensions, violent conflicts, hunger and epidemic diseases spread. New consensus or strategies that could help to restart SRD are not visible.

What are the measurable effects of SRD in rural areas in European, Asian and African Countries? The main question of this paper is answered with the picture given above rather negatively. There is little progress towards SRD so far, and where local success is achieved through projects, the effects are devalued through more environmental and economic problems elsewhere. The good examples of local projects for SRD and resource management vanish among the unsolved problems and the deteriorating trends when looking across the macro-regions with the available statistical information measuring progress in development and SRD. There are some common, negative and positive trends in the four macro-regions that can be derived from global statistics:

The dominant negative trend is everywhere: the depletion of natural resources, the disruption of the environment and man-made ecological stress is still increasing at all levels, locally, regionally, nationally, globally. None of the regions can evade this up to now, and the global environmental problems of climate change and biodiversity loss will less and less permit for countries or regions to generate environmental improvements in larger areas against the dominant global trend. The growing size of protected areas worldwide has not effectively halted the negative trends towards deterioration of the environment and the natural resource base. This deterioration of the natural resource base for human survival is linked with many further problems experienced especially in rural areas – reduction of food security, loss of traditional livelihoods etc. One visible and growing effect linked to the reduction or deterioration of the natural resource base - access to and availability of arable land - is a main reason for the new type of multi-causal livelihood conflicts (Ohlsson 2003) that threat non-European regions primarily through forced migration, refugees, civil wars and genocides, violence and criminality, or drug economy, but meanwhile this happens in European countries too (for example Kosovo).

The statistically measured relative reduction of poverty and absolute poverty in some macro-regions, especially in Asia, has not reduced the absolute number of poor, this is still growing, and the majority of poor people live in rural areas (in the near future the urban poor will count more than the rural in most regions). One fifth of the global population is presently counted among the absolute poor. Although on quite different levels, economic poverty is growing in all rural areas all over the world.

Energy problems are rapidly advancing to become core problems in slowing down or halting economic development globally, although with quite different types of energy problems in the four regions - also rural energy problems differ widely. The out-phasing of non-renewable energy that has come worldwide has not yet accelerated the search for and practical implementation of alternative energy sources and systems.

There are further negative global trends, although these, for example, decreasing health or spreading of new diseases, violent cultural and ethnic conflicts (civil wars and terrorism), the tremendous shifts of power from democratically controlled political power systems to uncontrolled economic power centres, the “maddening of states” (Aretxaga 2003), are not specially threatening rural but all areas.

Positive trends can also be observed, however, these are less clear and dominant as they are controversial with regard to their reasons:

Are the faster growing urban compared to rural population figures a positive trend or to large degrees more a shift of problems with poverty from rural to urban areas?

Is the statistically measured reduction of poverty and the improved livelihood situation of about three billion people during the past decades a consequence of accelerated globalization and market economy, of diffusion of knowledge and technologies (following Jeffrey Sachs), or of an already effective ecological adaptation and modernisation of economies?

Knowledge production, spreading and application is too complex and differentiated a phenomenon that it can be counted for as success story of science and modern technology – especially with regard to environmental effects of technologies. The slowly increasing significance of local and managerial knowledge for rural development is so far hardly an argument for the success of SRD.

Other unclear and contradicting processes happen with population growth. Although the growth rates are reducing everywhere the present growth is still high in many developing countries and in rural areas. Rapid population growth is resulting in direct and increasing pressure on the natural resource base through the subsistence forms of livelihood of large parts of the rural population and the poor. In the Northern parts of the globe, and here the otherwise quite different macro-regions of Europe and Russia are similar, different population-related problems occur in economic and social development: the negative population growth, the uneven distribution of the population across the areas (outmigration, rural exodus), and the growing percentage of old and retired people. In rural areas in Europe and Russia such trends cause already severe hindrances to rural development.

## **Discussion and conclusions**

Unclear situation. With all the complicated and changing picture of dominant and less dominant trends, positive and negative ones in global development, two main results with regard to SRD are visible:

The process of SRD has hardly taken roots and the policies of SD that have been established throughout the past fifteen years globally are in threat of being undermined or superseded by other dominant trends. Economic globalization with its negative effects is the dominant trend presently, and these negative effects cannot be converted through SD in the short run.

Although one can hardly speak about significant effects of SRD in rural areas in all four macro-regions, there remains the confusing and contradictory impression that many successful local breakthroughs to sustainable resource management happened as these are documented in the many case studies about common pool resource use and management. This can be interpreted as “still too few and too small examples” for creating significant aggregated impacts in the sense of SRD. Many of these examples for the success of sustainable management of local resources come too late - when the environmental problems and crisis are already there and SRD needs to do what it is not targeted for (to solve by “peace-meal engineering” the problems that have accumulated instead of preventing such problems). Another - widely unanswered - question with such local success stories is: How long did and do they last?

(2) Limited trends towards improving the chances of SD. Although there is a large number and variety of actors involved in the debates at local, national and global levels about SD and SRD, a series of similar trends and interpretations is surfacing from the debates, beyond the dominant cleavage with the two irreconcilable SRD-strategies of EM and ED:

- With regard to science: The dominance of natural sciences in the environmental discourse has opened towards an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary discourse in science and with stakeholders.
- With regard to policy: Progress has been made from top-down and managerial to more participative and decentralised processes in rural development that are on the way in most areas and regions.
- With regard to science and policy: The paradigm change from problem solving (as reactive) to preventive thinking and action has happened in environmental policies and resource management. Parallel, the change from sectoral and specialised to integrated and holistic approaches went on.

(3) Remaining deficits. In none of the strategies and approaches to SRD on the way or in practice today in national and global politics the questions of control of resource use and equitable distribution of natural resources between people and countries is discussed sufficiently, not to speak about practical solutions yet. Also the question of “who pays for the repair of already done environmental damage and for the restoration of ecosystems?” is hardly brought to a consensus – it started in exemplary way with the climate change and biodiversity debates and has resulted in some international contracts (Kyoto Protocol for climate change policy) and funding mechanisms for international policies for SD and their implementation costs (Global Environmental Facilities), but this is quite insufficient. The discourses to address these problems are primarily political, interest-bound and of highly normative quality, for example with regard to the following key questions for successful transition to sustainability:

Ethical rules and norms – who is responsible for the environment, the natural resources and their use when it comes to more concrete terms of appropriation, extraction, use, ownership rights?

Which criteria for the assessment and measurement of human resource use do we have – how much resources can we use in every generation without exceeding the earths carrying capacity?

Global governance for sustainable development – which changes and new institutions are required for a successful transition to sustainability?

With the third question that for power structures in the world system is addressed. Traditionally the understanding of international power systems is that they are based on two forms of power, “hard power” (as material/economic capacity) or “soft power” (as capacity to influence norms and values; see Fry & O’Hagan, 2000, 255). Global governance as far as it backs the transition towards sustainability is mainly based on soft international policy instruments or “multilateral environmental agreements” such as the Agenda 21, and only few exceptions for more binding agreement such as the climate policy mechanism can be found.

With all three questions the unsolved problems of measuring sufficiently exact the environmental damages through human resource use at all scales of the global ecosystem come up. All measurement systems discussed or used so far are controversial. The former trials of economists (C. Leipert) to measure the environmental damage and the “repair costs” through the money spent for repair efforts in the national GNPs (the “defensive costs”) grasp only part of the problem with negative externalities.



The ecological discussion about “environmentally just use of space”<sup>9</sup> and the “ecological footprint” (M. Wackernagel et al.) have finally achieved the global political agenda and are used today without that the doubts about their methodological scrutiny have vanished.<sup>10</sup>

The critical discourse about economic development and growth, its consequences and limits and its change towards less environmentally-destructive forms of development that came on the public agendas with the “Limits to growth”-debate and the subsequent SD-debate, has yielded some theoretical results but less practical progress of SD. Economic growth is still the solution searched for by all countries, and it is still highly accepted by populations as it creates the hope to escape poverty and marginalization - and allows to accept differences in income between persons, professional groups and countries that would otherwise already be much more critically discussed. The acceptance of limits to economic growth would require limits to market processes, control of private investments and capital for which is hardly a chance presently. As long as this inconsequence remains, SD and SRD can only become effective to limited degrees.

So far no practically applied global model for SD is visible beyond the new discrepancies between EM and ED from the “global governance”-discourses. What can be found is political-symbolic action, abstract global goals, and an ever increasing debate and research about the problems. What happens within the SD and SRD-discourses can be understood as an exemplary case of building of “soft institutions” where the problem is to find consensus and joint interests among heterogeneous and contradicting values, ethics, interests. The progress in the transition to sustainability, through strategies for SD and SRD can be expected in a long-term effort with late effects only, in time horizons beyond these presently established in public policies and resource planning – decades and generations.

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<sup>9</sup> Presented by the Dutch NGO Friends of the Earth during the Rio-Conference in 1992: the quantity of resource that can be used by the population of a country without limiting future generations possibilities of resource use and other countries or presently living generations resource use, that is, a direct translation of the principles of inter- and intra-generational equity in a quantitative index.

<sup>10</sup> So far the main effect of the “ecological footprint”-calculations trying “to estimate the area of land that would be necessary to sustainably support consumption levels” (Chambers, Simmons, Wackernagel, 2000, xiii) is that they have drawn attention to the core problem of sustainable development: the over-use of resources by the industrialized countries. “... most of the Northern countries leave an ‘ecological footprint’ ... on the world which is considerably larger than their territories. They occupy foreign soils to provide themselves with all the materials they need; and they utilize the global commons – like the oceans and the atmosphere – far beyond their share.” (W. Sachs in: Suliman, 1999, 71).

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## Appendix 1. Two conceptual models (ideal types):

Sustainable development as strategy for societal change - "ecological modernization" and "environmental democracy"

Ecological modernization (adaptation of the global system)	Environmental democracy (transformation of the global system)
<p>Problem diagnosis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- it is not sure whether humans have exceeded or can exceed the resource base and carrying capacity of the earth; there are always substitutes for resources and new technologies be found (M. Sagoff)</li> <li>- the limits to growth are not physical limits of the natural resource base but mainly limits of knowledge and the necessity to develop technological solutions to problems impeding economic growth (P. Drucker)</li> <li>- solutions to the present environmental and social problems can be sought within the present social and economic order, through science, technology and the continuous adaptation of the societal system through successful resolution of problems</li> </ul> <p>Principles/guiding ideas</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- priority to economic sustainability (discounting social and ecological sustainability)</li> <li>- sustainable development can be reached through technological solutions (the "expensive" solution of the industrialized countries)</li> <li>- ecological innovation stimulates economic growth and creates competitive advantages (globalizing market economy as policy-guiding framework: "another industry", but still industry)</li> <li>- institutional development of modern society: the institutions that have shaped modern society (in policy, economy, science: capital, markets, political democracy, research and development technologies) can help to solve environmental problems (of industrial societies and metropolitan industry: green and clean technologies for production)</li> <li>- predominance of economic institutions and instruments ("eco-technocracy", "managerialism", command-and-control-instruments, economic instruments)</li> <li>- economic and political institutions have priority over persons</li> <li>- addressing global environmental problems</li> </ul>	<p>Problem diagnosis</p> <p>humans overuse and deplete today the natural resource base, but much more than the poor and developing countries the rich people and countries and they are not yet willing to share the resources with the poor</p> <p>the limits to growth that enforce a transition to sustainability and change of the exponential growth system are the limits of the natural resource base and of the carrying capacity of the earth</p> <p>carrying capacity is not a static concept or fixed quantity, but there are final limits to the use of natural resources that cannot be exceeded for very long time without undermining the long-term existence of humans and ecosystems</p> <p>Principles/guiding ideas</p> <p>balanced social, ecological, economic sustainability</p> <p>sustainable development can be reached through better integration of local social and eco-systems</p> <p>people and persons as the primary goals of development ("human development" – UNESCO; "people centered development" – D. Korten)</p> <p>reestablishing, maintaining, defending the cultural and ecological potential/diversity of local societies/regions</p> <p>cultural and biological diversity are causally linked (R. Ellen)</p> <p>rural production, resource use and livelihoods as the paradigm of society</p> <p>persons have priority, not institutions (institutions that are not limited to the local sphere create risks for society and nature)</p> <p>addressing global environmental problems (biodiversity loss, climate change) at local levels</p>

<p>(biodiversity loss, climate change) through global, top-down policies</p> <p>Cultural values/ethics</p> <p>rooted in Western culture (Catton/Dunlap: “dominant Western worldview”):</p> <p>respect for nature nature only insofar it is necessary for survival of mankind (“anthropocentric worldview”, “instrumentalism”)</p> <p>technologies provide solutions, social and economic change is less required (“technocentrism”)</p> <p>individualism &amp; achievement (as conventional values of modernization)</p> <p>modified economic rationality/efficiency</p> <p>modified welfare criteria (there can still be wealth and welfare, although less than in the times of late industrialism)</p> <p>moderate optimism and belief in future (“doomsday prophets” fail)</p> <p>View of nature/ethics</p> <p>HEP modified (Catton/Dunlap)</p> <p>although natural resources are limited, it is possible to substitute and manipulate resources to increase carrying capacity</p> <p>“emancipation of nature” (Mol)</p> <p>View of man/ethics</p> <p>anthropocentric ethics (nature for the sake of man)</p> <p>mundane ethics (utilitarianism)</p> <p>residual ethics (ethics are not of primary importance for societal development)</p> <p>man as consumer (human rights and citizenship are taken for given)</p> <p>Development objectives</p> <p>economic growth linked with environmental protection (“another growth”, but still growth)</p> <p>growth and markets replaces the necessity of redistribution of resources and goods within society</p> <p>Theoretical concepts/ideas of society</p> <p>derived from sociology (guiding model of society as macrosystem)</p> <p>“reflexive modernization” (Beck, Giddens)</p>	<p>Cultural values/ethics</p> <p>rooted in Western and non-western cultures (cultural pluralism):</p> <p>respect for nature (“ecocentrism”)</p> <p>equity (egalitarianism)</p> <p>diversity/ecological equilibrium</p> <p>ecological rationality/sustainability (sufficiency, patience, humility)</p> <p>collectivism/community</p> <p>stewardship</p> <p>“optimism of liberation movements”: the defense of own rights, women rights, local culture and society, autonomy requires constant fighting against domination and oppression”</p> <p>View of nature/ethics</p> <p>man as part of nature</p> <p>NEP (Catton/Dunlap)</p> <p>natural resources are limited</p> <p>nature is complex</p> <p>resilience of local systems</p> <p>View of man/ethics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- bio-/ecocentric ethics (“fish first”: C. Merchant)</li> <li>- religious/spiritual ethics</li> <li>- stewardship (caring &amp; nurturing)</li> <li>- ethics of place</li> <li>- fighting for and maintaining citizenship, personhood, equality, gender justice</li> </ul> <p>Development objectives</p> <p>to satisfy basic needs instead of supporting economic growth (another economy: “economy” vs. “chrematistics”)</p> <p>to create social, economic and environmental justice (through redistribution)</p> <p>Theoretical concepts/ideas of society</p> <p>derived from political and cultural ecology (guiding model of the local society)</p>
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<p>“sustainable capitalism” (O’Connor)</p> <p>“embedded autonomy” (ties between economy, state, civil society: P. Evans)</p> <p>global society/world society requires global institutions and regulations</p> <p>Knowledge base</p> <p>scientific knowledge (primarily life sciences)</p> <p>natural and technical sciences help to develop clean technologies</p> <p>integration of scientific, managerial and local knowledge if necessary (without denying the guiding role of science)</p> <p>Key actors/stakeholders</p> <p>consumers (in market economies, modeled from the “overconsumers” in industrial societies)</p> <p>resource users in a general meaning</p> <p>scientists/researchers</p> <p>green entrepreneurs</p> <p>governments/development bureaucrats</p> <p>Variants of political strategies</p> <p>“green economy”</p> <p>new environmental policy</p> <p>integrated rural development</p> <p>“first world environmentalism” (Martinez-Alier, Guha)</p> <p>Political and management approaches</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- formal politics guided by governments, laws, bureaucracies: “macropolitics” (large technical systems and large scale solutions, although modified through decentralization, co-management)</li> <li>- integrated resource management</li> <li>- strategic environmental management</li> </ul> <p>Policy and management instruments</p> <p>neutral attitude towards power and money (both are useful)</p> <p>environmental policy</p> <p>private property, intellectual property rights, patents</p>	<p>local communities and social networks (lifeworld-oriented)</p> <p>principles of cultural ecology to connect local social and ecosystems (J. Steward et al.)</p> <p>“indigenization of modernity” &amp; “transcultural cultures” (M. Sahlins)</p> <p>“world society” with globalised and standardized economic and political systems is not a meaningful idea: society works through local institutions; national, international and global institutions are only meaningful to network local societies (“polycentric systems”: E. Ostrom)</p> <p>Knowledge base</p> <p>“insurrection of subjugated knowledges” (M. Foucault)</p> <p>folk knowledge/indigenous knowledge (R. Ellen), personal experience, “lived expertise” (Seager)</p> <p>local ecological knowledge (“reliance on local knowledge reduces dependency”: R. Ellen, p. 180)</p> <p>PRA/new professionalism (R. Chambers)</p> <p>transdisciplinarity</p> <p>Key actors/stakeholders</p> <p>the global poor</p> <p>rural, environmental, feminist movements of the South</p> <p>peasants, indigenous people</p> <p>specified groups of resource users</p> <p>Variants of political strategies</p> <p>NGO’s as instruments for the change of society, economy, global power structures</p> <p>local economic circles</p> <p>sustainable production</p> <p>“environmentalism of the poor” (Martinez-Alier, Guha)</p> <p>Political and management approaches</p> <p>related to/emerging from the “nongovernmental, associational revolution” in developing countries (W. Fisher)</p> <p>informal politics: “micropolitics” (small steps, controlled processes)</p> <p>participatory democracy</p> <p>local democracy/autonomy</p>
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<p>taxing and prices (resource pricing, internalization of externalities)</p> <p>clean/green technologies</p> <p>improving eco-efficiency</p> <p>“economic growth”-mechanism</p> <p>Practice of development projects</p> <p>starts from the city and the factory</p> <p>industry: waste recycling, clean and green technologies, pollution control</p> <p>agriculture: organic farming, LEIA</p> <p>3. sector (transport, trade, services): reduce transport</p> <p>communication: high-tech (technical media and internet)</p> <p>Approaches of rural development</p> <p>agro-industrial dynamic</p> <p>replacing wild species through domesticated species to sustain food security (e.g. aquaculture replaces fishery)</p> <p>appropriation of nature (bio-sciences, bio-technology, genetically modified food)</p> <p>neglecting small-scale agriculture/producers</p> <p>Problems of SRD not sufficiently discussed/dealt with in this strategy:</p> <p>the problems of SD in the context of globalization</p> <p>international and structural power relation in the global economy and conflicts resulting from it in the transition to sustainability</p> <p>reduction of inequality, poverty alleviation</p> <p>economic development/industrialization of developing countries</p> <p>population growth and its consequences for society and nature</p> <p>how to distribute and redistribute natural resources (intergenerational and intra-generational equity)</p>	<p>culture/rights of indigenous people</p> <p>adaptive management (learning from ecosystems)</p> <p>Policy and management instruments</p> <p>critical attitude towards power and money (both need to be controlled and limited)</p> <p>local resource management</p> <p>local commons regimes</p> <p>local production</p> <p>local money (LETS)</p> <p>intermediate/adapted technologies</p> <p>“soft instruments” (moral persuasion, mediation, negotiation, participation)</p> <p>Practice of development projects</p> <p>starts from the countryside and the peasant production</p> <p>local commons</p> <p>handicraft instead of industrial production</p> <p>small-scale agriculture, subsistence production</p> <p>communication: personal, non-technical</p> <p>Approaches of rural development</p> <p>small-scale agriculture</p> <p>local food security</p> <p>sustainable rural livelihoods</p> <p>agro-ecology (, co-evolution of nature and society, farmers local knowledge)</p> <p>ecological and cultural diversity</p> <p>Problems of SRD not sufficiently discussed/dealt with in this strategy:</p> <p>population growth and its consequences for society and nature</p> <p>how to change power structures in the global economy that environmental sustainability becomes possible</p> <p>how to change the power structures in knowledge (the “science-industry-technology-complex” that controls research and technologies through patents etc.)</p>
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*Sources: Own enquiries; Rao 2000; Lee, Holland, McNeill 2000; Sachs 2000; Marsden 2003*

# **Gender Dimensions of Rural Livelihoods in Uzbekistan: The Importance of Emergent Entrepreneurship and Migration**

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## **Key words**

gender, rural livelihood, entrepreneurship, migration, post-socialism, Uzbekistan

## **Abstract**

With the transition to market economy the socio-economic situation in many post-socialist societies has greatly deteriorated. Income has fallen due to unemployment and rising costs of living. The post-socialist transition process affects women and men differently. Women's unemployment is generally higher and their average income lower in comparison to men. Moreover, the gender discourse is often changing due to the re-emergence of traditional and conservative ideas about women and men's rights and responsibilities. In the rural areas the situation is especially difficult as the few rural studies demonstrate. They point at the specificity of the rural situation and the need to take account of the structure and culture of space in order to fully understand the genderedness of labour markets, entrepreneurship and migration. This paper looks more specifically into the situation in rural Uzbekistan. Existing research reveals the overall deteriorating position of women but give little insight into the specific factors at work. In order to understand the situation of rural women and men it is important to look more in detail into their experiences and the difference among them, taking into account that they plan their lives not only as individuals but also as members of households and families. Understanding the gender specificity of rural livelihood is important in order to effectively support women and men and to inform the design of a gender-proof and sustainable rural development policy. From a scientific point of view it is important to better understand the gender dimensions of the fundamental rural transformation process taking place in post-socialist countries.



# **Gender dimensions of rural livelihoods in Uzbekistan: the importance of emergent entrepreneurship and migration**

## **Introduction**

With the transition to market economy the socio-economic situation has greatly deteriorated in many post-socialist societies. Income has fallen due to unemployment and rising costs of living. People try to generate income by engaging in multiple activities, in formal and informal employment, through formal and informal entrepreneurship, in their locality but often also in combination with migration. The post-socialist transition process affects women and men differently. Women's unemployment is generally higher and their average income lower in comparison to men. Moreover, the gender discourse is often changing due to the re-emergence of traditional and conservative ideas about women and men's rights and responsibilities. Research on women's position in post-socialism focuses often on the situation of women in the urban context. The few existing rural studies point out that the situation women are especially difficult in the rural context (see among others van Hoven - Igansky 2004; Momsen 2006; Morell 1999; Majerova 2003; Cernic Istenic 2006; Silvana Ilak Peršurić 2005; Nemeny 2005; Heederik 2005). They underline the need to take account of the structure and culture of space in order to fully understand the gender-specificity of transition and its effect on people's lives. For what regards access to livelihood strategies structural factors, such as lack of infrastructure and inaccessibility of markets play a role but also cultural factors such as local gender ideologies that define the 'appropriate' behaviour of men and women (Mandel 2004; Korf and Oughton 2006).

Understanding the gender-specificity of rural livelihood requests an in-depth analysis of the rural livelihood puzzle. Which are the various activities women and men engage in order to survive? Are there typical male and female activities and why are they perceived and constructed as such? In order to understand the latter it is necessary to engage with women and men and to talk to both about their ideas and experiences. We need to look into the difference among them, taking into account that they plan their lives not only as individuals but also as members of households and families. It is also important to take location-specific, geographic features into account, such as distance to urban centres but also environmental degradation as these differences may help to explain why opportunities may be perceived and used differently by women (and men) in different rural areas or places (Anderson and Pomfret 2004; A. A. 2005).

The paper uses the notion of 'livelihood' in order to conceptualize the strategies women and men develop in order to make their living and to cope with the changes taking place. Livelihood analysis looks into what kind of resources or assets people have, what they do and which goals they pursue (Oberhauser et al. 2004; Ellis 2000). But it also looks into the institutions and social relations that define people's access to resources influence the legitimacy or acceptability of their strategies and inform their preferences and objectives. It is a people-centred perspective that conceptualizes people as active agents who cope with the many changes going along with change and 'transition' (Francis 2000). But they do not only react to change, while coping they also co-shape the new context.

Sustainable livelihood approaches are more commonly used in the context of developing countries (Korf and Oughton, 2006). It is only recently that researchers in the UK transferred this theoretical and analytical approach in order to analyse the significance of micro-business in the rural North of the UK (Oughton and Wheelock 2003). A special issue of the Community Development Journal reports on the results of the experimental application of the

sustainable livelihood approach to rural Great Britain promoted by the Department of International Development. For what concerns the post-socialist context some experience has been gained in research in Russia (Pickup and White 2003) and Slovakia (Blaas 2003). So far, these experiments seem to be successful as they manage to appoint the great variety of livelihood activities at the level of rural households but in the same time underline their embeddedness in specific socio-economic, cultural and political contexts (Freeman, Ellis and Allison 2004; Francis 2002; Mandel 2004). Another interesting aspect of the sustainable livelihood approach, especially in a post-socialist context, is the attention given to migration as one of many livelihood activities and mobility and its significance for livelihood activities such as trade (De Haan 1999; De Haan and Rogaly 2002; Mandel 2004).

For these reason it seems to be a useful tool in order to investigate the situation in the rural areas of the new member- states and possibly other post socialist countries. It is in those countries that the need for livelihood diversification is tremendously urgent whereas we still know too little about their emergence and success. Most rural diversification research in the 'North' has taken place in the old member states. Moreover, little research in rural diversification in the 'new North' has approached it from a gender-specific angle. It is high time to do so in our opinion, because of the importance diversification has for rural households, the probably focal role gender plays and the interesting new insights research especially in this context could reveal when comparing it to similar research done in the old member-states and the South.

So far livelihood analysis tends to ignore the importance of gender and other social characteristics such as age and generation, ethnicity and class but also space and place (Whitehead and Kabeer 2001). In a recent special issue of 'Gender, Place and Culture' Oberhauser and colleagues (2004) provide a series of case-studies that look into the different ways in which women develop new livelihood strategies in order to cope with change and increasing economic hardship across a variety of places. Their experiences will be used to develop a research framework that allows us to study, analyze and compare the ways in which women and men, individually as well as collectively, try to make a living in the changing rural world of post-socialism. We want to find out if and how they manage to develop new and diversified livelihood strategies, to what extent, where and how entrepreneurship emerges and how migration and increasing mobility comes into play. We want to know what the role of new and old institutions and social networks is, and how men and women through their strategies participate in shaping new contexts, new places and new spaces.

The paper focuses on the situation of Uzbekistan for pragmatic reasons - as it may be there where the first opportunity for research is found. The objective is however to find out if such a research and approach might be useful and relevant for a study that compares the situation in some of the new member states. Understanding the gender specificity of rural livelihood is important in order to effectively support women and men and to inform the design of a gender-proof and sustainable rural development policy. From a scientific point of view it is important to better understand the gender dimensions of the fundamental rural transformation process taking place in post-socialist countries.

### **Transition in Uzbekistan**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the socio-economic situation in Uzbekistan has greatly deteriorated. Income has fallen due to unemployment but also rising costs of living caused among others by the loss of state guaranteed (free or low cost) services and benefits (in cash and kind) (Mee 2001). In the rural areas the situation is especially difficult (Anderson & Pomfret 2004). With the restructuring of agriculture employment in agriculture has fallen

dramatically and in most areas non-agricultural employment opportunities are scarce or nonexistent. In part this is due to economic specialization of countries and regions within the Soviet Union; in part the one sidedness of economies it is caused by the closing down of industries during the transition process.

The privatization of agriculture proceeded slowly resulting in a diverse agricultural production and employment pattern (Kandiyoti 2002, 2003, Spoor 1995; Koopman 1998; Trevisani 2005). By 2006 all shirkats (former kolchozes) will have been dissolved into private farming. The farmers will be the dominant group, having farms on long-term leases of varying length, and farms of varying size (10-50 ha). All rural households are also dekhans (peasants) because they own a household plot (tamorka) of 0, 25 ha, on which they grow mainly food crops for subsistence. A differentiated agrarian structure has emerged in which households with only household plots are 'workers' on the land of farmers often in sharecropping-like arrangements. In terms of farming systems, three different systems can be distinguished in the Khorezm region. The first is the already mentioned intensive subsistence food crop cultivation by dekhans, of which part is sold when cash needs are urgent. The second farming system is that dominated by the compulsory cultivation of cotton and wheat under the 'state order', that is farmers who grow prescribed areas of these crops, and also acquire inputs and do marketing via the state system. An emerging farming system is that of rice cultivation. This is the only crop through which farmers can earn substantial cash income – in the literal sense – because they can privately market it. The cotton/wheat system does not generate cash income as all earnings stay in state controlled bank accounts for investment in the next crop.

### **Gender-specific effects**

The collapse of the Soviet Union and post-socialist transition process shows clear gender specific characteristics – also in Uzbekistan (Mee 2001; Bock 2004a; FAO 2005; Fodor 2002; Heyns 2005). Women were among the first to lose their job with the break down of collective farming. Many women still work as unskilled farm labourers, on either the remaining cooperative farms or the new private farms, but do so under new and more precarious working conditions (Kandiyoti 1999). In the shirkats women work generally without contracts and for very low payments; in the privatized farms they became either 'workers' or unpaid family labourers. Besides, women are generally responsible for subsistence production in their own small household plots (tamorka), and all household labour. The latter moreover expanded as women try to economize on household expenses by making for instance clothes themselves instead of buying. There are also indications that women try to market and sell these homemade products (Kamp 2005). In sum one might conclude that women's workload has greatly increased in the last decades, in part also due to male labour migration (Kandiyoti 2003). Uzbek rural households are typically extended and patriarchal. Resources and incomes are pooled in various patterns and access to land and cash proceeds through men. With the loss of (formal) employment women lost access to cash income as well as bargaining power (Kandiyoti 1999) and became economically dependent on their husbands and/or fathers, resulting in what Fodor (2002) defines as 'domestic paternalism'. Besides, a resurgence of a traditional conservative gender ideology seems to take place, in part inspired by religion.

Islam has always been present in Uzbekistan and important in underlining people's identity despite of its official suppression and denial during Socialism. Nowadays, religion seems to regain importance at least in some regions, but it is not yet sure to what extent this indeed restricts women's opportunities (Trevisani 2005; Zanca 2004; Kamp 2005). With increasing poverty and political instability, however, and increasing missionary activities,

fundamentalist ideas might easily spread and step by step curtail women's and girls' room for manoeuvre (Heyat 2004).

### **New livelihood strategies**

There is a not precisely known but substantial diversification of rural livelihoods into nonfarm activities and (seasonal) migration. Generally, rural household's livelihood is precarious and insecure. People try to make a living by engaging in a great variety of formal and informal, legal and illegal income-generating activities (Kandiyoti 1999). Although the same is true for many households in urban areas, the situation is even more difficult in the rural context due to their geographical remoteness, lack of infrastructure and institutional support, inaccessibility of markets and lack of non-agricultural employment (Trevisani 2005).

It is unknown to what extent the new livelihood strategies are individually organized, household activities or if women and/or men engage also in collective activities above household level (Mee 2001). There is some evidence of local civic organization and NGO's but generally people seem to hesitate to engage in collective endeavours (Kandiyoti 2004).

This reluctance has been explained by the omnipresence of the state and the high level of societal distrust during socialism but also the disillusionment after its collapse (Dudwick et al. 2002). It is unclear so far to what extent cooperation is taking place in rural Uzbekistan and to what extent it is constrained by distrust within villages. A study in Kazakhstan refers to the high risk of theft within village and the need to constantly guard plots and crops in order to safeguard the success of a new initiative.<sup>i</sup> Another study reveals the existence of 'gaps', local rotating saving associations that could play an important role for the start of economic activities (Kandiyoti 1999). In order to understand the possibilities for local economic revitalization it is important to understand better to what extent and how local and regional networking and cooperation is taking place and how cooperation and trust could be stimulated.<sup>ii</sup>

In this context it is also important to look more closely into the significance of migration. Research in Central Asia indicates that labour migration is taking place, regionally, national and internationally and is playing an increasingly important role for peoples livelihood (Andersen & Pomfret 2004; Kamp 2005). For rural Uzbekistan precise information is lacking. As Kamp (2005) reveals migration is by no means a purely male activity.<sup>iii</sup> Quite on the contrary migrating women seems to play quite an important role and seems to be linked to the marketing of products in and outside of Uzbekistan. This 'shuttle trade' (Kamp 2005: 403) of women is interesting also through its link to entrepreneurial activity as some women market their own products, be it vegetable or cloth on local and regional markets (bazar's). This activity is interesting also for its gender-specificity which points at the changes taking place in gender relations as a result of women's increasingly important role in rural livelihood strategies.

Finally it is important to look carefully into the possibilities that a privatized agriculture could offer to women and men and how this would affect gender relations. For Western European farm the production of new, niche products is an important new source of income, more rewarding than the production of bulk products such as cotton. In order to evaluate the possibility for this kind of diversified production, it is important to study more in detail how decision-making on farms develops, also as a result of progressing privatization. Kandiyoti (1999) points out that women lose status and entitlements when they become unpaid family labourers instead of kolkhoz workers or public sector employees. Research in Hungary (Morell 1999) and Slovenia (Cernic Istenic 2006) confirms the re-emergence of traditional gender-relations with the privatization and reinstallation of family farms. Similar processes seem to take place in China and Vietnam (Elson 1995 in Kandiyoti 1999). On the other hand

the diversification of farm activities and reorientation towards new markets tends to strengthen and improve the position of women (Bock 2004b). For what regards the development in Uzbekistan it is far too early to reach a conclusion. More in depth and longitudinal research is necessary to understand the various effects of the diversification of livelihood and emergence of entrepreneurial activities.

## **Conclusion**

So far there is very little research on the diversification of rural livelihood in Uzbekistan and other post-socialist states and its gender-specificity. Especially about the potentials of agricultural and non-agricultural entrepreneurial activities very little is known. The same is true for the importance of migration and the possible interlinkages between migration and entrepreneurship. Finally, very little knowledge exist about gender dimensions of the rural transformation process taking place in all post-socialist countries, and more specifically

## **Uzbekistan**

By giving voice to the rural women and men and listen to their experiences, fears, hopes and dreams, the projects intends to increase our knowledge of the diversification of rural livelihood and emergence of rural entrepreneurship in post-socialist countries and our understanding of the impact of socio-economic transition on rural gender relations. Another objective is develop recommendations about how to support the diversification of livelihood in the rural regions of Uzbekistan, NIS and other post-socialist states more generally and in doing so improve the precarious situation of rural households. It is quite clear that agriculture alone will not be enough to warrant rural livelihood but that non-agricultural employment will probably not be brought into such regions again on a large scale. It is also clear that solutions from elsewhere cannot be just copied. Thus, in depth research is essential for finding solutions that allow for lasting, sustainable endogenous development, which at least in part will need to be result from self-employment and rather small-scale rural entrepreneurship. As the project looks specifically into the gender dimensions of this, these suggestions can be 'gender-proof', making sure that the talents, resources and preferences of both will be taken into account that men and women will both benefit from them and that backlashes on either of both may be prevented. Improving the livelihood of rural household is not only important from an ethical point of view but also pertinent for the social and political stability of those regions, the prevention of large-scale out-migration, loss of social cohesion and (further) environmental degradation.

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i The same study refers to a successful women's cooperative in the Republic of Kazakhstan which reconfirms the important role cooperation may play for the development of new income generating initiatives.

ii See Mandel (2004) for the importance of collective activities for rural women in South Africa

iii See also (Bock 2006b) and Jolly & Reeves (2005) for the genderedness of migration.

# **Territorial Cooperative Networks: New Social Carriers for Endogenous Rural Development**

**Some examples from Europe**

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**ENED<sup>11</sup>**

This paper examines three case studies that I have carried out on endogenous rural development in different parts of Europe (de Rooij, 2004, 2005, forthcoming 2006). The cases concern the first environmental cooperatives of Dutch farmers, a production and marketing association of Italian mountain farmers, and a micro-regional network involved in rural economic diversification in a marginal rural area in Slovakia. The latter initiative is launched and largely born by rural women. Although the historical backgrounds and contexts vary considerably, the cases do share some remarkable features.

First, the pioneers that launched the initiatives are driven by partly similar motivations, values and beliefs. A common motive is to create rural sustainability. This aspiration goes well with broader societal demands as sustainable resource management, protection of biodiversity, valuable landscapes and cultural heritage, a liveable countryside, and the production of safe and quality food. Second, the pioneers revalorise local resources that they consider as a valuable and also reliable basis for developing sustainable rural communities. It would create a certain degree of independency from external resources and decisions and thus adding to more self-control. Third, they take a territorial and integrated approach to rural issues. Four, the initiatives can be considered expressions of resistance against top-down designed and generic policies that ignore context specific circumstances and locally created solutions and strategies. Five, the initiatives represent new governance structures to deal with rural issues. For instance self-organisation, self-regulation and new forms of cooperation between different stakeholders in the area are expressions of this. Six, new knowledge is generated through developing and combining different kinds of knowledge (practical or experiential knowledge, scientific knowledge of different disciplines) and a constant exchange, testing and dissemination of knowledge and experiences within their networks. This is characteristic of learning organisations<sup>12</sup>. Seven, the initiatives were launched by people with leadership qualities and a relevant network. Eight, their activities brought new economic perspectives in so-called marginal areas and generated social and ecological capital.

The pioneers' motivations to take the initiative and responsibility for improving the perspectives of their regions are diverse. Their inspiration comes from various and often multiple sources. These may concern a passion for nature (plants, animals), feelings of connectedness to a rural lifestyle, the deep satisfaction which arises from exerting their

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<sup>11</sup> European Network for Endogenous Development; P.O. Box 64, 3830 AB Leusden, the Netherlands. A first draft of this paper was also presented at the COMPAS Workshop 'Moving Worldviews', 28-30 November 2005 in Soesterberg, the Netherlands.

<sup>12</sup> Learning organisations are skilled in five main activities: experimentation; learning from past experience; learning from others; transferring knowledge and systematic problem solving (Garvin 1993). An organisational culture positive to learning and change is a precondition for developing a learning organisation (O'Keeffe and Harrington 2001)



profession or using their talents (e.g. the art of farming, self-realisation) or the challenge to fulfil a dream. Commitment with discriminated or vulnerable categories of people can be a drive as well. Values as equity or justice are important to them. Clearly, economic motives also play a role although creating personal wealth is not their aim. Instead they strive at a decent income for themselves and as many farming and/ or rural families as possible both in the short and the long run.

A shared goal or mission is to achieve multi-dimensional sustainability (i.e. ecological, economic and social) although different priorities are set. Ecological sustainability may be translated into ecological farming, complying with environmental requirements, nature conservation and production, landscape management, local resource use, alternative energy production, waste and/or water resource management, local marketing, etc. Social sustainability includes improvement of the quality of rural life, work and social relationships. Creating a sense of belonging, solidarity and interpersonal trust are considered important in this respect. Economic sustainability then refers to sufficient rural employment and income opportunities, decent incomes, fair trade and prospects on continuity of farming and employment.

Obviously, the pioneers have to deal with many obstacles and with opposition that impede and even might threaten the future of their projects. Generic policies and bureaucracy, resistance from officials and political opposition are part of it. Problems in their own organisations as for instance conflicts or opposite interests need to be handled as well.

### **Environmental cooperatives**

Environmental cooperatives are relatively new institutions within the professional agricultural professional world in the Netherlands (see Marsden et al. 2001; van der Ploeg et al. 2002; NJAS 2003; Stuiver and Wiskerke 2004). They embody new forms of cooperation between farmers in a specific locality, and are aimed at ensuring continuity of farming in a sustainable way. This includes that care for nature, landscape and environmental quality become integral parts of the farming practice. The cooperation builds on shared beliefs, values, a feeling of belonging and local traditions while simultaneously strengthening this same basis.

Environmental cooperatives in the Netherlands have arisen in response to the generic policies of the Dutch government to cope with the negative effects of modern farming methods on environment, nature and landscapes. The farming families involved in the cooperatives, considered that the government approach ignores specific local conditions, and that it therefore posed a real threat to the continuance of their farms and their communities. Environmental cooperatives, then, are the self-organised and common effort of local people to develop their own answers to these problems. Collective accountability for the fulfilment of targets set by the government is a key characteristic. Also crucial is the use of regional potentials. 'Trace the resources you already possess and start strengthening these' is their motto. It appears that the effects of the collective approach are superior to the results of innovative strategies of single farming families.

The case that I have studied is that of two vanguard environmental cooperatives - 'VEL/VANLA'<sup>13</sup> - in the Friesian woodlands in the north of the Netherlands. They were founded almost fifteen years ago. Their members represent some 80 to 90 % of the farming families in the involved area. This means that nearly all farmers, irrespective of farm size, gender and generation, are convinced of the advantages of membership.

The central activities of the VEL/VANLA environmental cooperatives entail two tracks, a so-called 'nature and landscape' and a 'mineral' track. Together these constitute an alternative strategy to existing government policies for fighting acidification caused by modern farming practices as well as for preserving the abundant nature in the area and the unique landscape in the region. Briefly, the first track consists of farmer managed restoration and improvement of the historic valuable landscape and the bio-diversity in the region. This coincides partly with an area-based landscape plan that includes some 12.000 hectares. This plan has been developed in cooperation with four, more recently established environmental cooperatives in the region. The second track refers to a farm management system known as the 'cycle system'. The system is intended to solve environmental problems (ground water pollution, acid rain) connected to previous high gifts of fertiliser and cattle slurry manure, and to the high ammonia deposition from the animal stalls, while simultaneously raising farmers' incomes (by decreasing costs and increasing profits). The core of the system is to enhance the nitrogen efficiency in the production cycle by improving the efficiency of the separate elements of the production cycle i.e. soil, plant, animal, manure circle as well as their interrelations (Reijs et al. 2004).<sup>14</sup> The underlying design of the system, its development and fine tuning are the result of close cooperation between farmers and scientists of different disciplines. The knowledge involved is generated through 'in-situ' research, that is, research carried out on the farms itself. The farm practice is, so to say, transformed into a 'field laboratory' (Stuiver et al. 2003). Farmers as well as scientists participate in the research and provide and generate specific kinds of knowledge. Farmers have a decisive voice in the decision-making process in which the research agenda is set. Although the activities related to the two tracks are intertwined at cooperative level, members can opt to participate in single activities.

Up to now, the achievements of the cooperatives are multiple and can be seen at different levels: in addition to environmental improvement, upgrading of the historical landscape and biodiversity, the farmers involved have benefited financially. Provisional analysis of research data shows that involvement in both 'track's pays off. Farmers engaged in the two programmes realise better financial results than farmers participating only partially or not at all. Time plays a role: the longer farmers take part in the programmes the higher their incomes. The gains may amount to an average extra annual income of 18.000 euro per farm.

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<sup>13</sup> VEL (Vereniging Eastermar's Lânsdouwe) and VANLA (Vereniging Agrarisch Natuur- en Landschapsbeheer Achtkarspelen).

<sup>14</sup> The underlying theory is that better manure (i.e. natural instead of artificial fertiliser) used in the right way will improve the soil quality. This will have a positive effect on the grass quality without affecting its quantity. Subsequent mowing of the grass at a later moment than usual results in a changed composition of the grass structure which in turn lowers the need for concentrates in the diet of the cows. The changed diet improves both animal's health (fewer diseases, longer life) and their milk. The latter now contains higher percentages of fat and protein and thus commands a higher price. The diet further improves the quality of the manure, which in turn pays off in terms of soil quality and ecological advantages (improved N-efficiency). The reorganisation of the forage production, the diet and the production of manure, results in a decrease in milk production per cow. The farmers deal with this by milking a few extra cows.

This amount does not include the extra costs incurred, so the actual extra profit will be a little lower (van der Ploeg, Verhoeven, Oostindie, and Groot 2003).

Additionally, the environmental cooperatives have generated some paid work for local women. Part of their work is ensuring that farmers comply with the requirement of the landscape management programmes in which they participate. Administrative work linked to the application of subsidies also belongs to their task package.

Membership of the VEL and VANLA-cooperatives is advantageous in other respects as well. As a legal entity, the cooperatives act on behalf of their members towards governments and other stakeholders and are accountable for the results. They further mediate between the farmers on the one hand and the relevant governmental agencies on the other. The benefits include an optimal use of governmental programmes for agriculture and rural areas. For governments on the other hand, environmental cooperatives are a clear point of contact and imply a reduction of both the administration costs and the time needed to check the fulfilment of the commitments.

An important achievement of the environmental cooperatives is a strengthening of social cohesion within the farming community in the area.

An important achievement of the environmental cooperatives is the strengthening of social cohesion within the farming community in the area. The environmental cooperatives involved are characterised by self-organisation<sup>15</sup>, self-regulation and pro-activity (see Wiskerke et al. 2003; Stuiver and Wiskerke 2004). Instead of passively waiting for newer and sometimes conflicting generic rules and regulations, they have taken the lead in solving regional level problems. That is, they have developed their own rules, structures and strategies to comply with governmental requirements and even to go beyond these. Their aim is to develop a way of farming that is more sustainable than the conventional methods. Internal control mechanisms are set up to ensure that implementation and progress of the activities are well monitored and evaluated. The essential pre-conditions to search for and apply region specific tailor-made solutions were established by negotiating ministerial approval for an experimental status. Today, this 'governance experiment', in which the environmental cooperatives determine the rules for achieving the targets set by the government as regards environmental, nature and landscape conservation, is only possible as part of scientific research (Stuiver and Wiskerke 2004).

The mechanisms self-organisation and self-regulation make environmental cooperatives and expression of a new mode of rural governance. They represent a 'new contract between local, regional and national authorities and farmers (Wiskerke et al. 2003). Their being embedded in a broad network and the formation of strategic alliances (e.g. with environmental or consumer organisations, scientific researchers, policymakers and politicians) imply that environmental cooperatives have the potential to exert considerable political influence at local, regional and national level. This potential can however only be deployed if there are change agents at all levels. Only through participation, input and influence of different stakeholders at the same time, has the present initiative of environmental cooperative become viable.

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<sup>15</sup> According to Ostrom (1990) self-organisation refers "[t]o bottom-up governance of local civil society beyond the market and short of the state making use of associations, informal understandings, negotiations, regulations, rust relations and informal social control rather than official coercion" (in Wiskerke et al. 2003, p.12).

Farming families involved in the environmental cooperatives need a high degree of motivation, energy, endurance and trust and to show solidarity. Opposition and resistance regularly block or inhibit activities and come from different sides. A main obstacle is the central government bureaucracy, including its officials. Here, deviation from generic rules is considered very problematic. Opposition also comes from within, i.e. the agricultural professional world itself and has its origins in vested interests and in ideological conflicts about the future of farming.

It should be mentioned here, however, that the two cooperatives presented here symbolize a turning point in Dutch rural history: since their establishment in 1991/1992, more than 300 similar rural cooperatives have been started by farmers and other rural inhabitants in the Netherlands. Some time ago, VEL and VANLA merged with the four other regional environmental cooperatives into one larger environmental cooperative.

### **Multifunctional farming and autonomous farmer's governed promotion and marketing networks**

These are key elements in the strategy to revitalise an area in Italy threatened by ecological decay, fading regional economic activity and de-population. The Abruzzo is a mountainous region of high natural value and a large part of the region is also a protected nature area. Traditionally, sheep and goat breeding were the main economic activities here. Globalisation of wool production and national agricultural policies promoting modernisation of agriculture put an end to these however. The arrival of a few young and driven sheep farmers a number of years ago were a turning point, which has brought new prospects to the region. They re-introduced multifunctional farming (or an 'economy of scope') and set a new trend in the region by starting cooperation between farmers. At first, this partnership included joint marketing and distribution of their products that initially consisted of various types of cheese at regional markets. Gradually, the partnership evolved into an interregional network of mainly organic farmers (ATER) who produce a range of high-quality region-specific products and jointly promote and market their products in different 'niche' markets. The network operates independently from the mainstream infrastructure and trade relations. Farmers govern the network. To overcome institutional obstacles that hinder the implementation of their ideas, they have organised themselves in a political way (APRO). Cooperation (e.g. with research and extension institutes) and alliance building is another strategy to accomplish this (see PhD-thesis Milone 2004 for an extensive description).

In the view of the pioneering farmers, multifunctional farming is the basis from which to achieve coherence between ecological, economic and social dimensions of sustainability (e.g. Knickel and Renting 2000; Arzeni et al 2001; van der Ploeg et al 2002; Belletti et al 2003). It implies that farming is not limited to agricultural production but also meets broader societal needs, such as environmental protection and nature preservation, provision of services (e.g. agro-tourism, education, and care activities) and safeguarding of rural traditions.

Crucial elements in the strategy followed by the sheep farmers involved, include reconnection to resources in the own environment, multiple use of involved resources and diversification of products and services in combination with high quality production. Organic production lays the foundation for this quality; (e) a next feature is long production chains within the farm; (f) paid work outside the farm is a complementary building block (Milone 2004). In their farm practices, the pioneers translate multifunctional farming into many different activities and services. These include a range of self-processed ecological products

(e.g. different types of regional cheeses, meat and woollen products), agro-tourism activities (restaurant, shop, and accommodation) to educational and creative activities. Valuable resources are the mountain pastures and the traditional breed of sheep that maintains and reproduces the pastoral landscape and the wild flora and fauna. Nature, landscape and local cultural traditions are important resources when it comes to tourism. The same goes for unused local real estate (empty farm buildings and village properties) and human resources. The latter may contain good entrepreneurship; mobile, flexible and skilled labour power; traditional local knowledge about pasturing and cheese making; local food habits and cooking traditions.

Equally important in the multifunctional farming approach is the development of new relationships between farmers themselves and between farmers, their institutional environment and consumers. The use of modern communication and information technology is a powerful tool in linking the different groups, for exchanging and disseminating knowledge and experiences and for marketing of their products and services.

The achievements appear to be many-sided. First, farmers that follow this pathway and comply with the rules set by the network seem to generate higher incomes than farmers following the mainstream development model of scale-enlargement, specialisation and intensification i.e. 'economies of scale' (ibid.). Second, the pioneers' strategy of sustainable local resource use bears fruit as well beyond the farm level. In the past years, it has become clear that extensive sheep grazing in the Abruzzo Mountains maintains the productive potential and the ecological values of the endangered pastures. It also appears to be a key tool in protecting the geophysical balance, and the prevention of erosion and the spreading of forest fires.

Scientific research data underpin these achievements. The 'art' of mountainous farming, commonly carried out by knowledgeable farmers and shepherds, thus translates into a strong regional resource. The strategy of multifunctional farming simultaneously benefits the local economy. Involved farming families now earn a higher income and can think again of farm enterprise continuity. At the same time, the broadening of the farming activities has created new employment for the local population. Local women work for instance in the farm shops as cheese makers or as designer of woollen cloths. They consider this a step forward in work quality, as this work is physically less exhausting than working in the fields or in the mountains. People outside the villages benefit as well as there are now work opportunities as wool processors, shepherds or producers of gadgets. Strengthening of the regional identity and a livelier village life are additional gains. Many tourists have returned to the region and traditional local events and fairs attract many visitors. Another great merit is that young people no longer automatically turn their backs on the countryside. A growing number are returning because farming is once again perceived as a profitable and attractive activity. Especially appealing are the financial success, the social status of producers of region-specific quality foods and the new social identity linked to participation in the network.

The different forms of cooperation emerge as new sources of economic benefits, of increased societal respect and political influence. These, in turn, add to feelings of self-esteem. Cooperation further stimulates the generation of creativity, new knowledge, and of innovation. An example is the mobile cheese-making unit, a product of cooperation between pioneers and the regional extension service. Thanks to this invention, the cheese-makers were able to by-pass European regulations that threatened to block mountainous cheese making. Cooperation with various scientific researchers was very fruitful as well. Research data now

scientifically underpin the sustainability of their production methods and approach. At specific moments in their development, this appeared to be crucial information that supported the farmers in their negotiations concerning the legal restrictions that threatened continuity of production and helped them obtain the support of influential policy makers and other involved stakeholders.

### **Endogenous rural development initiated from outside agriculture**

This example concerns a multi-stakeholder rural network in a less favoured rural area in southern Slovakia. Major problems in this region are a high unemployment level (in some villages even 50 %), low incomes, out-migration of young people, a relatively low educational level, a passive and suspicious population, and ethnical tensions.

The participants of the network include NGO's, entrepreneurs, mayors of different villages in two micro-regions (29 villages in total), and micro-regional policymakers and politicians. The underlying idea of the network is that the many problems in the area can be better dealt with when joining forces. Through the network, already existing local projects and initiatives can be linked up and strengthened, and knowledge and experiences can be exchanged. The fact that some villages had successful experiences with the creation of new employment, improvement of the liveability and the involvement of villagers into village projects was a stimulus. Another intention is to design new plans for the micro-regions as a whole. It is further assumed that the network can lobby to promote their interests at regional and national level in a more powerful way than each of them can do separately. Some participants are members of the National and Regional Rural Parliament and have good connections with regional and national level politicians and policymakers.

The network has its origins in a rural women's grassroots initiative to provide social services for the local community. Additional goals were creating paid work for women and decreasing their workload in the family. The motor behind the project was a local female leader with a strong (and during the course of the project expanding) network. The initiative emerged within in the context of a rural society facing the effects of the radical political and economic reform of 1989. After the closure of the local agricultural cooperative, almost all villagers got – overnight - unemployed. For their livelihood the majority became dependent on household plot production, income out of 'black' work and social security payments. The services previously supplied by the cooperative became part of the women's household task package. Most people acquiesced to the new situation, including young people, as showing initiative had been discouraged for a long time under the Communist regime. Also the belief that only previous ('socialist') employment strategies could solve their problems was still strong. In the latter approach to (rural) development the focus was on investments in large-scale infrastructural projects (electricity, sewage, road construction works, etc.) and in big industrial plants.

The pioneering women, however, had no trust in this road to development, which they consider insecure, costly and not very sustainable. In their view, these kinds of strategy make rural areas dependent on the policies of investors and companies acting at global level. Moreover, they keep the villagers passive and unaware of their own capacities to create employment and to improve living conditions in their village. Instead, the women introduced what they term a typically 'female' approach to rural development. It entails the combination of projects with a social and thus not a primarily economic focus, geared to local needs, and entrepreneurial activity on a small scale. Also the use of locally available resources is

characteristic. The major concern is not profit making, but creating durable employment opportunities, increasing rural vitality and halting de-population.

When research revealed that the pioneers' plan to founding a food service for elderly people would fill a gap, the women started the project. In the beginning (and also thereafter) the input of voluntary labour was crucial as was the gaining of financial support. When the food service developed into a very successful activity, they expanded their services gradually to include general home care and introduced new services as Internet facilities (they introduced the first internet connection in the region), accommodation, education and skill training (e.g. languages, computer courses; how to write a funding proposal, how to manage a NGO). So far more than hundred people from the micro-region have participated in one of the courses and people's access to the Internet has – as one women observed – *“opened the window to the rest of the world”*. Next to it, they also became involved in village renovation activities, environmental projects, social-cultural activities, and in support of local (female) entrepreneurs, including starters. They deliberately involve young people in the projects. They want to strengthen their rural roots, making village life more attractive to them by responding to their needs and stimulate feelings of responsibility for their village.

In order to get a formal organisational framework for the different and expanding activities, the women had meanwhile established a NGO – ‘Ozveny’- . It was the first NGO in the region. The NGO-status made access to (inter)national networks, to information and advice and to new funding resources (governmental money, donor organisations and funds) easier.

Clearly, an improved service level is not the only achievement of the women of ‘Ozveny’. The projects generated paid work (in particular for local women) and will generate more work in the future. Women's workload in the family got reduced as well. An important merit of the pioneering women - in particular of the leader of ‘Ozveny’ – is that they inspired leaders in surrounding villages to set up their own NGO's and local level projects (e.g. social services, transport, revitalisation traditional crafts, and tourism). The establishment of the multi-stakeholder micro-regional network can be considered as another result.

At this moment, designing a common plan for tourist development is an important activity of the network. They focus on rural tourism as the area contains many different resources attractive for tourists. For example, proximity of skiing resorts, hot water springs, a rich nature, a beautiful landscape, forests and cultural heritage as Gothic churches and traditional local crafts. To compensate for the current lack of accommodation they plan to renovate unused public buildings and uninhabited houses. Since the plan is launched, local people's awareness is growing that preservation of the regional ecology – an asset previously not considered as having extra value – is a key for success.

Presently, the network tries to qualify for the EU-LEADER-program to further the realisation of their ideas. Because of pre-conditions for accessing the program, they have started to cooperate with two other neighbouring micro-regions. It is recognised that successful operation of the network will take time and that many lessons still have to be learned. Additional activities with potential the network may map out and start to promote, are ecological farming and farm diversification, wood processing industry and crafts, and improvement of the educational level (Tvrdonova 2003).

It must be stressed that more important than the described ‘overflow’ into a widening range of new activities, is that the same initiatives (‘modest’ as they might appear at first sight) have contributed significantly to the creation and further enlargement of social capital.<sup>16</sup> This

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<sup>16</sup> e.g. Mihaylova 2004 and Shucksmith 2000 elaborate on the concept of social capital

can be seen in many ways and at many levels. According to the actors involved, the 'Ozveny'-initiated activities clearly triggered a change in attitudes. Family ties are for instance no longer the only basis for cooperation. Yet, the culture of distrust concerning 'others' or 'pioneering voices' as well as a lack of respect are still considerable and constitute obstacles for change. Most people for instance are still hesitant about voting for local leaders with innovative ideas.

Nevertheless, underlying values seem to be changing, albeit apparently quite slowly. To substantiate this, those involved refer to:

- the widespread recognition of the significance of projects with a social focus;
- the mobilisation of local business people, who now recognise the importance of social activities that they are now keen to be involved in;
- the growing awareness that the service sector can generate income;
- people's recognition of the potential of locally available resources;
- breaking down of the dominant way of thinking that only large-scale economic projects can offer perspectives in rural areas.

In fact, the 'Ozveny'-initiated projects appear to be a vehicle for breaking through the apathy and passiveness, which have dominated many people's lives since the changeover in power. At least some people understand now that own initiative can pay.

### **Similarities in worldview and values:**

The starting point and a shared view in all these examples is that sustainability - in ecological, economic and social respect – is the only way for mankind to survive in the long run. It includes among others the creation of a harmonious relationship between human species and nature. The value of stewardship is important in this respect and implies that human needs must be fulfilled with minimal negative effects on ecological values and thus assumes as Dixon et al (1995) stresses 'an ethic of personal responsibility, of behaviour based on reverence for the earth and a sense of obligation to future generations'.

Corresponding strategies such as the use of locally available resources, ecological farming methods, respect for animals, delivery to regional markets, ecological education fit well with this view. Local resource use is also believed to be a pillar of economic sustainability. In addition, they all attach importance to the development and/ or maintenance of small and medium enterprises.

Social sustainability on the other hand, is also associated with committed, responsive and inclusive organisations that have inspiring and strong leadership and management qualities. Such 'learning organisations' are capable of learning, and adapting to changes in the market, politics and policies, technology and knowledge. The creation of well-balanced interpersonal relationships is believed to be another building block for social sustainability. Such relationships are built on mutual trust, respect and solidarity, and should result in better cooperation and partnership. Gender equality is, explicitly or implicitly, a value strived for. In the Slovak case, equality is also a concern in ethnic relationships.

The organisations reject a system of control and command of nature (exploitation, exhaustion, highly technology dependent) and people as well as top-down organised structures and generic rules and regulations. Instead, the pioneers emphasise values such as autonomy, ownership, self-control and accountability: people must have the chance to make



own choices, to take responsibility. Implicitly, they strive for a redistribution of power in society.

Cooperation is stressed as an important value and is partly built on mutual respect, trust and solidarity. What connects people is commitment, a feeling of belonging to the same community, the feeling that they have to deal with the same problems, that they are part of a common effort to achieve transformation, to improve their situation. The cooperation may be between farmers or entrepreneurs in the same sector, between different stakeholders in a certain region (farmers, entrepreneurs, NGO's, policy makers, and politicians) or at different levels of society (local, regional, national, international). Cooperation in the field of knowledge generation is of another nature. Farmers and citizens involved, work together with supportive researchers, advisors, experts, trainers and teachers. Cooperation may include people of different class, generation, gender, ethnic group or different geographical location. Cooperation is encouraged by networking, lobbying and advocacy.

The belief that farmers and other rural people must be responsive to the needs of urban population implies that food production methods are attuned to new norms concerning the quality of nature and environment, animal welfare and healthy and nutritious food. It also implies that they no longer consider rural areas to be the unique location of agricultural production and the domain of farmers. They perceive rural areas as locations consisting of various kinds of valuable capital i.e. ecological, economic, cultural and social capital. These resources provide the farming and non-farming population with many new job and income opportunities.

The actors share a perception of farming which is different from the traditional view that farming is merely about producing food and raw materials. In their approach, farming is a multi-functional activity and may also entail also maintenance of biodiversity and landscapes, water management, energy production, facilitation of agro-tourism, supply of care services, marketing and/or distribution of locally specific products.

Those involved believe that rural development and the associated policy must be primarily a bottom-up driven and participative process. In their view, real progress does not come from the outside world, though external actors must certainly support it. Own initiative, taking risks and being accountable for own actions are associated values. They also believe that new institutional rules need to be created.

### **Inspirations and motivations**

The pioneers are all passionate and keen persons, very determined to make their dream come true. Their sources of inspiration and motivation are various and sometimes overlapping. A number of major inspirations emerge, including a passion for nature. There is attachment to

And love of rural life or a rural lifestyle: living in a small social community, in a peaceful and clean environment close to nature. Most pioneers have rural roots. Another motivation is

social commitment: commitment to the many (long-term) rural unemployed, concern about their poor living conditions and/or about growing disparities between different categories of people (class, generation, gender, ethnical, rural/urban) and/or a deteriorating social climate in the villages. This latter aspect refers to the value of equity. Also strong are a desire for autonomy and self-control and an urge towards self-realisation.

Additionally, pioneers seem to share some personal characteristics and qualifications. The desire to realise a dream is strong, i.e., to accomplish an ideal or a goal set. A pioneering spirit is also recognisable. The pioneers strongly believe in the feasibility of their ideas despite scepticism and pessimistic predictions. The plans and strategies involved go against

mainstream views, policies and institutions. Pioneering activities can be characterised as a continuous search for new products, services, methods of production, processing, marketing and distribution. Their strength is that they simultaneously search for new supporting structures i.e. new institutions and policies.

Specific personal qualities or ‘core capacities’ of the initiators emerge, including: self-esteem and agency (the capacity to achieve the goals), creativity and an intuition for available regional potentials in terms of economy, ecology, and liveability. Pioneers have the capacity to recognise and valorise locally available resources as well as to mobilise and acquire external resources. They are also capable of defining their own position in the context in which they are operating and of analysing this context as well. They have excellent networking skills and good leadership qualities. They are able to mobilize other people to join or support their initiative and to design smart strategies. Pioneers are open to other people’s experiences, and are willing to continuously gather new knowledge and skills. They are experienced in tracking down and combining valuable and relevant information. Most of them are part of a number of different social circles. Flexibility and the ability to adjust strategies or agendas when necessary are additional capabilities.

### **Weaknesses and obstacles to further development and change**

Although these grassroots initiatives differ in many respects such as locality, historical background, economic situation and cultural setting, they have all encountered similar factors that thwart or inhibit the full development of their plans. Clearly, obstacles and weaknesses are multi-dimensional (of an economic, political, social and/or cultural nature) and can be located at macro-, meso- and micro-level. The macro-level refers to the administrative and legal system, politics and political environment; the micro-level to the individual and grassroots level; the meso-level includes all kinds of intermediate organisations.

Following Bolger (2000) I distinguish four levels at which weaknesses, constraints or threats can be identified. This classification, which was developed within the theoretical framework of capacity development, allows also for determining what capacities and capabilities need to be adapted, improved or acquired in order to develop the full potential of the initiatives.

*The broader system level or enabling environment:* this refers to the general societal environment in which the initiatives are being developed and consists of the legal-, administrative- and policy- frameworks and political environment, including political commitment and attitudes and values; technology; social and cultural context; economic trends. The major and shared obstacles that emerge at this level are bureaucracy (rules and regulations, a lot of paper work, organisational obstacles), resistance from bureaucrats and political opposition.

Bureaucracy is considered a chief obstacle. For the farmers among the pioneers, compliance with the ever-expanding web of the top-down imposed generic rules and regulations stands out as a core issue. Deviation from these rules has juridical and financial consequences. Close cooperation with researchers who are willing to scientifically refute the critics on pioneers’ alternative methods and techniques, has proved to be one of the mechanisms to create some room for manoeuvre. The Slovak pioneers point to the EU rules and regulations as well as to national legislation (‘sometimes stricter than EU-standards’). Their examples include national regulations concerning the processing of agricultural products and the many costly certificates needed to start up a business.

Bureaucracy is also experienced as a huge problem when it comes to getting access to capital. Procedures inhibit access to money (“There is money but there are too many authorities in the chain in between”) and thus put the implementation of projects at risk. In addition, Slovak

rural people lack information and advice about getting loans and support for starters. Requirements, such as having starting capital and having to start paying back the start-up loan already after six months, are other inhibiting factors. People experience these as impossible constraints. The lack of finance for co-financing EU-projects is a problem as well, in particular in regions not near to the capital city. Difficulties with mobilising own financial resources may hamper access to structural funds. Additionally, national tax policies are experienced as an obstacle that reduce the amount of financial support: 'The Slovak government creams off the direct payments: on top of the 19 % tax the state takes an extra 12, 5 % of the money we get from direct payments.'

The lack of (access to) capital/money is not just a Slovak problem. All the pioneers mention it. In the Dutch case, national politicians and policymakers reserved a too small budget for farmer managed nature- and landscape restoration and conservation. In the Italian case, payment for nature and landscape management appeared initially impossible because of contradictory legislation. The rules determining access to subsidies for pasture management were in conflict with those for renting these very pastures.

Besides bureaucratic rules, regulations and procedures, the administrators working within the bureaucratic institutions are obstacles for change. Likewise, political opposition plays an inhibiting role. According to the pioneers, many politicians and policy makers only pay lip service to rural development. The Italian pioneers link the opposition of administrators to their lack of vision or understanding concerning rural transitional processes: "This is a period of transition and local administrators don't recognise that our initiative is promising. They still favour the dominant system. The point is that we are too far ahead for the average official."

In Slovakia, opposition is attributed to a negative attitude of administrators vis-à-vis entrepreneurs: Many administrators still act as if entrepreneurs are personal enemies. They consider them to be capitalists, people who are richer than they are. They are jealous; they envy successful entrepreneurs, so they are not very willing to help them."

The Dutch environmental cooperatives have to deal with (national level) administrators who consider deviation from generic rules as risky (loss of control) and as a blow to their authority. They have no faith in the methods developed by the pioneers and distrust the effects as well as scientific research that confirm these results.

Clearly, the opposition and resistance from bureaucrats and politicians can be explained in different ways. They may be either ignorant, lack understanding or commitment, or have serious objections against the new developments. This means that their behaviour may express both a power struggle and a cultural problem. In the latter case, an attitude change among bureaucrats and politicians and a change of the culture of their organisations are needed for rural development policies to become effective and efficient.

Other issues at the broader system level that the pioneers point to are corruption (Slovakia), and inconsistencies and differences of opinion and policies between national, regional and local policies. These hamper the deployment of their initiatives. The same goes for the limited synergy of the initiatives with local administrations, both with administrative and technical departments (Italy). All three cases emphasise that there is a lack of clear rural development objectives within policies. The pioneers complain that measures focused on rural areas are, in spite of everything, very much geared to the agricultural modernisation model. The Ministries of Agriculture that The Slovak pioneers believe that current policies do not really stimulate rural economic diversification. They are still aimed at and favour large-scale enterprises ("that is their way of thinking"), instead of being supportive to SME-development. Also, the budget allocated to rural economic diversification activities appears

too small to be able to finance all the applications. Obviously, institutional problems, such as unsolved land ownership rights, land fragmentation and a very limited land market, still very much inhibit innovations in Slovak agriculture, including multifunctional farming. The farmers among the pioneers (irrespective of the locality) further stress that the concept of multifunctional farming is biased. That is, the normative framework for multifunctional farming is created by policymakers, politicians and researchers (“Their vision on multifunctional farming is disconnected from rural practice”), and not by (or in consultation with) the farmers themselves.

*The sector/network level:* this comprises sector policies, strategies and programming frameworks of all sectors and networks involved in rural development. Apart from the already mentioned policy bias (e.g. preference for the agricultural modernisation model within agricultural policy), which is partly due to the strong lobby of existing interest groups, sectoral approaches imply compartmentalisation of policies. This is at odds with the broad and multi-sectoral view required for an area-based and integrated approach, which implies dealing with a broad range of issues that crosscuts many policy fields and policy levels.

The case studies show restrictions of a sectoral approach to rural development. For instance, the environmental cooperatives have to deal with various ministries (e.g. Agriculture, Spatial Planning, Economic Affairs) while within those ministries different boards play a part in the project. All of them have their own expertise, agenda and 'rules of the game'. A lack of coordination and coherence, conflicting competencies and priorities, old routines and different working styles hamper full development of the initiative. Additionally, other stakeholders as several privatised governmental organisations and agencies, which are part of the cooperatives' network, participate in the decision-making and implementation processes. What makes it more complicated are the newly introduced models of governance (more decentralised and bottom-up); these impede rural development processes as well. The implications are that consultations, negotiations and finding the middle ground are both long-lasting and vulnerable processes.

The sector level further includes other obstacles as opposition from vested interest groups within the mainstream professional agricultural world i.e. the agro-industry, the farmer's union, knowledge institutes. As the results of the cooperatives become more and more promising, this opposition grows. The Italian case gives examples of a similar nature.

*The organisational level:* This refers to the internal capacity of the various organisations involved and comprises financial resources, internal (consultation) structures, work processes and procedures, staff quality, leadership, strategies of the organisation to achieve the goals set, linkages to other groups and organisations. The organisational culture, history and traditions, acceptance of the mission among the members, extent of shared norms and values promoting teamwork and pursuit of organisational goals refer to the institutional dimensions of organisations and are part of this level as well.

Generally, the Slovak pioneers mention weak rural leadership as an obstacle for rural economic diversification: “Leadership must be innovative and challenging. The problem is that in most villages the (mostly female) mayors are not very educated. They don't think globally. People often choose such a low-educated person for they prefer someone like themselves. They distrust people that are ‘different’; they presume those will not act in the advantage of village people.” Within the grassroots organisations involved, it is not the current leadership but the continuity, which is experienced as a problem. Current leaders appear to have problems with delegating tasks and sharing influence. This endangers the organisation and their mission, not only in the future but also today as a too high workload might result in a straining of current leaders.

Maintaining support for the mission and related activities among the participants of the initiative and among other stakeholders is equally important. As the interests of the involved people and other stakeholders may vary (due to class, gender, generation, ethnic differences) and/or change over time, there is a potential threat if controversies are not dealt with correctly. Therefore, acceptance and compliance with the organisation's 'rules of the game' by all participants must be assured constantly; if not participants may decide to give up. An organisation thus needs mechanisms to ensure observance. Opposition, failure or bad results, delay or recurrent adjustment of activities might also decrease the motivation of participants and thus weaken the social basis of the initiative. Good communication between board and members, between members, as well as transparent decision-making, is crucial. Another point of concern is of a financial nature: time and again, huge efforts must be made to guarantee the financial basis of the organisation. Without access to money, the organisation cannot function and does not achieve its goals. We have already referred to the problems within organisations operating at the broader system level (biases, prejudices, political preferences, organisational structures, rules and regulations).

*The community and/ or individual level:* This relates to social trust, mutual support, the ability to learn and cooperate and individual capacities such as knowledge, skills (negotiation, networking, cooperation, public performance, etc.), attitudes, values, motivations and beliefs. The Slovak pioneers consider people to be the biggest obstacle in rural development processes. Their knowledge, skills and capabilities still very much reflect the past way of life and requirements instead of being geared to the new socio-economic and political situation. According to the pioneers most people can be characterised as passive, inflexible, not prepared to take initiative, risks and responsibility, and unwilling to cooperate – with other people or other enterprises. The latter is rooted in a lack of mutual trust and respect for each other. Of course, problems with cooperation may also be caused by still insufficient organisational capacity. An absence of working habit due to long-term unemployment is another attitudinal problem reported by the Slovak pioneers, as is the weakening of social coherence. This may be due to growing disparities (e.g. class and ethnic differences) between villagers ("people are afraid of differences"). Individual farmers block rural economic diversification as well because many of them focus on primary production ('they can't think otherwise').

Concerning the Dutch environmental cooperatives, problems at this level are encountered in the relationship between the more conservative and the more radical farmers.

The Italian case shows that the family-based organisation of the farm might emerge as a weak point: divorce can jeopardise the whole construction (but didn't in this case).

### **Critical factors for successful endogenous rural development**

From the case studies, we identify various factors that are decisive for the successes gained so far. These include personal attributes, organisational capacities, and general economic, political and societal trends.

- Personal level capacities:
- A pioneering spirit, a visioning of the future, energy and endurance;
- Craftsmanship, entrepreneurship, organisational capacity and networking skills;
- Certain degree of social commitment, loyalty, reliability and the willingness to cooperate;
- Organisational level capacities:

- Strong and effective organisations i.e. with self-organising and self-regulative capacity, proactive; democratic structures; clear objectives;
- Competent leadership (inspiring, knowledgeable, strategic), engaged and committed participants;
- Access to finance;
- Active participation in new systems of governance (bottom-up), establishing of cooperation and partnership between different sectors (private, public and non-profit) and stakeholders within a locality or between different localities as new mechanisms of promoting sustainable rural development: or creating new relationships: between farmers; between farmers and institutions; between farmers and consumers;
- Learning capacity: open to creative thinking and innovation; improvement of existing and production of new knowledge and creating the conditions to use this knowledge in the practices of farming and rural development.<sup>17</sup> Cooperation is important to create synergy between the different knowledge systems.
- Forming part of influential networks and being a partner in strategic alliances among others to create political support. Advocacy and lobbying for their interests: the pioneering farmers managed to get support for their alternative approach in circles of politicians and policy makers. The farmers used broader public concerns to highlight their own problems. Smart alliances with powerful lobbies such as the environmental movement and consumers' organisations encouraged political commitment;
- Awareness of the culture and context within which the initiative is developed and using this as a building block; building (on) shared values, a feeling of belonging, and social networks of trust.
- More general capacities:
- Developing strategies that correspond with broader societal needs;
- Rooting economic activities in the local context i.e. the ability to make an analysis of the regional competitive advantages (nature and landscapes, region specific knowledge, foods, traditions and events, cultural heritage, art, etc.); use and improvement of local resources;
- Awareness that sustainability is multi-dimensional and requires coherence between ecology, economy and social life;
- Political sensitivity: understanding of the changes in and the effects of the politico-economic and institutional context on rural economic activities; anticipating on and influencing changes in policies and rural governance structures.

Looking at the future, it must be recognized that it is insecure whether these initiatives will generate long-term and enduring results. On the one hand, they have a firm basis since the initiatives are owned by local actors who get tangible results out of their work, including work satisfaction. On the other hand, these initiatives remain vulnerable due to dependency

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<sup>17</sup> In the Abruzzo different knowledge systems have been used and combined to generate knowledge necessary to being able to realise the dreams of the pioneers. Traditional (locally available) knowledge, experiential knowledge (developed through working experience, experimentation and exchange of knowledge and experiences between farmers and shepherds within the network) and scientific knowledge (generated through research) are powerful resources, separately as well as in combination.

on political and, especially, administrative and bureaucratic decisions. How this complex balance will turn out to be in the end still is a question mark.

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# **Learning Modules for Women in Agriculture**

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## **Key words**

rural women, educational needs, learning modules, mentors

## **Abstract**

The Czech Agriculture University in Prague has joint the Leonardo da Vinci project „Building Bridges“ led by a non-profit organization of rural women in Iceland. The aim of this project is to develop an educational model and a tool-box that can be used among rural women for social improvement, self-education and lifelong learning. The project outcomes are training products, course materials, etc., and also training methodologies, processes and experiences. The learning is based on exploitation (resp. building) of a network of farm women and training of mentors – active members of the women’s network. In the first phase of the project we try to find the main needs of women in agriculture in all participating countries. The problem in Czech Republic is that there is not any voluntary national organization representing women in agriculture. So for making out the basic needs and interests of the target group, we contacted our students from rural regions (in the framework of distance study in consultations centres), Agriculture Union, Agriculture Chambers, Union of Young Farmers and some firms dealing with advisory services in agriculture. The main goal of the project is to improve women’s self image, self-esteem and participation in economical and social life of rural areas.

# **Learning Modules for Women in Agriculture**

## **Introduction**

The Czech Agriculture University in Prague has joint the Leonardo da Vinci project „Building Bridges“ led by a non-profit organization of rural women in Iceland.

The project outcomes are training products, course material, training methodologies, processes and experiences; all with focus on training of the trainers.

In the two years period of the project we intend to:

1. Build up a network of women in farming;
2. Develop an educational model and a tool-box for farmwomen, to be used on the participants "home field", to serve the purpose of making them better qualified to tackle their situation;
3. Simultaneously to run a survey on how and if the project affects;
  - a) The farm women's self image and their self esteem as business people;
  - b) The farmwomen's participation in the sector's related social issues and social infrastructure.

One of the main elements in the model will be the building of a network of women in farming, both on national level in each country and trans national. Our goal is to make them stronger, by exchanging experiences and information's through this network and encourage teamwork. The network will also be an important tool to break the isolation of the individuals.

The best way how to build such network is to use some existing organization, contact its members and try to involve them into the project. We found that there is no organization of women in agriculture in Czech Republic so we have to build relationships with different organizations and bodies to get information and contact with the target group.

There is a lack of information. The complete overview of all offered types and topics of courses is not available and the project can make a valuable job in this area.

For mentioned lack of information and not existing organization of women in agriculture we propose following goals for the project:

1. To map the “offer” side of the education, i.e. the subject of education and the types and topics of the studies.
2. To map the “demand” side, i.e. to study generally the farmwomen social group with special focus to their educational needs and interests.
3. Support connections between women in farming as well as their participation in the community life.
4. Raise the self-image and self-confidence improving their knowledge in areas of their natural interest.
5. The support should be oriented towards young women and families. Because our country has extremely low number of babies born in last couple of years, it is highly

important to make possible a satisfactory life in the country with families together with interesting professional carrier.

There are many signs that the social and economic condition of the rural population is significantly deteriorating; there are insufficient productive potentials and a decline in the quality of service and infrastructure in rural areas. There are many indicators suggesting significant inequalities in rural areas versus urban areas; these inequalities are raising serious concerns about the future viability of rural areas and agriculture. The situation is more complicated for women what may cause movement of young women to urban areas and gender imbalance and impossibility of household formation in rural regions resulting from that.

### **General situation in the Czech Agriculture**

According to the Czech Office for Surveying, Mapping and Cadastre (COSMC) which has been for a long time monitoring the development of agricultural land resources, the total area of the Czech Republic was 7 886 000 ha as on 31 December 2003. Of this, agricultural land accounted for 4 269 000 ha.

As the area of permanent grasslands grew by 2 355 ha (0.24 %) in 2003, the proportion of arable land in total agricultural area declined slightly (from 71.8 % in 2002 to 71.7 % in 2003). This was influenced also by a reduction in the area of agricultural land in favour of forest land, the area of which rose by 1 100 ha (to 2 644 000 ha in 2003). The area of abandoned agricultural land rose from 83 000 ha in 2002 to 177 000 ha in 2003 (by 113 %).

According to the agricultural register of the Czech Statistical Office, the enterprises of legal persons accounted for 72.6 % of all farmed agricultural land and 75.6 % of all farmed arable land in 2003. Of this, corporate farms accounted for 44.0 % and cooperative farms for 26.3 % of the total agricultural area (in the case of arable land, the proportions were 45.0 % and 28.8 % respectively). Of individual types of corporate farms, joint stock companies and limited liability companies farmed the greatest shares of agricultural as well as arable land. Enterprises of natural persons (ENP) farmed over 27.4 % of agricultural land and 24.4 % of arable land. Within these enterprises, the majority were independent private farmers (IPF) registered by local authorities.

The area of sold agricultural land increased only slightly from 87 000 ha to 89 000 ha, i.e. 2.8 % of total agricultural land in the Czech Republic. Market prices of agricultural land for farming purposes with an area of above 5 ha declined by somewhat less than 1 % (from 3.45 CZK/m<sup>2</sup> in 2002 to 3.42 CZK/m<sup>2</sup> in 2003). Overall average market price of agricultural land rose slightly from 21.68 CZK/m<sup>2</sup> in 2002 to 23.18 CZK/m<sup>2</sup> in 2003. Also the average price of agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes with an area of less than 1 ha grew from 99.26 CZK/m<sup>2</sup> in 2002 to 114.32 CZK/m<sup>2</sup> in 2003 (i.e. by 15.2 %).

The Czech Republic is an industrialized society. The proportion of women in the labour force is relatively high at 45.9 percent.

The proportion of the labour force engaged in agriculture is only 3.8 percent (4.8 % of all men, 2.7 % of women) while agricultural production accounts for 3.6 percent of the GDP. Highly intensive land cultivation is typical of Czech agriculture.

2.6 million people (25 percent of the population) live in rural areas, half of which are women. In the active age group there are more men than women in rural areas, but in the older age groups there is a majority of women. There are only 207 000 men over 65 years in rural areas, as against 375 000 women. The educational level of the rural population is lower than that of urban residents, and the educational level of men is higher than that of women in both

rural and urban settings. Migration from rural areas to urban areas is higher than vice versa, and more women than men are migrating.

Rural women working in sectors other than agriculture tend to work full time. Women working on the farm are seldom engaged in entrepreneurial activities. On family farms men make the decisions, men and women work with the animals and women work in the household. The national health care system functions in rural areas and the level of social services and social benefits is high. Special problems in rural areas are the scant provision of shops, services and cultural activities.

There are vocational schools, secondary level institutes and agricultural universities in the Czech Republic. The proportion of girls in agricultural schools is more than half, on the secondary level 44 percent and in the agricultural universities 37 percent. Many kinds of adult education services are available to rural people.

The main educational needs of rural women are in healthy nutrition, the legal and tax system, entrepreneurship, accounting, bookkeeping, using computers and psychological and sociological knowledge. There are no special extension services in home economics or home management in the country.

There are many organizations for rural and agricultural people (the Union of Agricultural Entrepreneurs, the Union of Land Owners, the Union of Cooperative Workers and the Agrarian Chamber), but women do not actively participate.

The main problems of rural areas are depopulation, few and decreasing services, and the lack of cultural activities. A special problem for rural women is a heavy workload, lack of free time and inequality in leisure compared to men. There are no extension or advisory services in home economics for rural or farming families. A special problem in rural areas, as well as for the country as a whole, is women's low participation in politics and public life.

The priority needs of rural women are a better service network, increased activity in public life and organizations, and education and training in home economics.

An average annual growth rate of urban population was -0.1 percent in years 1990-2004 which is 2.2 less than in years 1970 – 1990 (the percentage was 2.1)

### **Characteristics of the Target Group**

The target group is not unified. Due to the not continuous development each woman working in agriculture has gone through different life experience and her educational needs and interests can be pretty different as well as her social and employment position.

In 2000, approximately 150,000 people were working in agriculture, of which 35.3 percent were women. The rate of agricultural unemployment for women in 1999 reached 13.6 percent, almost three times higher than men. In agricultural sector, where the income is generally lower – about 70 – 75 percent of the Czech national average income, the average wage of women working in agriculture was rated at 86.4 percent of the men's wage in 1996 and in 2000 it was only 77.8 percent. Only 2 % of rural women think to start a small business. In total there are about 50,000 rural women entrepreneurs (men are more than 100,000); and they are usually younger women with higher education.

We have found following typical features of women working in agriculture:

- Great number of them is employed in big farms. They work often on specialized position and feel more like “employees” than like “farmers” even if the farm is a co-operative of owners.
- The tradition of family farm was interrupted during socialist era. The existing family farms are in operation for maximum 15 years since 1990 after re-nationalization of the agricultural land and property. The number of family farms is not high and their contribution to the total agricultural production is not deciding. Because of short experience they are badly oriented in practical matters even if they have special agriculture education.
- Many people in family farms run the farm as second job and /or not for their whole life for example women during maternity leave or unemployment.
- Comparatively high number of family farms is managed with non-typical life style (ecologists, vegetarians, special religions). The owners started their farming to run away from a town, from consumption oriented society etc. Their ideas are usually different from real life in the country and they usually live outside the rural communities and become isolated.
- Many women in family farms are seniors.
- Women are usually responsible for unremunerated work in the household and community.
- For women in paid work, obstacles remain that hinder them from their potential, and women are poorly represented in economic decision-making, as well as in certain occupations.
- Unemployment and underemployment are serious problems.

### **Proposed Learning Modules**

The project “Building Bridges” is based on exploitation (resp. building) of a network of farmwomen and training of mentors – active members of the women’s network. In the first phase of the project we tried to find the main needs of women in agriculture in all participating countries. For making out the basic needs and interests of the target group, we contacted our students from rural regions (in the framework of distance study in consultations centres), Agriculture Union, Agriculture Chambers, Union of Young Farmers and some firms dealing with advisory services in agriculture.

The Island partner of the project who proposed the topics led the research of interests of women.

We collected opinions on education in following topics:

- Finances and bookkeeping;
- Local production, sales and marketing;
- Self improvement;
- Setting of personal goals;
- Entrepreneurship and innovation;
- English;
- Computer literacy;

- Machinery operations;
- Craftsmanship;
- Using the farm for educational visits;
- Active social participation;
- Legal rights and obligations;
- First aid;
- Oral and written expression;
- Vocational training and courses within agriculture;
- Product demos, marketing, group receptions.

We distributed a questionnaire among our distance students in centres in rural areas. The women should rate the importance of above topics from 1 (the least interesting) to 18 most interesting. We did not get to any unique estimator, which would lead to choice of the most requested learning module. High importance was given to the “Setting of personal goals”. We understood that many responders are not able to clearly identify their goals and ways for reaching them. The reason of inconclusive result of the research is because the basic decision about the goals has not been made in majority of cases.

## **Conclusions**

The development of Czech agriculture in last years is leading to higher industrialization and higher share of agriculture land in ownership of big firms and companies. This is resulting into decreasing number of employees and lower working opportunities for women. Women are still involved in all systems of production in agriculture and they also provide services contributing to life in rural areas. Minority of women are in decision-making posts even when the average education is slightly higher than education of men. Development initiatives need to be taken into account gender issues in order to not only encourage women to remain in the agricultural sector but also for them to be able to contribute as equal partners to the agricultural economy.

The main problem of recent years in Czech Republic we see in maintaining and enhancing the employment rate of women in agriculture with special respect to young and educated women. Keeping women employed in countryside has a crucial importance for sustaining habitation especially for residence of young families with children.

The future we see in carrier opportunities in new domains as regional specialties and high quality foodstuff, tourism, handicrafts, wood and natural materials processing.

The education of women must start from setting goals, making and maintaining connections to various subjects and among each other, etc. The possibility of become equal to man in decision making, starting and managing own businesses and in all occupations for which the women have qualification and/or experience is the chance for contented sustainable life in rural areas not only for women but also for the whole families. Generally, the self-improving activities are more important than any specialized professional education.

## **Literature**

<http://www.fat.admin.ch/eaae96/abstracts/s24.pdf>

[http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/crepublic\\_statistics.html](http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/crepublic_statistics.html)

[http://www.fao.org/documents/show\\_cdr.asp?url\\_file=/docrep/W2356E/w2356e04.htm](http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/W2356E/w2356e04.htm)

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# **New Generation Cooperatives in Europe: a Case Study from the Italian Dairy Sector**

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## **Abstract**

Changing market conditions, both locally and on a global scale, have brought new challenges and opportunities for small farmers. Traditionally, it has been held that group action in the form of cooperative enterprise can help farmers to overcome size constraints and to compete in the market. However, problems associated with traditional forms of cooperative tend to make these less dynamic than pure capitalist enterprise. This paper is motivated by a concern to establish whether cooperatives can play a significant role today in enabling small-scale farmers to compete in increasingly buyer dominated markets. It starts by recognising that the model of New Generation Cooperatives has provided organisational features (closed membership, transferable and appreciable delivery rights, binding delivery contract, and upfront equity) which have helped farmers in North America to overcome problems posed by traditional forms of cooperative organisation – problems which the recent literature attributes to ‘vaguely defined property rights’. Our aim is to investigate, through a case study, the potential relevance of this new cooperative model for farmers operating in economic contexts other than North America. After reviewing the distinctive features of New Generation Cooperatives, we ask whether the adoption of these features can explain the rapid growth of an Italian cooperative dairy organisation, Granlatte. We review key aspects of Granlatte’s evolution, focussing on organisational structure, scale of operations, distinctive features of development strategy and the dominant constraints faced since its foundation. We conclude that Granlatte is not a pure NGC but rather holds an intermediate position in the continuum Traditional Cooperative – New Generation Cooperative. The main problem which Granlatte has faced – chronic undercapitalisation – has been mitigated by the adoption of an original organisational structure which does not entirely conform to that of an NGC. On the other hand, Granlatte, like North American NGCs, has sought to strengthen its market position through an explicit focus on adding value to members’ products, emphasis on process and product upgrading and stringent quality control. In a concluding section we consider the potential implications of both the NGC model and the Granlatte experience for small-scale farmers in low income regions.



# **Are New Generation Cooperatives A Solution to Problems of Marketing, and Adding Value to, Small-scale Farm Outputs?**

## **1. Introduction**

Inter-sectoral approaches to the analysis of economic development in low income regions have shown that a dynamic farm sector can play a significant role in the development of national economies, by generating backward and forward demand linkages to non-farm production as well as forward supply linkages to agricultural processing (Mellor 1976; Adelman 1984; Murphy Schleifer and Vishny 1989a and 1989b). According to a range of studies, including those just cited, in labour abundant regions, small- to medium-scale farmers are the most suitable agents to achieve these demand linkages. In such regions, their potential to achieve higher efficiency in resource allocation than large, wage labour based farms has also been highlighted by a significant body of empirical research.<sup>18</sup> However, the contribution of small farms to development in labour abundant regions has sometimes been curtailed by policy bias against small-scale agriculture and/or by the impacts of market liberalisation in the context of highly unequal distribution of farm land.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, in recent decades the increasingly demanding conditions set by major buyers in agricultural markets have diminished the prospects for the survival of small-scale farms as effective individual competitors in the commercial sector (Santacolma and Riveros 2004).

The issue of the impact of changing market conditions on small-scale farmers is not peculiar to developing countries: recent developments within Europe such as declining subsidies to agriculture, increased competition in food and agribusiness supply chains and increased consumer demand for high-quality food products which require certification, have also put additional pressure on individual suppliers of farm output, particularly if small.

In the past, it has been held that small-scale farmers can overcome constraints arising from their farm size through group action, of which the cooperative form of enterprise is one example. The aim of this paper is to explore the contemporary validity of this proposition in the light of recent critiques of key features of traditional cooperatives.

Agricultural cooperatives are organisations ‘of collective entrepreneurship, [...] user-owned, user-controlled, and user-benefited businesses’ (Iliopoulos 2005: 14). In traditional cooperatives, membership is open, scale of participation in the cooperative activity is unrestricted, the vote of each member has equal weight regardless of capital invested, a board of directors is elected by members from members, and excess earnings are redistributed among members as patronage refunds or dividends (Le Vay 1983). Risk capital for investment is generated primarily as members’ equity, by means of retained earnings, but there is no market for members’ ownership rights (Iliopoulos 2005: 14). In the absence of such a market, members have an interest both in minimising their equity and in maximising the speed of its redemption, thereby inhibiting investment in developing the cooperative

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<sup>18</sup> See, e.g. Berry and Cline 1979; Cornia 1985; Binswanger Deininger Feder 1995; Heltberg 1998.

<sup>19</sup> See Dorward 1999; Niazi 2004; David *et al.* 2000.

enterprise.<sup>20</sup> In recent years, in an attempt to gain competitiveness, a number of North American agricultural processing cooperatives – ‘New Generation Cooperatives’ (NGCs) – have modified these basic rules by introducing restricted membership, upfront equity, legally binding delivery contracts and transferable and appreciable delivery rights.

The literature on microeconomic theory is not particularly encouraging towards the traditional form of cooperative enterprise, which is almost invariably classified either as inefficient and, thus, inferior to the capitalistic firm (Ward 1958; Hart and Moore 1996), or as a transitory phenomenon (Deininger 1995; Hansmann 1996; Sabates-Wheeler 2002; Sabates-Wheeler and Childress 2004).<sup>21</sup> This notwithstanding, the development literature has noted the potential advantages of cooperative enterprise for small farmers. Entrepreneurial collective action in the form of cooperatives has been advocated as a promising way for farmers to access inputs, credit, technical training, output markets and market research (Hussi and Murphy 1993; Ollila and Nilson 1997; Nomisma 1997; Carletto et al. 1999; Chirwa et al. 2005; Iliopoulos 2005). In addition, recent evidence (Giuliani Pietrobelli and Rabelotti 2005) suggests that value chains organised around network-like governance structures<sup>22</sup>, and in particular cooperatives, seem to facilitate a ‘smoother and continuous process of learning, creating the conditions for firms to functionally upgrade over time’ (*Ibid*: 564).

In this paper we investigate the relevance of the New Generation Cooperative (NGC) model for farmers operating in economic contexts other than North America. We first outline the principles underlying NGCs. We then examine the history of a contemporary European agricultural cooperative – the Italian dairy cooperative organisation Granlatte – in the light of these principles, asking whether their adoption can be considered the main determinant of its rapid growth. Granlatte is of interest both because it represents a ‘success story’ in the Italian agro-industrial sector (it is market leader in the fresh milk sector and it has a significant market share in the cheese, butter and yoghurt sectors), and because it shares the same aims as NGCs: value adding, pursued via a *filière*<sup>23</sup> approach, and a strong emphasis on process and product quality.

In the case study we first present key features of Granlatte today, to give an idea of its size and significance in the Italian market. We then examine three salient moments in Granlatte’s history (its origins, a period of crisis, and its latest restructuring) in order to highlight important elements in the evolution of the strategy pursued by Granlatte. We then compare key features of Granlatte’s organisational structure with the defining principles of NGCs and, finally, we summarise the key determinants of both positive and negative aspects of Granlatte’s evolution and of the cooperative’s present organisational structure.

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<sup>20</sup> While equity redemption is financially costly for the cooperative and can consequently lead to slower development of the enterprise, redeemed equity is usually returned to members at the original book value, regardless of the value of cooperative business itself: ‘members do not receive a return on their investment reflecting firm growth value unless the cooperative is dissolved or sold’ (Iliopoulos 2005: 16).

<sup>21</sup> See Zamagni 2005; Borzaga and Tortia 2005; Musella 2005; Borzaga 2000 for a critique of this view.

<sup>22</sup> Governance in value chains refers to the coordination of decisions on what should be produced, how, when, how much and at what price (see Gereffi 1994; Humphrey and Schmitz 2000; Gereffi and Kaplinsky 2001; Kaplinsky and Morris 2001). Three possible types of governance structure can be distinguished: 1. network – cooperation between firms of more or less equal power; 2. quasi-hierarchy – a relationship between two legally independent firms where one is clearly subordinated to the other; 3. hierarchy – when one firm is owned by another firm.

<sup>23</sup> In this context, the *filière* comprises the economic agents involved in the production, processing and marketing of an agro-industrial good and their productive capital. The aim of the *filière* approach is to coordinate the production, processing and marketing of the good in order to promote high quality standards and to maximise both market penetration and returns to members.

In the penultimate section of the paper, we consider the potential implications of both the NGC model and the Granlatte experience for small-scale farmers in low income regions. The final section summarises our main conclusions.

## **2. Traditional and New Generation Cooperatives: distinguishing characteristics**

In a recent body of literature which compares traditional and new generation cooperatives, the former are held to have a number of characteristics, including the absence of a market for ownership rights, which generate performance disadvantages relative to capitalist firms. These disadvantages take the form of investment constraints and collective decision-making constraints. More specifically, traditional cooperatives experience the following five problems – jointly attributed in the literature to ‘vaguely defined property rights’<sup>24</sup> (Cook 1995; Cook and Iliopoulos 1999 and 2000; Iliopoulos 2005) – of which the first three constrain investment:<sup>25</sup>

- The free rider problem: arises when ‘new members obtain the same patronage and residual rights as existing members and are entitled to the same payment per unit of patronage’ (Iliopoulos 2005: 16). Open membership, equally distributed rights between members and the lack of a market to establish a price for residual claims (in the form of retained earnings or other levies on members), result in gains from cooperative action that can be accessed by individuals who did not fully invest in developing the gains, as in the case of new(er) members. The rate of return to investment is diluted for existing members whenever investment is followed by the accession of new members, and this creates a disincentive to invest in the cooperative.
- Horizon problem: members also face a disincentive to invest in long-term projects whenever a member’s residual claim on the net income generated by an asset may be shorter than the productive life of that asset, as, for example, with long-term investment in intangible assets such as advertisement and R&D. This disincentive too arises because there is no market for transferring residual claimant rights (Furubotn and Pejovic 1970; Porter and Scully 1987). Due to the horizon problem, existing members may pressure the board of directors and management to increase the proportion of cash flow for current payments to members and to accelerate equity redemptions, thereby reducing the retained earnings that are available for productive investment.
- Portfolio problem: since, for a member of a traditional cooperative, the investment is tied to the patronage decision, members cannot adjust their cooperative asset portfolios to match their personal risk preferences. The inability to make this adjustment is reinforced by the lack of transferability, liquidity and appreciation mechanisms for residual claims. Members may therefore hold sub-optimal portfolios and those who have to face a risk level higher than their preference will engage in costly influence activities to pressure decision makers to adjust the cooperative investment portfolio to their needs, even if a reduced risk portfolio means lower expected returns (Vitaliano 1983).

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<sup>24</sup> Property rights are socially and legally enforced rights over specific uses of a scarce resource. Residual rights of control are the rights to make any decision regarding the use of an asset not explicitly regulated by law or assigned to other parties by contract. These rights emerge because of the inherently incomplete nature of contracts. Residual claims, on the other hand, are the rights to the net income generated by the firm, i.e. the amount left over after all payments (Chaddad and Cook 2001: 349-50).

<sup>25</sup> Both this summary and the following summary of NGC characteristics are based on Iliopoulos 2005.

- Control problem: this refers to the costs incurred by members and the board of directors to ensure that their agent (the management) does not pursue divergent interests. Two sets of costs are relevant: those of monitoring the management and those, which stem from a failure to monitor successfully. Both sets of costs are likely to assume greater significance in a cooperative than in a firm with traded equity, both because share price cannot act as a signal of performance and because members of the committee/board themselves often lack expertise in business management.
- Influence cost problems: such problems characterise all organisations in which management decisions affect wealth distribution among members and they become increasingly serious as a cooperative grows in complexity and engages in a wide range of activities, because members are more likely to be heterogeneous and to pursue diverse objectives. This creates a problem of governance, as members' attempts to influence decision-making to their own benefit may lead to a paralysis of the cooperative itself. The problem is exacerbated because a dissatisfied member cannot profitably sell his/her equity and exit the cooperative.

Vaguely defined property rights [VDPRs], through the first three problems just noted, affect members' incentives to invest in a cooperative organisation, and, thereby, the organisation's overall ability to generate equity capital. These constraints are particularly serious in the context of increasing buyer dominance in agricultural markets. The adoption of competitive growth strategies in the present market conditions often requires substantial capital investments. In order to acquire the necessary capital and gain competitiveness, in the last twenty years an increasing number of North American agricultural cooperatives have modified the basic rules of traditional cooperatives. A new model of cooperative organisation has emerged from their experience: the New Generation Cooperative (NGC). NGCs have also adopted measures, which serve to mitigate the collective decision-making constraints, which characterise especially the larger and more complex traditional cooperatives.

NGCs are offensive agricultural marketing cooperatives, which focus on value adding. By processing members' raw products into value-added products and then marketing them, NGCs bring growers closer to the ultimate consumer and allow growers to capture a larger share of the profits generated between the farm gate and consumers. Substantial equity capital is often required to pursue this aim and NGCs have adopted a number of organisational innovations, which are suited to raising capital:

1. Restricted membership and fixed delivery rights: NGCs accept only a limited number of members. Each member must purchase delivery rights as a precondition for entry into the cooperative.<sup>26</sup> Control of membership reduces free rider problems while controlled sale of delivery rights allows the cooperative to determine and set its most efficient scale of operations.
2. Upfront equity: in NGCs the issue of equity is tied to purchase of delivery rights. It is common for 30-50 per cent of investment costs to be mobilised in this way (Iliopoulos 2005: 18). The total amount of capital required to finance value-adding activities is divided into small units which are allocated taking into account the number of producers who want to be involved in the project and what is financially viable for producers to commit: different members can commit different amounts, in this way mitigating the portfolio problem.

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<sup>26</sup> Because farmers become members of a NGC only upon purchase of delivery rights, members' voting rights are linked to delivery rights. The principle of 'one man, one vote' in cooperatives is however prescribed by law. Also NGCs have to abide to that, and each member has the right to one vote regardless of the quantity of delivery rights he or she purchased.

3. Legally binding delivery contracts or uniform grower agreements: when purchasing delivery rights, members sign a formal contract which specifies the duties of members and the cooperative towards each other with regard to delivery, quality and quantity. The member undertakes to deliver a specific amount of one or more commodities each year. If a member cannot deliver the agreed quantity or the specified standards of production, the cooperative might decide to buy the commodity from another source and charge the member for the difference in price. The contract is usually fixed term – often five years – renewable unless either party gives notice within a specified time frame.
4. Transferable and appreciable delivery rights: in NGCs delivery rights are transferable and may either appreciate or depreciate in value. A member can also, with the approval of the Board, sell part of his or her delivery rights to other producers, be they existing members or not. As is the case for shares of corporate stock, the value of the delivery right will reflect the cooperative firm's profitability: these rights may appreciate or depreciate in value depending on whether or not the NGC is successful and provides value for its members.

According to a number of recent studies of NGCs, these organisational and institutional (rules-related) innovations benefit both the member producer and the cooperative. By enabling both NGCs to raise investment capital and members to benefit from appreciable and marketable delivery rights, these provisions ensure that members can receive the returns to processing their commodity. Controlled membership, delivery contracts and transferable and appreciable delivery rights jointly reduce both free-rider and horizon problems. Cook and Iliopoulos (2000) surveyed a number of traditional and new generation cooperatives and found that members' investment was strongly and positively associated with closed membership and enforceable marketing contracts (significant at 5 %). Transferable and appreciable delivery rights also had a positive impact, but were significant only at the level of 10 %. This weaker than expected result deserves further empirical examination since it has been held that a hallmark of NGCs is the adoption of these rights (Chaddad and Cook 2001: 355).<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, we would like to suggest a complementary hypothesis: that the promising performance of NGCs may also depend on their explicit focus on value adding, which makes them more proactive towards product and process upgrading.

However, NGCs' distinctive organisational structure is not itself free from potential problems. In particular, the – often large – upfront equity required for membership may exclude the smallest and poorest farmers. Moreover, certain practices may blur the distinction between cooperative and investor-oriented firms. This is particularly evident in the case of transferable delivery rights: members leasing their delivery rights to non-member producers, for instance, could generate a cooperative controlled by members that are not actively producing; and if members are free to purchase the raw product in order to supply it for processing, this would violate two of the fundamental principles of NGCs – to add value to one's own produce and to ensure traceability of production.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> They also considered the influence of separate capital pools - particularly relevant for multipurpose cooperatives, where members are allowed to invest in the area of their specific interest. However, relatively few of the surveyed cooperatives actually adopted this device; possible for this reason, the pools did not prove significant. They are not discussed further here.

<sup>28</sup> Torgerson (2001) gives evidence of cases in which similar problems occurred in the US. Other potential problems which may arise in seeking to establish an NGC were identified in a study sponsored by the Minnesota Association of Cooperatives (cited in Iliopoulos 2005: 19). They include managerial problems common to many businesses (e.g. plant specifications not met, construction contract delays and non-competitive business location) and motivational and organisational problems which derive from some of the basic cooperative

Is the NGC model of any relevance to Europe or to farmers in low and middle income economies? What lessons can be learned from the North American NGC experience, which could improve the performance of agricultural cooperatives in regions outside North America? As a first step towards exploring the answer to these questions, we have examined an Italian dairy cooperative, Granlatte, which has proved successful in terms of expanding market share and adding value, in order to see to what extent Granlatte is representative of the NGC model, and whether any other factors, not identified in the traditional cooperative-NGC dichotomy, may also explain its performance.

### 3. Case study: The cooperative organisation Granlatte<sup>29</sup>

#### 3.1. Granlatte today

The cooperative firm Granlatte was founded in 1957 by 19 small-scale farmers (sharecroppers, fixed-rent tenants and smallholders) operating in the area of Bologna. Today Granlatte has a nationwide market and membership (Figure 1). It has associated to it around 2000 milk producers, partly as individual farmers (of whom there are about 580: see Table 1) and partly grouped in first-level cooperatives.<sup>29</sup>

**Figure 1: Geographical distribution of Granlatte's members (individual farmers and first-level cooperatives), 2004. In dark blue the areas of Granlatte membership.**




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principles which NGCs retain, including one member one vote, a committee elected by members from members and distribution of excess profits as rewards for patronage.

<sup>29</sup> Lately, Granlatte has been trying to associate primarily individual members. First-level cooperatives are retained because they are better able to respond to sudden or large increases in demand from Granarolo [the processing and marketing firm of which Granlatte is the majority shareholder], but Granlatte finds that individual members are more responsive than members associated through first-level cooperatives to Granlatte's policy of incentives for the improvement of production practices (interview with Valerio Orlandini, Chairman of Granlatte, 23.12.2005). Price incentives reach individual producers directly, while, in the case of first-level cooperatives, these receive the incentives and then distribute them to members, often according to criteria that differ from those set out by Granlatte.

**Table 1: Individual producers by ranges of volume of milk produced, 2004**

Volume of milk production – ranges	Number of individual producers	%
Less than 200 lt/day	135	23
Between 200 and 300 lt/day	104	18
More than 300 lt/day	341	59
Number of individual members	580	100

*Source: Granlatte, Annual Report 2004*

The milk delivered to Granlatte represents 4 % of total Italian milk production<sup>30</sup> and 30 % of fresh milk production. The aim of Granlatte is both to enable members to compete on the market and to add value to members' milk by facilitating quality improvements and by further processing. Granlatte pursues these goals by participating in, and controlling, a filière that follows the milk from production to processing to marketing.<sup>31</sup> It provides technical assistance and training to members and it enforces the respect of stringent product quality standards.

Granlatte's active involvement in the milk filière occurs at three main stages: input provision to member farmers, through the subsidiary firm AgriOk<sup>32</sup>; milk collection and quality controls, performed by Granlatte; milk processing and commercialisation, since 1992 entrusted to Granarolo Ltd. Granlatte has majority control in Granarolo's operations, and Granarolo has not, as yet, entered the stock market, a step that is perceived as premature by both its management and Granlatte's members. Fresh milk is the core business of the Granarolo Group, which in 2004 achieved a market share of 32 % in this sub-sector, supplying the sole nationwide brand of fresh milk.<sup>33</sup> Granarolo is also market leader in the sector of High Quality and Organic fresh milk, with market shares of, respectively, 45 and 50 %. The group also produces fresh cheese and butter, since the 1960s, and yoghurts, since the 1980s. Market shares in these sub-sectors are, however, significantly smaller (see Table 2), although their importance has become clear following changes in the food habits of consumers<sup>34</sup>: the sub-sector provides scope for expansion. The group owns 12 processing plants throughout Italy<sup>35</sup> and markets its products through both small and large retailers.

<sup>30</sup> Raw milk is either processed for sale as fresh and UHT milk or is transformed into cheese, butter, yoghurt, etc.

<sup>31</sup> Processing involves milk pasteurisation (both of the 'high temperature/short time' type used for fresh milk and of the type 'ultra-high temperature' – UHT – for long life milk), churning (butter) and curdling (cheese) and packaging.

<sup>32</sup> Founded by Granarolo and Granlatte in 2000, it seeks to guarantee the traceability of intermediate inputs. Members are not obliged to purchase their inputs from AgriOk, but this facility can be particularly helpful for farmers joining the voluntary traceability scheme for production (introduced in 2001), because the type and quality of intermediate inputs provided by AgriOk are consistent with Granlatte and Granarolo's requirements.

<sup>33</sup> The other main firm in the fresh milk sector – the private firm Parmalat – owns firms in most parts of Italy but each retains its own brand.

<sup>34</sup> In Italy, over the last forty years, expenditure on milk, as predicted by Engel's Law, increased less than proportionally to the increase in per capita income; however, expenditure on cheese and yoghurt increased substantially, as time saving alternatives to other, more elaborated types of food.

<sup>35</sup> Of which 7 produce fresh milk, 4 UHT milk, 5 cheese, 3 cream, 2 butter and 1 yoghurt.

**Table 2: Market shares Granarolo Group – 2004**

Product	Granarolo	Main competitor
Milk		Parmalat
‘High Quality’	45 %	24 %
Normal	14 %	30 %
Semi-skimmed	27 %	28 %
UHT	18 %	23 %
Cheese		Galbani <sup>36</sup>
Mozzarella	4 %	51 %
Soft cheese	10 %	37%
Mascarpone	8 %	33 %
Ricotta	7 %	55 %
Butter		Prealpi
	9 %	10 %
Yoghurt		Danone
	11 %	25 %

Source: Granlatte 2002

In what follows we review the evolution of Granlatte-Granarolo<sup>37</sup>, summarised in Table 3, and identify the critical turning points in this process.

**Table 3: The evolution of Granlatte – key points**

1800s	‘Latterie Turnarie’ (Rotating dairies)
1870s	Social dairies
1957	Foundation of Cbpl
1960	Branding: Granarolo
1965-69	1 <sup>st</sup> phase of geographical expansion: Veneto
1969	Foundation of the cooperative Felsinea
1971	Milk market liberalisation throughout Europe (EEC)
1972	Merger with Felsinea: Cerpl
1970s	2 <sup>nd</sup> phase of geographical expansion: Emilia Romagna
1984	Introduction of milk quotas in Italy (EEC)

<sup>36</sup> The most significant Italian milk processing firm, this private enterprise was created in 1882. It is now owned by the French firm Lactalis.

<sup>37</sup> Sources: Battilani (2004); Granlatte (2000); [www.granarolo.it](http://www.granarolo.it); [www.granlatte.it](http://www.granlatte.it); interviews with Valerio Orlandini, Director General of Granlatte, 23 December 2005 and 24 January 2006.



1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1<sup>st</sup> change in management</li> <li>• Differential milk price for quality</li> </ul>
1988	Premium for large herds
1980s	3 <sup>rd</sup> phase of geographical expansion: Lombardy; the South
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2<sup>nd</sup> change in management</li> <li>• High Quality Milk</li> </ul>
1992	Establishment of Granarolo Ltd.
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marketing through supermarkets</li> <li>• TV advertisement</li> </ul>
1990s	Firm restructuring and rationalisation
2000	Establishment of AgriOk

### 3.2. The origins of Granlatte

When a new farmers' cooperative marketing organisation is founded, preconditions for successful establishment include: group cohesion and commitment to cooperative business norms and rules, competent management, clearly defined goals and business strategy and access to essential finance. In the following paragraphs we show how these preconditions were met in the case of Granlatte.

The dairy cooperative organisation which is today called Granlatte was founded in Bologna, in the – at the time – relatively underdeveloped and mainly agricultural Emilia Romagna region, in 1957. Its original name was Cbpl-Granarolo (Bolognese consortium of milk producers), known among producers and consumers simply as 'Granarolo'. In contrast with most other Italian towns, where the milk market was a monopoly<sup>38</sup>, the milk market in Bologna was contestable<sup>39</sup>: new firms could freely enter the sector and would be immediately forced to operate efficiently to sustain competition. This proved important for the development and survival of Cbpl.

The cooperative movement was deep-rooted in Emilia Romagna and one of its main concerns was to identify a strategy to improve the livelihoods of small-scale farmers. According to the League of Cooperatives<sup>40</sup>, the establishment of processing *and marketing* cooperatives selling

<sup>38</sup> Until the 1970s, in most medium and large Italian towns the milk market revolved around a milk collection, processing and bottling centre, usually owned by the local administration. The centre was the monopoly buyer of all the fresh milk delivered from the surrounding areas, distributing it daily from its plant both to individual customers and to dairy shops. Bologna was an exception: there was no milk centre, but three different collection points, where farmers themselves had to deliver milk. This, together with increasing concerns for hygiene, generated pressures for the introduction of a milk collection and processing, which however was never approved by the Italian ministry of Agriculture, due to disagreements between the ministry and the local administration as to who would run the centre (Battilani 2004).

<sup>39</sup> A market is contestable when there are no barriers to entry or exit, regardless of the number of firms already operating in it. The threat of entry from competing firms discourages opportunistic behaviour on behalf of already operating firms and implies that price is fixed at marginal cost (Baumol, Panzar and Willig 1982; Battilani 2004).

<sup>40</sup> This representative body united Italian cooperative enterprises which were culturally close to the Socialist and Communist parties.

directly to the market would be the best way for farmers to add value to their products and thus reap a higher income from sales. This contrasted with the situation of most agricultural cooperatives at the time, as these organised producers for processing but still relied on intermediaries (thus able to exploit their monopsonist power) for marketing.

With regard to the dairy sector, clusters of farmers processing milk together (called ‘social dairies’<sup>41</sup>) had become relatively common since the end of the Second World War, but they lacked coordination and contractual power.

### 3.2.1 Clearly defined and agreed goals

Upon its creation in 1957, Cbpl aimed to (a) collect milk at the farm gate, (b) undertake any activity necessary to increase the value of members’ milk and (c) sell members’ milk on the market. Thus, from its inception Cbpl shared the aim of NGCs: to add value to members’ produce and to control its transformation from raw to marketed product. Cbpl had 19 founding members, of whom 12 (63 %) were sharecroppers<sup>42</sup>, 5 (26 %) were fixed-rent tenants and 2 (11 %) were smallholders<sup>43</sup>. It is probable that most members had previously been involved in social dairies. The political and ideological orientation of the founders was towards those of Italy’s Socialist and Communist movements.

### 3.2.2 Commitment to cooperative business norms and rules regarding governance and management, group cohesion

Members elected from among themselves a President and a Board of Directors. The latter included both members and non-members who were linked to the cooperative movement and particularly to the League of Cooperatives. Members also hired the management, chosen under the advice of the League of Cooperatives. The group of managers that guided the new cooperative from the start until 1985 had secondary education and previous political experience from the years of the Resistance, and/or as activists in trade unions or sectoral organisations. Cbpl’s governance structure, as prescribed by law, also included two control bodies, one to check the conduct of the management and the other the transparency of financial operations. Candidates to take part in the two control bodies were (and are) proposed by the Board and elected by the members from among professionals.

Beyond this formal structure, which Cbpl had to abide to by law, a certain territorial concentration and the relatively small dimensions of the enterprise allowed the development of personal relationships both among members and between members and management, based on mutual trust and commitment to a shared goal. Personal relationships reduced both uncertainty in transactions between members and the management and the costs of supervision of management.

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<sup>41</sup> Groups of farmers would pool finances to buy a small processing plant, which they would then manage jointly but use separately with a rotating system.

<sup>42</sup> Sharecroppers’ delivery of milk to social dairies and cooperatives in Emilia Romagna had been met with the severe opposition of the landlords, who resorted to intimidation and legal means to prevent this from happening and to enforce their right to decide where to sell the milk. In sharecropping, in fact, landlords by law held the title of ‘milk producer’, while their tenants were just ‘milkers’. As a sign that the times were changing and that sharecropping was soon to be abolished (*de jure* in the 1960s), share tenants won their right to keep delivering milk to social dairies or cooperatives.

<sup>43</sup> It has not been possible to collect detailed information about the founding members, particularly with regard to their education level and previous cooperative experience. As a general consideration, schooling was compulsory up to the age of 10 from the beginning of the XX century, and it became relatively widespread also among lower income classes, especially in the North of Italy, after World War I. It is probable that the founding members, like most farmers in the area, were at least literate.

### 3.2.3 Terms of membership

In its charter, Cbpl imposed no limits on the amount of milk supplied by individual farmers: it was considered important both to be able to guarantee a reliable and large flow of supplied milk, in order to gain some weight on the market, and to apply the principle of *open membership*. The latter meant that any farmer producing milk, regardless of the volume of his/her production, could join the cooperative, provided that their activity was not concurrent with that of Cbpl, that they abided by Cbpl's charter, and that their cow-shed conformed to the hygienic requirements set by law. During this early period the main divergence between Granlatte and NGC principles lay in the former's open, rather than restricted, membership.

On the other hand, similarly to NGCs, from the outset Cbpl regulated by formal contract its relationship with members and the system of quality requirements and sanctions. Also, upon admission, members were required to subscribe shares of social capital.<sup>44</sup> Any change in the ownership of the shares had to be ratified by the Board of Directors, and in practice the only type of transaction was among relatives (e.g. bequests). The rights of members were the same for everybody regardless of the capital they subscribed, and each member had the right to one vote in meetings (a standard feature of both traditional cooperatives and NGCs).

### 3.3. The quest for capitalisation and increased market share: 1958-1972

The most pressing challenges for the newly-founded Cbpl were its needs for more capital and to establish a market share within the local area. In response, the key points of its strategy were:

1. Mobilisation of capital: For the first eight years, the Ministry of Agriculture refused Cbpl concessional loans, while private banks only agreed on short-term loans at market price (a costly source of capital). Members were therefore asked to contribute investment finance, primarily with loans. For the years 1958-1960, most medium- and long-term finance came from members' loans.<sup>45</sup> In 1958 Cbpl acquired a plant for milk pasteurisation and packaging<sup>46</sup>, funded 80 % with members' long term loans and delayed payments, and 20 % with short term bank loans. A new plant was acquired in 1965, and this time concessional loans from the Ministry of Agriculture covered part of the costs. In 1967 Cbpl bought new machinery, mostly funded by grants and concessional loans from the Ministry of Agriculture. Overall, members contributed largely to the necessary start-up funds, but public funds (from the Italian government at first and subsequently also from the European Community) were also important, particularly after the few first years of operations. Although in the early years members contributed financially to the cost of investments, this was seen as a temporary arrangement, until other viable sources became accessible, and not as a constitutive element of the cooperative's organisational structure, as for NGCs.
2. Quality control as a marketing strategy: Cbpl was committed to guarantee a fair price to producers. Not being able to compete with local private firms by squeezing prices, Cbpl chose to target its products to a medium-high income market segment, which could only be reached with a product of high quality. Cbpl soon developed a public image as a firm primarily concerned with quality, insisting on the effectiveness of controls. This policy has to be considered relative to the standards of the time: in the

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<sup>44</sup> The minimum share was of 500 lire, and the number of shares purchased could not exceed a value of 250,000 lire.

<sup>45</sup> Battilani 2004: 107, 555. For the first years of activity there are data on financing sources only for 1958-'60. Information on the interest rates applied to members' loans was not available.

<sup>46</sup> During its first months of activity, Cbpl had sold milk to industrial processing plants in the area.

1960s, regular cow-shed checks, for hygiene and for the health of the cows, were ground-breaking, as was the regular collection of milk samples for laboratory analysis. Any milk not conforming to the required characteristics would either be not collected nor paid (if the violation was evident at visual inspection) or not paid (in case the problem was highlighted by lab tests).

3. Advertisement: not having enough money to engage in costly traditional advertisement, Cbpl's managers (with the advice and support of the local League of Cooperatives) devised an alternative communication and advertisement strategy, based on social solidarity, relying on word of mouth within the cooperative network and on the cultural and ideological affinity of buyers, distributing milk to workers on strike, organising tours of its plants for schools and other interested farmers. With another ground-breaking move, in 1960 Cbpl was the first firm to brand fresh milk, which by then was already known as 'the *other* milk'.
4. Innovation: although the core business has always been fresh milk, already in the 1960s Cbpl engaged in product and process innovation. It increased the product range by introducing skimmed milk, cream, chocolate flavoured milk and UHT milk.
5. Profit redistribution among members in the form of remuneration of milk at higher-than-market prices: this did not allow the cooperative to accumulate reserves, but resulted from a conscious choice to address what at this point in time was perceived as a priority, namely to strengthen Cbpl's relationship with the members, who would get an immediate reward for dealing with Cbpl rather than another firm (Battilani 2004). This in turn would feed back into Cbpl's image among consumers and non-member farmers.

### 3.3.1 Outcomes after the first decade

By the second half of the 1960s, demand for 'Granarolo' milk in the province of Bologna<sup>47</sup> was growing faster than supply. Most local producers who were not associated to Cbpl delivered their milk to dairy factories producing Parmesan cheese and their milk had to conform to qualitative characteristics that made it unsuitable for processing into fresh milk. Not able to expand membership and supply locally, at the end of the 1960s Cbpl started to associate and collect milk from producers of the Veneto region, North-East from the core origin of Cbpl; shortly afterwards, Cbpl also started to market its milk in this area.

At the beginning of the 1970s, Cbpl had market leadership for fresh milk in the province of Bologna, with a market share of 75 %. The rest was held by a private firm (20 %) and by another cooperative firm, Felsinea (5 %). Felsinea was created in 1969 by the cooperative movement close to the Christian Democrats and, like most other cooperatives, it was only meant to process its members' product, in order to then sell it to private intermediaries. A few months after its creation, Felsinea was struggling to survive. The cooperative movement at large feared that the bankruptcy of one cooperative would be damaging for the image and credibility of others. It was clear that there would be scale economies to be gained from combining Cbpl and Felsinea, at least in terms of rationalisation of costs of milk collection and processing. These considerations, coupled with the 'open door' principle around which Italian cooperatives were and are still built, brought about a merger between Cbpl and Felsinea in 1972. This was an important signal for other dairy cooperatives in the region

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<sup>47</sup> A 'province' is defined in Italy as the area comprising a main city or town and its surrounding villages. Administratively, a province is a tertiary form of government. A 'region', on the other hand, has a larger territorial extension and is a secondary form of government.

which were not faring well: they too could merge with a much more dynamic cooperative<sup>48</sup>, with an established market share.

### 3.3.2 Response to supranational institutional change

In 1971 an EEC regulation opened up the milk markets of all member states to national and international competition. This was a considerable change for the Italian milk markets which, up to that point, were mostly based at provincial level. The cooperative movement considered the national dairy economy to be dominated by a small number of large private companies with quasi-monopolistic power. The strategy of the cooperative movement in the new, open market was to increase the scale of cooperative enterprises, on the grounds that only in this way could they compete with large private monopolies (Fiorentini and Scarpa 1998). The strategic choice to increase enterprise scale was also motivated by the linked goal of giving as much visibility as possible to the cooperative type of enterprise. These motives, reinforced by the pursuit of economies of scale in marketing, were behind what were to be two decades of geographical expansion for Cbpl.

### 3.4. Expansion and emerging crisis: 1972-1990

With their merger in 1972, Cbpl and Felsinea created Cerpl – Consortium of milk producers of Emilia Romagna – which by 1985 had a region-wide market and operational dimension, an expanding activity outside the region, and the second largest sales proceeds in the Italian fresh milk sector. This was achieved with substantial investment in new processing plants, the acquisition of a number of small private dairy firms, and vertical integration with a number of first-level cooperatives and with other firms operating upstream or downstream in the sector. However, this expansion caused a range of problems and by the late 1980s Cerpl was facing major difficulties including a burgeoning financial crisis and loss of members' support. In this section we review the series of events, which generated the crisis, and, in the following section, Cerpl's response to it.

#### 3.4.1 The expansion dynamic and its consequences

From the early 1980s, Cerpl started to expand further beyond its regional boundaries. This choice was triggered by a second structural change in the Italian dairy sector, again determined by European Community policy: the introduction of milk quotas. This reinforced the expansionist concerns already noted. In the first half of the 1980s, to prepare for the introduction of the quotas, the European Community offered grants to encourage farmers to slaughter their herd. Many small farmers in Cerpl, particularly those approaching retirement, took the grants and exited the cooperative. As a result, supply from Cerpl fell below demand. A second effect of the quotas was to increase average viable herd size, because the quota had to be purchased at a fixed price per delivery band, thereby creating scale economies for larger herds. Cerpl responded by seeking to increase the number of members with larger herds. It turned its recruitment efforts to the Lombardy region, where farmers had, on average, larger herds than those in Emilia Romagna. Livestock management was their primary activity and they had made significant enterprise-specific investments, in contrast with farmers in Emilia Romagna, who were usually engaged in mixed farming (herding and cropping). Given the predominance of milk production in the income of the new members, they were more demanding towards the cooperative: in particular, they would not accept a delayed payment

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<sup>48</sup> Cbpl's dynamism is particularly evident in comparison with other historical Italian cooperatives operating in the sector. When comparing Cbpl's growth path to that of private dairy firms, however, capital constraints meant a slower growth for Cbpl. The private firm Parmalat, for example, created in 1961, by 1965 already had larger sales proceeds than Cbpl; and while Cbpl was struggling for establishing a market share at regional level, Parmalat opened a subsidiary in Brazil in 1974.

larger than 3 or 4 % of the contract price, thus decreasing the short term finance available to Cerpl.

Cerpl also started to market its products in Lombardy, but well established private dairy firms limited Cerpl's expansion. The management then started to look for other markets and suppliers. The South of Italy was identified as promising new territory, due to the scarcity of large private dairy firms and the diffusion of small family farms. In the second half of the 1980s Cerpl expanded there both its membership and its market.

Cerpl's territorial expansion had serious organisational and financial consequences. Both in Lombardy and in the South, Cerpl was often acquiring indebted and inefficient first-level cooperatives, each of which retained its productive structure and personnel, thereby generating a costly duplication of functions and a loss of efficiency. These problems exacerbated Cerpl's situation of financial pressure and undercapitalisation, and contributed to generating the most serious crisis the Group has faced in its history, between 1986 and 1991.

### 3.4.2 Financing expansion

In the 1970s and '80s, Cerpl financed its operations in three main ways:

1. Public financing from the Ministry of Agriculture and the EEC, which starting from the 1970s channelled grants and subsidised credit to farmers' cooperatives and associations.
2. Short-term bank loans at market price. This source was most used between 1973 and 1979 and again after 1986 and generated an increasingly burdensome debt.
3. Members' contributions, in the form of:
  - loans.
  - from 1983, annual deductions from payments for delivered milk. This was necessary because Cerpl's profits were insufficient to pay for milk at the contract price defined at the beginning of the year. Members did not receive any financial claims in return for these deductions.
  - a forced recapitalisation programme (1987-92), adopted because the exit of many small farmers, noted above, had decreased Cerpl's social capital: exiting members had the right to receive back their shares and loans at nominal value, plus a dividend at par with inflation.

### 3.4.3 Emerging discontent among members and its causes

During the 1980s, discontent among members rose due to the measures taken to deal with Cerpl's financing difficulties and to the implementation of a third EEC directive.

Between the 1960s and the first half of the 1980s, members' support for the cooperative had been strong, partly thanks to devoted managers and to a strong sharing among members of the social goals of the cooperative.<sup>49</sup> Over time, however, with the decrease in milk payments and the increase in the financial involvement of members, things began to change: specific problems in dealing with the cooperative became more evident, chiefly in the form of free rider, horizon and portfolio problems. Members did have the chance to get their voice heard, but did not manage to influence decision making, which, as membership expanded during the 1970s, had become increasingly concentrated in the hands of the management despite the existence of a Board of Directors. The Board was basically reduced to a ratifying body, not least because the members composing it did not have enough knowledge of management

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<sup>49</sup> See the interviews reported in Bertagnoni 2004.

operations and of members' characteristics in general, to devise and enforce alternative suggestions. The 1980s expansion also resulted in a more disparate membership.

By the 1980s, members' substantial financial involvement in Cerpl's operation was becoming increasingly costly to them, even though until 1987 Cerpl paid a higher price for milk than private firms. Members' discontent was, however, made more acute by the fact that between 1977 and 1990 Cerpl paid for milk at a price lower than that suggested by the regional reference production price introduced in 1975.<sup>50</sup> Their financial involvement, and the perception that the price paid to them was unfair, generated tensions between members and the Cerpl management, voiced during ordinary and extraordinary meetings. In 1986, Cerpl had to decrease the financial demands on members and reverted to substantial bank borrowing. At the same time, however, Cerpl paid members at lower than market price between 1987 and 1995.

Meanwhile, some members opposed another important innovation by Cerpl: a quality differential in the price for milk, which was applied from 1985, when another EEC directive made this compulsory. The use of prices to stimulate farmers to adopt quality-improving innovations, already implemented by a number of capitalistic and cooperative firms, was for some Cerpl members an unwelcome break from tradition. Moreover, the change was followed in 1988 by the introduction of a price premium for large herds<sup>51</sup>, which was seen by many as a choice biased against the eldest members, who had not increased substantially the size of their herds, and towards some newly acquired members, who were benefiting from a reward paid with income they had not contributed to create.

For the first time since its inception, 'Granarolo' faced serious members' discontent, further reinforced in 1985 by the first change in management since 1957: the new management team was perceived by some members as an imposition from the League of Cooperatives, chosen mainly for political reasons and not for actual competence. At this point, Cerpl faced three main critical issues. The first was the need for structural reorganisation to raise operating efficiency. The other two were similar to those that in the 1980s led many American farmers' cooperatives to modify their organisational and institutional structure and become NGCs: the continuing need for capital and a problematic relationship between management and members.

### 3.5. The 1990s: reorganisation and growth

In 1991, again under the advice of the League of Cooperatives, a new Director General was appointed, who had previously been engaged in reorganising Italy's most important retail cooperative (CONAD). His staffs were hired from the market on the basis of their skills, not simply according to the nominations of the League of Cooperatives, which always had a political component in them. The new management undertook a comprehensive programme of reorganisation.

1. In order to raise capital, Cerpl implemented a one-off revaluation of assets and an increase in the annual contribution from first-level member cooperatives, while at the same time, until 1995, continuing to pay members for milk at lower than market price.

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<sup>50</sup> The regional reference production price was defined with the participation of different economic actors, including also representatives of the producers. The reference price aimed at taking into account both the production costs sustained by and a fair remuneration of producers, but it never became a 'market price'.

<sup>51</sup> The premium for large herds was meant to reward and retain those farmers who were seen as the main contributors to Cerpl's profits, in fear that they would exit the cooperative resenting the costs they had to sustain for milk collection from smaller farms.

These actions enabled Cerpl to mobilise resources to cover the deficit and avoid bankruptcy.<sup>52</sup>

2. A thorough firm restructuring and rationalisation was completed in 1996, reducing employment (also at management level) by 22 %.
3. As part of this rationalisation, Cerpl restructured its organisational architecture. Until 1992, Cerpl was following members' products from the raw state, through processing, to the market. The new management and the majority of members agreed that this system was costly to members and easy prey to inefficiencies. To solve this, the filière was split in two and a new body, Granarolo Ltd., was created. Between 1993 and 1995, Granarolo Ltd. marketed the final products, while the processing was still performed in the plants owned by Cerpl; from 1995 Cerpl transferred the plants and the processing functions to Granarolo. Alongside this major separation of tasks, Cerpl underwent changes in its internal organisation as well, to reduce the intermediate steps in the filière and the duplication of functions between Cerpl and its first-level member cooperatives. In 1998, Cerpl adopted the name Granlatte. Granlatte retains majority control of Granarolo, sets its strategies and provides it with raw milk. Granarolo defines its need for raw milk in a five-year contract (updated yearly) with Granlatte, and purchases on the national and international market the amount of milk required for its industrial operations, which Granlatte cannot supply.<sup>53</sup> In the new organisational architecture Granlatte has three main tasks: milk collection from members, quality controls of members' milk, and control of Granarolo.<sup>54</sup> In 2000 Granlatte also established a wholly owned subsidiary, AgriOK, to supply inputs to members.

These changes significantly improved the financial conditions of the Group, to the point that, in the second half of the 1990s and for the first time since 1957, the new credibility achieved with the restructuring opened up the channel for long term bank loans, giving the Group a significantly higher freedom of investment and reducing the need for capitalisation from members. Most of the newly available finance was used to fund two strategic innovations, which were key to Granarolo's becoming the second most important Italian dairy firm:

1. Product innovation. In 1991 an Italian Ministerial Decree set out the characteristics for a new category of fresh milk, denominated 'High Quality' milk (185/91).<sup>55</sup> The Group changed the quality parameters required from producers from those for *normal* milk to those prescribed by law for High Quality milk; shortly afterwards, it started production and sale of High Quality milk with fat and protein content *above* the levels prescribed. This impacted positively on the image of the Group.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> This came at a price: two first-level cooperatives, with a total of 240 members, exited Cerpl, in disagreement with the new payment requirements.

<sup>53</sup> In 2004, Granlatte supplied 60.4 % of total processed milk; Granarolo bought a further 9.9 % on the Italian spot market, and imported from Germany, France and Eastern Europe the remaining 29.7 %.

<sup>54</sup> Granlatte owns 79 % of Granarolo's shares. The remainder is owned by another cooperative dairy (Cooperlat, 4 %) and by a private firm, Finlatte Ltd. (17 %).

<sup>55</sup> The decree prescribes that, in order for the milk to qualify as 'high quality', no natural substances must be added to or subtracted from the milk, which in turn must be cooled, stored and processed separately from 'normal' milk. In particular, high quality milk must present: a monthly average level of fat no less than 3.60 grams per 100 ml, monthly average level of proteins no less than 3.20g per 100 ml, no more than 300'000 cells, no more than 100'000 microbs.

<sup>56</sup> Farmers presumably incurred an increase in costs to fulfil the required quality enhancements. No credit for this was provided by either Granlatte or Granarolo.



2. **Marketing.** In the second half of the 1990s, for the first time in the Italian fresh milk sector, the Group started to advertise its milk on national television. Shortly afterwards, 'Granarolo' products were introduced in supermarkets. Supermarkets' stringent standards and constant search for innovations pushed the Group to invest further in its image, by obtaining certifications for the appropriateness of the system of quality control (ISO 9001), for traceability of the filière, and for respect for human rights at each stage of production (SA8000). These marketing strategies spurred sales despite the decrease in consumption of fresh milk, which has occurred in Italy since the end of the 1990s.

During the last decade, the Group has overcome a major crisis and seems to have found new energy from this. This has had positive implications also for individual members. Since 1993 the price paid to members has been increasing and is now higher than market price. Table 3 compares the average market price with the price paid by the cooperative to members between 1993 and 2004. The first column reports the average total price paid by the cooperative to members. This price is determined by a base price, plus a fixed quality premium, which depends on the type of milk, produced by the member (normal, high quality or organic), plus a variable quality premium (here calculated as an average) paid on the basis of the characteristics of the milk delivered with respect to the minima and maxima of its typology. It is not possible to find the average values of the variable quality premia paid on the market, and for this reason a more sensible comparison with market price should only take into account the base price and the fixed quality premium, reported in the second column of Table 3. Figure 2 shows that, from 1998 onwards, Granlatte's members have been paid a higher than market price, and this suggest that membership of the cooperative pays off with respect to selling milk on the market.

**Table 3: Cooperative price and market price, lire/litre, 1993-2004**

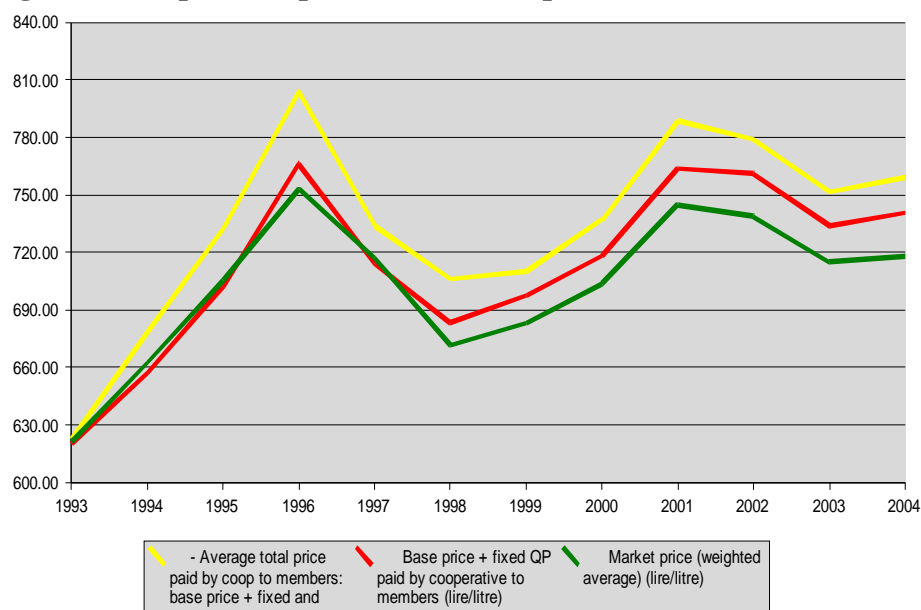
	Base price + fixed and variable quality premiums (average)	Base price + fixed quality premium	Average market price
1993	622.59	620.22	621.33
1994	678.07	657.32	662.48
1995	732.42	702.25	705.53
1996	803.61	766.01	752.69
1997	733.78	714.21	716.98
1998	706.01	683.19	671.56
1999	709.97	697.52	683.06
2000	736.83	718.15	703.66
2001	788.41	763.80	744.85
2002	778.84	761.07	738.71
2003	751.48	733.89	714.86
2004	759.11	740.69	717.80

*Source: Zuppiroli 2006, mimeo*

The Granarolo Group is today the only large firm buying milk primarily from Italian farmers. Large private firms are increasingly turning to imports from Eastern Europe, where labour costs are lower. Small, local private dairies still exist, but do not represent a credible alternative buyer for current members of Granlatte, for a number of reasons. Firstly, farmers

would have to negotiate every transaction in terms of both price and quantity, without the certainty that the factory would buy their milk. Secondly, local dairies do not process high quality milk: farmers would only have the option of producing normal milk, and thus would not receive any quality premium of the sort Granlatte pays to them. Thirdly, for many farmers the prestige, which attaches to high quality milk production, is also important.

**Figure 2: Cooperative price and market price, lire/litre, 1993-2004**



Source: *Ibid.*

Although the strategy of the cooperative over the years has been mainly determined by the management, with members often failing to find adequate channels to enforce their ownership, the relationship of Granlatte with its members has many strengths: Granlatte is a secure buyer of members' output, it pays for it at contract price with a system of incentives to reward the quality of the product, and it gives members the opportunity to differentiate their product by adhering to the High Quality or the Organic schemes. These have become the main incentives to members' loyalty. The size premium for large herds was also introduced in the early 1980s primarily to ensure the loyalty of larger farmers, as their large supply of milk at lower costs was considered important for establishing and retaining a significant market share and for the cooperative organisation not to remain a marginal economic actor: a healthy cooperative organisation would benefit also small farmers, providing them with a sound buyer of their product. It is noteworthy, however, that a minimum milk delivery of 200 litres/day has been imposed since the 1990s. This exceeds the actual delivery of about 23 % of current members (see Table 1).

#### 4. Granlatte's policy for quality

One of the most important determinants of Granarolo's market share is the high quality of the marketed product, achieved by enforcement of stringent technical standards regarding the quality of the stable, the health of the herd and the quality of milk.

From 1957, producing high quality products was seen as the only way for Cbpl to resist the competition of private firms, which were able to squeeze consumer prices while Cbpl was not. During the 1960s, Cbpl's policy for quality was focussed on stable checks for hygiene and on milk analysis for fat, proteins, antibiotic substances and for dilution.

From the beginning of the 1970s, as the available funds within the cooperative organisation increased, Cerpl was able to set up a more comprehensive programme of technical assistance and training, concentrating mainly on herd health and management. Important innovations were adopted: vaccination against the most widespread herd diseases, artificial insemination of cows, the introduction of mechanical milkers, and the refurbishment of the stables with tiles, easier to clean.<sup>57</sup> Technical assistance took the form of both training courses, and periodic visits to the stables by technicians.

A major change occurred in 1977, with the introduction of refrigerators in every stable (made possible by a European Community grant). This significantly lowered the collection costs for the cooperative, as milk could be collected every other day instead of twice a day. In the first period following this change the milk quality plummeted, because farmers did not maintain the fridges at the required hygienic levels. Partly to overcome this problem, in 1985 Cerpl introduced a differential payment for milk quality<sup>58</sup>, and over time this contributed to improve greatly the hygienic conditions of the cowshed and of its equipment. Since 1985 technical assistance has mainly involved an attempt to identify ways for each farm to improve the quality of its milk. At the same time, quality requirements and controls have become much more stringent. The introduction of a system for traceability of inputs since the end of the 1990s is the latest step to ensure the good quality of milk produced.

Under the present system of quality requirements cow-sheds must be clean and equipped with approved refrigerators; milk must be collected in containers provided by Granlatte. The herd must be healthy and well fed, and no milk is allowed from ill or infected cows. The milk must conform to the requirements in terms of fat, proteins and bacteria, and must not contain any abnormal substance. It must contain levels of drugs and pesticide residuals lower than those prescribed by law and it must be delivered at the specified temperature.<sup>59</sup> These standards are verified by frequent stable inspections and laboratory analysis of milk samples taken from members' stables (both directly associated members and members associated to the first-level cooperatives).<sup>60</sup>

Until the 1990s payment for milk analyses was covered by Cerpl. More recently, in the attempt to save on production costs, farmers have to make an upfront contribution for each sample.

Sanctions are strict. Any milk presenting abnormal characteristics at visual inspection is not accepted by Granlatte. Whenever the milk does not respect the standards required, the producer is not paid for the delivered product, and must pay a penalty according to the breach identified. In case of relapse, or for a serious breach of the rules, members can be expelled from Granlatte. More frequently, Granlatte suspends milk collection from the farm (and therefore milk payments) until the parameters return to the required levels.

To meet these standards, a combination of fixed and recurrent costs must be incurred. These include the cost of maintaining on-farm refrigeration (met by the farmer), of inspection (met by Granlatte) and of laboratory tests (met by the farmer since the early 1990s). The costs of the lab tests are invariant with herd size. The standards also have implications for livestock

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<sup>57</sup> None of this, with the exception of vaccination of herd, was compulsory. Farmers had to meet the costs of refurbishment, but technical assistance (including vaccination and AI) was initially provided free of charge by the cooperative, with the idea of encouraging the adoption of these practices among farmers.

<sup>58</sup> As mentioned above, p.16.

<sup>59</sup> 4 degrees centigrade.

<sup>60</sup> Samples are checked for milk dilution, presence of inhibitors of microbial development, milk temperature, level of aflatoxins (carcinogenic substances), pesticides and drugs residuals.

management costs, including the choice of feed and of medication for disease prevention and control. Consequently, the net gain to farmers per litre of milk sold is less than the price differential paid by Granlatte. However, farmers also benefit from low transactions costs in marketing their milk and from the certainty that they have a reliable outlet.

In the case of High Quality milk, the technical standards are even more stringent and set by ministerial decree since 1991 (185/91). Granlatte rewards High Quality milk with price incentives whose value is defined yearly, usually revolving around an additional 60 % of the base price, per litre. In 2004, a total of 692 milk samples were taken for laboratory analysis from 201 high quality and organic farms (against 682 samples taken from 214 'normal' milk farms), and 486 cases of violation of standards were identified (398 for the 'normal' milk farms).

In the next section we examine in more detail to what extent, with its restructuring, Granlatte has adopted NGC characteristics.

## **5. Is Granlatte a New Generation Cooperative?**

In assessing the extent to which Granlatte matches the characteristics of an NGC, we use five main criteria: goals; open versus controlled membership; the nature of the membership contract; whether members' delivery and residual rights are appreciable and marketable; the nature of members' financial contribution to the cooperative.

### 1. Aims of Granlatte

Granlatte – and in general the Granarolo Group – has the same aim as NGCs: to add value to member products and to reduce the distance between producer and consumer by controlling processing and marketing of the raw product, objectives which the organisation has pursued since its inception.

### 2. Membership

Granlatte, like all Italian cooperatives, has, in principle, a policy of open membership. In practice, however, membership policy has evolved over time. Open membership applied from 1957 through the 1980s but from the 1990s this principle has become heavily qualified by Granlatte. Membership, and the admission of new members, is subject to the following conditions:

- endorsement by each new member of the charter of Granlatte;
- observation of quality standards;
- since the 1990s, the minimum milk delivery accepted for membership is a monthly average of 200 litres per day; this can be produced by a relatively small herd of 10-15 cows;
- current individual members are required to deliver at least 70% of their milk to Granlatte;
- the role of first-level member cooperatives is to fill the gap between the milk provided by individual farmers and the requirements of Granarolo.

If, and only if, the membership does not cover the milk requirements for a given year, Granlatte admits new members. Thus the openness of the cooperative is subject, *inter alia*, to Granarolo's requirements of raw milk for processing and marketing.

### 3. Delivery rights and obligations

Like NGCs, Granlatte requires a written contract with members with respect to milk delivery<sup>61</sup>. Delivery of 5% more or less than the quantity agreed in the contract is accepted without sanctions. If a member fails to deliver more than 10 % of the quantity agreed, he or she can be liable to a penalty equivalent to the spot market price for each undelivered litre of milk. On the other hand, if a delivery exceeds the agreed quantity by more than 5 %, each excess litre will be paid at spot market price, which, as seen above, since 1998 has been significantly lower than contract price.

### 4. Transferability of members' delivery rights

Members are not allowed to sell their delivery rights: these, and the ownership rights over the cooperative that derive from them, are neither liquid nor transferable.

### 5. Upfront Equity

The minimum initial investment required from members upon admission is relatively low: it currently amounts to 500 euros for individual farmers and between 1000 and 1600 (depending on their size) for first-level cooperatives. Upon admission, members also accept to contribute to a five-year capitalisation programme; during the 1985-1992 crisis, a capitalisation levy of 15 lire per litre was imposed, while the current level is equivalent to 5 lire per litre. In contrast to an NGC, Granlatte's members cannot choose how much finance to commit to the cooperative, because the capitalisation programme is based on the quantity of milk they produce. This contribution to social capital is remunerated at the end of each year at 2/2.5 % of the value of capitalisation, to reflect inflation, but it is not appreciable in real terms, i.e. neither the value of the capital nor the remuneration depends on the growth of Granlatte or Granarolo. Transactions in social capital occur only in the form of non-remunerated transfers such as bequests.

Following a law of 1992, Granlatte can also admit member patrons not directly involved in milk production. Their investment in the cooperative goes to financing technological development, restructuring and firm development.<sup>62</sup> Each share has a value of 25 euros and is transferable. The remuneration of patronage cannot exceed by more than 2 % the remuneration of social capital paid to member producers. Each member patron can have up to five votes, attributed proportionally to the share of capital s/he purchased, but voting rights are limited to administrative matters.

**Table 4: Comparison of organisational characteristics of Traditional Cooperatives (TC), New Generation Cooperatives (NGC) and Granlatte**

Organisational characteristics	TC	NGC	Granlatte
Membership	Open	Closed	Open only if members' supply fails to cover required milk supply.
Written contract	None	Required	Required
Delivery rights	Unlimited	Limited to amount agreed in the contract	Individual members: all produced milk (unlimited); first-level cooperatives: limited to agreed amount.
Delivery obligation	None	Required	Required
Quality accepted	Broad	Narrow	Narrow

<sup>61</sup> This has applied since 1957.

<sup>62</sup> I could not find any information on how much capital has been raised in this way, neither in absolute terms nor relatively to the capital contributed by members.

Organisational characteristics	TC	NGC	Granlatte
Product identity preserved	Usually not	Yes	Yes
Initial payment	Market price	Contract price	Contract price
Retained profits	High	Low	Low
Initial investment	Very low	Very high	Relatively low
Liquidity or exchangeability of ownership rights	Low	High	Low
Business expansion investment	None	High	High in moments of undercapitalisation
Eligibility restrictions	Low	High	High: Strict requirements for quality
Voting power	One member one vote	Variable number in future?	Member producers: one member one vote; member patrons: up to five votes.

Like NGCs, Granlatte bases its relationship with members on a written contract and a delivery obligation, and it makes the initial milk payment according to contract price; Granlatte also seeks to preserve the identity of the product and to ensure its traceability, and it imposes strict requirements for eligibility in terms of quality and production practices. Granlatte also restricts admission of new members to the level needed to meet Granarolo's need for raw milk.

However, Granlatte does not entirely conform to NGC principles: some characteristics locate it in an intermediate position between a traditional and a new generation cooperative. For example, on many occasions members have been involved in business expansion investment, but mostly indirectly in the form of deductions from milk payments or forced recapitalisation, rather than with upfront equity. This means that members could not decide how much resources they would commit, on the basis of their financial capacity or risk aversion, because the amount of equity each member would mobilise depended on the volume of his or her production.

Granlatte has also introduced innovations, which differentiate it both from TCs and NGCs. One such example is the admission of member patrons who are not milk producers but who supply finance capital. Linked to this new type of patronage are new voting rules. Thus, the voting power in Granlatte follows the traditional principle of one member one vote for member producers, but member patrons can have up to five votes depending on the capital they invested, although their voting power is limited.

The most important differences between Granlatte and both TCs and NGCs derive from the establishment of Granarolo and AgriOK and the implications of this both for equity mobilisation and *for* the role of members.

An NGC typically attempts to solve its capital constraint by stimulating investment from members in the cooperative. In our case, the Group has sought to ameliorate this by transferring the most capital-intensive activities (processing and marketing) to Granarolo, which can count on two sources of capital: its own cash flow, usually sufficient to finance normal operations of innovation and technological maintenance; and bank loans, in case of acquisition of new firms. In turn, Granarolo's cash flow derives from the returns from adding value to and marketing members' milk. If any residual profits remain after all due payments, and if Granarolo's assembly of shareholders so decides, dividends can be paid to Granlatte in which case they provide an indirect remuneration to members for the value added to their

product, although there are no rules governing whether this return should be retained by Granlatte or paid out to current members.

The establishment of Granarolo has also had other implications. The availability of an independent source of capital somehow detaches Granarolo from its 'base' (farmers) and from the need to reward members to enable them to invest both in their farm and in the cooperative. Members are not paid directly for the value that is added to their milk: they are paid differently depending on milk quality, but do not necessarily receive higher returns if their milk goes to production of cheese, butter or yoghurt. In this respect, the difference between member farmers and farmers selling milk to private firms has arguably been eroded over time. In contrast, one goal of an NGC, which could be an interesting model also for Granarolo, is to encourage the entrepreneurship of members, putting them at the centre of the whole production process and increasing the profitability of, and returns to, membership. It is possible that there is a governance issue behind this difference between the path adopted by the Granlatte Group and NGC principles: as noted above, members struggle to enforce their ownership of the cooperative and to set its strategies. This appears to be partly because they lack both the necessary managerial knowledge and the ability to go beyond the short term interest of their individual farm, to see a longer term, collective interest of members. Other causes of the severity of this problem within Granlatte may be the geographical dispersion of the membership and the associated divergence of characteristics of members' farm enterprises.

## **6. Key determinants of Granlatte's performance and present market share**

The Granlatte-Granarolo Group has today the second largest market share and productive capacity in the Italian dairy sector. This would not have been possible without the strategic choice of adding value to members' product and following a *filière* approach. Learning by doing over time was determinant for the Group's evolution, and it was also helped by the cooperative movement and by the fact that most founding members had previous cooperative experience. The marketing strategy of the Group, based on quality and on important **marketing** innovations (for example, Cbpl was the first firm to brand fresh milk, while Granlatte was the first to advertise fresh milk on TV and to introduce a traceability scheme of its products) had significant impacts on its market shares.

Both the evolution of, and more radical changes to, the institutional and organisational structure of Granlatte have also had important implications for its performance. One important instance of institutional change is the shift from open to more controlled membership. On the organisational front, the creation of Granarolo moved the Group out of crisis, and beyond the NGC model. In this new, hybrid system, farmers can benefit from activities that are performed mainly by a non-cooperative firm. Meanwhile, they are free from the heavy financial requirements expected from NGC members, because Granarolo can count on other sources of capital, which give it larger freedom of investment.

External conditions and interventions have also proved relevant in determining Granlatte's evolution and performance. Three actors were critical:

- The League of Cooperatives, particularly in the first years of operation, provided Cbpl with advice on business strategy and with a first network of customers.
- The national government provided Cbpl with funding, in the form of both grants and concessional loans, particularly during the 1970s.
- European Community funding was critical in many circumstances (the most important of which being the purchase of refrigerators for each farm). Meanwhile, the

evolution of the European agricultural policy affected Granlatte in many respects, but not always positively. In particular, the milk market liberalisation in 1971 and the introduction of milk quotas in 1984 induced deep structural changes in the Italian rural sector, and in the case of Cerpl they prompted an expansion in the firm's geographical dispersal with a consequent diversification of membership. Although this arguably allowed Cerpl to expand its visibility and market shares at nation level, expansion may have occurred too fast, without allowing for a timely reorganisation of firm structure.

In turn, geographical dispersal meant increased heterogeneity of members, both in terms of the production characteristics of their farms and environment, and in terms of political orientation. The core social fabric of Granlatte's origins, so intertwined with the League of Cooperatives, was somewhat diluted, and this may have contributed to the insurgence of some members' discontent towards the League of Cooperatives and its interventions within Cerpl, both in terms of advice and of management appointment. Geographical dispersal was also significant for increasing supervision costs of management and collective decision-making costs.

## **7. Implications for small-scale farmers in low- and middle-income regions**

Can the New Generation Cooperatives model provide any guidance for cooperatives in low income countries? In posing this question, we recognise the need for caution before concluding that institutional arrangements which function effectively in more developed market economies will necessarily function equally well in less developed ones (Stiglitz 1986). Potential constraints on the development of cooperative processing and marketing by small-scale farmers in low income regions include those which derive from these farmers' low literacy and numeracy levels which hinder collective monitoring and control of enterprise management. This problem is exacerbated by the high incentives for abuse of trust, which arise when affordable salaries are low relative to the funds managed.

In what follows we consider each of the main characteristics of NGCs in turn.

### **7.1 Value adding and marketing**

Despite the need for cooperatives in general to carefully time their strategic choices in order not to embark on activities beyond their means, value adding and marketing should be the end goals of their development, because these activities can significantly raise returns to farmers. From the outset, cooperatives have to find a way to equip themselves to compete against private firms in their sector. This involves a number of issues:

(a) Adequate and reliable supply: small-scale farms in low-income countries are likely to produce low average quantities of milk. There may be only a few cows per farm, and productivity per cow may itself be low, for a number of reasons including low feed availability or quality (or both) and poor cow health. Technical assistance and extension services can contribute to increase productivity per cow, as the history of Granlatte shows. Another strategy that the cooperative can pursue to raise aggregate supply capacity is to associate also medium- (and perhaps large-) scale producers. In order to attract relatively larger producers, cooperative firms must devise a way to reward them, for example introducing a price differential for quantity delivered. This strategy has however to be carefully planned to avoid the risk of exclusion of small farmers by larger ones.

(b) Marketing:

i. Managerial problems. The management need comprehensive and up to date information on market trends and opportunities. This requires professional skills that may necessitate



the hire of professional management, thereby increasing salary and supervision costs compared with situations where managers are also member-producers and where reputation and social sanctions may provide some deterrent to opportunistic behaviour.

ii. Quality standards. High and consistent product quality is increasingly important conditions for market access in low and middle income countries. Meeting quality standards can be costly and requires the employment of professional agents in key stages of the production process, for training and for vetting standards. Pursuing quality can, however, have at least two advantages. Firstly, it helps the cooperative to target its production to medium-high income customers, competing with private firms on variables other than price and gaining a higher margin for its members. Secondly, in a longer-term perspective, producing high quality goods could make it easier for the cooperative to conform to the quality standards required by large retailers, especially supermarkets. In turn, access to supermarkets is likely to improve the cooperative's market share.

(c) Funding: Processing, marketing and monitoring product quality are costly activities, especially in the start-up phase. This opens up the problem of start-up and expansionary investment capital, to which we now turn.

### 7.2 Upfront equity and alternative sources of capital

NGCs fund most of their activities with members' equity. The emphasis on financial contributions from members is particularly problematic in low income regions where small farmers have few resources to contribute to the investments of their cooperative: at least in the initial stages of activity, the problem of lack of capital cannot be substantially solved among members. In many low and middle income countries governments have been cutting their contribution (both financial and in terms of services) to the rural sector. Funds from donors or from non-governmental organisations might be an important alternative source of start-up and expansionary investments. These resources must however be managed carefully: for example, the tendency of cooperative management to become primarily accountable to the donors rather than to their membership must be avoided. An interesting possibility comes from solidarity among cooperatives, facilitated by the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA, [www.ica.coop](http://www.ica.coop)). ICA does not currently provide funding directly to cooperative firms in low income regions, but it facilitates connections and partnerships between well established cooperatives and cooperatives in developing countries. ICA's joint initiative with ILO, '*Cooperating out of poverty*', started in 2004, might in the future open up to direct funding of cooperatives in low income regions.<sup>63</sup>

### 7.3 Binding delivery contract

The NGC stipulation of a legally binding delivery contract between members and cooperative could also be helpful for cooperatives in low income regions. Such contracts aim to ensure a reliable supply of raw products and can encourage responsibility from the farmer as entrepreneur. Knowledge of product volumes to be supplied also allows the cooperative both to plan its marketing strategy and to decide whether new members can enter.

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<sup>63</sup> Another interesting practice comes from the experience of groups of dismissed workers in several Latin American countries, who, after the private or public firm previously employing them had gone bankrupt, formed a cooperative organisation to buy-out its plant, took over its running and resumed production. This example might be relevant also in other contexts, given the increasing demise of state intervention and of parastatal enterprises.

#### 7.4 Appreciable and transferable delivery rights

NGC members buy delivery rights, which over time may appreciate or depreciate in value, depending on whether or not the NGC is successful and provides value for its members. The appreciability and transferability of delivery rights arguably increases the incentive to invest in the cooperative. However, in addition to the shortcomings highlighted in the first section of this paper<sup>64</sup>, where small-scale farmers are also poor, transferability of delivery rights might be a surreptitious way for larger or better off farmers to enter the cooperative and potentially exclude small farmers from it, in a dynamic not unlike that of land market liberalisation in some developing countries. It is noteworthy too that Cook and Iliopoulos (2000) found that these transferable and appreciable rights were only weakly associated with member's investment in their cooperative and that Granlatte itself does not embody this NGC feature.

In sum, while some elements of the NGC model may have immediate relevance for newly formed cooperatives in low income regions, others either may be more relevant for cooperatives, which have reached a mature stage or may not be essential preconditions for successful performance.

The concrete experience of the Granarolo Group also provides points of interest for emerging cooperatives in low income regions. The Group itself is analysing the possible implications of its experience for small-scale farmers in low-income regions, in connection with a project of technical cooperation and advice undertaken, since the second half of the 1990s, with the Brazilian dairy cooperative organisation Corlac.<sup>65</sup> Suggestions include the adoption of a *filière* system; investment in an innovative marketing strategy; stipulation of a binding delivery contract; coordination with other cooperatives in the sector, in order to concentrate efforts to compete against the private sector, and to benefit from scale economies; hire of professional management; adoption of a differential price system to take into account both differences in product quality and the dimension of the herd.

Besides these suggestions, a few more points arising from the analysis of Granlatte's evolution deserve attention.

Studies such as those of Iliopoulos, 2005, which analyse the NGC characteristics of North American agricultural cooperatives, do not provide a time perspective with respect to the evolution/transformation of more traditional cooperatives into NGCs. In the case of Granlatte, however, it is clear that this cooperative organisation has acquired some of its NGC-type characteristics, such as controlled membership, and some of its more original organisational features, notably the creation of wholly owned subsidiary companies, following its first 30-40 years of operation. This highlights the importance of learning by doing over time.

Meanwhile, the survival of Cbpl in the 1960s, compared to other processing but not marketing cooperative firms, and its leading role in integrating and revitalising processing cooperatives on the verge of bankruptcy, particularly during the 1970s, supports the importance of adopting a *filière* approach: it highlights the potential gains to be derived both

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<sup>64</sup> See above p.7.

<sup>65</sup> In 1993 the dairy state enterprise Corlac, situated in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, was on the verge of bankruptcy, threatening the loss of work-places and of a main buyer of national milk. To prevent this, groups of producers organised in cooperatives took over its management, transforming Corlac into a state-level cooperative organisation. Cooperative forms of enterprise were already very diffused in the area of Rio Grande do Sul, as farmers attempted to counter the monopsonist power of Parmalat, the only buyer in the area. The bankruptcy of Parmalat in 2003 opened up new market opportunities for Corlac.

from value adding in the conventional sense and from enhancing the value of the primary product itself.

Cooperatives in low income countries will likely depend critically on external support to enable them both to promote farm level investment in product upgrade and to engage in value adding activities. To promote these ends they will need funding, technical and business strategy advice, and an enabling environment, which both recognises the cooperative identity and enforces certain minimum business standards. All of these were available to Granlatte and of critical relevance for its development. On the other hand, the political disputes between the left and the central wings of the cooperative movement, which created some problems to Cerpl, suggest that it would be advisable for a cooperative to keep outside the political arena.

Small farmers in low income countries founding a cooperative may not have previous cooperative experience, and this is one good reason for the cooperative to keep a relatively narrow geographical dimension in the early years, promoting homogeneous membership in terms of farm and production environment characteristics, and thus potentially fewer collective decision making problems. A small initial scale of operation allows both managers and members to accumulate and consolidate relevant experience and practices. The history of the Group supports these points: too rapid geographical and membership expansion triggered most of the severe problems, which arose in the 1980s.

Cooperatives in low income regions also have to choose the most appropriate technology and scale of operation for their circumstances, taking into account both costs and the characteristics of the local setting. Farmers willing to undertake group-funded investments in the dairy sector have a wide spectrum of available scale and cost investment opportunities, ranging from joint investment in a milk collection and cooling plant to a combination of this and acquisition of shared equipment for small-scale production and storage of processed milk products (butter, cheese, yoghurt, buttermilk), through to large-scale processing, packaging and distribution enterprises.

## **8. Conclusion**

Cooperative forms of enterprise have traditionally been considered a means to help small-scale farmers overcome size constraints in access to inputs, services and markets. Changing market conditions, with increasingly stringent conditions required by buyer dominated markets, have prompted questions concerning not only the capability of small farmers to survive as individual competitors in commercial agriculture, but also the ability of cooperative firms to provide income benefits and services to their members.

This paper started by examining the organisational characteristics of a new type of cooperative firm, the New Generation Cooperative (NGC), which was devised in the North American Plains in an attempt both to overcome the vaguely defined property rights constraints that characterise traditional cooperatives and to equip the cooperative firm with the tools to compete in changing market conditions. NGCs are offensive agricultural marketing cooperatives, which focus on value adding. Their distinctive features include fixed membership, binding delivery contract, transferable and appreciable delivery rights and relatively large upfront equity.

The aim of this paper was to establish whether the model of New Generation Cooperatives is of any relevance for farmers in Europe or in low and middle economies, and whether it provides any guidance on improving the performance of agricultural cooperatives in regions outside North America.

These issues have been addressed by examining the evolution and organisational structure of the Italian dairy cooperative Granlatte, a value adding and marketing cooperative which over time has acquired a significant market share and is now market leader in the Italian fresh milk sector. The choice of a *filière* approach and its innovative marketing strategy focussed on quality were important determinants for Granlatte's present position. External factors, in particular the support of the local cooperative movement and the structural changes determined by the evolution of the EEC's agricultural policy, also contribute to explaining Granlatte's performance. In terms of organisational structure, Granlatte combines some NGC characteristics with some traditional and some original features. It seems to have moved beyond the NGC model, by setting up a controlled private firm, Granarolo, in charge of the processing and marketing steps of the *filière*. In this new, hybrid system, member farmers can benefit from activities that are performed mainly by a non-cooperative firm able to move dynamically on the market and to raise funds autonomously.

The paper has also reflected on possible implications of the NGC model and the Granlatte experience for small-scale farmer cooperatives in low income regions. These cooperatives have to find a way to compete against private firms in their sector. This is where some features characterising the NGC model might be of value: in particular, the stipulation of binding delivery contracts and, most importantly, the end goals of value adding and marketing, since these activities can raise returns to farmers and have the potential to free farmers from the opportunistic behaviour of intermediaries. However, the adoption of other NGC characteristics, such as relatively large upfront equity requirements and transferable delivery rights, might be problematic for infant cooperatives in low income economies. The NGC model could provide guidance on long term aims, but might be more relevant for those cooperatives, which have reached a mature stage.

The Granlatte experience suggests that, for the first steps, it remains advisable to start on a relatively small scale, with homogeneous membership characteristics and interests, to accumulate experience and managerial skills by 'learning by doing' and, at least in the dairy sector, to emphasise enhancement of the value of the primary product as well as value adding in the more conventional sense. Meanwhile, the experience of Granlatte highlights the important role, positive and negative, that external conditions can have in determining performance. An enabling environment in terms of appropriate and enforceable legislation and regulations might not be available for cooperatives in low income countries. Similarly, external funding, as well as technical and business strategy advice might be particularly difficult for them to obtain. For these reasons, we suggest the need for an enhancement in the activities of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) with partners in low income countries.

However, much still remains to be done before the questions posed by this paper can be adequately answered. Aspects of cooperative performance needing further empirical research include the effectiveness of cooperative firms in different regions in a) reducing transaction costs for producers<sup>66</sup>, b) facilitating small-scale farmers' process, product and functional upgrading, and c) enabling farmers to comply with the quality standards increasingly required by large buyers.

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<sup>66</sup> Staal *et al.* 1997 provide a pioneering example.

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# **Measuring Rural Civility - Paper on Doing Research on Civil Society in Rural Areas**

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## **Key words**

rural civil society, civic activity, civility, patterns of citizens, rural civil society determinants

## **Abstract**

It is generally believed that civil society in rural areas in Poland is weak. This view needs revising. The paper focuses on two main assumptions, which are responsible for misunderstandings and distortion in this matter: (1) accepted conception of civil society, (2) assumption about specificity of rural civil society. In Poland, the notion of civil society is wrongly considered as equivalent to third sector activity. The acceptance of such conception results in relevant methodological consequences. First of all it imposes selection of factors, which – because of their “urban” character – are not suitable for stating the condition of civil society in rural areas. The second problem is the strict and literal treatment of accepted conception of civil society, which does not allow variety of patterns that civil society can take on. This problem is connected with another – also false – assumption about specificity of civil society in rural areas. It is widely assumed that all rural communities are similar in their civic virtue and it is possible to describe global rural civil society using nationwide survey. However, the local communities which – depending on combination of features constituting given type of community – take on different patterns of civil society, do not illustrate global rural civil society. In this paper the normative – structural conception overcoming the problems presented above is proposed. Also the typology of basic patterns of citizens is presented (minimal citizen, informal and local – oriented citizen, institutional citizen and apolitical community worker). In addition to this the main hypotheses for factors determining the patterns of civil society are proposed. They are: regional traditions, locality factor, location on axis “centre – periphery”, cultural capital and “winners – losers” hypotheses. In this way the paper answers the questions: what to research, how to research and whether it is possible to speak about “rural civil society”?



## **Measuring Rural Civility - Paper on doing research on civil society in rural areas**

It is generally believed that civil society in rural areas in Poland is weak.<sup>67</sup> To simplify, responsibility for the poor condition of civil society in Poland is put down to the substantial percentage of rural inhabitants, who are considered less civic and who lower civil society indicators for the whole country. This view – however not quite erroneous – needs revising. It is worth becoming aware of the fact that accepted definitions of civil society and consequently selection of indicators is responsible for this view. It is easy to notice that indicators used in doing research on civil society (such as density of NGOs or a percentage of people associated with NGOs) are of strongly urban character, so that they are not suitable or are suitable partially for stating the condition of civil society in rural areas. The so-called “third sector” is an “urban” phenomenon and concerns mainly administrative centres. It is a result of differences in functions of individual units in settlement network and - in case of NGO - it is deepened by organizational dependences on national and regional headquarters (Bartkowski 2003: 33). So it shouldn't be expected that organizations of third sector will register in villages, and – as a consequence – that rural inhabitants will be associated with NGOs, which do not exist there.

So if other indicators were considered, rural areas could turn out to be more civic than urban areas. And this exactly happened, when CBOS considered in its survey not only the activity in NGOs, but the informal activity for the sake of local community as well. The overall indicator of civil involvement of rural inhabitants turned out to be higher than the one in urban areas (CBOS 2004). And although rural inhabitants failed behind considering their associating with third sector organizations, their informal involvement in local matters was substantially higher than the involvement of “townees”.

It could be assumed than, that civil society in rural areas falls into the community model (manifesting itself in informal activity and involvement in local community's life), while civil society in urban areas falls into the association model (which consist in associating the people of similar interests and in formal activity of third sector' organizations). But the problem is much more difficult than it seems to be. The researches on rural communities question many of stereotypical views on civil society and character of social relations in rural areas. It is surprising that – according to researches conducted by CBOS – rural inhabitants trust their neighbours more rarely than inhabitants of big cities, they are less loyal and they do not believe in effectiveness of collective activity more often than urban inhabitants do (CBOS 2004).

Generally, nationwide surveys' outcomes show different picture to the one known from monographies. Rural communities described in monographies by Barbara Lewenstein or Jacek Kurczewski's team not only do not fit to this nationwide picture, but they often differ widely from each other as well.<sup>68</sup> The most important issue is that mentioned monographies portray the rural areas much more civic than nationwide surveys do it. This is because of the fact that monography reaches the phenomena, which cannot be captured by nationwide survey.

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<sup>67</sup> See CBOS' reports: [www.cbos.pl](http://www.cbos.pl) end „Opinie i diagnozy nr 1: Społeczeństwo obywatelskie 1998 – 2004”. Ed. Bogna Wciórka. Warszawa: CBOS.

<sup>68</sup> See monographies: Kurczewski, Jacek (ed). 2003. *Lokalne społeczności obywatelskie*. Warszawa: ISNS UW. Lewenstein, Barbara. 1999. *Wspólnota społeczna a uczestnictwo lokalne*. Warszawa: ISNS UW.

Nationwide surveys seem to be meaningless then. The regularities discovered in this way are not supported by outcomes achieved in micro scale. It is probably because of the fact that opposite features of individual villages cancels each other out. A random sample of 400 rural inhabitants contains both inhabitants of villages of high social trust but small involvement in third sector' activity, and inhabitants of villages of substantial involvement in NGOs' activity but slight social trust. The average picture is a false picture.

Analyses of various researches (both nationwide surveys and monographies) and my own observations of civil society in Poland induced me to ask the questions: what to research, how to research and whether it is possible to speak about "rural civil society"?

In my opinion, there are two main assumptions responsible for misunderstandings and distortion in picture of civil society in rural areas: (1) adopted conception of civil society, (2) assumption about specificity of rural civil society.

First of all then, some thought should be given to accepted *a priori* conception of civil society. Because of lack of time for wider deliberations on sources of idea of civil society and on trends in defining this phenomenon, I just take the liberty of noticing that in Poland the notion of civil society is wrongly considered as equivalent to third sector activity (see Szacki 1997: 54). The acceptance of such conception results in relevant methodological consequences and limits the range of our perspective. It focuses our attention on "hard" indicators of civil society (such as number of registered organizations) and passes over the "soft" – and more difficult to measure – variables of civic culture such as trust, loyalty, responsibility, law – abidingness, ability to cooperation, etc. It is worth becoming aware of the fact that civil society, apart from structural elements, includes normative elements as well, so that the structural – normative models should be assumed when doing research on civil society. Acceptance of such model imposes usage of not only quantitative variables, but qualitative ones as well. Then it turns out that there are significant differences between rural and urban areas and between different local communities as well.

The next problem arising here is the strict and literal treatment of accepted conception of civil society, which does not allow variety of patterns that civil society, can take on in different communities. It is assumed that civil society has to have all features mentioned in accepted model. But such comprehended civil society cannot be found in any social reality. The accepted model of civil society should be treated as an ideal type, not as a theoretical model, which is to be put through tests. What is more, civil society does not take on a single, general pattern. Instead, there are many different patterns of civil society. Researched communities do not have to possess all features mentioned in the accepted model, and what is the most important, these features occur in different combinations. Probably, individual features combine with each other forming specific patterns. These patterns are characterized by repeatability and they are determined in several ways, but they always have its logic: they can be explained by presence of definite historical and socio – cultural variables.

This problem is related to another – also false – assumption about specificity of civil society in rural areas. It is widely assumed that all rural communities are similar in their civic virtue and it is possible to describe global rural civil society using nationwide survey. This assumption seems to be rash. Not rarely do regional differences have much more importance in determining the state of civil society than dwelling place category (we deal with such situation in case of voters' turnout [see Giorlach 2001: 95]). It should be remembered that civil society and social capital that has a very close link with it, are the phenomena, which take place in definite social communities, and it is almost impossible to research them in separation from this social (and historical as well) context. Assumption that mentioned context is similar in all rural communities seems to be quite unsupported. Barbara

Lewenstein, for example, has proved that such variable as “overstayed of community” determine substantially the patterns of activity and civic involvement. The only feature common for rural communities is just “dwelling place category” (rural areas) whereas there are many differences between individual communities. Local communities which - depending on combination of features constituting given type of community - take on different patterns of civil society, do not illustrate the global rural civil society. That is why we should recognize patterns of civil communities instead of describing global rural civil society (which does not exist).

In order to overcome the problems presented above I am going to propose a normative – structural conception of civility or virtuous citizenship (*civilitas*).<sup>69</sup> As civility I understand willingness and ability to conscious, full and responsible participation in society, determining its stability and development. *Civilitas* is based upon four pillars<sup>70</sup>:

1. Prodemocratic attitude and civic competency;
2. Productive, subjective and systemic individual orientation;
3. Civil activity: both individual and group one;
4. Civic virtues:
  - Virtues of responsibility: responsibility for common life, perfectionist aspirations, consciousness of bonnum commune;
  - Virtues of social coexistence: trust, loyalty, solidarity, honesty, tolerance, chivalry, overcoming an egocentrism and ability to restrict oneself, ability to cooperation, law – abidingness;
  - Virtues of mind: open-mindedness, criticism, intellectual honesty, self – discipline.

The conception of civility is a wide approach to civil society. It assumes multiplicity of patterns of civilities taken on in given communities. If we assume two general dimensions: form of civil activity and character of social relations, it is possible to identify four basic patterns of civility.

The first dimension – civil activity – includes a full spectrum of activities and behaviour, but two general forms of civil activity can be identified: an individual activity and a group one. The individual activity includes: interest in national and local matters, newspaper readership, holding crystallized political views, participating in elections, and religious behaviour. The group activity consists in self – organizing and common activity of people of close interests and views. These groups are formed in grassroots way, spontaneously, voluntarily and they function independently from the state (Gliński, Palska 1997: 366). Such comprehended activity includes both activity in different non – governmental organizations (associations and foundations) and social participation and involvement in the matters of one’s neighbourhood and social environment (see Szczepański 2001: 138).

The next dimension of civil activity – character of social relations – allows to identify formal and informal civility, although borderline between these two types is very fluid. Generally,

<sup>69</sup> The conception of *civilitas* is an element of the wider conception of civil society. The conception comes from work: *Młodzi Polacy jako obywatele. Studium socjologiczne nad obywatelnością młodzieży licealnej Górnego Śląska oraz Śląska Cieszyńskiego* (unpublished Master’s dissertation written under prof. Marek S. Szczepański’s direction). Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski.

<sup>70</sup> I refer here to following conceptions: Marek Ziółkowski’ and Jadwiga Koralewicz’ conception of individual orientation, Mario Bunge’ conception of systemic ethic, conceptions of social capital, Piotr Sztompka’s conception of moral ties and Maria Ossowska’s conception of good citizen.

formal civility includes all institutional actions, in other words: all the activity subject to formal regulations. This is for example: affiliation to organization of third sector, participating in formalized civic actions, etc. Informal civility involves the whole sphere of behaviour remaining beyond institutional frames. It is based on direct relations and informal neighbourly intercourse and it usually manifests itself in non - institutionalized actions for the sake of whole community. Its base is usually local tradition of cooperation and neighbour help and civic virtues such as trust and loyalty. It is worth to take notice here that the division into formal and informal civility corresponds partially to the dichotomy *gemeinschaft* – *gesellschaft*. Informal civility corresponds to the community model whereas formal activity – to the association one.

Both these criteria allows to identify four basic patterns of civility or patterns of citizens:

1. Minimal citizen pattern – this pattern consist in fulfilling civic duties towards state, taking part in elections, interest in public matters of the state (that is the individual activity) parallel to lack of social activity in public sphere; (political activity only);
2. Informal and local-oriented citizen pattern – this pattern is characterized by strong horizontal ties, involvement in local matters and activity for the common sake of the community, taking part in local elections; in extreme form it is characterised by withdrawal from individual political activity in national scale (taking part in parliamentary elections, interest on national matters) – and it is local-oriented citizen pattern then; in both cases informal relations and ties, including neighbour ones, and norms of trust, loyalty and cooperation play significant role;
3. Institutional citizen pattern – this pattern is more often found in big cities where the accessibility of “civic infrastructure” is wider (associations, organizations and civic institutions); it consists in affiliating to organizations and making use of available civic institutions; social relations in this pattern are formalized; there is no informal activity, especially there is no neighbourly relationship and ties; all ties are based on similarity of interests;
4. Ideal citizen pattern – that is the citizen participating in society in formal and informal way; involved in both institutional and informal forms of civic activity, interested in local and national public matters, taking part in political life; (active in all forms and at all fields of *civilitas*);

It is possible to identify fifth pattern as well: apolitical community worker. This pattern would consist in significant involvement in-group activity in public sector parallel to the lack of individual activity that is participating in the elections of all levels, lack of political view and interest in political life of the community. However, it is difficult to call individuals taking on mentioned pattern “citizens”, because they do not fulfil their basic civic duties; we could say: they do not meet a *sine qua non* conditions for being a citizen.

Patterns of *civilitas* may constitute mixed types, which are peculiar hybrids of basic patterns. They always have its logic that may be explained by various historical and socio – cultural factors.

Characteristics of the patterns presented above are shown in table 1.

**Table 1. Patterns of civility (types of citizens)**

Patterns of citizens	Types of civic activity		Forms of activity considering type of social relations	
	individual	group	formal	informal
<b>Minimal citizen</b>	+	-	-	-
<b>Informal citizen*</b>	+	+	-	+
<b>Institutional citizen</b>	+	+	+	-
<b>Ideal citizen</b>	+	+	+	+
<b>Apolitical community worker</b>	-	+	+	+

*\* The extreme form of informal citizen pattern is local-oriented citizen. These both patterns differ from each other in range of individual activity (local-oriented citizen is active on local level only).*

Which of the patterns will be taken on by a given community depends on many factors. And here we deal with the issue of determinants of patterns. It seems that four basic variables has influence on civic patterns, which are taken on in a given community. They are presented here as hypotheses: regional traditions, locality factor, location on axis “centre – periphery”, cultural capital and “winners – losers” hypothesis.

First of hypotheses is regional tradition hypothesis. It assumes that history influences on patterns of citizens, which are taken on. On the community level we deal with individually internalized civic culture of given community. Civic culture is shaped for years and it is a result of many cumulating historical experiences. There are two kinds of influences of cultural traditions: influence of historical experiences of region, that is regional traditions and specific experiences of micro community that is local traditions sense strict. The influence of historical experiences of a region on civility of society has been proved by Robert D. Putnam in his Italian researches. In Poland it has been supported by Jerzy Bartkowski who has explained social and political behaviour of inhabitants of individual regions by historical experiences of belonging to given annexed territory (Bartkowski 2002, Bartkowski 2003). According to Bartkowski, the influence of regional traditions concerns especially distribution of traditional association (Bartkowski 2003). The author notices that “Each of Polish historical – cultural regions has had different conditions for development of associations and each of them has formed specific ones, which then have played an important role in the social development of the region” (Bartkowski 2003: 33). It should be expected that apart from distribution of associations also other elements of civility remain under influence of historical experiences of regions.

The influence of local determinants is pointed by Joanna Kurczewska, Marian Kempny and Hanna Bojar. The authors notice that these are local traditions, which are significant component of grass – roots process of creating democratic values and institutions. They propose to consider local tradition as a factor which – depending on social and civilization context – can determine social ties, civil activity and modernization of local community or – on the contrary – hold up social change and reinforce the innertion (Kurczewska, Kempny, Bojar: 1998). The experiences from the past – both regional and local – result in different patterns of civility.

The next hypothesis is locality factor hypothesis. It seems that the influence of regional tradition is modified by two factors: (1) cultural continuity of given community (that is the purity of culture or its intermingling with foreign element), (2) role of tradition. The relatively small communities where cultural continuity is maintained and where local traditions play important role, take on patterns different to communities of big cities where various influences are intermingled and tradition does not matter. This sort of influence, called here “locality factor”, is proved by the researches conducted by Barbara Lewenstein. The author has noticed that overstayed village was capable of self – organizing, its inhabitants showed readiness to participation in social life of the community and taking responsibility for it, they were capable of cooperating for the common sake. The basic form of activity was then informal activity for the sake of local community. On the contrary, inhabitants of incoming villages constituted atomized community, they showed passive attitudes towards problems of village and these were local collectives, which organized activity of inhabitants. All activity was of institutional and formal character then. Besides, Barbara Lewenstein has observed that the variable “overstaying of the village” influences on attitude towards macropolicy (inhabitants of overstayed villages were less interested in policy because it was considered as something external and having no influence on local matters, which depended – as they thought – on their self-resourcefulness). It seems then that inhabitants of overstayed villages are closer to informal citizen pattern or even local - oriented citizen pattern, whereas inhabitants of incoming villages are closer to institutional or minimal citizen pattern. The former ones do not need institutional frames for their activity (tradition and civic culture are the frame there), whereas in case of the latter ones institutions are indispensable “keystone” of social life (substituting local civic culture and informal norms of trust and cooperation). That may provide an explanation for the fact that in the villages of high social trust non – governmental organizations do not exist (they are not needed there) and in villages where NGOs are popular a lack of social trust can be noticed. It does not prove decomposition of social capital but it proves presence of functional patterns of citizens.

It is worth noticing here that under the influence of transformation and globalization processes informal social networks undergo disintegration. It could imply disappearance of informal citizen pattern in the future. However, Barbara Lewenstein has noticed in mentioned researches that despite atomizing influences of transformation “villages where patterns of collective actions existed in the past still produce some forms of them” (Lewenstein 1999: 192). What is more interesting, civility of some local communities helps to resist against disintegrating influences of globalization and transformation processes and protects subjectivity of inhabitants and favours further development of community.

The next very important factor determining the pattern of citizens is the location on the axis centre – periphery (location on axis centre – periphery hypothesis). This variable is pointed out by Jerzy Bartkowski (Bartkowski 2003). The author has noticed that “newly founded associations are located mainly in the cities and their presence in rural areas is related to their location towards social and economical centres” (Bartkowski 2003: 32). The higher administrative status of a given district and the nearer to administrative centre a given district is located; the more associations are registered there (Bartkowski 2003: 30 – 39). The closeness of the centre corresponds with wider accessibility of “civic infrastructure” and social innovations. So it can be assumed that inhabitants of villages located near to the centres take on institutional citizen pattern more often than other patterns. Villages remote from the social and administrative centres, that is the peripheral villages, have little chance for development of such pattern, but they probably are characterized by readiness to self–

resourcefulness and – consequently – popularity of informal citizen pattern (provided that other conditions allow it, of course).

At the end, the cultural capital hypothesis should be mentioned. It assumes that cultural capital resources influence on pattern of citizens. Individuals of higher level of cultural capital (mainly of higher education) are characterized by more prodemocratic attitudes, lesser tendency to collectivism, and stronger involvement in social activity. It is proved by many CBOS researches on state of civil society in Poland<sup>71</sup>. Probably then also other resources of cultural capital are connected with given patterns of civility.

The cultural capital hypothesis needs to be completed by “winner – loser hypothesis”. The “winner – loser” hypothesis assumes that patterns of civility taken on by individuals depend on how individuals assess their situation after transformation: as a victory or a defeat?

Individuals who feel “losers” are withdrawn from social life, which they reify. “Winners” are more open to social world, more active and they want to create the social reality around them. Apart from these relations it is surely possible to notice other connections between the assessment of personal situation (victory/defeat) and definite patterns of civility.

On the community level we also deal with these two variables. There are villages, which get by and the ones, which find themselves on the margin of social life. Villages of “winners” take on patterns different to villages of “losers”, similarly patterns of villages where inhabitants are characterized by higher level of cultural capital (which, in turn, can be determined by wider accessibility of education) differ from villages of low cultural capital.

As can be seen, the examples and outcomes of researches presented above prove that it must not be claimed that rural areas are more or less civic than urban areas. Rural areas are civic in different way, what is more, different rural communities are civic in different ways. Civil society manifests itself in different ways and civic virtues constitute different configurations.

The conception of civility proposed here avoids the traps presented at the beginning of the paper. It is wide, structural – normative approach to civil society, it considers qualitative variables of civic culture, it allows multiplicity of patterns of local civil society and it avoids “rural determinism” if the assumption about specificity of rural civil society can be called this way. The local Poland falls outside any schemes, so that we are forced to recognize the patterns of civility when trying to describe the state of civil society in rural areas. Contrary to popular belief, the local communities which - depending on combination of features constituting given type of community - take on different patterns of civility, do not illustrate global rural civil society. There is no one general rural civil society, there are “only” various civil communities taking on different patterns of civility, which have their logic, that is they can be explained by historical and socio – cultural factors. That is why we should recognize patterns of civil communities instead of describing global rural civil society (which does not exist). This, in turn, may impose usage qualitative techniques when doing researches; it is still possible to use survey but it needs to be sensitive to “soft” variables.

All these assumptions – in my opinion – should be accepted when doing researches on civil society in rural communities.

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<sup>71</sup> See CBOS’ reports: Zbiorowa aktywność społeczna Polaków (April 1998); Społeczeństwo obywatelskie. Między aktywnością społeczną a biernością (February 2000); Kondycja polskiego społeczeństwa obywatelskiego (February 2002); Przemiany grupowej aktywności społecznej Polaków w latach 1998 – 2002 (February 2002).

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# **Manpower Development in Agricultural Engineering in Selected Developing Countries**

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## **Key words**

manpower development, agricultural engineering, education and training in less developed countries (LDC)

## **Abstract**

The potential and crucial role of agricultural engineering, and therefore of agricultural engineers, in development has not always been recognized. A number of spectacular failures in the past involving poorly adapted schemes of agricultural engineering let planners to neglect and even resist investment in this sector. Yet, to neglect investment in this sector denies a society the possibility of raising its agricultural performance beyond subsistence levels. Manpower development is recognized as being of prime importance for the successful execution of agricultural development programs and continues to constitute a major component of FAO activities. Needs in manpower development;

- The need for greater awareness amongst Member Nations of the fundamental role of agricultural engineering in development. Commodities pricing policies, resource capabilities, land tenure and the involvement of women in the development process are examples of critical factors in the determination of that role.
- The need to promote strategic planning for agricultural engineering in its broadest sense, within the framework of National Development Planning. The assessment of both the training and educational needs and the available resources in the short term was advised, although in the long term a more detailed survey would be necessary.
- The need an existing training facilities are inadequately utilized, whereas in others, serious shortages exist. There is thus a critical need to encourage the full and effective use of existing resources before embarking upon programs to develop new ones.
- The need as to the importance of establishing strong links between agricultural engineering training, research and extension activities and felt that innovative measures to achieve this recognized requirement should be developed.

Objective of the project; The test in manpower area in agricultural engineering in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Republic of Congo and Guinea – Conakry as follow-up project of FAO project was implemented. A distinction is made between education programs and training programs. The choice of location for the administrative centre of Department of Agricultural Engineering within a University or College is discussed and the general principles of curricula planning are indicated. Both undergraduate and postgraduate education is discussed and illustrated with examples of curricula used in four different countries. It is hoped that the ordered approach will allow a more rational analysis of potential problems in the planning and execution stages of training and educational programs, and so, in this way, provide a valuable service towards the future development of trained manpower in agricultural engineering.

# **Manpower Development in Agricultural Engineering in Selected Developing Countries**

## **Introduction**

The potential and crucial role of agricultural engineering, and therefore of agricultural engineers, in development has not always been recognized. A number of spectacular failures in the past involving poorly adapted schemes of agricultural engineering led planners to neglect and even resist investment in this sector. Yet, to neglect investment in this sector denies a society the possibility of raising its agricultural performance beyond subsistence levels.

Manpower development is recognized as being of prime importance for the successful execution of agricultural development programs and continues to constitute a major component of FAO activities. Many developing countries are experiencing high population growths leading to ever increasing food requirements. Adequately trained personnel are essential for tackling this situation and the needs are particularly acute for engineers, technicians and craftsmen, trained in the skills required for the application of engineering to agriculture.

The desirability of balanced and appropriate agricultural mechanization is now recognized as a vital ingredient in agricultural development plans. The engineering introduced must be effective and those charged with the tasks of its management and promotion must be adequately trained and educated. This publication aims to address the problems associated with planning the manpower resource requirements and the development or establishment of appropriate training facilities and programs.

## **The development of Agricultural Engineering - the social and economic context**

Agricultural engineering is deeply involved in the process of social and economic change and has strongly affected development, as now witnessed in the modern world. Viewed in its broadest context agricultural engineering lay at the heart of the earliest forms of civilization, which developed around the river systems of the Middle East, Egypt and China.

On the mechanical side, agricultural engineering has its roots in the village blacksmiths and artisans making hand tools and equipment. Agricultural engineering is still at the blacksmithing stage in many developing countries whereas in the developed world, many families of the more progressive artisans of the last century have developed from their village forges into some of the largest national and multinational manufacturers of agricultural machinery.

The striking difference between a modern developing economy and most of the developed nations of the world today is that the developing country, with its developing economy, can choose its path of development. It may either pursue the path of gradual and slowly accelerating progress towards higher levels of agricultural mechanization; or, it may attempt to take immediate advantage of the advances in technology that are available from the developed world.

The process of rural change accompanying agricultural mechanization development is beset with social and economic difficulties. All engaged in agricultural mechanization programs should be made aware of the hazards, possibilities, and successes that have emerged during their establishment.

The introduction of new machines has often brought associated social problems. The Scottish millwright Andrew Meikle patented his threshing machine in 1788 and over the next 30

years, several inventors and craftsmen produced machines in Britain. In 1830, the threshing machine became a target for the large numbers of unemployed returning from the Napoleonic wars, and demanding work and higher wages. Hay barns were burned and about 400 machines were destroyed in two years of violence.

More recently, several distressing examples of severe economic conditions have resulted at least in part from over-hasty and ill-conceived schemes to introduce mechanization. Massive agricultural machinery imports were organized in the 1960's and 1970's to several developing nations. These soon resulted in high levels of machinery breakdowns as the existing servicing facilities and number of skilled machinery operators and managers proved inadequate.

An important historical lesson to be learned from developed economies is the close interaction between agricultural and industrial development. In an economy dominated by agriculture it is both natural and necessary for small farmers to obtain their tools and equipment from local manufacturers and artisans, who can not only supply what is required, but can also service and repair the goods they have supplied. The promotion of and assistance towards the local manufacture and servicing of agricultural machinery provides the basis for the eventual development of a more comprehensive indigenous manufacturing industry.

### **Some early groupings of agricultural engineers**

One of the first groupings of agricultural engineers was the formation of the Agricultural Engineers Association by Messrs Ransome, Shuttleworth and Fowler in London on November 2; 1875. The Royal Agricultural Society was founded in 1838, and continues its tradition of awards for innovative agricultural machines which are still exhibited annually at the Silver Award stand of the UK's Royal Show.

Specialist commercial publications also started to appear such as *Farm Implement News* in 1879, published in the United States. The first President of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers (ASAE) took office in 1908. By 1912, another American, Dr Sam Higginbottom had started a specialist course in agricultural engineering when founding the Allahabad Agricultural Institute in India.

### **Development of agricultural engineering as a profession**

Agricultural engineering has most commonly been defined as the application of engineering principles to agriculture. It thus involves many different established branches of engineering and associated disciplines, and progressed to the stage where its own professional institutions are established in many countries.

More recently, specialist groups of agricultural engineers have formed societies to promote professional interchange within their particular discipline - the West Africa Animal Traction Network, the International Commission on Irrigation and Drainage, the Commission Internationale du Génie Rural, the International Society for Terrain-Vehicle Systems are examples of organizations active today.

Members of other Institutions who felt that an area of expertise, which properly belonged to them, was being poached have often resisted the establishment of the new profession of agricultural engineering. The ranks of the Mechanical Engineering profession felt that Power and Machinery lay more appropriately within their domain, while the Civil Engineering profession have claimed that matters of irrigation and water supply are properly the interest of Civil Engineers.

## **Present status of agricultural engineering**

The establishment of agricultural engineering as a profession is thus comparatively recent in many countries and indeed it has yet to take place in many of the developing nations. The professional status of the agricultural engineer varies widely in consequence and continues to be the subject of debate.

The first ever society of agricultural engineers (the American Society of Agricultural Engineers, or ASAE) was formed in the United States more than a 100 years ago, but it is today seriously debating a change of name to reflect the change in emphasis of members' activities. The term biological engineering or bioengineering are amongst those it has been suggested be adopted in the new title. Student enrolment in traditional agricultural engineering courses at the Bachelor's level in both the United States and Britain has dropped markedly over the last 20 years although the specialist courses offered at Diploma and Master's level continue to attract considerable interest.

Many of these courses are however designed for future activities outside the more traditional fields of agricultural mechanization or soil and water engineering. Topics such as agricultural water management, information technology for the rural sector, rural engineering, environmental engineering, experiment station operations management, are but a few of the options currently available at different institutions of education.

Language can further affect the status of the profession within a country. For example the French equivalent of "Génie Rural" normally involves activities of installation and operation of large-scale irrigation schemes, road engineering and rural buildings. A professional however working in environmental control systems, agricultural machinery design or manufacture or perhaps post harvest processing is likely to adopt an alternative title for his profession.

The Spanish equivalent normally used is "Ingeniería Agrícola" which creates great confusion with the professional agronomist who has the title "Ingeniero Agronomo". In many Hispanic countries this leads to considerable problems in recruiting good agricultural engineers into the public sector as their salary scales are often similar or only marginally higher than those of the "Ingeniero Agronomo". In contrast, if he was classified as an "Ingeniero Civil" or an "Ingeniero Mecánico", the scale would be considerably higher. This situation can of course have an adverse effect on student recruitment into agricultural engineering courses as those with a strong interest in engineering are likely to opt for the mechanical or civil engineering courses offering better prospects.

Specific features of Manpower Development.

The questionnaire test was provided in the end of eighties by the FAO, AGSE Department. For provability the above mentioned test the questioner for year 2004 was modified from original questioner from 1989.

**The test was applied for the same country: Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo and Guinea - Conakry.**

## **Results**

The replies received indicated a general agreement to several questions:

- All countries projected in **1989** additional requirements for the number of graduates with employment foreseen mainly in the Ministry and Regional Offices (15 %), industry and agricultural services (28 %) and the extension and advisory services (24 %).

- **Results from 2004** presents in the same question move to up in – Ministry and Regional Offices 18 % (+ 3 %), Industry and Agricultural Services 32 % (+ 4 %), Research and Development 13 % (+ 3 %). On the opposite site is Extension/ Advisory Services 17 % (-7%)!!!
- Most countries suggested in **1989** a broad coverage of agricultural engineering subjects at the undergraduate level, although their opinions on specialization at the postgraduate level were divided.
- **Result from 2004** presents in the same question a similar suggestion; only order of countries is changed.
- All countries suggested in **1989** improvements to the quantity and quality of practical training for educational courses.
- **Results from 2004** presents in the same question the same suggestion, so that the practical training could be as a part of regular Agricultural Engineering Education Programme.
- The majority of countries reported in **1989** that they lacked sufficient technicians at the certificate and diploma levels, although there was a wide variation both in estimates of existing numbers and requirements.
- **Result from 2004** presents in the same question similar or the same answers. The annotated findings are summarized below.

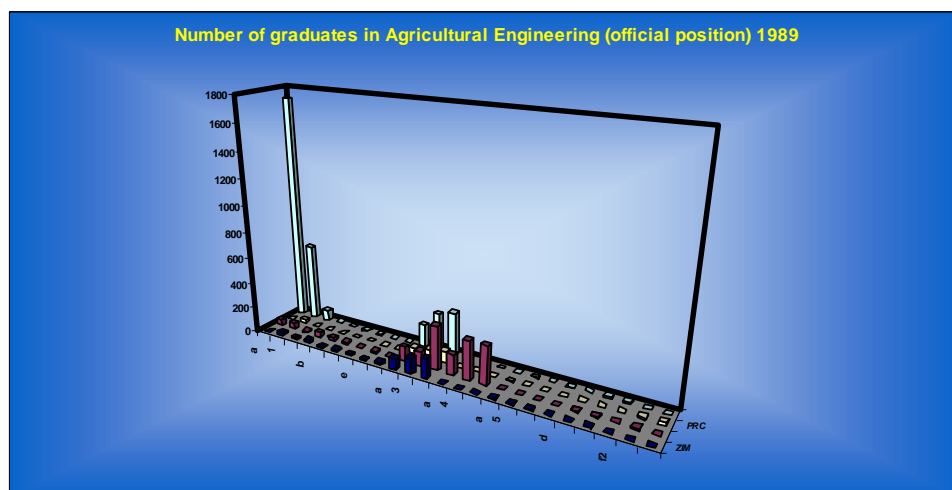
#### Summary of Country Questionnaire Replies

Question	ZIM	URT	PRC	GUI
<b>No. of agricultural engineering graduates</b>				
- National University	0	23	0	21
- Foreign University	32	48	67	97
<b>Where employed: (percentages)</b>				
Ministry & Reg. Offices	19	12	12	73
Industry & Agro. Services	29	36	53	12
Extension/Advisory Services	9	23	13	6
Teaching	19	10	9	3
Research and Development	14	6	3	2
Farming	9	12	5	3
Other	1	1	5	1
<b>Total number of Agricultural Engineering graduates in the following years:</b>				
1990	80	127	46	168
1991 - 1995	102	97	53	177
1996 - 2000	163	279	99	331
<b>Where they worked 1991 -1995 (percentages)</b>				
- Ministry & Regional Offices	15	12	16	33
- Industry & Agricultural Services	57	44	23	17
- Extension/Advisory Services	19	17	14	22
- Teaching	5	7	12	15
- Research and Development	13	17	14	8
- Farming	8	12	14	8
- Other	1	2	--	2

<b>Are there any officially estimated requirements Agricultural Engineering graduates?</b>				
(Ministry figure)	190	220	No	100
(University figure)	No	300	No	No
(FAO figure)	200	300	100	150
<b>Priority sectors of Agricultural Engineering (1 = highest):</b>				
- Agricultural mechanization				
- Soil and water engineering	2	3	3	3
- Storage and processing	2	3	3	3
- Rural structures	4	4	3	3
- Management and planning	4	4	3	3
- Other: Agro-industries	3	4	3	4
Renewable energy	5	5	5	5
	5	6	5	6

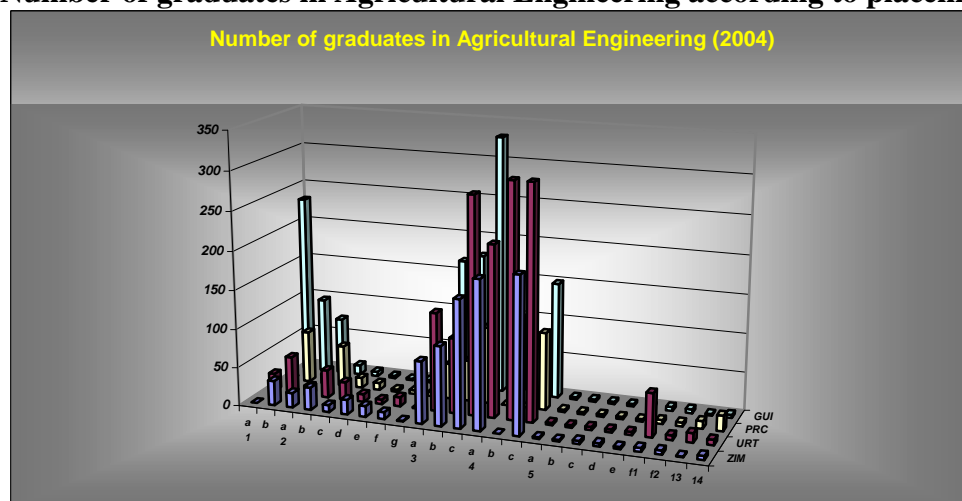
**Graph No. 1**

**Number of graduates in Agricultural Engineering according to placement 1989**

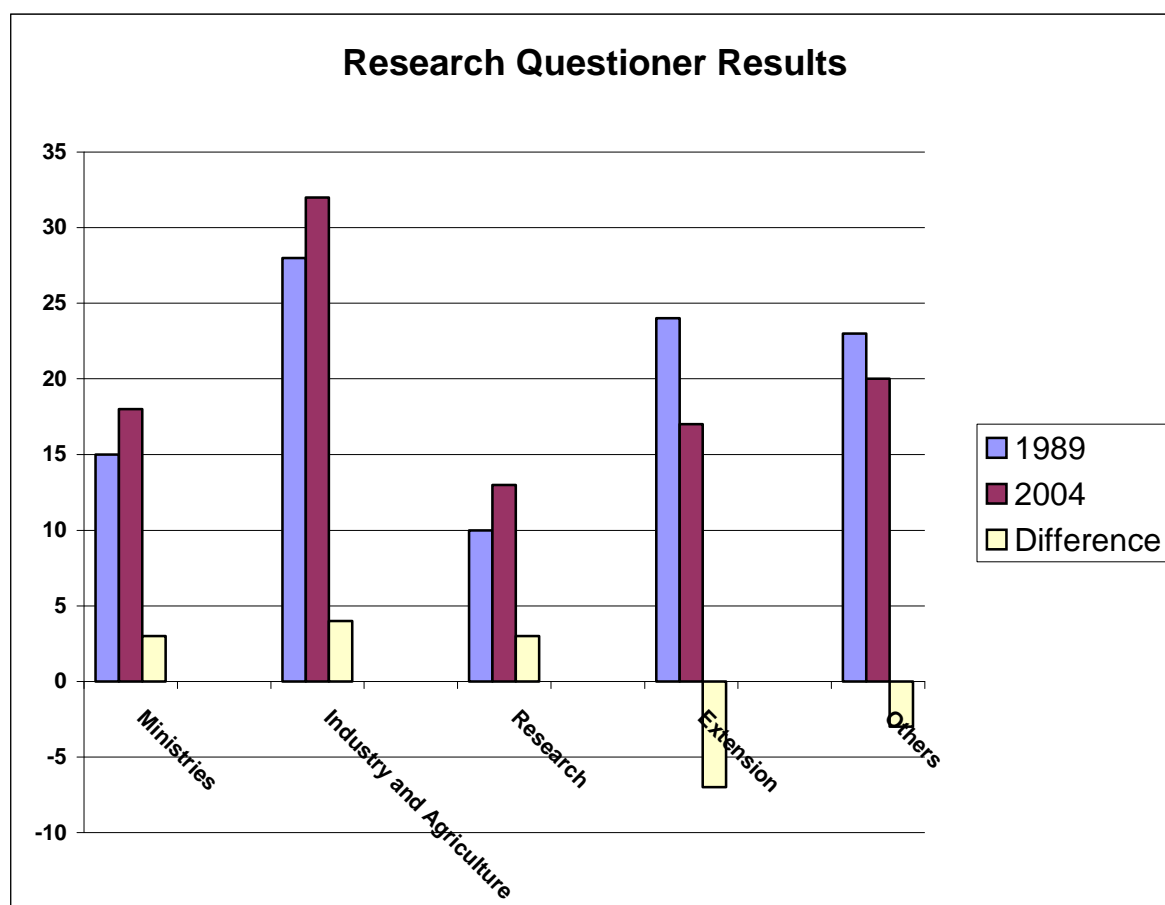


**Graph No. 2**

**Number of graduates in Agricultural Engineering according to placement 2004**



**Graph No. 3**



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# **The Formation of Rural Youth Ecological Awareness**

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## **Key words**

rural youth, ecological awareness

## **Abstract**

Nature is suffered from serious ecological crisis from usage of intensive technologies and increasing consumption. Society is aware of that baneful influence, but satisfactory results from solving of the mentioned problem have not achieved yet. The formation of youth ecological awareness during the education and socialization processes for promoting of countryside sustainable development is recommended. Young people are the ones who shall change the existing society norms and system of values for sustainable living. Such the task requires a higher level of consciousness and new models of behaviour. Rural young people better understand the local problems of nature preservation, but not always recognize the extent of environmental problems under conditions of globalization and increasing new intensive technologies. The ecological education, formation of ecological awareness must be started in family when children are at preschool age and purposefully continued at all further levels of education. The ecological awareness includes human concepts, ways of behaviour, spheres of activity, needs and expectancies, which are directly connected with the surrounding environment.

Ecological awareness is characterized by three major elements:

- Ecological knowledge;
- Evaluation of ecological situation;
- Ecological behaviour.

The sociological analysis indicates how Latvian rural young people evaluate their environmental awareness; estimate the significance of nature preservation and forecast the best ways to improve the quality of ecosystem.

## **The formation of rural youth ecological awareness**

Humans interfere the natural processes more and more by creating new technologies. But the new technologies often develop destructive factors for the natural environment and can even lead to ecological crisis that endangers humanity.

Such situation stimulates need for new ecological consciousness in the society that is not only knowledge about the present situation and changes in nature but also understanding about possible ways of solving ecological problems.

Understanding about relations between society and natural environment are observed in interconnectedness with the past. We can see this interaction between natural environment and society in three periods of social development:

*First period.* Humans are changing nature for themselves creating it anew but they still remain dependant on it;

*Second period.* Humans feel themselves masters of the new changed nature and assume that they have rights to usurp it without any limits;

*The third period.* Humans are changing nature and often endanger their existence with this. This is the reason of appearing of different views on interaction between nature and humans. Professor *Riley E. Dunlap* wrote that sociology as science has ignored importance of physical environment in social research in the 70- ties. Although it stressed more that the modern society is free from natural limits. Dunlap and *William Catton Jr.* promoted a new ecological paradigm- NEP- dependence of ecosystem on the modern industrialized society. Both of them encouraged sociologists to approach to ecological problems seriously.

Sociologist A. Giddens has stressed that attack of the modern humanity to natural environment is so intensive that there are no more natural processes not influenced by people's activities. Degradation of environment and its causing activities can influence not only health and well- being of people but also economics and life quality in general. People make problems in nature and later these problems impact the people themselves. Natural problems cannot be solved separately with understanding society. That is why nowadays it is not necessary to prove to anybody that because of globalization, new technologies development and increasing consumption a serious ecological crisis has touched natural environment.

On one hand, society understands it, but on the other hand, the promoted activities have not given the expected result of solution yet.

Ecological consciousness does not mean only critics of the ecological situation but also acknowledgement that it is necessary to avert disturbance of ecological balance. Ecological crisis as crisis of industrial society or life crisis is mentioned often today.

People have to acknowledge that nature is limited and power of people is limited as well. For sustainable development of society in the future, one of the most safe "capital investments" is education of the next generations meanwhile their socialization including forming ecological consciousness of young people and stabilization of value system pro maintenance of natural environment.

There is a view that all the inhabitants, e. i. different generations should be involved in nature protection and improving of surrounding environment. Involvement of youth is of particular importance.

As young partners of today and leaders of tomorrow, feel the first step towards this vision is the provision of education: the development of knowledge, skills perspectives and values which will empower young people to assume a responsibility for creating and enjoying a sustainable future.

Young people not always mention perfect natural environment as one of the main factors for sustainable development of the environment in the modern society of individualism and consumption.

One of the basic tasks is development of youth's understanding of sustainable development. Further realization of this idea depends on their interest and participation. Thus in Latvia, great attention is paid for development of environmental education with aim to develop ecological culture of youth and to decrease culture of consumers.

Education of youth has to develop situation that nature protection and maintenance of environment become important categories in values system of modern youth.

Young people could change system of cultural norms and values in the society. Although it is not easy because all the social structure of the society has to be changed as well. It demands other level of consciousness of the young people, other models of behaviour that can be reached in studies process, education and socialization.

Rural youth maybe better understands local problems of maintenance of natural environment but they not always acknowledge amount and scales of the ecological questions under circumstances of globalization and increase of new technologies, especially when Latvia is a part of EU.

Ecological education, forming of ecological consciousness has to be started already at pre-school age in family and purposefully continued in the proceeding levels of education.

Ecological consciousness covers ideas of people, their forms of behaviour, spheres of activities, wishes and expectations that are directly connected with the surrounding natural environment. Three main elements characterize the ecological consciousness by its content: *ecological knowledge, evaluation of the ecological situation and ecological behaviour.*

We carried out **sociological research** on ecological consciousness **of rural youth** and their view about need and possibilities to maintain natural environment witch connected with three main elements of the previously mentioned ecological consciousness. The respondents of the research were pupils of secondary schools of Jelgava district living in rural areas. Four schools out of five secondary schools of Jelgava district were involved; number of the respondents - 177.

The instrument of prime information is a questionnaire with most part of closed questions and some opened ones as well. There are two main question blocks in the questionnaire- at first understanding of the young people about pollution problem in general is determined; and the second block is connected with problems of forming of the ecological consciousness of the young people. The respondents fulfilled the questionnaires after instructions.

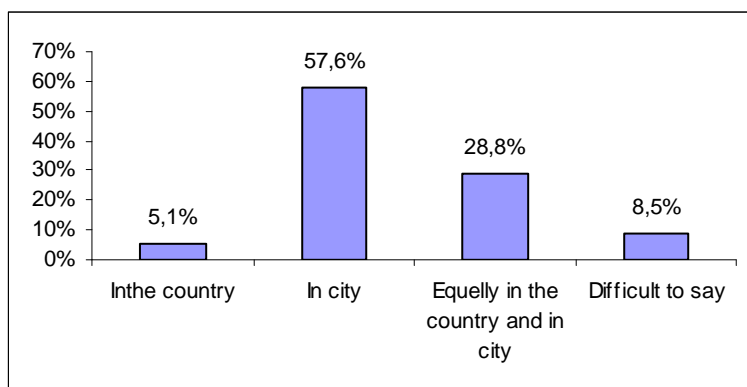
First actual question was if the rural young people perceive pollution of their **surrounding environment as a problem.**

Obviously- most of the young people- 85.3 %- assume it as a problem; 4.0 % does not think so; but more than ten (10.7 %) per cent of the questioned young people have not thought about it till now.

As far as the young people involved in the research were of rural area with less daily contact with consequences of pollution, it was important to ask if **the environmental pollution is**

more spread in cities or in the country, to their mind (Fig. 1).

**Fig.1. Differences of Environmental Pollution between Rural and Cities Environments**



Evaluating ratio of pollution between cities and the country, only 5.1 % of the rural young people assume that pollution is more spread in the country. 57.6 % of the respondents consider that cities are more polluted; almost one third (28.8 %) of the young people say that both cities and country are polluted; but some of them (8.5 %) do not have their view.

The young people were also asked on their views about **spread character of the pollution of the surrounding environment**. Almost all the respondents (90 %) assumed that it as a global problem; 6 % of them mentioned that it was regional problem and only 2 % said that pollution touched each individual particularly. And 2 % of the respondents did not have view.

Determining **the most common sources of environmental pollution**, we stated that agricultural activities are mentioned as the biggest pollution source that is in contradiction to the responds observed in Fig. 1 that are assuming that there is relatively small pollution amount in the country. It witness that the young people do not have clear understanding on these issues.

Household techniques is the next biggest of the mentioned sources of pollution, then household chemicals and cars follow and industry is mentioned as the last. It could be connected with the circumstance that industries are not so developed in Latvia. Therefore although the most of the young people assume that environment pollution is global problem, they are thinking regionally and even locally for understandable reasons in this case.

It was proposed to the young people to choose one of the three given **models of ecological behaviour**: 1) *It makes no sense that one person alone protects nature if the others do not share it*; 2) *There are much more important things in the life than nature protection, so I act according to my own comfort*; 3) *I care for nature anyway*.

Although the most of the respondents previously considered that environmental pollution is a problem and should be solved, only 20 % of the young people showed disposition to act for the sake of environment, by the chosen models of behaviour. A little bit more than 30 % of the respondents have chosen the position that there are much more important things in the life than nature protection, so they are disposed to act according to their own comfort. But the most of the respondents (almost 50 %) conclude that there is no sense that one person alone protects nature if the others do not share it. It is quiet purblind position because the idea "what makes sense of me alone" gives the general sum of attitudes and really nothing is done for the solution.

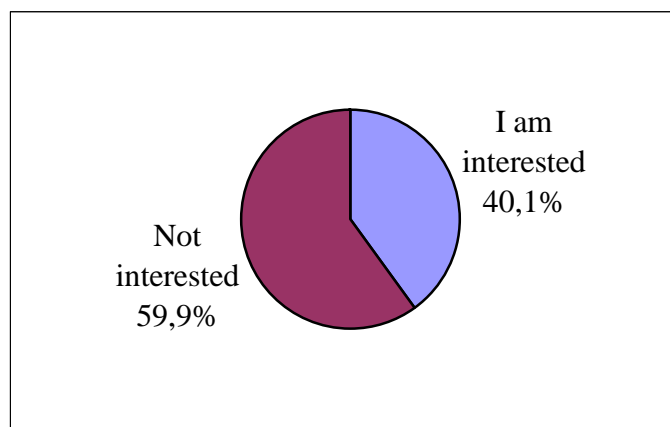
The respondents had to evaluate **impact** of environmental pollution **on health**. Only 9 out of 177 questioned respondents did not agree with the fact that pollution has impact on health.

100 young people agreed completely with this affirmation but 68 agreed partly.

Searching for **life priorities of the young people**, we found that the most important part is *family relations*, then care for health, relationships with the opposite sex, material prosperity, professional growth follow, but life in ecologically safe environment is in the 6<sup>th</sup> place. There is also entertainment mentioned as the last- the seventh- priority.

Quiet symptomatic view is uncovered in the Fig. 2 that deals with interest of the young people of **nature protection issues**. Most (59.9 %) of the respondents show that they are not interested. These issues are attractive only for 40.1 % of the youths.

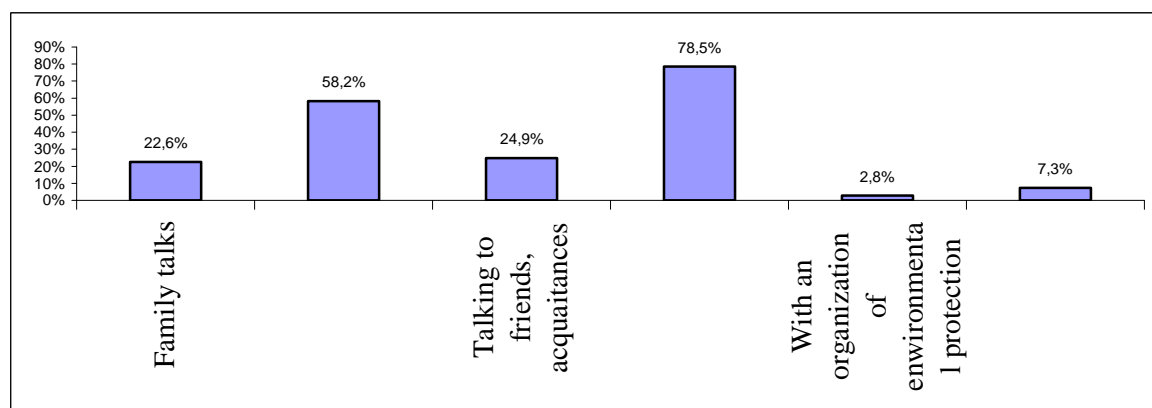
**Fig. 2. Interest of the Young People about Environment Protection Issues**



Replies to the question about their **readiness to give up greatest daily life nature polluting things** assure us that the easiest thing for the young people would be to give up plastic bags but the most difficult- not to use household techniques and cars.

Knowledge of the young people is important to make deeper their interest and understanding about the problems of nature pollution. So the respondents were inquired about **information sources** on the given problem (Fig. 3). As it is seen in the figure, mass media take first place (78.5 %); the problem is widely talked about also at different lessons (58.2 %). Families (22.6 %) and friends and acquaintances (24.9 %) talk about it less. Only 2.8 % of the respondents get the information about nature protection problems being members of some nature protection movement. 7.3 % of the young people confess that they are not interested in it at all.

**Fig. 3. Sources of Information about Problems of Environment Imperils**



As school is the institution with great impact on forming ecological consciousness of the young people, the respondents were questioned about **how they are educated at school regarding natural pollution and its consequences liquidation problems.**

The most of the respondents (61.6 %) assumes that it is talked about within different studies subjects as apart of their programs. To the mind of the young people, special enterprises are rare (10.2 %) but only 1.7% of the respondents have heard view

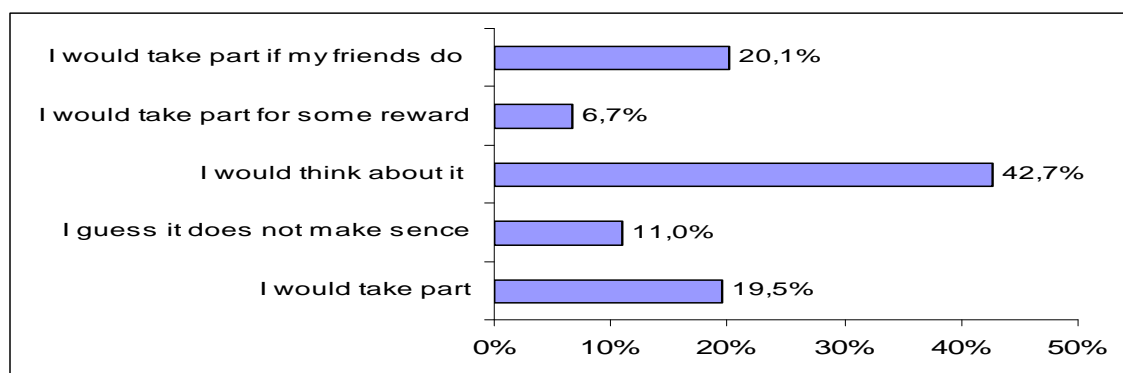
of invited specialists. There is a fact that makes us revises something: 21.5 % of the young people assert that this issue is not talked about at school.

Recently, different projects for informing and educating the society are carried out in Latvia. For instance, pilot project *The Green Point Week* especially marks nature protection and effective economics. Pilot project *Green School* was organized for pupils involvement in environmental activities; 20 000 pupils of all the state took part in it. Methodical means *In the Wake of the Green Point* are issued within the project. The aim of the book is to encourage children to pay attention actively to issues of nature, waste and packing. Mass media reflected the event. TV programs for children are made. Target group of the programs is pre-school children and pupils. Aim of the programs is to attract attention of the children (and their parents) to daily important question- saving energy resources. There is social organization *Green Point Club* formed and basis of its activities is to make understanding of residents about saving resources. Activists of ZPK are looking for educational establishments all the studies year- they are presenting lectures on packing ways and necessity to sort waste. Planned schools projects *Look for around You* are organized at schools.

Many collective nature maintenance enterprises are organized in the state where also young people can take part. So the respondents were asked if they are informed about such enterprises. Only one third or 35.6 % of the young people answered that they are informed; 6.8% mentioned that they have taken part themselves but 55.9 % of the respondents do not pay attention to it.

Further the young people were inquired **if they would like to take part in such enterprises** (Fig. 4). *I do* is the answer of 19.5 % of the questioned youths. It is 12.7 % more than already participated – 6.8 % (preliminary question). But the others also would take part if there were additional motivating factors- if my friends do (20.1 %) or for some reward (6.7 %). 42.7 % would think of participation. As it is seen, the most does not have strong position regarding this question.

**Fig. 4. Views of the Young People on Taking Part in Social Events of Environment Protection**

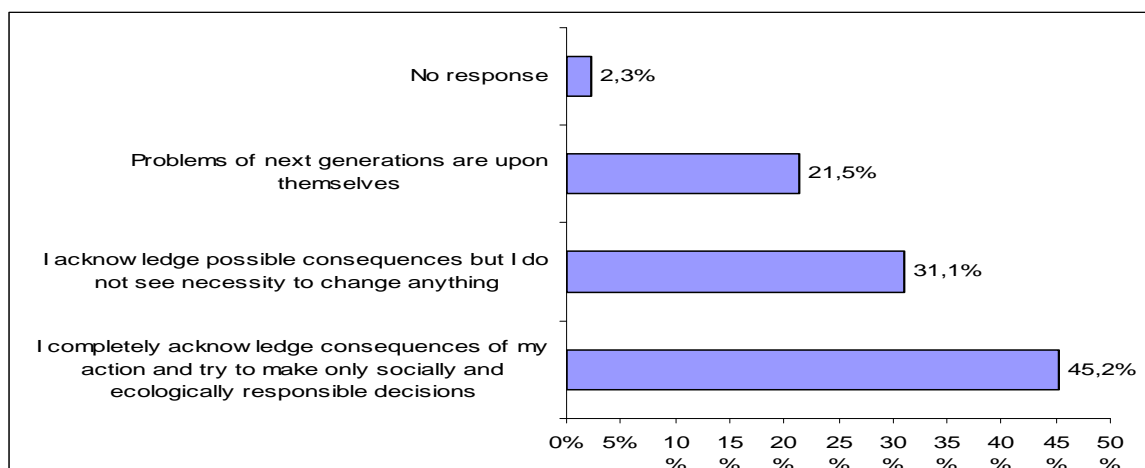


The students of higher classes of the secondary schools have their views also about **activities for better ecological environment understanding**: to understand better importance of ecological environment there should be- more young people involved in the nature maintenance (66.7 %), - elaborated different school programs for ecological education (32.2 %), participation in charity (36 %) devoted to nature maintenance, - and information enterprises carried out as well (36.7 %). The respondents have mentioned also other variants: - *education has to be started in family*, - *to show obviously what can happen after 10 years*, - *different competitions*. Some young people have stressed *laziness, inertness* of modern young people. Lack of interest and unwillingness to express it is connected with already mentioned question on interest about environment protection issues (Fig. 2).

It shows that the state enterprises have been ineffective because only 39 respondents of 177 knew *The Green Point* and only 5 had heard of GREENPEACE

It is interesting to get to know if the youths acknowledge that the **nowadays consequences of nature pollution will remain for future**- and if they are trying not to pollute nature for this reason (Fig. 5).

**Fig. 5. Acknowledgement of Impact of Consequences of Environment Pollution for the Future**



One fifth of the young people (21.5 %) consider that problems of the next generations are upon themselves. One third of the respondents (31.1 %) acknowledge consequences but they do not want to change anything of their deeds. 45.2 % of the respondents not only acknowledge consequences of their actions but are also trying to make socially and ecologically responsible decisions that are less harmful for nature. But to compare to previous two groups of the young people, who do not care for nature, this group forms the least part of the respondents.

Speaking about ecological situation in the future, the young people are concerned about further development of consumers' culture in the society. Ecological culture is going to be paid less attention. Harmonic development of society and nature will be endangered. The young people see nature even more polluted after 20 years: - *"Growth of economical development will lead us to ecological catastrophe; - polluted air, global warming, storms...plenty of living species will die out...disasters...nature is going to be a big dump...less forests...cities everywhere...only some people will think about nature etc."* Unfortunately, only some of the young people see nature in future *"spruced...I can imagine that the environment is ecologically clean and maintained- at least I would like it to be so."*

Socially dominating ecological culture is reflected in this future view of the young people; its main feature is dominance of consumers' culture.

Thinking about the **responsible groups of people for dealing with natural pollution**, to the mind of the young people, there is following conclusions as a result: the young people mention *all the people of the world* as the main responsible group, *international organizations of nature protection, governments of national states and economic workers* follow.

## Conclusions

1. Necessity to form new ecological consciousness has become actual in the society; it is not only knowledge of the present situation and natural changes but also understanding about solution ways of ecological problems.
2. Sustainable social development is connected with educating of next generations during their socialization in the future, including formation of ecological consciousness of the young people for the sake of nature.
3. Nevertheless many rural young people of Jelgava district generally are not interested in issues of nature protection, the most of the respondents perceive nature pollution as a problem.
4. The young people assume that natural pollution has global character.
5. The youths consider that the greatest source of nature pollution is agricultural work that contradicts with their view that cities are the most polluted areas. This could be explained with the fact that they do not go to the root of the matter.
6. The respondents have mentioned industry as minor source of pollution. In this case, the young people have taken into account the situation in Latvia where industry is not widely developed.
7. It is important to inform young people about environment protection issues to form their ecological consciousness. This role is mostly upon mass media and schools.
8. The young people are little informed about environment protection activities all over this state and they take part in them passively; at the same time they remark that one of the main activities for making better understanding of ecological environment is involvement of the youth in natural maintenance activities.
9. Young peoples' future vision about relations between society and natural environment is pessimistic.
10. Although the part of the young people who acknowledge the problem of the environment pollution are not active solvers of this problem at present, they could be such if there was appropriate education and motivation.

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# Counterurbanization as New Tendency of 21<sup>st</sup> Century

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## Key words

Counterurbanization, land transformation, real estate market, private house building

## Abstract

Urbanization development process of basically all developed societies can be described by curve- in the beginning, slow increase within traditional society, then fast growing, step by step slow down and stabilization- within industrial society, then- during information revolution passing to post-industrial society, we can observe a figurative decrease towards sub-urban lifestyle.

Straight impact of the urban influence appears in building private houses, losing agriculturally usable lands (its transforming into building lands), forming double land market between agriculturally and non-agriculturally developing lands, increase in value of land and property, building private houses and service sphere objects. All the impacts are connected with migration of urban residents to rural areas. As a result cities lose part of their residents.

We can observe this process also in the rural areas of Latvia. A line of facts witness of it: migration of citizens from city to country, development of real estate market with building lands and private houses, development of private houses building, transformation of agricultural lands into building lands, increase of household income of a definite part of society. These processes correlatively show recent changes in the country of Latvia. They separately regard to different parts of social life, mainly economics. Although their co-existence in the same space witness of the process of counterurbanization.

Counterurbanization has influenced irregular development of the rural areas. Also the rural areas of Latvia are surpassing different development. Now the most differences can be observed between rural area around Riga with its very fast development and rural areas around cities/ towns with counterurbanization in different intensity, not speaking of the rest of rural area. Although taking into account that Latvia is a territorially small country, we can experience essential changes in remarkable part of rural area in the nearest future.

The described processes show changes caused by the process of counterurbanization especially in the rural areas around cities, and they relate to the similar processes in the other states.

## **Counterurbanization as new tendency of 21st century**

### **Introduction**

Almost in all developed societies the development process of urbanization may be shown by the means of a curve – at the beginning a slow increase in the traditional society, then – a rapid growth, a gradual slow down and stabilization – in the industrial society, but after it during the time of information revolution, moving to a post-industrial society a plastic slow down may be observed in the direction of a suburban way of life.

Geographers, sociologists and other representatives of sciences underline that in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the tendency of the rich and medium sections to have the living place in the central part of cities changes to other tendency to move to the suburbs of cities, outskirts or even to the rural territories near the town. Moving to such territories is accompanied by the changes of housings and environment, as well by a new style of life and as a result by change of nature of the territories touched by this process.

There are changes of rural territories in Latvia too – the migration of population from the city to the countryside, the development of the real estate market with the land for building purposes and private houses, the development of the construction of private houses, the transformation of agricultural land into the land for building purposes, the growth of incomes of a certain part of households.

### **Information and methodology**

The theoretical basis of the research is the works of sociologists about social changes (P.Stompka, E.Giddens, S.Frolov and others) as well as the publications by the researchers about the reasons of the process of changes, its procedure and consequences in USA (J.Yagley, L.George), in Great Britain (M. Phillips, H.Buller, C.Moriss), in the Netherlands (T. van der Ziel).

The empiric information of this research has been obtained:

- 1) by getting acquainted with the published and unpublished materials about the land purchases, the transformation of agricultural land into plots for building purposes, the growth of private houses building;
- 2) by selecting the information from the materials about the town people migration to the rural territories published by the issues of the Central Statistics Bureau;
- 3) by inquiring the population as well as interviewing several experts of municipalities of Pieriga in which the hamlet (village, settlement) construction is taking place most widely.

Several formulations of foreign scientists have been used as a methodological basis for analysis of changes in Latvia.

Firstly, the inner migration basic tendencies of the population (T.Champion, T. Fielding) points out that there are two population basic tendencies at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

1. the state inner migration nature has changed (if earlier mostly unemployed young people of the working class were the migrants, then at present these migrant categories more and more consist of medium section professionals and the people having leading jobs);

2. the special character of inner migration has changed (if earlier the migration took place mostly to the outskirts of the cities, in such a way suburban districts were formed, then recently the migration forms small and average little towns in the rural territories). (Buller H. Morris C., ...2003)

Secondly, the changes in the countryside have no homogenous character, which may be expressed by one index. American scientists Y. Yagley, L. George, C. Moore and J. Pinders name the phenomenon, which show a process of intensive changes. They are –

1. growth of population in the territory;
2. per cent of newcomers during the last 5 years;
3. growth of average income;
4. growth of the number of new building plots;
5. growth/weight of housing prices (Yagley J.,..., 2005)

Thirdly, it is the reaction of fundamental population to the process of changes in the territory subjected to the analysis. English scientist M. Philip has established that the reaction of local population to the changes is the following –

1. one group is not aware of the process of changes and continue to regard that there are little changes in their neighbourhood;
2. the second group are completely aware of the concrete changes and regard them as very negative ones, because the countryside loses its traditional character;
3. the third group regard these changes as a positive force, which calls forth the growth of capital investment in rural territories. (Rural gentrification – a growing...)

Fourthly, it is the characterization of newcomers in the countryside. The scientist T. van der Ziel (the Netherlands) mentions 4 newcomer groups in the countryside –

1. "displaced persons";
2. "persons wishing more space";
3. "persons wishing resources";
4. "purchasers of recreation". (T. van der Ziel)

These changes are often called as counterurbanization tendencies. However, the urbanization is usually presented as a standard, but the counterurbanization – as a strange tendency having a beneficial trend (Buller H., Morris C.,...)

## **Discussions and results**

While using the principal marks of the changes mentioned by the American scientists let us look what happens in the countryside in Latvia and in the first place in the district of Pieriga.

**Migration of city population from the towns to the countryside.** Since the beginning of the 90-ties of the 20-th century the population migration from the largest towns of this country grows in Latvia, it is proved by the indices about the migration from the capital of this country.

**Table 1. Dynamics of population migration Riga city – Riga district 1990 – 2004**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Moved from Riga	7910	7383	6496	7715	11917	11972
Including Riga district	2685	2191	1871	1767	4082	4786

*Source – prepared by the author according to LR CSB year-books of demography.*

Migration according to sociology is social structural changes in the territories both in them from which the migration takes place and also in the territories to which the migration takes place (Юдина Т.Н., 2004).

**Development of the real estate market both with lands for building purposes and for private houses.** Renewal of private property on land has been investigated both from the point of view of land use planning and from the point of view of economy and from the point of view of land reform. However, the renewal of private property and the real estate market may considered as a factor which influences and changes the social sections of the society as well as the society structure.

The real estate market is one of the conditions, which offers the possibility for the people to change the existing space of life for a better one. Lately more and more popular become the territories for the construction of individual houses having a favourable geographic location – near the sea or Riga bay or near the capital having an attractive landscape. During the period from 1999 – 2004 the information system of real estate market of LR State Land Service has registered 13 876 transactions with land for building purposes and private houses. The most active real estate market is just in Riga district.

**Table 2. Number of real estate transactions with land for building purposes and private houses 1999 – 2004**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total in country	1 638	1 921	1 780	2 258	3 506	2 773
Including Riga district	559	720	488	768	1 564	1 136

*Source – prepared by the author according to unpublished materials of LR State Land service.*

The growth of the number of transaction with land for building purposes and private houses demonstrates about the growing interest for obtaining private houses or obtaining land for the construction of private houses.

**Development of private houses construction.** An intensive construction of private houses demonstrates the changes in rural territories too. It may be seen by data of LR Central statistic bureau, as well as by the data of building boards of the local territories and the wide resonance is the press. The articles in the press published in 2005 show also the process, its shortcomings and treats for the buyers of the properties, as well as companies and municipalities.

LR Central statistic bureau offers the data of the licences of building boards during the last 5 years for starting the construction of 1-flats houses and its shows the growth of the private houses construction.

**Table 3. Building licences given for starting the construction of 1-flat house 2000-2004**

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total in country	1 507	1 606	2 263	2 855	4 077
Riga district	363	401	717	925	1355
Ogre district	54	54	73	137	128
Tukuma district	24	40	39	57	53

*Source – prepared by the author according to the data of LR Central statistic bureau*

As seen in Table 3, an especially fast growth in total in this country is observed while comparing the data of the last 2 years 1.4 times. However, the most rapid changes are seen in Riga district. In 2004 in Riga district 1355 building licences have been given - 45 per cent from the total numbers of building licences in this country and while compared with 2003 the number has increased 1.5 times. The construction of private houses takes place just in the territories where there is one of the highest intensities of real estate market transactions.

**Transformation of agricultural land in the land for building purposes.** The population desire to build private houses and the demand for building plots has created the growth of the transformation of agricultural land in land for building purposes.

**Table 4. Agricultural land transformation in the land for building purposes 2003 – 2004**

	2003		2004	
	Transformed agricultural land (ha)	From them under construction (ha)	Transformed agricultural land (ha)	From them under construction (ha)
Riga district	290.42	230.03	414.42	378.71
Ogres district	137.46	69.63	213.04	128.40
Bauskas district	178.05	44.31	183.04	76.04
Jelgavas district	88.67	33.60	94.86	48.66
Cēsu district	203.70	35.30	104.60	30.00
Tukuma district	103.57	39.97	42.20	26.20
Total in Latvia	4892.15	616.46	5180.53	846.69

*Source – prepared by the author according to – Information..., 2004*

There are the highest indices in Riga district. Of the transformed agricultural land to building purposes is total in this country, 45 per cent is located in Riga district where from the total transformed agricultural land, 79 per cent is transformed for building purposes. It is possible to say that the growth of land areas for building purposes and the agricultural land transformation into land for building purposes are connected processes. While the areas for building purposes and building of private houses grow, the areas of agricultural land decrease, particularly in the regions where there is a high intensity of real estate market just with the land for building purposes.

**The growth of household income of a certain part of the society.** According to examination of household budgets carried out by the LR Central Statistics bureau, during the last years the growth of population income has been observed. It is the highest in the households of cities and Riga district. The household differentiation continues both according

to income level and according to the consumption volume, thus clearing the way for different possibilities to meet the needs in the household of different types (quintile groups).

**Table 5. Income being at household disposal (per cent on 1 household member in a month against the average one in this country) 2002-2004**

	2002	2003	2004
All households	100	108,6	126,5
Riga	100	119,8	129,4

*Source – prepared by the author according to the data of LR Central statistic bureau, Household budget..., 2004*

According to the official examinations of household budgets the existing income at the disposal of 1 equivalent consumer for 1/5 part of population (5<sup>th</sup> quintile group) reached LVL 332 in 2004 (Household budget..., 2005). However, the visual changes show that the number of well situated people is much larger as shown by the official information sources. The publications in the press inform that according to the information of the Central Statistics bureau the income approximately of 10,000 Latvian population is more than LVL 2,000 in a month. Moreover, it is the income registered officially. The press has the opinion that the number of well-to-do people could be 3 times larger, therefore a sufficiently large number of people in Latvia have no problem to provide themselves with new up-to-date private residences.

**The processes looked separately are connected with different parts of social life, mainly, economics, but the changes analysed before in one and the same space show the tendency which changes not only the visual image of the countryside, but also the essence of the countryside as a society subsystem.**

The change of the essence of the countryside may be understood by the results of the population questionnaires in the local territories of Pierīga in which the marks of changes may be observed most of all. In the result of questionnaires the information obtained may be summed up in 4 groups

1. by summing up the standpoints about the situation in local territories;

90 per cent of the people inquired considered that an active construction of private houses takes place in the territories included in this research and more than three fourth of them connected it with the newcomers. In such a way the population notices the housing construction in the local territories and connect this construction with the newcomers in the local territories.

2. by summing up the standpoints about the influence of the newcomers on the life of the local territories;

Most of all the respondents see the effect on the nature environment, nature landscape as well as on the visual image of the local territories – style of houses and the appearance of the village (settlement). According to the respondents, the branch, which the newcomers effect less, is the cultural life. The relations of the newcomers and the local population mostly (75 per cent) are characterized as the life of there 2 groups having limited contacts.

3. by considering the estimation of the respondents what the local territories (its territory and population) obtains or loses from these processes of changes;

The largest part – 57.6 per cent of the respondents estimated the effect of the processes on the life of the local territories positively, 10.2 per cent – that the effect is a negative one, but 31.1 per cent – that these processes don't effect the life of the local territories. In total the

standpoint of the respondents is not sharply polarized, and most of the people see a positive force of the development in these processes. The most positive estimation of the processes taking place in the local territories is given by the population having their working place outside the local territories, mostly in Riga. A more negative attitude towards the processes is seen by the people working in the local territories, but the most negative estimation is given by the people living in the local territories and being unemployed. The highly negation of the last population group as regards the processes taking place in the local territories could be connected with the pronounced differences of the newcomers and their material condition when compared with the working people.

The respondents considered as gains – the growth of the budget of the municipalities, better environment, larger number of the population, the growth of the prestige of the local territories and the growth of economic activity. But the losses mentioned were – change of countryside space, worsening of ecological situation, change of population structure and the aggravation of the problems connected with the everyday life (places in the kindergarten, price increase in shops, growth of criminality).

4. by summing up the standpoint – how these processes of changes are connected with the activities of the municipalities, the municipality problems formulated by the respondents are grouped –
- as the municipalities must attend a larger number of the population, the amount of the work of the people working in them becomes larger, therefore their work must be reorganized and modernized;
  - the municipalities must provide the medical service, places in the kindergartens, schools, transport for a larger number of the people than up to now;
  - the future vision of the territory must be included in the development planning of the local territories, the interests of the local population and the newcomers must be balanced;
  - the municipalities must provide the security of the population;
  - the house building process must be controlled more strictly;
  - there are much more problems with the municipal economy, as the newcomers from the towns have higher requirements;
  - the municipality officials must take into consideration that the requirements of the newcomers are higher than their investment in the development of the local territories, they demand to provide different services;

In total the information given by the respondents shows that the population of the local territories of Pierīga see the visual changes taking place in them, they see the differences of the local population and the newcomers as well as a certain psychological discomfort which shows the traditional tendencies of the transformation of the rural society.

## **Conclusions**

The processes mentioned show that there is the counterurbanization process in Latvia, particularly in territories near Riga. It shows that the processes taking place in the developed world countries have come to this country too.

The processes have both positive and negative properties.

The negative properties could be the following ones –

- agricultural land is transformed into plots for building purposes;
- two groups of population of local territories are created having a different social status, a different cultural image, rather different systems of value and interests.

But the positive ones could be –

- the budget of the municipalities increases from the property tax, because the cadastral value of the land for building purposes is 10 times larger than the value of agricultural land;
- the newcomers are interested in a better space – road building, putting in order the neighbourhood of their houses etc.

Together with the counterurbanization, the local municipalities have new tasks – they need a new experience to harmonize the interests of different population groups living in a municipality and to show them in the development programs of the territories.

Counterurbanization show new dimension in the development of the countryside not only in a physical aspect. It practically changes the idea of the countryside when compared with the traditional aspect developed in the centuries. Therefore in the countries, where this process has moved away much farther, a new methodology has been elaborated for the border determination of town/countryside and for the stratification of the living space.

The counterurbanization has effected an irregular development of the rural territory. The rural territories in Latvia have a different development too. At present the most pronounced differences may be seen between the rural territory of Pierīga, which develops very quickly, and the suburb territories of the other towns in which the counterurbanization has a different intensity, particularly in other rural territories. However, as Latvia is a small country as regards its territory, in the future essential changes may be awaited in a considerable part of the rural territories.

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# **People Become the Most Important Resource of the Rural Development**

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## **Key words**

Endogenous model of rural development, people as resource, NGOs.

## **Abstract**

1. People have always been an important development resource. Although in the beginning of the 21st century the role of this resource remarkably increases. It is determined by necessity to pass to endogenous model of the rural development. Only educated, well- organized and socially involved people are capable to solve rural problems from the view of rural areas as social subsystems.

2. Activities of NGO in the rural areas help to form such a community involving their members in:

- different training education enterprises,
- elaboration and realization of projects,
- partnership with entrepreneurs and local governments etc.

3. Experience of five years activities of Association of Rural Women of Latvia (involves 245 local organizations with almost 5 000 members in all state regions) approves meaning of such activities of NGO in the activating of rural residents.

It has promoted:

- Development of movement of microcredit,
- Mentoring movement entering country of Latvia,
- Arising e- commerce,
- Participating in state functions,
- Surpassing from national nets to international nets.

4. Country of Latvia would gain faster development if:

- there would be more NGOs in the rural areas,
- there would be closer co- laboration among different NGOs and funds,
- there would be more involvement in international nets to learn their better experience and to forward our positive experience.

## **People become the most important resource of the rural development**

### **Introduction**

People have always been an important resource of development. Although in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century the view about what is the main promoter of social development- physical and finance capital or human capital- has changed. Role of this resource is especially considered in the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century. "People and their training are the main treasures of Europe and they should be a priority"- is stated in material *Europe in 12 lessons* (Fontaine Pascale, 2003) by EC. "Human capital is human skills and abilities that increase their potential of economic activity" is stressed in the overview about national development in Latvia (Latvia. Human development, 2005:16).

New European policy of rural development is formulated in Cork Declaration and based on endogenous model of rural development. Rural development is focused on increase of capacity of space and social groups (Lowe, Ph., J. Murdoch and N. Ward, 1995). Rise of human resources quality has become one of the main conditions for changes in the country. Only educated, well organized and involved in collaboration net people are able to solve rural problems.

Such people communion can be formed with help of rural NGOs. They involve their members in different training / education events, projects elaboration and realization, partnership with entrepreneurs and local governments etc. Society on principle of self-organization forms in the environment of NGOs. Non-profit organizations are "...a major social force that has increasingly made itself felt in recent years in countries throughout the world" (Lester M. S. ...,1999:XVII)

In 2005, research on non- governmental sector of Latvia shows that NGO net is spread irregularly and is concentrated mainly in the cities. 60 % of NGOs are registered in the capital and its surroundings. There are 5. 3 organizations per 1000 citizens. This indicator is much lower in the regions of the state- 2. 9 in Kurzeme, 2. 8 in Vidzeme, 2. 1 in Zemgale and 1. 8 organizations in Latgale (Gaugere K. , 2005). The same indicator is even lower in particular regions.

It is worth research to analyze and evaluate Association of Rural Women of Latvia, which works at the rural areas with good results in this situation.

### **Information and Methods of Research**

Information from the home page of the organization ([www.llsa.lv](http://www.llsa.lv)), publications in the press and the work documents of the organization accessible to the author as a member of the Association Board are used in the preparation of the publication The results of several questionnaires made under the leadership of the author and reports on realized activities within the Association from the working documents.

### **Association of Rural Woman of Latvia**

The Association of Rural Women of Latvia (hereinafter ARWL) is one of the organizations formed in recent years on the basis on whose activities we wish to observe the diminishing of the exclusion and mobilisation of the rural people for different activities. The Association is a new organization. It started working in the autumn of 2000. 123 representatives of local organizations took part in its formation conference. The representatives made the decision

that it is necessary to join forces because separate people and small groups can do little and influence less.

The Association has the following aims to implement:

- activating rural women for different activities;
- consolidating separate organizations into one whole and
- increasing their influence on state and local government institutions.

Besides the obligatory document- statutes for purposeful management of its work, the Association has elaborated also performance strategies that served as the main basis for expansion of activities. (Kruzmetra M, 2004)

In the November of 2005, the Association celebrated its fifth anniversary. It could revise results of its activities over these five years.

**At first**, the Association has grown out of 123 initiators to one of the biggest rural organizations of about 5 000 members. They are joined in 245 organizations and have covered all regions of the state. Organizations of local areas have joined in regional associations but they form the association on the state scale.

One of the conditions of the Association was that any rural woman is accepted without taking into account:

- her involvement in economic activities (an entrepreneur, paid worker or landlady) and her employment sphere (agriculture, education, merchandise etc.) because agriculture is not the dominating branch of economics in the country already since the 70ties of the last century;
- her political confidence and membership because there is multi- party system formed during the years of independence;
- her religion and membership with any confession because Latvia is typically multi-confessional state.

Strict keeping of this principle, to our mind, has been one of the promoting factors of fast growth of the organization.

**At second**, there are expanded:

- contacts with other NGOs of Latvia within structures like “Coalition of NGOs pro Health of Women”, “NGO Alliance”, “Latvia National Advisory Council of UNESCO” etc.

- international contacts with rural women organizations of Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Finland, Sweden. The Association has become a member of World Association of Rural Women. Contacts are not only bilateral. Since 2003 there is collaboration agreement among rural women organizations of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. They have also annual conference for elaboration of integrated strategic.

**At third**, each year, the Association has organized different courses where the rural women have got knowledge in communication culture, foreign languages, rising of self- evaluation, healthy life- style and the most common- starting business. One half of the members of the organization have attended such courses at least once during the work time of the Association. The most active members have studied at some courses each year. Leaders of the classes are invited lecturers- specialists and the members of the organization itself as well. (Asociācijas darbības atskaites, 2003, 2004, 2005)

**At fourth**, members of the Association have become members of boards of some ministries (Agriculture, Welfare, Special Cases) and the State Employment Agency. Thus they find opportunity to influence policy in their interests. Representative of the Association is also at structures of European Women lobby in Brussels.

**Although the most important result of the Association is knowledge transfer to practice that is expressed as:**

- **development of micro credit and mentoring movements;**
- **enter of e- commerce;**
- **realization of two important projects.**

### **Microcredit Movement**

In time period since 1999 to the end of 2005, 35 microcredit groups were formed and, in common, 143 women had started their economical activities.

**Table 1. Statistics of Microcredits among Latvian regions (as of December 1, 2005)**

Regions in Latvia	Number of Microcredit groups	Koordinator in region	First group, year and place
Zemgale	14	Eleonora Maisaka, Raimonda Ribikauska	1999 Bauska district, IslieĒ
Vidzeme	12	Rasma Freimane	2000 Valka district, Karki
Latgale	6	Elita Jermolajeva	2003 Daugavpils district, Demene
Kurzeme	3	Astrida Kinne	2004 Liepaja district, Vergale
Together	35	x	x

Source: Kruzmetra M. (ed.) *International experience in Latvia countryside*. Jelgava, LUA, 2005

As it is shown by the indicators of the table, the movement has expanded maximally in Zemgale region and it slowly spreads also over the other regions of the state.

The spheres of entrepreneurship are very different:

- In production: fruit growing, flower and vegetable growing, greenhouse building, strawberry and oyster mushroom growing, florist's, rabbit keeping, bee keeping, chicken farming, sheep farming.
- In service: dress making, make-up designing, hair-styling, accounting, legal and computer service, rural tourism (recreation, guest houses etc.), cafes, shops, entertainment organization, house cleaning, veterinary service etc.).

It is important to stress that microcredit groups are formed mainly by members of LLSA local organizations that know each other already for some time, have collaborated in the organization and have taken part in training seminars mostly all together. So they are already able to work as a team enrolling the microcredit movement that is of essential importance for realizing the idea of microcredit.

### **Mentoring Movement**

Mentoring movement entered the country of Latvia in 2005. In point of fact, it is transfer of skills of an experienced entrepreneur to a beginner to promote increase of number and growth

of new entrepreneurs. During half a year, 21 mentoring pairs and 3 mentoring groups are formed in Latvia. Founders of this movement are also members of Association of Rural Women of Latvia that have succeeded in their entrepreneurship and are ready to share their knowledge with beginners without any reward. Training, questioning and supplementary materials on legal, accountancy, marketing and e-commerce issues are organized and prepared for the participants of mentoring within the Association.

### **Involvement in Projects**

Besides many small projects realization that is performed by local organizations of districts, Association of Rural Women of Latvia has involved in two large projects that are both aimed to setting up of rural environment and its complex development.

First is INTERREG III B project with participation of six states around the Baltic Sea (Finland, Sweden, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Latvia) and Norway. Its aim is to make beneficial conditions for development of women entrepreneurship in rural areas (No mikrokredita..., 2004). Three partners- Ministry of Agriculture, Latvia University of Agriculture and Association of Rural Women of Latvia- are taking part in the project realization in Latvia. Ministry of Agriculture is supplier of co-financing, Latvia University of Agriculture generates ideas and supplies lecturers in many cases, but organization net of Association of Rural Women of Latvia from its board to the very local organizations realize the project in fact. Realization of the important project would be impossible without the net of the organizations of the Association.

The second one is a project financed by ESF on training of rural craftswomen to prepare them to start business. 378 women are passing the training within the project. This project is also being organized on the basis of local women organizations within the Association.

Last two initiatives on the basis of the previous ones are:

1. founding of cooperative of in crafts involved women to promote their further training, collaboration and production market opportunities;
2. founding of savings-and-loans bank of the members of the association for release of getting means for starting any kind of entrepreneurship.

All above mentioned activities corresponds to the endogenous model of rural development in which the principal stimulus of development is self-organization of rural people. (Lowe Ph..., 2000).

In 2005, carrying out the annual questioning of the Association (selection- members of 76 organizations from all the regions of Latvia, 31%), we asked again two important questions to the members:

- 1) why have they involved in the organization and?
- 2) what have they got from the participation?

Summarizing the results, we got the following information:

1. the women mentioned three main motives that had encouraged their involvement in the organization:

1. wish to be around people, to get confederates;
2. to get information and new knowledge;
3. to develop their personalities, to rise self-confidence;

2. the women also pointed out main benefits get from participation in activities of Association:

1. it gives opportunities to meet interesting people: otherwise the life boring;
2. there is access to information that is a deficiency in the rural regions, to get to know more about what happens in the world and what are our possibilities to take part in these processes;
3. the organization develops our knowledge through courses, lectures, shared experience, visits and trips; it gives better opportunities in the labour market; acting in the organization has made me understand women problems in all the state not only in the local vicinity; it teaches to look more self- critically at oneself, to evaluate oneself appropriately;
4. it helps master skills to work with people, manage an organization, and complete different tasks;
5. my self- confidence has grown since my participation in the organization, my outlook of life is wider now, I have acquired new ideas because I have met women who think similarly;
6. we were mobilized to learn business and to enrol in economical activities.

Role of the Association in rural women capability development is referred well in the answer of regional coordinator of the organization Maija Zaluma:

*"Latvia Rural Women Association promoted my personal development. In 2001 I helped to establish local women's group „Abele” and in 2002 became involved in the activities of the Association. The support of other women was very important and that the Association focuses on training activities for women very much. Now I am representing the interests and needs of the Association in the meetings with the ministers, TV broadcasting, radio. In four years of activity I developed my activities from a rural farmstead to Brussels*

The state microcredit movement manager Raimonda Ribikauska and many other women involved in the Association say the same. Their evaluation is summarized in the Success Book of Rural Women that reflects the deeds of the Association members (Success book...)

## **Conclusions**

1. Endogenous model of rural development can only be realized in the case if capability of rural people grows. Activities of Association of Rural Women of Latvia have been aimed to development of this capability with positive outcomes. It proves that NGO can influence essentially the processes of the rural society if it chooses the right strategic, propose aims and methods in accordance to the women interests.

2. Rural areas of Latvia would develop faster if:

- non- governmental sector expands its activities in the rural areas;
- the organizations get support from the state and private sector (for now Association of Rural Women of Latvia is completely based on voluntary work).

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# **Rural Southern Europe Among “Productivism” and “Post-Productivism”: The Case of Rural Greece**

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## **Key words**

productivism, post-productivism, rural restructuring, rural Greece, idealisations of the countryside.

## **Abstract**

The need to reflect theoretically on the socioeconomic transformation of rural southern Europe, and more specifically of rural Greece, constitutes the main point of departure of this paper. This is achieved through the use of the available secondary data and of case studies which have contributed a great deal of empirical material at the locality level.

The study of modern rural Greek society is necessary due to the commonly held idealisation, which depicts it as a „traditional“ social structure, and also due to the impression that it is an eroding social structure, which looks like the urban one. The in-depth study of the available secondary data and the careful interpretation of the numerous case studies can be used to formulate a more informed picture of Greek rural society, which contradicts the preceding two idealisations. Moreover, one of the paper’s main objectives is to stress the specificities, which refer to the social heterogeneity and to the spatial diversity of the countryside. The role of the farming sector as a factor, which has significant effects on the Greek rural social structure, cannot be underestimated or disregarded. However, equally an important factor for the latter’s study are: women’s changing role in rural households and immigrants’ implications for the development of rural areas.

In parallel, we also consider the role of rural and regional development policies, which have contributed to the economic and social restructuring of rural areas. The implemented rural development measures have had significant implications for maintaining and /or improving of rural livelihoods. In this way, the impact of rural policies needs to be seriously considered when looking at rural restructuring.

Finally, the main aim of the paper is to offer a framework for the interpretation of the socioeconomic transformation of Greek rural society, which takes into account both the specificities and the policies that have been implemented in rural Greece.

## **Rural Southern Europe among “Productivism” and “Post-Productivism”: The Case of Rural Greece**

The study of southern European rural society and of the Greek rural society in particular is imperative today, due to the underestimation or overestimation of changes affecting southern European countryside. The latter is often identified either with a traditional past of the modern society or else it is considered as a vanishing social reality which tends to be absorbed by the urban society. The in-depth study of the available secondary data and the careful interpretation of the numerous case studies should be used to formulate an informed picture of the southern European rural society and of the Greek rural society in particular, which contradicts the preceding two idealisations. A number of particularities, which refer to, the heterogeneity and the polyvalence of southern European rural society need to be pointed out (see Papadopoulos 1999). We take rural Greece to be our case study.

The main aim of this paper is to question the current framework of transition of the southern European countryside depicting a movement away from productivism towards a new era, which is assumed to overthrow the hegemony of agriculture and restore that of spatial development. Moreover, the persistent specificities and the implemented rural policies are given special attention, while the existing interconnections among changes are further studied as well as their interpretation.

### **The countryside among “productivism” and “post-productivism”**

Since the start of the 1990s, and especially in the developed industrial countries, there is a significant ongoing discussion pertaining to the possible transition of the countryside from the “*productivist*” to the “*post-productivist*” era (Cloke and Goodwin 1992, Halfacree and Boyle 1998, Ilbery and Bowler 1998, Marsden 1998a, Wilson 2001, Murdoch *et al.* 2003, Wilson and Rigg 2003). The first refers to a period when agriculture occupied a central, hegemonic position in the countryside, its basic concern being food production and inexpensive agricultural products, there was an agricultural policy community which favoured farmers’ income support and farm modernization, and presumed state’s powerful presence which aimed at organising and management structures both for policy making and policy implementation. In the second period, in contrast, which is a mirror image of the previous one, agriculture ceases to be a prominent activity in the countryside, whereby more emphasis is given to the “consumption” of the countryside, there is a movement away

from agricultural intensification and concentration, and in favour of agricultural extensification, differentiation and niche production. The former agricultural policy community breaks up and a wider, less sectoral policy network takes its place allowing more space for erstwhile marginal, non-farming social actors. Finally, state’s presence is not as powerful as in the past due to the fact that the integration of a large number of social actors is now a major target, not only during policy design but also at the time of policy implementation.

A number of authors have argued that the transition from the “productivist” to the “post-productivist” era has taken place (Marsden 1995, Halfacree 1997, Boyle and Halfacree 1998, Ilbery and Bowler 1998, Wilson 2001), while others question whether there is adequate evidence to support seriously an argument on the movement towards a new, less production-oriented countryside (Hoggart and Paniagua, 2001a, Evans *et al.* 2002, Wilson and Rigg 2003). As Wilson and Rigg (2003: 683) rightly argue, the basic confrontation between the

two regimes refers mainly to the UK and especially the changes concerning this country.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, it should be noted that the movement to the “post-productivist” era is affected by the reform of the CAP which slowly but steadily turns in favour of the multifunctionality of the countryside and of the integration of environmental concerns within agriculture (Potter and Goodwin 1998, Gray 2000, Wilson 2001).

“Post-productivism”, which represents a new orthodoxy in rural geography and in rural sociology and aims at interpreting the changes occurring in contemporary countryside (Marsden 1998a), does not equally refer to the less developed countries because the indicators used to signify its presence are only relative and not absolute. The relevant literature mentions six indicators, which seem to reflect the dynamics of the rapidly emerging new situation (Evans *et al.* 2002, Wilson and Rigg 2003).

The first indicator is the *policy shift* (of agricultural as well as of the non-agricultural policies) away from the support and the strengthening of food production, the expansion of food production and the engagement with the national and regional self-sufficiency and in favour of promoting new issues connected to the environment, the extensification of production and the multifunctionality of the countryside which is related to the wider rural development policy.

The second indicator, which is used frequently, is that of *organic farming* and of the tendency signified by this indicator, which reflects the transition of food production from quantity to quality. The emphasis placed on high quality, on the reduction of implications upon the environment and health as well as on traditional agriculture and food production are related to the changes in consumer attitudes and preferences.

The third indicator pertains to the phenomenon of *counter-urbanization*, which is considered as a central characteristic of the turn towards a “post-productivist” era in the developed capitalist economies. The basic idea is that counterurbanization actually retracts and/or abrogates the distinction between urban and rural areas, whereby rural population increase may well coincide with changes in the attitudes of the older rural communities, which today are more affected by the “urban” and “progressive” middle class strata which share somewhat different beliefs when compared to the older rural residents (Halfacree 1997, Spencer 1997, Ford 2002, Mitchell 2004).

The fourth indicator refers to the increased *participation of environmental NGOs to the core of policy making*. This remark relates to the – EU supported – shift towards a new governance which questions seriously and challenges the former sectoral “corporatist” system that favoured the close cooperation of those social actors promoting agricultural interests (Ministry of Agriculture, farmer associations, agricultural cooperatives, etc.). The increased participation of environmental NGOs reflects the integration of environmental concerns in the CAP so that farmers and any kind of “stewards of the countryside” turn to actions, which favour rural environment.

The fifth indicator pertains to the countryside’s detachment from agricultural production and the increasing significance of *the countryside as a consumption site*. This tendency echoes the decreasing dependence of many rural areas on food production and the development of other non-agricultural activities. The latter include a number of alternative uses of the countryside such as golf courses, trekking routes, recreation activities, climbing, agro-tourism

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<sup>72</sup> There is a problem of targeting the discussion on the countryside characteristics of the developed industrial countries and of an underlying evolutionist view of the transition from “productivism” to “post-productivism” (Wilson 2001, Evans *et al.* 2002).

etc. (Marsden *et al.* 1996). This relatively complex situation is due to the new demands expressed by the wider society and involves a search for “new” products offered for “consumption” by rural residents and/or rural actors.

The latter indicator is an expansion of an older discussion regarding the significance and role of *differentiation of activities within the farm and the persistence of pluriactivity*. The story behind this discussion is that a significant number of farms are not in a position to modernize and/or specialize their production and thus they put more emphasis on the development of off-farm activities within their farm (related to agro-tourism, the marketing of their own produce, the further exploitation of their resources for other commercial uses, etc.) and/or on their pluriactivity. As a result, there is a certain differentiation of rural activities and pluriactivity, which represent the basic dimension of the new uses of the countryside and provide the vehicle for moving to a “post-productivist” era. The aggregation of these six indicators, which build upon dualistic thinking over socioeconomic changes and policy shifts, allegedly provides for a reconsideration of the initial position depicting a transition of the countryside from “productivism” to “post-productivism”. As a first comment, there is a confusion over the exact meaning of certain complex rural activities or processes taking place in rural areas, such as agri-environmental policies, organic farming, counter-urbanization, consumption countryside, differentiation, pluriactivity (Wilson and Rigg 2003: 699), whereby many of those activities incorporate numerous other socioeconomic and cultural attributes whose significance cannot be easily accounted for among different localities, regions and/or countries. Thus, there is a latent assumption that we refer to “qualitative” or “complex” indicators, which require interpretation and embrace a number of aspects, which are less tangible (Hoggart and Paniagua 2001, Wilson and Rigg 2003: 701). In other words, the discussion over those indicators brings forward mostly the “spirit” or “feeling” which arises from the study of certain socioeconomic phenomena and to a lesser extent is based on a detailed account of the characteristics which signify the shift from one era to the other (Evans *et al.* 2002).<sup>73</sup> Consequently, the concept of “post-productivism” needs also to be put in the context of the less developed countries, where more effort should be placed on the study of the contextualization and evolution of the indicators aiming at their holistic interpretation (Wilson and Rigg 2003).

In next paragraphs, the paper will deal with the study of Greek countryside in view of elaborating a framework for the study of social differentiation in rural Greece. First, the six indicators are discussed in the context of the Greek case. Second, certain novel trends of social differentiation are treated shortly (such as new gender roles and economic migrants in the countryside), while there is special reference to the new social divisions in Greek countryside. The final section collects together the relevant conclusions and draws some lessons for the study of social differentiation in rural Greece.

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<sup>73</sup> Some writers like Evans *et al.* (2002) argue somewhat dogmatically that “more progress in agricultural (and rural) geography could be achieved by abandoning post-productivism” (p. 326). Another critical view is expressed by Hoggart and Paniagua (2001a): “We find a lot of outputs described as restructuring in the literature to be significant changes in rural areas. Yet we are troubled by what is meant by restructuring. Our sense is that analysts have not probed this concept sufficiently. In particular, we find many trends the literature highlights insufficiently explored empirically, so the extent to which change is qualitatively different is not established. Moreover, we see a lack of historical vision in too many commentaries. Some of the processes now referred to as restructuring have been with us a long time, albeit having been re-invented and re-presenting themselves in new packaging very decade or so” (p. 55).

## Towards an interpretive framework for studying social differentiation in rural Greece

This section aims at commenting upon as well as criticising the six indicators used to illustrate the transition of the countryside from a “productivist” to a “postproductivist” era. The objective of our critique here is not to question the existence and importance of vast spatial and socioeconomic changes occurring in a somewhat diverse manner in different rural areas (see Bradley and Lowe 1984, Cloke and Goodwin 1992, Marsden 1998a), but rather to argue whether the breadth and the weight of those changes can justify an interpretation of Greek countryside as moving towards a “post-productivist” era.

The first indicator referring to the *policy shift* in the countryside could be related to rural development policy, as a recently emerged policy field (2000), which reinstates the need to approach the development of the countryside through a more integrated, holistic and regionally specialized policy. The EU policy for rural development was originally elaborated as an accompanying policy to the CAP and not as an autonomous policy with its own objectives (Papadopoulos 2005). The independent character the policy has today was acquired gradually, through the course of recent decades. Greek agricultural policy was centred at the provision of price support measures, around which a menu of disconnected accompanying rural development and regional policy measures were implemented. In this context, the introduction of the EU rural development policy, the provisions of which were adopted in their entirety, marked a break with the past as the country embarked on a totally new rural development policy approach. This new approach was articulated through three different policy implementation structures: A sectoral operational programme (“Rural Development and Reconstruction of the Countryside”), rural development measures designated under each of the 13 regional operational programmes and a sectoral single-programming document (“Rural Development”). Of these three structures, the first two operate under the Structural Funds Community Support Framework (CSF) following the implementation provisions of the regional policy regulation, while the latter is implemented independently by the Ministry of Agriculture, which has recently (May 2004) renamed to Ministry of Rural Development and Food.

**Table 1. Funding for Rural Development in Greece, 2000-2006**

Measure Category	Rural Development OP (in million euro)	%	Regional OPs (in million euro)	%	Total funding (in million euro)	%
Modernization in farming	2653.8	59.5	642.7	30.2	3296.5	50.0
Training	22.7	0.5	51.4	2.4	74.1	1.1
Environment	1557.6	34.9	411.2	19.3	1968.8	29.9
Rural development practices	80.9	1.8	82.3	3.9	163.2	2.5
Rural development infrastructures	106.7	2.4	792.1	37.3	898.8	13.6
Other	40.5	0.9	146.3	6.9	186.8	2.8
Total	4462.2	100.0	2126.0	100.0	6588.2	100.0

*Note: The table includes funding allocated to the horizontal Operational Programme of Rural Development and Reconstruction of the Countryside, the corresponding measures of the thirteen Regional Operational Programmes (ROPs) and the horizontal Single Programming Document for Rural Development. Source: Greek Ministry of Agriculture (Data elaboration by the author).*

In Table 1 below, the expenses channelled through the above support structures are codified under major measure titles. A brief analysis of this codification, demonstrates the single fact

of the existence of clear agricultural bias, within the designation of funding lines: almost 50 per cent of the total rural development budget is absorbed by purely agricultural measures, a proportion that would be much higher (73 per cent) if one took into account measures that indirectly concern agriculture as well as measures concerning “allowances in mountain and less favoured areas”. It goes without saying that this immense unwarranted focus on agriculture is mainly achieved to the detriment of measures of a more “qualitative” and/or “developmental” nature, like diversification, training, craft and tourism industries, quality products and health, which hardly absorb a mere 4 per cent of available finances. Equally, the allegedly significant proportion of funding allocated to “environmental measures” (30 per cent), is in reality significantly smaller, if “hidden” agricultural support measures (e.g. water management or allowances in mountainous and less favoured areas) are subtracted. It should be mentioned that this “agricultural bias” is reflecting the fact that the country never actually underwent a true reorientation of its policies for its countryside. It rather accommodated novel policy regulations, tailoring the form of its policies to their requirements, while simultaneously preserving the older policy content (see Papadopoulos and Liarikos 2005). There have been vast changes in *organic farming* at the European level in the 1990s. Especially in the period 1993-2001, the area covered by organic farming increased six fold, from a mere 0.7 per cent to 3.7 per cent of the total cultivated area in the EU-15. For example, the proportion of land under organic farming is nearly per cent in Italy and Austria. However, it cannot be denied that the public funding of organic farmers in Europe has had a very significant impact on the growth of organic farming both at the national and European levels (Michelsen 2001). In the Greek case, organic farming was a marginal phenomenon in the 1980s, due to the small-scale level of producers’ endeavours, which saw organic farming as a way of life and foresaw the satisfaction of their own quality consumption needs. Many of the first organic farmers were non-Greeks, educated of urban origins, coming from Northern European countries strongly affected by the principles of biodynamic farming. It soon became apparent that the pioneering attempts for the recognition of organic farming as a realistic alternative to conventional farming were to be superseded by the favourable economic terms provided by the export-oriented enterprises interested in organic products and later on by the EU regulations favouring the promotion of organic production. The example of Greece is illustrative in the sense that the role of the state has been instrumental for the expansion of organic farming as it has been for the sustenance and growth of conventional farming (Louloudis 2002). Today the proportion of cultivated land used by organic farmers does not exceed 1 per cent, despite the fact that its expansion has been spectacular during the last decade (increased 53 times). However, the mere fact that Greek conventional agriculture has not known a growth to the degree it occurred in the developed North and also due to the significant diffusion of small farm property as well as the dominant figure of informal, short food supply chains (i.e. the multiplicity of interpersonal networks for selling agricultural products) pertaining to a wide spectrum of the population, no matter whether they are rural inhabitants or not, organic farming does not fulfil the role it is attributed to in the more developed industrial countries. Today *counterurbanization* is considered as a highly compel socioeconomic and spatial phenomenon, while the concept is often theorised as “chaotic”. A broad definition depicts counter urbanization as a redistribution of the population between urban and rural areas and in favour of the latter,<sup>74</sup> but it should include all components of population change (births, deaths, migration). Too often, more emphasis is paid to migration towards rural areas despite the fact that this phenomenon is not equated to counter urbanization (Champion 1998). This timely phenomenon despite its

<sup>74</sup> The concept also includes the population movements among rural areas as well as the uneven distribution of population growth within the countryside, whereby some rural areas are further losing population while others regain population (Chambers 1998: 23; also see Saraceno 1994a).

complexity is particularly significant for the development of rural areas. Research findings from Britain have shown the existence of three categories of migrants in its rural areas: a) migrants – retirees who seek for an idyllic place for residence, b) households composed of people in a productive age, who move in order to find employment and residence, and c) commuters who move daily between their place of employment and their place of residence (Champion 1998: 31-32). Mitchell (2004) recently carried out an elaboration of the concept and distinguished between three notions/ levels of counter urbanization: a) as a deconcentration movement of the population, b) as a process and c) as a pattern of population organization in rural areas. As a result counter urbanization is not a homogeneous population movement, but it differentiates significantly by destination and by motives of migrant households.<sup>75</sup> In the Greek case it is not easy at all to depict a typical situation of counter urbanization, which favours rural areas. In the 1980s the rural population declined by 2 per cent, whereas in 1990s there was an increase by 3 per cent. The share of rural population in the total population was 27.3 per cent in 2001. Again this is due to the inflow of foreign economic migrants, and also due to the “return to the countryside” movement which concerns a large number of pensioners and Greek return migrants who sought for a rural way of life in their “village of origin” or in peri-urban areas of their preference. Thus, there are rural areas which are suburbanized (around all major cities of the country), areas which can be called periurban, rural areas which retain their population and, finally, marginal rural areas which keep up loosing population (Ford 1999). The lack of relevant research in the Greek case does not allow a more detailed account of the phenomenon.

However, counterurbanization is a highly complex phenomenon in Greece if one considers that return population movements are often correlated with the fact of having origins from an area, the expansion of second home ownership mainly in coastal and in some picturesque mountainous areas, the intense seasonality and periodicity of population movements (for part-time/dual residence, for tourism and for recreation), the economic attributes of rural areas which are destinations for internal migrants and/or tourists and the inflow of foreign economic migrants.<sup>76</sup> Finally, in the Greek case counterurbanization is not so much an indication of the close relationship between urban and rural areas, but its specific attributes reflect the multiplicity of associations between city and countryside, which also existed in the past (Papadopoulos 1999), but which today simply reformulate and restructure.

The *participation of environmental NGOs to the core of policy making* is again a shift favoured by the EU. The environmental concerns are integrated into the reasoning and the objectives of the new rural development policy for three main reasons: a) due to the alignment of all EU sectoral policies with the dictates of environmental policy, b) due to the growing significance of environmental protection for the competitiveness of the countryside

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<sup>75</sup> A study of counterurbanization in rural Scotland showed that such phenomenon is related positively to the expansion of employment opportunities, the growth of rural incomes and the increase of costs. However, this change did not coincide with regeneration and upgrading of livelihoods in rural Scotland (Stockdale *et al.* 2000).

<sup>76</sup> There are many similarities in the characteristics of counterurbanization between Greece and Spain, where more research has been carried out on the phenomenon. Especially in Andalusia there is a phenomenon of return migration of those who out-migrated in the 1960s and 1970s (Rodriguez *et al.* 2002). Moreover, in certain regions of Spain there is a differential migration from urban to rural areas in order to take advantage of financial incentives provided by the state (through EU policies and measures) for setting up new agri-tourist enterprises (Paniagua 2002). In addition, a number of phenomena are confirmed in the Spanish case such as the seasonality of return migrants to rural areas, the significance of family and origins as bonds between returnees to the destination rural areas, the existence of “summer villages” which regenerate for a specific time period within the year, the small proportion of rural areas which are destinations for “middle class strata” occupied in the services and the existence of commuters who swing like a pendulum between urban and rural areas on a daily or weakly basis (Hoggart and Paniagua 2001b). Finally, Spain is destination country for foreign economic migrants who have settled in its rural areas and they are employed in agriculture and tourism (Hoggart and Mendoza 1999).

(see e.g. the production of quality, organic food), and c) due to the new CAP in which the environment, and especially its protection and management appear to be the main ingredients of multifunctionality of the countryside. The environmental policy integration both in rural and regional development policy is pursued by relevant EU regulations. The participation of environmental NGOs in policy making and policy implementation is a major factor for integrating environmental concerns in rural policy and for embedding environmental protection principles into rural policy making. Despite the promising and well argued rhetoric framed by the European

Commission and adopted (often without much specification) at the level of implementation of rural policy by Greece, most of environmental preconditions are not met, at least as far as their content is concerned. As already mentioned, the funding of environmental measures by the Greek Rural Development and Reconstruction of the Countryside (2000-2006) has been very limited. The operation of the new governance structure, which favours the representation, and negotiation of environmental NGOs in rural policy making is in practice deficient and to a large extent does not meet the set targets. Moreover, the integration of environmental concerns and the action of environmental NGOs is hampered by the predominance of sectoral structures, the unbroken agricultural policy network and the agricultural interests, which insist on supporting a traditional path for the development of the countryside (Papadopoulos and Liarikos 2005).

The two remaining indicators, which are related to *the countryside as a consumption site* and the *differentiation of activities within the farm and the persistence of pluriactivity*, will be treated jointly here. Both of them are emerging ingredients of rural development in many member states of the EU. Since the early 1990s it was highlighted that there is significant differentiation among rural areas, relating to the shifting role and power of agricultural, residential and other commercial interests (Saraceno 1994a, Saraceno 1994b, Bryden 1994). The agricultural use and development of land remains a key element in this differentiation of rural space. This is due to the fact that agriculture does not only produce food and fibre, but also shapes rural environment. The continued importance of agriculture in shaping the differentiation of rural areas is related both to the new consumption and production dynamics affecting rural areas. There are new food production requirements (e.g. quality and organic food) and new spatial consumption values (e.g. conservation, agro tourism) attached to rural space (Marsden 1998b).

Moreover, the decline of agricultural employment, which has been observed in all types of rural areas, has been counterbalanced – in some of them – by an increase of employment opportunities in the industrial and/or service sectors. The expansion of pluriactivity is an indication of the complementarity and/or antagonism between the different economic sectors in rural space. Rural areas have diversified their activities and slowly, but steadily become mixed, multisectoral economies (Saraceno 1994b, Saraceno 2002). More attention should be given to the combination of local and non-local processes, which have a joint impact on rural areas, and to the different configurations of the rural space resulting from such combinations. In the Greek case it is evident that the predominance of small-scale farming (i.e. over 75 per cent of farms have a size of less than 5 hectares) did not favour the exclusive employment in agriculture. Pluriactivity, which consists an inherent characteristic of Greek countryside, has been declining in the last decade (from 33 to 26 per cent). Moreover, in the same period there has been a significant decline (by 15.5 per cent) in farm labour.

However, this conceals a significant decrease of family farm labour (by 20 per cent) and a rapid increase of non-family farm labour, both permanent and seasonal. The decrease of farm family labour is due to the exodus of a significant number of family members, especially of



men, from farming and a substitution of family labour by non-family, immigrant labour. As a result, these developments are by no means associated to a transition towards a “post-productivist” era in Greek countryside.

### **Divisions and Differentiations in Modern Greek Countryside Rural Structure**

In the last two decades, agricultural employment has declined rapidly in the country, from 29.2 per cent in 1981 to 14.4 per cent in 2001. Despite this decrease, agriculture is still the main employer in rural areas. One in two men and three out of five women employed in rural areas are occupied in agriculture. Moreover there is a diffusion of farm employment to the urban and semi-urban areas. More particularly, one quarter of men and women employed in the agricultural sector live outside rural areas. In the period 1987-2000, the number of farms has decreased by 14 per cent, which led to an increase in the average farm size from 3.9 ha to 4.4 ha. However, this decrease should not overshadow the fact that the number of men farm owners declined by 28 per cent, whereas the number of women farm owners actually doubled (i.e. from 103,760 women in 1987 to 205,140 women in 2000). As regards the distribution of farms by area size, inequalities have intensified during the last two decades. In particular, in 1981 farms over 10 hectares accounted for 6 per cent the total number and exploited nearly 30 per cent of cultivated land. Whereas in year 2000 the same farm category represented 10 per cent of the total number of farms and exploited as much as 50 per cent of cultivated land.

The dramatic increase in the number of women farm owners seems to have affected largely the small farm holdings. Thus, there is a “feminization” of family farms in areas where the small farms predominate and in less favoured rural areas. This is due to men’s pluriactivity, the type of cultivation in each area, the low level of commercialization of agriculture, the lack of men successors in the farm family etc. The transfer of farm ownership to the wife may be considered either as a farm survival strategy or as a response to agricultural policy measures. Moreover, only 11 per cent of farm owners have a full time employment on their farm, while nearly 61 per cent of farm owners are over 55 year of age. The demographic picture of rural areas in general is not particularly favourable. The ageing index of rural population is nearly twice the figure of the national average. The dependence index is, also, much higher in rural areas than in the total of the country. This demographic situation provides a strong indication of the significant labour shortages in Greek countryside and of immigrants’ crucial role in filling in those shortages.

A tentative study of the impact of structural funding of CAP in Greek countryside reveals the existence of two significant deficits during rural policy implementation: Firstly, a *geographical deficit* which is related to the fact that agricultural support is accumulated in those rural areas which already enjoy favourable financial conditions, have a higher than average access to resources, contain higher productive potential and exploit all available opportunities for intensifying and modernizing their agriculture. In contrast, the mountainous and less favoured areas which are in a poor condition in all four aspects keep on losing their productive capacity and experience land abandonment. Secondly, there is a *democratic deficit* which is due to the fact that the main beneficiaries of agricultural support are those farmers who own relatively large in size or else “viable” family farms and who are in a position to exploit the favourable terms of EU regulations designed to address the structural problems of the less favoured and marginal rural areas (Papadopoulos and Liarikos 2004).

We have argued elsewhere that rural restructuring, the reduction of the farming labour force, the declining importance of the agricultural sector (in terms of income and value of production), the expansion of non-agricultural employment in the countryside and the increasing significance of new forms of exploitation of natural and human resources are

elements of the *on-going de-agriculturalization process of Greek countryside* (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2001). However, this does not imply the demise (or the destruction) of “rurality” since farming is by no means the sole characteristic of rural Greece. On the other hand, farming has been historically part and parcel of rural households’ survival reproduction strategies.

In our view what is conceived as the de-agriculturalization process of rural Greece is actually the perplexity and the interconnectivity of farming and non-farming activities at the level of the rural household and of rural localities. Thus, two movements should be mentioned here. The first is that at least one quarter of farmers (men and women) live outside rural areas, i.e. in small towns or large cities, in a relative distance from their farm holding. This means that there is a diffusion of the farming activity outside rural areas and a contradiction to the conventional view, which identifies countryside with farming. The second is that half of the working population in rural areas are employed in farming, while as much as 59 per cent of working women are actually employed in farming. It seems therefore that an increasing number of non-farmers reside in the countryside. There is significant spatial differentiation in Greek countryside where the plain, coastal and peri-urban areas show clear signs of higher population concentration, massive consumption patterns and urbanization of rural space connected with the expanding pressures for recreation, higher exploitation of natural resources, alternative employment opportunities and rising demands for infrastructure development. On the other hand, the less favoured areas (mountainous, marginal, distanced and border areas) are those which face most severe problems of demographic reproduction, ageing and remain mostly dependent upon farming. Women’s position in the Greek farm structure has changed a great deal but remains significantly flexible due to the diversity of roles they undertake either as farm owners or as non-paid and assisting members in the farm. The conventional view that women consist a “reserve labour army” in rural areas, which is restricted by their special position in the family and household, seems to be challenged. The wider trends in Greek family farming provide some indication that women may develop a professional farmer identity in those rural areas where a number of conditions are met. In our view, the strong presence of the relatively cheap immigrant labour has been a significant factor for contemporary farm and rural restructuring in Greek countryside.

### **Economic Migrants in Greek Countryside**

The migratory flow began in the early 1980s with a small numbers of Asians, Africans and Poles who found employment in construction, agriculture and domestic services. By 1986, the number of immigrants did not exceed 90,000. The 1991 Population Census counted 167,000 migrants. By the 1990s Greece received the highest percentage of immigrants in relation to its labour force. The recent Population Census recorded 762,191 non-Greeks, which is 7 per cent of the total population. The recent Population Census (2001) offers the most up-to-date description of the immigrant population. From a total number of 762,191 (47,000 of which are EU citizens), more than half (54.2 per cent) are registered as economic migrants (sought for employment), 13.1 per cent migrated to meet their family, 6.8 % were repatriates, 2.7 per cent migrated in order to study, 1.3 per cent were asylum seekers and 0.3 per cent were refugees.<sup>77</sup> The most numerous nationality among immigrants are the Albanians followed by the Bulgarians, the Georgians, the Romanians, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Polish and the Pakistanis.

More than half of immigrants (54.5 per cent) are male, while there are significant gender imbalances among the various immigrant nationalities. For example, 56.5 per cent of

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<sup>77</sup> The rest 21.5 per cent migrated for “other reasons”, not stated in the data set.

Romanians, 58.7 per cent of Albanians and 95.6 per cent of Pakistanis are male, while 60.5 per cent of Bulgarian, 62.7 per cent of Russians and 76.4 per cent of Filipinos are female. The immigrants of Albanian nationality are much younger when compared to the Greek population. Nearly 70 per cent of Albanian immigrants are less than 35 years of age, while only 44 per cent of Greeks belong to the same category. Moreover, 21.3 per cent of Albanians and 15.2 per cent of Greeks are less than 15 years of age. This has positive demographic effects because Albanians consist the majority of immigrants.

Approximately one half of the migrants have secondary education and one third have obtained primary education. Moreover, one tenth have acquired higher education and the remaining proportion has no education at all. In relation to higher education, females have the largest share when compared to the total immigrant population, while males predominate in the other educational levels.

Among the employed immigrants, nearly one fourth are employed in construction, another one fourth work in different domestic and transport jobs in the service sector, nearly one sixth works in the agricultural sector and one seventh work in the tourist sector (commerce, hotels and restaurants). Due to their number Albanians dominate in all sectors, but they seem to concentrate mostly in construction and agriculture. The agricultural sector, in particular, seems to be the main domain of a small number of nationalities such Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Indians, Egyptians and Pakistanis.

Three out of five immigrants were together with their family at the time of the last Census. However, just over half of male immigrants and three quarters of female immigrants have settled down in the country with their families. The situation is somewhat different in rural areas, where 19 per cent of immigrants with families and 25 per cent of single immigrants are settled. Moreover, in those areas 42 per cent of male and 78 per cent of female immigrants live with their families. This is a reflection of immigrants' labour in rural areas, which is linked to the precarious, seasonal and flexible character of labour needs in farming. Two particular groups of immigrants are settled down in rural areas. A group of single males who are employed seasonally in construction and agriculture, which is characterised by high geographical mobility, and a group of immigrant families whereby both spouses are normally employed and which are less geographically mobile.

Nearly 20 per cent of male and 12 per cent of female immigrants are employed in agriculture. Among the immigrants employed in agriculture almost 80 per cent are males. However, it is expected that a significant number of female immigrant spouses are informally working in farming activities and/or in paid domestic tasks. Although the majority of immigrants head for the urban areas, they have proportionally an even greater impact on rural areas. Some farming regions have experienced especially rapid increases in their immigrant working population.

Despite the fears that immigrants have displaced skilled and less skilled Greek wage labourers, immigrant labour actually liberated men and women farmers from the hardship of heavy farm tasks and substituted for the low competitiveness of Greek farmers (Kasimis *et al.* 2003). Immigrant labour had a significant impact upon the farm family members. In particular, it gave to female family labour the opportunity to adjust their farm, family and household roles. It seems, therefore, that the massive presence of immigrant labour in Greek countryside in the past ten years has created a "new reserve army of labour" which helped the larger farm holdings to expand and become more competitive often by substituting or rather liberating family and female family member from farm labour. Finally, the availability of immigrant labour led to the reshuffling of gender roles especially in the smaller family farms

by facilitating men's exodus from the farm and supporting the transfer of farm management to women.

## Conclusions

The special weight of the farming sector has been important for considering social differentiation in Greek countryside. However, equally important factors are changing gender roles as a result of women's shifting position as well as the inflow of foreign economic migrants in rural areas. In parallel, the role of rural and regional development policies should be taken as major forces, which affect severely the socioeconomic restructuring of Greek countryside. The implemented agricultural policy measures have had a significant impact for the improvement of rural livelihoods, for strengthening certain social divisions and at the same time for intensifying social differentiation in the countryside.

From a wider perspective there is increasing antagonism between two images (or idealizations) of Greek countryside. The *first image*, which refers to the conventional definition of Greek "rurality", underlines the extent and size of agricultural land ownership, of farm employment and of primary production. However, this type of "rurality" appears to be eroding due to rural exodus, the abandonment of farming activity, the expansion of non-agricultural employment and the attractiveness and diffusion of the urban way of life. A *second image* of "rurality" emerges through the expansion of second home ownership, different patterns of commuting, the persistence of part-time farming as a secondary employment, the return to the countryside movement, the expansion of urban patterns of consumption and the movement towards the preservation of traditional built and natural environment. Both of these "ruralities" are currently targets of the EU policies and especially of the CAP.

Rural development is a highly contested term in contemporary rural Greece due to its multiple meanings and its various connotations for different groups of people. Those who live permanently in rural areas and have retained the farming occupation or they are still engaged to a certain degree with agriculture consider rural development as an alternative expression for agricultural development or at least a close linkage between the development of rural areas and the persistence of agricultural activities. This group of people is still important in rural Greece, but its size and its impact on local economy vary a lot among the different rural areas.

Besides the farming related group there is also the non-farming group who may live semi-permanently or seasonally in rural areas. This group of people who have older links (e.g. origins) with rural areas or have been lately discovered the countryside, conceives the term rural development as something wider from the mere persistence of agricultural activity. They tend to introduce other elements of "development" such as employment opportunities, quality of life, welfare, good environmental conditions, availability of services etc. The non-farming related group contains many other subgroups such as non-farm employed professionals, public employees, employed in the services and pensioners. Each sub-group attaches its own values to the different components of rural development. Naturally, there is not one to one relationship between the interpretation of rural development and the character of social groups existing in rural areas. But our attempt is to establish and reconsider the relationships behind the contestation of the term rural development. This crude distinction reflects the dynamics of rural development in Greek countryside, which points to the idea that the concept of "rurality" has expanded in recent years instead of disappearing (van der Ploeg 1997). The expansion of rurality is also due to the modifications of agricultural and rural policy in the EU in recent years. More specifically, the consecutive reforms of Common

Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the emergence of Rural Development Policy (RDP) as the second pillar of CAP, have further intensified the discussion over the character and dynamics of the development of rural areas (Bryden 2000, Bryden 2003).

The theoretical problem that we face today appears sound and clear. Greek countryside has bypassed the *“productivist” era* due to the fact that its agriculture has never obtained a certain productive result, which would correspond to that of a productivist regime. Moreover, Greek countryside is still short of getting into the course of the *“post-productivist” era* whereby the permanent rural residents and the rural policy makers did not manage to fight their conviction that agricultural modernization has been a major target of rural development.

Frequently, the ex post interpretation of Greek countryside, as „multifunctional“ cannot be taken at face value since the necessary conditions for the coexistence of different land uses and the observance of certain environmental rules are not met. Thus, there is a highly differentiated countryside whereby certain social actors operating within the complex socioeconomic and political networks are pre-disposed to support or resist different paths of development. In areas where counterurbanisation is well-advanced the mobilization of social actors may be used to resist proposals for further economic development. In contrast, in remote and traditional areas the prevailing sentiment strongly supports further economic development, but the weak economic actors mobilized in the area may make the generation of such development very problematic (Murdoch *et al.* 2003: 75). One solution to the theoretical puzzle could be to analyse the correlation of new social forces/ actors which are emerging and/or sustained in Greek countryside and which are often mobilized and sensitized in a different manner for local development problems.

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# **Employment Problems in Latvia: Differences in Urban and Rural Areas**

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## **Key words**

institutional perspective, employment agencies, path-dependency

## **Abstract**

Over past 15 years Latvia has experienced remarkable wave of economic and social changes. Labour market was greatly influenced by these changes. Economic prosperity and growth apparently reflects in Latvia macro-economic data during last five years. The remarkable changes in employment relations need flexibility from employers (capital) and labour force and also in work process. Regional differences, especially urban/rural differences are evident and do not demonstrate tendencies of cohesion. How it reflects in macro level data of employment situation and how it could be interpreted in micro level analyses? How could be understood employment differences between city and countryside that are taking place in Latvia? Institutional perspective emphasizes the importance of social and cultural conditions within city areas and countryside that could be analyzed in macro level. Neo-institutional theory allows to explain employment differences in individual micro-level through path-dependence (“dependence of previous experience”) in their own life. State and non-government organizations as mediators are engaged in forming employment relations in Latvia city areas as well as in rural areas. How the activities of these organizations-employment agencies – could affect relations between employee and employers?



## **Employment problems in Latvia: differences in urban and rural areas**

### **Introduction**

Why do some territories develop while others sink into depression? How could be characterised employment problems in different areas in Latvia? The economic differences can be explained through impact of previous experience and flexibility through person's capability. Institutional perspective try to explain economic differences through cultural variation: norms, values and "culture in interaction", what means different communication patterns.<sup>78</sup> The neo-institutional theory<sup>79</sup> let explain inflexibility reflected in path-dependency<sup>80</sup> of employees, employers and job-seekers. Capability is characterised by an individual's freedom to choose various activity opportunities in all areas of life (economics, politics and culture). Economic capability is implemented through people's economic activities – entrepreneurship, the ability to find one's place in labour market either as a self-employed person or a paid employee. Economic capability expresses contrary meaning as path-dependency in changing employment situation. The data used for analyses are conducted in 2005 Study of Human Capabilities in Regions (further SHCR survey) as well as available data from Latvia Central Statistical Bureau. There are five regions in Latvia: Vidzeme, Kurzeme, Zemgale, Latgale and Riga region. The main economic and social differences in Latvia are among Riga city area and other regions. The regions exist as planned and statistical units, but have not administrative authority. Entrepreneurship in Latvia is dominated by the private sector and predominance of Riga is obvious. In 2003, only 2.1 % (in 2002 – 2.4 %) of all the economically active enterprises in the country belonged to the public sector<sup>81</sup>. Overall, 67 % of all the economically active enterprises in the country are located in the Rīga region. This fully corresponds to the general territorial differentiation in economic activities. 63.6 % of the economically active inhabitants operate in the Rīga district (together with the cities of Rīga and Jūrmala), but the proportion of permanent residents of the district is 38 %. In comparison to other districts, the entrepreneurial activity of inhabitants of the Rīga district is high.

### **Employment: Realisation of Human Capability in Labour Market Relations**

The interaction of all the labour market elements – employers, employees and all public and private institutions involved therein – determines the employment situation. The employer-employee relations take shape within concrete areas, sectors and enterprises; in each specific case finding, obtaining, keeping or losing a job has its own peculiarities. How does the proportion of supply and demand form in the Latvian labour market in general and in each region of Latvia in particular? Are people able and willing to influence these relations?

Processes occur in Latvia, which point to dissatisfaction with the opportunities offered by the labour market both on the part of employees and employers. Employees are increasingly leaving to search for jobs abroad, but employers are looking for a cheaper or more qualified labour force outside Latvia.

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<sup>78</sup> Eliasoph Nina and Lichterman Paul, Culture in interaction, American Journal of Sociology, Vol.108, Nr.4, 2003:739.

<sup>79</sup> DiMaggio Paul, Culture and Economy, In: Smelser,N.Swedberg R.(ed.) The Handbook of economic sociology, Princeton University Press,Chichester, West Sussex, 1994,27-57.

<sup>80</sup> Crouch C.Farell H.Breaking the path of institutional development? Alternatives to the new determinism. Rationality and Society. Sage Publications. 2004,Vol.16, 6-12.

<sup>81</sup> Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia, Regions in figures, 2004

If the opportunities offered by the labour market are not satisfactory, one can also try to change them without leaving one's place of residence. Both the employee and employer can change their sector of activity. An employee may also change his or her status in the labour market – become self-employed or an entrepreneur. Both individual wishes and abilities and State policy determine, to a great extent, how many options an individual has in the concrete situation.

Employment characterises the action of inhabitants, but the proportion of economically active inhabitants in regions, which includes not only the employed, but also active job seekers, is indicative of employment opportunities (the definition provided by the International Labour Organisation (*ILO*)). In statistics, the term “economically active inhabitants” means both people who are currently employed and people who are actively searching for a job.

The traditional approach of EU statistics to the analysis of regional employment problems includes a systematic aggregation of such indicators (gender proportion among the employed in various sectors, employment in various age groups, the proportion of self-employed, youth unemployment, etc.; see *Eurostat*, 2002/1, 4) information on which it is not always possible to obtain from the regular statistical publications of Latvia. Human Development Index characterise development process in Latvia regions. (Table No. 1)

**Table No. 1 Development Indices and Ranks of Planning Regions**

	Development Index					Rank				
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Riga region	1.427	1.443	1.477	1.475	1.540	1	1	1	1	1
Kurzeme region	– 0.320	– 0.333	– 0.416	– 0.385	–0.535	2	2	2	2	2
Zemgale region	– 0.685	– 0.624	– 0.580	– 0.511	–0.541	3	3	3	3	3
Vidzeme region	– 0.787	– 0.821	– 0.936	– 0.986	–1.046	4	4	4	4	4
Latgale region	– 1.263	– 1.327	– 1.317	– 1.358	–1.396	5	5	5	5	5

Source: The National Regional Development Agency, <http://www.vraa.gov.lv;10.08,2005>

During the period from 1999 to 2004, the greatest changes in the economic activity indicators of the population occurred in the Rīga region and Kurzeme, while in the Vidzeme region the level of economic activity of the population has even decreased. The sharp differences may be linked precisely to the proportion of economically active inhabitants in the large cities – the Vidzeme region does not have any “large” city, while Kurzeme has two: Ventspils and Liepāja, but the Riga region is dominated by the metropolis Rīga.

Since 2000, which marked the turning point of economic growth after the Russian crisis, the number of economically active inhabitants in Latvia has tended to grow. However, in the past two years (2003-2004), this trend was not observed in Zemgale and Latgale – the number of economically active inhabitants in these regions has decreased. The proportion of employed population has decreased only in Zemgale (from 121.1 thousand in 2003 down to 117.7 thousand in 2004), even though the total number of inhabitants in this region has not shrunk.

**Table No. 2 Economic Activity Level of the Population in the Planning Regions of Latvia in 1999-2004, %**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Changes 1999/2004
Latvia total	57.9	56.3	56.6	61.8	62.0	63.5	+5.6
Riga region	59.9	58.8	58.5	65.0	66.0	67.3	+7.4
Vidzeme region	60.5	58.2	57.4	65.1	59.1	59.5	-0.5
Kurzeme region	57.7	55.0	55.4	60.5	60.7	62.9	+5.2
Zemgale region	56.6	56.5	56.5	58.9	59.8	58.5	+1.9
Latgale region	51.9	48.8	50.9	55.5	54.6	54.3	+2.4

Source: Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia, Regions in figures 2004 , Source: Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia, Regions in figures 2005.

In Latvia, substantial differences in employment are related to the unevenness of development between cities/towns and rural areas. Labour force surveys, which the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia has been performing since 1996, reveal a trend surprising at first – **cities/towns, not rural areas where the level of registered unemployment is higher, have a larger proportion of job seekers.**

True, differences between these indicators diminish over time, and in 2004, there were 11.3 % active job seekers among city/town inhabitants aged 15-74, while in rural areas – 8.4 %. Possibly, many rural inhabitants move to cities/towns in search for jobs. The situation of unemployed persons and job-seeking opportunities in cities/towns and rural areas are different (Table No. 3).

**Table No. 3 Proportion of Job-Seekers in the Total Economically Active Population in Latvia's Regions, %**

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Changes 1999/2004
Latvia total	14.3	14.4	13.1	12.0	10.6	10.4	-3.9
Riga region	13.8	13.3	11.2	11.0	10.0	9.0* 10.3**	3.5* -4.8**
Vidzeme region	11.2	12.4	12.8	10.3	9.0	9.4	-1.8
Kurzeme region	11.7	15.7	15.2	12.6	9.5	10.6	-1.1
Zemgale region	13.7	13.6	11.8	10.4	9.7	10.8	-2.9
Latgale region	21.8	20.8	18.9	17.1	15.5	12.8	-9.0

Source: Central Statistics Bureau of Latvia, 2000–2005. \*Rīga\*\*Vicinity of Rīga

**Inhabitants of cities are more dependent on** the receipt of regular **monetary** income – it is a significant motivation that prompts them to actively seek a job. In rural areas, such dependence may be lesser in the short term, because the majority of rural households are self-subsistent in which a large part of what is grown is consumed by the family; the sale of the remaining produce gives small monetary income and the expenses of lodging are low. These differences diminish along with the development of intensive production and services. This is indicated by the decrease in the number of individual keepers of domestic animals; the

number of such homes that do not have a centralised water-supply and sewerage, central heating and other expense-related services is also diminishing.<sup>82</sup>

Employment opportunities are more diverse in cities/towns. The Internet as well as information from other media is available, which is why formal organisations operate as intermediaries in finding a job less often than in rural areas. Informal networks are widely used in a job search. People with a completed higher education and students, especially of young age, use the services of the State Employment Agency less often, because the jobs offered do not seem sufficiently well paid to them. Such people take their own action, using personal connections in finding a job, looking for a job by way of the Internet and other sources of information. Possibly, employment could be facilitated if the State administrative institutions were moved to regions, thereby activating individual cities/towns that would become centres for the promotion of activity of the entire region. By fostering the development of region cities/towns, the employment in their vicinity and in the entire region would also be stimulated, because a viable alternative to the drain of economically active inhabitants to Rīga would be created. This is already partially happening in some region cities/towns, to a great extent owing to the activity of the city/town local governments and the operation of higher education institutions (Jelgava, Valmiera and Ventspils). However, the idea of decentralising State institutions lacks support.

Not all regional differences in the proportion of job-seekers among the economically active inhabitants can be explained only by the unevenness of development between cities/towns and rural areas.

### **Differences of Economic Activities in Regions**

The fastest decrease of the proportion of job-seekers in the time period from 1999 to 2004 can be observed in Latgale (see Table No. 3), but since the total number of economically active inhabitants has increased there by only 2.4 %, then, possibly, active job-seekers are either looking for a job somewhere else (in Rīga or other countries), or no longer hope to find a job because they have become “economically inactive”. What are the causes of such a situation? Is the inertia of Latgale inhabitants, their reliance on the support of State institutions and their inability to provide such support to blame? Answers to the questions included in the SHCR survey allow only a partial understanding of the situation. Latgale has the highest risk that a job search may lead away from the region, because there the sense of belonging to the region is the least manifest.

Other regions as well have more pessimists who assess the opportunities of finding a job at the place of residence sceptically, and fewer optimists. The greatest differences are observed between the Rīga region and other regions. Also, the opportunities to acquire the desired profession are greater in the Rīga region. According to the opinions of the respondents, in order to search for a job and acquire a better profession, it is best to go to Rīga, its vicinity or abroad. Job-seekers as well as employers in cities/towns admit that a good job can most likely be found through connections and local contacts; social networks and good education also are of importance. Employers also emphasise the ability to trust an employee – which such a person can “be relied upon”. The SHCR survey results do not point to a lack of initiative among the inhabitants of Latgale, because in the readiness to start their own business Latgilians fall behind only the entrepreneurial inhabitants of Kurzeme, but leave behind the inhabitants of Zemgale, Vidzeme and even the Rīga region.

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<sup>82</sup> CSB, Housing stock in Latvia, Rīga 2004.

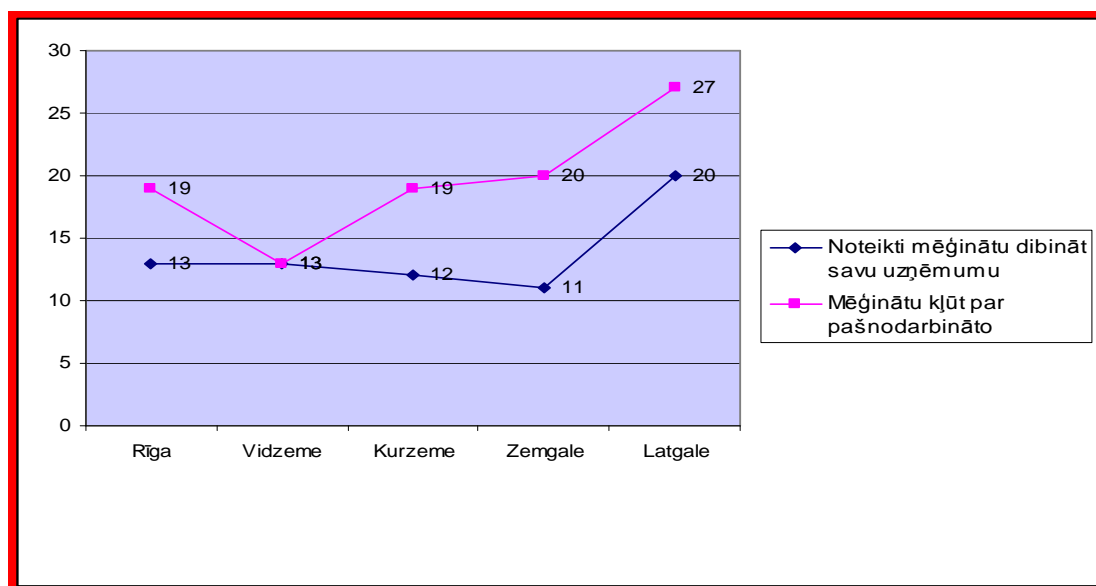
**Table No. 4 Opportunities to Find a Suitable Job in the Place of Residence as Evaluated by the Population, %**

	Great opportunities (broad)	Few opportunities	Difficult to say
Riga region	26	63	11
Vidzeme region	11	84	5
Kurzeme region	5	91	4
Zemgale region	9	88	3
Latgale region	5	94	1

*Source: 2005 Study of Human Capabilities in the Regions.*

Also, in answering the question “What would you do in order to find a job?” the respondents surveyed in the Latgale region selected the answers “Would attempt to establish my own enterprise” or “Would attempt to become self-employed” comparatively more frequently than in other regions.

**Figure no. 1 Proportions of inhabitants who, if in Need of Employment, would Attempt to Establish an Enterprise or Become Self-Employed % (SHCR survey)**



Not always do people have a clear notion of which sectors could have better prospects in the concrete region, therefore the opinions of the SHCR survey respondents regarding sectoral development in the place of residence are not characterised by substantial differences, unless, perhaps, one notes the surprisingly low support for the development of information technologies in Zemgale (7.8 %, the average in Latvia – 17.8 %) and for the development of financial services in Kurzeme and Latgale (7.5 % and 7.9 %, respectively; the average in Latvia – 16.5 %) could be mentioned.

What are people prepared to do in order to acquire a better job? How do they search for a job? Insufficient information may considerably impede both the search for a job and the starting of a business in regions. The SHCR survey indicates that respondents find out about job opportunities from the main press, the Internet, relatives, friends, neighbours, city/district newspapers or Latvian Television (LTV1). The people surveyed in the Latgale region use these sources of information less frequently. The SHCR survey data show that in Latgale

information from local newspapers and the internet is used in a job-search less often than in other regions; instead, the assistance of consultants is used actively, while in Zemgale, people turn to consultants very rarely.

In answering the question “What would you do in order to find a job?” an average of 10 % of the respondents has selected the answer “Would attempt to establish my own enterprise”. In comparison to the proportion of entrepreneurs in other EU countries, it is not much, but this number is larger than the proportion of people currently engaged in entrepreneurship in Latvia. In all regions, more than 50 % of the respondents admit that entrepreneurs are leading a “good” or “rather good” life, while only 22 % of the respondents have such an assessment with regard to employees. What hinders one from starting a business? Irrespective of the region, the respondents mention the following reasons most often: “no start-up capital” (58 %), “lacks of knowledge” (34 %), “afraid to take risks” (26 %), “lack of initiative” (25 %) and “age limits” (22 %). Less than 5 % of the respondents mention lack of family support and human resources as important obstacles to starting a business.

People often do not consider the starting of a business as an option. This is indicated by the answers to the question “Where do you primarily obtain information about the starting and development of a business?” The majority of the respondents point out that “I am not interested in this issue” or “difficult to say”. Even though a large part of the respondents believe that entrepreneurs are the ones who have a “good life in Latvia”, they are not interested in pursuing entrepreneurship themselves. It may be explained by a lack of flexibility of individual labour market elements, which may hinder the solution of employment problems in regions. After a life under the conditions of a planned state economy, a large part of inhabitants find entrepreneurship a new phenomenon that is perceived even with a degree of suspicion, and the possibility of honest entrepreneurship is doubted quite often.

At the same time, an excessive flexibility of some individual labour market elements (e.g., readiness to work for low pay, illegally and partially legally, acquisition of various skills) may not necessarily promote employment. For example, in a district centre, where the total number of jobs does not increase, even though the unemployed persons are being trained and are actively trying to find a job, a kind of rotation may develop that is manifested by a regular exchange of employees with younger, recently trained and more active personnel. In such case, state and non-governmental employment agencies can play an important role as intermediary organisations, which can either submit to the employer’s pressure and, say, select “only girls 25 years old and younger” to prepare as salespersons, or try to change the situation. The activities of trade unions and their constructive role in the harmonisation of the labour market relations are not felt much in the regions of Latvia. It is precisely trade unions, which can inform employees and employers about their rights and prevent the risk of discrimination.

### **The Economic Activity of Women in Latvia Still Remains Lower than that of Men.**

In 2004, economic activity in the group of people of working age was the following: 65 % - for women and 71.5 % - for men. In districts farther from Rīga, employers take the liberty to use the situation when the number of jobs is limited and relatively unchanged. Women who have temporarily suspended work due to personal or family circumstances lose jobs. During this period, new employees are hired in their places, but there are no other jobs available. The data of the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia indicate that there are three times more women than men who have suspended work because they needed to supervise their children, due to pregnancy or because of nursing of an adult. In the labour market, women more often

than men find themselves in an economically disadvantageous situation, because the demand for places in pre-schools as well as for social care is not fully met in the country. The proportion of women is also large among persons who would like to work but are not seeking a job. In 2004, there were a total of 188.7 thousand such persons in Latvia – more than the number of the active job-seekers – of which 115.9 thousand are women who have most often already lost hope in finding a job near their place of residence, but have not tried to change the place of residence. This issue is particularly sensitive in areas where logging and the production of construction materials is developing, but schools and health care institutions are closing (remote counties of Selonia and Latgale).

The breakdown of labour market segments is characterised by the low proportion of women in construction (10.1 %) and the low participation of men (13.4 %) in the work of health and social care institutions, in which the wages are among the lowest in the country.<sup>83</sup>

In the largest cities of Latvia as well, the job supply for women and men is often unjustifiably divergent. In order to change the situation, in Jelgava, for example, training of unemployed women for work with programmed metalworking machines has been started – until now only men were invited for this job. In order to foster capability, women's conceptions regarding "female" and "male" jobs have to change too. Currently stereotypes are often impeding active participation of women in those labour market segments that are considered a traditional priority of men.

Paid employment in rural areas is not the only employment opportunity. By increasing the portion of products produced for sale and searching for new market niches for goods and services with greater added value, it is possible to expand the number of self-employed persons and even create new paid jobs. Sometimes it is the intermediary organisations that are the first to perceive the first signs of change and to organise the local inhabitants for action and utilisation of new opportunities.

## **Conclusions**

Employment level and number of job seekers are lower in Riga region and than in other areas in Latvia. The differences are crucial in proportion of economically active population as well as in activity to carry out the entrepreneurial activity.

The differences in level of economic activity could not be described only by capability of persons' living in each region.

The gender related employment problems in rural areas could be explained through lack of childcare institutions in rural areas and segmentation in labour market as traditions existing from previous social experience.

The solving of rural employment problems during rapid economic changes needs flexibility in relations among labour market agents and additional support from state for reconstruction employment relations.

Special attention is needed for development of economic activity in regions with acute employment problems and obvious path-dependency in employment activities.

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<sup>83</sup> CSB Labour Force Survey, Riga 2005.

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# The Social and Economic Change in the Rural Russia

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## Abstract

In this paper, we will discuss of social and economic change in the Russian countryside during the period of past 15 years. Our findings have bearing on three main issues: *the relationship between globalization, path dependency and path alternatives; the possibilities and limitations of formal institutional change; the relevance of micro-level surveys for understanding macro-level change.*

The notion that there may be multiple solutions or paths to transforming non-market economies into effective economies that can compete in the global marketplace is illustrated by the transformation of the rural economy of Russia. The reformers' goal of replacing the large collective and state farms with a whole new class of private farmers was not realized. But the formal institutional changes initiated in Moscow begun a process in which the large enterprises became a less important part of the total Russian agriculture. Contrary to the reformers' intentions, household enterprises emerged as an important source of food for Russian families.

This perspective we have proposed sees rural Russian households in a different light than is suggested by the theory of "peasant society." The latter view conceptualizes the rural household as pre-modern or even primitive. Our approach has been to treat rural households as rational economic actors whose behaviour is similar to that of the petit bourgeois ethnic economies in advanced industrial societies.

The "survival" adaptation of rural households to the reforms is an illustration of the market utility of informal household human and social capital as a compensatory mechanism for the breakdown of agricultural system. Simply stated, households used the only tools at their disposal, hand labour and highly dense informal social networks, to expand their enterprises to make up for the deficit in income caused by the demise of the large enterprises. Unfortunately, some observers saw the reluctance of most of these households to become officially registered private farmers as a sign of their cultural resistance to full participation in a capitalist economy.

This was a serious misdiagnosis of the motivations of rural Russians. The key point here is that in interpreting the decisions of individuals to resist going outside of their strong bonding ties to incorporate new members and/or become members of other social networks (i.e., build bridging ties) the most useful assumption is that they are acting rationally.

## The social and economic change in the rural Russia

In this paper, we will discuss social and economic change in the Russian countryside during the period of past 15 years. Our findings have bearing on three main issues: *the relationship between globalization, path dependency and path alternatives; the possibilities and limitations of formal institutional change; and the relevance of micro-level surveys for understanding macro-level change.*

Our observations are the result of a series of surveys of rural Russian households that began in 1991 and have continued up to the present. The most recent survey completed was the fifth in a 5-wave panel study of the same households in three villages (the panel households were interviewed from 1995 to 2003).<sup>84</sup> This summer we will conduct a nine-region survey of rural households.

### Globalization, Path Dependency and Path Alternatives

In order to understand the broader significance of the findings of the Russian Village Survey Project on theory in Economics and Sociology, it will be useful to briefly review some current arguments with respect to the challenges facing emerging economies. Thomas Friedman's popular book, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*,<sup>85</sup> argues that globalization is creating a "golden straightjacket" that is forcing nations to choose between adopting relatively open forms of social organization that will link them to information, markets and opportunities in the "electronic herd" or of remaining isolated and experiencing a declining quality of life. This same argument was made several decades earlier by the sociologist Mark Granovetter in a scientific research paper titled, "The Strength of Weak Ties."

Granovetter found in American samples that finding a job or building a political coalition to defend an urban neighbourhood against harmful urban renewal plans was much more successful if individuals were able to develop less emotionally intense "weak tie" relationships. These findings parallel those of Edward Banfield in his now classic work, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, which argued that the relative "backwardness" of southern Italy, compared to northern Italy and other West European nations was due primarily to their highly restrictive, dense, and isolated "amoral familistic" ties that spawned the mafia and restricted economic development.

Our research comes to somewhat different conclusions. We argue that there may be multiple solutions or paths to transforming non-market economies into effective economies that can compete in the global marketplace. This is illustrated by the transformation of the rural economy of Russia in a relatively brief period of time. The reformers' goal of replacing the large collective and state farms with a whole new class of private farmers was not realized, but the formal institutional changes initiated in Moscow in the early nineteen nineties did, in fact, begin a process in which the large enterprises became a less important part of the total Russian agriculture. Contrary to the reformers' intentions, household enterprises emerged as

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<sup>84</sup> Methodology and results of these surveys can be found in Russian and English. See D. J. O'Brien and V. V. Patsiorkovsky, *Measuring Social and Economic Change in Rural Russia: Surveys from 1991 to 2003* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2006); S.K. Wegren, *Rural Adaptation in Russia*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2005); V. V. Patsiorkovsky, *Sel'skaia Rossiia* (Rural Russia) (Moscow: Finansy i statistiki, 2003); D. J. O'Brien, V. V. Patsiorkovski and L. D. Dershem, *Household Capital and the Agrarian Problem in Russia* (Aldershot, U. K.: Ashgate, 2000).

an important source of food for Russian families and as the biggest part of agricultural output.

One immediate result of reforms for the agricultural production system in Russia was a dramatic decline in agricultural production output by the large enterprises (the former collective and state farms) and an increase in the share of production by households, since the latter literally were forced to find some way of surviving in the face of the collapse of the large enterprises which they heretofore had relied upon for a substantial portion of their income. This is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1. Structure of Agricultural Output by Categories of Producers in Russia 1991-2004 (in percent)**

Type of Enterprise	1992	1995	1998	1999	2000	2001	2003	2004
Large Enterprise	67.1	50.2	39.2	41.2	43.4	43.9	39.7	43.1
Private Farmer	1.1	1.9	2.2	2.5	3.0	3.7	4.5	5.9
Household	31.8	47.9	58.6	56.3	53.6	52.4	55.8	51.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Source: Rossiia v tsifrakh, 2004 (Moscow: Goskomstat, 2004), 207; Rossiia v tsifrakh 2005 (Moscow: FSGS, 2005), 210.*

The share of production contributed by the large enterprises fell from 67.1 percent in 1992 to 39.2 percent in 1998, while the share of production contributed by households increased from 31.8 percent to 58.6 percent in the same time period. The share of production by households has fluctuated from 1999 to 2004, but has never reached the 1998 level. Among the three types of producers only households decreased their absolute volume of production, although only slightly, from 2003 to 2004. This is the first time since 1992 that household production has declined, both absolutely and relative to the other types of producers. Nonetheless, households continue to produce roughly half of all Russian agricultural output.

The large enterprises' share of production has fluctuated since 1998, hovering around 40 percent. Most significant perhaps is that private farmers, although accounting for a relatively small share of total agricultural output, have gradually and systematically increased their share vis-à-vis the other two types of enterprises. The private farmers' share rose from slightly more than 1 percent in 1992 to almost 6 percent in 2004.

The system that evolved in rural Russia in the 1990s did not approximate at all the mid-sized family farms that were typical in the American Midwest in an earlier period, but their reflection of the Soviet agricultural system was dimmed as well. While household plots were always a part of the Soviet system, as a compensatory mechanism to deal with the shortcomings of the command economy, they assumed a new role that was fundamentally different than the one they played as late as 1991. This represents, then, a unique blending of the traditional path, in the form of households as labor-intensive small-scale producers with the new market mechanisms that were generated by the post-Soviet reforms. The unique blending of the traditional social organizational form, the peasant household, and a new market-driven household enterprise parallels the mixture of traditional and modern elements that was found in the examples of Hassidic Jewish diamond merchants in New York or the Japanese textile industry.

This perspective we have proposed sees rural Russian households in a different light than is suggested by the theory of “peasant society”. The latter view conceptualizes the rural household as pre-modern or even primitive. Our approach has been to treat rural households as rational economic actors whose behaviour is similar to that of the petit bourgeois ethnic economies in advanced industrial societies.

The reformers and many Western economic observers saw the traditional social organizational form of the rural Russian household as an obstacle to the development of a market-driven agriculture, but in fact it turned out to be a key element in the adaptation of the countryside to the new market-driven economic system. The main conceptual hurdle here is to recognize that what many have seen as an “anti-market” bias of the household “moral economy” may actually be a source of advantage in the marketplace. The Russian village experience illustrates the importance of looking for path alternatives, rather than trying to identify single path trajectories.

The “moral economy” of the household can be a positive force in the development of a market economy. Informal social networks can operate as mechanisms that compensate for inadequacies in formal institutions, including problems with asymmetric information and insecure property rights. In this context, depending on the strong-tie “trusted” relationships of family and kin is a rational protection against the failure of the formal institutional environment to protect economic activity. The positive pro-market orientation of these informal social networks is manifest in many countries in the development of micro-finance cooperatives that are built on a foundation of informal social capital.

The “survival” adaptation of rural households to the initial reforms of the Russian central government is an illustration of the market utility of informal household human and social capital as a compensatory mechanism for the breakdown of the Soviet agricultural system. Simply stated, households used the only tools at their disposal, hand labour and highly dense informal social networks, to expand their enterprises to make up for the deficit in income caused by the demise of the large enterprises. Unfortunately, some observers saw the reluctance of most of these households to become officially registered private farmers as a sign of their cultural resistance to full participation in a capitalist economy. This was a serious misdiagnosis of the motivations of rural Russians.

The key point here is that in interpreting the decisions of individuals to resist going outside of their strong bonding ties to incorporate new members and/or become members of other social networks (i.e., build bridging ties) the most useful assumption is that they are acting rationally. This is a central point in North’s and DeSoto’s arguments about why some economies do not become more efficient. *The problem is not the lack of rationality of individuals who participate in the economy. They are operating within a set of rewards and punishments that are created by institutions over which they have little or no control. Rather it is the nature of the institutions themselves upon which we must focus.*

One of the most important contributions of the New Institutionalism in Economics and Sociology is that it retains the assumption of an individual’s rationality but views the rational economic person as operating within institutional constraints that limit his or her choices. Individuals may make perfectly rational choices to survive within a given institutional arrangement, even though in the aggregate these choices may be quite harmful and limit community or national economic development. Scholars in this tradition recognize the reinforcing relationship between institutions and the reward structure of social organizations (from family to national organizations) that spring from those institutions. This in turn creates a certain type of inertia that may result in a “path dependency” in which unintended

downstream consequences may emerge from institutional and social organizational developments made at an earlier period.

The Russian peasant household's rejection of post-Soviet reformers' (most of whom never ventured into the countryside) proposals to expand their agricultural production enterprises (i.e., establish relationships with government and private foundations offering to make them "real" farmers) was not due to any inherent rural conservatism. Rather, villagers perceived, *as did Western investors*, that the lack of trusted third party enforcement of property rights and credit obligations made involvement with persons outside of one's immediate highly dense and trusted network very risky.

The most convincing proof of the pro-market orientation of large numbers of rural Russian household members was their willingness to rent land. This is shown in Table 2.

**Table 2. Average Size of a Household's Formally Rented Land (in hectares) in Three Russian Villages 1995-2003 (N=382)**

Village	1995	1997	1999	2003
Latonovo	0	0	0.4	3.24
Vengerovka	0.13	0.16	0.2	0.35
Sviattsovo	0.12	0.2	0.7	0.12

Source: Russian Village Panel Surveys.

This was a fairly radical notion for individuals who had grown up in the Soviet system in which the government was in control of all land, except the small peasant plot (which the government owned anyway). Even more persuasive evidence of the pro-market outlook of householders was their high level of approval of market reforms as they impacted on the development of new opportunities to buy and sell *private* goods in the marketplace.

The main criticism of reform by peasant households was the failure of government to provide public goods that formerly had been provided by the collective farms (see Table 3).

Complaints about inadequate public goods provision are, of course, a common complaint among citizens in West European and American nations that have well established market economies.

The moral economy of the household can facilitate economic activity by supporting a "petite bourgeoisie" enterprise. The tight knit highly cooperative economic organization based on family structures, networks and supports in the petit bourgeois enterprise is not operating as a compensatory mechanism for market failures but rather is occupying a special niche in a well-functioning economy.

**Table 3. Subjective Evaluations of the Quality of Selected Villages Services in 1991 and 2003 (N=382)**

Evaluation	Retail Trade	Transportation	Utilities	Medical	Education
Worse	5.5	29.8	52.1	24.6	16.0
No Change	28.3	48.2	41.6	41.6	59.7
Better	64.1	11.3	2.6	13.4	13.4
No Answer	2.1	10.7	3.7	0.5	2.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Russian Village Panel Surveys.

Illustrations of its development can be found in the highly successful ethnic enterprises in which the basic moral economy of the household is linked to other households through quasi-kin connections that create bridging bonds of trust. A specific mechanism that was built on strong tie bonds of trust was the rotating credit associations that provided the capital for small business enterprises in a variety of ethnic communities.

Another example was the integrated system of production, storage and marketing of fruits, nuts and vegetables developed by Japanese immigrants in the Central Valley of California.

While the reasons for the success of ethnic enterprises and other competitive petit bourgeois firms have been well understood, the more difficult task for researchers and public policy makers has been to identify how to transform group of people so that they can become successful small-scale entrepreneurs. Understanding the transformation of Russian rural households and villages in the 1990s and the early part of the 21<sup>st</sup> century can help us fill this void.

The transition of some rural Russian households from mere subsistence agriculture to a more sustainable household farming system can be viewed as a change from the household being simply a compensatory mechanism to make up for market failures in the early phase of reform to the establishment of a more sustainable niche in a diversified Russian agricultural economy. For this reason, we can see the more successful household enterprises, which may only include 30-35 percent of the households in the villages (see Table 4), as sharing some fundamental similarities to other “petite bourgeois” small business enterprises that depend disproportionately on the labour and loyalty of family members.

These households have much in common with the Asian immigrant households that use their social capital advantages in creating successful small retail businesses in run-down neighborhoods. Viewed in this manner, the observations of changes *within households* over time can help us to better understand the role of family dynamics in the development of small-scale entrepreneurial firms.

**Table 4. Estimated Market Compatibility of Different Types of Russian Agricultural Enterprises (in percent)**

Market Compatibility	Type of Enterprise		
	Large Enterprises	Private Farmers	Households
Market Compatible	10	61	30
Non-Market Compatible	90	39	70
Total	100	100	100

*Sources:* For large enterprises – *Sel'skoe khoziaistvo v Rossii 2002* (Moscow: Goskomstat, 2002), 113; for private farmers – *Sel'skokhoziaistvennaia deiatel'nost' krest'ianskikh (fermerskikh) khoziaistv v Rossii* (Moscow: Goskomstat, 2000), 42; and households – Russian Village Panel Survey, 2003.

The Russian Village surveys provide us with some powerful insights into the learning curve that families experience as they move from mere survival to the development of a growing economic enterprise that brings about a higher quality of life for family members. Of particular note is the way that ordinary people have learned how to use their social capital, especially larger social helping networks, more effectively over time. This was shown in the increasing strength of association between numbers of network ties and agricultural sales from the beginning to the end of the panel surveys.

While this may seem to be obvious to anyone familiar with small business activity in United States or Western Europe, especially in rural areas, it was by no means obvious for persons who lived under an all-powerful Soviet economic and political system that actively discouraged any form of social organization that did not directly benefit state goals.

## **The Possibilities and Limitations of Formal Institutional Change**

One of the key principles of the New Institutionalism is that institutions matter. The assumption is that human beings try to behave rationally and that their behaviour will respond to a change in incentives or disincentives generated by a new institutional arrangement. This view departs substantially from the more traditional approaches in economics and sociology. In the more traditional neo-classical paradigm in economics institutions are merely “assumed” to exist. Simply removing constraints on the market, it is argued, will produce changes that will result in an efficiently operating economy.

In traditional sociology, formal institutions are relegated to a secondary position in relation to informal institutional arrangements. Sociologists are more apt to be intrigued by covert power arrangements, i.e., non-elected power elites, than by formal institutional arrangements, i.e., constitutions, for dealing with conflict. Even in a significant portion of the literature in the sociological variant of neo-institutional writing, focuses on the emergence of informal institutional arrangements, such as social networks, with scant attention to the impact of formal institutional arrangements on informal arrangements.

One of the most valuable contributions of the experiment in institutional change in the Russian countryside is to provide some perspective on the relationship between formal and informal institutional arrangements in a period of rapid social, economic and political change. We may argue about the relative weight of the formal institutional changes on the re-structuring of the Russian countryside, but these reforms have resulted in some significant changes in a relatively brief period of time. Much of this change is a direct result of the creative entrepreneurial efforts of Russian households. The scope of these activities, however, would not have been nearly as great if the formal institutional changes brought about by the reforms had not occurred.

This is not in any way an endorsement of the specific reforms created in Moscow in the early- to mid-nineteen nineties. The insensitivity of the reformers to the need to provide new institutional support for household enterprises, as well as compensatory mechanisms for the elimination of services provided by the large enterprises, made the quality of life of rural residents extremely difficult.

One of the most obvious weaknesses of the Russian agrarian reform movement in the early and mid-nineteen nineties was the inability or unwillingness of the reformers to see the relationship between formal and informal economic and social institutions. The reformers did not deal with the negative consequences of their formal re-structuring of rural institutions – i.e., the withdrawal of government supports to the large enterprises – and they made no effort to look at potential strengths of the informal institutions surrounding the peasant household and how those institutions might have facilitated formal institutional reform. Rather than find ways to provide formal support for household enterprise development, the reformers essentially ignored this sector of the agrarian economy and generated an unnecessary source of resistance in the *Duma*.

The important lesson here, therefore, is that conceptually our focus needs to be on the interaction between formal and informal institutions rather than on either one in isolation from the other. This is a central point in Desoto’s thesis regarding the evolution of institutional supports for “grassroots capitalism.” He notes that,

“... property law and titles imposed without reference to existing social contracts continually fail: They lack legitimacy. To obtain legitimacy,

they have to connect with the extralegal social contracts that determine existing property rights.”

DeSoto points out that the most successful formal institutional changes are those that legitimize *de facto* changes that have already occurred in the realm of informal institutional arrangements. This was the case in the recognition of “squatters’ rights” on the American frontier in the nineteenth century. In order to reach the full potential of reform in the Russian countryside greater attention needs to be paid to ways of building upon the informal institutional arrangements, largely resting on household human and social capital, that is found in households and villages. The empirical proof of this has been found repeatedly in our survey results, which show that the village in Belgorod *oblast*, where attention was given to supporting informal household institutions had by far the most successful gains in household productivity and sales.

The challenge in the development of markets in rural Russia, as in most transitional rural economies, is to find ways to preserve the positive externalities that are generated by informal social networks, without these networks becoming a source of resistance (i.e., generating negative externalities) to the development of more expansive networks. Strong kin-based social network ties (i.e., strong bonding social capital) may be especially useful in marshalling resources to deal with the serious market failures that occur during a transition from a command to a market economy, but these networks may also be very resistant to bringing in new members, or aligning with other networks. The obvious solution here is to develop formal institutional supports for household participation in agricultural cooperatives.

The reformers were aware of potential resistance to market reforms from the large enterprises that obviously stood to lose subsidies and other advantages of the Soviet economy, but they did not plan any ways to provide leverage for the emerging household enterprises in the emerging markets. The reality that was avoided here is that formal institutions cannot be analytically dealt with separately from informal institutions. Formal institutional arrangements always provide intended or unintended marketplace advantages for some groups and disadvantages for others.

The evidence from our surveys indicate very clearly that as rural Russian households experience greater success in their entrepreneurial efforts, they are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the lack of formal institutional support for the development of their enterprises, especially at the village level. Thus, there may be more pressure from the rural grassroots for greater government support, at the national, regional and local village levels. We would expect that any shift in government policy to provide greater formal institutional support for household enterprises would be seen by some rural interest groups, especially large enterprises, as a threat and thus become a source of resistance to such changes.

One hopeful sign is that the agricultural market in rural Russia has become increasingly differentiated, with large enterprises, private farmers and households occupying different niches, and thus there may be a way to provide different types of institutional support for different types of agricultural actors (see Table 5).



**Table 5. The Structure of Agricultural Output, by Type of Product and Type of Enterprise 1990-2004 (in percent)**

Type of Agricultural Products	Type of Enterprise								
	Large Enterprise			Private Farmer			Household		
	1990	1995	2004	1990	1995	2004	1990	1995	2004
Grain	99.7	94.4	81.2	0.01	4.7	17.4	0.3	0.9	1.4
Sugar Beets	99.9	95.9	88.6	0.01	3.5	10.3	0.0	0.6	1.1
Sunflower.	98.6	86.3	74.4	0.0	12.3	24.5	1.4	1.4	1.1
Potatoes	33.9	9.2	6.2	0.0	0.9	2.0	66.1	89.9	91.8
Vegetables	69.9	25.3	14.9	0.0	1.3	4.9	30.1	70.4	80.2
Meat	75.2	49.9	45.1	0.01	1.5	2.4	24.8	48.6	52.5
Milk	76.2	57.1	45.0	0.0	1.5	2.8	23.8	41.4	52.2
Eggs	78.4	69.4	72.8	0.0	0.4	0.5	21.6	30.2	26.7

Source: *Sel'skoe khoziaistvo Rossii 2000* (Moscow: Goskomstat, 2000), 36; *Rossia v tsifrakh 2005* (Moscow: FSGS, 2005), 211.

What is most striking, as shown in Table 5, is that the different types of producers have found specific niches, and that there is competition between these different types of enterprises only in selected areas. These changes represent a significant alteration in the institutional structure of Russian agriculture in a relatively brief period of time. The large enterprises dominate the grain market (81.2 percent in 2004), which makes sense given the cost of equipment and size of land required to compete in this type of market. The main competition here comes from private farmers, who have increased their share of this market from 0 in 1990 to 17.4 percent in 2004. Households contribute only 1.5 percent to this market.

A second area of competition between the large enterprises and private farmers is in the production of sunflower seeds. Private farmers now account for close to one-quarter of Russia's sunflower seed output. A third area of competition is in sugar beet production, where in 2004 private farmers produced slightly more than 10 percent of this crop.

At the same time, both private farmers and large enterprises have not had much interest in the types of production in which households have found a niche. Households dominate areas of production in which it is possible, with a large amount of intensive hand labour, to make a profit raising potatoes (91.8 percent of the Russian total in 2004) and vegetables (80.2 percent of the Russian total in 2004) with a small amount of land.

The main areas of competition between households and the large enterprises are meat and milk production, but in both of these areas households actually have had a larger share of production in recent years. In 2004, for example, they accounted for 52.5 percent of the meat, compared to 45.1 percent by the large enterprises, and 52.2 percent of the milk, compared to 45.0 percent, by the large enterprises. This competition, we suspect, will be one of the most interesting processes to follow in the near future.

## Understanding Macro-Level Economic Change Through

### Micro-Level Panel Surveys

Panel surveys studies have become more important in the social sciences in recent years. Their higher costs, compared to cross-sectional surveys, are outweighed by their greater

sensitivity to how ordinary people are experiencing social change. The most important feature of this methodology, from our point of view, is that it helps us to understand the dynamic processes in which formal institutional changes create new exigencies for households and specifically how individuals faced by these constraints develop creative adaptations that, in turn, produce changes in the institutional environment.

It is this dynamic process that we hope to have conveyed to the reader. The historical events of the agrarian reform movement in Russia in the 1990s are, of course, unique. The Soviet agricultural system was an extreme case of socialist command economy institutions and social organization, even compared to other Soviet bloc countries or China. The reforms themselves, along with the rancorous conflict between the Yeltsin government and the *Duma* were also unique, compared to the transitions that occurred in many other socialist countries.

The fact that these ordinary people were able at first to find new ways to survive and later were able to actually improve their economic situation and quality of life, suggests to us that greater attention needs to be paid to how people like them in other societies with transitional economies not only are experiencing but are actually creating rational strategies for coping with economic, political and social change.

## Notes

Methodology and results of these surveys can be found in Russian and English. See D. J. O'Brien and V. V. Patsiorkovsky, *Measuring Social and Economic Change in Rural Russia: Surveys from 1991 to 2003* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2006); S.K. Wegren, *Rural Adaptation in Russia*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2005); V. V. Patsiorkovsky, *Sel'skaia Rossiia* (Rural Russia) (Moscow: Finansy i statistiki, 2003);

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8. David J. O'Brien, Valeri V. Patsiorkovski and Larry D. Dershem, *Household Capital and the Agrarian Problem in Russia* (Aldershot, U.K.: 2000). 258 p.

North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, 93-98.

Hernando DeSoto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

Mary C. Brinton and Victor Nee (editors), *The New Institutionalism in Sociology* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998).

North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, 93-98.

Extensive empirical data on attitudes of households as well as large farm managers over a period of time that supports our argument is found in Stephen K. Wegren, *The Moral Economy Reconsidered: Russia's Search for Agrarian Capitalism* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005).

Frank Bechhofer and Brian Elliot, "Petty Property: The Survival of a Moral Economy," in *The Petite Bourgeoisie: Comparative Studies of the Uneasy Stratum*, eds. Frank Bechhofer and Brian Elliot (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 181-200.

Jimmy Sanders and Victor Nee, "Immigrant Self Employment: The Family as Social Capital and the Value of Human Capital," *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 2 (April 1996): 231-49.

Ivan Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

Stephen S. Fugita and David J. O'Brien, *Japanese American Ethnicity: The Persistence of Community* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991).

Sanders and Nee, "Immigrant Self Employment: The Family as Social Capital and the Value of Human Capital."

North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*.

North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, 11.

See, e.g., Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision-Makers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); and C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

Victor Nee and Paul Ingram observe that "While Granovetter criticized the neoclassical model for building a house of cards on the fragile assumption of rationality, ironically, personal relationships as a basis presents similar problems. Even the casual observer of social life can testify that personal relationships can be fragile as well as robust and that they are often unpredictable. . . ." Victor Nee and Paul Ingram, "Embeddedness and Beyond: Institutions, Exchange, and Social Structure," in *The New Institutionalism in Sociology*, eds. Mary C. Brinton and Victor Nee (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998), 22.

Stiglitz makes this general criticism of Western economists who typically have designed economic reform programs for the IMF and the World Bank in Third World and transitional economies See Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002).

DeSoto, *The Mystery of Capital*, 171-172.

DeSoto, *The Mystery of Capital*, 130-131.

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One of the most interesting examples in this respect has been the struggle over urban governmental forms in the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although ostensibly presented as a "reform" measure, efforts to replace the traditional Mayor-Council form of government, with councilpersons elected by wards, by a more "business-like" city-manager with at-large elections of council persons form, actually was a struggle between the ethnic immigrant interest-groups that favored the former and the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant groups that favored the latter. See, Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1963), 94-96; and Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1955).

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David Turnock (editor), *Privatization in Rural Eastern Europe: The Process of Restitution and Restructuring* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 1998).

# **Pluriactive Women in the Eastern European and Balkan Countryside**

**The case of the Transdanubia Region of Hungary, and the Prespa region of Albania and Macedonia**

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## **Abstract**

In the context of the increasing complexity of farm activities gender issues regarding women's role, division of labour, and power relations have become of major interest especially starting from the beginning of the 1990s. Gender based analysis of the family farm work revealed the multiplicity of women's role and their ability to act as capable, dynamic, and competent agents, a concept resulted from the discursive turn identified by Berit Brandth as "detraditionalisation and diversity". Women have always been important actors in the agricultural sector, as well as the multifunctional role has always been a distinctive character of agriculture, but only in recent days we are observing a formalisation and institutionalisation of the role of women and of the concept of multifunctionality. In the EU-15 rural women's involvement in labour market employment has been facilitated by the evolvement of the political paradigm on multifunctional agriculture, and by the introduction of the rural development measures. What could be affirmed concerning rural women from the Central-Eastern European and Balkan (CEEB) countries? The aim of our paper is to offer a general but complex picture of the importance of rural non-farm activities in the CEEB countries following the system change of the early 1990s, and to describe to which extent rural women are involved in these activities. Concerning the complexity of the argument, we intend to limit the study on the case of Hungary, recent EU Member State, and the case of Macedonia and Albania, potential EU members, still facing major structural and economic difficulties. In particular, the paper will focus on a comparative regional analysis of the Western Transdanubia Region of Hungary and of the Prespa region extended between Macedonia and Albania. On one hand, we would like to trace, how the recent institutionalisation of the multifunctional role of agriculture and thus the opportunity to derive income from multiple sources in the rural areas have influenced the position of rural women in Hungary. On the other, we would like to present the difficulties that rural women from the Prespa region are facing in managing the non-agricultural activities in a less favourable context characterized by a limited political discourse on rural development traditional, and by customary norms and values.

# **Pluriactive women in the Eastern European and Balkan countryside**

## **Introduction**

In the context of the increased complexity of farm activities gender issues regarding women's role, division of labour and power relations, have become of major research interest especially starting from the beginning of the 1990s. The main theories around which research interest has been concentrated have been the theory of gender role, division of labour, gender relations, and gender identities (Whatmore 1994). A further step can be identified in the ordering these theories into discourses on family farm, masculinity, and detraditionalisation and diversity (Brandth 2002). Research from various countries has analysed the position of farm women (Geluk-Geluk 1994), women's contribution to agriculture and rural development (O'Hara 1994). It amongst others has been confirmed that the role of women in the diversification of farm activities, thus in the creation of alternative income sources different from agriculture, has been significant (Bock 1994; Bock 2004; Gasson and Winter 1992; Brandth 2002; Evans and Ilbery 1993; MacKinnon et. al. 1991; Haugen and Blekesaune 2005). Based on several case study research at international level, categories of farm women have been set up. The classification developed by O'Hara (1994) includes working farm wives, women farmers, farm homemakers and farm women in paid work. Haugen and Blekesaune (1996) distinguish the following four types of women depending on women's main work activity: women working on the farm, women working off the farm, pluriactive women and housewives. It has to be noticed here that while Haugen and Blekesaune defines pluriactivity as a combination of on-farm and off-farm work, our interpretation of pluriactive women is closer to the category defined by O'Hara as "women in paid work": women who are "generally involved in paid employment off the farm but a minority are engaged in para-agricultural work..." (O'Hara 1994). Diversification of agricultural activities and the role of women have been therefore objects of intensive research for several years, however these studies have mainly concentrated on the Western European reality. On the other hand, however, we believe, that especially as far as the role of women in non-agricultural farm activities and gender identities are regarded, there has been little done yet as for the countries of Central Eastern Europe<sup>86</sup>, and even less when it comes to the Western Balkan Countries.

## **Research area and methodology**

With the present paper we made an attempt to analyse the situation of farm income diversification in two different but for some aspects very similar regions of Eastern Europe and the Balkan. The main distinguishing character of the present work can be identified in trying to explore the ground for a further comparative research between two extreme cases: between a former transition and two transition countries, with the aim to deduct some preliminary conclusions on the drives and constraints of rural women in the diversification of the on-farm economic activities and the change this process brings in their identities. In this sense this exploratory work will focus on two cases to present the role of women in agriculture and in non-farm activities in two regions located in three countries of Central and South - Eastern Europe. The argument becomes interesting considering that it comprises the transition period, where different transformation policies concerning the economic, political and social life were applied and consequently influenced a great deal the living condition of

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<sup>86</sup> See Asztalos Morell Ildiko's works on gender inequalities during state socialism in Hungary (1997); gender system and forms of production in agriculture (1999); gender segregation of labour in household-based production (1999). Still on Hungary the work of Répássy H. and Vágvölgyi A. (1981).

the local population. In this context, the analysis will take into consideration, on the one side, the status and living conditions of women in the rural areas of Hungary, Albania and Macedonia during the transition period, specifying the main changes that occurred in their lives as family members and as individuals in the society. On the other side, besides women's involvement in the farming activities, it will be examined also their role in the generation of alternative source of income. This article takes as starting point on the one hand, the international scientific discourse on the theories of gender identity (Whatmore 1994; O'Hara 1994; Brandth 2002; Oldrup 1999; Silvasti 1999) position of farm women (Geluk-Geluk, 1994; Ventura 1994; Brandth 2002), and gender division of labour (Whatmore 1994; O'Hara 1994;). On the other hand, the scientific discourse on the theories of diversification of farm livelihoods, agricultural diversification, multifunctional agriculture and the role of women in it (Bock, 1994; Bock 2004; Gasson and Winter 1992; Evans and Ilbery 1993; MacKinnon et al. 1991; Haugen and Blekesaune 2005; Van der Ploeg and Renting, 2004).

Taking into account the different realities and political processes<sup>87</sup> that characterise the three countries studied, the present research is thus had the aim, on the one hand, to find answer to the question of how the recent institutionalisation of the multifunctional role of agriculture and thus the opportunity to derive income from multiple sources in the rural areas have influenced the position of rural women in Hungary. On the other hand, we wished to present the difficulties that rural women from the Prespa region are facing in managing the non-agricultural activities in a less favourable context characterized by a limited political discourse on rural development, and by customary norms and values. In order to find the answers to these questions we will present the situation of rural women in Hungary, Albania and Macedonia, taking into account their role in the agricultural production as well as in the non productive activities. We will concentrate on tourism as one of the possible para-agricultural farm activities performed to increase the farm family's wealth. In the case of Hungary, women's main role in the management of rural tourism in the region will be analysed, taking into account also the existing tradition of rural tourism from a historical perspective. In the case of Albania and Macedonia, the main transformation policies in the agricultural sector will be examined under gender lens, in order to expose the emergence of the new non-farming activities - conducted mainly by women - which do not have any previous history in none of the two countries.

The research method carried out for the purposes of the present work followed qualitative approach. As far as it was possible secondary statistical data has been utilised and analysed, however, detailed statistical data on farm or rural women is yet hardly available in Hungary and practically totally lacking in Albania and Macedonia. In order to compensate the lack of data, field research techniques were also utilised. Questionnaires with open-ended questions were prepared and personal and virtual interviews have been made with focus group women. A broad literature review has been made on arguments dealing with the general overview of the rural non-farm activities in the Eastern European and the Balkan Countryside, furthermore on the parts regarding the agricultural structure of the three studied countries. The present work is part of two larger researches, one focusing on the multifunctional role of

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<sup>87</sup> Transdanubia is the second most developed region in Hungary, state that recently became member of the European Union. As a consequence, Hungary, on the one side, has had to meet the economic and political conditions imposed by the European Community, and on the other side, could benefit from the European funds for rural development, starting from 1999, when the Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development (SAPARD) was introduced. The Prespa region is, instead, a transboundary area dislocated in the western Balkans between Albania and Macedonia, that was isolated for more than 40 years because of the inviolability of the borders, and still today bears different problems concerning its development. Both countries have only recently made some progress toward the EU integration process and could not benefit up to present from the European pre-accession funds (ISPA and SAPARD) for rural development.

agriculture and its socio-economic effects on the Hungarian countryside and the other dealing with the gender relations and equal opportunity policy in the urban and rural areas of Macedonia.

The study is structured as follows. The first section provides with a short general overview of the situation of the rural non-farm activities in the Eastern European and the Balkan Countryside. The second section is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the case of Hungary. It describes the main features of the rural areas of the country giving thus a rationale for the need of diversification. Afterwards, it presents the link between the evolution of the Hungarian rural development policy and the situation of rural pluriactivity, with a particular attention on tourism. Finally, it presents a case study on the role of women in diversification with special regards on women's motivations and the change of their identities. The second part of this second section concentrates on the case of the Prespa Region, with a regard on the current rural situation of the area and on the role of women in the rural non-farm economic activities of the region. The article ends with some specific considerations drawn by the two case studies and with recommendation for more research on the argument.

### **A short overview of the rural non-farm activities in the Eastern European and the Balkan countryside**

In most CEE and Balkan countries a sizeable part of the population still lives in rural areas. Agriculture has long been the mainstay of the economy in rural areas, but today the agricultural sector is failing to provide almost in all CEE and Balkan countries a decent source of livelihood for its workforce (Davis, Pearce 2001). Although rural development policies and interventions have long tended to focus on the agricultural sector, the rural population of the studied countries has been deriving its income from multiple sources. Income from non-farm activities is used to increase or smooth family income, reduces risk (through diversification), improves future employment prospects (by acquiring skills or capital) or, as in some of the Balkans countries, is livelihood oriented where the agricultural sector is failing to provide sufficient income sources (Davis, Pearce 2001). The non productive farm activities, as diversified income sources, play a key role for the rural households in a context of a declining formal sector and a lack of a state policy in social security support.

According to the FAO study "Overview of the socio-economic position of rural women in selected Central and Eastern European countries" in all CEE and Balkan countries about half of the rural population are women (FAO 1996). The proportion of women in the population that is economically active in agriculture is largest in Poland (51.6 percent), Bulgaria (52 percent) and Slovenia (50.4 percent). In Hungary the percentage of women active in agriculture is currently around 25, % (2000 Census), while in Macedonia is around 34% (2002 Census). The role of women in agriculture is constantly changing in many of the CEE countries due to the privatization and the restoration of property rights following the regime change. As a result, there are increasing numbers of private farms and farmers, while at the same time; the number of agricultural labourers is decreasing. Household plots are typical of all these countries and the role of women in the work on the household plot is decisive. Life on the farm is strongly dependent on the size, economic situation and level of mechanization of the farm, but also on the size of the family, traditional divisions of labour, the level of education of the farming couple and the possibilities the farming couple has both on the farm and outside of it (FAO 1996). Davis and Pearce analysing the division of work between men and women state that in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary it is possible for either the wife or the husband to work outside the farm, or for both to work on the farm (FAO 1996). Typical men on farm activities are usually mechanical fieldwork and forest work.

Typical women's activities are infant care, household work and work in the garden. Tending livestock can be done either by men or by women, depending, for instance, on the size of the farm and opportunities for paid employment outside the farm. (Davis, Pearce 2001).

The transformation policies that were implemented in the political, economic and social field in the CEE and Balkan countries during transition affected the traditional labour divisions, and in particular way rural women's life and opportunities. In fact, due to system change most of the women from the rural areas (but also from the urban areas) had to overcome numerous difficulties, either because of the loss of the economic stability in the form of a secure monthly income – due to in first place the dismantlement of the large agricultural state enterprises and cooperatives –, either because of the cessation of several social services (kindergartens, health and maternity care, pensions) guaranteed during the previous system (Davis, Pearce 2001). With the land privatisation, most of the families obtained small size farms that could seldom guarantee extra profits (Davis, Pearce 2001). In this context, almost in all CEE and Balkan countries, women have been carrying out all the unpaid labour related to work inside the household, the care for the children and for the elderly members of the family. Finally, what influences women's individual opportunities is also the burden of the customary roles and traditional values that are shaping their rights and duties within the family and the society. The largely accepted figure of the male as the main breadwinner and decision maker in the family reflects negatively on their self-esteem and self reliance.

### **Hungary's current rural situation and the role of women in the rural non-farm economic activities**

#### **Feature of the rural areas – rational for diversifications of on - farm economic activities**

According to the typology used in the European Union 96 % of the territory of Hungary is classified as rural areas<sup>88</sup> accommodating 74,5 % of the population. The ratio of predominantly rural areas is 58.3%, with a proportion of 31.3% in the total population, which is 3.2 times higher than the EU average (9.7 %). 35.9 % of the total population live in village communities, and 54.3 % of the villages have a population under 1000 persons, where one fifth of the total population live.<sup>89</sup>

Since the beginning of the 1990s the Hungarian rural areas have been facing several significant the challenges, including the scarce level of services that assist farmers and the rural population in general, services, which should improve for example the efficiency of farming and the quality of life of rural population. Public utilities, infrastructure and services are usually worse than in the bigger settlements and the transportation and access systems are to be improved. As one of the consequences, on the one hand the chances of economic development are limited for villages, on the other, mobility of village population's is restricted. Demographic conditions of rural areas have reached an alarming level. Natural population growth is considerably decreasing in general in the rural areas; the age composition of the population is unfavourable, and there is considerable migration from small settlements.

#### **Economic activity and employment structure – Agri-employment**

Hungarian rural areas have seen a gradual loss of importance of agriculture since the beginning of the 1990s. The employment rate in agriculture dropped significantly, from 17,5

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<sup>88</sup> Significantly and predominantly rural areas together.

<sup>89</sup> National Rural Development Plan for the EAGGF Guarantee Section Measures, Republic of Hungary, Budapest, July 2004.



% in 1990 (955 thousand people) to 6,2 % in 2002 (240,9 thousand people).<sup>90</sup> At the same time, the labour absorption of other sectors, like industry and services has proved to be rather modest. As a consequence, the unemployment ratio is significantly high in the villages and it can be generally said, that the smaller the size of the settlement, the higher the unemployment ratio is and the worse the living conditions are. The groups with a low standard of education or of older age are the ones in the most critical employment position. Especially women with low standard of education or of middle and older age or single with children have the most limited chances of employment. According to the General Agricultural Census of 2000, 20,3 % of the total population, that is, 23,7 % of the working age population is engaged in some agricultural activity (as a hobby, complementary, subsistence or main employment character).<sup>91</sup> That clearly demonstrates that agriculture outgrows its economic framework, and that the share of the total population, which lives in rural areas is much higher than the share of the total population engaged in agriculture. It explains the need for development strategies besides those aiming at the development of modernisation of agricultural, which regards rural areas and rural economies as a whole. At the same time though, it has to be recognised that agriculture has a considerable role in preserving the rural values and developing the rural areas, in shaping the rural community, in the subsistence of the non-agricultural rural population and in reducing social problems and regional disparities. Therefore the multifunctional role of agriculture is to be understood in all level of the planning and by all stakeholders so as to develop adequate strategies to exploit these roles, and to realise them even with EU assistance.

#### The role of agriculture – farming structure

In 2002 agriculture contributed 3,7 % to the gross added value, while the same ratio amounted to 14,5 % in 1990. Its share of the gross domestic product (GDP) decreased from 12,5 % to 3,3 % between 1990 and 2002. The system change had an impact on the land property relations as well. While in 1990 35 % of the agricultural land was privately owned, 34 % was owned by the state, and 31 % by the cooperatives, by 2003 the private ownership has become determinant with its share of 83 %. Today approximately half of the 8 million hectares of agricultural land is in the property of the 6 891 agricultural enterprises, and the other half is owned by the 708 333 private holdings (AKII, 2005). The unfavourable farm typology, the very fragmented farming structure often results in the disappearance of the small and therefore unviable farms. Between 2000 and 2003 the number of private holdings has fallen from 924 788 to 708 333, while the number of economic organisations (agricultural enterprises) has increased from 5391 to 6891 (AKII, 2005). Out of the 708 333 households 654 278 farm 1 or less than 1 ha of land<sup>92</sup>. Besides the full-time farmers and employees this high ratio includes a considerable share of part-time or semi-self-subsistence farmers, who are lacking the sufficient capacity to produce for commercial purposes. Moreover, these small farm units are generally characterised by the lack of technology and a very low level, if any, of mechanisation.

#### **Rural development policy and rural pluriactivity in Hungary**

In the 1970-1980s almost every Hungarians lived only to a very small extent on their wages or salaries: they lived, largely, from other activities, from the ones associated with the secondary, parallel or hidden economy, Varis adds, “or put more simply: the market economy” (Varis 1998). As far as the rural pluriactivity is regarded, rural population was not

<sup>90</sup> National Rural Development Plan for the EAGGF Guarantee Section Measures. Republic of Hungary, July 2004, Budapest.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Central Statistical Office, Budapest, 2000.

an exception from the above mentioned phenomena as one third of the rural households produced also for the markets (Varis 1998). Another example for the income source out of the second economy is the example of the private accommodations (as forerunners of the today rural tourism farms), which first were considered as the substitution of the lacking socialist hotel capacity (Kovács Dezső 1998), and therefore was boosted by the state, but afterwards, it has transformed into a private economic activity.<sup>93</sup> Following the political and societal changes of the 1990s, the agricultural production, the rural economy and society have found themselves facing a completely new situation, the structure of the household economy changed. Due to the transformation of the property rights, the organisational forms, and the market relationships, each member of the rural areas, including both enterprises and households, was constrained to elaborate new income earning and subsistence strategies<sup>94</sup>. In this situation, the study of the possibilities for the diversification of the agricultural activities and the rural economy as a whole, moreover, the revitalisation and the re-introduction of traditional rural economic activities, have gained particular importance. In order to answer to these new challenges it has become inevitable to elaborate and implement regional and rural development strategies, to introduce an effective rural development institutional system and establish the conditions for the newly become family farmers and agricultural entrepreneurs to acquire the knowledge and have access to the information base necessary to be able to take advantage out of the new situation.

### **Rural development policy of Hungary**

A coherent rural development policy has been prepared and gradually introduced in Hungary as part of the procedure of compliance with the conditions set by the European Union on accession.<sup>95</sup> In 1999 the Unit for Rural Development Programmes of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) was formally commissioned to organise the preparation of the Hungarian SAPARD Plan, which was accredited in 2000. Between 2000 and 2004 it was in part the SAPARD Plan through which Hungarian rural development projects were implemented. Although, at the end only 31 % of the SAPARD funds were allocated to real rural development measures<sup>96</sup> – as a result of the struggle between “agricultural developers and “rural developers”-, directly and indirectly SAPARD was a major vehicle of the introduction, approval and legitimation of rural development policy”

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<sup>93</sup> House owners or those with second homes often tried to rent out their houses without the assistance (and control) of the state travel agency, IBUSZ.

Seven NUTS2 level planning-statistical regions were set up, namely Central Hungary, Western Transdanubia, Southern Transdanubia, Central Transdanubia, Northern Hungary, Northern Great Plain and Southern Great Plain.

<sup>94</sup> Varis calls these strategies “Transitional Survival Strategies”.

<sup>95</sup> Regional development policies gained a separated institutional system in 1990 when the Ministry of Environment and Regional Development was set up. The legal background of the Regional (and rural) Development in Hungary is the Act XXI of 1996 on Regional Development and Physical Regional Planning. The legislation created a multi-level (national, regional, county and micro-region) decentralised institutional system for regional development and initiated the creation of the NUTS2 regions. Seven NUTS2 level planning-statistical regions were set up, namely Central Hungary, Western Transdanubia, Southern Transdanubia, Central Transdanubia, Northern Hungary, Northern Great Plain and Southern Great Plain.

Following the 1998 elections resources and responsibilities for agriculture and rural development were moved into the new Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD).

<sup>96</sup> While measures to increase market effectiveness (investments in agricultural holdings, improvement of the processing and marketing of agricultural and fishery products) received 68.2 % of the total funds, the three sub-measures of the measure to “enhance the development and adaptation of rural areas” received all together 31.7 % out of which, the sub-measure “development and diversification of economic activities, providing for multiple activities and alternative income” received only 0.7 % (unlike the planned 15.46 %) (Kovács, Magócs, Bihari 2005).

(Kovács, Magócs, Bihari 2005). Today the Hungarian rural development policy is framed by the National Rural Development Plan (NRDP) in coordination with the Agricultural and Rural Development Operational Programme (ARDOP) of Hungary, one of the five operational programmes of the National Development Plan (NDP). About the results of the rural development programmes between 1998-2002 one important aspect connected to the Hungarian rural development policy has to be underlined: although, the elaboration and implementation of the pre-accession instruments and then of the national development plans have seen different and not negligible difficulties and delays, the fortune among the endless problems was that the starting of the elaboration of these plans coincided with the elaboration and introduction of the second-pillar of the CAP and the glowing of the debate and academic discourses on the multifunctionality of agriculture.<sup>97</sup> The elaboration of the National Rural Development Strategy was therefore helped by the CAP reform in the sense that the new regulation on rural development (Council Regulation (EC) No 1257/1999) showed the direction towards which the Hungarian rural development policy had to head, furthermore the succeeding CAP reform in 2003 has provided even a special rural development regime<sup>98</sup> through which Hungary could formulate its NRDP in line of the current policy requirements regarding agriculture and the development of rural areas.

### **Pluriactivity in the Hungarian countryside**

The pluriactive character of the Hungarian rural population is thus not a new phenomena. However, it has become more articulated following the system change when rural population was constrained more than ever to diversify their economic activities, and it has taken its official form with the introduction first of the SAPARD measures and afterwards of the measures of the ARDOP. In 1999, as part of the process of the preparation for the SAPARD programme, the Rural Development Unit of the MARD initiated the introduction of a programming at the level of micro-regions (small settlements), of which result, with government assistance, already well elaborated, tender-ready projects could born.<sup>99</sup> By the end of 2001 some 80 % (154) of the programmes were ready containing 6200 groups of measures. 40 % of the group of measures was aimed at the development of agricultural structures and 60 % at the development of alternative sources of income, development of rural infrastructure, village renovation, safeguarding of rural traditions, and development of human resources (VATI 2002). Regarding the alternative sources of income, the development of rural tourism occupied the first place. 65-70 % of the rural tourism measures aimed at the development of the infrastructure connected to rural tourism, and 30 % aimed at the development of other aspects of rural tourism. As far as the number of the projects is regarded, the two leading project types were those aiming at the development of rural infrastructure and tourism (VATI 2004).

### **Rural tourism**

Rural tourism as one form of the diversification of rural economic activities has in fact a long history in Hungary. Similarly to other European countries the historical roots of rural tourism

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<sup>97</sup> See different works from Brunori G., Eboli M.G., Guyomard, H. , Henke R., Hervieu, B., Huylenbroeck G., Knickel, K., Lankoski J., Mahé L.P., Ploeg, van der, J.D., Renting H., Roep D., Velazquez B.E., FAO and OECD.

<sup>98</sup> This regime is mainly based on the Temporary Rural Development Instrument (TRDI).

<sup>99</sup> The domestic rural development support scheme (VFC) was established and introduced in 2000. It served the provisional use of the national part of the SAPARD means and at the same time provided support for projects formulated within micro-regional operational programmes or by local needs. Consequently, the eligible activities were grouped by those of SAPARD rural development measures (village renewal, diversification, rural infrastructure) (Jávör 2002).

in Hungary can be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The development of rural tourism in Hungary is best described and analysed by Kovács D. (Kovács D. 1993, 1995, 1998, 2003a, 2003b). Kovács gives a very deep overview of the different steps and historical facts, which have influenced the evolution of the village/rural tourism activity in Hungary. In contemporary Hungary rural tourism is defined as recreational activities organised at rural households, in attractive rural environment, tourism that preserves its familiar character.<sup>100</sup> In most of the cases the host is a farmer, or at least has strong connection to agricultural activities. Rural hospitality is performed most of the time as an additional income generating activity, and most of the times do not exceed the form of family enterprise (Kovács D. 2003). The revival and rediscovering of rural tourism in Hungary at the beginning of the 1990s had direct relationship with the radical changes taken place in the rural and agricultural world as the crises of the villages and other rural settlements coincided with the changes in their socio-economic structure and property relationships. This process was accompanied by the redefinition of the role of the countryside and that of agriculture, the appearance of the role of agriculture in the maintenance and protection of natural environment, and in the safeguard of rural cultural heritage (Kovács D. 2003). Hungary's EU accession aspirations, the increasing importance of the environmental protection (sustainability) paradigm, furthermore the introduction of new paradigms related to agriculture, such as multifunctionality, on the one hand, has put in a new perspective the possibilities of the rural world, on the other, has called for new political concepts, goals, and solutions. The renaissance of rural tourism can be intercepted as the innovative ambitions of the rural families in response to the challenges of the societal transition followed the regime change. At the beginning, this -spontaneous- process was not assisted by any rural development policy or development strategy. All that happened in the 1990s was the innovative undertaking of the rural households, mainly rural women, and the initiatives of the local, regional and national civil organisations as an answer to the changed circumstances. Today these once spontaneously organised individual or local initiatives are assisted by marketing experts, civil organisations and the national Tourinform network. In 1994 the Hungarian Federation of Rural and Agrotourism was established, with the aim of representing the economic and legal interests of the rural entrepreneurs, and to secure the sustainability of the rural tourism activity.

### **The role of women in the rural non – farm activities – the case of rural tourism**

During the socialist years in the rural areas of Hungary the majority of women worked in fields of lower income-level. Although, during socialism women experienced a nearly full employment, the difficult working conditions in agriculture, mostly following the start of the mechanisation, never permitted women to acquire a decisive role in the agricultural sector. Women, however, have always been present in the agricultural work as the spouse of the main worker, the man, and thus performed all those household agricultural activities, which were neither recognised, nor remunerated.

Kovácsné dr. Orolin Zsuzsa writes in her book “The situation of rural women”, that during state socialism women (70 % of women working in agriculture) were mainly employed in hard hand works of plant cultivation, which were not or could not be mechanised. Women employment were not total due to for example the fact that between plant cultivation and animal breeding only the latter could ensure work possibility all year long for its workers, who were usually men. Plant cultivation ensured full employment in one part of the year but

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<sup>100</sup> The delineation of the definition was preceded by a long and intense discussion, see works from Kenéz; Kovács D., Kovács K., Szabó G., Csizmadia L., Kulcsár L., Lakner Z., Papp N., Tröcsányi A., Csordás L., Böhm A., and others.

in the major part of the year it offered few or any work possibility. By the 1970s the period of plant cultivation works has reduced to 3-4 months, which meant that in the rest of the year women had no paid employment at all. It was how the need for diversification of agricultural activities came along in the 1960s-1970s. In order to find a solution for women's low employment, different initiatives were implemented aimed to ensure a balanced female employment during the whole year. It was made possible by a new regulation on the cooperatives, which allowed that besides agricultural production women could be involved in processing of agro-food products, in providing services, selling, and other "alternative activities" (Kovácsné Dr. Orolin Zsuzsa, 1970). Kovácsné dr. Orolin Zsuzsa divides into three main groups those activities that could offer women proper work possibilities even in the winter months: cottage industry/activities, processing of fruit or vegetables, services like painting, cleaning, and dusting. Following the system change the decline in industrial activities and in labour-intensive sectors, as well as the mass closure of administrative positions has led to the further reduction in women's already modest employment proportion. As far as the national unemployment rate is regarded, in January 1991 it was 2.1% but by February 1993 it had increased to 13.6 % (FAO 1997). The situation was rather difficult for those employed previously in agriculture because they had little training and therefore their chances to be employed in other sectors were quite low. Rural women have lost work especially in agricultural cooperatives, state farms, local industries and local government institutes such as kindergartens, schools and services. Unemployment in Hungary during the years of transition was basically a rural problem; 60 percent of all the unemployed people lived in rural areas (FAO 1997). The employment of women follows a decreasing tendency within agriculture as a whole (143 400 persons in 1992, 65 900 persons in 1999 and 61 400 persons in 2000). The agriculture, fishery, game hunting and forestry sectors employed altogether 60 100 women in 2001. The proportion of women is approx. 25,0 % among the total number of people employed in agriculture.<sup>101</sup> The wage level of women working in agriculture is lower than that of men, of women in other sectors in rural areas, and of urban women. Rural entrepreneurship has been slowly increasing: since 1990 many unemployed women, particularly the younger ones, have started small business in the villages.

On family farms the division of labour is still gender-segregated; almost all work is either mainly men's work (such as fieldwork, farm management, tending horses and sheep, decision-making in farming and marketing the products) or women's work (such as milking cows, tending the cattle, pigs and poultry, processing agricultural products, household work and decision-making in the household, infant and child care and work in the garden). Women suffer disadvantage also as far as their educational level is regarded, as it is shown in the table below.

**Table 1. Some data on the private farmers by gender, 2003**

	<b>Men (%)</b>	<b>Women (%)</b>
	<b>Distribution by agricultural education</b>	
<b>No education</b>	7.7	10.8
<b>Primary</b>	5.8	1.6
<b>Secondary</b>	6.7	1.9
<b>Tertiary</b>	2.6	0.7

<sup>101</sup> General Agricultural Census, Budapest, Hungary, 2000.

	<b>Distribution by the ratio of involvement in non-agricultural activities</b>	
<b>Not involved at all</b>	57.7	75.0
<b>Involved, as his/her main economic activity</b>	39.8	22.9
<b>Involved, but not as his/her main economic activity</b>	1.5	1.3
<b>Mixed</b>	1.1	0.9

Source: "Hungary's agriculture, 2003". Central Statistical Office, 2004.

In these circumstances characterised by severe economic and social problems of the countryside, agriculture, however, will continue to remain an important sector of the Hungarian national economy and an important sector of employment due to the high ratio of rural areas and the natural endowments favourable for agricultural production. According to an AKII study of 2001, 56.6 % of the people working at the private holdings do not have any other income source but agriculture, their subsistence is therefore highly depend on agriculture. 58.3 % of the private holdings produce only for self-consumption, percentage influenced mainly by the small farm size and by the ageing rural population (Hamza, Miskò, Székely 2001). The multifunctional character of agriculture has to be strengthened though. In small settlements where there is virtually no other economic activity apart from agriculture, the agriculture-related activities have a fundamental effect on the one hand on the sector's population conserving capability, on the other hand, on the preservation of the environment and the conservation of the cultural heritage and traditions, furthermore, they represent significant alternative income sources for families, which otherwise would be constrained to abandon the agricultural activity and move to the city. As the following table shows, today only a small number of the private households are involved in non-agricultural activities, among which rural tourism still represents a scarcely practiced activity.

**Table 2. The ratio of farms involved also in non-agricultural activities (%)**

<b>Typology of activity</b>	<b>Farms performing extra-agricultural activities too</b>			
	<b>Private holdings</b>		<b>Agricultural enterprises</b>	
	<b>2000</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2003</b>
Meat processing	0.41	0.40	1.15	0.76
Milk processing	0.13	0.62	0.39	0.38
Fruit- and vegetable processing	0.21	0.50	1.32	0.78
Vine bottling	0.04	0.03	1.01	1.27
Fodder making	0.06	0.01	7.02	1.92
Hospitality (rural tourism)	0.13	0.06	3.15	1.93
Transportation, delivery	0.49	4.53	11.52	5.77

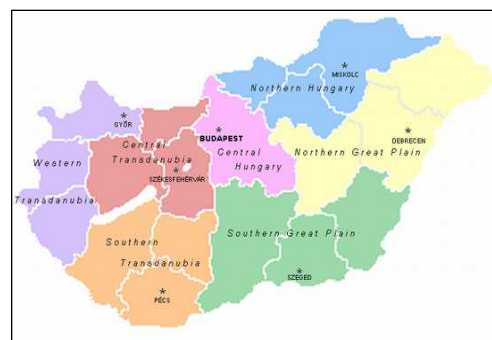
Source: "Hungary's agriculture 2003", Central Statistical Office (KSH), Budapest, 2003

Regarding that rural tourism - as one of the possibilities to generate alternative income source-, where already implemented has had a significant positive effect both on the single household and its broad socio-economic environment, and as this form of activity still has unexploited assets, in the followings the article will concentrate on the experiences of rural

tourism and the role of women in the realisation of this activity, taking as an example the Transdanubian Region of Hungary.

### Rural tourism in the Transdanubia Region and the role of women

This part of the paper is drawn from an experimental-exploratory study of women who have started farm-based tourism. Virtual interviews<sup>102</sup> have been made with 9 women, operators of rural tourism farms in the Transdanubia region of Hungary. Farms operating in the rural tourism sector were identified and randomly selected from the annual catalogue of the Hungarian Federation of Agritourism and Rural tourism.



The Transdanubia Region, which includes three NUTS2 regions (Western Transdanubia, Central Transdanubia and Southern Transdanubia; Map 1. Source: National Office for Regional Development) borders with Austria, Slovakia, Slovenia and Croatia. The Western Transdanubia Region is regarded as the most developed one after Central Hungary - with the capital Budapest -, it is mainly because of the successful economic performance of the Vas and Győr-Moson-Sopron Counties. As far as agricultural activities are regarded, in accordance with the generally decreasing share of agriculture, its importance gradually decreases in this region as well. In the Region, corresponding to the Hungarian pattern, most of the agricultural households produce for self-consumption and just a very low percentage of them manage to sell their surplus, even less the number of those who produce with exact commercial purposes.

**Table 3. Distribution of agricultural households by farming purposes, 2003 (%)**

Region	Production exclusively for self-consumption	Commercialisation of agricultural surplus	Production for commercial purposes
Central Transdanubia	74,26	19,86	5,84
Western Transdanubia	69,87	22,12	7,95
Southern Transdanubia	68,59	23,71	7,68

Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2004

The whole area is characterised by the structure of small villages and ageing and falling population, and high unemployment rates, the only exceptions are the immediate vicinities to urban centres. The Transdanubian area, particularly its Vas, Zala and Somogy counties, is where rural tourism has been developed at the greatest extent in Hungary. This is explained first of all by their geographical situation, thus that they are in the vicinity of Lake Balaton, where rural tourism appeared for the very first time in Hungary. Furthermore, the regions' environmental characteristics, the unique local traditions and cultural heritage, often products of the harmonious interweave of different nationalities,<sup>103</sup> have also contributed to the development of this kind of rural activity.

<sup>102</sup> Questionnaires sent out by e-mail.

<sup>103</sup> Besides Hungarians, significant Croatian, Slovene, and German minorities live in the area.

## **Rural tourism and the role of women**

The 9 farms for the virtual interviews were selected from the annual catalogue of the Hungarian Federation of Agritourism and Rural tourism. The number of the virtually interviewed women has been determined by the fact that the catalogue includes only those farms, which are member of the Federation, and which have given their consensus for appearing in the catalogue. The aim of the survey was to try to find answers to the following questions: what were the main motives of the rural housewives to start hospitality activities, how the rural tourism activity changed their lifekind, their quality of life and their equal opportunity rights.

The major part of the interviewed women has always lived in the countryside, but it is not rare that moving from a big city to a small village, mostly young couples, started rural tourism activity. Some of them have lived in a big city before moving to a small village mainly because of the tiredness of the lifekind conducted in the city. Four out of the 9 interviewed women are in their 30s and the others are in their 50s. Nearly half of them have been dealing with rural tourism for some years 2-5 and the other half of them for around 15 years.

### Agricultural aspects

Two thirds of the households are fully subsistence farms, performing thus agricultural activity (vegetable- and fruit growing, herb-, maize growing, poultry- and swine keeping) exclusively for self-consumption. However, this dimension of the agricultural activity, usually in the form of a kitchen garden, provides the basic food material used in the tourism activity. Another aspect of the farms' agricultural activity connected to tourism is for example the small cattle, which is very attractive for tourists. It is thus still the case as Kovács stated in 1998 (Kovács D. 1998), "rural tourism hosts are not farmers or farm women, neither employed in agriculture but rather village inhabitants having a household with garden or vineyard".

### Activities performed

It is very often that rural tourism farms own a vineyard and a cellar where mainly the male members of the family work. A connected activity to wine but performed by women is the wine tasting activity where women are hosting the guests. All in all, as the share between the work in agriculture and hospitality, women spend around 70 %/60 % of their time with activities closely related to rural tourism, including the organisation of facultative programmes, cleaning, laundry, ironing, cooking, drafting of brochure, updating of the internet site of the farm, e-mailing, coordination of advertising, and management of bills, and 30 %/40 % with some agricultural activities and animal breeding. Cleaning usually takes 4 hours a week, while laundry is usually considered as the less time consuming activity, which easily can be done by the housewife herself. The most often mentioned facultative programmes are wine tasting, embroidery, basket-work, crocheting, preparation of typical sweets, baking of bread, lace making animal caress, renting bikes, handicraft plays with children. The inquired women underline furthermore the importance of the chatting with the guests, something that is very much appreciated and contributes to the experience of the visitor in significant manner. Women are often helped by their husband usually in activities like gardening, machinery maintenance, and repair. It is not rare that other members of the family, like children and grandmothers, are also involved in the activities related to rural hospitality, and they are engaged mainly in cleaning, catering and the cultivation of the small kitchen garden. The involvement and thus somehow the employment in this way of the elderly people who for various reasons are unemployed, is a very significant aspect of rural tourism. (Often elderly people who are however still in working age but due to some illness



cannot find job in their village neither in the vicinity.) Some women reported that it is their mother who is making or has made courses to learn additional professions, like basket-work and crocheting, which afterwards can be utilised in the framework of the rural tourism activity. When family members are not available, other women help out women from the same village, offering this way employment possibility to the local population.

Most of the interviewed women have small children. They do not consider this as a disadvantage, on the contrary. They say that their children are together with them at the welcoming of the guests, who are often also couples with small children. And when children sleep they can do other kind of activities. They consider rural tourism as a perfect solution for women with small children, because in this way they can work even during their mother leave, and they do not have to worry about not finding a job after mother leave period ends. Besides the rural tourism activity, women time and again also have a part-time work in the closest town.

### The idea

The idea to start rural tourism activity in 6 of the 9 cases derives from the women. It is of course common that their husband helps women at least at the beginnings, both in organisation terms and in moral support. The idea often born out of personal experiences, when the women or the women together with her husband saw examples for the same activity abroad.

### Equality issues

To the question “do you think that rural tourism as an alternative income source helps rural women to feel more equal to their male counterparts” the answer was given from a different perspective but equality. Women in their answer had given importance to the fact that rural tourism is very important for women but not to feel more equal with men, but because this activity gives women employment possibility and therefore the opportunity to cope with everyday difficulties even if they remain alone: situation explained by the fact that in the rural areas there is a high number of single women due to divorce, death of their partner - due to their old age or simply illness (in rural areas transition period was characterised by a high male mortality rate caused by alcoholism). Also women with small children appreciate very much the opportunities rural tourism offers them, since they could not be employed elsewhere during their mother leave. This work gives them the possibility to integrate the family income and at the same time be together with their children and to create a quite and comfortable family atmosphere. They also underline the positive effect of this activity in the sense that it helps them to avoid unpleasant situations like being constantly refused by employers because of having small children. They give a high value to the fact of not having to face these non self-esteem increasing situations.

### Possibilities, motivations

At the first place among the reasons to start rural tourism activity, we can find the need to find an alternative income source. It is common that women are constrained to look for some alternative income sources due to the unfavourable situation of the labour market, especially regarding women with small children. The starting of the rural tourism activity most of the times is connected to the changes occurred in the way of living and composition of the families. The previous way of life has changed for different reasons: children get married and move out; grandparents, parents pass away; the active members of the family gets unemployed, retire, or their health conditions deteriorate and therefore they can take on only smaller work loads. Change in the way of life is usually accompanied by the liberation of significant part of the house or flat, and by the change in the disposition of time and

occupational activities. The quantity of free time increases, tasks decrease, but at the same time the burden of subsistence and that of the maintenance of the house remains invariable. Therefore, remaining alone in a two-storey house for a woman signifies an important decision situation, when she has to choose between the selling of the house and moving into a small flat, or convert the house into rural hospitality place, and this way continue the same way and style of living being also able to maintain the house.

Another interview question regarded the fact whether these women saw any other employment possibility different from the start up with rural tourism in their narrow livelihood. From this aspect the 9 women can be divided into two groups, one group is constituted of those who are performing only rural tourism activities and thus do not have any other income source. Nevertheless they are conscious of the fact that there are very few work possibilities in their area, they are positive and say that they are confident that in case they would look for job, it would not be difficult to find one for various reasons, for example because they speak at least one foreign language, which they consider a significant advantage, or because they have been attending different professional trainings, or enrolled in universities and obtaining their first or second degree. Others would see employment possibilities for themselves in the local wine route association or for example in the local ethnographic museum. However, it has to be noted, that these latter employment types are all connected to tourism. The other group is composed by the women who are besides conducting their rural tourism are employed elsewhere in part time jobs.

#### Better exploitation of capabilities

The interviewed women to the question “do you think that through the rural tourism activity your capabilities are better exploited?” gave very interesting answers. Most of them gave a positive answer, saying for example that since they learnt by themselves how to do rural tourism, -nobody thought it to them-, they had to find out by themselves what to offer and how to manage the activities, and it was a very good tool to discover and to exploit their different capabilities. One of them said: “My capabilities are not better exploited...considering that I was in a management position in my previous workplace, most of the people might consider a step back that now I am cooking, baking and cleaning after my guests. What has changed is the quality of my life: now I have time to look properly after my two children and my husband for whom it is more important to have a quiet home and a stressless mother.”

#### Self-esteem

The answer for the question “did your self-esteem increase since you start dealing with rural hospitality” answers was positive without exception. They are all very proud of what they have been doing, and very much feel gratified by the feedback of their guests. “There is no better prove for being good in what we are doing than the grateful guest. When I am very tired I just take the guest book and read some of the notes of my guests, which give me the force to rebound.” Another of them said that nearly everything has change around them, a lot of other people started up with the activity seeing how good they have been performing. “People asked advice from us, but not only people from our village, but people from the nearby villages as well. One of my best experiences is that once I was asked to hold a lecture on rural tourism at the nearby University. These are just crumbs from the lots of experiences which certainly increase one’s self-esteem”.

The aim of this exploratory case study was to attempt to uncover the issues at stake, such as to understand and illustrate the main motivations of rural women for starting rural tourism activity as a form of on-farm diversification. The reason for this was that the understanding of what drives and constrains women in the diversification of the farm activities could be

crucial for preparation of policy instruments for the development of rural areas. Nonetheless only 9 women have been interviewed it already helps to construct a preliminary picture on rural women's involvement in the agricultural diversification and the creation of alternative income sources. Further research is however needed in order to better understand the behaviour and choices made by women and how the development generated by them can serve to design new patterns of integrated rural development.

## **Current rural situation in Albania and Macedonia and the role of women in the rural non – farm economic activities**

### **ALBANIA**

In Albania the first parliamentary elections were held on March 1991 and were won by the democratic party of Albania. Soon after the constitution of the main legislative and executive institutions in the country, main transformation policies were inaugurated. For what concerns agriculture, the de-collectivisation processes initiated from the beginning of the 1991.

### **The agricultural sector during socialism and its transformation in the transition period**

In the period of Enver Hohxa's<sup>104</sup> rule in Albania, agriculture, as all other economic sectors, was totalised under the state rule. The process of collectivization, started in 1946 and lasted for more than twenty years, during which all the agricultural land was divided among cooperatives<sup>105</sup> state owned enterprises<sup>106</sup> and individual<sup>107</sup> properties. In 1990, the state owned enterprises (500-2000 ha) managed more than 24% of the agricultural land and contributed up to 29,2 % of the production, while the cooperatives had over 70 % of the land and supplied with 49,9 % the Albanian market. The individual properties in 1990 comprised 4,2 % of the agricultural land and contributed to the total production with 20,9 % (Segrè 1994). The process of de-collectivization, as mentioned, initiated spontaneously in 1991 but was immediately regulated by the new government, through the approval of the "Land Law"(n° 7501) on 19 July 1991. According to the land law, the agricultural land belonging to the cooperatives, had to be divided among its members who worked for the cooperatives and on the basis of the size of their family (their family members) and also to the villagers where the cooperative was constituted, up to 0,4 ha per family (De Meo 2004). Besides the cooperatives, also the state owned enterprises were dismantled and the land was first leased to the villagers and than transformed in private ownership with the approval in 1995 of the Law n°8053. During the de-collectivisation processes, land commissions were created in order to attest the assignment of the land to the families through the delivery of the tapi (a

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<sup>104</sup> Enver Hohxa was the leader of the communist party of Albania, prime minister and undisputed head of the state from 1944 until his death in 1985.

<sup>105</sup> Initially the cooperatives had an average size of 175 ha, but successively their size was increased through fusions up to 1.320 ha. In 1954 there were 150 cooperatives, in 1959 1.829, while in 1983, 421. Andrea Segrè 1994, pag. 272.

<sup>106</sup> The state owned enterprises were created from the same beginning of the collectivisation processes, on the terrains belonging to the religious institutions, to the foreign enterprises and on the drained land. In the '50 there were 21 state owned enterprises (average size of 1.000 ha), while in '80 their number arose to 58 units with average size of 3.000-4.000. Andrea Segrè, *Ibidem*, pag. 273.

<sup>107</sup> The assignment of individual property had an invert tendency with respect of the state owned property (cooperatives and state owned property), i.e. at the beginning of the collectivisation process the average size for individual property assigned to villagers was of 5 ha, later in 1967 it was reduced to 0,11 ha per family and in 1976 all individual property was banned, as deliberated by the Albanian constitution. Andrea Segrè, *Ibidem*, pag. 274, Giuseppe de Meo (a cura di), *Ibidem*, pag. 302.

document that attested the ownership).<sup>108</sup> Within the *tapi*, it was registered the name of the representative of the family (i.e. the head of the family) to which the land was assigned and the name of the member of the land commission. According to the customary norms, the land was assigned to the head of the family which in the Albanian culture is always a man, either the husband, in case of nuclear family (mother, father and children), or the grandfather, in case of larger families (two or more brothers living in same house or in the close neighbourhood with their own families and their parents). The rare cases of female properties were registered only in some villages where the households were managed by women-widows that did not have any adult sons, nor lived with their father to whom they could entitle the property (Lastarria-Cornhiel, Wheeler 1998). The process of the assignment of the land property is a result of patriarchal customary norms and values existing in the Albanian society in particular in the rural areas. Nevertheless, differences exist among the mountainous, hilly regions in northern Albania where these values are more firm and strict than the lowlands in central and southern Albania (Lastarria-Cornhiel, Wheeler 1998). The privatisation policies in agricultural activities developed with surprising rapidity. In fact, until 1995, 90 % of the cooperatives and state owned enterprises were privatized.<sup>109</sup>

### **Economic activity and employment structure – Agri-employment**

The average size of the land assigned during the privatisation processes was of 0,8ha<sup>110</sup> per family that could guarantee a self-sufficient agricultural production, means for home consumption, and eventually for its sale to the local markets. In place of the approximately 550 large-scale agricultural cooperatives and enterprises which operated before 1990, in the 2000 Census in Albania existed 466.809 agricultural holdings of which 466.716 were family farms and 93 were public holdings (Totev, Shahollari 2001). According to Shahollari, “The reforms have completely changed the Albanian agriculture but have not solved the problem of agricultural efficiency, the primitive context of the production system and poor infrastructure” (Totev, Shahollari 2001). During the transition period it was difficult to issue some funding, long term or short term credits because of the underdeveloped banking system. One of the implemented policies that had a positive effect was the Rural development fund that issued short term credits with limited amounts to the villagers in order to assist them with the management of the farming activities. The agricultural sector, was however the most productive in the Albanian economy during the first decade of the transition policies. The share of the agriculture in the state GDP was 37 % in 1990, 53,6 % in 1994, 51 % in 2000, 26,3 % in 2002 and 25,3 % in 2003.<sup>111</sup> Agricultural activities represented the main working occupation of the population that had to overcome a period of economic and social instability caused by the transition policies. In fact, the employment rate in the agricultural sector was from 47 % in 1990, 71,8 % in 1999, 57,17 % in 2002 to 57,70 % in 2003.

### **The role of agriculture – farming structure and the situation of women**

<sup>108</sup> Andrea Segrè, *Ibidem*; Giuseppe de Meo (a cura di), *Ibidem*, Susanna Lastarria-Cornhiel, Rachel Wheeler, *Gender, Ethnicity and Landed Property in Albania (Working Paper)*, Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin-Madison, September 1998, pag. 8.

<sup>109</sup> Giuseppe De Meo (a cura di), *Il Sistema Agroalimentare Albanese – istituzioni, strutture e politiche*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2004; Susanna Lastarria-Cornhiel, Rachel Wheeler, *Ibidem*.

<sup>110</sup> This is and average size although in some Districts the farm land family owned reached 2,15ha (Permet District) and in other was of 0,55ha per family (Puke District) For further information, Andrea Segrè, *La Rivoluzione Bianca*, il Mulino, 1994, pag. 300-301.

<sup>111</sup> Giuseppe De Meo (a cura di), *Sistema Agroalimentare Albanese – istituzioni, strutture e politiche*, FrancoAngeli, Milano 2004, *Albania at a glance*, World bank Group, 8/2005 and Albania in figures, [www.instat.gov.al](http://www.instat.gov.al).

In Albania, 55 % of the population lives in rural areas. Agricultural production represents the main occupation of the rural population (83,4 % of the total rural population is employed in agriculture; 80,2 % of rural men are employed in the agricultural sector, while among rural women the percentage is 88,7 % - 2001 Census).<sup>112</sup> With the transformation policies and as a result of the de-collectivisation processes, rural women found themselves in a new situation, from employed workers in the cooperatives and state owned enterprises they gained the status of farmers wives of family agricultural workers. Rural women individually remained without any property in majority of cases. During the transition living and working on the family farms appeared to be particularly hard for the latter, because beside of their traditional duty to take care of the household activities and the children, they were supposed to work actively on the farm in no mechanised agriculture.<sup>113</sup> In the particular case of Albania, due to the privatisation policy (with the government's decision n°377 deliberated on 11<sup>th</sup> October 1991, all machineries that belonged to the state enterprises were transferred to private firms that were supposed to continue with the supply of all services to farmers upon payment), the work on the land was really hard because most of the families didn't possessed any machinery and could not afford to lease it because of the high costs and therefore were supposed to work the land manually or to rely on the help of the animals. Moreover, as farmer's wives and without any legal property they were not able to apply for credits or other forms or funding by themselves, and were depending on their husband's guarantees. Of particular concern is also the fact that during the transitional period in the rural areas there is an increasing tendency in school dropouts of the female population. While the illiteracy rate is on low level (6,2 % among the female population and 2,8 % among the male population) the enrolment in secondary and university education in rural areas has downward tendencies (28,3 % of rural women enrol in secondary school and in university while in the urban areas the percentage is of 70,3). As main motives for women dropouts are mainly the agricultural work, early marriages and lack of interest.<sup>114</sup>

The upper described transition policies in agriculture, affected the women livelihoods also in the Prespa region. Women from the villages in the Albanian side of the region are active in the work on the land and, because of the migration policies, are the main agents in the livestock care.<sup>115</sup> Moreover, they are dealing with several infrastructural problems, poverty and isolation. However, only recently there has been a minor attempt to start up and develop other activities rather than farming from which provide an alternative income. Among these activities we can mention the initiation of some practises leading to the promotion of rural tourism, mainly developed by women.

## Macedonia

The Macedonian state declared its independence in 1991 after the dissolution of the Yugoslav federation. Once independent the Macedonian state initiated the transition policies from a socialist system towards a system of parliamentary democracy and market economy. For what concerns agriculture, the transformation policies followed a different path with respect to the Albanian case. In first place, the transformation of the property of land was regulated separately from that of the agricultural enterprises. This is because the Macedonian republic, as part of the Yugoslav federation, recognised diverse types of land property relations and the

<sup>112</sup> *People and Work in Albania, Labour Force, Employment and Unemployment in the Transition*, Instituti i Statistikes, Tirana, [www.instat.gov.al](http://www.instat.gov.al).

<sup>113</sup> Almost half of the agricultural economic units work the land by hand or animals. *Ibidem*, pag.36

<sup>114</sup> *Ibidem*, pag.34.

<sup>115</sup> Livestock care has been traditionally considered as male work, while women were supposed to take care after the household activities and the children as well as to work on the land. Interview with Aferdita Trajko, head of the Agrotourist Association of Prespa Women.

agricultural land was not totally collectivized but - for reasons that will be explained further - two types of property existed, individual and socially owned. Secondly, the privatisation of the agricultural land and enterprises was not spontaneous as in the Albanian case but was totally regulated by the state.

### **The agricultural sector during socialism and its transformation in the transition period**

The Macedonian republic became one of the units of the Yugoslav federation after the Second World War. In the pre-war years, agriculture was almost exclusive source of income for the rural population. In the 1945, the new Yugoslav socialist state enacted the first land reform with which the individual property for family holdings was limited to 25-35ha, depending on its family members, and its location (Sanjak, Bloch, Hanson 1998). For part-time farmers the limit of the holding allowed was 3-5 ha. Large holdings over 35ha, as well as those belonging to banks, religious institutions, and foreigners were expropriated. With the 1953 Constitution a new concept of socially owned<sup>116</sup> farms and enterprises was inaugurated. Moreover, the '74 Constitution defined the land as a good of public interest and its use was considered to be a social interest. For this purpose, private farmers were stimulated to work in close cooperation with the socially owned agricultural enterprises. The latter acted as both factor and market for the products of the family farms surrounding it, meaning that they supplied the private farmers with technological knowledge, supplies (seeds, fertilisers, pesticides etc.) and acquired their products.<sup>117</sup> The population that was working in these socially owned agricultural enterprises were employees of the latter and received monthly salaries.

In the beginning of the '90 the transition policies regulating the transformation from the socially owned property to private property have been enacted.<sup>118</sup> The Law for the transformation of enterprises with social capital, approved in 1993, regulated the privatisation of the agricultural socially owned enterprises. The ownership of the agricultural land has been transformed from socially owned to a property of the state (Clen 1993). The aim of the nationalisation of all agricultural land was that to avoid further fragmentation of the latter and to protect the property rights of former owners until the approbation of the law on denationalisation. The latter approved in 1998 and revised in 2000 states that all land that was expropriated since 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1944<sup>119</sup> should be returned to former owners, or in case the restitution was not possible, the former owner could become a co-owner and share the economic benefit or be compensated through indemnity with another parcel or acquisition of rights of shares and stocks in the enterprise managing the land for the corresponding value of the land he claimed.<sup>120</sup> The transformation policies of the enterprises and the process of the denationalisation of the land are still in act, because of the difficulties emerged in the transformation of the large agricultural enterprises to a more rational size in rapid terms and in not yet institutionalised market, but also because of the late approval of important laws regulating the privatisation processes.

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<sup>116</sup> The term socially owned in the case of the agricultural enterprises meant that to its members were assigned free usufruct rights to the enterprise and its immovable while society at large maintained ownership rights.

<sup>117</sup> Private farmers, besides selling their products to socially owned enterprises, could sell their products directly to local markets.

<sup>118</sup> The new Constitution (1991) did not recognize the term social ownership as legitimate right property category.

<sup>119</sup> This date refers to the first meeting of the Antifascist Movement for the Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) when it was proclaimed the constitution of the Republic of Macedonia in the frame of the Yugoslav Federation.

<sup>120</sup> Sluzben Vesnik na Repubika Makedonija, *Zakon za Denacionalizacija*, Sl. Vesnik n.20/1198.Revidiran zakon Sl.Vesnik n.21/2000, 42/2003, [www.pravo.org.mk](http://www.pravo.org.mk).

## **Economic activity and employment structure – Agri-employment**

Agriculture represents a fundamental economic activity of the rural population in Macedonia, even though the industrialisation and the urbanisation policies promoted in the period of 1960-1980 affected negatively the agricultural sector by provoking internal migrations from rural to urban areas (Jakimovski, Azderski, Ilic 2001). These movements left many rural areas underdeveloped, inhabited by elder persons or totally non-inhabited.<sup>121</sup> One particular element is that, even though rural people moved to the cities they kept their houses non-inhabited and the land not ploughed. Actually, according to 2002 Census around 40 % of the Macedonian population lives in rural areas, which is around 30 % lower than in 1948 when the share of the rural inhabitants in the republic was of 72 %.<sup>122</sup>

During the transitional period (from 1990 to present date), the agricultural sector had to face several difficulties, such as the loss of the Yugoslav market and lack of an alternative one for its products, the initiation of the transformation policies and the low profitability of the agricultural production. Nevertheless, during the period of 1990–2000 the agricultural sector played a critical role in the social and economic stability of the country. The real average growth of the agriculture was 3 % in 1993, 8 % in 1994 and 10,7 % in 1997. Actually, the share of agriculture and forestry in the GDP was from 9,5 % in 1990, 13,3 % in 1994, 12,5 % in 1999, 12,1 % in 2002, to 11,7 % in 2003.<sup>123</sup> What is interesting in the productivity of the agricultural sector is its composition, i.e. according to the report of the Ministry of finance, the agricultural production of the agrokombinats and their successor enterprises fell almost by half, while the production on the family farms increased by almost a third. Main characteristics though of the individual farming is the small size of the family households, 52 % of them has less than 1ha, 35 % has 0,5-3ha and 11 % has 3-5 ha.<sup>124</sup> Great professional farms and farming activities are rare and the agricultural production of the individual farmers is more an extension of the family farm-holdings where certain of its members have another employment.<sup>125</sup>

Another point that deserves to be mentioned is that during the transitional period and due to the transformation processes in all economic sectors that consequently provoked job losses, the agricultural sector absorbed part of the unemployment share (predominantly in the part-time farming). Many people returned to their rural households and/or started occupying, temporarily or permanently, with farming activity as individual farmers or employees. The agricultural sector, in fact, employed from 8,3 % of the labour active population in 1990, 5,7 % in 1999, 16,2 % in 2002 to 13,9 % in 2003.<sup>126</sup>

## **The role of agriculture – farming structure and the situation of women**

What was the role of women in the agricultural sector during the transition period? Women were the main actors in the family production. As Jakimovski states in his work, “normal

<sup>121</sup> According to the 1994 Census, 121 villages were entirely abandoned. For further information see, *Census 1994*, State Statistical Office, [www.stat.gov.mk](http://www.stat.gov.mk).

<sup>122</sup> State Statistical Office, [www.stat.gov.mk](http://www.stat.gov.mk).

<sup>123</sup> State Statistical Office, [www.stat.gov.mk](http://www.stat.gov.mk), Questionnaire of FYR of Macedonia (Chapter 7 – Agriculture) submitted to European Commission [www.gov.mk](http://www.gov.mk), *FYR Macedonia at a glance*, World Bank Report, statistics 9/2005.

<sup>124</sup> The individual landholdings faced fragmentation during the last 40 years, mostly due to inheritance practices. Jolyne Melmed Sanjak, Peter Bloch, Robert Hanson, *Project for the Analysis of Land Tenure and Agricultural Productivity in the Republic of Macedonia*, Land Tenure Centre – University of Wisconsin Madison, 1998.

<sup>125</sup> Ministerstvo za urbanizam, gradeznistvo i zastita na zivotnata sredina, *Ibidem*.

<sup>126</sup> State Statistical Office, [www.stat.gov.mk](http://www.stat.gov.mk) and *Questionnaire of FYR of Macedonia* (Chapter 7 – Agriculture) submitted to European Commission [www.gov.mk](http://www.gov.mk).

farming work is becoming a women task and responsibility, since men find employment in non-farming business and children enrol in schools” (Jakimovski, Matilov 2001). A minor portion of the female population in the rural areas is employed in non-agricultural activities: one small fraction is employed in industrial production and the rest is employed in non-commercial works such as education and health (Jakimovski, Matilov 2001). According to the 2002 Census, 34 % of the women from the rural areas are economically active, from which 24,67 % are employed in agricultural sector, while the percentage of men economically active in the rural areas is 41,0 %, of which 23,24 % are employed in the agricultural sector.<sup>127</sup> What is significant to add to these data is also the fact that according to the same Census, among the female population economically active, 19,20 % are registered as unpaid family worker<sup>128</sup>, while the percentage among the male population is only 7,8 %. What can be outlined from these data and from the personal interviews made with the rural population of some villages is that the major part of women enrolled in farming activities do not result as individual farmers or as farms employees but as farmers’ wives. With the privatisation of the land and the transformation of the socially owned agricultural enterprises men and women lost their jobs and their status of employees equally with the sole difference that men became owners of the family land while women gained their status as farmer’s wives. However, women property rights are somehow protected legally. Mainly, according to the Law on property rights, all property acquired after marriage is considered to be common of both spouses even if the property documents are entitled to one member of the family.<sup>129</sup> In case of sale or mortgage of property, one member of the family can exert this right only with the consent of the other partner. Nevertheless, even if these legal provisions can favour women in acquiring more power in the relations with their husbands and can stimulate them in initiating an individual entrepreneurship, this does not usually happen in practice. The reasons are twofold, on one side, women education in the rural areas is low and with even more decreasing tendencies and as a consequence most of the female population is not familiar with the laws and legal provisions. Generally speaking the educational structure of the rural population is low (10,4 % illiterate, 41,1 % has elementary school, 27,4 % has uncompleted high school education – 1994 Census), but is more accentuated among the female population (73 % of those who are without formal education are women and 57 % has uncompleted primary education). On the other hand, with the status as farmers’ wives they usually do not have any official status of agricultural worker and therefore are more vulnerable than men for what considers individual entrepreneurship. In order to start an individual activity, women have to provide more documentation and pass through more complicated and administrative procedures in order to obtain credits or another type of funding, because in the official documents the owner of the immovable or movable property that can be used as a guarantee usually is a man.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, their low educational level (and of the rural population in general) limit their possibilities of managing the agricultural farming, because of the lack of modern technical knowledge and of the market based operations. One explanation of the low education level in rural areas is due to ageing population. Due to the low profitability and the hard working in the agricultural sector, the younger generations, especially girls from the hilly regions in particular, are less attracted by the latter and tend to move to urban areas (Jakimovski, Matilov 2001).

<sup>127</sup> State Statistical Office, *Women and Men in the Republic of Macedonia*, Skopje 2003, pag.44.

<sup>128</sup> For unpaid family worker is intended person who work without pay in a legal entity or on farm owned by a family member.

<sup>129</sup> Sluzben Vesnik na Republika Makedonija, *Zakon za sopstvenost i drugi stvarni prava*, Sl. Vesnik 18/2001.

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Nuska Stojanoska, notary in the town of Kavadarci, the region of Tikves, well known agricultural area in Macedonia, mainly for its wine yards and the production of wine.



In conclusion, it may be said that the majority of women in the rural areas in Macedonia are involved mainly in agricultural production. Only recently there are some isolated initiatives for the development of activities different from farming. Women from the Prespa region in Macedonia do represent a great example in the development of those activities. In particular, the latter are engaging in promoting and management of rural tourism in this area, activity that has no previous history in Macedonia.

### **The role of women in the rural non farm economic activities of the Prespa region of Albania and Macedonia**

The object of the analysis of this final part of the paper is the Prespa region, in first place for its transnational character and secondly because of the non-farm activities that are emerging as alternative source of income in the villages of this area. The analysis will focus on the rural areas of the Prespa counties in Albania and Macedonia because both states are facing long period of political economic and social transition from the socialist system to the one of parliamentary democracy and are experiencing similar problems concerning the development of this region.

The Prespa region, named after the lake Prespa, lies in three states: Albania, Greece and Macedonia. The area of Prespa lake is around 274 km<sup>2</sup> of which 65 % in Macedonia, 17 % in Greece and 18 % in Albania. The lake is divided in two parts, great Prespa lake located in the three states mentioned above and the micro Prespa lake sited in Greece and in a smaller part in Albania. The Prespa Lake is dislocated on altitude of 853 meters above the level of the sea and is surrounded by three national Parks: Galicica and Pelister in Macedonia, the Prespa Park in Albania and the Prespa National Forest in Greece. On the Macedonian side there is also one ornithological reserve called Ezerani. Since the Word War II, the main activities in the villages of the region have been agriculture, fishing and tourism on Macedonian side and agriculture, livestock and fishing on the Albanian side.<sup>131</sup> What is worth mentioning here is that during the socialist period there has been no communication, trade or collaboration between the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia (Macedonia was on one of the six republic of the Federation) and Albania. After the fall of the communist regime in Albania, between 1991-1992, the borders have been opened and since than there are some small but isolated initiatives for the transnational development of the region as a whole, mainly related to the development of the rural tourism. There are no any information or statistical data concerning the development of rural tourism in the villages of both states, so the information that will be further exposed are provided by focal informants and are collected through numerous interviews conducted with the local inhabitants with the help of the personnel from the local governmental offices.

In the Prespa region women play a decisive role in the rural economy of the villages through their work in agricultural activities but also through the production of alternative sources of income by the promotion of eco-tourism. Indeed, for the role that has always been attributed to them, women are the main actors in the protraction and the maintaining of local traditions, such as local cuisine and typical products, craft, hospitality. Patriarchal traditions and customary laws, still in use in the region in particular in the Albanian villages, assign all duties and responsibilities to women for what concerns the care of household activities, comprising cooking, sewing, embroidery, childcare etc, as well as farming activities related

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<sup>131</sup> Licna Karta na Opstina Resen, [www.resen.gov.mk](http://www.resen.gov.mk) and Preservation and Protection of Natural Environment in Albania, Proceedings of International Symposium "Towards Integrated Conservation and Sustainable Development of Transboundry Macro and Micro Prespa Lakes" (Korca 26-27 October, 1997), Ilar Typography Tirana, pag. 214.

to “digging”, work in the garden and livestock care (Jakimovski, Matilov 2002).<sup>132</sup> Through the enhance of “green” tourism, women can encourage the transformation of the local habits in potentials for the development of villages and protection and conservation of rural heritage. However, this task is rather difficult and all activities that have been done until present are embryonic. In fact, concerning the Macedonian side, there is a lack of a clear strategy of rural development. The Macedonian government has no national strategy for rural development and consequently there is a lack of any kind of state intervention in order to sustain the development of multifunctional activities in agriculture that may be developed in the rural areas.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, foreign investments are limited, mainly due to the instability of the region as a whole, caused by the Balkan wars during the '90, and by the Macedonian internal crisis in 2001. More particularly, the numerous women NGO's acting in the municipality of Resen<sup>134</sup> lack of expertise concerning rural development policies. The same difficulties are faced also by the Albanian villages and NGO's in the Prespa region. In addition, Albanian villages lack of road infrastructure and connections to the Macedonian border and up to certain point to Korca (the biggest town of the province) and there is scarce water and energy supply.<sup>135</sup>

In the last years, there have been several interventions through projects financed by the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) as well as the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) where women played an important role in the planning and implementation processes. In fact, after 2001, there have been several regional initiatives taking place in both states and in Greece as well that have contributed to the development of the local rural tourism.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, in order to stimulate the tourist flow, women from several villages in Macedonia such as Dolno Dupeni and Stenje in Macedonia and Golomboc and Gorica e madhe in Albania, benefited of small sums of money from GTZ to restructure their old houses and adapt them to host local and foreign tourists. It is worth mentioning also the Beautiful Brajcino project, realised by the local people from Brajcino village in Macedonia and financed by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. Its main goal was the promotion of a sustainable use of natural resources to the benefit of the local population.<sup>137</sup> Another goal of this project was to connect the Pelister National park with the Prespa Lake through natural trails. In this project, women coordinate all activities concerning accommodation (private lodgings in traditional houses of the Brajcino village), food services and sale of local products, while men usually lead the tourist, on their request, through the trekking trails or to visit the archaeological sites or cultural monuments.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Also, information provided by focal informants and personal visits and talks to population of the villages of the Prespa region.

<sup>133</sup> EU Questionnaire submitted by Macedonian government, Chapter 7 *Agriculture, Rural Development Policy and Structural/Environmental Measures*, pag. 54, [www.gov.mk](http://www.gov.mk).

<sup>134</sup> All rural villages of the Prespa region in Macedonia are within the administrative borders of the municipality of Resen. For more details, see *Zakon za Lokalna Samouprava*, Sluzben Vesnik br.5/2002.

<sup>135</sup> *Regional Strategy for Sustainable Tourism Development with special accent on Eco-Tourism and its development in the Prespa region*, April 2001.

<sup>136</sup> In Resen (Macedonia) since 2003 a regional festival called *jabolkober* is taking place every year in the month of September where apples and local products made by apples are sold. In the village of Gorica (Albania) a wine festival takes place during the months of November – December. Interview with Samoil Lamevski, Municipality of Resen, Macedonia and Vasil Male, chief ranger of Prespa Park, Albania.

<sup>137</sup> *Regional Strategy for Sustainable Tourism Development with special accent on Eco-Tourism and its development in the Prespa region*, April 2001.

<sup>138</sup> The cultural heritage of the Prespa Region includes some monuments, such as the Monasteries dating from the Bizantine era. For further information see: *Regional Strategy for Sustainable Tourism Development with special accent on Eco-Tourism and its development in the Prespa region*, April 2001

Actually, in Macedonia local tourism is modestly developed and the presence of foreign tourists, although increasing, is still limited.<sup>139</sup> In the Albanian villages, the main tourist flows are those of the local people mainly from the Korca municipality.<sup>140</sup> Although potential do exist, at the moment the development of the rural tourism in the Albanian villages of the Prespa Region faces difficulties because of several infrastructural problems. According to ms. Aferdita Trajko, Head of the Agrotourist Association of Prespa Women, the bad road infrastructure, the lack of continuous electricity and good water supply as well as the absence of public bus connection from and to the Prespa villages (there is one bus connection between the village of Gorica e vogel and the city of Korca, it travels once a day and one small 15-seats van from the village of Ligenas to Korca) limit the possibility for the development of rural tourism.<sup>141</sup> Although, Ms. Trajko retains that the rural tourism could certainly represent additional revenue to their low incomes gained from agricultural production.<sup>142</sup> Women from the villages, assisted by the local women association, welcome local tourist in their houses offering them traditional meals cooked with only locally produced food or other traditionally women - home made goods such as carpets, shirts.<sup>143</sup> The level of poverty in the villages does not permit the use of pesticides for the agricultural production, there is no industry in the area and, besides solid waste, and the pollution is on very low almost inexistent level.

Nevertheless, all activities related to the promotion of the rural tourism are quite new for the women from the Prespa region. According to one of the leader of the local women NGO's in Macedonia, Ms. Lidija Tudzarovska, there is a lack of training activities, a clear strategy for rural tourism development and, above all, funds for its implementation.<sup>144</sup> Many of the women NGO's are facing several difficulties in developing further activities, because of the lack of expertise, of investments and marketing strategy that could attract in particular foreign tourists. In fact, during socialism women from the rural areas of the Prespa region in Macedonia were employed in the local food and textile industries in the Resen municipality and acted also as part-time farmers on the orchards in the production of apples.<sup>145</sup> The main tourist activities in the Socialist Macedonia were managed by the state agencies and were concerned only with the development of lake tourism and therefore the main facilities (hotels, camping) were built in some of the villages on the coast. In Albanian villages of the Prespa region no tourist activity has been developed during the socialist period.

However tourism potentialities do exist. In first place, a Strategic Action Plan for the Sustainable Development of the Prespa Park has been elaborated as a result of the first governmental Agreement for trilateral cooperation within the framework of the transboundary-protected area. The Agreement was signed on February 2000 between the governments of Albania, Greece and Macedonia. Actually, there are two ongoing projects for the development of the two existing national parks of the Prespa region. The first project is financed by the Italian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and it is related to the development of the

<sup>139</sup> *Regional Strategy for Sustainable Tourism Development with special accent on Eco-Tourism and its development in the Prespa region*, April 2001; *Socijalna procenka i procenka na potrebite, iztrazuvanje na lokalnoto nasledstvo i izgotvuvanje na strategija za opstinite Bitola i Resen*, Ministerstvo za Kultura na Republika Makedonija, Edinica za koordinacija so proektot "Razvoj na opstinite i kulturata" Skopje 2004, pag.15.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibidem*, Conversation with Vasil Male, chief ranger of the Prespa park in Albania and resident of Komuna Ligenas, Albania.

<sup>141</sup> Interview with Aferdita Trajko, head of the Agrotourist Association of Prespa Women, Komuna Ligenas, Albania;

<sup>142</sup> The average size of the land assigned to the families with the privatisation policies was of 0,5 ha, while large families posses at maximum 2ha land. *Ibidem*.

<sup>143</sup> Interview with Aferdita Trajko.

<sup>144</sup> Interview with Lidija Tudzarovska, Pretsedatel na podruznica Dolno Dupeni, NVO "Prespanka", Resen.

<sup>145</sup> Annual average production of apples is of 60.000-70.000 tons. *Statistical office*, Resen Municipality, 2005.

cooperation between the Galicica National Park in Macedonia and the Prespa National Park in Albania. The second project is sustained by the German Bank for Reconstruction & Development (KFW) and the Governments of Albania, Greece and Macedonia. It envisages the improvement of the Prespa Park through the environmental protection and sustainable development of the wider region for the benefit of nature conservation and for the prosperity of its inhabitants and future generations.<sup>146</sup>

## Conclusions

The aim of the present article was to illustrate two cases on the position and the role of rural women in non-agricultural farm activities in the Transdanubia Region of Hungary and the Prespa Region of Albania and Macedonia. The study has not sought to establish theory or develop analytical models, rather had an exploratory approach with the aim to create the ground for a future analytical-comparative research. Although, we believe, that the analysis made in this article is encouraging us to make some considerations and important remarks. Out of the research conducted on rural women in the transition period, it can be affirmed that all three states are showing similar results for what concerns the status of women. Even though, there are great differences among women from Albania, Macedonia and Hungary, it can be affirmed that in all cases, usually they are those who lack of economic independence. Moreover, women are usually those who are less educated than men, they lack specialized knowledge, which limits their opportunities in obtaining jobs or start a female entrepreneurship. In addition, in these three countries, traditional values and customary norms limit rural women in the household sphere due to their responsibilities towards the household working activities, child and elder people care as well as activities related to farming (working in the garden, livestock care, processing agricultural food for home consumption and etc.). All these common conditions relatively to rural women have been accentuated in the last 10-15 years because of the impact of the transition policies on the economic, political and social life of the populations. Transition policies and economic and social crises were the main reasons for the increase of the unemployment in the rural areas in Hungary affecting in particular women. In Macedonia, the impact of the economic and social crisis that reflected on women's life and opportunities was the diminishment of their living standard, lack of social security and economic stability and independence. Alternative sources of income, different from farming could represent one important element in the amelioration of women conditions and in the reinforcing of their capacities and self-esteem. Our analysis shows that rural tourism for Hungary represents an important sector of the country's economy. It has been historically an important source for additional income for the rural families and it developed spontaneously as a response to market demands. Rural tourism, as one of the "forms" of the multifunctional agriculture represents today in Hungary an important sector of the national economy, and it presents upward tendencies. The engagement of women in rural tourism activity is significant therefore the better understanding of their drives and constraints, their motivations and approach can be a vital contribution to the future rural development strategies. Therefore rural development measures regarding the promotion of training, information and entrepreneurship should consider women's particular needs. Moreover, women's opinion who are already engaged in para-agricultural activities shall be taken into consideration when rural development, but not only, measures are drafted. The Hungarian case might represent an example for the Prespa region in Albania and Macedonia. Here the difficulties are numerous, above all for the fact that concrete measures and policies have to be implemented on different levels because of the diverse level of development of both villages. But on the other side, the Prespa region for

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<sup>146</sup> Second Newsletter, "Prespa Park", Prespa Park Coordination Committee Secretariat, April 2004.

what concerns rural tourism, has to be considered as a unite area and therefore it will request further cooperation and common initiatives between the two countries. All initiatives concerning the development of rural tourism should take into consideration the Region as a whole, because the whole eco-system in the region is extended between both countries. All measures that will be taken in one country will necessary reflect, positively or negatively, to the other.

Nevertheless, a parallel analysis of the mechanism of the agricultural transition in these two regions may already lead to show several elements that can contribute to the comprehension of the development of the multifunctional aspect of agriculture in Hungary, Albania and Macedonia, a comparative analyses shall constitute the object of further research including a deep elaboration of the differences and similarities between the two studied regions. The relevance of a future research lies in the fact that all three countries need to prepare their rural development strategy, however at different levels. For Hungary the task is to prepare its second national rural development plan, Macedonia with its fresh EU-candidate country status has to prepare its pre-accession rural development plan in order to accede to the EU pre-accession funds, process that Hungary has already gone through.<sup>147</sup> Albania, having EU accession aspirations (has recently signed the Association and Stabilisation Agreement) shall already from now on adjust its rural development strategies taking into account the importance women represent in the development of non-agricultural farm activities. The women factor in these three countries is of great importance for the development of alternative sources of income, as it was shown through the example of rural tourism. Therefore we argue that to uncover women's specific role and approach to diversification of on-farm activities can contribute to the enhancement of positive measures in the support of the development of rural areas like for example through the recognition of the concrete role that rural women have in rural tourism.

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<sup>147</sup> Moreover, with the new law on local government, the decentralisation policies are in act, so the villages of the Macedonian part could benefit of major "attention" from the Resen municipality than from the central government.

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# **Village Websites in the UK – Community Development or Individual Obsession?**

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## **Key words**

Internet, village, rural, website, actor-network

## **Abstract**

The village website is a comparatively recent phenomenon, but nevertheless exists in large numbers in the United Kingdom, as elsewhere. At first sight such websites appear to be the product of community activity: they carry representations of the village and its residents, past and present, to the outside world; they often include notices of forthcoming events, such as sporting fixtures and church activities; and they may act as an online journal, showing pictures and descriptions of recent happenings in the village. A closer look, however, suggests that only about a quarter of UK sites could be described as having a strong community representation, with others more concerned with marketing the village for tourist reasons, or with helping those seeking information about their ancestors. A significant proportion, rather than being concerned with the community as a whole, appear to serve the interests of a specific group or clique within the village.

In exploring this issue further an online survey of such websites, conducted in 2002 and 2003, found that most of them had been set up and were operated by dedicated individuals, usually with their own resources. Their motives were partly selfless, born out of a sense of duty or a desire to do something for the community; and partly self-centred, arising from a personal interest in local history, for instance, and/or a desire to develop their computer skills. Their relations with the community as a whole ranged from very close to hostile, but in most cases the website represented the outcome of individual, rather than communal effort, and many webmasters bemoaned the lack of commitment and help from other residents.

This paper summarises key findings from the survey, and explores the use of actor-network theory both in helping to understand the results of the current data, and in identifying options for further investigation, three years on, of the same websites.



# **Village websites in the UK – community development or individual obsession?**

## **Introduction**

The internet, represented particularly by the world-wide web (WWW) and email, appears to have particular potential in rural areas, where its ability to transcend the barrier of distance offers new opportunity to dispersed populations for information-seeking, communication and transaction. This is not to say that all rural areas are well served by modern telecommunications, and particularly broadband – still less does it imply that all those living in rural areas have equal access (Warren 2002; 2004). Despite the difficulties, recent years have seen considerable development in internet-based rural services in the UK, and in particular the emergence of a new phenomenon, the village website. The form of such sites varies considerably, as does the purpose: they can be designed as a service for the current residents and/or former residents and their descendants; as a representation of the village and its qualities to non-residents; or as a way of promoting local tourism or other. Typical examples can be found at <http://www.follifoot.org.uk/> and <http://www.grundisburgh.org.uk/>.

## **The research process**

The initial aim of this research was to explore the implications of the development of village websites for the process of rural development in the UK, though this particular paper is more concerned with issues of influence and representation which arose during the work. The research design and rationale have been described fully elsewhere (Warren and Skerratt 2003): reported here are four phases, involving identification and classification of the population of village websites, and using this information to survey a sample using online approaches. Further phases, involving on-site ethnographic study and triangulation, were planned but have not yet attracted the considerable funding required.

### **Phase 1: search for rural village community websites.**

For the purpose of this investigation, a ‘rural village community’ website was defined as having the following characteristics:

- The village/community is situated in a rural location, and
- The site has been developed by community member(s), for the community.

The websites were located through systematic use of internet search on the key words ‘UK’, ‘rural’, ‘village’ and ‘community’. A snowballing technique was employed to locate additional sites using links from web portals/rings ‘Villages Online’ and ‘Irish and British Villages’, and from other sites of interest. This produced a total of 1073 UK ‘village’ websites from which an initial 40 sites were randomly sampled for a pilot study of preliminary reading and analysis. A further sample of 469 ‘village’ sites was subsequently drawn randomly in order to provide 202 sites for analysis (approximately 20 % of the identified population). Spurious data were discounted (146 websites in total) but were categorised to ‘type’ in order to inform decisions concerning the later development of a typology of ‘village’ websites.

## **Phase 2: development and use of a protocol.**

A preliminary content analysis of 'rural community village websites' facilitated the identification of a number of recurrent themes, issues and characteristics, and the subsequent development of a 'protocol' or data collection sheet, which was tested and revised in arriving at the final version, together with a coding scheme for analysis. Data were gathered using both quantitative and qualitative content analysis techniques, which involved coding data from each site and taking notes while coding, thus enabling attention to be given to themes/issues that were of particular interest (such as services, breadth and depth of content, degree of physical rootedness, etc). For each website, the village name, location and URL details were recorded, together with contact details of the webmaster (for Phase 3). Content analysis identified key interests, themes and other characteristics, which as well as informing design of survey instruments, enabled the development of a simple typology of websites (see 'Results' below).

## **Phase 3: online survey of web masters**

A structured questionnaire (with some open-ended questions) was administered via email to the sample of 202 village webmasters.<sup>148</sup> The questionnaire was used to address questions concerning the respondent (e.g. age, involvement in the village/community); the origins of the site (e.g. age, purpose, funding); current operation (e.g. who runs it, their motivations); the current nature of the site (e.g. intended and actual audience, resourcing); the perceived value of the site to the community; and future development.

After careful testing and piloting, the result was a 53-question questionnaire, to which 55 responses were received within 3 days and 100 within 16 days: after two reminders, the total number of usable responses was 134, after 72 days – an effective response rate of 75 %. The result was a rich set of quantitative and descriptive data, from which a summary could very quickly be drawn, to be posted on the University of Plymouth website. Respondents were invited to comment on the results as a form of participant validation: several took up the opportunity: most to offer thanks for doing the work, many to express interest in learning that others shared their own circumstances and problems, and to ask for some way of making contact.

## **Phase 4: further online probing**

Following our original research design, the analysis of the survey results, and in particular the thematic analysis of the open questions, was used to identify key issues to probe in greater depth, though still online. Once again Perseus software was used. Respondents were presented with seven propositions, a mixture of positive and negative, which allowed probing of further key issues emerging from Phase 3.

Respondents were asked to register their reactions to each statement on a five-point scale between 'strongly agree' and 'strongly disagree', and then to elaborate on the reasons for their response. The questionnaire was sent to a sub-sample of 46 of the respondents to Phase 3 (just over one third), purposively selected

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<sup>148</sup> The term 'webmaster' is not used here in a gender-specific way: it has proved impossible to find a neutral term which is more acceptable to this population, and 'webmaster' is in general currency.

## Results

### Basic characteristics

The first stage of the research resulted in an initial classification of sites according to the 'image' they appeared to convey, involving 13 categories. These were distilled further into a more manageable six categories:

- Strong community (online and/or offline: comprehensive coverage of community information and services) (24 % sample);
- 'Select few' (online and/or offline: by and for a particular clique or section of the community) (18 %);
- Marketing (primarily of the village as tourism destination) (16 %);
- Ancestral (mainly concerned with allowing residents and others to trace their forebears) (9 %);
- Hybrid (a combination of two or more of the above) (14 %);
- Other (diverse, and difficult to classify with precision) (19 %).

Inevitably this typology, being reliant on subjective judgement, is open to challenge, but it does give some indication of the variety of type of site, and the motives behind their creation. Another possible classification is by size of village: most of those represented fell between 250 and 3000 population, with the median category being 250-500 (23 %). 13 % represented villages of less than 250 population.

On analysing the survey responses, the immediate realisation is that most sites are the result not of collective activity, but of the efforts of individuals. 79 % of sites were operated by just one person: of the remainder, most involved one or two other people. In most cases the original setup of the sites, and their ongoing operation, was resourced primarily by the personal resources and skills of the webmaster, with the help of voluntary contributions from family and members of the community. Public sector funding had been found by a small proportion (11 %), and business sponsorship was no more than 5 %. 39 % acknowledged the benefit of free hosting of the website by an internet service provider (ISP) and 15 % the technical support provided by the ISP. Less than 6 % acknowledged useful advice or assistance from government departments or non-governmental organisations.

These individuals were mature, local and involved. 88 % were male, and 60 % aged between 40 and 60. Nearly 20 % were over 60 and very few less than 30 in age. All but 6 % were resident in the village served by the website, with over 80% having lived there more than 5 years (27 % for more than 20 years). Some respondents had formal roles in the community, for instance as council member (13 %), officer of society or club (20 %), or member of a church (20 %). Over half identified informal roles, such as shop owner, voluntary helper with village events, etc. Among their aims in setting up the site, the most prominent were to provide information to the village community (84 %) and to provide a showcase of the village to the outside world (65 %). Others included provision of services to the village community (53 %); and to allow previous residents to stay in touch (47 %). Attracting tourists to the area was mentioned by 32 %, and allowing descendents of previous residents to trace family history by 31 %. Neither 'copycat' effects (responding to the fact that neighbouring villages had sites) nor the attraction of businesses to the area were strong factors.

Though the creation and operation of the websites was largely the result of individual enterprise, in most cases other members of the community had the opportunity to contribute to the website, mainly by supplying news, information and useful links – in most cases (80 %) functions such as editing sections, or soliciting advertisements and sponsorship, remained the responsibility of the webmaster. Half the sites allowed contributions to be posted directly with minimal editing (other than for typographical errors, etc).

The intended audience of the site is broad, typically including previous residents and descendents of deceased residents as well as the current community. Over 60 % also look to potential tourist visitors. Knowing who the sites are actually reaching is difficult to assess with accuracy: 16 % of respondents felt that the actual audience differed significantly from that intended, with the most common reason being an unexpected ‘steady stream of genealogists’ from all over the world – North America in particular.

Nearly 60 % respondents felt there were sectors of the community who were not being served by their website at the moment, predictably identifying those who do not have access to the internet and/or the ability to use it, and (related to this) the older generation. Some respondents mentioned teenagers and the young, but this seems to be influenced more by the fact that the site did not cater specifically for the young in its content, than by lack of access to the technology.

Further, there are concerns that local businesses, societies and other groups are not adequately represented:

“Most of the village organisations are content that information circulates by word of mouth and see little need for information to be on a website”. 3:118

In the follow-up survey (Phase 4), respondents were challenged with the proposition that even if everyone in the village had access to the internet, and were able to use it, the website would still only represent/serve a part of the community. Most agreed in one way or another with the proposition with qualifications; for example:

“This is true in the same way that it is true of any existing part of the community, be it church, magazine or pub”. 4:21

“... there will always be a proportion of the community that are not interested in what's going on around them. Their lives these days extend much further than their own front door step. But obviously by having a greater number of access points will help to serve a greater proportion of the community than now”. 4:22

“... not only is our website there as a source for locals, it is there to promote ourselves to a World-Wide community”. 4:17

Concerns about potential social exclusion were encapsulated by one respondent thus:

““Being able to use the Internet” is not the same as feeling that it is the easiest and most natural way to find information and exchange it with banks, government agencies and whatever. There must be at least half of our village community who will never in their lifetimes use the Internet voluntarily for a serious purpose. Even the next generation is going to have a good share of technophobes. We run a great risk of making them a disadvantaged group through no fault of theirs whatever”. 4:6

## Being a village webmaster

Given the drain on personal time, energy and money involved, why do the webmasters do it? When answering a prompted question about motivation, respondents focussed most on 'doing my bit for the community', and 'helping people in the village to be part of the Information Society'. Many of the textual responses developed these themes further; for instance:

"XXXX is a small agricultural village, people are very friendly, but suffer from the lack of present day investment by Local and National Government, consequently they have gradually lost the last of their shops - about ten years ago, the garage does not sell petrol anymore, there are only two buses a week for shopping trips to [the local town] (10.15 out - 12.15 return). The pub was closed for two years, however is now open, I'm glad to say!! I foolishly thought that by setting up a Village Community website, creating a Web Ring of similar village websites ... we might be able to bring to the attention of those in power, some of the difficulties being experienced by those living in rural areas, other than the 'rose coloured spectacles' stories believed by those living in urban areas. Unfortunately, I think local and national government websites are created for their own people to view and show appreciation, and show no interest in much else available on the Internet". 3:56

Personal benefits were also important; for instance the opportunity to practise and develop their own skills (especially in information technology), and to reflect their own interests, such as local history or social activities. Very few ran the website because it was part of their job, or because they received a fee or honorarium, although a few (less than 20 %) used the opportunity to advertise their own business or services. Not least, many responses reflected a sense of fun and/or achievement derived by webmasters from their work, as evidenced by some of the more fulsome quotes:

"I derive enormous satisfaction from doing something I enjoy (technically and creatively), from being able to express the love I have for this place to which we moved in 1967 and the friendliness we experienced, and most of all the almost incessant positive feedback - from people casually saying how the maps helped them find their way here, to people catching up with long-lost friends and relatives, tracing the place of their birth, even branches of their family they didn't know..." 3:7

"I see the best that I can do as probably being to maintain something of what used to be the spirit of community years ago, and which is evaporating rapidly with better physical communications (cars, mainly, but also the spread of national branded stores and relatively uniform standards of services countrywide) and better information channels; TV, phones and all that. People are less tied to the local community because they can see more of what's outside, they can get outside when they want to (and usually that includes the day's work) and they can talk across the boundary at any time by phone. Most of those changes are very welcome. Isolation is not pretty, and it does nasty things to the people as well. Still we do lose something that is good, and the spirit of community mutual help is one of them. If by running a web site a little of that spirit of self-reliance and mutual help can be maintained and even revived, my efforts will have been well worth while". 4:6

The picture is not all rosy, though, and inevitably disappointments also feature. The most common negative theme is a perceived lack of support from within the village.

"I would have preferred to have had greater help in the development and content from other villagers. Many of the villagers, especially the council, are old either physically or in their view of life. For many of them, such a site as mine will not touch them and

for many it is somehow threatening as they have no control over what someone is saying about them... I get frustrated that people will not see the value or be willing to share what they know in the open domain, via the web site for future generations living and working in the Village". 3:59

"Villages are modest in size, and people within them with the time, interest and energy to make a village web site work are jolly scarce... In this village, as in almost all others, a small cadre of "Do-ers" are found on the driving committees of all these organisations, and once they are committed to their first three or so, they really have nothing left over to give to a web site or anything else. For that reason you are lucky indeed to find more than one or two people in any village who will undertake the sheer slog of running a live community web site." 4:6

"The village sometimes seems to be full of disinterested xxxx [expletive deleted]; always has been and always will be. Until computer monitors have horns and woolly keyboards the Internet will be derided as "a load of rubbish for over-educated wastes of space". 3:37

However, reading the responses gives a sense that, although the webmasters would like the moral support they would get from receiving more offers of help, many are quite proud of the fact that it *is* their own endeavour, and that these people are characterised by a strong independence. This is often combined by a desire to avoid committee-style collective decision-making:

"I've never been happy working in/with committees... I think it's more likely to succeed if you have an editor/producer who is keen to be sensitive to what the audience needs/wants/expects - and then give it to 'em - rather than either treat the whole thing as an ego-trip, or labour under the mindset of having to have everything agreed by some sort of editorial panel who represent all shades of opinion/interests/etc." 4:25

### **Do they make a difference?**

Respondents were asked for their perception of the value of their website to the village, selecting from a prepared list. Three responses stood out: 'helping a sense of belonging to the village as a place' (74 %); 'creating a sense of community, neighbourliness' (65 %); and 'boosting community activities (e.g. societies, sports, churches)' (60 %). In the next rank were 'encouraging communal action (e.g. to bring about change, or to resist unwelcome change)' (46 %); 'boosting tourism' (36 %); and 'supporting business' (33 %). Very low responses were received to 'increasing prosperity', attracting public funding' and 'putting the village 'on the map''.

Respondents were asked for their perception of the importance of the website to the future of the village. Responses covered the whole range from 'essential' (11 %) to 'irrelevant' (8 %), but the bulk of the responses were distributed fairly evenly between 'important', 'fairly important' and 'not very important'. When asked to give reasons, most focussed on the negative – the attitude of residents; the unbalanced distribution of internet access; keeping a sense of proportion, the tendency for the site to be used more by those outside the village than by residents, etc.

"It's just a few notes about the village, not the Gettysberg Address!!" 3:43

"Norfolk is somewhat backward with regards to new ideas and the Internet (even computers) the area here is very rural and the project is very personal with hard work to get local people interested". 3:29

“It is merely an information tool which is available to a minority group of people. I have seen the response to parish council meetings where there have been 2 people from the public attending. If they can not be bothered to attend face to face meetings then what chance has a web page have of having any important value to the village. If this village was less populated (pop. 4400), then the community might feel a little bit closer to one another and the web site might have some higher significance!” 3:5

On the other hand, while few think the website will be crucial, many highlight positive values imparted by the website (e.g. ‘bringing people together’, ‘identity’, ‘creating a sense of space’). Others refer to the increasing dependency on internet for communication, and the potential for the website to counter some of the problems of isolation, both within the village and between village and the ‘outside world’:

“The Internet is a vast complex of communication and villages need to be part of it to stay in the mainstream of life. Ours is primarily a commuter one and people do not speak to each other. This is one way of trying to combat that”. 3:121

“It is becoming very apparent that the website is a good source of news. Our local paper uses it to get their information of what's happening! Newcomers can find out about the community and potential newcomers can find out if they would like to live in such a village or not. Parish Council get feed back. The police can put up newsletters and let us know of any problems or suspicious characters.....” 3:44

When respondents were asked whether they thought that having a village website helped village residents use the internet to enhance working and/or professional lives, they were equally divided between ‘yes’, ‘no’ and ‘don’t know’. Of the ‘yes’ group, 25 (64 %) cited the ability to access government information and services through the net, and 21 mentioned the ability to tap into local online commercial services, such as internet shopping, marketing their products, and so on. Only 7 mentioned the ability to search for information about jobs and training in the area.

### **What of the future?**

86 % of respondents were confident that their site would continue to operate for the next three years, at least. Although those with doubts are very much in the minority, they point out issues which may become more important over time, given the ‘one-man-band’ nature of most sites: the degree of support and help from the village community, related to the increasing strain felt by some in managing an ever-growing site, coupled with the problem of succession in the event of the webmaster moving away, dying, or just getting tired of it all. The future of one site appeared to depend on ‘how much of a pain’ the respondent could be to the village committees: the more of a pain, the longer the site would stay up.

Some respondents are concerned with management issues, such as creating a management team to spread the workload and ensure succession, and others with improving the technical base of the site.

“I’m mainly concerned to attract a production team so I’m no longer vital to its existence. It needs people, as you well know, with local knowledge - including knowing which other local people know what they don’t know, especially about the past - technical ability, time, and a fair degree of permanence! Certainly I wouldn’t be happy with farming it out to an external/commercial body”. 3:7

“...work in partnership with more organisations and enhance the partnership with the village newsletter which itself has recently been redeveloped and re launched”. 3:100

Asked about other factors which might affect the development of the site, 66% stated that lack of time was important or extremely important. Next is lack of support from the village, considered important or extremely important by 54 % of respondents. Next to these, the other factors proposed are statistically relatively insignificant: lack of funding, lack of interest from outside the village, and competition from other sites. Other factors mentioned in the text responses include risk (of the webmaster becoming unable to continue, or moving away), technical (including lack of broadband), and the webmasters' own technical ability. Competing websites also came into the picture:

“Local Parish Council and Local High school are BOTH starting own sites for special aspects of the village and have resisted ideas and efforts to have one single site, to me this disperses effort”. 3:29

“Given the right support, which I do not get, [I would like] to bring the Parish Council on-line and various community events under one umbrella. There are several different sites all about their own interests but no cohesion between them all”. 3.121

Does the internet generally, and the website in particular, have the potential to make a real difference in the way the village community functions? Over 60 % respondents to the Phase 4 questionnaire either agreed or strongly agreed that it could, while recognising that the website is only one facet of community life:

“In the long term it may be that more of us could live and work in rural areas, perhaps renting space in rural telecommunication centres. This would avoid the need for businesses to provide large office buildings and car parks that remain empty for most of the time. It would also free up road congestion and travel costs and more importantly it would breathe new life into rural communities. Residents would live and work together and use local services throughout the week. Village web sites could provide the arena and forums where this sort of thing starts to form.” 4:21

“[It will make a difference] in two main (and obvious) ways: enhancing the speed and efficiency of local communication, especially in running organisations and in disseminating news and information. One already sees this in the way local groups are able to function with less time spent on individual phone calls, running around delivering paperwork, etc. Reports of local events can be available in hours rather than days - even if local newspapers, for example, were able to cover them. This is real parish pump stuff, which is good. People really do want to see their children/grandchildren in the school/church nativity play - ghastly for outsiders!” 4:25

Would encouraging the use of the internet for shopping, accessing government services, online banking, etc, add a further and unwelcome threat to the supply of services in rural areas? 30 % expressed concern that it would: of the remainder, many pointed out that the battle to save conventional services is all but lost anyway:

“What about those of us who have already lost our services? We need this access. We are 8 miles from a town with no shop, post office, garage, school or surgery. Only the pub survives”. 4:18

Most respondents saw no conflict between online and offline services, and indeed anticipated significant net benefit to rural populations and businesses:

“There is no doubt that the internet is changing peoples' lives and in some ways rural communities will suffer. But in other ways there is enormous potential for rural communities to benefit. There is no reason why rural business cannot better promote itself via the web. Accessing shops, banks and government services should see a



reduction in the charges these organisations make so, in theory, people should benefit. As jobs are replaced by computers and robotic assembly lines, this should, in theory, allow people to have more time to themselves, their families and communities”. 4:21

“If the old couple in the cottage learn to use Tesco.com to deliver their groceries, they will not use the village store so much... On the other hand, local shops that used the Internet for picking up local orders could perhaps run their own local delivery service... hard graft, that, and with no certainty of success, but if you're physically a long way away from Tesco it might work”. 4:6

### **Theorising village websites**

While now knowing more about the people who run village websites, their motives, and the context in which they operate, one is left seeking ways of extracting deeper meaning, and in particular of explaining the past trajectory and anticipating the future trajectory of these village websites. How do they relate to the communities they represent (both resident and otherwise)? To what degree are they substituting for existing processes, and to what extent are they creating additional informational and transactional channels? If the latter, will the future be more of the same, or will the website take over functions that up to now have been performed by different media and different people?

Various theoretical approaches are possible: one could draw on community telematics (Harrison and Stephen 1999; Keeble and Loader 2001; Wellman and Haythornthwaite 2002) or cultural studies, for instance (Sterne 1999), or various innovation theories such as social construction of technology (Bijker and Law 1992; Bijker 1995; Oudshoorn and Pinch 2003), domestication theory (Silverstone and Hirsch 1992), or even the venerable diffusion theory (Rogers 1995). Each has its virtues, but for this purpose I have chosen to explore the use of actor-network theory (ANT), which has certain benefits for this kind of study: it avoids both social and technological determinism; failures have the same types of explanation as successes; and it is symmetrical with respect to causality (each actor influences and is influenced by other actors and the network as a whole) (Latour 1992).

Though there is no shortage of studies making use of ANT, exposition of methodology and practicalities is rare: typically papers explore the theoretical considerations and present results, with little indication of the intervening stages. On the one hand, this leaves the reader having to take the conclusions on trust; on the other, it renders empirical application and replication difficult for the would-be ANT researcher. Moreover the approach is susceptible to accretions of complexity, as each new expert has sought to add his or her new theoretical insight or slant. Fortunately there are notable exceptions in the rural field, providing valuable clarity of application to empirical results (Woods 1998; Evans and Yarwood 2000; Morris 2004). For similar reasons I have chosen to draw substantially on Callon's classic study of Breton scallops, fishermen and scientists (Callon 1986).

### **A brief summary of ANT**

A detailed discussion of ANT is out of place here: reviews of relevant literature are carried in a number of published papers, that by Carol Morris providing a particularly clear exposition within a rural context (Morris 2004). ANT was developed in attempting to explain processes in introduction of new technology, making it eminently suitable for the task in hand. The theory is not a construct to be validated empirically in the positivist sense, but 'a means of conceptualising reality which provides a mental framework for its apprehension' and 'a basis for understanding and, potentially, for changing society (Johnston, Gregory *et al.* 2000: 826)

In actor-network theory, the process of development of use of a new technology or idea is characterised as *translation*: ‘...the means by which one entity gives a role to others’ (Singleton and Michael 1993: 229). Innovations are not concrete, pre-determined creations, but are formed by actors persuading other actors to perform appropriate actions – to ‘enrol’ in an alliance, whose shape and effect is a product of the characteristics of the actors enrolled (and those not enrolled, voluntarily or otherwise). The actor-network is dynamic – it is ‘a shifting system of alliances and exchanges among the actors’ (Underwood 1998), with those exchanges between actors (the ‘nodes’ in the network) being as important as the actors themselves. “The actor who speaks or acts with the support of others also forms part of the network. Hence the term actor-network, for the actor is both the network and a point therein” (Callon, Law *et al.* 1986: xvi)

Callon identifies four stages or ‘moments’ in the translation process:

1. Problematisation (or how to become indispensable): key actors are persuaded that the solution to their problem lies with the enrollers;
2. Intéressement – the gradual dissolution of existing networks and their replacement by new network created by enrollers;
3. Enrolment – negotiation of roles between actors;
4. Mobility or mobilisation – the alliance is able to represent an even larger network, potentially leading to policy action, for instance. (Callon 1986)

He further suggests the possibility of dissidence, even after successful translation (*ibid*: 219), where the alliance is destabilised by ‘betrayals and controversies, and entities withdraw in favour of other alliances.

Callon proposes three key methodological principles:

- Agnosticism (impartiality between actors engaged in controversy)
- Generalised symmetry (commitment to explain conflicting viewpoints in terms that work equally well for all actors)
- Free association (abandonment of all a priori distinctions between the technological, the natural and the social) (Callon 1986 pp 200-201).

These lead to one of the key (and controversial) features of the approach: actors, whether they are human, animate, inanimate, even cultures or ideas, are treated symmetrically irrespective of their nature.

### **ANT and village websites**

ANT appears potentially valuable as a way of conceptualising processes of innovation such that clarity of understanding can be achieved without assuming away complexity (Tatnall and Gilding 1999: 959). It is only one of many possible lenses through which such processes can be observed, and in the context of the village website study there remain questions about whether it can be applied *ex post* to data which was not collected with ANT in mind as an interpretive device, and whether it can be used to explain a generalised process of development of village websites in general, given that most ANT studies relate to a specific case study based on a single innovatory artefact or process. There *are* precedents in both respects, and Morris, in particular, justifies use of ANT in such circumstances in the context of a study of agri-environmental schemes (Morris 2004). So how does the development of village websites (as represented by the accounts of the webmasters) respond to the stages of

the classic translation process, and does such analysis aid our understanding of the phenomenon?

## 1. Problematisation

Problematisation is the process by which actors, problems, key roles and potential solutions are defined. First it is important to be clear about the purpose of this particular translation process. It could be taken simply as the creation of a website, but the survey responses suggest a much broader goal: that of increasing the coverage and sophistication of village-specific communications and transactions, with the website as a means to that end – the ‘obligatory passage point’ (see below).

According to the webmasters, the innovation (the use of village-specific web-based communications) was mostly initiated by individuals – themselves – with particular goals, combining self-interest with public interest: developing their own skills, publicising their own hobby, representing ‘their’ village to both internal and external audiences, filling a perceived service need, promoting their own influence or that of a particular segment of population. In this view the problematisation process was typically an individualistic process: a particular person or small group identified an opportunity to represent an interest or interests. However that problematisation could not have taken place if potential webmasters were not aware of the possibilities offered by a website, and did not feel that the skills and resources needed were within their grasp. Thus the internet (representing the associated software and content providers, and trainers and/or developers of training materials, for instance), and the website itself are also important factors in the problematisation. In some cases the development was influenced or even initiated by a community group (e.g. parish council, a club), pre-existing communication providers looking for a wider audience, or an external agency trying itself to enrol new actors. Even non-resident ‘virtual villagers’ could play a role by lobbying for easy access to news of a village they loved but left, or the facility to trace their forbears.

Figure 1 thus suggests a number of entities which could be considered as actors. In accordance with Callon’s principles of symmetry and free association (see above), inanimate objects, such as the internet, and the website itself, feature in this list. It also features collective entities representing a number of subgroupings (for instance the ‘villagers’), and indeed each actor could be considered to be in itself a simplified network. Given that this suggests an almost boundless set of network nodes and interconnections, this poses a practical problem for the researcher: how to achieve clarity of view without losing sight of the complexity of the process. One common device is to treat entities with stable internal actor-networks as ‘black boxes’ – their internal dynamics are taken for granted, or rather are assumed to be represented by the actor itself (Tatnall and Gilding 1999: 95).

Moreover some of the entities, though having an association with the issue in hand, may not in this context be actors in the sense of having ‘interests which are represented (in both the semiotic and the political senses) by themselves and other actors’ (Underwood 1998: 3). In the case of the last two entities listed in Figure 1, for instance, such interests are likely to be weak, if they exist at all, and I have excluded them from the analysis.

Can the website itself be an actor, or is it more an artefact created by other actors, or an outcome of the translation rather than an entity? In other contexts, the village website could indeed itself be seen as an actor, but in this translation it is more appropriate to view it as an ‘obligatory passage point’ (OPP). This is the point through which all the interested entities must pass in order to achieve their overall goal, that of increasing the coverage and sophistication of village-specific communications and transactions.

**Figure 1: Some potential actors in development of village web-based communications (VWBC)**

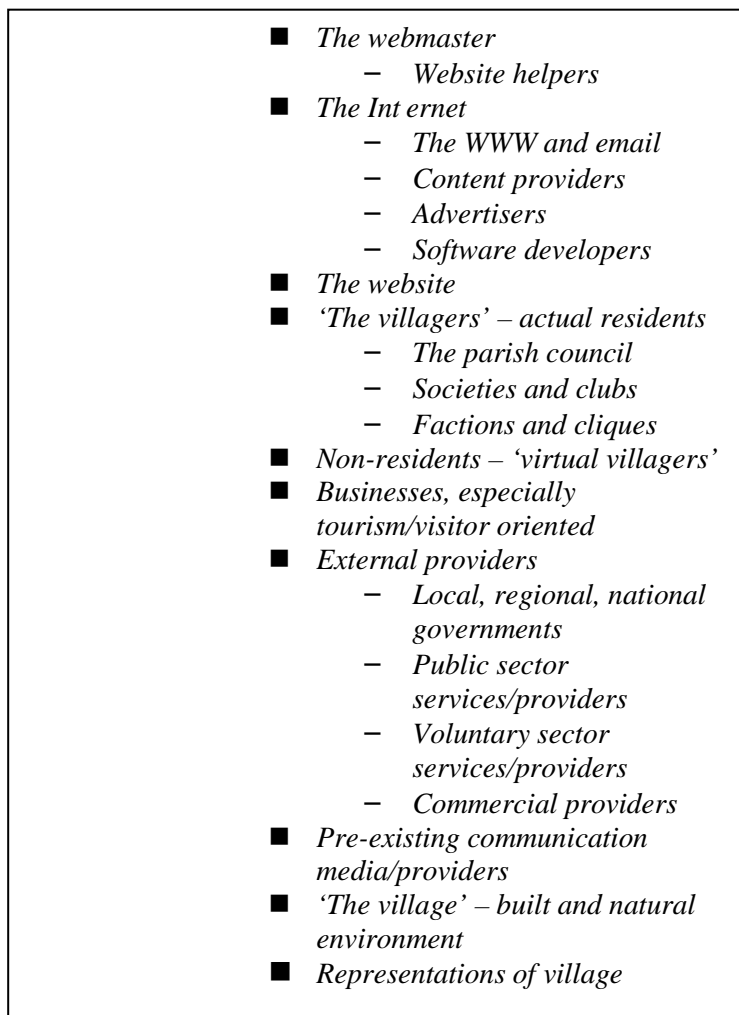


Figure 2 draws these elements together, after Callon, in an attempt to conceptualise the problematisation. It suggests, for each of the actors identified, their specific goals in this process. The dotted lines indicate the direct route to their goals, but the solid lines reflect the reality that, in this translation, each entity faces 'obstacle-problems' which force them to work via the OPP, here represented by the creation and sustaining of a village website (Callon 1986: 208).

## **2. Intéressement**

Problematisation begins to suggest a number of potential allies in the innovation process: intéressement is where those allies begin to be locked into place into a new network, accompanied by the gradual dissolution of existing networks. In Callon's words: "Each entity enlisted by the problematisation can submit to being integrated into the initial plan, or inversely refuse the translation by defining its identity, its goals, projects, orientations, motivations or interests in another manner." (Callon 1986: 207). Conversely, an actor attempting to bring about intéressement may need to attract potential allies away from other networks, and/or to place barriers in the way of their being enrolled in a competing translation. "To achieve success, other actors' worlds must be colonised" (Burgess, Clark *et al.* 2000: 123)

Given that our new network is centrally concerned with web-based communication, the existing networks that one would expect it to displace, in whole or in part, are characterised by physical, paper-based communication (bulletins, posters on notice-boards, letters) and word of mouth (in the pub, outside the post office, after church, on the telephone, etc). Examples of likely key actors here include the parish council, officers of societies and clubs, the village noticeboard, and the parish magazine editor. Some or all of these may have been involved in the problematisation of the new network, and their *intéressement* will usually thus be made all the easier – but not necessarily, as they may at this point decide to distance themselves from the network rather than be locked into the alliance. Still others will not have been involved in the problematisation process, by choice or because of exclusion.

Thus *intéressement* can be a difficult and tetchy process, as evidenced by the testimony of many of the respondents. Barriers to be overcome include concerns about the necessity for access to the requisite technology, and the implicit exclusion of those without it. Also featuring in the webmasters' accounts (and possibly understated there, since the webmaster may him- or herself be the focus of the concern of others) are hints of concern over shifting balance of influence from actors in the existing networks to those in the new, a power shift from a few to another few, and concentration of communication and influence in the hands of unelected and non-accountable individuals. Even where the expressed intent of actors is to supplement, rather than replace existing networks, there may be concern that the emergence of a new communication process will make it difficult to maintain critical mass in the activity of the pre-existing one. Nor is this just a matter of new order versus old order: there are likely to be competing potential translations which hamper *intéressement* by 'tempting' entities away (e.g. to an alternative website for the same village).

### 3. Enrolment

'Enrolment' is the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. The new network achieves an identity through 'multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks'; through coercion, seduction, or consent without discussion' (Callon 1986: 211).

Are any of our village websites at this stage yet? Here we are beginning to reach the limits of our data. On one hand we can say categorically that many are still grappling with *intéressement*: some of the tales told make it clear that seduction and consent are still far away, and there are hints of unsuccessful coercion.

Conversely, it is difficult to be sure of cases where enrolment *has* been successful: our survey perhaps came too early in the process for this purpose, and several respondents felt that this would be some time off:

"In time, yes but perhaps not entirely until the next generation. The village website is only a means of providing information or direction to the actual services it is promoting/advertising or accessing. It is a very useful tool for disseminating information but of their nature villages are far more close communities than the urban environment can ever hope to achieve and therefore personal contact will still always pertain." 4:15

"I think the "real difference" often occurs when there is some real need, like a crisis, for example when a village is threatened, by development for instance. The proposed new airport near Rugby caused a rash of village websites to appear, and for a few of them to become very active, and well known even outside the area. Many will probably disappear when the fuss is over, but a few will have learned a lot from it." 4:12

#### **4. Mobilisation**

Translation involves effort “to gain rights of representation, to speak for others and to impose particular definitions and roles on them.” (Burgess et al., 2000: 123, quoted in Morris 2004: 180). Mobilisation is the endpoint of this process (though may prove transitory): the alliance of actors is mobilised such that consensus reached between them, and it is possible for the alliance to represent a whole network. The initiating actor (the webmaster in our case) begins to speak for all the other actors (Evans and Yarwood 2000: 231), having first silenced those in whose names it speaks (Callon 1986: 216). Mobilisation may not last long before instabilities in the network cause it either to collapse or to translate in a different direction. Strong networks can be characterised as those having strong external attachments (e.g. with external organisations, virtual villagers, software providers/designers...); a strong obligatory point of passage (few or no alternative means for entities to achieve their goals); and strong internal mobilisation (Law and Callon 1992: 48).

If we are the limits of the data with regard to enrolment, we are beyond them when it comes to mobilisation. There is no evidence, from the responses, that any of the webmasters had achieved this state at the time of the research, and plenty of evidence that their networks, if they had achieved enrolment, were still far from stabilised. The fact that the websites were still in operation suggests that in each case that translation was still proceeding, and thus that mobilisation could still happen without the network becoming irredeemably unstable, but then we were engaging with webmasters who were still in operation, not those who had tried and failed.

#### **Conclusions**

##### **What does ANT bring to the analysis of village websites?**

Using ANT helps us to visualise the development and maintenance of village websites as more than the simple linear process that it first appears, and to look beyond the impression (given by the website itself) of a representation of the interests of a single entity called the village ‘community’, or even representation of the ‘village’ by a single actor and helpers – the ‘webmaster’.

It allows us to gain some understanding of the complexity of the situation, with the development and maintenance of the website resulting from the interaction of a number of different actors, each with its own interests, drawn together in an alliance round one of those actors, the webmaster – who has influence over the OPP but cannot exercise that influence effectively without ‘interesting’ and enrolling some other key actors and (in some cases) blocking out others. This in turn allows and/or encourages the excluded actors to create competing actor-networks, increasing the difficulty of mobilisation and raising the probability of dissidence and eventual collapse even where mobilisation is achieved. The webmasters’ responses suggest various types of interestment and enrolment processes: some go it alone fighting against all-comers, for instance; some find that the proximity of alternative translations (e.g. alternative websites for the same village) entails a high degree of seduction and coercion; others are deeply embedded in the pre-existing networks, such that enrolment for them is more a process of drawing all actors into a transforming alliance with a high degree of consensus.

There are limits to the explanatory power of ANT in the context of this study. The theory is typically used to explore a single process, and here we have a multiplicity of websites and of actor-networks: moreover only part of the ANT armoury has been employed, eschewing refinements such as identifying actors’ ‘scripts’ and scripting processes (Akrich 1992; Akrich

and Latour 1992). The data was not collected with ANT in mind, and the timing of its collection limits the degree to which it can shed light on enrolment and mobilisation (still less dissidence). The data consists of statements and reflections from the webmasters, and only the webmasters, with no triangulation from other sources. Even with these constraints, though, the insights so far gained suggest that work to enrich the data further would be well worth while. This would be possible by, in the first instance, an updating survey with questions specifically related to the enrolment and mobilisation stages of the translation – even going back to the intéressement stage to identify specific processes at work. This work is under way. More valuable, perhaps, would be an in-depth ethnographic study of a small number of the villages concerned, seeking to track events carefully over time, and to elicit in-depth input from a range of interested parties: actors, whether enrolled or not, and dissidents.

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## ČÁST 3 - Part 3



# **Proměny venkovského osídlení**

## **Transformation of Settlements in the Countryside**

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### **Klíčová slova**

proměna vesnic, expanze měst do volné krajiny, jiný vztah k obdělávané (kultivované) krajině

### **Abstrakt**

K dosavadním transformacím osídlení venkova probíhá v současnosti další radikální proměna. Dochází k poměšťování vesnic, které ztratily existenční zázemí a staly se většinou závislými na městech. Mizí zemědělské poslání vesnic, zemědělství se řídí z jiných míst. Půda je propachtovaná, nejsou podporovány rodinné farmy. Paralelně se inzeruje jak obnova, tak rozvoj venkova. Venkov má nevýhodně nastavené daně. Volná krajina je snadno využívána k expanzi sub-urbánní zástavby, bez znaků kvalitního urbanismu.

### **Key words**

transformation of villages, expansion of towns into landscape free space, different relation towards the cultivated landscape

### **Abstract**

To all types of transformation from the past up to nowadays, additional radical transformation at present is taking part. We witness the urbanization of originally rural villages. These settlements have lost their existential background and became dependent upon towns. The agricultural character of the said villages started to disappear, management of modern agriculture is being done from other places. The land is mainly hired; support of family farms is not visible (missing). At the same time the revitalisation and the development of countryside is being advertised. Regulation of taxation is not advantageous for the countryside settlement structure. The free spaces of landscape are easily accesible for sub-urban expansion, lacking signs of urban design and planning quality.

## Proměny osídlení na venkově

Hovořit o proměnách venkovského osídlení je vysoce aktuální téma. Je pravděpodobné, že určitá bezkonceptnost, lhostejnost, vykládaná jako třeba jako liberalismus, nás bude stát mnoho nápravného úsilí v budoucnu. Proměny, které probíhají v současnosti, jen navazují na celou řadu dřívějších a v něčem dokonce pokračují v nastoupených trendech. Ty provázejí venkov od doby, kdy začala mizet dlouhotrvající dominance rurálního hospodaření.

V současné době existují i ideje, jak vrátit venkovu jeho důstojné místo. Proto se hovoří o „obnově“ venkova. Míní se tím více či méně obnova hodnot, které v průběhu času poklesly, byly znejasněny, je nebezpečí jejich ztráty. Jiné směry hovoří o rozvoji venkova, tedy spíše o pokračování nastoupených trendů, z nichž mnohé vedly k různým ztrátám. Je to možná paradoxní, ale pravda leží patrně někde uprostřed. Venkov chce být jiný, chce držet krok s městy, která zase hledají naplnění v ideji a v prostorách čistšího venkova, jak už tomu ostatně bylo v historii několikrát. Města inklinují spíše k obnově známých hodnot venkova, venkov snad v důsledku ztráty sebevědomí hledá inspirace jinde.

Pokusme se ve stručnosti připomenout minulé fáze zmíněných proměn a pokusme se odhadnout návaznosti, případně možný alternativní trend. Tím by měla být regenerace svébytnosti venkova, jeho partnerství k městům, ne jeho područí.

V průběhu 19. století dochází ke všeobecně známému rozvoji techniky a technologií, které znamenaly přechod od omezené lidské síly ke znásobeným možnostem strojů a nástrojů. Průmysl absorboval přebytky velkých populačních přírůstků venkova, který při tehdejších způsobech zemědělství nemohl rostoucí počty uživit. Neúrody znamenaly otřesy, hladomory a odliv lidí až do zámoří. Venkov se dostal do pohybu. Lidé, kteří se vraceli, začali ovlivňovat další profil venkova.

Kovorolník se stal představitelem venkovana, který si musel přivydělávat ve městě. Železnice to umožnila. Vazba na původní místa i původní názory znamenaly pokračování účasti na zemědělství. Každá další fáze znamenala pro venkov oslabení tamějších pracovních možností. Více lidí odcházelo do měst, a to i v průběhu socialismu, kdy kulminovaly snahy po nezávislosti na západním světě. Zemědělství bylo reformováno, i když násilně. Změnil se ráz krajiny a sní vztah lidí k půdě. Vesnice začala být noclehárnou pro většinu trvalých obyvatel. Heslo „přiblížit venkov městům“ se realizovalo jak ze strany politické moci, tak ze strany venkovanuů samých. Přijímali šance, které měly kompenzovat zásadní ztráty.

Spolu se systémem střediskových obcí se prosadila koncepce oddělit perspektivní a neperspektivní venkovská sídla ve snaze omezit jejich počet, soustředit výstavbu a vybavení do vybraných míst. Mnoho sídel bylo anektováno do rámce měst. Mnoho jich významově kleslo na tzv. „místní části“ jiných, větších vesnic.

Na okrajích tradiční zástavby se objevily rozsáhlé areály zemědělských závodů, panelové nájemní domy, domy služeb a domy kultury, kina. Venkov byl propojen sítí veřejné městské dopravy, jedné z nejhušších v Evropě.

Z krajiny mizely některé nevýnosné kultury jako zamokřené louky, rybníky, mokřady, louky a pastviny. To vše ve jménu soběstačnosti v potravinách. Orná půda začala dominovat a rozměry lánů se mnohonásobně zvětšily. Ekologická stabilita a biodiverzita značně utrpěly. Projevilo se to na stavech divokých zvířat. Obdobně nepříznivě působilo neuvážené chemické hnojení, zanechávající v půdě mnoho nespotřebovaných ingrediencí. Těžká technika doslova „válcovala“ pole a další chyby se projeví rozsáhlou vodní erozí. Rovněž

velkochovy malých i velkých zvířat se projeví jako problematické s mnoha neetickými projevy. Zvířata se stala „věcmi“, kterými jsou dodnes.

Proč všechny tyto okolnosti vyjmenovávat? Patrně jako důkazy pro odcizení člověka přírodě. Mohl se více bránit, kdyby cítil potřebu. Spíše byl získán pro další „rozvoj“ v tomto směru.

Při restitucích většinou nedošlo k návratu těchto lidí k farmaření. Jednalo se jednak o lidi ve vysokém věku, jednak systém subvencí nebyl koncepčně zaměřen na re-instalaci předkolektivního hospodaření. Půda je vlastníky propachtovávána a produkce na polích se řídí zdaleka. Slušné mzdy a jiná životní orientace způsobují mizení doma chovaného zvířectva. Drobné podnikání se přesunulo spíše do měst. Řemeslná výroba, přidružená k bývalým státním statkům a zejména k jednotným družstvům většinou skončila neschopností konkurovat.

### **Co z toho všeho vyplývá?**

Vesničané se poměšťují. Je to vidět na jejich přístupu k zástavbě. Ta je ve velké míře představována, pokud se tak nestalo již dříve. Rozdíl je zejména v míře svépomoci, jinak řečeno amatérské práci, která byla jedním ze znaků období socialismu. „Urob si sám“. Dnes pole ovládají firmy, klienti a způsob financování úvěry a hypotéky.

Chalupáři, kteří zachránili tisíce venkovských stavení před zkázou, nejsou tak výrazní, jako dříve. Nedostatek času a vysoké tempo poznamenalo všechny, včetně jejich orientací. Za socialismu nedošlo k rozhodným krokům – opustit města a trvale se usídlit na venkově. Nedochozí k tomu ve větším podílu ani dnes. Změnou je přesun chalupářů – důchodců do rekreačních objektů, a to do jisté míry pod tlakem dětí a vnuků, kteří potřebují ve městech byty. Venkov, i když stále více poměšťovaný, si zachovává svou tradiční nedůvěru k nově příchozím. Zvláště někde je tato hranice živá. Přesto je nutno připustit, že lidé z měst přispívají významně k tendencím obnovy venkova – oproti domorodcům, kteří jej chtějí poměstit.

Ale i lidé z měst se často vymezují proti venkovanům. Rostou soubory nových, městských rodinných domů, často v návaznosti na tradiční zástavbu, někde dochází k prolínání, respektive k pronikání této zástavby do center vesnic. Jsou to často i architekti, kteří radí vesničanům, aby žili lépe, tj. městsky. Doporučují opouštět, zbavovat se starých usedlostí s poukazem na celou řadu nedostatků, nevýhod (které se mimochodem daly odstranit – v případě motivace, například u chalupářů).

Vesnice není jednotná ani v otázkách školní výchovy. Je živá představa, že komplexní škola ve městě musí být lepší, než malotřídka na vesnici. Existují příklady souhlasné, i ty, které toto tvrzení vyvrátí. Na vesnici skončilo mnoho zařízení občanského vybavení. Je známa historie malých pošt, nyní lékáren, hostinců, malých koloniálů. Není možné poukázat jina jednotlivé faktory, které tuto oblast dovedly ke konci. Je to vzájemné působení mnoha příčin.

Lidé jsou nuceni používat soukromá vozidla, aby se dopravili do práce, více či méně vzdálené. Existují dnes vzdálenosti, překonávané denně při jízdách za prací, dosahující kolem 100 km na jednu cestu. Režie je často významná, záleží na povolání a příjmech.

Vesnice jsou vyliďněné. Děti se rodí málo, mladí většinou odešli. Zůstávají staří což současně znamená sociálně slabší. Výraznou pomocí byly mobily, které dovolí přivolat první pomoc.

Osídlení je v textu představeno především jako problém sociální. Obrat by nastal objevnou politikou a koncepcí, jak dostat na venkov pracovní příležitosti a navíc, jak dosáhnout, aby lidé zůstali na venkově, nebo sem dokonce odešli. Stále vychází jako pravděpodobnější (a jistější) užívat venkova příležitostně, dokud to režijní náklady dovolí.

Zatím nebyla příliš rozvedena expanze měst na venkov. Jen zmínkou o postojích nově přistěhovaných vůči domácím. V našich venkovských obcích se staví méně, než se objevuje v územních plánech. Zde je jeden z ožehavých problémů současnosti. Přežívá přesvědčení, že svoboda volby je správnější, než jakékoli omezování. Pozadím těchto postojů je zkušenost z centrálního plánování v minulosti. Neosvědčilo se odkrojoval lidem představy, sledující určitou ideologii. Dnešní uvážlivé myšlení musí čelit těmto pochopitelným reakcím na minulé chyby, ale je překvapením, že ještě stále po šestnácti letech nebyly formulovány perspektivní zásady, nikoli pofiderní obrana.

Těžištěm plánování venkovských sídel je úroveň územních plánů obcí (dříve sídelních útvarů, dle nového stavebního zákona již jen územních plánů). Obec tím nese větší zodpovědnost, než jí náleží. Přihlédneme-li ke kvalifikaci vesnických zastupitelstev, je to spíše nezodpovědnost těch, kteří by měli být zodpovědní. Zastupitelstva, někdy samostatnější starostové, uvěří v pozitiva slibovaných předností nové, zejména rozsáhlé výstavby, převážně rodinných domů. Je otázkou, zda tato pozitiva nejsou zástupným problémem, kterými investoři získávají souhlas s výstavbou. Územní plány, respektive jejich autoři, jsou často „službou“, vykonávající požadované úkony. Zjevně chybí ověření optimálních dimenzí zástavby, její kontrola z nadhledu, tj. z regionální úrovně. Tam úvahy o distribuci obyvatel, migracích, důvodech k pohybům, atd., často chybí, nebo jsou marginálními otázkami.

Existují oblasti, kdy většina katastrů je navržena k zástavbě. Venkovské sídlo se tím řadí svým budoucím charakterem spíše k městům.

Ani regionální úroveň často nestačí na zodpovězení těchto podstatných otázek budoucnosti státu. Obyvatelstvo stárne, pomůže migrační příliv? Jaký, jak bude rozmístěn? Uvažuje se i s posílením venkova? V kterých oblastech. Jak se vyvinou pohraniční oblasti, nazývané Sudety? Dosavadní znehodnocení, někdy až devastace vymezuje naléhavá řešení vzhledem k exponované poloze ve středu Evropy. atd.

Expanze na venkov, spíše řízená ekonomicky dostupnými parcelami a jen jemně omezovaná ochranou zemědělského půdního fondu, je silným, dominujícím trendem. Re-investice do existující zástavby jsou zpochybňovány z mnoha stran. Z různých příčin. Není toto zábranou pro skutečnou obnovu? Jakého stavu? V jakých podmínkách?

Ohlédneme-li se do sousedních zemí, zejména na západ od našich hranic, je zjevné, že situace je odlišná. Kromě lepší ekonomické situace je patrně odlišná nepřerušným vztahem soukromého rolníka k půdě. Přes zjevné potíže existuje motivace pokračovat v zemědělské činnosti i když za podmínek kombinace s jiným zaměstnáním, s doplněním o určité funkce vyvolané cestovním ruchem. U nás nemáme dostatek rodinných farem, ze kterých by šlo kupř. vybírat lokality pro agroturistiku. Zájem, alespoň ze zahraničí, by byl.

Je možné, že systém podpor venkovu je nutné jinak uspořádat, i co do hierarchie, co do priorit. Některé oblasti fungují slušně (Jižní Morava), jiné naopak potřebují dosáhnout určité základní roviny, o které lze prohlásit, že je „vhodná pro skutečný start“ (chudé Sudety, vnitřní pohraničí).

# **Územní aspekty rozvoje podnikání v odlehlých venkovských oblastech Evropy**

## **Territorial Aspects of Enterprise Development in Remote Rural Areas of Europe**

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### **Klíčová slova**

odlehlá venkovská oblast, územní aspekty, NEG, CGE, přilehlé městské centrum, rozvoj podnikání

### **Abstrakt**

Souhrnným cílem mezinárodního projektu TERA, který začal v roce 2005, je identifikovat a analyzovat územní aspekty, které ovlivňují rozvoj podnikání v odlehlých venkovských oblastech Evropy.

Detailně je projekt zaměřen na:

- identifikaci a analýzu teritoriálních ekonomických aspektů, které ovlivňují vznik, rozvoj a přežití podnikání v periferních venkovských oblastech Evropy a rozbor povahy a míry vlivu těchto aspektů;
- hodnocení rozsahu, v jakém jsou tyto aspekty zohledňovány v předchozích i současných politikách EU zaměřených na podporu rozvoje a v národních a regionálních rozvojových programech a projektech, zejména v souvislosti se souběžnými dotačními opatřeními jako jsou přímé platby v rámci Společné zemědělské politiky a národní systém podpory sociální péče;
- specifikaci nových vládních nařízení, která berou v úvahu tyto územní aspekty a podporují rozvoj odlehlých venkovských oblastí efektivnějším způsobem, který je více zaměřený na cílovou oblast. Snahou projektu TERA je přispět k úsilí EU zvýšit význam rozvojových opatření a poskytnout nový politický rámec, který by umožňoval zlepšit přímý vliv politických opatření. Dalším úkolem projektu je podpora soudržnosti a udržitelnosti územního rozvoje v rozšířené EU. Zpracování projektu spočívá ve dvou významně se doplňujících analytických přístupech: Nová ekonomická geografie (New Economic Geography, NEG) a Obecná ekonomická rovnováha (Computable General Equilibrium, CGE). Cílem je navrhnout strukturu modelů NEG a CGE, které budou následně vytvořeny pro každou oblast, vybranou v rámci projektu. Metodologie projektu používá běžné nástroje socio-ekonomického výzkumu, kvantitativní a kvalitativní analýzy dat, hodnocení výsledků a srovnávací analýzy. Úvodní část projektu je zaměřena na výběr a komplexní analýzu odlehlé venkovské oblasti a přilehlého městského centra. Za Českou republiku byl vybrán okres Bruntál jako odlehlá venkovská oblast a Ostrava jako městské centrum.

**Key words**

remote rural area, territorial aspects, NEG, CGE, adjacent urban centre, development of enterprise

**Abstract**

The overall objective of international project TERA that started in July 2005 is to identify and analyze the territorial aspects that influence the development of enterprises in remote rural areas of Europe.

In more detail, TERA aims at:

- Identifying and analyzing territorial economic aspects which influence the creation, development and survival of enterprises in peripheral rural areas of Europe and measuring the nature and degree of the influence of these aspects;
- Assessing the extent to which current and recent EU development policies and national and regional development programmes and projects take account of these aspects, in the context of, especially, parallel support policies such as CAP direct payments and national social welfare support systems;
- Specifying new policy directions which take account of territorial aspects and promote the development of remote rural areas in a more targeted and effective manner. TERA aims to contribute to EU efforts to increase the value of development policies and to provide a new policy framework able to enhance the positive effects of policy and promote cohesion and sustainable spatial development in a larger EU. The project-working plan relies on two distinct complementary analytical approaches: the New Economic Geography (NEG) and the Computable General Equilibrium (CGE). The aim is to design the structure of the CGE and NEG models that will be constructed for the selected areas. Project methodology uses common tools of socio-economic research, quantitative and qualitative analysis of data, evaluation of results and comparative analyses. The initial part of the project is focused on selection and comprehensive analysis of remote rural areas with an adjacent urban centre. District Bruntál has been selected as a remote rural area and Ostrava as urban centre for the Czech Republic.

# Územní aspekty rozvoje podnikání v odlehlých venkovských oblastech Evropy

## Úvod

Globalizace nepřináší pouze výzvy, ale i příležitosti. Inovace, které probíhají ve světě ukazují, že venkovské oblasti nejsou odsouzeny k vyhlazení a ekonomickému poklesu. Venkov často disponuje cennými zdroji, které jsou však ve velké míře nevyužity. Přírodní a kulturní bohatství, vysoká hodnota lokálních zemědělských i nezemědělských produktů a přístup k půdě představují pouze část bohatství venkova. Informační a komunikační technologie nabízejí venkovu nové příležitosti k ekonomickému rozvoji a rozšíření veřejných služeb (OECD, 2005).

Prosperita venkovských oblastí však není srovnatelná s městskými centry. Blaho venkova má úzkou vazbu na sousední města. Venkovské oblasti potřebují silné a stabilní tržní vazby pro své produkty. Co je venkov a co je město může být instinktivně zcela zřejmé, ale konceptualizace venkovských a městských oblastí, způsobu života a lidí je často emocionální a politická. Definice se mezi jednotlivými zeměmi velmi liší.

Přestože se často předpokládá, že rozvoj venkova a měst je ve vzájemné opozici a zdá se, že mezi sebou soutěží o získání investičních příležitostí a podpor, mnoho městských center vděčí zemědělství za část své ekonomické prosperity. Jedním z nejlepších testů existence venkovského rozvoje je růst lokálních městských center. To znamená, že rostoucí zemědělská produkce je poptávána obchody a zpracovateli ve městě a reálný růst příjmu širokého okruhu venkovských domácností vede ke zvýšení poptávky po zboží a službách poskytovaných podniky ve městě (D. Satterthwaite, 2005).

Mění se ekonomika a rychlá urbanizace směřují k naléhavé potřebě sjednotit přístupy k rozvoji měst a venkova. Vládní nařízení by měla brát v úvahu územní aspekty ekonomických aktivit. Porozumění lokálním a regionálním problémům pomůže podrobněji zjistit, jak globální růst ovlivňuje lokální podmínky a jakou hraje roli napříč zemí; kde a jak se liší a co s ním mohou dělat vládní nařízení. Velmi důležité je pochopit, jaké faktory růstu může politika ovlivnit. Identifikace regionálního a lokálního hospodaření a zjištění, na jakém principu funguje, může pomoci určit ekonomicky racionální, politicky a administrativně proveditelný způsob, jakým zasáhnout. Místní vláda se velmi často omezuje pouze na hranice své působnosti a nesnaží se napojit na širší ekonomické vazby. Místo toho by tato vláda měla jednat ve smyslu „ekonomicky funkčního regionu“, který dává politice ekonomickou sílu a zároveň určuje, kdy a kteří aktéři veřejného i soukromého sektoru budou do politiky zahrnuti (J. Hobson, 2005).

V rozvinutých ekonomikách tvoří malé a střední soukromé podniky významný inovační potenciál. Dokáží nejrychleji reagovat na potřeby nových a rozvíjejících se trhů zejména na místní a regionální úrovni. Malé a střední podniky tvoří významný segment národního hospodářství a zahrnují, v souladu s definicí OECD, subjekty s počtem pracovníků do 250 osob. Malé a střední podniky vytváří zdravé podnikatelské prostředí, zvyšují dynamiku trhu, mají schopnost absorbovat podstatnou část pracovních sil uvolňovaných z velkých podniků, mohou napomáhat rychlejšímu rozvoji regionů a jsou stabilizujícím prvkem ekonomického systému. Pro jejich rozvoj jsou rozhodující podmínky, za kterých mohou rozvíjet hospodářskou činnost. Ekonomické prostředí do značné míry určuje a ovlivňuje poptávku po jejich produktech a službách a může tak usnadňovat nebo naopak omezovat jejich přístup na trhy, které jsou důležité pro jejich vznik a další růst (Národní rozvojový plán, 2002).



Politika venkovského rozvoje Evropské unie má mnoho zásadních pravidel a prvků. Národní a regionální programy připravují členské státy na víceletá období, obvykle na sedm let. Všechny programy jsou spolufinancovány Evropskou unií, členskými státy a mají přesná pravidla pro programování, implementaci, monitoring, hodnocení a finanční kontrolu. Způsoby intervence nebo opatření jsou předdefinovány předpisy EU. Výsledkem je „nabídka přístupů“, ze kterých si mohou členské státy vybrat a aplikovat je na své vlastní potřeby. Omezení se obvykle týkají buď finančních zdrojů (EU je přiděluje členským státům, které je postupně rozdělují v rámci své země) nebo pravidel implementace (odvětvová omezení, požadavek detailního finančního plánu, limitace změn ve finančním plánu, atd.)

Existuje výrazný rozdíl mezi plány rozvoje venkova a politikou regionálního rozvoje. Jedinou výjimkou jsou hospodářsky slabé regiony, známé jako regiony v rámci Cíle 1. Tyto venkovské oblasti jsou zařazeny do regionálních programů rozvoje, které sledují princip integrace (F. Mantino, 2005).

Snahou mezinárodního projektu TERA (členy jsou Itálie, Finsko, Řecko, Skotsko, Lotyšsko a Česká republika) je přispět k úsilí EU zvýšit význam opatření na podporu rozvoje a poskytnout nový politický rámec, který by umožňoval zlepšit přímý vliv politických opatření. Dalším úkolem projektu je podpora soudržnosti a udržitelnosti územního rozvoje v rozšířené EU.

Hlavním cílem projektu TERA je identifikace a analýza územních aspektů, které ovlivňují rozvoj podnikání v odlehlých venkovských oblastech Evropy. Vztah mezi odlehlou venkovskou oblastí a městským centrem představuje klíčový prvek, který určuje budoucí vývoj těchto odlehlých oblastí. Rozvíjející se centra nabízejí mnoho pracovních příležitostí lidem, žijícím v okolí a podporují rozvoj celého regionu. Vybrané oblasti tedy obsahují významnější městské centrum schopné podporovat budoucí rozvoj celé oblasti.

V příspěvku je popsána první fáze projektu, která zahrnuje metodologii pro výběr jednotlivých odlehlých oblastí a městských center a stanovení ukazatelů, které jsou nosné pro tvorbu popisné analýzy vybraných oblastí. Dále jsou zde prezentovány výsledky srovnávací analýzy vybraných odlehlých oblastí a doporučení strategických principů pro další rozvoj těchto oblastí.

## **1. Cíl a metodický postup**

Souhrnným cílem mezinárodního projektu TERA, který začal v roce 2005, je identifikovat a analyzovat územní aspekty, které ovlivňují rozvoj podnikání v odlehlých venkovských oblastech Evropy. Detailně je projekt zaměřen na:

- identifikaci a analýzu teritoriálních ekonomických aspektů, které ovlivňují vznik, rozvoj a přežití podnikání v periferních venkovských oblastech Evropy a rozbor povahy a míry vlivu těchto aspektů;
- hodnocení rozsahu, v jakém jsou tyto aspekty zohledňovány v předchozích i současných politikách EU zaměřených na podporu rozvoje a v národních a regionálních rozvojových programech a projektech, zejména v souvislosti se souběžnými dotačními opatřeními jako jsou přímé platby v rámci Společné zemědělské politiky a národní systém podpory sociální péče;
- specifikaci nových vládních nařízení, která berou v úvahu tyto územní aspekty a podporují rozvoj odlehlých venkovských oblastí efektivnějším způsobem, který je více zaměřený na cílovou oblast.

Cílem první části projektu je specifikace kritérií pro identifikaci odlehlé oblasti, výběr oblasti, popisná analýza vybrané oblasti a konečně sestavení srovnávací analýzy vybraných oblastí s návrhy doporučení pro další rozvoj.

Metodický postup první části projektu se skládá z několika kroků. První krok obsahuje požadavky pro identifikaci a výběr odlehlé venkovské oblasti a přilehlého městského centra. Po tomto kroku následuje souhrnná analýza, která podrobně charakterizuje sociální a ekonomickou situaci ve vybrané oblasti. Na souhrnnou analýzu navazuje srovnávací analýza, která umožní identifikovat podobnosti a odlišnosti jednotlivých oblastí na základě socio-ekonomických a teritoriálních charakteristik.

Vlastní metodický postup se skládá ze třech, na sebe navazujících, kroků:

1. identifikace a výběr odlehlé venkovské oblasti a přilehlého městského centra,
2. souhrnná analýza vybrané oblasti,
3. srovnávací analýza vybraných oblastí.

## **2. Identifikace a výběr odlehlých venkovských oblastí**

### **2.1 Typologie venkovských oblastí**

Geografické, historické, kulturní a ekonomické faktory zvyrazňují různorodost zemí v rámci Evropské unie. Některé regiony jsou obecně označovány jako „venkovské“, přestože význam tohoto slova není stále jednoznačně definován. „Venkov“ je často vyjadřován pouze prostřednictvím hustoty obyvatel. Ta však představuje pouze jeden prvek. Pojem rurality by měl brát v úvahu vývoj zemědělské populace z hlediska zaměstnanosti, údržby krajiny a socio-ekonomických ukazatelů. Rozmanitost zemědělských činností a rozdíly v úrovni ekonomického rozvoje mezi regiony vedou k závěru, že existuje mnoho různých charakteristik venkovských oblastí (Barthelemy a Vidal, 1999).

Venkovské oblasti pokrývají 90 % rozšířené Evropské unie a podle definice OECD poskytují domov polovině obyvatel Evropské unie (Boel, 2005).

Společná zemědělská politika (SZP) a politiky rozvoje venkova jsou obvykle uplatňovány na celém území unie, bez ohledu na enormní rozmanitost. Nástroje a opatření těchto politik vedou k rozdílným výsledkům v závislosti na podmínkách regionů. Rozdělení zemědělských oblastí do kategorií LFA, založených především na kvalitě půdy a demografických kritériích, je z územního hlediska jediná výjimka v jinak neutrální SZP. Takto můžeme rozlišit LFA oblasti a non-LFA oblasti, ve kterých se uplatňují jiná politická opatření (platby LFA).

Typologie venkovských regionů a její aplikace v politice je komplikovanější.

Evropská listina (European Charter) pro venkovské oblasti – zpráva ze zasedání Parlamentu Evropské rady - definuje venkovské oblasti jako „část vnitrozemské nebo pobřežní krajiny včetně malých měst a vesnic, kde většina území je používána pro:

- zemědělství, lesnictví, akvakulturu a rybolov,
- ekonomické a kulturní aktivity domácích obyvatel (řemesla, průmysl, služby atd.),
- rekreaci a trávení volného času mimo město (nebo přírodní rezervy),
- další účely, např. bydlení“ (Barthelemy and Vidal, 1999).

Metodika OECD je založena na kritériu přepočtené hustoty obyvatel. Podle této metodiky se regiony (jednotky NUTS 3) člení na tři typy:

- převážně venkovské regiony – více než 50 % obyvatel žije ve venkovských obcích (pro tento účel definované jako obce s méně než 150 obyvateli na 1 km<sup>2</sup>,
- významně venkovské regiony – ve venkovských obcích žije 15 až 50 % obyvatel,
- převážně městské regiony – ve venkovských obcích žije méně než 15 % obyvatel.

Další definice OECD vysvětluje, že rozdíl mezi typy venkovských území spočívá „zejména v geografické a ekonomické odlehlosti od městského centra“. Takto jsou vymezeny tři typy venkovských oblastí:

- hospodářsky integrované venkovské oblasti - rostou ekonomicky i demograficky a často se nachází blízko městského centra, příjmy převyšují venkovský průměr;
- mezilehlé venkovské oblasti – relativně prostorově odlehlé, ale jejich infrastruktura je na dobré úrovni a umožňuje snadný přístup k městskému centru. Oblasti jsou tradičně závislé na zemědělství a s ním souvisejících činnostech, zejména z hlediska pracovních příležitostí;
- odlehlé venkovské oblasti – obvykle řídce osídlené a situované v periferních regionech velmi vzdálených od městského centra. Oblasti jsou charakteristické nízkou hustotou obyvatel, stárnoucí populací, minimální infrastrukturou a službami, nízkou kvalitací a příjmy a slabým zapojením do ekonomiky (Barthelemy and Vidal, 1999).

## 2.2 Vymezení odlehlých venkovských oblastí

Projekt TERA je rámcově zaměřen na vymezení tzv. odlehlých venkovských oblastí. Tato identifikace je potřebná pro efektivnější a adresnější řešení problémů venkovského rozvoje v Evropské unii. Pro účely projektu může být území EU rozděleno následujícím způsobem:

- oblasti mimo venkov (non rural areas NON-RA),
- venkovské oblasti, které nejsou odlehlé (non remote rural areas NON-RRA),
- odlehlé venkovské oblasti (remote rural areas RRA).

Z hlediska tvorby politiky rozvoje venkova může být rozdíl mezi NON-RRA a RRA interpretován podobně jako rozdíl mezi NON-LFA a LFA v rámci SZP.

Identifikace a výběr odlehlé venkovské oblasti by měly vést k politickým opatřením, která nejsou zaměřena pouze na zemědělství, ale na celkový regionální rozvoj. Mezi hlavní otázky dalšího rozvoje patří jednak zaměření rozvojových opatření v těchto oblastech, jednak politické principy, které by měly být v budoucnu sledovány.

V návaznosti na francouzskou agenturu pro regionální rozvoj DATAR (*Délégation à l'Aménagement du Territoire et à l'Action Régionale*) mohou být principy budoucího rozvoje stručně shrnuty takto: 1) redistribuce, 2) refundace, 3) konzervace, 4) kompenzace, 5) budování.

Princip *redistribuce* je založen na zajištění lepší distribuce majetku, pracovních míst a obecného prospěchu. Tento koncept zahrnuje schopnost snadno zajistit redistribuci kapitálu v oblastech, kde má stát a plánování na principu shora-dolů silnou pozici.

Princip *refundace* spočívá v plánování nového přístupu k tvorbě teritoriální struktury. Cílem je, na principu sdílené spravedlnosti, odstranit nedostatky, které nejsou způsobeny špatnou politikou ani neúčinnými opatřeními, ale spíše negativní situací, jež vytváří teritoriální územní škody v národním i lokálním měřítku.

Princip *konzervace* je zaměřen na zachování životního prostředí a kulturního i přírodního bohatství dané oblasti.

Princip *kompensace* může být použit v situaci, kdy je územní plánování příliš vzdáleno od exaktní vědy a žádné matematické, ekonomické ani geografické modely nemohou docílit optimální distribuce zdrojů a výrobních prostředků. Rozvojové aktivity se uplatňují ve zvýhodněných oblastech nebo na místech s vysokou koncentrací územních faktorů.

Poslední princip – *budování* je stavěn na předpokladu, že některé mechanismy a lokální podmínky mohou být spouštěčem růstových a rozvojových procesů.

## 2.3 Základní požadavky na výběr odlehlé venkovské oblasti

Analyzovaná oblast v rámci projektu TERA by měla být venkovská, odlehlá, umístěná v méně příznivé oblasti (LFA), s rozptýlenou ekonomickou strukturou a s přilehlým nebo zahrnutým městským centrem.

Vzhledem k podstatným rozdílům v úrovni NUTS jednotlivých zemí EU, jsou pro požadovanou oblast akceptovány úrovně NUTS 3, NUTS 4 a NUTS 5 tak, aby co nejvíce vyhovovaly jednotlivým partnerům.

### 2.3.1 Vztah město – venkov

Na základě cílů projektu TERA je identifikace klíčových územních aspektů nezbytná pro rozvoj ekonomické činnosti v odlehlých evropských oblastech. Existence městského centra v blízkosti nebo přímo ve venkovské oblasti má významný vliv na vzájemné ekonomické vztahy mezi městem a touto oblastí.

Ideální představa vztahu město – venkov je vzájemná symbióza:

- města fungují jako servisní centra pro své venkovské okolí, nabízí odbyt pro zemědělské produkty, veřejné i komerční služby a pracovní příležitosti,
- venkovské oblasti nabízejí přírodní a zpracovaný materiál, pracovní síly a poptávku po nezemědělském zboží a službách.

Z ekonomického pohledu jsou obvykle rozlišovány tři typy vztahu město – venkov: *spotřební* vztahy (poptávka po finálních produktech), *produkční* vztahy (nabídka vstupů pro podnikání) a *finanční* vztahy (např. nájemné z pozemků vlastněných majiteli žijícími ve městech, úspory obyvatel na venkově uložené v městských institucích atd.).<sup>149</sup>

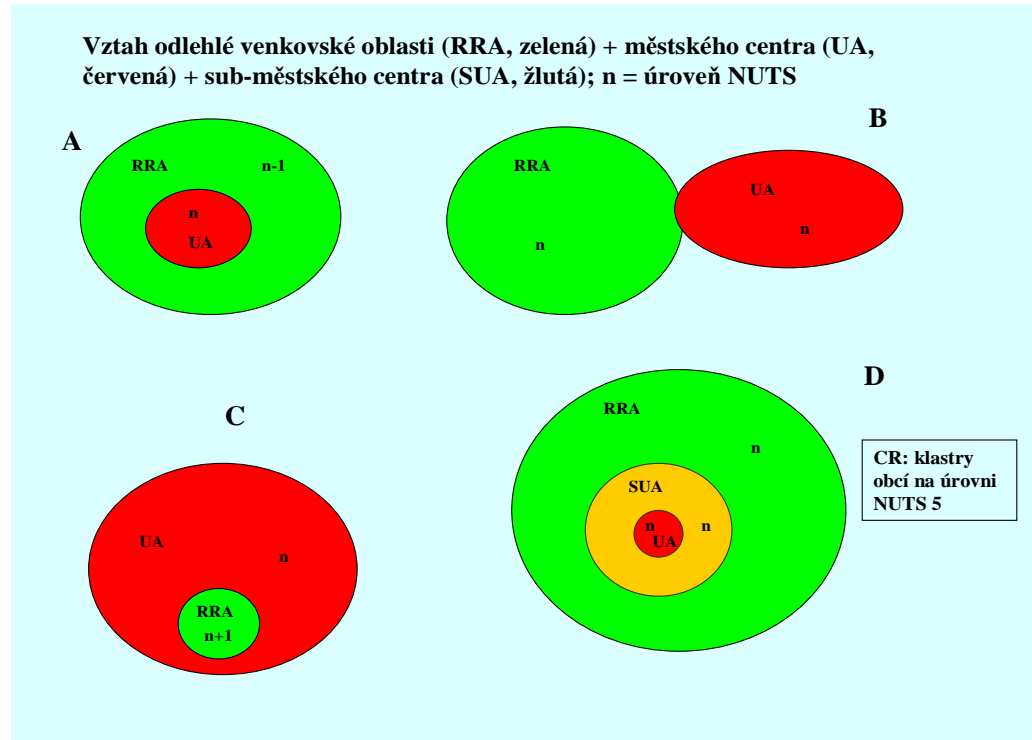
Hlavním tématem vztahu město – venkov je migrace z venkova do měst. Regionální migrace se často koncentruje v malých nebo středně velkých městských centrech, která nabízejí pracovní příležitosti. Je patrné, že mnoho obyvatel venkova preferuje dojíždění před stěhováním za prací, investice a dopravní obslužnost, které odpovídají potřebám obyvatel s nižšími příjmy, by pravděpodobně zvýšily jejich možnosti a omezily tlak městských center.

Vnější vliv přilehlých městských center se projevuje zejména v ukazatelích ne/zaměstnanosti (např. vznik nebo zánik pracovních míst a příležitostí) a v rozmístění populace.

Městská centra hrají důležitou roli při poskytování základních služeb pro mnoho obyvatel měst a pro většinu obyvatel venkova. Tato městská centra jsou obzvláště důležitá tím, že umožňují venkovské populaci přístup ke státním resp. vládním službám a právní pomoci (Satterthwaite a Tacoli, 2003).

<sup>149</sup> Rural-Urban Linkages, Department for International Development (DFID), Velká Británie, 2002

## Schéma č. 1: Potencionální vztah mezi venkovskou oblastí a městským centrem



Pro vymezení odlehklých venkovských oblastí v rámci projektu TERA a jejich městských center je použita tato definice:

*„Odlehle venkovské oblasti jsou obvykle řídce osídlené s přilehlým nebo začleněným městským centrem a situované v periferních regionech. Oblasti jsou charakteristické nízkou hustotou obyvatel, stárnoucí populací, nízkou úrovní infrastruktury a služeb, nízkou kvalitací a příjmy a slabým zapojením do ekonomiky.“*

### 2.4 Ukazatele pro identifikaci odlehklých venkovských oblastí

S přihlédnutím k regionálním rozdílům v ekonomice a přírodních podmínkách a s využitím vybraných statistických přehledů je úlohou jednotlivých ukazatelů podat jednoduše srozumitelný obraz hlavních vývojových tendencí.

Identifikace odlehklých venkovských oblastí je založena na souboru ukazatelů a jejich analytickém a statistickém hodnocení.

Vzhledem k časovým možnostem byly vybrány takové ukazatele, které jsou k dispozici a data není potřeba dodatečně zjišťovat. Soubor ukazatelů se tedy v maximální míře opírá o existující statistiky.

Navrhovaná typologie vychází z typologie vytvořené v Politecnico di Milano (1999).<sup>150</sup>

Každá zúčastněná země uplatnila, na základě svých možností, tyto kategorie ukazatelů:

1. Obecné a přírodní charakteristiky,
2. Demografické trendy,

<sup>150</sup> A Typology of Rural Areas in Europe: Indicators on Strength and Weakness of Rural Territories and Selection of Areas (NUTS 3), Strategic Study: Towards a New Urban Rural Partnership in Europe. Politecnico di Milano, 1999. Typologie rozlišuje přilehlé, mezilehlé a odlehle venkovské oblasti.

3. Osídlení,
4. Ekonomicko-sociální charakteristiky,
5. Infrastruktura a historie.

## 2.5 Použití ukazatelů k identifikaci odlehlých venkovských oblastí

Existuje několik způsobů, jak použít ukazatele, zmíněné v kapitole 2.4, pro výběr odlehlé venkovské oblasti. Jednotlivé metody jsou seřazeny dle obtížnosti od nejjednodušší až k plně sofistikované:

- výběr RRA odborně a přímo s ohledem na nejdůležitější ukazatele,
- odborný výběr nejdůležitějších ukazatelů, definice prahových hodnot pro vybrané ukazatele, odvození RRA v souladu s prahovými hodnotami,
- použití vybraných indikátorů pro shlukovou analýzu a jejím prostřednictvím identifikovat RRA,
- použití faktorové analýzy pro výběr nejdůležitějších ukazatelů a následně pro identifikaci RRA.

## 3. Srovnávací analýza

Snahou této části projektu bylo, prostřednictvím srovnávací analýzy, zjistit podobnosti a rozdíly vybraných odlehlých venkovských oblastí. Analýza vychází ze šesti individuálních studií jednotlivých partnerů.

**Tab. č. 1: Vybrané oblasti jsou venkovské, odlehlé s přilehlým nebo začleněným městským centrem**

Země	Vybraná oblast	Městské centrum
Řecko	Archanes	Heraklio
Finsko	Severní Karelie	Joensuu
Skotsko	East Highland	Inverness
Itálie	Po Plain	Ferrara, Ravenna
Česká republika	Bruntál	Ostrava
Lotyšsko	Latgale	Rezekne a Daugavpils

Hlavní socio-ekonomické aspekty vybraných oblastí, které byly analyzovány a porovnávány, jsou následující:

- (a) Poloha a přírodní charakteristiky,
- (b) Demografie a lidské zdroje,
- (c) Osídlení a bydlení,
- (d) Infrastruktura – silniční síť a dopravní obslužnost,
- (e) Socio-ekonomické charakteristiky.

### 3.1 Poloha a přírodní charakteristiky

Identifikace a výběr oblasti sledovaly metody popsané v kapitole 2.5. Jedná se o: (1) jednoduchou územní analýzu s použitím nejdůležitějších indikátorů, kterou použily Řecko,

Skotsko, Itálie a Finsko; (2) faktorovou a/nebo shlukovou analýzu (Česká republika, Lotyšsko).

Vybrané oblasti představují úroveň NUTS 3, NUTS 4 nebo NUTS 5. Jednotlivé země zvolily úroveň NUTS podle místních podmínek a dostupnosti dat.

Ve srovnání se sousedními oblastmi a poměry dané země, jsou všechny vybrané oblasti okrajové, odlehle a venkovské s přilehlým nebo začleněným městským centrem.

### **3.2 Demografie a lidské zdroje**

Všechny vybrané oblasti, kromě řecké, jsou řídce osídlené s nízkou hustotou obyvatelstva, která je výrazně nižší než hustota obyvatel dané země. Dle hustoty obyvatel je možné oblasti rozdělit na dvě skupiny. První skupina obsahuje oblasti s hustotou nižší než 25 obyvatel na km<sup>2</sup> (Finsko, Lotyšsko a Skotsko). Druhá skupina zahrnuje oblasti s výrazně vyšší hustotou než skupina první (Česká republika, Itálie a Řecko).

Kromě finské Severní Karelie a lotyšské Latgale populace v ostatních oblastech roste. Nicméně je všude patrná tendence ke stárnutí populace. Věková struktura je charakteristická vyšším podílem osob nad 65 let a nižším podílem osob mladších než 15 let.

Migrace je mezi vybranými oblastmi rozdílná. Pozitivní migrace existuje v řecké a skotské oblasti, do kterých se lidé stěhují z ostatních částí země. Negativní migrace převládá ve vybrané oblasti Finska, České republiky a Lotyšska.

Úroveň vzdělání jako odraz kvality lidských zdrojů ukazuje v posledních letech jisté zlepšení (roste podíl populace s vyšším vzděláním), přesto je tato úroveň obvykle nižší než národní průměr. Zlepšení je částečně způsobeno přistěhováním lidí s vyšším vzděláním.

### **3.3 Osídlení a bydlení**

Většina obyvatel vybrané oblasti žije v rodinných domech. Je však zřejmá tendence ke snižování počtu obyvatel dané domácnosti a velikosti domů.

Významný je podíl domů, které jsou využívány jako druhý domov nebo rekreační objekt. Vybrané oblasti tedy mají významný rekreační potenciál, který může znamenat vhodnou příležitost pro další rozvoj oblasti.

### **3.4 Infrastruktura**

Všechny oblasti jsou relativně snadno dostupné po silnici, železnici nebo letecky. Dopravní obslužnost (autobusové nebo železniční zastávky, letiště) jsou dostatečné. Z tohoto pohledu mohou být česká, finská a lotyšská oblast považovány za izolovanější než zbývající oblasti.

### **3.5 Socio-ekonomické charakteristiky**

Z hlediska socio-ekonomických charakteristik, všechny země vykazují podobné charakteristiky (ve srovnání s národním průměrem):

- výrazně nižší HDP na obyvatele,
- vyšší úroveň nezaměstnanosti,
- větší důležitost primárního sektoru (zemědělství a v některých zemích také lesní hospodářství) ve struktuře lokální ekonomiky,
- důležitost veřejného sektoru,

- rostoucí podíl cestovního ruchu a souvisejících služeb ve struktuře ekonomiky, který slibuje další příležitosti pro rozvoj oblasti a který v některých zemích není zatím dostatečně využit,
- podnikatelská struktura je založena zejména na malých podnicích.

#### 4. Závěrečné srovnání a shrnutí

Tato kapitola se zabývá socio-ekonomickou situací a možnostmi rozvoje ve vybraných odlehlých venkovských oblastech EU.

Srovnání vybraných oblastí z hlediska splnění cílů projektu TERA shrnuje tab. č. 2.

**Tab. č. 2: Celkové srovnání vybraných odlehlých venkovských oblastí, 2001**

Ukazatel		ČR	Finsko	Řecko	Itálie	Lotyšsko <sup>1)</sup>	Skotsko
Environmentální senzitivita <sup>2)</sup>	x	xxxx	xxx	x	xxxx	xx	xxx
Hustota obyvatel <sup>3)</sup>	%	51	63	174	64	63	24
Růst populace (1991-2001)	%	0,7	-3,0	6,3	-5,0	15,3 (22,5)	5,8
Podíl populace ve věku 0-14 let	%	18,1	18,0	15,6	9,0	16,1	18,3
Podíl populace nad 65 let	%	11,1	25,0	19,4	24,0	23,6	15,9
GDP na obyvatele	eur	7 200	16 500	7 241	---	1 230(1 680)	19 050
GDP na obyvatele <sup>3)</sup>	%	82	75	74	---	35 (48)	80
Podíl malých podniků	%	57	95	do 100	---	95	57
Míra nezaměstnanosti	%	11,4	14,5	5,2	6-7	15,5 (12,2)	3,8
Podíl pracujících v primárním sektoru	%	6,6	8,0	38,2	14 - 35	47,0 (2,4)	12,5 <sup>4)</sup>
Podíl pracujících v průmyslu a stavebnictví	%	42,0	28,0	8,1	21 - 22	(28,1)	16,9
Podíl pracujících v ostatních sektorech (služby)	%	51,4	64,0	53,7	34 - 50	(70,8)	71,6
Průměrná velikost zemědělského podniku	ha	největší	29,2	2,6	15	15,6	---
Rekreační potenciál - odhad	x	xx	xxx	xxx	x	xx	xx
Podíl rekreačních objektů na celkovém počtu domů	%	15,4	29,7	12,0	---	---	4,2

1) TRR - venkovské oblasti v rámci projektu, (TR) – všechny oblasti v rámci projektu.

2) chráněná území atd.

3) % národního průměru

4) 9,5 % v zemědělství.

Údaje z tabulky č. 2 a informace z předchozí kapitoly byly použity pro základní charakteristiku a klasifikaci vybraných oblastí. Pro tento účel byly zvoleny dva druhy kritérií: (1) úroveň „odlehlosti“ a (2) „nejlepší“ strategie pro další rozvoj (která odráží pouze regionální rozdíly v rámci dané země a neuvažuje regionální rozdíly na úrovni EU-25).

S ohledem na většinu ukazatelů v tabulce č. 2, na vzdálenost od hlavního města a spojení s lokálním městským centrem můžeme vybrané oblasti zhruba rozdělit na:



- oblasti s vyšší úrovní „odlehlosti“ – Finsko, Česká republika,
- oblasti se střední úrovní „odlehlosti“ – Lotyšsko, Skotsko,
- oblasti s nižší úrovní „odlehlosti“ – Řecko, Itálie.

Shrnutím typických vlastností všech vybraných oblastí lze určit „nejlepší“ strategii pro další rozvoj dané oblasti:

- *Česká republika (Bruntál)*: ekonomicky nerozvinutá oblast s významným přírodním bohatstvím, ale nevyužitým rekreačním potenciálem, což je ovlivněno existencí velkých hospodářství a relativně malým podílem ekonomicky aktivní populace zaměstnané v terciálním sektoru. „Nejlepší“ budoucí strategií by mohla být kombinace principů *refundace* a *budování*.
- *Finland (Severní Karelíe)*: Pěkná krajina a velké přírodní bohatství v kombinaci se zachováním stávajícího průmyslu, mohou být dobrým základem pro další využití rekreačního potenciálu dané oblasti. Nevýhodou pro budoucnost je nepříznivá věková struktura populace. Kombinace principů *konzervace* a *kompensace* by mohla být „nejlepší“ strategií pro budoucí rozvoj oblasti a zároveň snížit současnou vysokou míru nezaměstnanosti.
- *Řecko (Archanes)*: oblast je převážně (až extrémně) zaměřena na zemědělství, s nízkou ekonomickou úrovní ve srovnání s národním průměrem. Díky nedalekými historickým památkám oblast disponuje potenciálem pro rozvoj terciální sféry, zejména turistiky. Vzhledem k velkému významu zemědělství je klíčovým faktorem rozvoj zpracovatelského průmyslu při splnění požadavků na vyšší úroveň kvality a/nebo původ. „Nejlepší“ strategií by mohlo být použití principu *budování* možná v kombinaci s principem *redistribuce* (např. vyšší podpora ze strukturálních fondů EU).
- *Itálie (oblast Po Plain)*: ekonomicky nerozvinutá oblast s vysokým podílem chráněných území, ale se slibnými vztahy s dvěma kulturními a historickými městskými centry. Princip *redistribuce* pro zachování životního prostředí jako veřejného zboží dané oblastí se jeví jako „nejlepší“ budoucí strategie.
- *Lotyšsko (Latgale)*: ekonomicky velmi slabá oblast ve srovnání s národním průměrem, s velmi vysokou mírou nezaměstnanosti a nadprůměrným počtem obyvatel zaměstnaných v zemědělství. Rozvoj ostatních sektorů, včetně terciálního, je nezbytně nutný, aby mohlo dojít k postupnému odstranění špatné socio-ekonomické situace včetně nepříznivé věkové struktury. Řešením této situace by mohla být kombinace principů *refundace* a *budování*.
- *Skotsko (East Highland)*: tato oblast se ze všech vybraných oblastí jeví jako nejvíce ekonomicky rozvinutá s překvapivě vysokým podílem obyvatel zaměstnaných v zemědělství, který vysoce překračuje národní úroveň i úroveň EU. Na druhé straně, velký potenciál lze najít v kombinaci zachování současných činností a rozvoje cestovního ruchu (oblast také vykazuje nejvyšší zaměstnanost v terciálním sektoru ve srovnání s ostatními vybranými oblastmi). Sledování principu *budování* by mohlo být „nejlepším“ řešením pro budoucnost oblasti.

## Závěr

Úkolem první části projektu TERA byla identifikace odlehlých venkovských oblastí v zúčastněných zemích (Itálie, Finsko, Řecko, Skotsko, Lotyšsko a Česká republika). Specifikace kritérií a výběr oblastí dodržovaly postup, který je v souladu s cíli projektu.

Následným krokem byla popisná analýza dané oblasti a souhrnná srovnávací analýza vybraných odlehlých venkovských oblastí.

Jednotlivé oblasti byly vybrány použitím dvou metod. V případě Řecka, Skotska a Itálie se jednalo o odborné vyhodnocení nejdůležitějších ukazatelů. Česká republika použila faktorovou analýzu a Lotyšsko shlukovou a následně faktorovou analýzu. Vybrané oblasti představují úrovně NUTS 3, NUTS 4 a NUTS 5.

Výsledná srovnávací analýza vychází z popisných analýz jednotlivých oblastí, které zpracovali partneři projektu a obsahuje následující skupiny ukazatelů, které byly analyzovány a srovnávány: obecné a přírodní charakteristiky, demografické trendy, osídlení, ekonomicko-sociální charakteristiky, infrastrukturu a historii.

Vybrané oblasti jsou venkovské, odlehlé s přilehlým nebo začleněným městským centrem. Všechny jsou řídké osídlené s nízkou hustotou obyvatelstva, přesto je patrný trend růstu populace (kromě finské Severní Karelie). Charakteristická je nepříznivá věková struktura, která se vyznačuje velkým podílem populace nad 65 let a malým podílem populace mladší 15 let. Úroveň vzdělání se zlepšuje, stále však zůstává pod národním průměrem.

Většina obyvatel žije v rodinných domech. Jejich velikost i počet členů domácnosti postupně klesá. Významný podíl rekreačních objektů představuje nezanedbatelný potenciál pro rozvoj cestovního ruchu a možnost dalšího rozvoje oblasti.

Z hlediska dopravy jsou studované oblasti relativně snadno dostupné. Českou, finskou a lotyšskou oblast lze z tohoto pohledu považovat za izolovanější odlehlé oblasti.

Sociální a ekonomická situace vybraných oblastí je ve srovnání s národními průměry daných zemí méně příznivá. Vybrané odlehlé oblasti ukazují podobné charakteristiky: nízký HDP na obyvatele, vyšší míru nezaměstnanosti, velký význam primárního sektoru, především zemědělství, rostoucí důležitost veřejného sektoru a cestovního ruchu, podnikatelskou strukturu založenou zejména na malých podnicích.

Na základě předchozích analýz lze vybrané odlehlé oblasti charakterizovat a klasifikovat dle kritérií úrovně „odlehlosti“ a „nejlepší“ strategie pro další rozvoj.

**Tabulka č. 3: Úrovně odlehlosti**

	úroveň „odlehlosti“	„nejlepší“ strategie
Itálie	nižší	redistribuce
Česká republika	vyšší	budování a refundace
Skotsko	střední	budování a redistribuce
Řecko	nižší	budování a redistribuce
Lotyšsko	střední	budování a refundace
Finsko	vyšší	konzervace a kompenzace

Zaměření další fáze projektu TERA je sestavení modelů NEG (New Economic Geography - Nová ekonomická geografie) a CGE (Computable General Equilibrium - Obecná ekonomická rovnováha) na vybrané oblasti, které zároveň sledují cíle projektu. Model CGE nebude zaměřen pouze na takové prvky jako je odlehlost, vzdálenost, dopravní náklady, mobilita atd., ale také na externalitu (např. kvalita života) a závislost na přírodních zdrojích. Makroekonomický model NEG bude zkoumat efekty meziodvětvového přerozdělování pracovních sil na zaměstnanost resp. nezaměstnanost v odlehlých venkovských oblastech.

Tyto modely by měly být schopny hodnotit účinky změn v politice na rozvoj podnikání i na celkový rozvoj vybraných oblastí.

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# Štrukturálne zmeny na Slovenskom vidieku Structural Changes of Slovak Rural Areas

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## Klíčová slova

vidiecke regióny, vidiecke sídla, ekonomická štruktúra vidieka, stratégie pre rozvoj vidieka

## Abstrakt

Vplyv transformačného procesu na rozvoj vidieka sa prejavuje diferencovane v rurálnych typoch regiónov /prevažne vidieckych a prechodných/. Diferenciácia sa prejavuje predovšetkým v zmene ekonomickej štruktúry, v podnikateľskej aktivite a v efektoch plynúcich z rozvoja, vyjadrených výnosmi dane z príjmu fyzických a právnických osôb, v podnikateľskej aktivite, zamestnanosti, mzdách a procese urbanizácie.

## Key words

rural region, rural settlement, economic structure of countryside, rural development strategies

## Abstract

Transformation process effect on the rural development manifests differently on the rural regions, predominantly rural regions and temporary regions. Differences are shown especially in the economic structure change, in entrepreneurial activity and in development effects expressed by revenues of taxes from the income of traders and corporations, in employments entrepreneurial activity, in salaries and in the urbanization process.

## Štrukturálne a procesné zmeny na slovenskom vidieku

Problematica vidieka, vidieckych regiónov a vidieckych obcí je predmetom záujmu odborníkov tak zo spoločenských, ekonomických, prírodovedných, ako aj technických odborov. Je tiež predmetom záujmu politikov a obyvateľov žijúcich vo vidieckom priestore.

Príčina takéhoto záujmu vyplýva najmä z prehlbujúcej sa priestorovej nerovnováhy v rozvoji územia spôsobenej koncentračnými tendenciami kapitálu v urbanizovaných územiach, ktoré poskytujú komparatívne výhody prejavujúce sa v aglomeračných efektoch.

Na druhej strane z nedostatočného ekonomického využívania disponibilných prírodných a ľudských zdrojov alokovaných na vidieku, ktoré môžu väčšou mierou prispieť k ekonomickému rozvoju krajiny.

Mnohé príčiny problémov a konfliktov ktoré priniesla transformácia spoločensko-ekonomického systému do vidieckych regiónov Slovenska majú korene v predchádzajúcom vývoji na vidieku.

Ekonomický a sociálny rozvoj slovenského vidieka do roku 1991 stál na troch pilieroch. Na väčšej možnosti vidieckeho obyvateľstva zamestnať sa v priemyselných podnikoch a službách mimo obce, na možnosti zamestnať sa v priemyselných prevádzkach poľnohospodárskych podnikov ktoré predstavovali tzv. pridruženú výrobu a na zamestnanosti, až prezamestnanosti v poľnohospodárskej prvovýrobe koncentrovaných poľnohospodárskych podnikov.

Všetky tri piliere ekonomiky slovenského vidieka v období transformácie skolabovali.

Naviac, dôsledkom centralizovanej redistribúcie verejných zdrojov bola a naďalej zostala vo vidieckych regiónoch nedostatočne vybudovaná sieť technickej infraštruktúry a občianskych služieb.

### Materiál a metódy

Politika EU smerovaná do rozvoja vidieka si vyžadovala stanoviť kritériá pre vymedzenie vidieckych regiónov. Metodika OECD, ktorú akceptuje aj Spoločenstvo regionalizuje krajinu do troch typov regiónov na základe kritérií: podiel obyvateľstva žijúceho vo vidieckych sídlach a hustoty osídlenia prepočítanej na kataster sídla.

Na základe tejto metodiky bola uskutočnená regionalizácia Slovenska do troch typov regiónov. Vidiecke, resp. prevažne vidiecke regióny, ktoré zaberajú 59,5 % územia Slovenska. Žije v nich 2 375 tis. obyvateľov /44 %/. Prechodné regióny, ktoré majú tiež charakteristické znaky vidieckosti a žije v nich ďalších 2 347 tis. obyvateľov. Zaberajú 43,5 % územia. V urbanizovaných regiónoch žije 600 tis. obyvateľov a zaberajú 1,2 % rozlohy územia Slovenska.

Zmeny v ekonomickej štruktúre vidieckych regiónov na Slovensku sú hodnotené v časovom rade rokov 1997 - 2003 za použitia metódy analýzy štrukturálnych zmien /shift a share analýza/vyjadrenej vzťahom:

$$\Delta e_i = \overbrace{e_{i0} [(E_t/E_0) - 1]}^{\text{národný podiel (R)}} + \overbrace{e_{i0} [(E_{it}/E_{i0}) - (E_t/E_0)]}^{\text{proporcionálna zmena (Sp)}} + \overbrace{e_{i0} [(e_{it}/e_{i0}) - (E_{it}/E_{i0})]}^{\text{diferenciálna zmena (Sd)}}$$

kde:

$\Delta e_i$	zmena regionálnej zamestnanosti v odvetví i
$e_{i0}$	regionálna zamestnanosť v odvetví i na začiatku sledovaného odvetvia
$e_{it}$	regionálna zamestnanosť v odvetví i na konci sledovaného odvetvia
$E_{i0}$	národná zamestnanosť v odvetví i na začiatku sledovaného odvetvia
$E_{it}$	národná zamestnanosť v odvetví i na konci sledovaného odvetvia
$E_0$	národná zamestnanosť na začiatku sledovaného odvetvia
$E_t$	národná zamestnanosť na konci sledovaného odvetvia

Pri hodnotení zmien v ekonomickej štruktúre vidieckych regiónov boli uplatnené aj metódy lokalizačnej analýzy a to: index lokalizácie, ktorý charakterizuje sociálnu funkciu odvetvia v regióne

index lokalizácie meria úmernosť zastúpenia sledovaného i –tého odvetvia v j-tom regióne k počtu obyvateľov.

$$IL_{ij} = \frac{\frac{X_{ij}}{Y_i}}{\frac{S_j}{S}}$$

kde:

$X_{ij}$  - počet zamestnaných i-odvetvia v j-regióne

$Y_i$  - počet zamestnaných i-odvetvia v krajine

$S_j$  - počet obyvateľov j-regiónu

$S$  - počet obyvateľov v krajine

koeficient lokalizácie ktorý poukazuje na ekonomický význam odvetvia v regióne.

index lokalizácie meria úmernosť zastúpenia sledovaného i –tého odvetvia v j-tom regióne k počtu obyvateľov.

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$Y_i$  - počet zamestnaných i-odvetvia v krajine

$S_j$  - počet obyvateľov j-regiónu

$S$  - počet obyvateľov v krajine

## Výsledky

### Zmeny v ekonomickej štruktúre vidieckych regiónov

Z výsledkov štrukturálnej analýzy vyplýva že v období rokov 1997 – 2003 ubudlo na Slovensku celkom 205 101 pracovných miest. V jednotlivých typoch regiónov bol úbytok pracovných príležitostí rozdielny.

Najväčší úbytok pracovných príležitostí až -90 036 pracovných miest zaznamenali vidiecke regióny. Tento úbytok pracovných miest bol z 80 % ovplyvnený celkovým

národohospodárskym vývojom. Výsledkom nepriaznivého vnútorného rozvoja vidieckych regiónov bol zaznamenaný ďalší úbytok o -18 164 pracovných miest.

Najviac pracovných miest vo vidieckych regiónoch ubudlo z poľnohospodárstva -39 849 a priemyslu -30 720.

Vo vidieckych regiónoch sa postupne začala meniť ekonomická štruktúra o čom svedčí vytváranie nových pracovných miest predovšetkým vo verejnej správe +15 852, v obchodných činnostiach + 5 027, v službách naviazaných na rozvoj cestovného ruchu + 1 459a v aktivitách súvisiacich s nehnuteľnosťami a s prenájmom + 853.

**Tab. č. 1: Štrukturálne zmeny v ekonomickej základni regiónov v rokoch 1997 - 2003**

Charakteristika	Regionálny rast G	Podiel (národný) R	Regionálna zmena S	Odvetvový mix Sp	Diferenciálna zmena Sd
Odvetvie	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<b>Vidiecke regióny</b>					
Pôdohospodárstvo	-39 849	- 11 096	- 28 758	- 26 075	- 2 678
Priemysel	-30 720	- 25 890	- 4 830	- 1 955	- 2 875
Stavebníctvo	-11 476	- 3 302	- 8 174	- 7 224	- 950
Obchod	2 153	- 2 873	5 026	5 367	- 341
Ostatné odvetvia	-10 144	- 28 711	18 567	17 289	1 278
Spolu	-90 036	- 71 872	- 18 164	- 12 598	- 5 566
<b>Prechodné regióny</b>					
Pôdohospodárstvo	- 22 530	- 7 593	- 14 937	- 17 843	2 906
Priemysel	- 38 431	- 35 421	- 3 010	- 2 675	- 336
Stavebníctvo	- 15 223	- 5 079	- 10 144	- 11 112	967
Obchod	4 111	- 4 473	8 584	8 356	228
Ostatné odvetvia	- 16 194	- 38 419	22 225	23 135	- 910
Spolu	- 88 267	- 90 985	2 717	- 139	2 856
<b>Urbanizované regióny</b>					
Pôdohospodárstvo	- 1 468	- 370	- 1 098	- 870	- 228
Priemysel	- 7 100	- 9 587	2 487	- 724	3 211
Stavebníctvo	- 9 491	- 2 972	- 6 519	- 6 502	- 17
Obchod	2 658	- 2 933	5 591	5 478	113
Ostatné odvetvia	-10 513	- 25 500	14 987	15 355	- 368
Spolu	-25 914	- 41 361	15 447	12 737	2 710

*Prameň: Gecíková, I.: Vplyv poľnohospodárstva na socio-ekonomický rozvoj vidieckych oblastí (dizertačná práca). Katedra regionálneho rozvoja SPU v Nitre, 2005*

V prechodných typoch regiónov došlo za hodnotené obdobie k úbytku ďalších -88 267 pracovných miest vplyvom nepriaznivého národohospodárskeho vývoja. Prechodné typy regiónov vplyvom väčšej ponuky rozvojových faktorov ako aj vplyvom rozvinutejšej infraštruktúry dokázali v rámci vlastnej regionálnej politiky zo značnej časti eliminovať

úbytok pracovných príležitostí o čom svedčí skutočnosť, že vytvorili +30 809 nových pracovných miest.

Nové pracovné miesta boli vytvorené predovšetkým v službách /+23 135/ a obchode. Dynamika tvorby nových pracovných miest v tomto type regiónov bola najväčšia, dokonca väčšia než v urbanizovaných regiónoch

Z výsledkov lokalizačnej analýzy vyplýva:

- vo vidieckych regiónoch má napriek permanentnému úbytku pracovných miest ešte stále najväčší vplyv na riešenie zamestnanosti vidieckeho obyvateľstva pôdohospodárstvo. Spolu s verejnými službami ponúkajú najväčší počet pracovných miest, čo potvrdzuje koeficient lokalizácie
- priemysel je ďalším odvetvím, ktoré zamestnáva vidiecke obyvateľstvo. Rozhodujúca časť pracovných miest ktoré ponúka priemysel je však lokalizovaná v mestách a mestečkách
- v regiónoch prechodného typu je ekonomická štruktúra viacej diverzifikovaná Pracovné miesta vytvárajú najmä priemysel, stavebníctvo a obchod. Ponuku pracovných miest v týchto regiónoch dopĺňajú doprava, pôdohospodárstvo a verejné služby.

**Tab. č. 2: Výsledky lokalizačnej analýzy v účelových typoch regiónov v SR za rok 2003**

Odvetvia	Vidiecke regióny		Prechodné regióny		Urbanizované regióny	
	IL	KL	IL	KL	IL	KL
Pôdohospodárstvo	1,23	1,62	0,98	0,98	0,13	0,08
Priemysel	0,81	1,06	1,15	1,11	1,16	0,66
Stavebníctvo	0,61	0,8	1,08	1,05	2,13	1,22
Obchod	0,62	0,82	1,01	0,96	2,33	1,54
Verejné služby	-	1,12	-	0,91	-	1,03

*Diferenciácia v rozvoje úrovni vidieckych regiónov na Slovensku*

Z komplexnejšej analýzy faktorov rozvoja vidieckych regiónov na Slovensku, ktorú uskutočňuje vo výskumnom programe Katedra regionálneho rozvoja Slovenskej poľnohospodárskej univerzity v Nitre vyplýva:

- výrazne diferencovaná rozvojová úroveň a rozdielne dopady transformačného procesu na vidiecke regióny a prechodné regióny;
- vidiecke regióny tvoria skupinu najviac zaostávajúcich regiónov. Sú charakteristické najvyššou nezamestnanosťou, najnižšou priemernou mzdou, a najnižšou podnikateľskou aktivitou;
- majú nepriaznivú sídelnú štruktúru s vysokým zastúpením obcí do 300 obyvateľov, málo rozvinutú technickú a sociálnu infraštruktúru;
- reštrukturalizácia ekonomiky je pomalá. Zamestnanosť zabezpečujú prevažne odvetvia pôdohospodárstva, a verejná správa. Ako konkurencie schopné sa v týchto regiónoch zatiaľ stále javia odvetvia pôdohospodárstva, z časti stavebníctvo a vo vhodných prírodných podmienkach pre rozvoj cestovného ruchu aj služby s ním spojené;
- pozitívnym javom v týchto regiónoch je stabilizácia vidieckeho obyvateľstva a v prímestských regiónoch migračný prírastok obyvateľov do vidieckych obcí;



- prechodné regióny dynamickejšie menia a diverzifikujú svoju ekonomickú štruktúru, a viac dynamizujú podnikateľskú aktivitu;
- uvedený vývoj je dôsledkom lepšej východzej pozície prechodných regiónov ,ktorá vyplývala z industrializačného procesu a inovácií, ktoré priniesol rozvíjajúci sa priemysel v rozvojových osiach Slovenska: Bratislava-Považie, na osi Pohronia a samotnej Bratislava a okolia, ako aj z lokalizácie cestnej a železničnej siete transeurópskeho charakteru a priaznivejšej sídelnej štruktúry.

**Tab. č. 3: Diferenciácia v rozvojovej úrovni vidieckych regiónov Slovenska**

Ukazovateľ	Merná jednotka	Vidiecke regióny	Prechodné regióny
Podiel územia z celkovej rozlohy SR	%	59,5	39,3
Podiel obyvateľstva z celkového počtu SR	%	44,2	43,5
Ekonomická základňa podiel podnikov z celkového počtu v SR index podnikateľskej aktivity počet mikrofiriem do 9 zamestnancov počet malých podnikov do 49 zamestnancov		22 1,7 13,5 2,7	44 2,6 27,5 4,8
konkurencieschopnosť odvetví (podľa poradia)	%	pôdohospodárstvo, stavebníctvo, hotelierstvo	pôdohospodárstvo, priemysel, stavebníctvo, hotelierstvo
ekonomická štruktúra úbytok pracovných miest	v tis.	pôdohospodárstvo, stavebníctvo, hotelierstvo	diverzifikovaná najnižší (28 % od roku 1998)
z časti kompenzovaný rastom pracovných miest	v tis.	monoštruktúrna najvyšší (64 % od 1998) verejná správa	stavebníctvo, obchod, hotelierstvo
Socio-ekonomický rozvoj			
miera nezamestnanosti	%	17,8	14,3
dlhodobó nezamestnaní	%	58,6	35,7
prevládajúci počet nezamestnaných		agrosektor	agrosektor
priemerná mzda v regióne	Sk	12 075,-	14 583,-
priemerná mzda v pôdohospodárstve	Sk	11 133,-	11864,-
Demografický potenciál			
index starnutia		96,1	113,7
prirodzený prírastok/1000 obyv.		0,84	-0,81
migračný prírastok	%	11	15
migračný úbytok	%	3	2
základné vzdelanie	%	32	27
Sídelná štruktúra	počet		
priemerná veľkosť sídla	obyv.	900 – 1 200	2 200 – 2 800
odľahlé obce	%	11,7	5,4
Vybavenosť technickou infraštruktúrou	km/100		
hustota ciest	km <sup>2</sup>	41,1	37,3
kvalita ciest E triedy a I. triedy	km	9,7	11,3
podiel obcí napojených na vodovod	%	59,6	85
podiel obcí napojených na kanalizáciu	%	15,0	22,4

*Prameň: vlastné spracovanie*

## **Záver**

Koncepcia endogénneho rozvoja je v súčasnosti považovaná za najvýznamnejšiu pre rozvoj vidieckych regiónov. Endogénny rozvoj vidieckych regiónov je postavený na rozvoji malého a stredného podnikania. Na vytváraní partnerstiev súkromného a verejného sektora pre efektívnejšie využívanie ľudského, hmotného a finančného kapitálu, na budovaní technickej a občianskej infraštruktúry a budovaní sietí občianskych združení a ich aktivite.

Len od uplatňovania koncepcie endogénneho rozvoja vo vidieckych regiónoch a sídlach nie je možné očakávať zásadnejšie a dynamické zmeny, pretože vidiecke regióny nedisponujú takým množstvom kapitálu /hmotného a finančného/, ktorý by bol schopný sám aktivizovať rozvoj. Slabšie rozvinutá technická infraštruktúra neponúka podnikateľom aglomeračné úspory.

Naviac v malých vidieckych sídlach absentujú lídri a často i schopný samosprávny manažment.

Aby koncepcia endogénneho rozvoja mohla priniesť oživenie a postupný rozvoj vo vidieckych regiónoch, sú potrebné vonkajšie impulzy ekonomické i neekonomické. Bez dodatočného kapitálu je ťažko rozhýbať endogénne zdroje. Bez spojenia vidieckych sídiel s okolím prostredníctvom dopravných sietí /cestnej, železničnej, leteckej/ zostávajú regióny izolované a pre podnikateľov ako aj obyvateľov málo zaujímavé.

Bez účinných exogénnych rozvojových faktorov nemožno očakávať významnejšie zmeny na vidieku. Očakávania, že podpora rozvoja vidieka zo zdrojov Spoločenstva bude rozhodujúcim exogénnym faktorom ktorý bude aktivizovať rozvoj vidieckych regiónov nie sú opodstatnené. Rozhodujúce exogénne faktory pre rozvoj vidieckych regiónov si musí vytvoriť každá krajina na úrovni centrálnych a regionálnych vlád, prostredníctvom vytvárania podmienok pre využívanie endogénnych faktorov a to predovšetkým cez regulačné mechanizmy v rámci regionálnej politiky, budovanie súčastí technickej infraštruktúry a hlavne podporu podnikania postavenom na vlastnom kapitále v týchto regiónoch.

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# **Sociálno-ekonomické rozdiely medzi mestom a vidiekom na Slovensku**

## **Socio-economic Differences Between Urban and Rural Areas in Slovakia**

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### **Kľúčové slová:**

vidiek, index starnutia, zamestnanosť, nezamestnanosť, mzdy, podnikateľská aktivita

### **Abstrakt**

Príspevok porovnáva hodnoty vybraných demografických a sociálnoekonomických ukazovateľov, ktoré sa v rokoch 1999 až 2003 zistili vo vidieckych a urbánnych okresoch Slovenska. Klasifikácia okresov bola vykonaná s použitím kritérií vidieckosti OECD. Na vidieku rastie podiel obyvateľstva v poproduktívnom veku za uvedené obdobie sa zvýšil index starnutia o 14,1 bodu, a index ekonomického zaťaženia vo vidieckych oblastiach bol v roku 2003 nepriaznivejší ako v mestských regiónoch. Pokles zamestnanosti za sledované obdobie bolo výraznejšie vo vidieckych regiónoch ako v mestských. Zamestnanosť v pôdohospodárstve (vrátane lesníctva) klesla vo všetkých vidieckych regiónoch. Napriek tomu poľnohospodárstvo a lesníctvo v niektorých regiónoch zohráva nezanedbateľnú úlohu. V jednej štvrtine všetkých okresov (NUTS IV) prevyšovala v roku 2003 zamestnanosť v pôdohospodárstve 10 % z celkového počtu pracujúcich v okrese. Miera nezamestnanosti vo vidieckych regiónoch je niekoľkonásobne vyššia ako nezamestnanosť v mestských regiónoch (v roku 2003 bola 2,6 krát vyššia). V roku 2003 dosiahla priemerná mzda zamestnanca na vidieku iba 63,8 % priemernej mzdy zamestnanca v mestských regiónoch. V mestských regiónoch je vyššia hustota podnikateľov i podnikov ako na vidieku, dynamika ich rastu je ale na vidieku vyššia. To naznačuje perspektívu značného rozvojového potenciálu týchto foriem podnikania vo vidieckych regiónoch. Podľa doterajšieho vývoja sledovaných ukazovateľov však celkove možno usudzovať, že duálny typ vývoja v oboch regiónoch bude pokračovať.

### **Key word**

rural area, aging index, employment, unemployment, wages, entrepreneurial activity

### **Abstract**

Divergence of some socio-economic indicators between rural and urban in Slovakia Blaas Gejza, Buchta Stanislav Abstract Paper presents a comparison of some demographic and socio-economic characteristics of urban and rural districts based on data from the years 1999 to 2003. The urban/rural classification of districts has been done by using OECD criteria of rurality. The share of population in post-productive age brackets has been increasing in rural districts. During the observed period the aging index has risen by 14.1 points and the economic load index was less favourable in rural districts than in urban ones in 2003. Employment sank more markedly in rural than in urban districts during the observed period. Agricultural employment (including forestry) fell down in all rural

districts. Nevertheless, agriculture and forestry is playing an important role in some regions as a supplier of jobs. In one quarter of all districts (NUTS IV) agriculture and forestry employed more than 10 % of working population. The unemployment rate in rural regions is several times higher than in urban regions. (2.6 times in 2003). The average income of wage-earners in rural areas accounted only for 63.8 % of average wages paid in towns in 2003. Density of entrepreneurs and also of business is higher in urban than in rural districts, but their growth rates are higher in rural areas. This indicates a significant growth potential of small and middle size entrepreneurship in rural regions. Though, the up to now evolution suggests that the dual type of development will continue also in the future.

# Sociálno-ekonomické rozdiely medzi mestom a vidiekom na Slovensku

## Úvod

Jedným z najdôležitejších problémov slovenského vidieka je jeho znížená konkurencieschopnosť v porovnaní s urbanizovanými priestormi. Súčasná ekonomická a sociodemografická dynamika signalizuje, že rozdiely medzi najviac a najmenej rozvinutými oblasťami sa naďalej zvyšujú.<sup>151</sup> Slovensko je charakteristické nerovnomernosťou v hospodárskom a sociálnom rozvoji územia. Na jednej strane sa sformovali určité rozvinuté regióny s prevažne mestskou štruktúrou, so silne rozvinutými ekonomickými (najmä výrobnými a obslužnými) aktivitami. Na druhej strane sa sformovali nerozvinuté regióny, kde synergicky nepriaznivo pôsobí viacero faktorov. Ide o územia s nepriaznivým polohovým potenciálom, s prevažne vidieckou štruktúrou, so slabo rozvinutou a málo diverzifikovanou ekonomickou štruktúrou, nižšou vzdelanostnou úrovňou obyvateľstva a pod. Táto línia nadobúda jasné priestorové kontúry - v smere od hl. mesta Bratislavy na východ republiky. Dlhodobejšia fixácia tejto extrémnej diferenciácie hrozí zafixovaním dvojkoľajného vývoja národného hospodárstva. Vzniká tak nezdravá dvojrychlostná ekonomika so všetkými ekonomicky a sociálnymi dôsledkami. Preto základnou prioritou podpory rozvoja vidieka je vytváranie podmienok a priaznivého prostredia prispievajúcich k odstraňovaniu zníženej konkurencieschopnosti vidieckych oblastí a tým i napomáhaniu priestorovej rovnosti šancí vidieckeho a mestského obyvateľstva.

## Metodický postup

Práca je založená na sekundárnej analýze tvrdých dát regionálne diferencovaných sociálne ekonomických indikátorov (na úrovni NUTS IV) a ich interpretácií. Pri priestorovej analýze sa využívalo vymedzenie vidieckosti podľa kritérií OECD.<sup>152</sup> Primárnym zdrojom dát boli regionálne agregované údaje a štatistiky získané zo Štatistického úradu SR, Ústredia práce, sociálnych vecí a rodiny atď. Z celoplošnej regionálnej štruktúry sa konštruovali priestorové agregácie a komparovali s indikátormi charakterizujúcimi typ územia. Základom vymedzenia vidieckych oblastí sú obce s hustotou obyvateľstva nižšou ako 150 obyvateľov na 1 km<sup>2</sup>. Takýchto vidieckych obcí je spolu 2 581 (89 %).

Na úrovni NUTS IV zo 79 okresov Slovenska je 70 vidieckych. Z nich 31 okresov je výrazne vidieckych, kde podiel vidieckeho obyvateľstva je viac ako 50 %. V ostatných 39 okresoch je podiel obyvateľstva žijúceho vo vidieckych obciach medzi 15 – 50 %. Mestské okresy sú okresy dvoch našich najväčších miest Bratislava (I – V) a Košice (I – IV) s menej ako 15 % obyvateľstva žijúceho vo vidieckych obciach.

<sup>151</sup> Podľa Svetovej banky (2005) v SR na úrovni NUTS III existuje druhá najväčšia disperzia v regionálnej miere nezamestnanosti v krajinách EÚ 25, hneď po Taliansku. SR tiež vykazuje druhú najvyššiu regionálnu mieru nezamestnanosti v krajinách EÚ 25 (na úrovni NUTS II).

<sup>152</sup> Creating Rural Indicators for Shaping Territorial Policies. Paris: OECD. 1994

**Tab. č. 1: Podiel vidieckeho obyvateľstva na obyvateľstve SR**

Typ regiónu	Počet obcí		Rozloha obcí		Počet obyvateľov	
	spolu	%	km <sup>2</sup>	%	spolu	%
Mestský – <i>Predominantly urban</i>	73	2,5	2 053	4,2	599 787	11,2
Výrazne vidiecky – <i>Predominantly rural</i>	870	30,1	15 798	32,2	1 368 705	25,4
Ostatné vidiecke – <i>Significantly rural</i>	1 948	67,4	31 183	63,6	3 411 561	63,4
Vidiecke spolu – <i>Rural in total</i>	2 818	97,5	46 981	95,8	4 780 266	88,9
SR spolu – <i>SR in total</i>	2 891	100,0	49 034	100,0	5 380 053	100,0

*Prameň: Bilancia pohybu obyvateľstva podľa obcí SR v roku 2003. Bratislava: Štatistický úrad SR 2004*

### Demografický vývoj

V demografickom vývoji v roku 2004 došlo k významnej zmene (po trojročnom úbytku obyvateľstva z prirodzeného pohybu v rokoch 2001 až 2003, zaznamenalo Slovensko v roku 2004 znovu prirodzený prírastok, keď počet živonarodených detí bol vyšší ako počet zomretých (o viac ako 1,8 tisíc). Rovnako ako v krajinách EÚ populácia na Slovensku starne napriek tomu, že patríme medzi krajiny s najmenším podielom (11,5 %) obyvateľstva vo veku nad 65 rokov (EÚ15 v priemere 16,6 %). V roku 2004 očakávaná dĺžka života opäť mierne stúpila, stredná dĺžka života pri narodení u mužov prekročila hranicu 70 rokov (70,29), u žien sa blíži k hranici 78 rokov (77,82). Z hľadiska vekovej štruktúry pokračuje proces starnutia obyvateľstva, keď sa ďalej znižuje podiel detskej zložky a zvyšuje sa podiel obyvateľstva v poproduktívnom veku. Dlhodobejšie sa na vidieku zvyšuje i podiel obyvateľstva v poproduktívnom veku. Za obdobie 1999 až 2003 sa vo vidieckych regiónoch (klasifikácia podľa kritérií OECD) v absolútnom vyjadrení zvýšil počet tejto skupiny obyvateľstva o 29,5 tis. osôb (v mestských o 6,9 tis. osôb). Na tomto zvýšení sa ženy podieľajú oveľa väčšou mierou ako muži. Vplyvom znižovania podielu detskej zložky a rastom početnosti osôb v poproduktívnom veku sa vo vidieckych regiónoch za obdobie 1999-2003 výrazne zvýšil index starnutia o 14,1 perc. bodu na 102,9. To znamená, že na 100 obyvateľov vo vekovej skupine 0-14 ročných pripadlo na vidieku už 102,9 osôb v poproduktívnom veku.

Zmeny vo vekovom zložení vidieckeho obyvateľstva sa odrážajú aj v ekonomickom zaťažení obyvateľstva v produktívnom veku. Index ekonomického zaťaženia vyjadruje akou mierou je v populácii zaťažená produktívna zložka obyvateľstva neproduktívnou zložkou. Index ekonomického zaťaženia vo vidieckych oblastiach mal v roku 2003 horšie parametre ako v mestských regiónoch. V cieľovom roku pripadlo na vidieku na 100 obyvateľov v produktívnom veku 57,6 závislých osôb, v mestských regiónoch to bolo len 51,4 osôb. Na vidieku (na rozdiel od mestských regiónov) naštartoval trend narastanie neproduktívnej zložky obyvateľstva na úkor produktívnej. Zvlášť nepriaznivý pomer medzi predproduktívnou a poproduktívnou zložkou populácie (index starnutia vyšší ako 100) je takmer v dvoch tretinách vidieckych regiónov (45 okresov). Vzdelanostná úroveň obyvateľstva podľa krajov je výrazne asymetrická. Vykazuje silnú koncentráciu obyvateľstva s najvyššími stupňami vzdelania do Bratislavského kraja a najnižšími stupňami vzdelania do mimobratislavských krajov. Disparity v rozložení populácie s vysokoškolským vzdelaním a všeobecne nižšia úroveň kvalifikácie vidieckych pracovníkov sú výrazným limitom v podpore podnikania vo vidieckych regiónoch (napr. podpora informačných technológií,

jazykovej gramotnosti, apod.). To, že kvalitný ľudský potenciál (populačne, vzdelanostne) je ešte stále sústredený najmä vo väčších mestách, komplikuje naštartovanie rozvojových trendov na vidieku, čo vytvára značne odlišné východiskové podmienky i rozvojové predpoklady.

### **Zamestnanosť**

Úroveň miery zamestnanosti podľa vzdelania poukazuje na výrazné prepojenie úrovne vzdelania s možnosťou uplatniť sa na trhu práce. Až 86 % z celkového počtu obyvateľov s vysokoškolským vzdelaním vo veku 15 - 64 rokov v roku 2003 bolo zamestnaných, zatiaľ čo z obyvateľov so základným vzdelaním bolo zamestnaných len 15,4 %. Pokles zamestnanosti za sledované obdobie (t.j. 1999 - 2003) bol výraznejší vo vidieckych regiónoch ako v mestských. Primárnym znakom reštrukturalizácie v poľnohospodárstve bol proces postupného a extenzívneho rastu produktivity práce, ale s výrazným vytláčaním časti pracovníkov do evidencie v nezamestnanosti. Presadzoval sa tak model agrárnej ekonomiky s rastúcou produktivitou, ktorý má sociálne nepriaznivé dôsledky spočívajúcej vo vysokej nezamestnanosti a s veľmi nízkou zamestnaneckou participáciou vidieckeho obyvateľstva. Zamestnanosť v pôdohospodárstve (vrátane lesníctva) poklesla (v porovnaní s rokom 1999) vo všetkých vidieckych regiónoch. Napriek tomuto kontinuálnemu poklesu zamestnanosti, poľnohospodárstvo a lesníctvo zohráva v regionálnej zamestnanosti významnú úlohu. Spolu v 21 okresoch prevyšovala v roku 2003 zamestnanosť v pôdohospodárstve 10 % z celkového počtu pracujúcich v okrese. Vôbec najvyšší podiel zamestnanosti v pôdohospodárstve bol v malých okresoch ako Sobrance, Poltár, Krupina, Turčianske Teplice, Gelnica, Banská Štiavnica, Medzilaborce, Detva, ďalej v infraštruktúrne poddimenzovaných, poľnohospodárskych južných okresoch ako Veľký Krtíš, Dunajská Streda, Komárno, Rimavská Sobota, Košice-okolie a vo vybraných okresoch severovýchodného Slovenska (Levoča, Kežmarok, Snina). Z celkového počtu pracujúcich v SR pracovalo v roku 2003 v poľnohospodárstve 5,2 %<sup>153</sup> (99,4 tis. osôb – podľa Výberového zisťovania pracovných síl), z ekonomicky aktívnej populácie tvoril tento podiel 3,8 %. V roku 1980 pripadalo na 1 stáleho pracovníka pracujúceho v poľnohospodárstve 15, v roku 1990 18 a v roku 2003 už 54,1 obyvateľov SR.<sup>154</sup>

### **Nezamestnanosť**

Z hľadiska nezamestnanosti existujú v SR značné regionálne rozdiely. Regióny s vysokou mierou nezamestnanosti sú sústredené najmä na východnom, južnom a strednom Slovensku. Naopak, najnižšou nezamestnanosťou sa vyznačuje západné Slovensko, najmä bratislavské okresy. Vo vidieckych regiónoch je situácia výrazne horšia ako v mestských. Hlavnými faktormi zvyšovania regionálnej polarizácie vidieckych regiónov boli štrukturálne ťažkosti veľkých, dominantných zamestnávateľských subjektov v regióne, infraštruktúrna zaostalosť a slabá integrácia do trhu práce hendikapovaných sociálnych skupín a etnických minorít.

Najmä vo vidieckych regiónoch, v ktorých bolo silné poľnohospodárstvo pretrvávajú problémy spojené s reštrukturalizáciou a transformáciou poľnohospodárstva a celej ekonomiky. To sa zákonite premietlo do výraznejších odvetvových a územných zmien, ktoré sa odrazili nielen v útlme zamestnanosti, ale aj v zmenených požiadavkách na pracovné miesta. Podstatne sa zmenila štruktúra dopytu po práci. Najmä tzv. periférne regióny

<sup>153</sup> tzn., že poľnohospodárstvo v roku 2003 viazalo cca jednu devätnástinu celkovej zamestnanosti na Slovensku (každý 19. pracujúci v NH pracoval v poľnohospodárstve)

<sup>154</sup> z uvedenej hodnoty však nemôžeme zjednodušene usudzovať, že jeden pracovník v poľnohospodárstve v roku 2003 „vyživoval“ 54 obyvateľov SR, vzhľadom k neporovnateľnej východzej situácii z hľadiska otvorenosti ekonomiky a agrárneho trhu SR v roku 1990 a 2003.

východného a stredného Slovenska sú charakteristické nedostatočnou ekonomickou infraštruktúrou s vysokým podielom nezamestnaného poľnohospodárskeho obyvateľstva, ktoré bolo transformačnými zmenami najviac postihnuté. Tieto osoby vzhľadom k svojim štrukturálnym charakteristikám sa z hľadiska reintegrácie do trhu práce stávajú značne problémovou sociálnou skupinou.

Podľa údajov Ústredia práce sociálnych vecí a rodiny (UPSVAR) mala v r. 2003 viac ako polovica vidieckych okresov priemernú mieru registrovanej nezamestnanosti vyššiu ako priemer SR. Okresy s najvyššou mierou nezamestnanosti sú dlhodobo najviac zastúpené na východe Slovenska a na juhu stredného Slovenska. Hranicu 30 % (priemerná miera nezamestnanosti vypočítaná z celkového počtu uchádzačov o zamestnaní za rok 2003) prekročili 4 okresy - Rimavská Sobota, Revúca, Veľký Krtíš a Sobrance.

**Tab. č. 2: Vývoj miery nezamestnanosti**

Územie	Miera nezamestnanosti podľa VZPS (%)				
	r. 1999	r. 2000	r. 2001	r. 2002	r. 2003
SR spolu	17,1	18,0	18,7	17,9	17,4
Mestské regióny	9,2	8,8	8,2	8,9	7,3
Vidiecke regióny	20,8	19,6	20,3	19,3	19,3

*Prameň: Výsledky výberového zisťovania pracovných síl, ŠÚ SR, vlastné prepočty*

Miera nezamestnanosti vo vidieckych regiónoch je niekoľkonásobne vyššia ako nezamestnanosť v mestských regiónoch (v roku 2003 bola 2,6 krát vyššia) a vidiecka nezamestnanosť bola v tomto roku o 1,9 percentuálneho bodu vyššia ako priemer za SR.

Poľnohospodárska populácia bola trhovou ekonomikou vytlačená na okraj trhu práce. Pre niektoré sociálne skupiny to malo charakter statusového pádu (najmä v sociálnej skupine poľnohospodárskej populácie, ktorá už koncom 90. rokov minulého storočia „vyčerpala“ skôr naakumulovaný kapitál z kombinovaného príjmu so svojho legálneho zamestnania a z osobného domového hospodárstva). Určitá časť poľnohospodárskej populácie, ktorá bola už v minulosti vytlačená do dlhodobej nezamestnanosti (najmä vidiecka populácia južného a východného Slovenska) je súčasne charakteristická i prerastaním sociálneho a etnického vylúčenia. Dochádza tu k výraznej sociálnej diferenciácii s kultúrou závislosti na sociálnych príjmoch.

### Mzdová úroveň

Dynamika rastu priemerných miezd na vidieku je nižšia ako v celom národnom hospodárstve a výrazne nižšia ako v mestských oblastiach. V roku 1999 predstavovala priemerná mzda zamestnanca na vidieku 69,7 % priemernej mzdy zamestnanca v mestských regiónoch. V roku 2003 bol už tento pomer 63,8 %, tzn. že zamestnanec na vidieku nedosiahol ani dve tretiny priemernej mzdy zamestnanca v mestských oblastiach. Rozdiely v priemerných mzdách medzi „vidieckymi a mestskými zamestnancami“ (mzdová disparita) sa rok od roka zvyšujú. Analogické zvyšovanie mzdovej disparity (ale s nižšou dynamikou) je badateľné i medzi vidieckymi zamestnancami a priemernými mzdami zamestnancov v celom NH.



**Tab. č. 3: Vývoj priemerných mesačných miezd zamestnancov v NH spolu v podnikoch s 20 a viac zamestnancami**

Územie	Priemerné mzdy v podnikoch s 20 a viac zamestnancami v Sk					Index 2003/99
	r.1999	r. 2000	r. 2001	r. 2002	r. 2003	
SR spolu	10 961	11 864	12 764	14 203	15 335	139,9
Mestské regióny	14 404	16 030	17 508	19 548	21 437	148,8
Vidiecke regióny	10 039	10 792	11 490	12 779	13 675	136,2

*Prameň: Zamestnanci a mzdové prostriedky v hospodárstve SR, krajoch a okresoch, ŠÚ SR, vlastné prepočty*

**Tab. č. 4: Vývoj relácií (v %) priemerných miezd na vidieku k priemerným mzdám v mestských regiónoch a priemeru NH (v podnikoch s 20 a viac zamestnancami)**

Obdobie	Relácia priemernej mzdy na vidieku voči priem. mzdev mestských regiónoch v %	Relácia priemernej mzdy na vidieku voči priem.mzde v NH SR v %
Rok 1999	69,70	91,59
Rok 2000	67,32	90,96
Rok 2001	65,63	90,02
Rok 2002	65,37	89,97
Rok 2003	63,79	89,18

*Prameň: Zamestnanci a mzdové prostriedky v hospodárstve SR, krajoch a okresoch, ŠÚ SR, vlastné prepočty*

V poľnohospodárstve sa presadzuje nákladovo úsporný typ zamestnávania pracovníkov (s opakovaným využívaním voľného rezervoáru vidieckych pracovných síl) prostredníctvom rozdeľovania pracovného pomeru cez krátkodobé pracovné úväzky (realizované väčšinou dohodami o vykonanie práce) bez sociálnej ochrany týchto pracovníkov a s negatívnym dopadom na výšku ich starobných dôchodkov.

V celom kontexte trvalého tlaku na zvyšovanie konkurencieschopnosti je evidentné, že dlhodobá politika lacnej pracovnej sily je sociálne i ekonomicky riskantná a neudržateľná, pretože lacná pracovná sila obmedzuje nutnú náhradu živej práce prácou zhmotnenou, negatívne deformuje výrobnú štruktúru a môže viesť k trvalejšiemu technickému zaostávaniu vedúcemu k poklesu konkurenčnej schopnosti. Výrazne nízka cena práce v poľnohospodárstve a pracovná neistota tak prispieva k znevýhodňovaniu práce v poľnohospodárstve, ktorá sa tak stáva existenčnou alternatívou pre stále sa zužujúcu skupinu vidieckeho obyvateľstva.

### **Podnikateľské aktivity**

Vyššia ekonomická sila mestských regiónov je vidieť z výrazne priaznivejšieho podielu počtu podnikateľov – fyzických osôb na 100 obyvateľov v ekonomicky aktívnom veku v mestských regiónoch oproti vidieku. V roku 2003 pripadlo v mestských regiónoch na 100 osôb v ekonomicky aktívnom veku takmer 17 podnikateľov, na vidieku to bolo len necelých 12 podnikateľov.

**Tab. č. 5: Vývoj podnikateľskej aktivity**

Územie	Podiel fyzických osôb na 100 obyvateľov v ekonomicky aktívnom veku				
	r. 1999	r. 2000	r. 2001	r. 2002	r. 2003
SR spolu	11,11	11,00	11,22	11,30	12,46
Mestské regióny	15,20	14,97	16,23	15,38	16,90
Vidiecke regióny	10,46	10,36	10,47	10,71	11,82

*Prameň: Vybrané údaje o regiónoch SR, ŠÚ SR, vlastné prepočty*

Vo vidieckych regiónoch v roku 2003 podnikalo spolu cca 273 tis. fyzických osôb predstavujúcich živnostníkov, slobodné povolania a samostatne hospodáriacich roľníkov, čo je v porovnaní s rokom 1999 nárast o 13,4 %. Na druhej strane dynamika nárastu podnikateľov v mestských regiónoch bola nižšia (3,3 %), čo vyplýva z vyššej saturovanosti a tým i nižšej absorpčnej schopnosti týchto regiónov. U mestských regiónov je vidieť, že pri absolútnom náraste podnikateľov sa ich podiel na celkovom počte znížil z 18,6 % v roku 1999 na 17,3 % v roku 2003, tzn. že pri absolútnom raste sa ich podiel na celkovom počte podnikateľov znižuje. Naopak nárast počtu podnikateľov na vidieku akceleroval v roku 2003 (medziročný nárast o 10,4 %) a ich podiel na celkovom počte podnikateľov sa zvyšuje.

V roku 2003 bolo vo vidieckych regiónoch cca 42 tis. podnikateľských subjektov, čo bolo o 4,1 tis. (o 10,8 %) viac ako v roku 1999. Dynamika rastu podnikov bola na vidieku o niečo vyššia ako v mestských regiónoch, čo je vysvetliteľné obmedzenými priestorovými a zamestnaneckými možnosťami mestských regiónov. Podiel podnikov v mestských regiónoch dlhodobo osciluje približne hladine 35 % (z celkového počtu podnikov v SR). I keď je v mestských regiónoch vyššia hustota podnikateľov i podnikov, dynamika ich rastu je na vidieku vyššia. To naznačuje perspektívu značného rozvojového potenciálu týchto foriem podnikania vo vidieckych regiónoch. Rozhodujúcimi faktormi rozvoja malého podnikania na vidieku je kúpyschopnosť obyvateľstva, miera zamestnanosti resp. nezamestnanosti, dopravná dostupnosť, sociodemografická skladba obyvateľstva, blízkosť urbanizačných centier, kvalita života, atď.

## **Záver**

Doterajší priebeh ekonomickej transformácie mal rozdielne regionálne dopady. Vznikali dynamické rozvojové póly a regionálne disparity sa zväčšovali. Pokračovanie tohto vývoja vytvára nebezpečie narastajúcej spoločensky neakceptovateľnej diferenciácie, a tým i nerovnakých šancí pre obyvateľstvo i pre podnikateľskú činnosť v zaostalých regiónoch. Skupina problémových marginálnych regiónov z hľadiska sociálno-ekonomického rozvoja regiónov sa sústreďuje predovšetkým na východe a južnej časti stredného Slovenska. Sprievodným znakom týchto regiónov je aj nízka úroveň vzdelania a vysoké zastúpenie rizikových skupín obyvateľstva. Pokračovanie doterajšieho vývoja zakladá nebezpečie konzervácie duálnych ekonomík. To je jeden z hlavných dôvodov, prečo je potrebné tento aspekt v rámci širšieho kontextu regionálnej a hospodárskej stratégie riešiť.

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# **Výzkum participace občanů na veřejném životě venkovských obcí ČR**

## **Research on Citizens' Participation in Public Life in Rural Municipalities in CR**

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### **Klíčová slova**

participace občanů, venkovské obce, důvěra, sociabilita, volební účast, politické strany, nezávislí.

### **Abstrakt**

Cílem příspěvku je přiblížit výzkumný projekt, který byl s podporou GAČR zahájen na Katedře humanitních věd PEF ČZU v Praze. Projekt se zaměřuje na participaci občanů na veřejném životě venkovských obcí ČR. Venkovský prostor představuje zvláštní oblast politického a veřejného života. Politické strany jsou v malých obcích slabě zakotveny. Spektra politických stran v obcích s méně než 2 000 obyvateli (90 % obcí ČR) jsou neúplná a strany, které ve venkovských obcích působí, mají slabou sociální základnu. V obcích s méně než 1 000 obyvateli (80 % obcí) často nepůsobí žádné politické strany, jen nezávislí a jejich sdružení. Teoretický rámec výzkumného projektu je založen na hypotéze Roberta Putnama o významu různých forem občanské sociability a participace pro vývoj politické kultury, které vyztužují demokratický politický systém. Výzkum participace občanů na veřejném životě musí brát v úvahu specifické historické podmínky vývoje české společnosti. Politické změny posledních šedesáti let měly na společnost mnohoznačný a rozporuplný dopad. Nabízí se otázka, do jaké míry změna politického režimu a postupná transformace mnoha sociálních struktur po roce 1989 ovlivňují sociabilitu občanů a jejich důvěru v participaci na politických či nepolitických aktivitách. Neboli, do jaké míry důvěra občanů podmiňuje fungování nových politických forem. Příspěvek se soustřeďuje na následující aspekty participace občanů na politickém a veřejném životě venkovských obcí: volební účast, věková struktura kandidátních listin a zvolených zastupitelstev a úloha politických stran a nezávislých v malých obcích.

### **Key words**

citizens' participation, rural municipalities, trust, sociability, voter turnout, political parties, independents.

### **Abstract**

The aim of this paper is to present research project which has been started recently at the Department of Humanities, Faculty of Economics and Management CUA in Prague. Project focuses on citizens' participation in public life in rural municipalities in the Czech Republic. Rural areas represent special fields of political and public life. For instance, political parties are weakly anchored in small municipalities. In the Czech Republic, the spectra of political parties in municipalities with less than 2000 inhabitants (90 % of all municipalities) are often incomplete and even the parties, which do work in rural municipalities, have very weak social grounds. There are usually no political parties active in municipalities with less than 1000 inhabitants (80 % of all Czech municipalities) and only non-party candidates are active in these municipalities. The theoretical framework of the project is based on Robert Putnam's hypothesis of the importance of different forms of citizen sociability and participation for the

development of a political culture that will anchor a stable democratic political system. Research on the participation of citizens in public life has to take into account specific historical conditions of the Czech society. Political changes over the past sixty years have ambiguous and contradictory impacts on the society. The question is, to what extent the change of a political regime and gradual transformation of many social structures after 1989 influence citizens' sociability and their trust in participation in political and nonpolitical activities. Or to what extent does the citizens' trust determine the function of new political forms? This paper concentrates on the following aspects of citizens' participation in political and public life in rural municipalities: voter turnout, the age structure of the lists of candidates and elected representatives in municipal elections, and the role of political parties and independents in small municipalities.

# Výzkum participace občanů na veřejném životě venkovských obcí ČR

## Úvod

Moderní systémy zastupitelské demokracie se potýkají s klesající volební účastí a malým zájmem občanů o převzetí odpovědnosti v rámci politického procesu. Znepokojivé jevy ve vývoji moderních demokratických systémů souvisí s řadou faktorů, zejména s proměnami politických stran, jejichž základní úlohou v zastupitelské demokracii je zajistit zprostředkování zájmů mezi občany a státem. Velkým problémem soudobého politického stranictví je tendence ke kartelizaci stranických systémů, jež vyvolává nebezpečí, že si politické strany podřídí stát, který pak nebude sloužit občanům, ale právě politickým stranám. Dlouhodobým problémem zastupitelské demokracie je propast mezi politikou na národní úrovni a na úrovni místní či regionální, štěpení mezi centrem a periferií i mezi městem a venkovem. Proto se stále více hledají nové možnosti zapojení občanů do politického procesu a posílení jejich participace na veřejném životě. V evropském správním prostoru jsou preferovány reformní kroky, jež směřují k decentralizaci veřejné správy a k co nejširšímu uplatnění principu subsidiarity (Participation of Citizens in Local Public Life 2000).

K určitým obecným tendencím, jež se mohou projevovat jako oslabování politické participace občanů, se v případě ČR, podobně jako v dalších postkomunistických zemích, přidávají ještě specifické rysy, jež souvisejí se setrvačným působením dřívější podřízenosti místní správy ústřední státní moci. Autoři analyzující transformační procesy v postkomunistických zemích, poukazují na to, že se v nich v devadesátých letech sice rychle ujaly obecní volby, ale místní samospráva zůstávala v zárodečné podobě a stále se projevovala jistá absence skutečného politického a ekonomického rozhodovacího mechanismu (Reid 2003: 95-107). Zatímco ve vyspělých demokratických státech se reformy veřejné správy od šedesátých let 20. století soustřeďovaly především na zkvalitnění rozhodovacího procesu a na posílení politické participace občanů, v postkomunistických zemích střední Evropy se reformy veřejné správy probíhající od počátku devadesátých let mohly zaměřit zprvu jen na základní otázky politické a ekonomické transformace, především na obnovu demokratického politického systému a zřízení místní či regionální samosprávy.

Reforma územní veřejné správy, která má úzký vztah k participaci občanů na veřejném životě obcí, je v České republice založena na tzv. spojeném modelu veřejné správy, v němž státní orgány vykonávají státní správu pouze na ústřední úrovni, zatímco na krajské a obecní úrovni jsou výkonem státní správy pověřeny územní samosprávy v rámci přenesené působnosti. Toto řešení, které posiluje úlohu územních samosprávných orgánů, lze chápat jako snahu o důslednou decentralizaci, naplňování principu subsidiarity, a snad i jako snahu konečně se vyrovnat s tradicí centralistického jednosměrného řízení společnosti z doby před rokem 1990. Uvedené řešení posiluje úlohu občanů v rozhodovacím procesu na místní i regionální úrovni a otvírá prostor pro jejich širší politickou participaci.

Participace občanů na politickém a veřejném životě venkovských obcí představuje svébytný problém. V soudobých politických stranách klesá význam členské základny a posiluje se role stranického vedení a aparátu (Katz, Mair 1994). Toto „vylidňování“ členské základny politických stran se dotýká zvláště menších obcí a venkovských oblastí, v nichž jsou politické strany velmi slabě zakotveny. Pokud jde o ČR, v obcích do 2 000 obyvatel (90 % obcí ČR) se ve srovnání s parlamentní scénou zpravidla setkáváme s neúplným spektrem politických stran, a i ty strany, které v obcích působí, mají obvykle velmi slabou členskou základnu. V obcích do 1 000 obyvatel (80 % obcí ČR) často nejsou politické strany žádné, působí tam pouze nezávislí (Čmejrek 2003). Participace občanů na demokratickém procesu a na veřejném

životě venkovských obcí, která dosud byla na okraji zájmu odborné veřejnosti, si rozhodně zaslouží systematictější pozornost vědeckého výzkumu.

### **Cíl příspěvku**

Cílem příspěvku je přiblížit výzkum participace občanů na veřejném životě venkovských obcí ČR, který byl s podporou GAČR zahájen na Katedře humanitních věd PEF ČZU v Praze. V rámci tříletého výzkumného projektu budou analyzovány formy, úroveň a kvalita participace občanů na politickém, resp. veřejném životě venkovských obcí. Pozornost se zaměří i na korelaci občanské participace s mírou důvěry, kterou občané pocítují k veřejným aktivitám. Výsledky výzkumu budou průběžně prezentovány na domácích i zahraničních konferencích a ve vědeckých časopisech. Hlavním výstupem projektu bude monografie o participaci občanů na veřejném životě venkovských obcí ČR. Členové týmu využijí výsledky výzkumu nejen ve vědecké činnosti, ale i v pedagogické práci na České zemědělské univerzitě v Praze.

### **Teoretická východiska**

Výzkumný projekt je založen na teoretických přístupech a koncepcích vztahujících se k občanské participaci na politickém a veřejném životě. K faktorům, které ji ovlivňují, patří zejména důvěra ve smysluplnost lokálních aktivit a sdružování občanů, a rovněž tak důvěra v lokální politické instituce a aktéry (Kitts). Důvěra ve smysluplnost participace a v lokální instituce je v protikladu vůči individualistickému stylu života a zábavy. Rozpad sociability a společenské důvěry je v teoretických koncepcích chápán jako faktor omezující prosperitu a rozvoj společnosti (Fukuyama 1995; Sztompka 1999). Analýza různých forem občanské sociability a participace musí brát v úvahu rozlišení mezi horizontálními a vertikálními typy sociálních sítí či sdružení, a to s předpokladem, že pro rozvoj občanské společnosti a stabilitu demokratické politické kultury jsou významné především horizontální typy organizace (Putnam 1993, 2000).

Výzkum participace občanů na veřejném životě venkovských obcí ČR musí brát v úvahu specifika vývoje české společnosti. Dopady společenských a politických přeměn posledních šedesáti let se totiž projevují rozporupně. Nástup kolektivistických forem ekonomického života nepochybně vedl k rozpadu tradičních lokálních společenství, sítí a vazeb, na druhé straně ovšem daný ideologický projekt akcentoval důraz na kooperaci a podporu spontánní participace na veřejném životě. V byrokratické fázi totalitního režimu (Aron 1993) však vzniká ostrá dichotomie mezi veřejným prostorem, v němž jsou lidé nuceni hrát své „role“ podle vnucených pravidel, a mezi soukromými a rodinnými aktivitami, které byly chápány jako únik a skutečné místo osobní seberealizace (Sztompka 1998). Tato faktická individualizace pak vedla ke krizi důvěry v společenskou a politickou participaci, ke vzniku „ustrašené společnosti“ (Müller 2002: 200). Nabízí se otázka, do jaké míry měla změna politického režimu po roce 1989 a postupná transformace řady společenských struktur vliv na sociabilitu a důvěru v participaci na politických i nepolitických aktivitách resp. do jaké míry právě důvěra v obecnou reciprocitu může podmiňovat fungování nových politických forem.

Souvislost důvěry a kvality demokratického procesu lze také interpretovat jako problém obecné legitimacy politických institucí. Např. dle Mattei Dogana (1998) představuje problém důvěry v politické instituce a politiky ve vyspělých zemích faktor, který může nakonec ohrožovat i samu legitimitu politického uspořádání. Souvislost není bezprostřední, nicméně průzkumy v zemích západní Evropy prováděné v posledních dvaceti letech naznačují nepřetržitě klesající důvěru v politiky a politické instituce. Dogan si klade otázku, zda neexistuje určitý „bod zlomu“, kdy nízká důvěra vyústí v náhlou ztrátu legitimacy.

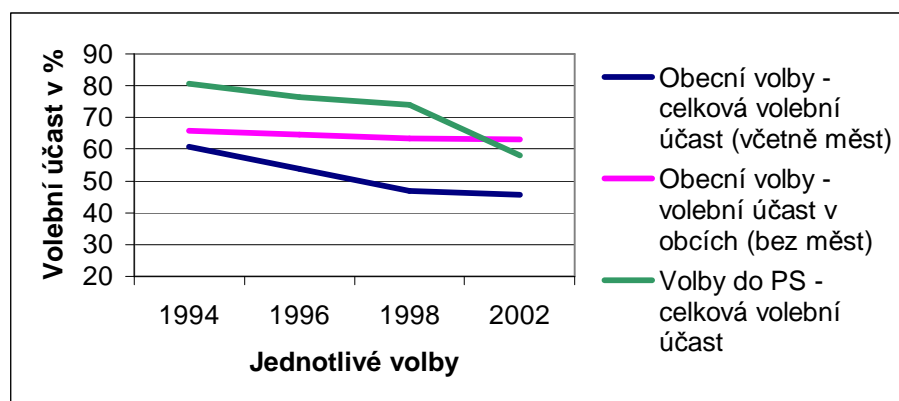
Podobným problémem se zabývali také S. M. Lipset a W. Schneider (1983), kteří analyzovali důvěru v různé instituce v USA a kladli si otázku, zda je možné mluvit o krizi legitimacy. Zajímavým závěrem jejich studie je požadavek oddělování důvěry v instituce od důvěry v osobnosti („lidé ztrácejí důvěru ve vůdce mnohem snadněji než důvěru v systém“). Zmiňované studie se především zabývají vztahem důvěry a legitimacy na celostátní úrovni politického rozhodování. Je ovšem zřejmé, že celý problém lze také studovat v lokálním měřítku a zkoumat legitimitu lokálních politických institucí a místních vůdců v souvislosti s důvěrou, kterou k nim pociťují občané dané lokality. Právě rozlišení důvěry v instituce a důvěry v osobnosti je v případě venkovského prostoru ČR mimořádně důležité.

## Účast ve volbách

V důsledku úzkého sociálního prostoru a značně provázaných sociálních sítí se v malých a nejmenších venkovských obcích stírá rozdíl mezi politickou participací v úzkém slova smyslu a dalšími projevy veřejného života. Nicméně politická participace občanů – zejména pokud jde o uplatnění aktivního i pasivního volebního práva – zůstává v popředí zájmu. Charakter lokální politické participace občanů velice plasticky odrážejí obecní zastupitelstva a zajímavé informace o lokální politické participaci občanů poskytují nejen vlastní volební výsledky, ale rovněž kandidátní listiny pro obecní volby.

Volební účast, která je základním ukazatelem politické participace občanů, přibližuje Graf č. 1.

**Graf č. 1: Účast v obecních volbách**



Zdroj: [www.volby.cz](http://www.volby.cz)

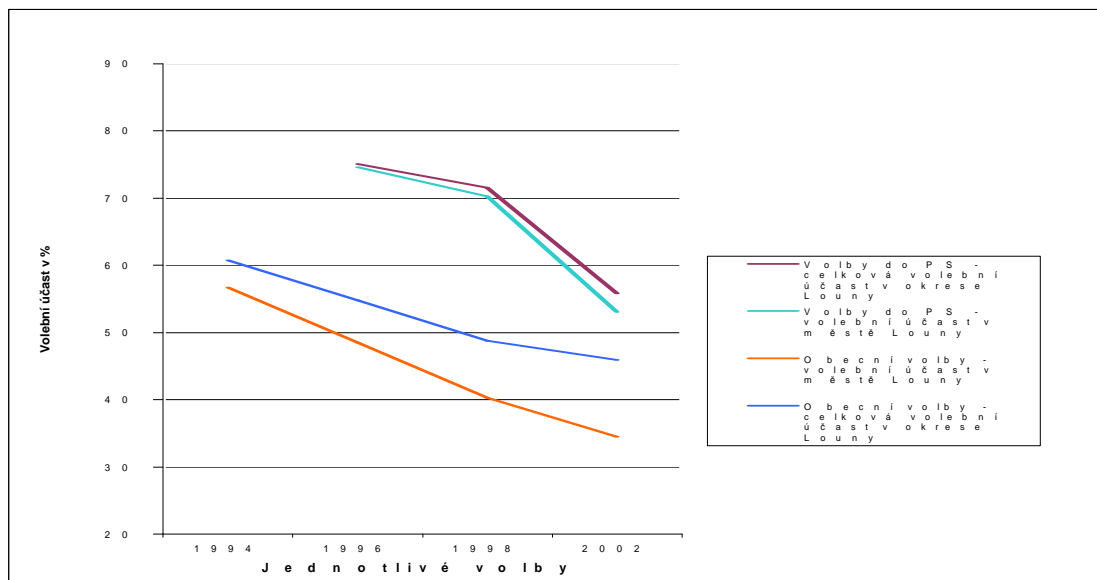
Celková účast na obecních volbách ve všech obcích (nejen ve venkovských obcích, ale i v městech a velkoměstech) klesla z 60,68 procent v roce 1994 na 46,74 procent v roce 1998 a na 45,51 procent v roce 2002. Na rozdíl od celostátního průměru byla volební účast v obcích, jež nemají statut města, vyšší a její pokles je mnohem menší, jak ukazuje Graf č. 1. Pro srovnání je do grafu zahrnut i vývoj volební účasti ve volbách do poslanecké sněmovny. V obcích, která nejsou městy, přišlo v roce 1994 k volebním urnám 65,77 procent voličů, což bylo o více než 5 procent nad celorepublikovým průměrem. V roce 1998 přišlo k volebním urnám v neměstských obcích 63,3 % voličů, tedy o 2,5 % méně než v předchozích volbách, ale rozdíl oproti celorepublikovému průměru se zvýšil z 5 % na 16,56 %. V roce 2002 se volební účast v obecních volbách v neměstských obcích dostala svými 63,12 % o 17,61 % nad celorepublikový průměr a poprvé od počátku 90. let dokonce o 5 % překročila průměrnou volební účast ve volbách do poslanecké sněmovny.

Rozdíly ve volební účasti mezi městskými a venkovskými voliči vykazují i volby do poslanecké sněmovny. Kupříkladu v okrese Louny dosáhla volební účast v parlamentních volbách v roce 1996 75,1 %, ale ve dvou největších městech okresu byla nižší. V městě



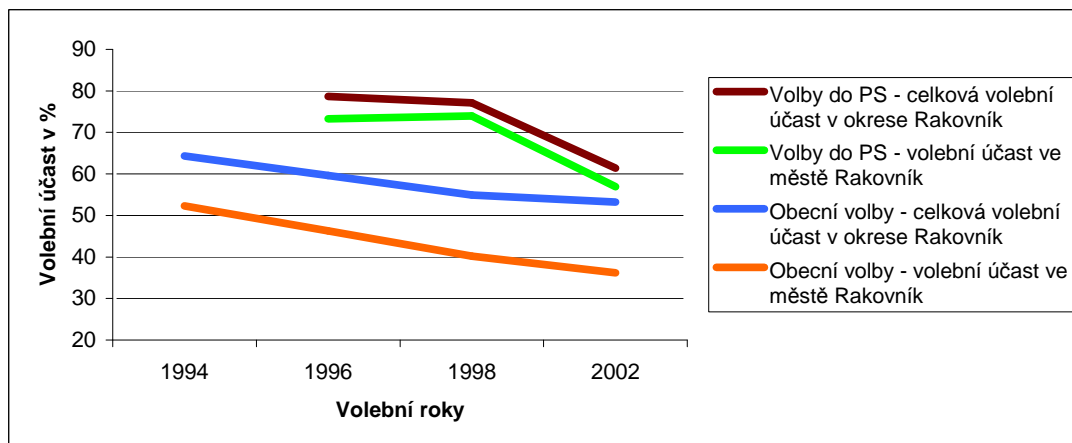
Louny to bylo 74,62 %, v Žatci dokonce jen 68,91 %. Graf č.2 porovnává celkovou volební účast v okrese Louny a volební účast v městě Louny, a to jak v obecních volbách, tak i ve volbách do poslanecké sněmovny. Analogický vývoj volební účasti v okrese Rakovník přibližuje Graf č. 3.

**Graf č. 2: Vývoj volební účasti v okrese Louny**



Zdroj: [www.volby.cz](http://www.volby.cz)

**Graf č. 3: Vývoj volební účasti v okrese Rakovník**



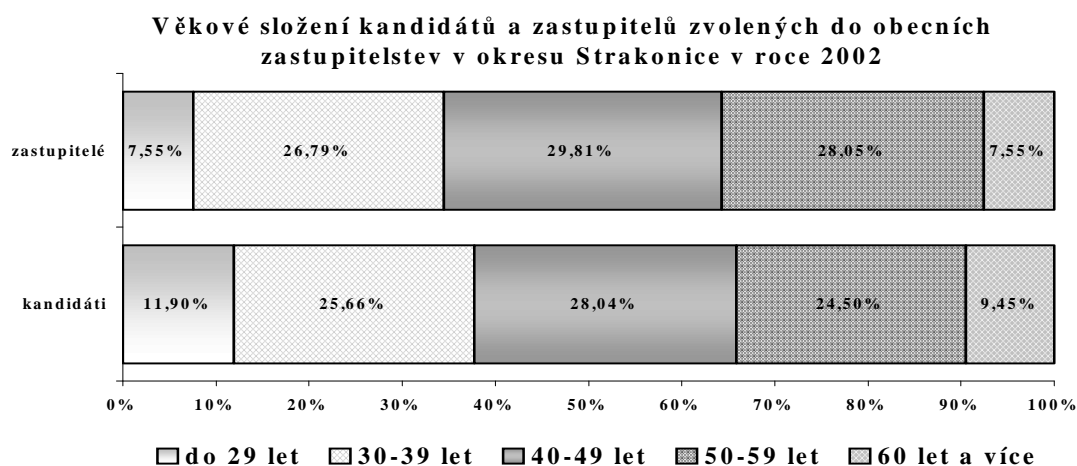
Zdroj: [www.volby.cz](http://www.volby.cz)

### Věkové složení kandidátů a zvolených zastupitelů

Cenné informace o politické participaci občanů lze vyčíst z věkového složení zvolených zastupitelstev a z jejich srovnání s kandidátními listinami (podrobněji viz Čmejrek, Blažek, Kubálek 2004). Graf č. 4 přibližuje věkové složení zastupitelstev obcí okresu Strakonice zvolených v roce 2002 a porovnává je s věkovým složením kandidátních listin pro obecní volby v tomtéž roce.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Do analýzy byly zahrnuty pouze kandidátní listiny a volební výsledky vztahující se k obecním zastupitelstvům v obcích, které nemají statut města. Městská zastupitelstva v čtyřech městech okresu – Strakonících, Vodňanech, Blatné a Volyni – byla ponechána stranou.

**Graf č. 4: Věkové složení kandidátů**

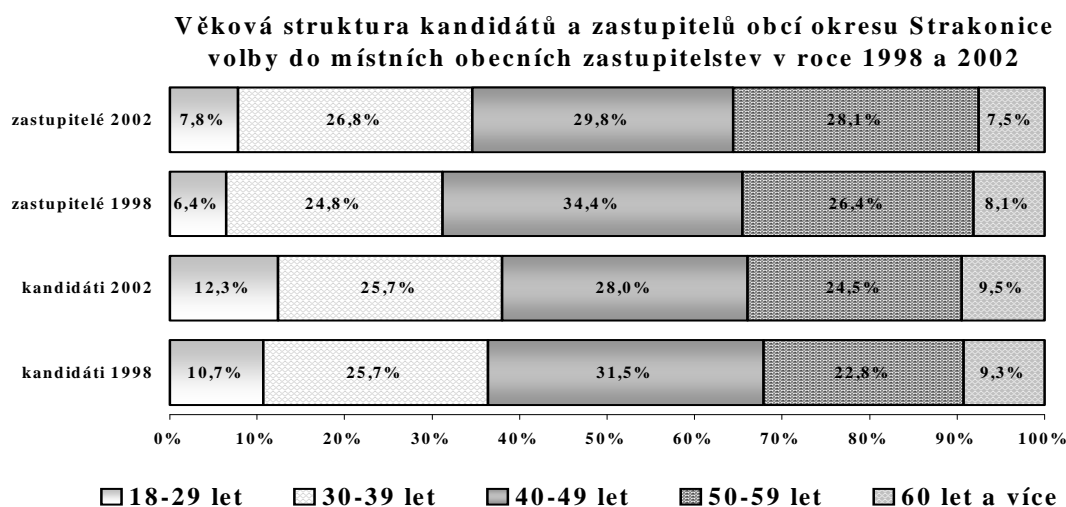


Zdroj: [www.volby.cz](http://www.volby.cz)

Z grafu vyplývá, že v obcích okrese Strakonice byla mezi zastupiteli i kandidáty nejvíce zastoupena věková kategorie 40-49 let, na druhém a třetím místě jen s malým odstupem byly „sousední“ věkové kategorie 30-39 let a 50-59 let. Krajiní věkové kategorie, tedy nejmladší a nejstarší občané, měly mezi kandidáty a zvolenými zastupiteli mnohem menší podíl.

Za pozornost stojí i změny ve věkovém složení kandidátů a zvolených zastupitelů. Na příkladu neměstských obcí okrese Strakonice je přibližuje Graf č.5. Vyplývá z něho, že mezi lety 1998 a 2002 se poněkud oslabilo dominantní postavení věkové kategorie 40-49 let. Jestliže v roce 1998 se tato věková kategorie podílela na počtu kandidátů 31,5 %, v roce 2002 to bylo již jen 28 %, tedy o 3,5 % méně. Ještě větší pokles nastal u podílu této věkové kategorie mezi zvolenými zastupiteli, který se z 34,4 % v roce 1998 snížil na 29,8 v roce 2002, což je pokles o 4,6 %. Tím došlo k určitému posunu směrem k vyrovnaní podílu jednotlivých věkových kategorií. Kategorie 30-39 let byla mezi kandidáty zastoupena v obojích volbách stejně (25,7 %), ale mezi zvolenými zastupiteli si o dvě procenta polepšila – z 24,8 % na 26,8 %. Ještě větší posílení se projevilo u věkové kategorie 50-59 let. Její podíl mezi kandidáty vzrostl z 22,8 % na 24,5 %, tj. o 1,7 %. Podíl mezi zvolenými zastupiteli vzrostl rovněž o 1,7 %. Podíl nejstarších občanů mezi kandidáty se v uvedeném období zvýšil jen nepatrně – z 9,3 % na 9,5 %, tj. pouze o 0,2 %. Podíl této věkové kategorie mezi zvolenými zastupiteli se naopak o něco (o 0,6 %) snížil – z 8,1 % v roce 1998 na 7,5 % v roce 2002. Podíl nejmladších občanů se v uvedeném období zvýšil. Mezi kandidáty to bylo o 1,6 %, z 10,7 % na 12,3 %. Mezi zvolenými zastupiteli činil nárůst 1,4 %, z 6,4 % na 7,8 %.

**Graf č. 5: Věková struktura kandidátů**



Zdroj: [www.volby.cz](http://www.volby.cz)

Podobně jako v obcích okresu Strakonice se vyvíjelo věkové složení kandidátů a zvolených zastupitelů i v malých obcích jiných okresů. Kupř. v neměstských obcích okresu Louny se projevilo oslabení dominantního postavení věkové kategorie 40-49 let výrazněji než v malých obcích okresu Strakonice. Výraznější bylo posílení participace věkové kategorie 50-59 let. Ve věkové kategorii 30-39 let, stejně jako v nejmladší věkové kategorii, již nebylo posílení participace tak výrazné (Čmejrek, Blažek, Kubálek 2004: 57).

Bohužel, dostupná data prozatím poskytují jen velice málo možností sledovat změny věkového složení kandidátních listin a zvolených obecních zastupitelstev v delší časové linii. Při obecních volbách v roce 1994 nebyly ještě tyto údaje o kandidátech a zvolených zastupitelích zjišťovány. Volby do obecních zastupitelstev z roku 2002 lze proto srovnávat pouze s obecními volbami v roce 1998. Je samozřejmé, že závěry z takové komparace musí být přijímány se značnou opatrností. Na podzim 2006 bude možné analýzu doplnit o údaje z dalších voleb do obecních zastupitelstev.

Nabízí se otázka, jak tendenci k vyrovnávání podílů věkových skupin mezi kandidáty, resp. zvolenými zastupiteli interpretovat. Prozatím je patrně třeba hledat vysvětlení především v reformě územní veřejné správy, která začala akcelarovat právě v období mezi obecními volbami v letech 1998 a 2002. Svůj význam má nepochybně zejména přechod k tzv. spojenému modelu územní veřejné správy, v němž se posiluje úloha územních samospráv, jež na svém území přebírají v tzv. přenesené působnosti i úkoly státní správy. Důležité jsou i změny volebního zákona (zákon č. 491/2001 Sb., o volbách do zastupitelstev obcí), v němž se posiluje úloha politických stran a zájmových skupin na lokální úrovni. Aktivizace těchto tzv. mobilizátorů se může projevit rozšířením politické participace mimo hranice etablovaných politických struktur.

Druhý závěr, který nabízí analýza generačních aspektů lokální politické participace, naznačuje nedůvěru voličů k nejstarším a nejmladším kandidátům. Statistiky na úrovni okresů ukázaly, že zatímco ve věkových kategoriích mezi 30-59 lety byl podíl zvolených zastupitelů zpravidla o něco větší než podíl kandidátů, u krajních věkových kategorií, tedy do 29 let a nad 60 let, tomu bylo právě opačně. Uvedený jev lze jistě interpretovat tak, že voliči projevují nedůvěru k nejmladším a k nejstarším kandidátům. Avšak pro úplné pochopení problému je třeba vzít v úvahu povahu volebního systému. Vzhledem k tomu, že volební

system používá otevřených kandidátních listin spolu s kombinovaným hlasem (panašováním), volič má tolik hlasů, kolik činí počet členů voleného zastupitelstva. Proto se strany v zájmu maximalizace volebního zisku snaží předkládat zcela zaplněné kandidátní listiny, na nichž je tolik kandidátů, kolik členů zastupitelstva obce se volí. V případě nouze proto volební strany zaplňují kandidátní listinu i lidmi, kteří kandidují pouze „do počtu“ a ve skutečnosti nemají v úmyslu zapojit se do činnosti samosprávy. Dost často to bývají lidé z krajních věkových kategorií, tedy „příliš mladí“ a „příliš staří“.

Doplňování kandidátů pouze „do počtu“ je charakteristické zvláště pro malé obce a menší města, v nichž mají strany velmi malou členskou základnu. Nezřídka se v nich setkáváme i s doplňováním kandidátních listin příbuznými místními volebními lídry. Lze předpokládat, že voliči jsou zejména v menších obcích díky užšímu sociálnímu prostoru a vysoké provázanosti sociální sítě uvnitř místní společnosti schopni vnímat rozdíly mezi vážně míněnou kandidaturou a kandidaturou pouze „do počtu“ a volební systém jim umožňuje to při volbě vyjádřit. Volební systém však často znevýhodňuje nejmladší a nejstarší kandidáty i tehdy, kdy svou kandidaturu myslí zcela vážně. Kandidáti z okrajových věkových skupin zpravidla nemají silnou pozici v místních organizacích, a proto obvykle nekandidují na předních místech kandidátní listiny. Jestliže byli zařazení v dolní části kandidátní listiny, tedy na tzv. nevolitelných místech, mají šanci získat mandát jen tehdy, jestliže počtem získaných hlasů o 10 % překročí průměrný počet hlasů příslušné kandidátní listiny.

### **Politické strany a nezávislí**

Jedním z hlavních rysů venkovských obcí je úzký sociální prostor a značná provázanost sociální sítě uvnitř malých komunit. Úzký sociální prostor v malých obcích zásadním způsobem determinuje podobu komunální politiky, ovlivňuje socializaci i formy politické participace občanů a zejména jejich volební chování. To má přirozeně vliv i na úlohu politických stran a podobu stranických systémů v malých obcích. Pokud jde o parlamentní, celostátně působící strany, v obcích do 2 000 obyvatel se zpravidla setkáváme jen s neúplným spektrem politických stran a v nejmenších obcích do 1 000 obyvatel často nejsou politické strany žádné, působí tam pouze nezávislí a jejich sdružení (Čmejrek 2003).

Úlohu parlamentních stran v malých a nejmenších obcích si můžeme přiblížit na příkladu výsledků obecních voleb v roce 2002 v okrese Strakonice. Tabulka 1 ukazuje, do jaké míry byly po obecních volbách zastoupeny parlamentní strany v zastupitelstvech malých obcí. V 64 obcích okresu (téměř 63 % obcí do 2 000 obyvatel) se v zastupitelstvech po komunálních volbách neuplatnila žádná z parlamentních stran. V drtivé většině případů (63) šlo o obce s méně než 1 000 obyvateli. Naopak, všechny tři obce, v nichž kandidovaly a uspěly čtyři parlamentní strany, měly více než 1 000 obyvatel.

**Tabulka č. 1 Parlamentní strany v malých obcích okresu Strakonice**

Počet obcí do 2 000 obyvatel	
Žádná parlamentní strana v obci	64
1 parlamentní strana v obci	26
2 parlamentní strany v obci	10
3 parlamentní strany v obci	4
4 parlamentní strany v obci	3
5 parlamentních stran v obci	0
Celkem	107

Zdroj: [www.volby.cz](http://www.volby.cz)

Politické strany jsou ve venkovských obcích organizačně velmi slabě zakotveny. I v těch venkovských obcích, v nichž politické strany působí, jde zpravidla o nepočetné organizace s nepevnou strukturou. Výzkumy komunální politiky ukazují, že kandidatura za strany je v malých obcích často chápána jako nutné zlo a podle některých obecních představitelů je v zásadě jedno, za koho člověk kandiduje (Jüptner 2001). Politické strany jsou v malých obcích chápány jako zdroj nesvárů a politikaření, nezávislé osobnosti naproti tomu představují „pracovitost“ a „schopnost spolupráce“. Schůze politických stran či frakcí zastupitelů se zpravidla vůbec nekonají, případně mají převážně společenský charakter. Oproti idejím a programům jsou v lokální politice upřednostňovány osobnosti. Tato tendence je posilována i tím, že v obcích do 500 obyvatel nemůže být zřízena obecní rada a otázka „exekutivních koalic“ se tak redukuje pouze na zvolení starosty. (Jüptner 2001: 149).

Kromě parlamentních stran se do obecních zastupitelstev zpravidla dostávají i nezávislí, jejich sdružení a další subjekty lokálního či regionálního charakteru. Zůstaneme-li u příkladu neměstských obcí okresu Strakonice (Tabulka č.1), pak pouze v deseti obcích neuspěly žádné lokální či regionální politické subjekty. Kupříkladu v Katovicích (1 234 obyvatel) si všechny hlasy voličů mezi sebou rozdělily čtyři parlamentní strany. V Předních Zborovicích (65 obyvatel) získala všechny hlasy voličů jediná parlamentní strana (KDU-ČSL). Ovšem i v těchto případech se obecní politická scéna bez nezávislých neobejde; neobejdou se totiž bez nich lokální struktury parlamentních politických stran, které zařazují nezávislé na své kandidátní listiny. Tabulka č.2 ukazuje, jak si v zmíněných Katovicích po obecních volbách v roce 2002 rozdělily mandáty čtyři parlamentní strany.

**Tabulka č. 2: Katovice – zvolení zastupitelé dle volební strany**

Kandidátní listina	Počet mandátů abs.	v %
Občanská demokratická strana	8	61.54
Křesťanská a demokratická unie - Československá strana lidová	3	23.08
Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy	1	7.69
Česká strana sociálně demokratická	1	7.69

*Zdroj: [www.volby.cz](http://www.volby.cz)*

Jak je z tabulky zřejmé, rozhodující pozice získala v Katovicích ODS, která dostala osm z celkového počtu třinácti mandátů, tři mandáty připadly KDU-ČSL, zatímco KSČM a ČSSD měly jen po jednom mandátu. Podíváme-li se však na stranickou příslušnost 13 zvolených zastupitelů, zjistíme, že pouze jediný z nich byl členem politické strany (ODS); všichni ostatní byli nestraníci. Podobně tomu bylo i v Předních Zborovicích, jež byly také zmíněny výše. Všech pět mandátů tam sice získala kandidátní listina KDU-ČSL, ale ani jeden ze zvolených zastupitelů nebyl jejím členem. Slabost stranických struktur v malých obcích může mít za následek i překvapivé zvraty ve volebních výsledcích. Kupříkladu v zmíněných Pohorovicích (79 obyvatel, okres Strakonice) sice v roce 1998 získala všechny hlasy v komunálních volbách KDU-ČSL, ale o čtyři roky později ani nekandidovala a všechny hlasy i mandáty získalo pro změnu Sdružení nezávislých kandidátů, jež se zformovalo krátce před volbami.

Úzký sociální prostor v malých obcích dovoluje voliči, aby se rozhodoval spíše podle osobních sympatií ke kandidátovi než podle politických stran, jejichž zprostředkující úloha je v tak úzkém sociálním prostoru vlastně zbytečná. Stranická příslušnost komunálních politiků se může dokonce stávat přítěží (srov. Jüptner 2001: 149n.). Teprve s rostoucí velikostí obce

vzrůstá i význam zprostředkování politických stran a jejich ideologií či programů. Ve velkých městech se již místní politická spektra více podobají politickému spektru vyšších politických rovin. Volební chování elektorátu velkých měst je při komunálních volbách a volbách do dolní komory parlamentu téměř identické. Nezávislí kandidáti jsou vytěšňováni parlamentními stranami a hrají spíše jen okrajovou roli. Důraz je zejména dáván na nutnost agregační funkce volebních pravidel. Jedná se o požadavek, aby se vhodnými restrikcemi zabránilo nadměrné fragmentaci politických sil v legislativním orgánu obce za účelem snadnějšího vytváření akceschopného exekutivního orgánu s dostatečnou podporou v zastupitelstvu.

## **Závěr**

Pasáže uvedené v tomto příspěvku, jež se vztahují k různým aspektům politického procesu ve venkovském prostoru, zejména k volební účasti občanů, složení zastupitelstev, resp. kandidátních listin a k úloze politických stran a nezávislých politiků, odrážejí přípravné práce, jež předcházely vypracování výzkumného projektu. Řešení projektu je rozvrženo do tří fází. První fáze předpokládá zpracování pilotní studie, vytvoření vhodného dotazovacího nástroje a výběr vzorku obcí pro výzkumné šetření. V druhé fázi se uskuteční terénní výzkum ve vybraných obcích, jehož cílem bude získání relevantních údajů o formách a úrovni participace občanů na lokálním veřejném životě. Zjišťovány budou zejména formy a způsoby participace na veřejném a společenském životě v obci (zájmové organizace a členství v nich, neformální sociální síť a instituce, personální vazby mezi nimi), formy účasti na lokálním rozhodování (volební účast ve volbách různých typů, sestavování kandidátních listin, formy účasti na lokálním politickém rozhodování), úroveň politického stranictví (členství v politických stranách, fungování stranických odboček), dále důvěra občanů v lokální instituce a ochota participovat na veřejném životě. V třetí fázi se projekt zaměří na analýzu získaných údajů, interpretaci dat a vyvození závěrů, příp. doporučení pro praxi i další výzkum.

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# **Religiozita v českém prostředí a pohraničí**

## **The Religiosity in Czech Environment and Borderland**

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### **Klíčová slova**

náboženství, dějinný vývoj v pohraničí po r. 1945, víra v České republice, nutnost proměny stavu lhostejnosti na zájem a dynamiku péče o prostředí

### **Key words**

religion, the historic evolution in the Czech borderland after the year 1945, faith in the Czech republic, the importance of the change from the status of desinterest into the status of interest and engagement in the care of natural environment.

### **Abstrakt**

Od r. 1950 do r. 1989 bylo náboženství v pojetí Komunistické strany fenoménem, proti kterému bylo nutno bojovat za každou cenu a zcela jej vymýtit. Nepodařilo se to a základní ideologická teze, že po naplnění materiálních potřeb lidí náboženství zcela zmizí, se nevyplnila. Již v době komunistické totality se ukázalo, že obyvatelé žijící v USA nebo v Japonsku, ale samozřejmě i ve SRN a v Rakousku, kteří rozhodně netrpěli materiální nouzí, jsou lidmi náboženskými. Zesnulý polský papež Jan Pavel II. prohlásil, že nastupující 21. století bude stoletím zvýšeného zájmu o náboženství. Proto nás mohly překvapit prognózy některých znalců, že vliv náboženství a zájem o něj bude stagnovat v České republice po r. 1989, podobně pak v Polsku a na Slovensku. Ukázalo se ovšem, že tomu tak není. Má osobní zkušenost z Polska ukazuje, že zájem o náboženství a katolickou církev je standardní a prokazovat úbytek vlivu náboženství na život společnosti by byl velkým omylem. Je evidentní, že samotný pojem „náboženství“ je velmi široký, spadají sem církev, jiná nekřesťanská náboženství, malé náboženské denominace, nová náboženská hnutí, můžeme myslet i na náboženské cítění lidí, kteří nikam institučně nepatří a náboženskou dimenzi v jejich životě můžeme spatřit.

Sociologický výzkum náboženství jsem jako teolog a filosof postrádal již v r. 1992, ten vlastně neexistoval. V Rakousku se věnoval částečně sociologickému výzkumu pastorální teolog P. Zulehner, tento výzkum se ale zaměřil především na výzkum uvnitř katolické církve. V České republice se daným tématům zatím nevěnoval žádný pastorální teolog. Podnětnou sociologickou studii vydal v r. 2004 v nakladatelství Sociologického ústavu AV ČR Z. R. Nešpor pod názvem „Jaká víra? Současná česká religiozita/spiritualita v pohledu kvalitativní sociologie náboženství“. Tuto studii je nutno přivítat, protože nejen předkládá zajímavé výstupy výzkumu, ale nabízí mnoho podnětů a dalších nábožensko-filosofických otázek. Obyvatelé České republiky patří mezi nejvíce nábožensky lhostejné ve střední Evropě. Příčinou není jen ateistická komunistická propaganda minulých let, ale tato lhostejnost má své historické kořeny. Absence religiozity nebo naopak zvýšený zájem o ni v existenciální rovině vytváří ve společnosti hodnotové stupnice či hodnotové klima, které má vliv i na chování lidí, kteří se institučně nehlásí k žádné náboženské skupině. Zde lze mít na mysli pochopení rodiny, rozvodů, mnohačetných přístupů k etice a politice, k homosexuálnímu soužití a k získávání kmenových embryonálních buněk. Pozitivní vztah



k náboženství prokázali občané České republiky po r. 1990, důkazem tohoto konstatování bylo zjištění při sčítání lidí v r. 1991. K ateismu se přihlásilo jen 39,9 % obyvatelstva, zatímco v r. 2001 to bylo 59 %. Ukázalo se, že církve nedokázaly podržet tuto sympatii v prvních letech politických změn a možná i debaty o navrácení církevního majetku zapříčinily negativní postoje vůči církvím. Je nutno mít ale na paměti, že malé církve si zachovaly konstantní počty a nejsou rozdíly v počtech mezi r. 1991 a 2001. Svědkové Jehovovi prokázali ve svých počtech nárůst svých členů. To prokazuje, že malé náboženské komunity mají tendenci svůj počet stabilizovat nebo i zvětšovat, velké církve, zejména katolická, pak ztrácí na počtech svých členů. Kromě toho narůstá počet těch lidí, kteří se považují za věřící, ale nepatří institučně k žádné církvi. Mladá generace je téměř alergická na instituce a projevy autority, podobně na příkazující mravní normy, není poslušná vůči normám a předpisům, jak tomu bylo dříve u starší generace. Lidé se začínají rozhodovat takto: náboženství ano – církve ne. Spiritualita ano, církve ne. Proč tomu tak je? Je to zajisté otázka pro psychology, pro teology a církevní autority. Pro křesťanské církve z tohoto poznatku vyplývá, že jsou na náboženském tržišti, kde rozhodující je kvalita. Lidé budou vybírat podle duchovní kvality, nikoli podle tradice nebo podle výchovy ve vlastní rodině. Budoucnost křesťanských církví nebude stát na materiálních základech, ale na schopnosti přitažlivosti něco smysluplného a duchovního poskytnout, na její dialogičnosti se společností, na ritech, které jsou čitelné a oslovující. Doba, kdy církev či církve byly ctěnými porevolučními institucemi, je již pryč. Mnohem více církve jsou podezírány z nemravného jednání kněží a dalších církevních autorit (homosexualita, pedofilie, ekonomická problematika), církev je podezírána z nepřátelství vůči sexualitě a ženám, z duchovní diktatury, z nedemokratického smýšlení, apod. Církev či církve jsou viděny jako překonaný instituční fenomén, který musí být omlazen něčím novým, více duchovním, co poskytuje duchovní a svěží prameny, co je přesvědčující a co něco životu konkrétně přináší. V současné době i v České republice, nejen v západní Evropě, chápání Boha v křesťanském pojetí, je nahrazováno pojmem transcendence. Má to mnoho příčin a jistě tomu přispívá ztráta historické paměti, zvyků a zásad, stres a pracovní tempo. Je nutná změna způsobu pastorační činnosti křesťanských církví. Mají-li církve obstát v nabídce nekřesťanských náboženských společností, musí mnohem lépe reagovat na kulturní, politickou i ekonomickou realitu, na realitu zájmů a potřeb občanů, musí mnohem více pracovat na pozitivních projektech, které mají co nabídnout dnešnímu člověku, musí méně naříkat nad nepochopením a popř. ztrátou svých členů. Církvím chybí pozitivní pastorační projekt, který se nebude vracet k minulosti, ale k budoucnosti. Statistická realita prokázala, že křesťanské církve po r. 1989 nedokázaly takovéto projekty prosadit a jednotlivé křesťanské církve žijí spíše den ze dne v každodenní únavě a často i skepsi. Proto také vyrůstají v křesťanských církvích fundamentalistické skupiny, které se domnívají, že se v jejich kroužcích jedná o záchranu církve. Jen pozitivní cíle a pozitivní přístup k životu může způsobit větší atraktivitu křesťanských církví v České republice.

Jak vypadají vesnice a malé obce v pohraničí? V červenci r. 1945 se seznámila československá vláda s plánem odsunu/vyhnání 2–2,5 miliónů Němců a 400 000 Maďarů. Odsun měl být postupný a plánovitý. Jednalo se o pohraniční místa, konkrétně oblast Ostravy, Bruntálu, Nového Jičína, Opavy, Jesenicka, Děčína, Teplic, Duchova, Mostu, Chomutova, Kadaně, Aše, Chebu, Kraslic, Mariánských Lázní a z jižních Čech (Prachaticko, Strakonicko). Němci si mohli odnést ze svého vlastnictví v podstatě jen to, co mohli unést a potraviny na čtyři dny. Odsunutí Němci z československé republiky museli najít své nové domovy na různých místech v Německu, nejen v jeho pohraničních místech, ale i ve vnitrozemí. Je nutno konstatovat, že odsun německého obyvatelstva byl důsledkem II. světové války. Německé obyvatelstvo bylo integrováno s místem, kde žilo a vždy toto území považovalo za svůj domov. Odsun neslo těžce a jako nespravedlivý důsledek II. světové

války. Pro území Čech a Moravy nastaly však po odsunu Němců značné komplikace v osídlení pohraničí. Nastalo kulturní a hospodářské vakuum pro většinu pohraničních vesnic a malých obcí. Opuštěný majetek Němců se rozkrádal a nové příchozí obyvatelstvo do pohraničí nevynikalo vzděláním, kulturními hodnotami, ctižádostí pokračovat v dosavadních tradicích nebo vytváření nových tradic. Do současnosti lze zjišťovat v místech po odsunu Němců jistá kulturní omezení, absenci tradic, pěveckých sborů, zájmových kroužků. Vztah k místnímu prostředí nebyl po odsunu Němců v pohraničí nikdy obnoven v míře tehdejší. Postačí si všimnout často ubohého stavu domů, kostelů a dalších staveb. Na otázku, jak tedy vypadá česká vesnice v pohraničí po r. 1945 je odpověď velmi komplikovaná. Při srovnání s místy v České republice, kde nebyla narušena kontinuita místního obyvatelstva, spatřujeme velké rozdílnosti v kultuře, místních tradicích a v péči o krajinu. Místa obývaná Němci byla charakterizována náboženskými symboly, opravenými farami a kostely. Sudetští Němci vyznávali hlavně katolické náboženství, které doprovázelo jejich život. Náboženský život sudetského obyvatelstva byl značný a po jejich vyhnání nastal stav nejen kulturního, ale i náboženského vakuu. V pohraničí se během dalších let kostely vykrádaly, rozpadaly, ničily, podobně fary. Obrat nastal až po r. 1989, když mnoho kostelů a far bylo opraveno z finančních zdrojů tehdejšího německého obyvatelstva jako projev úcty k domovské zemi.

Jako projev kulturní, morální a náboženské destrukce pohraničního venkova mohou být modelovým příkladem severní Čechy. Odsun Němců byl umocněn skutečným zničením měst a obcí pro účely těžby hnědého uhlí. Chemický průmysl v těchto místech také narušil ekologický systém a po snahách kvalitativně změnit stav prostředí pro místní obyvatelstvo po r. 1989 se přesto mnoho nezměnilo. Obyvatelstvo žijící na území bývalých sudetských Němců a jejich dnešní území, potřebuje pomoc, aniž si to uvědomuje. Zajímavé je srovnání statistických údajů Ministerstva vnitra České republiky, které uvádějí počet vražd, násilných činů a krádeží. Z těchto statistik je zřejmé, že v územích, kde původně žilo většinové Německé obyvatelstvo, je zaznamenán mnohem vyšší počet trestných činů. Uvedme konkrétní příklady:

	<b>Severočeský kraj</b>	<b>Jihočeský kraj</b>
Vraždy	19	5
Násilné činy	4041	1348
Mravnostní činy	316	136
Krádeže prosté	17 325	6 306
Krádeže vloupáním	8 297	3 517
Majetkové činy	27 472	10 654

Situace v městech a obcích po vyhnání Němců se od r. 1945 dějinným způsobem kvalitativně sice změnila, ale přesto zůstávají tato místa nápadná nízkou nebo téměř žádnou vazbou současného obyvatelstva k tomuto regionu a vztahy mezi obyvateli nejsou dynamické, silné a trvající. Podpora kulturního života je nutná, podobně podpora vzdělávacího systému, podpora ekologická a náboženská by mohla změnit současný stav. Měl by se proměnit stav lhostejnosti ke všemu a ke všem ke stavu zájmu o všechny a o všechno. Pokud bude trvat stav lhostejnosti, bude tím trpět v důsledcích region, ostatní lidé, ekonomika regionu, budou narůstat počtem fundamentalistická hnutí náboženského a politického zaměření, která neznají toleranci ke způsobu jiného smýšlení. Náprava stavu lhostejnosti našich obyvatel v tzv. pohraničních obcích vesnicích je úkolem, který stojí před námi.

# **Regionální management jako cesta k udržitelnému rozvoji venkovských regionů**

## **Regional Management as a Way to Sustainable Countryside Development**

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### **Klíčová slova**

regionální management, mikroregion

### **Abstrakt**

Příspěvek shrnuje výzkum realizovaný Západočeskou univerzitou a Vysokou školou evropských a regionálních studií. Předmětem řešení projektu je tvorba modelů regionálního managementu ve třech pilotních regionech v západních a jižních Čechách a jejich praktickou implementaci. Součástí projektu byl i marketingový výzkum. Dotazník pro představitele obcí a měst byl zaměřen na spolupráci měst a obcí v rámci mikroregionů. Pod pojmem mikroregion rozumíme dobrovolné svazky obcí a měst, ale můžeme si pod tímto pojmem představit i např. místní akční skupiny v rámci programu EU LEADER+ či jinou formu regionální spolupráce obcí a měst. Marketingového výzkumu se zúčastnilo celkem 144 obcí z regionu jižních a západních Čech. Tyto obce jsou součástí 55 mikroregionů. Nejpočetněji zastoupeným mikroregionem byl Blanský les – podhůří (11 obcí) a Svazek měst a obcí Pomalší (9 obcí), Budějovicko-sever (7 obcí), Jindřichohradecko (7 obcí). Většina těchto regionů byla založena v letech 1999 – 2003. Svazek obcí je nejčastější právní forma těchto mikroregionů (68,1 %). Mikroregiony mají i velmi malé počty pracovníků, 25,7 % obcí nemá žádného pracovníka, 54,9 % má pouze jednoho pracovníka. 45,1 % obcí má svého projektového manažera, ale pouze 27,8 % respondentů dokázalo specifikovat jeho pravomoci. Konkrétní spolupráce mikroregionů se realizuje nejčastěji prostřednictvím pravidelných setkání starostů (27,1 %). Nejdůležitějšími partnery pro rozvoj mikroregionů jsou města a obce v okolí (21,1 %), krajský úřad (13,2 %) a občané (11,8 %). Naopak jako nedůležité partnery pro rozvoj mikroregionů uvedli respondenti vysoké školy a orgány Evropské unie (12,6 %) a ministerstva (11,3 %). 63,2 % respondentů vidí jako žádoucí členství soukromých podnikatelů či jejich zájmových sdružení v orgánech mikroregionů. 82,6 % mikroregionů má zpracovanou strategii dalšího rozvoje. Příprava kvalitních projektů financovatelných ze strukturálních fondů EU se nedaří kvůli jejich složitosti (39,5 %). Získaná data jsou součástí celkové analýzy prostředí, která má přispět k dalšímu rozvoji mikroregionů.

### **Key words**

regional management, microregion

### **Abstract**

The contribution deals with results of research, which was realized by University of West Bohemia in Pilsen and College of European and Regional Studies. The aim of the research is creation of regional management's models in three regions in west and south Bohemia and their implementation. The important part of project was marketing research. Question-form for representatives of towns and villages was focused on cooperation within the frame of microregions. Microregion is voluntary association of villages and towns, but it is for

example local action group within the frame of program of EU – LEADER+ too or other form of regional cooperation among villages and towns. Marketing research contains answers from 144 municipalities from region of west and south Bohemia. These municipalities are part of 55 microregions. The most municipalities were from microregion Blanský les (11 municipalities), Svazek měst a obcí Pomalší (9 municipalities), Budějovicko-sever (7 municipalities), Jindřichohradecko (7 municipalities). Most of the microregions were founded in period 1999–2003. Association towns and villages is the most frequent legal status (68,1 %). Microregions have very few employees (25,7 % municipalities – no employee, 54,9 % municipalities – 1 employee). 45,1 % municipalities have own project manager, but only 27,8 % representatives of towns and villages could specify competences of project manager. The concrete cooperation of microregions is realized by periodical meetings of mayors (27,1 %). The most important partners for development of microregions were towns and villages in the surrounding (21,1 %), regional authority (13,2 %) and inhabitants (11,8 %). The least important partners for development of microregions were universities and EU authorities (12,6 %) and administrations (11,3 %). 63,2 % representatives of towns and villages think, that membership of private entrepreneurs and their interest grouping in microregion's authorities is useful. 82,6 % microregions have strategy of further development. Preparation of quality project financed by Structural Funds of European Union is unsuccessful because of complicity of projects (39,5 %). The data are part of general analyse of environment, which has to help to development of microregions.

## **Regionální management jako cesta k udržitelnému rozvoji venkovských regionů**

### **Úvod**

Venkovský mikroregion nemůžeme chápat jako striktně vymezenou administrativní jednotku, ale jako dobrovolné sdružení měst a obcí, které usilují o společná řešení problémů. Důvody, které vedou ke vzniku jednotlivých mikroregionů, jsou dle Ústavu územního rozvoje (1) různé. V minulosti vznikaly zejména monotematicky zaměřené mikroregiony, které většinou po splnění účelu, za kterým byl mikroregion vytvořen, nepokračovaly v další spolupráci. Některé mikroregiony na základech spolupráce založené na jednorázovém úkolu postavily další spolupráci a svůj komplexní rozvoj. Mikroregiony, vznikající zdola mají tedy v poslední době stále častěji komplexní charakter a monofunkční mikroregiony se vyskytují stále v menší míře.

Podle posledního celorepublikového monitoringu Mikroregiony 2004 (2) je v České republice 610 mikroregionů, přičemž do mikroregionů je rovněž zapojen stále vyšší počet obcí. Oproti očekávání se zvýšil i počet obcí, které jsou zapojené do dvou či tří mikroregionů. Počet obcí ve čtyř mikroregionech se snížil ze dvou na jednu. Průměrný počet obcí v mikroregionu je 11,51 obce. Je to však velmi hypotetický počet, neboť velikost mikroregionů je velmi rozdílná.

Náš vstup do Evropské unie přinesl změnu ve fungování regionů i v tomto ohledu. Je zřejmé, že stávající sídelní struktura, především malé samostatné obce, nebude schopna zajistit plně vypracování takových programů, které by mohly být předloženy EU pro poskytnutí prostředků ze strukturálních fondů. Takto lze zjednodušit například dva hlavní důvody vzniku mikroregionu Jesenicko (3) – tedy společné propojení a provázání zájmů a záměrů akcí a aktivit venkovských obcí v územně uceleném venkovském zájmovém prostoru s cílem dosažení žádoucích změn ve všech obcích takto vymezeného prostoru – a nově otevřená šance čerpání finanční pomoci ze strukturálních fondů EU jako prostředku pomáhajícího snižovat ekonomickou a sociální nerovnováhu zemí ucházejících se o vstup do tohoto společenství.

Strukturální fondy EU podle Ing. Hužery (4), tajemníka Pracovní skupiny pro malé obce při odboru územní veřejné správy Ministerstva vnitra ČR, podporují synergii mezi urbanizovanými a venkovskými oblastmi. Základním cílem je, aby obyvatelé venkovských regionů měli přístup ke specializovaným službám obecného hospodářského zájmu, které mohou být poskytnuty pouze v urbanizovaných oblastech. Jen lepší podmínky ve venkovských oblastech tam přilákají podniky a kvalifikované pracovníky a zabrání odchodu lidí tak, jak o tom ostatně hovoří Národní strategický referenční rámec pro období 2007-2013. Ten jako řešení vidí vytvoření sítě spolupráce mezi venkovskými oblastmi a městy, zvláště pak center střední velikosti, a také ve vzájemné propojenosti ekonomických aktivit malých sídel ve venkovském prostoru.

Pro období 2007-2013 se připravují na Ministerstvu zemědělství základní dokumenty, které by se měly zaměřit na rozvoj venkova České republiky – Národní strategický plán pro rozvoj venkova České republiky a Program rozvoje venkova. Jednu z hlavních priorit strategie rozvoje zemědělství a venkova EU tvoří tzv. osa 3, která vychází z analýz problémů a potřeb venkova v oblasti tvorby pracovních míst, místních služeb a kvality života. Tato osa řeší i některé negativní dlouhodobé tendence vyliďňování venkova související s rozvojem

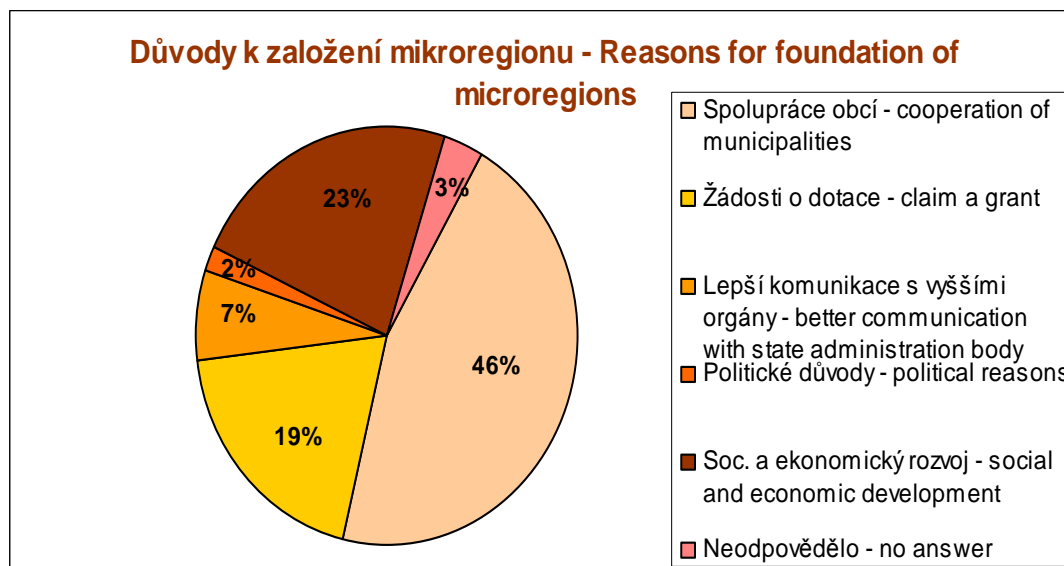
zemědělství orientovaného na maximální možnou rentabilitu a ekonomické výsledky a na konkurenceschopnost na celosvětové úrovni. (5)

## Metodika

Tento výzkum byl realizován v roce 2005 Západočeskou univerzitou a Vysokou školou evropských a regionálních studií v rámci projektu „Regionální management jako cesta k udržitelnému rozvoji venkovských regionů“. Předmětem řešení projektu byla tvorba modelů regionálního managementu ve třech pilotních regionech v západních a jižních Čechách a jejich praktickou implementaci. Součástí projektu byl i marketingový výzkum. V rámci výzkumu bylo osloveno 200 obcí. Z 200 oslovených obcí se výzkumu nakonec zúčastnilo 144 obcí z regionu jižních a západních Čech, které jsou součástí 55 mikroregionů. Odborné cíle byly zaměřeny na shromáždění, zpracování a interpretování dat týkajících se problematiky vzniku a fungování mikroregionů.

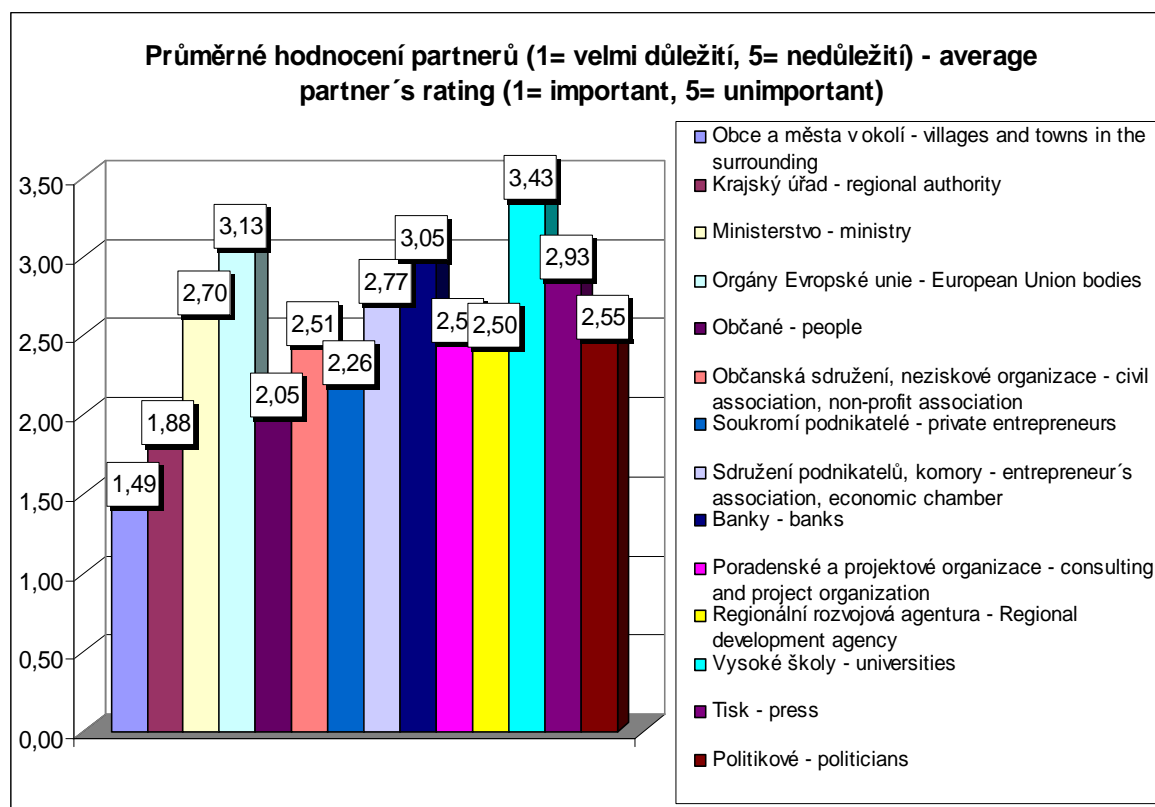
## Výsledky a diskuse

Graf č.1: Důvody založení



Obce a města nejčastěji vedla k založení mikroregionů vzájemná spolupráce. Tento důvod uvedlo 45,1 % obcí. Mezi další významné příčiny k založení mikroregionů se zařadil sociální a ekonomický rozvoj (22,9 %) a žádosti o dotace (19,4 %). Mezi méně důležité důvody patřila lepší komunikace s vyššími orgány (6,9 %) či politické důvody (2,1 %). Důvod založení regionu neuvedlo 3,5 % respondentů.

**Graf č. 2: Průměrné hodnocení partnerů**



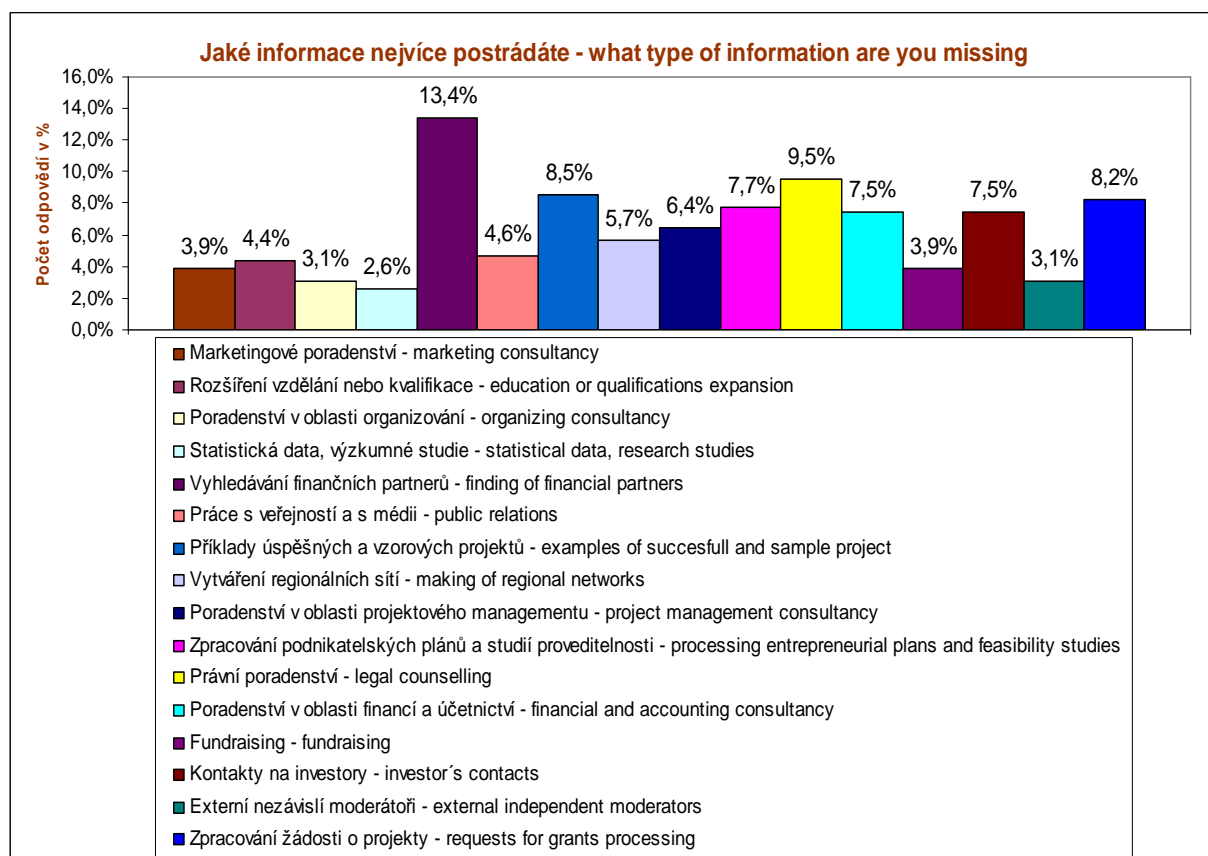
Nejdůležitějšími partnery pro rozvoj mikroregionů jsou podle respondentů města a obce v okolí (21,1 %), krajský úřad (13,2 %), občané (11,8 %) a ministerstva (7,2 %).

Jako nedůležité jsou pro rozvoj mikroregionů vnímány vysoké školy a orgány Evropské unie, které nejméně označilo 12,6 % respondentů. Za nimi se umístila ministerstva (11,3 %) a banky (9,5 %).

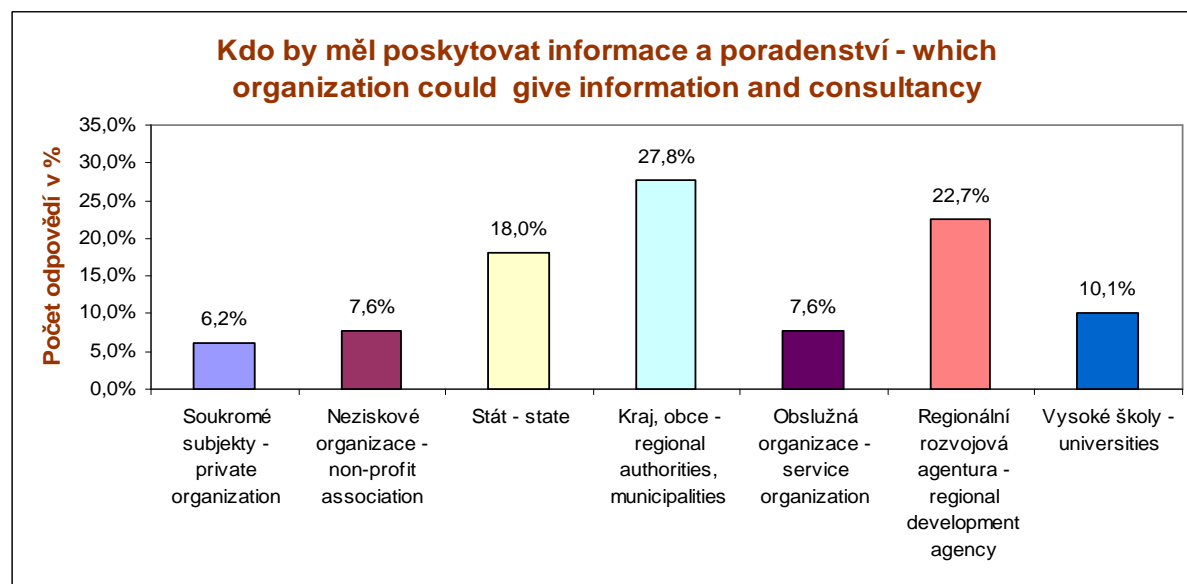
V průměrném hodnocení partnerů se nejvýše, s průměrnou známkou 1,49, umístily obce a města v okolí. Všechny 144 respondentů je hodnotí jako nejdůležitější partnery pro rozvoj mikroregionů. Za nimi je s průměrným hodnocením 1,88 bodu krajský úřad. Naopak jako nejméně důležité partnery pro rozvoj mikroregionů označili respondenti vysoké školy (průměrné hodnocení 3,43 bodu), jen o něco lépe skončily orgány Evropské unie, které získaly 3,13 bodu, a banky (průměrné hodnocení 3,05 bodu). Zajímavé je, že respondenti poměrně negativně hodnotí i roli tisku, kterou ocenili průměrnou známkou 2,93.

Respondenti nejvíce postrádají informace v oblasti vyhledávání finančních partnerů (13,4 %), v oblasti právního poradenství (9,5 %) a v příkladech vzorových a úspěšných projektů (8,5 %). V průměru nejvíce respondenti postrádají vyhledávání finančních partnerů (průměrné hodnocení 2,19 bodu), právní poradenství (průměrné hodnocení 2,47 bodu), zpracování podnikatelských plánů a studií proveditelnosti (průměrné hodnocení 2,53 bodu). Nejméně respondenti postrádají externí nezávislé moderátory (průměrné hodnocení 3,44 bodu), statistická data, výzkumné studie a další informace potřebné k rozhodování (průměrné hodnocení 3,27 bodu) a marketingové poradenství (průměrné hodnocení 3,22 bodu).

**Graf č. 3: Jaké informace nejvíce postrádáte**



**Graf č. 4: Kdo by měl poskytovat informace**

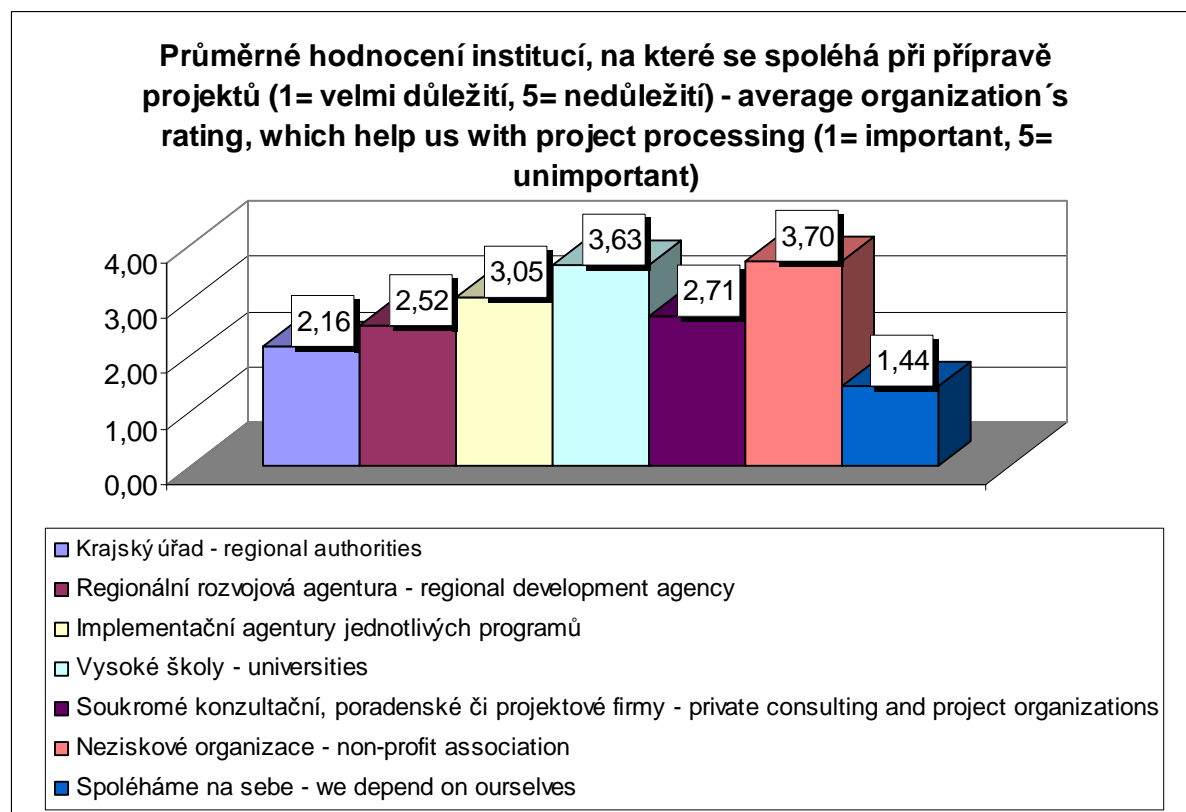


Podle dotázaných by poskytovateli informací měly být především jejich nositelé – kraje nebo obce. Tento názor zastává 27,8 % respondentů. Významnou roli v poskytování informací a poradenství by měla mít Regionální rozvojová agentura (22,7 % respondentů) a 18 % respondentů se domnívá, že by to měl být stát. Jen 6,2 % dotázaných uvedlo, že by uvedené



informace a služby měly nabízet soukromé firmy. Pro zainteresování neziskových organizací do této oblasti se vyslovilo jen 7,6 % respondentů.

**Graf č. 5: Průměrné hodnocení**



Při přípravě projektů ze strukturálních fondů EU 40,6 % respondentů „velmi spoléhá“ samo na sebe, na krajský úřad (21,1 % respondentů) a regionální rozvojovou agenturu (14,9 % respondentů). Nejméně odpovědi získaly shodně vysoké školy a jejich jednotlivá pracoviště a neziskové organizace (3,4 % respondentů). Implementační agentury jednotlivých programů obdržely 5 %.

Pokud se však podíváme z hodnocení „velmi spoléhá“ na pouhé „spoléhá“, zjistíme, že se odpovědi respondentů vzácně vyrovnávají, což znamená, že respondenti nepreferují pouze jednu či dvě instituce, ale spoléhají se na více institucí zároveň. Na soukromé konzultační, poradenské či projektové firmy „spoléhá“ 21,1 % respondentů, na krajský úřad 19,6 % respondentů, na regionální rozvojovou agenturu 18,6 % respondentů a na implementační agentury jednotlivých programů 15,1 % respondentů. S odstupem se umístily odpovědi: spoléháme na sebe (13,6 % respondentů), vysoké školy a jejich jednotlivá pracoviště (9,0 % respondentů) a neziskové organizace (3,0 %).

Respondenti se „příliš nespoléhají“ na implementační agentury jednotlivých programů (20,1 % respondentů), neziskové organizace (19,2 % respondentů) a na regionální rozvojové agentury (16,2 % respondentů). Dále se „příliš nespoléhají“ na soukromé konzultační, poradenské či projektové firmy (14,8 % respondentů), vysoké školy a jejich jednotlivá pracoviště (13,5 % respondentů), na krajský úřad (13,1 % respondentů) a sami na sebe (3,1 % respondentů).

Na otázku, na koho se respondenti „nespoléhají“, uvedli respondenti nejčastěji vysoké školy a jejich jednotlivá pracoviště (28,7 % respondentů), neziskové organizace (27,1 % respondentů) a implementační agentury jednotlivých programů (19,4 % respondentů).

Na dalších místech uvedli soukromé konzultační, poradenské či projektové firmy (10,9 % respondentů), regionální rozvojovou agenturu (8,5 % respondentů). Nejméně často uvedli respondenti krajský úřad (4,7 % respondentů) a to, že spoléhají sami na sebe (0,8 % respondentů).

„Vůbec nespolehají“ respondenti na vysoké školy a jejich jednotlivá pracoviště (26,5 % respondentů), neziskové organizace (25,9 % respondentů) a soukromé konzultační, poradenské či projektové firmy (14,2 % respondentů). Vůbec také nespolehají a implementační agentury jednotlivých programů (11,7 % respondentů), regionální rozvojovou agenturu (11,1 % respondentů), krajský úřad (7,4 % respondentů) a sami na sebe (3,1 % respondentů).

Obce a mikroregiony se při přípravě projektů ze strukturálních fondů EU nejvíce spoléhají sami na sebe (průměrné hodnocení 1,44 bodu), na krajský úřad (průměrné hodnocení 2,16 bodu), na regionální rozvojovou agenturu (průměrné hodnocení 2,52 bodu) a na soukromé konzultační, poradenské či projektové firmy (průměrné hodnocení 2,71 bodu). Nejméně se obce a mikroregiony spoléhají na neziskové organizace (průměrné hodnocení 3,70 bodu), vysoké školy a jejich jednotlivá pracoviště (průměrné hodnocení 3,63 bodu) a implementační agentury jednotlivých programů (průměrné hodnocení 3,05 bodu).

## **Závěr**

Mezi hlavní důvody, proč se města a obce rozhodly založit mikroregiony, patří nejčastěji spolupráce obcí a sociální a ekonomický rozvoj regionu, protože především malé obce v České republice nejsou schopny zajistit vypracování různých projektů, které by jim umožnily čerpat finanční prostředky strukturálních fondů Evropské unie.

Mezi nejdůležitější partnery pro rozvoj mikroregionů patří samozřejmě okolní obce a města, krajský úřad, občané, zatímco mezi ty nedůležité patří podle respondentů vysoké školy a orgány Evropské unie. Analogické výsledky získáme i při otázkách týkající se pomoci mikroregionům při přípravě projektů do strukturálních fondů. Lze široce polemizovat o tom, proč jsou místo vysokých škol při přípravě projektů preferováni jiní partneři a jak k tomuto fenoménu vlastně dochází.

Zájem měst a obcí v oblasti NUTS II o spolupráci s vysokými školami na společných projektech je tedy minimální. Poptávka organizací a institucí po spolupráci s VŠ při přípravě projektů sice existuje, ale vysoké školy na tuto spolupráci nejsou dostatečně připraveny po stránce komunikační, organizační, odborné i materiální. Organizace a instituce tedy volí raději komerční subjekty, které jim tuto službu zajistí. Tuto skutečnost by měly vysoké školy vzít na vědomí a snažit se ji nějakým způsobem řešit. Pokud by se vysoké školy aktivně zapojily do spolupráce s mikroregiony, mělo by to pozitivní vliv nejen na využití intelektuální kapacity vysokých škol ve prospěch praxe, ale i na vzájemném kvalitativním rozvoji jak mikroregionů tak i vysokých škol.

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# **Rekreace a cestovní ruch ve venkovském prostoru**

## **Recreation and Tourism in Rural Areas**

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### **Klíčová slova**

cestovní ruch, druhé bydlení, rekreace, venkovský prostor

### **Abstrakt**

Příspěvek se zabývá možnostmi využití venkovského prostoru pro rekreaci a cestovní ruch v obecné rovině s odkazy na konkrétní příklady na Rakovnicku. Pozornost je věnována druhému bydlení (chataření, chalupaření) – fenoménu, který má sociální, ekonomické a kulturní konsekvence a významně souvisí s vývojem sídelní struktury a rekreačním využitím krajiny (záchrana a obnova sídel v emigračních oblastech; nový typ osídlení s dominující rekreační funkcí v přírodně atraktivních lokalitách; vztahy starousedlíků, majitelů druhého bydlení a vlastníků domů vzniklých novou výstavbou...). Nastíněna je problematika rozličných forem cestovního ruchu – incentivní, kongresový, hromadná rekreace dětí a mládeže, cykloturistika apod. z hlediska vizí správy a samosprávy a z hlediska reálných možností (otázky nabídky a poptávky; kvalita poskytovaných služeb; reálné uskutečnění plánů a strategických záměrů...). Ke studiu problematiky cestovního ruchu a zejména rekreace je potřebné přistupovat jak z pohledu potřeb návštěvníků a turistů, tak je také nutné neopomíjet potřeby rezidentů (změny ve volnočasových aktivitách, problematika inscenizace, vznik turistického ghetta, efekt turistické pasti...).

### **Key words**

tourism, second housing, recreation, rural areas

### **Abstract**

The contribution deals with opportunities for usage of rural areas for recreation and tourism generally with references to case examples in the Rakovník region. The main focus is given to second housing (individual recreation in weekend houses and cottages). It is an important phenomenon of lifestyle with deep social, economic and cultural consequences and relates to the development of the settlement structure and recreational exploitation of the country (survival and revitalization of settlements in outflow regions, new type of settlement structure with dominant recreational function in naturally attractive localities but also relations among old settlers, second homes owners and new incomers in freshly built family houses...). Topics of various forms are outlined – incentive and congress tourism, mass recreation of youth, cyclotourism etc. from the point of view of governmental and self-governmental bodies with real local conditions regarded (offer and demand, quality of services, targeting of the plans and strategic goals in reality...). Surveys on tourism and recreation are necessary to be based not only on the demands of visitors and guests needs but also on the needs of residents (changes in leisure patterns, inscenisation, tourist ghettos, effect of tourism trap ...).

## **Rekreace a cestovní ruch ve venkovském prostoru**

### **Úvod**

Venkovský prostor vedle funkcí produkční, obytné, dopravní apod. plní také neodmyslitelně funkci rekreační. Je to nejen prostor pro každodenní rekreační aktivity rezidentů, ale také prostor pro krátkodobou rekreaci městského obyvatelstva, které zde má situovány své objekty druhého bydlení a samozřejmě je to prostor pro rozvoj cestovního ruchu v jeho mnohých podobách: rekreační, poznávací, sportovní, incentívni atd.

Tento příspěvek se zabývá možnostmi využití venkovského prostoru pro rekreaci a cestovní ruch v obecné rovině s odkazy na konkrétní příklady na Rakovnicku. Poukazuje na opakující se problematiku způsobů využití venkovských areálů a objektů, poukazuje na význam cestovního ruchu a rekreace při hledání možností rozvoje jednotlivých mikroregionů, na možnosti využití existujícího i skrytého potenciálu ku prospěchu krajiny, rezidentů, podnikatelských subjektů i návštěvníků.

### **Aktivity rezidentů**

Nejen návštěvníci a účastníci cestovního ruchu touží po relaxaci a rekreačním vyžití. Rekreační potřeby, které je možné uskutečňovat ve venkovském prostoru mají samozřejmě i rezidenti. Jedná se zejména o uspokojení rekreačních potřeb situovaných do každodenního pracovního času i do víkendů. Rekreační aktivity vedle své relaxační funkce přispívají především ke stmelení místní komunity, ke zkvalitnění a aktivizaci života ve venkovských obcích (Chromý 2003). V neposlední řadě napomáhají komunikaci mezi rezidenty a rekreanty využívajícími jak objekty druhého bydlení, tak objekty hromadné rekreace, tak i mezi návštěvníky. Nejtypičtějšími příklady mohou být sportovní utkání, hasičské soutěže, sportovní dny dětí, veselice navazující na místní tradici apod. Lokalita je atraktivní pro návštěvníky, pokud je atraktivní pro rezidenty, neboť návštěvníci a turisté ve venkovském prostoru hledají především pohodu a vlídné přijetí. Proto může mít i nebyvalý rozvoj cestovního ruchu negativní vliv, může docházet ke vzniku tzv. turistického ghetta (část území sídla, kde došlo k vytlačení běžných funkcí sídla funkcí komerční úzce orientovanou na nabídku služeb cestovního ruchu), či se může projevovat efekt turistické pasti (negativní působení neregulovaného cestovního ruchu, který svými podnikatelskými aktivitami znehodnocuje svůj vlastní kapitál – kulturní a přírodní hodnoty destinace) (Pásková, Zelenka 2002).

### **Druhé bydlení**

Ve venkovském prostoru na našem území se nachází velký počet objektů druhého bydlení (objekty individuální rekreace – chaty, rekreační chalupy, objekty v zahrádkových koloniích), představují 20 % všech obytných objektů a uspokojuje v nich své rekreační potřeby téměř čtvrtina obyvatelstva. Tento fenomén má sociální, ekonomické a kulturní konsekvence. Významně souvisí s vývojem sídelní struktury a rekreačním využitím krajiny. Chalupářství spojováno se záchranou a obnovou sídel v emigračních oblastech, vzniklých jak poválečným odsunem, tak socialistickou industrializací doprovázenou nebyvalou urbanizací, či legislativními zásahy představovanými především střediskovou soustavou osídlení (Fialová 2001, Fialová, Vágner 2005). V oblasti Rakovnicka nalezneme výraznou koncentraci rekreačních chalup např. v oblasti Čistěcka, Slabců. Činnost chalupářů zde napomáhá zachování původních venkovských stavení s prvky lidové architektury (Fialová, Marada 2002). Chataření navazuje na prvorepublikovou tradici trávení volného času. V mnoha případech (údolí Berounky, Jesenicko...) dochází ke vzniku nového typu sídla s dominující

rekreační funkcí, využívaného převážně o víkendech a v letní sezoně, které bývá nezdárka situováno mimo zastavěné území obce a často v přírodně velmi atraktivních lokalitách. Druhé bydlení v mnoha případech přináší negativa pro obec, kde je jeho vysoká koncentrace: omezení pro rozvoj dalších forem cestovního ruchu, potřeba správy infrastruktury pro lokality a objekty, na které však obec nedostává do svého rozpočtu finanční prostředky, v některých případech problematická komunikace mezi rezidenty a vlastníky objektů druhého bydlení způsobená odlišným způsobem trávení volného času o víkendech. Není však možné stavět mezi těmito dvěma skupinami uživatelů venkovského prostoru bariéru, ale naopak je třeba vzájemné komunikace, ke které právě rekreační aktivity nabízejí vhodnou a nenásilnou příležitost. Stejně tak je možné i podporovat a využívat tzv. sousedské výpomoci, kdy např. rezident může být rekreantovi nápomocen při údržbě zahrady a objektu a naopak specialista z města se může zapojit do tvorby materiálů, které jsou pro obec nezbytné, ale volené zastupitelstvo nemá ve svých řadách takového odborníka (Bičík 2001).

### **Hromadná rekreace a organizovaný cestovní ruch**

Se společensko ekonomickými změnami, změnou hierarchie hodnot a především změnami volnočasových aktivit souvisí nové formy využívání venkovského prostoru, z našeho úhlu pohledy jakožto prostoru pro rekreaci. Do popředí vstupuje zájem o aktivní odpočinek spojený se sportovním (zejména cykloturistika), kulturním vyžitím a relaxací především na bázi individuálního programu. Přesto nadále ve venkovském prostoru existují objekty hromadné rekreace, které v mnoha případech byly objekty určenými pro vázaný cestovní ruch (podniková rekreační zařízení). V současné době již většinou pracují na komerční bázi, v mnoha případech jsou již vybavena zařízeními odpovídajícím požadavkům současného klienta. Jejich největším nepřítelem je sezónnost, která, až na horské oblasti, představuje v našem území sezonu letní, prázdninovou, v lepším případě červen – září. Zde se naskytá příležitost rozšíření služeb pro formy cestovního ruchu, které nemají tak výrazně sezónní charakter. Příkladem mohou být školy v přírodě, o které je ve velkých městech opět zájem. Dále pak incentivní či kongresový cestovní ruch, pro který je přímo typické, že se uskutečňuje mimo hlavní turistickou sezonu, ač má charakter krátkodobého cestovního ruchu, ale patří pro provozovatele mezi finančně lukrativní aktivity (Sysel 2002). Největším problémem, především zařízení tzv. chatičkového typu je v našich podmínkách vedle výše jmenované sezónnosti, která se v tomto případě dá jen velmi těžko ovlivnit i kvalita poskytovaných služeb. V mnoha případech neodpovídá evropskému standardu pro takovýto typ zařízení (kvalita a počet sociálních zařízení, neexistence doplňkových služeb, problémy s údržbou zeleně apod.). Tím samozřejmě dochází k problémům s konkurenceschopností. Proto je na místě uvážit, zda v daném území je dostatečné množství rekreačních zařízení, zda místo výstavby nových na zelené louce není vhodnější přistoupit k obnově stávajících, případně přistoupit k demolici současných a na stejném místě uskutečnit výstavbu nových. Jednou z možných a také žádoucích variant je investovat do oprav např. starých venkovských usedlostí které ztratily svou původní zemědělskou funkci, docílí se tak zachování krajinného rázu a využití chátrajících a okolí hyzdících staveb (např. Míče severně od Křivokláta, Machův mlýn na Javornici). Dále je pak samozřejmou nutností provádět pro všechny tyto objekty důslednou propagační politiku. Možností je několik např. vystupovat v prezentacích daného regionu, být v síti obdobně specializovaných objektů, budovat stálou klientelu atd.

### **Významné solitéry a památky lidové architektury**

Magnetem pro návštěvníky bývají vždy významné solitéry (Křivoklát, Krakovec). Pro danou destinaci je návštěvník přínosem, pokud jeho pozornost není pouze soustředěna na návštěvu příslušného solitéru a dalších služeb nevyužívá. Ideální je pokud se návštěvník změní v turistu (přenocuje), svůj pobyt tak prodlouží a pokud se do destinace znovu vrátí. Toto je

možné na základě rozšíření nabídky aktivit spojených s návštěvou solitéru např. pořádání pravidelných, několikadenních kulturních akcí (Křivořezání, Krakování), napojení okolního prostředí (poznávací okruhy pro pěší turisty a cykloturisty). Důležitou roli v tuto chvíli sehrává návštěvnický management (regulace návštěvníků, přímá spolupráce všech zainteresovaných subjektů – majitel solitéru, pořadatel akce, obec, provozovatelé služeb cestovního ruchu...) (Pásková, Zelenka 2002). Magnetem pro účastníky cestovního ruchu mohou být i často opomíjené památky lidové architektury (Hamousův statek ve Zbečně), opět oživené tradicemi (pečení chleba, koláčů, chov koz) např. s možností pro návštěvníka vyzkoušet si mizející dovednosti. Stavby lidové architektury jsou často situovány do sídel mimo hlavní dopravní tahy a proto je vhodné věnovat pozornost jak jejich značení s jednoduchou doprovodnou charakteristikou v místě, tak upoutávkám na hlavních tazích

### **Přírodní atraktivita**

Hlavním kritériem při zviditelňování a pro návštěvníky zatraktivnění přírodních zajímavostí je respektování zásad ochrany přírody a krajiny. Nejčastější formou je budování naučných stezek, kde je za potřebí mít na zřetel jejich funkci relaxační (odpočinková místa, drobná dětská hřiště, pítka, v nástupních místech či významných křižovatkách mobilní sociální zařízení apod.) a neopomíjet funkci výchovnou a vzdělávací, ovšem realizovanou atraktivní nenásilnou formou (přednost jednoduchým schémátům před obsáhlými, lajkům nerosrozumitelnými texty). Při projektech na vytvoření naučných stezek dochází často k opomíjení zahrnutí nákladů na jejich vlastní provoz a aktualizaci (úklid, oprava panelů). Smutným příkladem z Rakovnicka může být např. stav informačních tabulí na Naučné stezce Novostrašecsko, naopak kladným existence panelů zbudovaných a provozovaných mikroregionem Křivoklát.

### **Nové aktivity**

Ve venkovském prostoru se objevují nové aktivity, jejichž snahou je přilákat návštěvníky a turisty. Dovolím si zmínit jen dvě, se kterými se setkáváme stále častěji a které se vyskytují také ve zkoumaném prostoru na Rakovnicku. Vždy je nutné mít na zřeteli přiměřenost projektů k dané lokalitě, respektování krajinného rázu a finanční rentabilitu. Vhodným příkladem může být výstavba rozhleden, které zároveň slouží jako nosiče GSM vysílačů, které v posledních letech rychle a často bez většího uvážení vyrůstají v naší krajině, např. tři vysílače třech operátorů na ploše 1000 m<sup>2</sup>, místo jediného stožáru. Vhodným příkladem je např. vysílač s vyhlídkovou plošinou na Mackově hoře u Nového Strašecí. Další novou aktivitou, která však musí vznikat velmi uvážlivě jsou golfové hřiště (Podbořanky). Přinášejí využití pro ladem ležící, nepřiliš úrodnou půdu, nové pracovní příležitosti spojené s údržbou a provozováním hřiště a jeho zázemí. Golfová turistika zaznamenává v posledním období v Česku vzestupný trend (Zahálková 2006), není však možné naši krajinu proměnit v golfové hřiště, ovšem bez golfových hráčů.

### **Závěr**

Ke studiu problematiky cestovního ruchu a zejména rekreace je potřebné přistupovat jak z pohledu potřeb návštěvníků a turistů (zájem o nové formy cestovního ruchu, relaxace společně s nenásilnou kultivační funkcí), tak je také nutné neopomíjet potřeby rezidentů (změny ve volnočasových aktivitách, problematika inscenizace, vznik turistického gheta, efekt turistické pasti...). Cestovní ruch a rekreace ve venkovském prostoru není, až na vybrané lokality, zásadním nositelem ekonomické prosperity (často bývá uváděno ve strategických plánech), ale převážně doplňkovou činností ve specifickém území, která by měla mít svůj význam pro zkvalitnění životního prostředí ve smyslu prostředí přírodního a sociokulturního pro veškeré uživatele (rezidenty, návštěvníky i podnikatele v CR...)

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Příspěvek vznikl za podpory grantového programu VaV MMR „Rozvoj venkovských oblastí“ a v rámci výzkumného záměru MSM0021620831 „Geografické systémy a rizikové procesy v kontextu globálních změn a evropské integrace“ podpořeného MŠMT



# EAFRD po česku – využitá nebo promarněná šance? The Czech Way of EAFRD – Utilized or Lost Opportunity?

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Vážené dámy, vážení pánové,

dnes si připomínáme 15. výročí vzniku českého Programu obnovy vesnice. Programu, který sice všichni považujeme za úspěšný, který ale stejně jako dnes česká implementace Evropského zemědělského fondu pro rozvoj venkova (dále jen „EAFRD“), vždy nefungoval tak, jak jsme si představovali.

Na 5. evropském kongresu obnovy venkova u příležitosti 20 let dolnorakouského Programu obnovy vesnice v září loňského roku v St. Pölten vystoupil také páter Michael Windey, působící při obnově vesnice v Indii. V jeho vystoupení mně zaujala tato indická moudrost:

„Nalezneš-li na své cestě kámen, vezmi ho a polož do základů svého domu.“

Stejně tak i my, narazíme-li na překážku – ten pomyslný kámen – přičiňme se o to, abychom ji využili pro další rozvoj našeho programu.

Jak zde již zaznělo: Program obnovy vesnice schválila národní česká vláda *premiéra Petra Pitharta* v květnu 1991 na základě návrhu tehdejšího ministra životního prostředí *Ivana Dejmalu*. Když se měly zajistit potřebné prostředky v rozpočtu – objevil se první kámen na cestě – nová vláda a nový ministr nepovažovali program za svou prioritu a potřebné prostředky nenaplánovali. Kámen byl obrazně využit do základů Spolku pro obnovu venkova.

Spolek pro obnovu venkova vznikl jako reakce na nečinnost vlády tlakem ze spodu – od starostů, kteří se k realizaci Programu obnovy vesnice přihlásili a od odborníků, kteří porozuměli jeho smyslu. **Spolek si realizaci programu vytkl jako svůj hlavní cíl**, začal ho vysvětlovat široké venkovské veřejnosti a lobovat za jeho finanční zajištění u poslanců.

Nakonec se s pomocí poslanců Parlamentu – *klíčová osoba Ing. Vačkář je mezi námi* – podařilo prosadit prvních 100 mil. Kč v rozpočtu roku 1994. Ve státním rozpočtu vznikla položka „Program obnovy venkova“. Poslanci, kteří nám napříč politickým spektrem pomáhali, byli zejména v zemědělském výboru a tento název se jim více líbil. Byli jsme za ten řádek v rozpočtu vděční. Na celostátní úrovni jsme proto začali používat název „Program obnovy venkova“ a název „Program obnovy vesnice“ jsme ponechali pro místní úroveň – šlo o to, aby obyvatelé chytil za srdce, aby si z názvu uvědomili, že jde o rozvoj jejich vlastní vesnice. Osobně doufám, že místní programy obnovy vesnice budou jako společně dohodnuté vize zpracovávány a aktualizovány také v nadcházejícím období Programu rozvoje venkova podporovaného z EAFRD.

Vláda České republiky se k venkovu vrátila v roce 1998 usnesením č. 730 ze dne 11. listopadu 1998, o Programu obnovy venkova, které vládě navrhl ministr pro místní rozvoj, *dnes také přítomný Prof. Císař*.

Program obnovy vesnice zahrnoval všechny důležité oblasti venkovského života – od péče o venkovské společenství přes rozvoj hospodářství, vlastní obraz vesnice, občanskou a technickou vybavenost až po krajinu.

Specifické cíle Programu obnovy venkova

1. Udržení, obnova a rozvoj místních kulturních a společenských tradic životního stylu, pospolitosti venkovského obyvatelstva a vědomí vlastní odpovědnosti za obnovu a rozvoj vesnic a venkovských regionů.
2. Rozvíjení partnerských vztahů mezi regiony a městy, mezi sousedními mikroregiony a mezi spřátelenými obcemi po obou stranách hranice.
3. Rozvoj hospodářství při využívání místních hmotných zdrojů a zaměstnanosti obyvatelstva, tj. rozvoj zemědělského a nezemědělského podnikání, služeb, cestovního ruchu atd.
4. **Zachování a obnova vlastního obrazu vesnic, jejich organického sepětí s krajinou, specifického rázu venkovské zástavby, jeho přirozené a jedinečné působnosti v místě a krajině, obnovu kulturních památek na venkově.**
5. **Úprava veřejných prostranství a staveb, zlepšení občanské vybavenosti, technické infrastruktury a místní dopravy.**
6. Udržení, obnova a účelné využití přírodního a produkčního potenciálu zemědělsky využívané krajiny v návaznosti na vhodnou organizaci a využití půdního fondu.
7. Převzetí spoluzodpovědnosti celé společnosti za udržování a rozvoj regenerační, rekreační a terapeutické funkce venkovského prostoru.

Přestože v roce 2004, kdy další finanční zabezpečení programu přešlo novelou zákona o rozpočtovém určení daní na kraje, dosáhl 520 mil. Kč ročně, nebylo možné pro nedostatek prostředků v jeho rámci řešit všechny uvedené cíle. Podpora v rámci Programu obnovy venkova se proto omezila jen na obnovu občanské vybavenosti, péči o veřejná prostranství a zeleň, budování a obnovu místních komunikací v obcích zhruba do 1 000 obyvatel a od roku 1997 také na podporu poradenství a vzdělávání.

Významným impulsem byla Corkská deklarace z 9. listopadu 1996, přijatá představiteli zemí Evropské unie *za přítomnosti ministra zemědělství Ing. Josefa Luxe*. Ta pod názvem „Živý venkov“ položila základy dnešnímu druhému pilíři – Evropskému zemědělskému fondu pro rozvoj venkova (EAFRD).

**Deset bodů Corkské deklarace**

1. Preference venkova;
2. **Integrovaný přístup;**
3. **Diversifikace;**

**Trvalá udržitelnost;**

**Subsidiarita;**

4. **Zjednodušení;**
5. Programování;
6. Financování;
7. Řízení;
8. Hodnocení a průzkum.

Úplné znění na [www.leaderplus.cz](http://www.leaderplus.cz) – odkaz „Co je Leader“

V návaznosti na tuto deklaraci byl v roce 1998 do Programu obnovy venkova zaveden nový dotační titul „Integrované projekty venkovských mikroregionů“. Tím jsme napomáhali venkovské spolupráci obcí a podnikatelů ve všech možných oblastech – od internetizace, přes cyklistické stezky až po pilotní projekty za účasti podnikatelů v intencích iniciativy LEADER+. Další překážka na naší cestě – nedostatek prostředků – měla být překonávána uvědoměním si vlastní zodpovědnosti a hledáním vlastních zdrojů nejen na úrovni obcí, ale i venkovských regionů s jejich přirozenými centry – malými městy. Venkovské regiony se připravovaly na to, aby s pomocí profesionálních manažerů zvládly také náročnější projekty, podporované EU v rámci pro venkov využitelných operačních programů.

Cestou venkovských regionů bylo také rozhodováno o většině projektů obcí a nezemědělského podnikání v přípravném programu SAPARD nebo o projektech cestovního ruchu v rámci Společného regionálního operačního programu (SROP).

Proto jsme dnes zklamáni dosavadními strategickými dokumenty EAFRD, které **ve finančních proporcích neodpovídají potřebám venkova** a nevyužívají zkušeností starostů a potenciálu venkovských regionů, ověřených v dosavadní realizaci Programu obnovy venkova a předvstupního programu SAPARD.

Dalším velmi vážným problémem je nejasná podpora řešení specifických problémů venkova v rámci ostatních operačních programů připravovaných pro období 2007-2013, která se spíše blíží nule. To ještě násobí frustraci z implementace EAFRD na Ministerstvu zemědělství, které nepřijalo politickou zodpovědnost za rozvoj venkova, jak to jednotným pojetím podpory zemědělství a venkova předpokládá Evropská komise a jak tomu je v řadě Evropských zemí – z nejbližších sousedů např., v Bavorsku.

Vláda České republiky usnesením ze dne 10. května 2006 č. 499, o Národním strategickém plánu rozvoje venkova České republiky na období let 2007 až 2013,

- I. **schválila Národní strategický plán rozvoje venkova České republiky na období let 2007 až 2013** a
- II. uložila ministru zemědělství předložit Národní strategický plán rozvoje venkova České republiky na období let 2007 až 2013 Evropské komisi.

Samotné schválení národní strategie vládou, určitě mezi prvními v Evropě, je nesporně pozitivní a za to patří všem přítomným i nepřítomným pracovníkům Ministerstva zemědělství, kteří se o to zasloužili, zejména *Ing. arch. Kamile Matouškové, CSc.*, náš dík. Je to však jen první krok, který naznačuje další orientaci vlády, není ale krokem definitivním.

**Zda možnosti EAFRD využijeme nebo promarníme záleží** nejen na vládě a vládních či bruselských úřednících, ale také a **především na obcích, zemědělcích, venkovských regionech a jejich představitelích**, mezi něž nesporně patří Spolek pro obnovu venkova České republiky.

Dovolte mi nyní vlastní interpretaci stanovisek Spolku, vznesených při dosavadním projednávání Národního strategického plánu rozvoje venkova České republiky a Programu rozvoje venkova na období 2007-2013.

Za jeden z hlavních problémů považuji nesprávné stanovení globálního cíle Národního strategického plánu rozvoje venkova.

## **Globální cíl strategie rozvoje venkova České republiky**

Rozvoj venkovského prostoru České republiky založit na dodržování principů udržitelného rozvoje, systematickém zlepšování stavu životního prostředí, péči o přírodu a krajinu a snižování negativních vlivů intenzivního zemědělského hospodaření.

Vytvořit podmínky pro **konkurenceschopnost České republiky v základních zemědělských a potravinářských komoditách** s přednostní orientací na kvalitní potraviny, zvýšit podíl produkce uplatnitelné na zahraničních trzích a zvýšit HDP na obyvatele a příjmy venkovského obyvatelstva.

Rozšiřovat a diverzifikovat ekonomické aktivity ve venkovském prostoru České republiky vedoucí k rozvoji podnikání, tvorbě nových pracovních míst, hospodářskému růstu a ke snížení míry nezaměstnanosti na venkově. Posílit soudržnost obyvatel na venkově a stabilizovat jeho společenskou strukturu.

Spolek na veřejném projednávání Národního strategického plánu rozvoje venkova České republiky z hlediska vlivu této koncepce na životní prostředí 19. dubna 2006, ve snaze příliš svými připomínkami nekomplikovat dokončení strategie, navrhl, aby v druhém odstavci bylo slovo „základních“ nahrazeno slovem „vybraných“. Nepovažujeme přece za cíl druhého pilíře dosáhnout konkurenceschopnosti České republiky v základních komoditách – to by snad patřilo do prvního pilíře. Připomínka nebyla ministerstvem zemědělství bez vysvětlení akceptována.

S odstupem času se zdá, že stanovisko Spolku v této věci mělo být daleko razantnější – vždyť přece v EAFRD – tzv. druhém pilíři – nejde o komodity, ty nemohou být globálním ani specifickým cílem – ve vztahu ke konkurenceschopnosti lze specifický cíl I. osy daleko lépe definovat ve vztahu k popisu směru 1. Společensví: Podpora přenosu znalostí, modernizace, inovace a kvality v potravinovém řetězci a zaměření na prioritní odvětví, pokud jde o investice do fyzického a lidského kapitálu. Nikde ani slovo o komoditách. Doporučuji ještě se zamyslet nad formulací specifického cíle I. osy a v Plánu rozvoje venkova formulace ze strategie zpřesnit – určité náměty dále uvádím, ostatní cíle ze schválené strategie lze akceptovat.

## **Globální cíl**

Strategie rozvoje venkova České republiky by měl být definován zcela v duchu Corkské deklarace jako **živý venkov**.

Specifické cíle pro jednotlivé osy by měly být stanoveny tak, aby lidé na venkově chtěli i nadále žít:

- I. podporovat **přenos znalostí a inovace a s tím související investice** do fyzického a lidského kapitálu;
- II. vytvořit multifunkční zemědělské a lesnické systémy prospěšné životnímu prostředí a krajině;
- III. vytvořit různorodé pracovní příležitosti a prorůstové podmínky pro atraktivní život na venkově;
- IV. iniciovat vytváření a rozvoj místních partnerství a využití vnitřního potenciálu venkova.

Ve vztahu k úvodnímu mottu o kamenu na cestě se zdá, že by bylo nejlépe tento kámen - problém (základní zemědělské komodity) přenést do základů jiné části našeho domu, kterou představuje první pilíř, zaměřený na rozvoj vlastní zemědělské výroby. To neznamena, že rozvoj venkova neobsahuje rozvoj zemědělství. Je nutné si ale uvědomit, že v druhém pilíři nejde o základní komodity, ale o takové činnosti, které mají nesporný inovační potenciál a mohou udržet lidi na venkově.

Ztotožnění se s tímto pohledem doslova „vyčistí vzduch“. Najednou přestane být důležité přetahování o procento financí pro jednotlivé osy a nastoupí zcela pragmatická úvaha o tom, jak která osa může naplňováním vlastního (specifického) cíle přispět ke splnění globálního cíle – živého venkova s jeho neubývajícími spokojenými občany.

Další doslova balvan na naší cestě představuje české pojetí II. osy. O co jde:

- Prakticky celá finanční podpora z II. osy je orientována na zajišťování více méně ekologického „provozu“ resp. předem definovaných „správných postupů“ zemědělských podniků formou „přímých plateb na hektar“.
- Při podpoře horských a podhorských oblastí (LFA) **nejsou** např. **zohledněna specifika postkomunistického zemědělství, kdy u naprosté většiny zemědělských podniků s ohledem na jejich velikost tak velká podpora neodpovídá potřebné motivaci ani výsledkům; nejsou umožněny investiční projekty** k budování územních zemědělských a lesnických systémů výrazným způsobem podporující biologickou diverzitu, jako jsou teoreticky a v územních plánech velmi propracované **územní systémy ekologické stability** (zejména tam, kde nebude možno zajistit potřebnou podporu v rámci komplexních pozemkových úprav); ani **vlastní aktivita obyvatel venkova v souladu s Evropskou úmluvou o krajině**.

V tomto kontextu je nutno chápat připomínky Spolku pro obnovu venkova k rozdělení prostředků mezi jednotlivé osy. Pokud nedojde k obsahové změně uvažovaných opatření, je v rámci samotného resortu zemědělství (viz práce Výzkumného ústavu zemědělské ekonomiky k podpoře LFA) prokázána možná úspora, která by umožnila snížit rozsah poskytovaných podpor ve prospěch III. osy minimálně v souladu s posledním velmi vstřícným (bohužel také dosud nerespektovaným) návrhem Spolku na rozdělení podpor na jednotlivé osy (absolutní údaje jsou uvedeny v ročním průměru):

**Tab. č. 1**

osy	veřejné zdroje						podíl os %	
	celkem mld. Kč		EAFRD mld. Kč		ČR mld. Kč			
	Strategie	Spolek	Strategie	Spolek	Strategie	Spolek	Strategie	Spolek*)
I.	3,107	3,056	2,330	2,292	0,777	0,764	22,39	22,02
II.	7,192	6,504	5,745	5,204	1,447	1,301	55,20	50,00
III.	2,349	2,911	1,762	2,183	0,587	0,728	16,93	20,98
IV.	0,650	0,650	0,520	0,520	0,130	0,130	5,00	5,00
tech. pomoc	0,067	0,277	0,050	0,208	0,017	0,069	0,48	2,00
celkem	13,365	13,399	10,407	10,407	2,958	2,992	100,00	100,00

\*) Technickou pomoc lze s ohledem na snížení ve Strategii až po zpracování návrhu Spolku snížit.

Pokud Evropská komise české pojetí II. osy přijme, nezbývá než společně s Ministerstvem životního prostředí najít řešení jak realizaci investičních projektů k budování územních systémů ekologické stability a dalších krajinotvorných opatření v souladu s Evropskou úmluvou o krajině zajistit z jeho operačního programu.

Alternativou je dohoda s resortem životního prostředí o vzájemné podpoře a s pomocí lobingu v Bruselu ještě před rozhodujícími jednáními pojetí II. osy zvrátit.

Pokud se podaří dohodnout společný postup s Ministerstvem životního prostředí, mohli bychom zmíněný balvan na naší cestě využít pro stavbu operačního programu resortu životního prostředí. Pak by jen zbývalo umožnit, aby takové projekty mohly realizovat LEADER-regiony.

Realizace III. osy, která obsahově navazuje na Program obnovy venkova, je nejvíce svázána s možností využití metody LEADER.

## Metoda LEADER

spočívá v tom, že v regionu je na bázi partnerské spolupráce vytvořen řídicí orgán – **Místní akční skupina (MAS)**, složená ze zástupců místních samospráv, podnikatelů a neziskových organizací s právní subjektivitou (obecně prospěšná společnost nebo občanské sdružení), který rozhoduje o dotacích v rámci předem schválené strategie a vyčleněného objemu prostředků.

Podmínkou je **rovný přístup k dotacím** všem v úvahu přicházejícím žadatelům v rámci území MAS (bez ohledu na to, zda jsou jeho členy), což se děje prostřednictvím přesně specifikované a veřejně vyhlašované výzvy k podávání žádostí o podporu.

Pro metodu LEADER jsou charakteristické:

- **partnerská dohoda o hlavních cílech** rozvoje venkovského regionu, **společná příprava strategií a na jejich podkladě; stanovení finančního rámce dotací pro daný region na celé sedmileté plánovací období (tak je podporována také stabilita managementu regionu),**
- **rozhodování o výběru projektů „zdola – nahoru“.**

Rozhodování o místních a regionálních strategiích a o výběru dotovaných akcí na místní resp. regionální úrovni v rámci MAS je velmi blízké **Agendě 21**, pojetím rozhodování zdola navazuje na Program obnovy venkova a odpovídá také **principu subsidiarity**.

## LEADER a integrovaný rozvoj venkova

Metoda LEADERu odpovídá potřebám **integrovaného rozvoje venkova**, o nějž jsme v souladu s Corkskou deklarací usilovali v národním Programu obnovy venkova. Jistota alokace zdrojů do regionu na celé plánovací období vytváří reálný základ pro přípravu a vytváření navzájem provázaných projektů, což je důležité nejen pro soukromé podnikatele, ale také v péči o krajinu. Např. vybudování ekokoridoru přes více pozemků s využitím místních pracovních sil bude jistě reálnější zorganizovat na místní resp. regionální úrovni, než prostřednictvím žádostí o dotace jednotlivých vlastníků k centrálním institucím.

Pro LEADER je typický **důraz na hospodářský rozvoj ve větším území** (region od 10 tis. obyvatel), ve kterém je již možné dosáhnout určitého obratu přímo souvisejícího s prospěchem jeho obyvatel. Metody LEADERu, založené na partnerství se soukromým sektorem, mohou účinně přispět k **zapojení soukromého kapitálu** do realizace venkovských projektů.

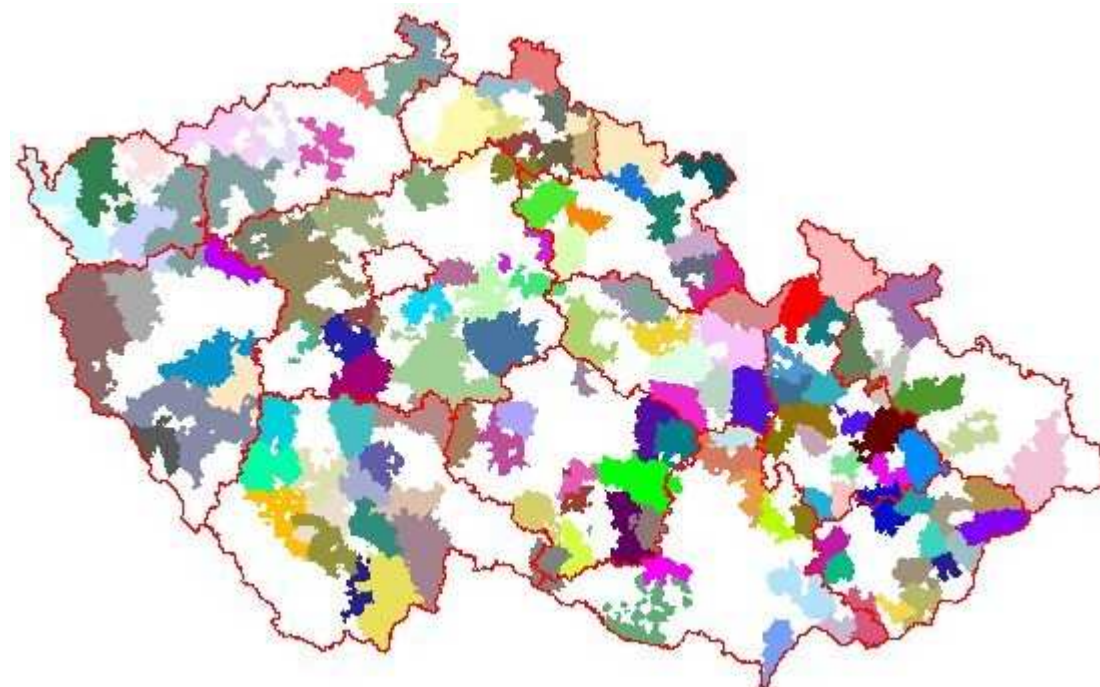
Za největší chybu Národního strategického plánu rozvoje venkova považují, že přes připomínky Spolku i Ministerstva pro místní rozvoj v analytické části objektivně neinformuje o počtu regionů, které se velmi vážně pro nadcházející volební období na realizaci LEADERu připravují. Uvádí jen, že v letech 2004 – 2006 bylo prvních 36 místních akčních skupin bylo podpořeno z programů typu Leader. Podle našich informací se však v současné době připravuje na LEADER až 160 regionů (při započtení regionů, které podaly žádost o podporu osvojování schopností v rámci poslední výzvy Operačního programu rozvoj venkova a multifunkční zemědělství s termínem do 28. dubna 2006). Zatím jsou k dispozici data o 145 regionech.

**Tab. č. 2**

souhrnné údaje k 24.5.2006	nezaměstnanost (%)	počet obyvatel	výměra (ha)	hustota (ob./km <sup>2</sup> )
celkem 145 regionů		3 315 019	4 693 392	
průměrný region	9,6	22 862	32 368	70,63
Česká republika		10 211 455	7 886 852	
regiony LEADER v %		32,46	59,51	
obce ≤ 25 000 obyvatel		6 022 762	7 507 010	
regiony LEADER v %		55,04	62,52	

Zdroj: [www.leaderplus.cz](http://www.leaderplus.cz) – odkaz „Socioekonomické ukazatele“

Jejich územní rozložení znázorňuje následující kartogram:

**Kartogram č. 1**

Uvážíme-li, že tyto regiony zaujímají 60 % území státu a žije v nich třetina obyvatel České republiky a po vyloučení měst nad 25 tis. obyvatel, které podle současné metodiky Ministerstva zemědělství nemohou být součástí území MAS, dokonce 55 % venkovského obyvatelstva, a že orientace jejich strategií bude převážně zaměřena na III. osu, můžeme korektně požadovat, aby nejméně 60 % prostředků vyčleněných pro tuto osu bylo rezervováno pro rozhodování na úrovni MAS. Rovněž určitá část prostředků I. osy (např. společný marketing místních produktů) a II. osy (bude-li upraveno její pojetí, pak nesporně investiční projekty krajinných úprav) by měla být rozhodována na úrovni MAS.



**Tab. č. 3**

Osa I.	Osa II.	Osa III.	osa IV.
Rozhoduje MAS	rozhoduje MAS?	Rozhoduje MAS	MAS
Rozhoduje Mze	rozhoduje MZe	Rozhoduje Mze	

Bruselská exekutiva uvádí, že LEADER projekty budou započítávány do výdajů IV. osy, ale také pod jednotlivé tematické osy. Konkrétní způsob má být uveden v nařízení Komise o implementačních pravidlech. Ve finále by tedy mělo být pro projekty typu LEADER ročně v ČR z EAFRD rezervováno s použitím čísel ze Strategie nejméně 0,520 mld. Kč (IV. osa) + 0,6x1,762 mld. Kč (III. osa) = 1,577 mld. Kč (podíl na osách I. a II. pro zjednodušení nepočítám), tj. 15 % disponibilních prostředků; při použití čísel dle posledního návrhu Spolku 0,520 + 0,6x2,183 = 1,830 mld. Kč, tj. 17,5 % disponibilních prostředků.

Bude-li připraveno 145 MAS, znamená to na jednu průměrnou MAS o 23 tis. obyvatelích **10 – 12 mil. Kč** ročně. Tato čísla nesporně znamenají zvýšení podpor zhruba na úroveň dosaženou u současných pilotních projektů LEADER v rámci OP Rozvoj venkova a multifunkční zemědělství. Naprosto to ale neodpovídá potřebám ani očekávání na LEADER se připravujících regionů.

V tomto směru Ministerstvo zemědělství zdaleka nerespektovalo požadavky Spolku, který ve svém prvním stanovisku z 13. října 2005 navrhoval, aby rozhodování na úrovni MAS dosáhlo až 50 % všech podpor v rámci EAFRD, což by umožnilo jednotlivým MAS stanovit povinnost orientace zhruba 30 % podpor, o nichž bude MAS rozhodovat, na ochranu přírody a krajiny (tehdy bylo počítáno pro I. osu 20 %, pro II. osu 40 %, pro III. osu 35 % prostředků a pro IV. osu 5 %). Právě odlišné pojetí II. osy realizaci tohoto požadavku znemožnilo. Spolek proto v posledním stanovisku z 25. dubna 2006 požadoval stanovit výši podpor, o nichž budou rozhodovat MAS, alespoň ve výši 25 % všech podpor ze zdrojů EZFRD a státního rozpočtu. Ani tento požadavek nebyl naplněn.

Zdá se, že kámen fatálního nedostatku prostředků se z naší cesty ani v příštím bruselském plánovacím období nepodaří odstranit. Nepodaří-li se v rámci dalších prací na Plánu rozvoje venkova zvrátit pojetí strategie (její II. osy), ani získat pro venkov prostředky z jiných operačních programů přímo, musíme tento kámen vzít a položit ho do základu našeho domu stejně, jak jsme to učinili u Programu obnovy vesnice, a vsadit na vlastní rozvojovou aktivitu i finanční svébytnost regionů s daleko větším důrazem na rozvoj nezemědělského podnikání, snižování nezaměstnanosti a zapojování soukromého kapitálu.

Rozhodně není cesta omezit počet MAS, naopak musíme budování partnerství a aktivit zdola ještě více podporovat, **konsolidovat management co největšího počtu MAS a vést ho vedle využívání zdrojů EAFRD také k přípravě projektů vhodných pro venkov v rámci jiných operačních programů a k co největšímu zapojení soukromých zdrojů ve prospěch rozvoje vlastního regionu.**

# **Místní kultura - stabilizační a stimulační faktor rozvoje českého venkova**

## **Local Culture – Stabilizing and Stimulating Factor of the Czech Rural Development**

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### **Klíčová slova**

definice kultury dle obyvatel venkova, místní tradice, spolkový život, ochotnické divadlo, chalupářství, kladné a záporné faktory rozvoje kulturního a společenského života

### **Abstrakt**

Úvod – pojetí místní kultury (situační zpráva ke strategii udržitelného rozvoje ČR)

1. Co je kultura pro venkovské obyvatelstvo (z odpovědí v anketách v malých vesnicích). Výběr z možností a) divadlo, výtvarné umění, koncerty, film b) aktivní činnost v některém sdružení (spolku, klubu) c) úroveň a čistota vztahů mezi lidmi d) ochrana přírody, životního prostředí a památek e) vzhled a prostředí obce f) vzdělání poznávání, historie, tradice g) něco jiného.

2. Občanské aktivity – spolky na českém venkově. Tradice spolkové činnosti, historie, současnost. Zdroje : statistika obecně a šetření přihlášek k Programu obnovy venkova (2 000 přihlášek obcí z celé republiky). Počty spolků podle druhů a krajů (hasiči, sportovci, myslivci, zahrádkáři, rybáři, svaz žen, Červený kříž)

3. Občanské aktivity – spolky s kulturním zaměřením na českém venkově. Tradice, historie. Ochotnické divadlo – fenomén českého venkova.

4. Tradice a zvykosloví na českém venkově v současnosti. Co se pravidelně každý rok slaví: pouť, posvícení, hody, folklorní slavnosti. Občas i výročí slavného rodáka, setkání rodáků, sportovní slavnosti, společenské akce (např. plesy), historické pamětní dny, jiné společné oslavy. Společenský život obce, záruka kvalitních sousedských vztahů a naplňování ideí partnerství. Podíl jednotlivých skupin obyvatel (především žen) na akcích pro celé společenství, pro děti a seniory. Rozdíly mezi regiony ČR.

5. Fenomén chalupářství na českém venkově. Jejich počty, rozložení, vliv na kulturní a společenský život obcí, záchrana lidové architektury.

6. Kladné faktory kulturního a společenského života vesnic podporující stabilitu společenstev a startující jejich rozvoj

\* existence spolků \* aktivizace obyvatel \* zapojení všech věkových skupin obyvatel \* zapojení žen \* pravidelné setkávání obyvatel a společné řešení problémů \* existence historické paměti (kroniky, památky, zvyky) a podpora místního cestovního ruchu;

7. Záporné faktory, které brání kvalitnímu kulturnímu a společenskému životu obyvatel vesnic

\* pasivita obyvatel \* vysoký věkový průměr obyvatel vesnic \* malý podíl žen v mnohých volnočasových aktivitách \* rušení škol a mateřských škol na vesnicích \* absence přirozené autority s charismatem (místní učitel, kněz, režisér, dirigent, vedoucí souboru, starosta apod.), který by inicioval místní kulturní a společenské akce \* neexistence nebo špatný stavební stav veřejných sálů nebo veřejných venkovních prostor (náves, okolí kostela, divadla v přírodě, vyletiště) – místo konání kulturních a společenských akcí.

### **Key words**

definition of the culture according to inhabitants in the countryside, local tradition, guild life, amateur dramatic society, phenomenon of the cottager, positive and negative factors of the cultural and social life development

### **Abstract**

Introduction – Concept of the local culture (situation report to the Czech Sustainable Development Strategy)

1. What means culture for rural population (from responses from enquiries in small villages) – Options:
  - a. theatre, art, concerts, film
  - b. activities in some communities, clubs, guilds
  - c. level and purity of the human relationships
  - d. nature conservation, environmental protection, historical monuments conservation
  - e. image and surroundings of the municipality
  - f. education, cognition, history, traditions
  - g. anything else
2. Civil activities –guilds in the Czech countryside. Traditions of the guild activities, history, today. Information sources: statistics generally and survey from application forms to Countryside Revival Programme (2000 application forms of the municipalities from the whole republic). Numbers of guilds according to sorts and regions (firemen, sports clubs, huntsmen, gardeners, fishermen, women`s associations, Red Cross)
3. Civil activities –culture oriented guilds in the Czech countryside. Tradition, history. Amateur dramatic society – phenomenon of the Czech countryside.
4. Traditions and habits in the Czech countryside today. What is celebrated regularly, each year: wake, village-fair, feast, folklore celebrations. Occasionally famous native anniversary, meeting of the natives, sport celebrations, social events (e.g. balls), historic memorial days, other common celebrations. Social municipal life, guarantee of the quality neighbourhood relationships and partnership idea attainments. Participation of the particular groups of population (first of all women) on the events for the whole sociality, children and seniors. Differences between regions of the Czech Republic.
5. Phenomenon of the cottager in the Czech countryside. Numbers, scatter, influence on the cultural and social municipal life, popular architecture preservation.
6. Positive factors of the cultural and social village life, supporting stability of guilds and starting their development
  - Guild existence
  - Inhabitant activation

- population participation of all age groups
  - Women participation
  - Regular meeting of the inhabitants and common problem solving
  - Historical memory existence (chronicles, historical monuments, habits)
  - Support of the local tourist trade
7. Negative factors, which restrain quality cultural and social life of the village inhabitants
- Inhabitant passivity
  - High age average of the village inhabitants
  - Poor women participation on the free time activities
  - Closing of nursery and primary schools in the villages
  - Absent of the charismatic authority (local teacher, a priest, a director, a conductor, a chorale master, a mayor etc.). This authority would initiate local cultural and social events.
  - Absence or bad technical conditions of the public halls or public outdoor environments (village square, church surroundings, open-air theatre, a place for inhabitant meetings in summer) – a place for cultural and social events

## Místní kultura - stabilizační a stimulační faktor rozvoje českého venkova

Výsledkem historického vývoje v prostoru ČR je skutečnost, že jako „kultura“ není obecně vnímána pouze umělecká činnost nebo její výsledky, ale i poznávací, osvětové, zájmové a vzdělávací aktivity muzeí, galerií a knihoven, veřejně přístupné památkové objekty; stejně tak i spolková činnost, tradice a zvyky, dokonce i přírodní a urbanizované prostředí individuálního života. Kultura je proto velmi strukturovanou oblastí různorodých individuálních, skupinových i společenských zájmů, aktivit a činností, která podstatnou měrou napomáhá identifikaci a rozvoji jednotlivce a zároveň integraci občanské společnosti, významná je i její sociální a komunikační funkce.

Je samozřejmé, že nezanedbatelný vliv na skutečně deklarované potřeby a zájmy lidí v oblasti kultury má i obecnější charakter (ekonomický, demografický, geografický, historický) sídla či regionu – tzn. mj. i úroveň zaměstnanosti (pracovních příležitostí), ekonomická úroveň domácností a struktura jejich výdajů, stav technické infrastruktury v území, dopravní dostupnost kulturních příležitostí apod.<sup>156</sup>

Údaje používané v tomto příspěvku pocházejí ze dvou druhů šetření, které Nipos- Regis realizoval. Jsou to:

- 1) sociologické ankety v malých sídlech, které jsme prováděli jako součást rozborových studií k Programu obnovy venkova,
- 2) rozsáhlý materiál pocházející ze souboru přihlášek jednotlivých vesnic k Programu obnovy venkova z let 1993 – 2000, které jsou ve vlastnictví Ministerstva pro místní rozvoj ČR. Celý soubor obsahoval 2 034 přihlášky jednotlivých obcí. Z nich jsme vybrali 998 přihlášek, ve kterých jsme našli zmínky o místní kultuře. S tímto souborem, který obsahoval obce ze všech okresů ČR mimo Šumperku a Mostu, pracujeme.

Sociologické ankety, které v tomto příspěvku prezentujeme, jsou z let 1992 až 1994 a realizovali jsme je v obcích Středočeského kraje (Kozomín a Lety), v Jihočeském kraji (Staré Město pod Landštejnem a Stráž nad Nežárkou), v Plzeňském kraji (Zdemyslice), v Karlovarském kraji (Otovice a Nová Role), v Libereckém kraji (Kryštofovo Údolí a Radimovice), v Pardubickém kraji (Opatovice nad Labem), v kraji Vysočina (Opatovec) a v Olomouckém kraji (Skrbeň). Pro naši prezentaci jsme vybraly všechny uvedené, kromě Kozomína, Opatovce a Skrbeně a to z prostorových důvodů.

Ankety byly prováděny rozdáváním dotazníků do jednotlivých domácností a jejich sběrem (osobním i centrálním do úřadů a poštou). Návratnost byla poměrně vysoká, zvláště v malých sídlech, a to v intervalu 20 – 80 %.

Dotazník napomohl k tvorbě rozvojových dokumentů obce a v současné době připravujeme pokračování šetření v již zmíněných obcích.

Z těchto sociologických anket zde budeme prezentovat výsledky – odpovědi na jednotlivé otázky.

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<sup>156</sup> Zdroj: Nipos formuloval toto znění zveřejněné v Situační zprávě ke Strategii udržitelného rozvoje ČR (říjen 2005)

**Tabulka č. 1: Co je pro Vás kultura? (respondenti vybírali tři možnosti v pořadí)**

Obec	Lety	Staré město pod Landštejnem	Stráž nad Nežárkou	Zdemyslice	Otovice	Nová Role	Kryštofovo údolí	Radimovice	Opatovice n. Labem
Počet dotazníků	31	92	130	144	217	264	207	152	151
Divadlo	50,00 %	52,60 %	44,50 %	40,60 %	36,10 %	53,40 %	49,20 %	47,30 %	43,00 %
Aktivní činnost ve spolku	25,00 %	8,60 %	5,40 %	6,20 %	6,10 %	16,70 %	10,00 %	8,70 %	15,60 %
Úroveň a čistota vztahů mezi lidmi	71,40 %	48,30 %	56,70 %	59,90 %	61,90 %	52,20 %	56,90 %	53,10 %	65,30 %
Ochrana přírody	53,60 %	44,00 %	50,00 %	61,70 %	69,40 %	49,40 %	46,20 %	50,20 %	51,70 %
Vzhled a prostředí obce	50,00 %	36,50 %	54,00 %	58,60 %	47,60 %	45,40 %	62,30 %	45,20 %	47,60 %
Vzdělávání, historie, tradice	25,00 %	30,10 %	8,10 %	23,40 %	27,90 %	21,10 %	11,50 %	15,50 %	15,10 %
Něco jiného	3,60 %	3,20 %	2,70 %	0,80 %	6,80 %	6,00 %	4,60 %	2,90 %	1,40 %

Zdroj: Sociologická šetření k Programu obnovy venkova – Nipos - Regis

Celkově můžeme konstatovat, že mezi respondenty zvítězila odpověď, že kultura je úroveň a čistota vztahů mezi lidmi.

Přihlášky k Programu obnovy venkova jsou materiálem, jehož regionální rozložení můžeme dokumentovat počtem přihlášek v jednotlivých krajích a to od nejmenšího počtu v Karlovarském kraji (19) do počtu nejvyššího ve Středočeském kraji (167). Ve většině krajů je to polovina přihlášek obcí, které se k programu přihlásily a procentuálně významný vzorek ze všech obcí kraje (většinou nad 15 %). Uvědomujeme si, že jsou to ty aktivnější obce nebo obce, které mají výrazné problémy. Polovina přihlášek obcí se soustředila na popis svého problému a ostatní rubriky přihlášky nevyplnila, proto nemohla být zařazena do našeho šetření. O místní kultuře tedy podaly zprávu zejména ty obce, které se měly čím pochlubit.

V 90 % obcí z našeho souboru nacházíme jmenování jednoho, ale většinou několika činných spolků. Jsou to:

**Tabulka č. 2: Spolky**

Typ spolku	Specifikace
Dobrovolní hasiči (8.104 sbory s 90.304 dobrovolnými hasiči)	Většinou mužské, ale existují i dětské a ženské oddíly. Organizují soutěže v požárních dovednostech.
Sportovní spolky	Sokol, Orel Oddíly podle druhu sportu např. fotbal, turistika, volejbal, šachy, kuželky, šipky, automobilový sport, horolezectví
Zájmové spolky	Podle zájmů svých členů např. myslivci, zahrádkáři, chovatelé, včelaři, rybáři, holubáři, kynologové, chovatelé koní, mykologové, mariášníci, ochránci přírody apod.
Ženské spolky	Klub žen, Červený kříž
Národnostní spolky	Matice Slezská, spolky občanů polské, slovenské, německé a dalších národností

Typ spolku	Specifikace
Jiné spolky	Důchodci Invalidé Skauti, Junáci Sdružení rodáků a přátel (obce, školy) Osadní výbory – chataři Vzdělávací spolky – stále ještě i osvětové besedy Kulturní spolky (ochotnické divadlo, pěvecké sbory, loutkáři, folklorní soubory, muzejní spolky apod.)

Zdroj: Přihlášky obcí k Programu obnovy venkova – MMR ČR

Kulturní spolky nacházíme v tomto druhovém a regionálním členění – viz tabulka č. 3.

**Tabulka č. 3: Kulturní spolky**

	Ochotnické divadlo	Pěvecký sbor	Amatérská kapela	Folklorní soubor	Taneční soubor
Středočeský	12	2		2	
Jihočeský	9	2			1
Plzeňský	19		2		
Karlovarský	2				
Ústecký	7	1	1		1
Liberecký	15	2	1		1
Královéhradecký	10		2		
Pardubický	18	2	1	1	
Vysočina	16	1	5	1	
Jihomoravský	3	3	2	2	
Olomoucký	4		2	5	
Zlínský	7	5	13	8	
Moravskoslezský	7	1	4	2	
Celkem	129	19	33	21	3

Zdroj: Přihlášky obcí k Programu obnovy venkova – MMR ČR

Folklorní soubory nacházíme především na Moravě a v Jižních Čechách. Folklorní sdružení ČR – vrcholový orgán folklóru v naší republice má 13 473 členy a eviduje 395 folklorních souborů (www.fos.cz; březen 2006).

Amatérské nebo-li ochotnické divadlo je (vedle aktivního provozování hudby) nejstarší a v průběhu uplynulých více než dvou set let nejrozšířenější kolektivní umělecko-kulturní aktivitou a významným fenoménem české kultury. Významně se podílelo na vytváření a potvrzování české národní identity, na růstu vzdělanostní i kulturní úrovně obyvatelstva a na formování občanské pospolitosti. Tehdy i v současnosti se podílí na společenském a kulturním životě jednotlivých měst a obcí. A je jednou z mála oblastí, kde se potkávají muži, ženy i děti všech věkových kategorií. Divadlo se tak stává nástrojem k posílení sociální soudržnosti na venkově a nejen tam.

Databáze českého amatérského divadla, kterou vytvořil odborný útvar Nipos – Artama, a kterou najdete na internetu na [www.amaterskedivadlo.cz](http://www.amaterskedivadlo.cz) postupně soustřeďuje informace o tom, jak se v historii hrálo a v současnosti hraje amatérské divadlo (všechny druhy) v jednotlivých souborech, obcích a městech ČR, o významných osobnostech, které spoluvytvářely divadelní, kulturní a společenský život obcí. Obce se do ní mohou přihlásit a dát o sobě, svých divadelních souborech a osobnostech vědět v této celostátní databázi.

Další oblastí, která posiluje sociální soudržnost v obcích jsou zvyky a tradice.

**Tabulka č. 4: Četnost výskytu oslav tradičních svátků**

	Pout'	Posvícení, hody	Stavění máje	Masopust, ostatky	Čarodějnice	Koledy	Mikuláš	Vánoční koncerty
Středočeský	43	37	15	11	7		4	6
Jihočeský	63	13	14	19	2	6	8	4
Plzeňský	94	27	18	23	1			2
Karlovarský	2	1	3	3	2		2	
Ústecký	25	2	11	2	3		6	4
Liberecký	28	3		3	5		1	9
Královéhradecký	30	14	1	2	5			2
Pardubický	56	16	9	5	4		1	4
Vysočina	67	21	4	31	2	6	9	8
Jihomoravský	29	19	3	9		4	5	6
Olomoucký	15	11	4	6		2		4
Zlínský	22	22	4	26		2	2	3
Moravskoslezský	23	4	2	4			5	11
Celkem	497	190	88	144	31	20	43	63

*Zdroj: Přihlášky obcí k Programu obnovy venkova – MMR ČR*

Uchovávání tradičních zvyků na našem venkově je také regionálně rozrůzněno. Zásadní vliv tu hraje kontinuita osídlení vesnice, ale i další vlivy, např. oblastní tradice a živý folklór. Setkali jsme se i s různým pojmenováním stejného svátku (v Čechách masopust, na Moravě ostatky). Z našeho souboru vyplynulo, že živější jsou tyto tradice na těch vesnicích, kde je škola nebo kde funguje např. ochotnický soubor. Z tabulky č. 4 je možné konstatovat, že nejčastěji se slaví poutě, posvícení a masopust.

Zásluhu na obnovení tradic mají často také chalupáři. Fenomén chalupářství začal pronikat zejména na ty malé a především české vesnice od poloviny minulého století. Chaty a celé chatové osady mají jinou historii a mají jiného, většinou kolektivního ducha. Chataři se také téměř nikde nezačleňují do obce, kde mají chatu, ctí více jen své okolní sousedy chataře. Chalupaření je na jedné straně více individuální, ale na druhé straně chalupáři se s trvalými obyvateli obce sžívají lépe. Chalupáři se osobní péčí o své chalupy zasloužili o zachování většiny skvostů lidové venkovské architektury.

Soužití chalupářů se stálým obyvatelstvem není nikde bez problémů. Ale sečteme-li všechna pro a proti, jasně v chalupaření převažují pro. Více jak 20 % kronikářů v malých obcích jsou dnes právě chalupáři, mají zásluhu o pořádání kvalitních kulturních a společenských akcí pro celou vesnici, jsou včele většiny sportovních akcí v obci a zasloužili se i o budování



nových hřišť a sportovišť. Přinášejí do vesnic i nové názory, techniku a to konfrontují s tradičně konzervativními názory vesničanů.

**Kladné faktory kulturního a společenského života vesnic podporující stabilitu společenstev a startující jejich rozvoj:**

- Činnost spolků;
- Aktivizace obyvatel;
- Zapojení všech věkových skupin obyvatel;
- Zapojení žen;
- Pravidelné setkávání obyvatel a společné řešení problémů;
- Existence historické paměti (kroniky, památky, zvyky);
- Rozvoj místního cestovního ruchu.

**Záporné faktory bránící kvalitnímu kulturnímu a společenskému životu obyvatel vesnic:**

- Pasivita obyvatel;
- Vysoký věkový průměr obyvatel vesnic;
- Malý podíl žen v mnohých volnočasových aktivitách;
- Rušení mateřských a základních škol;
- Absence přirozené autority s charismatem (místní učitel, kněz, režisér, vedoucí sboru, dirigent, starosta apod.), který by inicioval místní kulturní a společenské akce;
- Neexistence nebo špatný technický stav veřejných sálů nebo veřejných venkovních prostor (náves, okolí kostela, divadla v přírodě, výletišť) – jako místo konání kulturních a společenských akcí.

**Tabulka č. 5: Četnost problémů, které obce uvedly**

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Středočeský	24x	37x	10x	5x	6x	3x	3x			8x	6x
Jihočeský	20x	42x	7x	9x	4x	2x	1x	1x	6x	4x	
Plzeňský	26x	21x	9x	13x	3x	3x	3x	5x	5x	4x	6x
Karlovarský	2x	2x		2x	1x	2x		1x		1x	
Ústecký	16x	6x	11x	7x			1x	5x	4x	3x	
Liberecký	11x	12x	2x	2x	2x	3x		1x	2x	2x	
Královéhradecký	9x	17x	8x	5x	2x	1x		1x	1x	3x	1x

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
Pardubický	16x	18x	3x	5x	4x	5x			3x		1x
Vysočina	23x	41x		12x	10x	6x		1x	1x	3x	1x
Jihomoravský	7x	20x	6x	4x	4x	2x		1x	5x		
Olomoucký	9x	18x	1x	3x		1x	1x	1x	3x	1x	1x
Zlínský	21x	28x		4x	5x	1x			1x		
Moravskoslezský	7x	18x	3x					2x		1x	

Vysvětlivky:

**I** – finance

**V** – údržba komunikací

**IX** – skládky odpadu

**II** – infrastruktura

**VI** – problémy se školou, MŠ

**X** – není územní plán

**III** – dopravní obslužnost

**VII** – v obci není hostinec

**XI** – oprava památek

**IV** – nedostatek pracovních příležitostí

**VIII** – neudržovaná pole

*Zdroj: Přihlášky obcí k Programu obnovy venkova – MMR ČR*

### **Další jmenované skupiny problémů obcí:**

#### **Problémy související s demografickou skladbou obyvatel**

- schází sociální bydlení pro starší občany;
- nedostupnost lékařských služeb;
- péče o starší občany obecně;
- schází parcely pro stavbu rodinných domků (velmi často se vyskytuje v souvislosti s neexistencí územního plánu obce).

#### **Problémy související s aktivitou obyvatel venkova**

- malá aktivita obyvatel, pasivita obyvatel;
- malá odvaha podnikat v souvislosti s infrastrukturou a financemi;
- malá kupní síla obyvatel;

#### **Problémy zemědělství a zaměstnání na venkově**

- nízká podpora zemědělského podnikání;
- malá prosperita zemědělství;
- pořádek kolem zemědělských provozů, zápach z vepřína, z drůbežárny;
- malá podpora turistiky a cestovního ruchu.

#### **Malý prostor pro zapojení mládeže**

- problémy školy – jejich zánik;
- získávání nových mladých členů spolků;
- oživení tradic v obci a zapojení mladých;
- nejsou prostory pro aktivity mladých.

### **Problémy místní kultury a společenského života**

- malá podpora obnovení církevních svátků (především poutí v pohraničí);
- obnovení kroniky;
- úprava veřejných prostranství obce, centra obce a nových kulturních prostor.

### **Podpora tradiční výroby a řemesel**

- Podpora vzniku nových spolků;
- Využití památek.

Pro rozvoj místní kultury na venkově je nejdůležitější aktivita jeho obyvatel, a dále jsou to místa jako - veřejný sál, klubovna, venkovní prostor, která umožní rozvoj kultury ve všech jejích podobách. Je jen přirozené, že kultura se tak stane stabilizačním a stimulačním faktorem rozvoje venkova jako takového.

Výsledkem našeho úsilí je i zařazení indikátoru č. 31 ve znění Situační zprávy ke Strategii udržitelného rozvoje ČR z října 2005.

Indikátor č. 31 - Dostupnost veřejných služeb kultury - vyjádřená procentem výdajů na kulturu z celkových výdajů veřejných rozpočtů.

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# **Regionální aspekty výzkumu a inovací - příklad programu EUREKA**

## **Regional Aspects of Research and Innovation - Case of Programme EUREKA**

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### **Klíčová slova**

výzkum, inovace, evropské programy, mezinárodní spolupráce

### **Abstrakt**

Věda a výzkum jsou velmi důležité pro každý stát, protože velmi úzce souvisí s jeho ekonomickým rozvojem. Bez investic do prvotního a aplikovaného výzkumu je, v konkurenci Spojených států, Japonska a Indie, ekonomická budoucnost Evropy i jejích jednotlivých států velmi nejistá. Můj příspěvek je rozdělen do dvou různých částí. První část obsahuje obecný popis důležitosti vědy, výzkumu a inovací v evropském kontextu včetně některých politických vztahů. Pozornost je samozřejmě věnována i regionálnímu aspektu výzkumu a inovací, a to nejen na národní úrovni. Druhá část příspěvku pak pojednává konkrétně o programu EUREKA, který je programem zaměřeným na mezivládní spolupráci v oblasti průmyslového výzkumu a inovací. Pružnost programu, úspěšnost jeho projektů, či výsledky v sektoru malých a středních firem a klastrových projektů jsou specifika, která z programu EUREKA dělají předlohu pro mnohé nové iniciativy Evropské komise.

### **Key words**

research, innovation, European programmes, international cooperation

### **Abstract**

Field of research and development is very important for every country as it is closely related to its economic development. In European context, without investing into basic and applied research the economic future of European countries and whole Europe is very uncertain due to the strong competitive forces from the US, Japan, India, and other countries. My paper is divided into two parts. The first part describes generally the importance of research, development and innovation in Europe including the political background. Attention is given also to regional aspects of research and innovation. The second part of the paper is focused concretely on the EUREKA Programme which is an initiative promoting intergovernmental cooperation in the field of industrial research and innovation. The flexibility, success, and results regarding small and medium-sized enterprises and cluster projects of EUREKA are reasons why this programme becomes a model for some of new initiatives of the European Commission.

## **Regionální aspekty výzkumu a inovací - příklad programu EUREKA**

### **Úvod**

Evropští politici již dlouhá léta diskutují o nejlepších způsobech zvyšování konkurenceschopnosti evropského průmyslu. V kontextu evropské politiky je hlavní cestou k tomuto cíli důraz na vědu, výzkum a technologie. Právě v této oblasti ale nejsou evropské statistiky zrovna příznivé, naopak by se dalo říct, že publikovaná čísla jsou spíše alarmující. Evropská unie investuje do výzkumu zhruba o třetinu méně než Spojené státy americké. Dalším příkladem jsou výdaje na vědu a výzkum v procentech hrubého domácího produktu, které v Evropě stagnují, zatímco například v Číně rostou o dvacet procent ročně.

Ani v oblasti budování nových lidských kapacit pro vědu a výzkum na tom není Evropa zrovna dobře. Jedním z ukazatelů může být, že Evropské univerzity přilákaly v oborech důležitých pro inovační rozvoj, jako jsou matematika, fyzika, chemie, informatika a další technické disciplíny, mnohem méně zahraničních studentů než USA. A tři čtvrtiny studentů studujících doktorské programy v USA přiznávají, že by rádi zůstali i po skončení jejich studií, což vypovídá o malé atraktivitě kariéry vědce v evropských zemích. Velké mezinárodní koncerny navíc začínají stěhovat svůj výzkum mimo Evropu, kde mají pro výzkumné aktivity často lepší podmínky.

### **Výzkum a inovace v Evropě**

Jestliže chtějí evropské státy budovat dynamickou evropskou společnost založenou na znalostech a využívající k ekonomickému růstu propracovaný systém vzdělávání, je nezbytné se na oblast evropské vědy, výzkumu a inovací zaměřit s mnohem větším úsilím. Bez schopnosti vytvářet, rozšiřovat a aplikovat znalosti nemůže v současnosti fungovat žádná rozvinutá ekonomika. Je zřejmé, že je třeba výrazně zlepšit evropský výzkum a vývoj, a také inovační kapacitu evropského průmyslu, zejména v oblastech, ve kterých se tvoří základy budoucnosti i ekonomiky.

Souhrnnou politikou, která by v této oblasti měla udávat směr je Lisabonská strategie, která se snaží zabezpečit ekonomický růst a tvorbu pracovních míst v Evropské unii.

Věda a výzkum jsou velmi důležité pro každý stát, protože velmi úzce souvisí s jeho ekonomickým rozvojem. Bez investic do prvotního a aplikovaného výzkumu je, v konkurenci Spojených států, Japonska a Indie, ekonomická budoucnost Evropy i jejích jednotlivých států velmi nejistá. Můj příspěvek je rozdělen do dvou různých částí. První část obsahuje obecný popis důležitosti vědy, výzkumu a inovací v evropském kontextu včetně některých politických vztahů. Pozornost je samozřejmě věnována i regionálnímu aspektu výzkumu a inovací, a to nejen na národní úrovni. Druhá část příspěvku pak pojednává konkrétně o programu EUREKA, který je programem zaměřeným na mezinárodní spolupráci v oblasti průmyslového výzkumu a inovací. Pružnost programu, úspěšnost jeho projektů, či výsledky v sektoru malých a středních firem a klastrových projektů jsou specifika, která z programu EUREKA dělají předlohu pro mnohé nové iniciativy Evropské komise.

Závod za efektivním využíváním znalostí, inovací, vědy a technologií je globální a má přímý vliv na ekonomický růst a prosperitu všech regionů. Na zasedání Rady Evropy v Lisabonu v březnu 2000 byl poprvé uveden termín Evropského výzkumného prostoru (European Research Area), který tvoří referenční rámec pro evropský výzkum. A v roce 2002 konkretizovala Rada Evropy na zasedání v Barceloně úkol v této oblasti, kterým bylo, do roku 2010, dosažení hranice tří procent hrubého domácího produktu Evropské Unie, které by byly investovány do výzkumu. Z této částky měly dvě třetiny pocházet ze zdrojů

soukromého financování a třetina z veřejných finančních zdrojů. Dnes se investice do výzkumu pohybují na hranici dvou procent HDP Evropské unie, což znamená, že EU zaostává výrazně jak za Spojenými státy (2,8 %), tak Japonskem (3 %). Evropa bohužel zaostává také v kapacitě pro transformaci znalostí do finálních produktů a služeb a v jejich ekonomickém využití. Například evropské firmy přihlásí 170 patentů na milión obyvatel ročně, zatímco v případě amerických firem je to 400.

Evropa musí nezbytně dosáhnout vyššího ekonomického růstu a vyšší produktivity, k čemuž musí být splněny tři základní podmínky. Za prvé, je třeba stimulovat výzkum vývoj a inovace, a zároveň adoptovat technologie, které budou v centru dalšího rozvoje a inovací. Za druhé, je třeba podporovat co nejširší využívání produktů a služeb spjatých s technologiemi budoucnosti. A za třetí, je třeba vytvořit vhodné prostředí, které by zajišťovalo čistotu konkurenční soutěže, ale přitom eliminovalo překážky v cestě využívání nových technologií. Výzkum a vývoj je klíčovým faktorem pro udržení a zlepšení konkurenceschopnosti evropského průmyslu a také pro transformaci Evropské unie do dynamické společnosti s ekonomikou založenou na znalostech.

Přitom je faktem stále se zvyšující finanční náročnost výzkumu daná svou zvyšující se složitostí. Během posledních dvaceti let se například náklady na výzkum v oblasti léčiv více než zdvojnásobily a v oblasti mikroelektronického výzkumu se zvýšily desetkrát. A takovéto náklady si může dovolit nést pouze málokterý podnik, a dokonce i málokterý stát. Z tohoto důvodu je třeba, aby došlo k integraci výzkumných politik na evropské úrovni, zejména ve vysoce konkurenčních oblastech jako jsou i informační a komunikační technologie, biotechnologie, nanotechnologie, aeronautika, technologie vodíkové energie, či jiné.

Je třeba budovat evropský výzkum na minulých zkušenostech a úspěších a přitom se přizpůsobit nové realitě. Příkladem nových oblastí, kde je zaměření současného výzkumu nutné a zároveň i s ohledem k současné situaci strategické jsou:

- Demografické změny (stárnutí populace, úbytek populace, migrace),
- Technologické trendy (miniaturizace, biotechnologie, nanotechnologie, intenzivní komputelizace, robotizace),
- Globalizace a znalostní ekonomika (růst ekonomik Indie a Číny)
- Změny v přírodě a ekologie (globální oteplování), nebo
- Nové energetické zdroje.

Z důvodu rostoucí mezinárodní konkurence přemísťují svá výzkumná zařízení a aktivity do té země nebo regionu, které jim nabídnou výhodnější podmínky. V podmínkách globální ekonomiky je možné snadno transferovat vědecké a technologické znalosti a dovednosti, ať již pomocí přímých zahraničních investic či růstem elektronických sítí. Tyto mezinárodní vztahy týkající se výzkumu zajišťují, že jeho výsledky jsou aplikovatelné v podstatě kdekoli v Evropě či ve světě, a vytváří základy pro mezinárodní průmyslové standardy.

Mnohé firmy dnes hledají partnery pro spolupráci na svých vědecko-výzkumných projektech. Tento přístup jim umožňuje dělit se o rizika, náklady, technologie a dovednosti. Je třeba vytvořit vhodné prostředí pro výzkumné projekty v evropském měřítku. Principy spolupráce napomáhají sdílení rizika mezi různé průmyslové aktéry a veřejný sektor. Koordinace výzkumných politik na všech úrovních, tzn. regionální, národní a evropské, včetně propojení existujících programů by mělo dále vylepšit vlastnosti evropského výzkumného systému.

## Výzkum a inovace v regionech

Existují různé koncepty zabývající se vlivem a rozvojem aktivit vědy, výzkumu a inovací na regionální úrovni, jako například regionální klastry, industriální distrikty, či regionální inovační systémy. Všechny tyto koncepty jsou tak či onak spojeny s hlavní myšlenkou, že určité druhy aktivit se klastrují, obvykle v určitých omezených teritoriích. Tato myšlenka byla poprvé zformována v teorii průmyslové aglomerace (Marshall, 1920). Jedná se o velmi starý koncept, který je ale stále velmi užitečný při studiu vztahů mezi podniky a jejich bezprostředním okolím.

Alfred Weber (1929) identifikoval tři obecné lokalizační síly: rozdíly v transportních nákladech, rozdíly v nákladech na pracovní síly a aglomerační ekonomika, která bývá navíc dělena do tří kategorií: množstevní interní ekonomiky, lokalizační ekonomiky a urbanizační ekonomiky. Z moderních autorů se touto problematikou zabývali například Gordon a McCann (2000), kteří identifikovali tři typy aglomerací, které jsou: Model čisté aglomerace, Model průmyslové složitosti, a Model sociálních sítí.

Model čisté aglomerace je založen na ekonomice aglomerací, které existují z důvodů geografické blízkosti, které mají za důsledek:

- snižující se transakční náklad,
- specializovaná pracovní síla,
- znalosti zdrojů a infrastruktury, a
- co největší tok informací a nápadů.

Model průmyslové složitosti je založen na identifikovatelných a stabilních vztazích mezi podniky týkajících se zejména obchodních transakcí. A nakonec Model sociálních sítí, který je zaměřen na sociální kontext a role institucí a sítí v ekonomických aktivitách. Model prosazuje myšlenku, že vztahy založené na důvěře a neformálních mezilidských vztazích jsou i důležitým ekonomickým nástrojem.

Inovace jsou dnes vnímány jako cyklický proces, obsahující různé druhy zpětnovazebních mechanismů a interaktivních vztahů (Kolehmainen, 2003). V případě regionálních inovačních systémů, je tento ekonomický koncept zaměřen nejen na aglomerační ekonomické vztahy, ale také na sociální vztahy, důvěru, či kulturu inovačních aktivit. Ekonomickými výhodami tohoto přístupu pro podniky pak jsou (Camagni, 1995):

- „district economies“, které vytvářejí „průmyslovou atmosféru“, snižují vyšší nákladovou náročnost pro malé firmy v porovnání s velkými, a zejména malým firmám pomáhají s jejich inovačními aktivitami,
- „proximity economies“, které redukují transakční náklady pomocí jednoduššího získávání a cirkulace informací, či častějších osobních kontaktů, a
- synergický prvek, který má pozitivní vliv na celkové inovační prostředí a efektivitu aktivit, které v něm probíhají.

Tyto ekonomické výhody inovačního prostředí mají dva základní pozitivní efekty, kterými jsou redukce nejistoty v inovačních procesech a posilování lokálních a regionálních učících se procesů (Camagni, 1995).

Kostiainen (2002) ve své práci uvádí, že fungující regionální inovační systémy mají značnou návaznost na vysokou kvalitu života v regionech, protože společnosti zabývající se inovacemi potřebují pro svou činnost velmi kvalitní pracovníky a experty, kterým musí

nabídnout nadstandardní podmínky. Na druhou stranu, toto „hromadění se“ vysoce vzdělaných pracovníků pozdvihuje úroveň lokálního inovačního prostředí.

### **Program EUREKA – výzkum a inovace s tržním potenciálem**

Program EUREKA je jedním z nástrojů evropské strategie a spolupráce v oblasti aplikovaného a průmyslového výzkumu a inovačních aktivit. Cílem programu je podpora mezinárodní spolupráce mezi evropskými průmyslovými podniky, výzkumnými ústavy a vysokými školami a vytváření podmínek pro zvyšování výkonnosti a konkurenceschopnosti evropského průmyslu a rozvoj jeho společné infrastruktury. EUREKA na jedné straně poskytuje zázemí po mezinárodní spolupráci malých a středních podniků a možnosti rychlého transferu výsledků technického rozvoje do komerčního využití, na druhé straně podporuje evropské strategické projekty, tzv. EUREKA klastrové projekty, které jsou koordinovány konsorcií velkých průmyslových podniků.

Program EUREKA vznikl v roce 1985 na bázi politické deklarace 17 evropských vlád tehdejších Evropských společenství a Evropského sdružení volného obchodu a vysokých představitelů Evropské komise. EUREKA v současnosti sdružuje 35 členských zemí a Komisi Evropské unie. Některé další země mají status přidruženého členství. Česká republika se stala řádným členem EUREKY v roce 1995 a v loňském roce tak oslavila deset let svého aktivního působení v této mezivládní spolupráci.

Každý projektový záměr v rámci EUREKY musí v přípravné fázi splňovat základní požadavky, bez nichž nelze akceptovat návrh pro jeho uplatnění v programu EUREKA, a které byly definovány v Hanoverské deklaraci v roce 1985. Jedná se o čtyři následující kritéria:

- výzkumná, vývojová a realizační spolupráce zainteresovaných subjektů nejméně ze dvou členských zemí,
- cíl projektu musí zabezpečit dosažení vyššího inovačního stupně v technické nebo užitné hodnotě vyvíjené technologie, výrobku nebo služby,
- výsledky řešení projektu musí být schopné následné realizace, komerčního využití a uplatnění na trhu, a
- řešení projektu a jeho výstupy musí mít jednoznačně civilní charakter.

S ohledem na to, že pro financování projektů programu EUREKA není vytvářen společný centralizovaný fond, hradí si potřebné náklady na práce spojené s řešením projektu sami účastníci ze zainteresovaných zemí. Avšak v mnoha členských zemích EUREKY jsou vytvářeny fondy v veřejných prostředcích, z nichž se dotují podle pravidel jednotlivých zemí náklady na řešení, a to za finanční spoluúčasti zainteresovaných subjektů přihlášených k řešení projektů. V České republice jsou tyto veřejné prostředky distribuovány formou dotace ze státního rozpočtu prostřednictvím MŠMT, při zásadě minimálně padesáti-procentní finanční účasti řešitelů.

Je třeba zmínit i fakt, že Česká republika zahájila 1.července 2005 předsednictví v programu EUREKA a stala se tak vůbec první zemí ze střední a východní Evropy, která byla vykonáváním této funkce pověřena. Skutečnost, že České republice bylo předsednictví svěřeno v roce výročí dvaceti let od zahájení činnosti programu EUREKA je nesporně oceněním dosavadního vystupování ČR ve strukturách programu. Česká republika bude zastávat tuto funkci v období od 1.července 2005 do 30.června 2006 a v této době budou její zástupci předsedat všem orgánům v rámci této mezinárodní iniciativy. Na závěr



předsednictví se bude v Praze konat Konference ministrů členských zemí EUREKY. Hlavními prvky programu českého předsednictví je:

- zvýšit zapojení průmyslu v Evropském výzkumném prostoru a využít „bottom-up“ principu EUREKY pro motivaci průmyslu aktivně se podílet na evropské strategii výzkumu, vývoje a inovací,
- vytvářet lepší informovanost o programu EUREKA v různých orgánech a výborech EU a využití souvislostí mezi programem EUREKA a 7. Rámcovým programem výzkumu a vývoje EU, a
- prohloubit diskusi s členskými zeměmi pro zvýšení zájmu o program EUREKA a jeho výsledky.

## **Závěr**

Program EUREKA je příkladem reakce na potřeby evropského průmyslu a podpory jeho výzkumné a inovační aktivit, které jsou jednoznačně směřovány na zvyšování konkurenceschopnosti Evropy. Tato činnost vyžaduje koordinaci, ale musí vycházet z podpory členských zemí EUREKY, které se samozřejmě snaží využít EUREKU také pro plnění svých národních a regionálních strategických cílů v oblasti rozvoje průmyslu. Evropa musí mít konkurenceschopné výrobky a jejich komerční uplatnitelnost založenou na technologické vyspělosti a invenci, nikoliv na levné pracovní síle. EUREKA je nástroj, který podnikům členských zemí umožňuje zapojovat se do řešení výzkumných projektů s vysokou úrovní inovace. Kromě toho je mechanismem k navazování kontaktů s průmyslovými partnery, stejně jako univerzitami, což organizacím přináší nové podněty pro výzkumné a inovační aktivity a pomáhá budovat inovační prostředí.

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# **Návrat vysokoškolsky vzdělaných žen na trh práce The Return of University Absolvents to Labour Market**

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## **Klíčová slova**

Eropský sociální fond, operační program Rozvoj lidských zdrojů, návrat na trh práce, vysokoškolsky vzdělané ženy, vzdělávací kurzy, vyrovnání rozdílů mezi ženami a muži na trhu práce

## **Abstrakt**

Postavení žen, které dosáhly vysokoškolského vzdělání, ale vinou delší absence v pracovním procesu ztratily částečně svoji kvalifikaci, je velice nepříznivé. Tyto ženy v okamžiku návratu na pracovní trh zjišťují, že mají problémy zvládnout činnosti a práce, které dříve vykonávaly rutinně. V oborech, které se rychle vyvíjejí (např. informační technologie) nebo v oborech, které jsou založeny na znalostech aktuálně platných předpisů (právo, účetnictví, daně, apod.) se přerušení kontaktu s oborem projevuje nejvíce. Cílem příspěvku je informovat odbornou veřejnost o probíhajícím projektu, který je určen na podporu těchto žen. Název projektu je „Efektivní návrat vysokoškolsky vzdělaných žen na trh práce po rodičovské dovolené“. Projekt je financován Evropskou unií z prostředků Evropského sociálního fondu prostřednictvím Operačního programu Rozvoj lidských zdrojů. Cíle projektu jsou: 1. Zvýšit možnosti uplatnění absolventek vysokých škol ekonomického směru přicházejících na trh práce po mateřské/rodičovské dovolené (případně mužů ve stejné rodinné situaci). Pomocí vzdělávacích kurzů e-learningového charakteru bude aktualizováno vzdělání posluchaček, které se tak stanou pro zaměstnavatele atraktivnější. 2. Vyrovnat rozdíl mezi ženami a muži na trhu práce v daném oboru. Drtivou většinu posluchačů těchto kurzů budou tvořit ženy. Je proto možné koncipovat výukové materiály způsobem, které vyhovují jejich způsobu myšlení a učení se. Tím se odstraní rozdíly vyplývající z genderově unifikovaného pojetí učiva na školách. To je zejména v exaktních disciplínách pojata spíše mužským způsobem vnímání světa (CERMAT, 2002). V příspěvku je prezentována metodika řešení projektu. Cílem prezentace je vyvolat diskusi o plánovaných metodách dosažení stanovených cílů projektu. Přípomínky a náměty budou do postupu řešení projektu zapracovány, což přispěje k jeho dalšímu zkvalitnění a zefektivnění pomoci cílové skupině.

## **Key words**

European Social Fund, Operational Programme Human Resource Development, Return to Labour Market, Women with University Degree of Education, Educational Courses, Balance the Differences Between Women and Men in the Labour Market

## **Abstract**

Women who have achieved a university degree and now are returning to the labour market are in a troublous position. When these women are going to do their job, they have to face the problems with work mastering. The contact interruption with their professional area has the worst consequences in quick developing areas (e.g. information technology) and/or in areas based on currently valid rules and acts (law, accounting, taxes, etc.). The goal of the paper is to inform the professionals about a project which helps to women in described situation. The

name of the project is “Effective return of university absolvents to labour market after parental leave”. The project is supported by European Union by European Social Fund through operating programme Human Resource Development. The main goals of the project are: 1. Improve the possibilities of coming in useful the economical universities absolvents who are returning to the labour market after parental leave (pertinently men who are in the same situation). Through the e-learning based educational courses the women’s knowledge will be actualizes and upgraded. The women become more interesting for employers. 2. Balance the differences between women and men on the labour market in specified areas. The absolute majority of educational courses absolvents will be comprised by women. Thus, the educational modules will be created and formed by the mean, which is in concordance with their ways of thinking and learning. It eliminates the differences which are the result of gender unified ways of educational processes in schools and universities. It is especially in the exact disciplines interpreted from the men’s points of views (CERMAT, 2002). There is presented the methodology of project solution in the article. The goal of the performance is to induct the discussion about planned methods for determined goals achievement. Notes and remarks will be included into the project plan. It contributes to the improving the project quality and effectiveness the support for target group.

## Návrat vysokoškolsky vzdělaných žen na trh práce

### Úvod

Projekt „Efektivní návrat vysokoškolsky vzdělaných žen na trh práce po rodičovské dovolené“ (EVYNA) je projektem Evropského sociálního fondu, který napomáhá rozvoji zaměstnanosti podporou zaměstnatelnosti, podnikatelského ducha, rovných příležitostí a investicemi do lidských zdrojů.

Projekt je řešen v rámci Operačního programu Rozvoj lidských zdrojů, Opatření 3.2.2 – Rovné příležitosti pro muže a ženy na trhu práce – a je koordinován Českou zemědělskou univerzitou v Praze. Partneři projektu jsou:

- AGRIA - klub absolventů a přátel PEF ČZU;
- Integrovaná střední škola Cheb;
- Regionální agrární komora královéhradeckého kraje;
- Ing. Tomáš Beneš – HELIA;
- Regionální středisko výchovy a vzdělávání, s. r. o.;
- Úhlava, o. p. s.

Projekt je zaměřen na odstranění znevýhodnění u žen, které se vrací na trh práce po mateřské nebo rodičovské dovolené. Tyto ženy dosáhly vysokoškolské vzdělání ekonomického směru, ale vinou delší absence v pracovním procesu ztratily částečně svoji kvalifikaci. V okamžiku návratu na pracovní trh mají problémy zvládnout činnosti a práce, které dříve vykonávaly rutinně. V oborech, které se rychle vyvíjejí (např. informační a komunikační technologie) nebo v oborech, které jsou založeny na znalostech aktuálně platných předpisů (právo, účetnictví, daně, apod.) je dočasná ztráta kontaktu s oborem velmi znevýhodňující.

Neopomenutelné je i vnitřní psychické znevýhodnění. Uchazečky o práci nemají takové sebevědomí, což se v konkurzech a přijímacích řízeních projeví. V současné době neexistuje pro tuto znevýhodněnou skupinu žádná systémová pomoc.

Projekt řeší situaci uvedeným způsobem znevýhodněných žen. Jeho cílem je připravit systém vzdělávacích modulů pro kurzy, pomocí kterých tyto ženy aktualizují svoji odbornost, obnoví pracovní návyky a stanou se pro zaměstnavatele atraktivní.

Projekt je zaměřen také na muže, kteří jsou v obdobné situaci jako výše uvedené ženy.

### Východiska projektu

Sociální vztahy v rodině jsou vystaveny dopadům změn, které přináší ekonomická a sociální transformace. Zatížení jsou oba partneři v rodině. Stávající modely rodinného soužití se však mění jen pozvolna, protože změna je determinována setrvačností stereotypů genderových rolí, které akceptovali jak muži, tak ženy v průběhu historického vývoje. Přesto lze vysledovat ve společnosti trend, který ukazuje na změnu pohledu na roli ženy v rodině.

Jak uvádí studie „Rodina a měnící se gender role - sociální analýza české rodiny“ (Čermáková, 1998), ženy se často na své sociální role dívají mužskou optikou. Přijímají dominantní většinový názor na funkci rodiny v životě ženy. Své reprodukční schopnosti považují za překážku toho, aby mohly zaujmout tytéž pozice ve společnosti, které zaujímají

muži. Z toho hlediska je možno považovat mateřskou/rodičovskou dovolenou za objektivní faktor znevýhodnění na trhu práce.

Výzkum „Profese ženy a rodinné soužití - rozdíly v názorech českých mužů a žen dvou věkových kategorií na roli ženy“, který v roce 2003 provedla Masarykova Univerzita v Brně spolu se Sociologickým ústavem AV ČR, toto tvrzení podporuje. Podle něj mateřská dovolená byla pro matky překážkou ve 48 % a péče o děti znamenala bariéru pro 44 % matek.

Problém sladění kariéry a rodiny je také způsoben tím, že pracovní pozice je v podstatě definována neutrálně, bez ohledu na osobní a rodinnou situaci zaměstnance či zaměstnankyně, což však v našich podmínkách nepoměrně lépe vyhovuje mužům (Machovcová, 2003). Vzhledem k vysoké zaměstnanosti žen v České republice (ženy tvoří 44,8 % zaměstnaných na českém trhu práce) jsou programy na podporu rovných příležitostí při získávání zaměstnání pro tyto ženy nezbytné.

Projekt EVYNA reaguje na výše uvedená fakta a nabízí podporu rovných příležitostí na trhu práce pro specifickou cílovou skupinu - vysokoškoláčky s ekonomickým vzděláním. Jak totiž zaznělo v diskusi o propagační politice vlády (Odehnalová, Jarkovská, 2002, Gender centrum FSS MU Brno), vysokoškoláčky v době péče o dítě přicházejí o možnost aplikovat své poznatky ze školy a nemají možnost aktualizovat své znalosti a dovednosti, obvykle ještě zapomenou i to co dříve uměly. Před odchodem na mateřskou dovolenou nemají za sebou tak dlouhou praxi, aby si zažily své pracovní návyky.

V rámci ekonomického vzdělání existuje mnoho oborů, u nichž je přerušování kontaktu s praxí obzvláště znevýhodňující. Informatika, ekonomie (zejm. účetnictví a daně), práva se rozvíjejí takřka ze dne na den, a proto je třeba tyto oblasti sledovat nepřetržitě. Při plánovaném návratu žen dané cílové skupiny je proto nezbytné, aby si tyto své vzdělání aktualizovaly, aby byly seznámeny s aktuálním stavem v uvedených oblastech. Studium mají ulehčeno v tom, že se v minulosti min. 5 let navštěvovaly VŠ. Umí pracovat s odbornými texty, umí se učit, a proto je možné oprávněně předpokládat, že vhodně sestavené kurzy distančního vzdělávání by jejich znevýhodnění účinným způsobem odstranily.

### **Cíle a metodika projektu**

Cíle projektu jsou:

#### **1. Zvýšit možnosti uplatnění absolventek vysokých škol ekonomického směru přicházejících na trh práce po mateřské/rodičovské dovolené (případně mužů ve stejné rodinné situaci)**

Pomocí vzdělávacích kurzů distančního charakteru bude aktualizováno vzdělání posluchaček, které se tak stanou pro zaměstnavatele atraktivnější.

#### **2. Vyrovnat rozdíl mezi ženami a muži na trhu práce v daném oboru**

Drtivou většinu posluchačů těchto kurzů budou tvořit ženy. Je proto možné koncipovat výukové materiály způsobem, které vyhovují jejich způsobu myšlení a učení se. Tím se odstraní rozdíly vyplývající z genderově unifikovaného pojetí učiva na školách. To je zejména v exaktních disciplínách pojata spíše mužským způsobem vnímání světa (CERMAT, 2002).

#### **3. Zjištění zpětné vazby pro tvorbu vlastních vzdělávacích programů**

V rámci projektu bude také zjišťováno, co si studentky zapamatovaly ze svého studia na VŠ po delší době a co naopak ne. Tato zjištění budou použita pro zkvalitnění a modernizaci

výuky v regionálních střediscích PEF ČZU. Projekty, které toto umožní, budou podány do příslušných opatření OP RLZ 3.2.

Pro naplnění výše uvedených cílů byl zvolen následující postup:

### **I. fáze – tvorba studijních materiálů**

V této fázi vzniknou studijní materiály ve formě e-learningových kurzů, které budou cílové skupině nabízeny v on-line verzi pomocí Internetu i v off-line verzi na CD. Současně budou připravena a vybavena konzultační místa v prostorách partnerů projektu v regionech. Tato kontaktní místa budou komunikovat s cílovou skupinou a poskytovat studentkám kompletní servis při studiu.

Vzdělávací kurzy se budou skládat z těchto fakultativních e-learningových modulů:

- Informatika;
- Ekonomika;
- Účetnictví a daně;
- Anglický jazyk (se zaměřením na analýzu textu);
- Organizace a řízení;
- Pracovní právo;
- Komunikace a sebereprezentace;
- Občanská gramotnost (společnost, udržitelný rozvoj).

Každý modul bude mít rozsah jednoho semestru, tj. 12 - 14 témat rozdělenou na teoretickou a praktickou část s příklady. Na praktickou část bude kladen největší důraz. Posluchačky si samy budou moci zvolit, zda budou studovat všechny moduly současně, zda si je rozloží do více semestrů nebo zda budou studovat pouze některé. Certifikace nabytých znalostí (ověření formou testů) bude prováděna odděleně pro jednotlivé moduly.

### **II. fáze – pilotní běh kurzů**

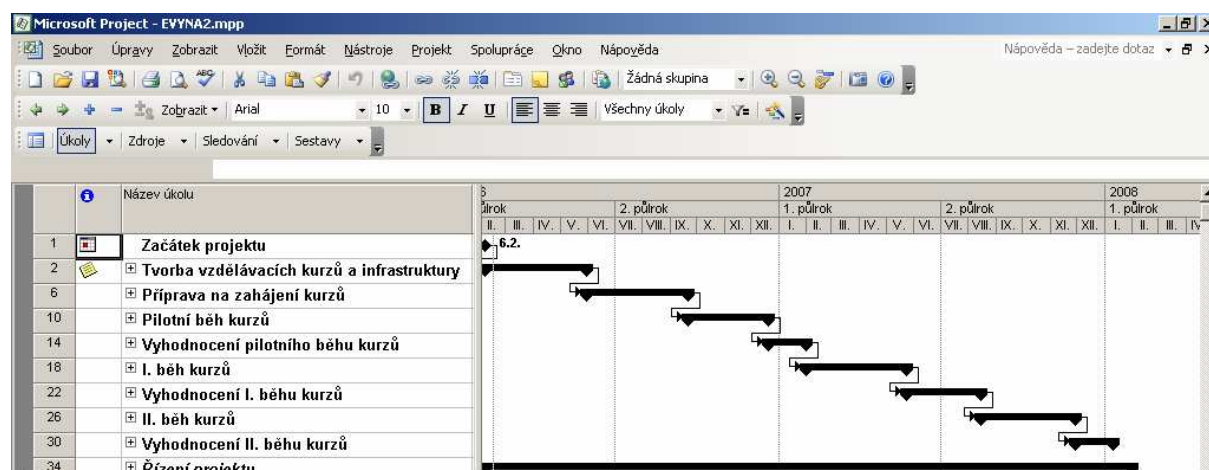
Vytvořené studijní materiály budou využity pro první – pilotní – běh vzdělávacích kurzů. Výuka bude probíhat bezkontaktním způsobem. Základem bude samostudium pomocí e-learningu, které bude doplněno možností konzultovat látku přímo s lektorem pomocí moderních komunikačních technologií.

### **III. fáze – řádné běhy kurzů**

Na základě zkušeností z pilotního běhu budou vzdělávací kurzy upraveny tak, aby co nejlépe odpovídaly potřebám cílové skupiny. Před každým dalším během vzdělávacích kurzů budou výukové materiály aktualizovány, aby odpovídaly současnému stavu v dané oblasti.

Podrobný postup řešení projektu je zobrazen na následujícím obrázku:

**Obrázek 1: Řešení projektu**



## **Přínosy projektu**

Projekt bude přínosný pro členy cílové skupiny v těchto oblastech:

### **1) Vytváření podmínek pro zvýšení účasti žen na trhu práce**

Projekt zmírní objektivně dané znevýhodnění žen na trhu práce. Zvýší zaměstnatelnost žen, které absolvovaly aktualizační kurzy. Tyto ženy budou pro zaměstnavatele atraktivnější z těchto důvodů:

- mají aktualizované vzdělání, ihned mohou začít plnohodnotně pracovat,
- nebudou muset přesvědčovat zaměstnavatele, že dostojí nárokům pracovního místa (jsou aktivní, sledují trendy v oboru, který vystudovaly),
- část kurzu bude přímo zaměřena na problematiku hledání pracovního místa.

### **2) Přizpůsobení novým požadavkům na trhu práce**

Ženy si obnovením a aktualizací svého vzdělání snadněji přizpůsobí novým požadavkům trhu práce. V rámci kurzů na tyto požadavky bude kladen důraz a ženy budou připraveny na to, aby jim dostály.

### **3) Prevence dlouhodobé nezaměstnanosti žen**

Připravené ženy pracují na hledání zaměstnání již v době rodičovské dovolené, obnovené znalosti a dovednosti značnou měrou zvyšují šance na získání odpovídajícího pracovního zařazení.

## **Závěr**

Cílem příspěvku bylo představit projekt EVYNA odborné veřejnosti a také postup jeho řešení. Výsledky diskuse – náměty a připomínky diskutujících – budou reflektovány při dalším řešení projektu, tím dojde k dalšímu zkvalitnění pomoci cílové skupině.

## **Dedikace**

Projekt Efektivní návrat vysokoškolsky vzdělaných žen na trh práce po rodičovské dovolené, č. CZ.04.1.03/2.2.15.1./0035, je spolufinancován Evropským sociálním fondem a státním rozpočtem České republiky.

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# **Hodnocení území z pozice regionální politiky a rozvoje venkova** **Evaluation of Areas from the Standpoints of Regional Policy and** **Policy of Country Development**

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## **Klíčová slova**

regionální rozvoj, venkov, kritéria hodnocení, potenciál území, podpory

## **Abstrakt**

V regionech se projevuje různá míra adaptability na nové tržní podmínky, a proto je nutné identifikovat tyto problémové regiony a průběžně zvažovat a hodnotit jejich potenciál pro potřebné strukturální a sociální změny. Vychází se přitom z předpokladu, že hospodaření v takto stanovených oblastech je limitováno a že existuje společenský zájem udržet v těchto oblastech osídlení za předpokladu únosných životních podmínek pro jejich obyvatele. Příspěvek se zabývá problematikou, která je v současné době velmi aktuální, a to problematikou hodnocení území z pozic regionální politiky a politiky rozvoje venkova.

## **Key words**

regional development, country, criteria of evaluation, potential of areas, supports

## **Abstract**

The different extent of the adaptability to new market conditions becomes evident in regions, and therefore it is necessary to identify these problem regions and continuously weigh and evaluate their potential to necessary structural and social changes. At the same time it is proceeded from the assumption that farming in such determined areas is limited and the social interest to keep the settlement in these areas on condition of endurable living circumstances for their inhabitants exists. The article deals with the problems which are very actual nowadays, it concerns the problem with evaluation of areas from the standpoints of regional policy and policy of country development.

## **Hodnocení území z pozice regionální politiky a rozvoje venkova**

### **Úvod**

Venkovský prostor představuje velmi heterogenní a mnohotvárné území s regionálními rozdíly, které se projevují nejen v rozdílných přírodních podmínkách, ale zejména v sociálně ekonomických a demografických odlišnostech spojených s rozdílnou ekonomickou výkonností.

Regionální politika obecně je orientována na hospodářský rozvoj jednotlivých regionů s ohledem na jejich rozdílné potenciální možnosti s cílem především zmírnit ekonomické a sociální rozdíly mezi nimi a podpořit ty aktivity, které nejvýrazněji zajistí budoucí rozvoj regionu.

Bylo by nereálné se domnívat, že lze dosáhnout absolutní ekonomické a sociální vyváženosti regionů. Jde vždy o vyrovnání úrovně regionů vzhledem k určitým podmínkám. Přírodní podmínky jsou relativně stabilní (klíma, půda, nadmořská výška, svažitost a další), proto je účelné soustředit se zejména na opatření regionální politiky ovlivňující především ekonomickou a sociální úroveň regionů. Řešit regionální vyváženost znamená vymezit faktory a opatření, která na ni působí a mohou ji pozitivně ovlivnit.

### **Cíl a metodika**

EU klade důraz na hospodářsky vyvážený rozvoj jednotlivých regionů. Evropská regionální politika vychází ze zkušeností jednotlivých států při řešení nepříznivých důsledků prostorové dělby práce v tržním hospodářství a předpokládá vytvoření ekonomicky efektivní a sociálně přijatelné územní struktury v evropském prostoru.

Realizace regionální politiky tak, jak je uskutečňována v zemích EU, potvrzuje, že systematická, regionálně diferencovaná hospodářská a sociální politika, založená na objektivním vícekritériálním hodnocení regionů, má v zemích s vyspělou tržní ekonomikou nezastupitelné místo. Přispívá ke zmírňování regionálních rozdílů, vyrovnávání výchozích konkurenčních podmínek a tím k utváření příznivějšího sociálně politického klimatu a zpomaluje proces devastace území s nepříznivými podmínkami.

Jedním z důležitých cílů dosavadní regionální politiky je vytváření odvětví s přiměřenou vyvážeností hospodářského a sociálního vývoje jednotlivých regionů. Nástrojem k dosažení takového záměru je regionální politika ve venkovském prostoru navazující na regionální politiku státu.

Hodnocení venkovského území má za cíl analyzovat problémy venkova a zjistit možnosti a směry podpor trvale udržitelného rozvoje životních podmínek jeho obyvatel, zajištění pracovních příležitostí a s tím spojenou diverzifikaci hospodářských aktivit. Rozvoj venkova se realizuje v rámci regionální strukturální politiky EU především na bázi čerpání strukturálních fondů. Vynakládání finančních prostředků na rozvoj venkova má smysl tehdy, je-li účelově cílené a realizované tak, aby byla zajištěna jejich konečná efektivnost.

### **Výsledky**

Kritéria, která opravňují získání podpory z fondů EU, jsou ukazatele související s počtem obyvatel, s ekonomickými výsledky; je to zejména hrubý domácí produkt na obyvatele, rozloha území a stav jeho životního prostředí. Vzhledem k tomu, že ČR je pro rozdělení finančních prostředků ze strukturálních fondů zařazena do Cíle 1, kam patří regiony, jejichž

domácí produkt na 1 obyvatele v paritě kupní síly nepřesahuje 75 % průměru EU-25, budou pro hodnocení území ze strany EU použita kritéria jako: míra nezaměstnanosti, prosperita státu a závažnost strukturálních problémů. Významnou roli budou představovat kritéria sociální situace v regionech - kromě již uvedených půjde o úroveň zaměstnanosti, vzdělání a o podíl žen na trhu práce.

Při volbě ukazatelů využitelných pro posouzení stability a možné prosperity regionu je nutno vycházet z kritérií, která budou charakterizovat kromě toho i úspěšnost použití prostředků ze strukturálních fondů k realizaci strukturální politiky. Jde především o:

- ekonomickou situaci v regionu – HDP, podíl regionu na exportu, rozvoj malých a středních podniků, úroveň zaměstnanosti v regionu, počet podniků, úroveň průmyslové a zemědělské produkce apod.,
- sociální úroveň - úroveň důchodů, sociálních dávek apod.

Zákon č. 248, platný v ČR od 1.1.2000, vymezuje oblasti podpor regionálního rozvoje, které rozděluje na strukturálně postižené, u nichž existují negativní projevy strukturálních změn, dochází k růstu nezaměstnanosti a je omezen rozvoj podnikání, na hospodářsky slabé s podprůměrnou úrovní hospodářského a sociálního rozvoje a s nízkou příjmovou hladinou, na venkovské, charakteristické mj. nepříznivým vývojem počtu a struktury obyvatel a vyšším podílem obyvatelstva v zemědělství a na ostatní s různým specifickým postižením jejich úrovně.

Podpora zemědělství v méně příznivých oblastech by měla přispět k trvalému užívání zemědělské půdy, k zachování venkovské krajiny a k rozvoji trvale udržitelných systémů hospodaření na půdě regionálně diferencovaných podle konkrétních přírodních a sociálně ekonomických podmínek.

Při hodnocení území v souvislosti s řešením grantu NAZV QF3254 uplatnily autorky (literatura č. 5) indikátory, které bylo možné využít pro *obecné* hodnocení území a jeho rozvojového potenciálu a *specifické* hodnocení, charakterizující rozvojový potenciál konkrétního území. Jednalo se o:

- obecné deskriptory, zahrnující charakteristiky, které jsou regionu objektivně dané,
- ekonomické indikátory, které jsou vrcholovými, agregovanými ukazateli ekonomické pozice a slouží k meziregionální komparaci,
- regionální infrastrukturu, kdy ekonomický rozvoj regionu je do značné míry ovlivněn rozsahem a úrovní infrastruktury,
- sektorovou strukturu regionu; jde o odvětvovou strukturu podnikatelských aktivit v regionu,
- roli zemědělství v regionu, kterému ve venkovském prostoru zůstávají relevantní funkce,
- lidský potenciál, který je prvkem, který v konečném úhrnu vytváří očekávané hodnoty,
- podnikatelskou strukturu,
- životní prostředí, které stojí ve středu celospolečenského zájmu,
- specifické charakteristiky regionu, specifické pro konkrétní region, které jsou v širším měřítku neopakovatelné,
- rozvojovou aktivitu, kdy některé regiony aktivně využívají všechny nabízené rozvojové možnosti, a to jak vlastní podmínky, tak i finanční podpory státu

## Diskuse

V souvislosti s přípravou na nové programové období EU v letech 2007-2013 je zapotřebí hledat možnosti jak dosáhnout sociálně ekonomického rozvoje z podpůrných prostředků. Nová evropská ekonomika se vyznačuje důrazem na lokální a regionální dimenzi společných strategických cílů, kdy právě venkovské regiony představují dostatečnou prostorovou základnu inovací. Z tohoto důvodu nový program EU vázaný na Evropský zemědělský fond pro rozvoj venkova bude mj. podporovat:

- opatření k diverzifikaci venkovské ekonomiky, tj.

diverzifikaci směrem k nezemědělským činnostem,

podporu zakládání a rozvoje podniků nejmenší velikosti za účelem posílení ekonomických struktur a podnikání na venkově,

podporu turistického ruchu,

ochranu zvyšování hodnoty a péči o přírodní dědictví jako příspěvek k trvale udržitelnému rozvoji;

- opatření ke zlepšení kvality života na venkově, tj.

základní nezbytné služby pro hospodaření a obyvatelstvo venkova,

obnovu a rozvoj vesnice, ochranu a zvyšování hodnoty kulturního dědictví venkova,

opatření profesního vzdělávání pro ekonomické subjekty k získávání nové kvalifikace a oživení na venkově.

## Závěr

Je zřejmé, že nové pojetí venkova v programech EU je významným mezníkem jeho trvale udržitelného rozvoje. V zájmu komplexního rozvoje regionu je účelné podpořit rozvoj venkovských oblastí, kdy podpory by měly být orientovány především na diverzifikaci výroby a zajištění pestrosti ekonomických aktivit ve venkovských regionech.

Nejdůležitější hospodářskou činností na venkově však představuje agrární sektor, který zajišťuje osídlení a rozhodujícím způsobem přispívá k jeho životaschopnosti. Politika rozvoje venkova musí vytvářet šance pro budoucnost, aby umožnila diverzifikaci pracovních příležitostí na venkově, přispěla k místnímu rozvoji a uchovala krajinu.

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# **Jsou venkovské obce v ČR příliš malé? Are Czech Rural Municipalities Too Small?**

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## **Klíčová slova**

velikost obcí, lokální demokracie, efektivnost místní správy

## **Abstrakt**

V České republice je předmětem diskusí a podnětem pro uvažovaná nebo realizovaná opatření roztržštěná struktura obcí, tj. velký počet malých a velmi malých převážně venkovských obcí. Tato struktura bývá kritizována jako problematická, např. z hlediska sociálního a ekonomického rozvoje venkova, stability volených orgánů malých obcí, jejich finančního hospodaření, kvality správních úkonů, dodržování zákonnosti apod. Příspěvek naznačí rozměr tohoto problému a stručně shrne poznatky o vztahu mezi velikostí obcí a jejich fungováním jako správních, politických, ekonomických a sociálních jednotek.

## **Key words**

size of municipalities, local democracy, effectiveness of local administration

## **Abstract**

Since the early 90s, the extremely fragmented structure of Czech rural municipalities has been a frequent target of criticism. It was mentioned that this structure hinders the economic and social development of rural areas, is responsible for instability of local government, causes irresponsible use of public money by local authorities as well as a problematic legal culture of local administration. The paper outlines the nature of this problem and presents a brief overview of the available knowledge about the relationship between the size of municipalities and their functioning as administrative, political, economic and social units.

## **Jsou venkovské obce v ČR příliš malé?**

S velkou různorodostí obcí jako jedné z prostorových forem organizace společnosti bývají spojeny úvahy o přednostech a nevýhodách obcí různé populační velikosti, a to jak z hlediska jejich samotných obyvatel, tak společnosti jako celku. V České republice se stala v posledních letech předmětem diskusí a podnětem pro realizovaná nebo dosud jen uvažovaná opatření zejména roztržštěná struktura obcí, tj. velký počet malých a velmi malých, převážně venkovských obcí, která bývá kritizována jako problematická, např. z hlediska sociálního a ekonomického rozvoje venkova, stability volených orgánů malých obcí, jejich finančního hospodaření, kvality jejich správních úkonů, dodržování zákonnosti apod. (viz např. Ministerstvo vnitra ČR 2005).

Otázka vztahu mezi velikostí obcí a různými aspekty jejich fungování, zejména možností jejich sociálního a ekonomického rozvoje, uplatněním místní demokracie a efektivitou jejich správy je tématem, kterému se ve správní a politické vědě, v sociologii, geografii a ekonomii nejen u nás, ale zejména v zahraničí, věnovala v posledních zhruba třiceti letech poměrně značná pozornost. V tomto příspěvku stručně shrneme poznatky, k nimž některé z těchto výzkumů a studií došly. Nejdříve však naznačíme rozměr problému, daný specifickou povahou sídelní a územně správní struktury České republiky, pozornost věnujeme přehledu výhod a nevýhod, které jsou ve světle výzkumů spojeny s menší či naopak větší velikostí obcí, dotkneme se vývoje konsolidačních reforem v Západní Evropě a připomeneme prostředky, které pro překonávání nepříznivých důsledků fragmentace obcí poskytuje současná česká legislativa.

### **Sídelní a územně správní struktura České republiky – problém fragmentace**

Sídlo jako geografický pojem je základní jednotkou osídlení a považuje se za ně každé obydlené místo včetně příslušných ploch, které jsou bezprostředně využívány obyvatelstvem (Mates, Wokoun a kol. 2001:129). Sídly jsou tedy města, vesnice, prostorově oddělené části obcí osady apod., bez ohledu na to, jaké je jejich administrativní postavení – zda jsou či nejsou samosprávnými obcemi.

Sídelní struktura České republiky má značnou historickou kontinuitu – do dnešní podoby se v podstatě ustálila v 17. století po třicetileté válce. Vyznačuje se vysokou hustotou sídel jejich poměrně rovnoměrným rozložením, velkou četností malých venkovských sídel a naopak relativně malým počtem velkých měst. Dominantní postavení v ní zaujímá Praha. Tyto charakteristiky sídelní struktury však nejsou na celém území republiky stejně výrazné: hustá síť malých sídel je příznačná zejména pro Čechy a oblast Českomoravské vysočiny, v nížinných částech Moravy a Slezska jsou sídla větší a navzájem více vzdálená (Český statistický úřad 2004 b).

Síť sídel jako geografických jednotek vymezuje do značné míry i síť obcí jako územních jednotek politicko-správních. Obě soustavy si jsou navzájem podobné, nikoliv však totožné, protože řada obcí sestává z více než jednoho sídla, takže jejich počet je v úhrnu podstatně menší než počet sídel. K 1. lednu 2005 bylo v ČR 6 248 samosprávných obcí (Český statistický úřad a Ministerstvo vnitra ČR 2005), aktuální údaj o počtu sídel bohužel k dispozici není – naposledy byl tento počet zjišťován u příležitosti sčítání lidu, domů a bytů z r. 1991, kdy bylo spočteno 15 733 sídel (Terplan 1995). Za předpokladu, že tento počet je

poměrně stabilní a může být orientačně použit i pro charakterizaci současné situace<sup>157</sup>, je stupeň správní integrace sídel do obcí vyjádřen přibližně poměrem 1:2,5, tj. obec se v průměru skládá ze dvou až tří sídel. Stupeň administrativní integrace sídel do obcí ovlivňují tři navzájem se někdy podporující, jindy protiběžné procesy:

1. Vznik nových sídel – v našich poměrech spíše jen teoretická možnost, která by se snad mohla vyskytnout v příměstských zónách v souvislosti se suburbanizací.
2. Fyzické srůstání sídel způsobené postupnou zástavbou mezilehlého prostoru, které vyústí do jejich administrativní integrace.
3. Administrativní změny struktury obcí nepodložené změnami v jejich fyzické struktuře – tj. jejich slučování nebo naopak dělení vyvolané buď specifickými místními zájmy nebo vnějším tlakem, např. vládní integrační politikou.

V letech 1960-1989, kdy probíhala vynucená a často jen formální integrace obcí, se počet sídel připadajících na jednu obec zvětšoval, po r. 1989 se v důsledku fragmentace obcí začaly sídelní a územně-správní struktura republiky zpětně sbližovat. V tomto období se totiž velký počet venkovských obcí vytvořených během komunistického režimu slučováním původně samostatných vesnic rozpadnul a tyto jejich části se opět osamostatnily. V krátké době se tak během let 1990-1993 počet obcí zvětšil zhruba o polovinu, aby se koncem 90. let ustálil na počtu zhruba 6 250 obcí. Nejbližší jsou si dnes síť obcí a síť sídel ve Zlínském a Jihomoravském kraji, nejvíce divergují v krajích Karlovarském a Libereckém [Malý lexikon obcí České republiky 2004].

Tento vývoj byl složkou demokratizačního procesu, který vytvořil prostor pro uplatnění různých, do té doby potlačovaných dílčích zájmů, včetně zájmů lokálních, a umožnil, aby se struktury oktrojované minulým režimem přetvořily nebo zanikly. Vývoj počtu obcí v českých zemích v letech 1921 až 2005 uvádí tab. č. 1.

**Tabulka č. 1 Vývoj počtu obcí v českých zemích v letech 1921-2005**

rok	1921	1930	1947	1950	1961	1970	1980	1989
počet obyvatel	11 417	11 768	11 695	11 459	8 726	7 509	4 778	4 120
rok	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005
počet obyvatel	5 768	6 196	6 232	6 234	6 244	6 258	6 249	6 248

*Zdroj: Historická statistická ročenka ČSSR 1985, tab. 1-1, Statistické ročenky ČR*

Z dlouhodobého hlediska, jak ukazují údaje v této tabulce, však počet obcí v českých zemích systematicky klesá a bude pravděpodobně klesat i nadále. Protichůdný vývoj, k němuž došlo v 90. letech, lze z tohoto pohledu považovat za krátkodobou, specifickými dobovými okolnostmi vyvolanou odchylku.

Naprostá většina obcí v ČR jsou obce co do počtu obyvatel velmi malé: 79 % obcí má méně než tisíc obyvatel a 26 % dokonce nemá obyvatel ani dvě stovky. Průměrná velikost obce činí 1 634 obyvatel, mediánová velikost obce je však jen 382 obyvatel (údaje za r. 2001), což znamená, že celá polovina obcí nedosahuje ani této populační velikosti. Z 6 248 obcí v r. 2005 bylo pouze 526 měst, mezi nimiž převažují města malá a střední, zatímco

<sup>157</sup> Tento předpoklad je oprávněný, počet sídel se v posledních desetiletích skutečně příliš neměnil: – k datu sčítání v r. 1970 bylo v ČR sídel 15 133, o deset let později 15 291 a při dalším sčítání v r. 1991, jak už uvedeno, 15 733 (Terplan 1995).

velkoměst (tj. měst s více než 100 tisíci obyvateli) bylo pouze pět. Jinak než velikostní rozložení obcí vyhlíží ovšem rozložení bydlícího obyvatelstva v obcích různé velikosti: 70 % obyvatel ČR bydlí ve městech, v tom 21 % ve velkoměstech, zatímco v malých obcích s méně než tisícem obyvatel bydlí pouze 17 % obyvatel republiky (Český statistický úřad 2004a).

**Tabulka č. 2 Obce podle počtu obyvatel (dle stavu v r. 2004)**

Velikostní pásmo (počet obyvatel)	počet obcí		počet obyvatel	
	n	%	n	%
do 199	1 642	26,3	201 862	2,0
od 200 do 499	2 018	32,3	655 426	6,4
od 500 do 999	1 291	20,7	900 139	8,8
od 1 000 do 1 999	664	10,6	918 935	9,0
od 2 000 do 4 999	370	5,9	1 133 479	11,1
od 5 000 do 9 999	133	2,1	911 787	8,9
od 10 000 do 19 999	68	1,1	957 807	9,4
od 20 000 do 49 999	41	0,7	1 205 631	11,8
od 50 000 do 99 999	17	0,3	1 212 713	11,9
nad 100 000	5	0,1	2 113 676	20,7
celkem ČR	6 249	100,0	10 211 455	100,0

*Zdroj: Malý lexikon obcí České republiky 2004, Praha: ČSÚ*

Pokud se tedy u nás obecně hovoří o problematice obcí bez ohledu na jejich velikost, jde převážně o problematiku obcí malých, venkovských, které početně zcela dominují. Naopak, jde-li o problematiku obyvatelstva v obcích jejich bydliště, jedná se převážně o záležitosti obyvatel ve městech malé a střední velikosti, kde je soustředěna největší část naší populace.

I když je u nás struktura obcí na evropské poměry velmi roztržštěná, nemáme v tomto směru v Evropě primát ani nejsme osamoceni. Nejmenší obce – v průměru s 1 300 obyvateli – má Francie (Swianiewicz 2002: 7) a podobně jako v ČR jsou obce rozdrobené také na Slovensku, kde byla v r. 2000 průměrná velikost 1 874 obyvatel (Kling et al. 2002: 107); malé obce jsou výrazně zastoupeny i v Maďarsku – průměrná velikost 3 131 obyvatel v r. 1999 (Fekete et al. 2002: 36).

### **Velikost obce a její souvislosti ve světle výzkumů**

Analýzy zabývající se otázkou, zda pro sociální a politický život občanů, pro jejich hmotný blahobyt a spokojenost, pro rozkvět lokální ekonomiky a kultury, legitimitu a efektivnost místní vlády atd. jsou vhodným prostředím obce spíše velké nebo spíše malé, a případně jaký konkrétně by měl být jejich rozměr vyjádřený počtem obyvatel nebo plošnou výměrou, jsou v posledních dvaceti až třiceti letech poměrně frekventované, viz např. Dahl and Tufte 1973, Richardson 1973, Nielsen 1981, Newton 1982, King 1984, Mouritzen 1989, Bours 1993, Keating 1995, Sharpe 1995, Martins 1995, Goldsmith and Rose 2000, Finifter and Rose



2000, Oliver 2000, Denters et al. 2001, Rose 2002, Swianiewicz 2002a, Denters 2002.<sup>158</sup> Z našich autorů např. Hampl a Müller 1998.

Hned úvodem však musíme zmínit, že přes poměrně dlouhou řadu těchto studií a výzkumů se spolehlivé a obecně platné závěry o vhodné velikosti obcí nalézt nepodařilo a že pokusy o formulaci takových závěrů nepřežily dlouho dobu a kontext svého vzniku. Jednotlivé studie totiž docházely k navzájem rozporným a nejednoznačným výsledkům. Neúspěchem dříve či později skončily i snahy regulovat administrativními prostředky populační velikost měst, jak se o to např. pokoušely některé země bývalého sovětského bloku.

Co však tyto výzkumy přinesly, bylo ujasnění vztahů mezi velikostí obcí vyjádřenou počtem v nich bydlících obyvatel (populační velikostí) a jednotlivými stránkami fungování těchto obcí. Teoreticky tedy ujasnění okolností a hledisek, které by mohly být pro určení vhodné velikosti obcí relevantní. Jak však dále uvidíme, empirické poznatky problém spíše prohloubily než pomohly vyřešit. Jednotlivé parametry „dobré obce“ jsou totiž s její velikostí ve velice různých, někdy přímo vzájemně protikladných vztazích, a do těchto vztahů navíc intervenuje řada dalších – situačních - okolností. Obecně platná odpověď pokud jde o vztah mezi velikostí obce a celkovou kvalitou jejího fungování neexistuje.

Pokusme se tedy alespoň, na základě zmíněných výzkumů a studií, o inventuru argumentů, které na jedné straně zdůrazňují výhody spojené s větší velikostí obcí a hovoří proto pro jejich integraci do větších jednotek, a na druhé straně argumentů proti-integračních, poukazujících na přednosti obcí menší velikosti. Michael Keating navrhuje brát v úvahu při zvažování výhod a nevýhod integrace obcí čtyři typy hledisek (Keating 1995: 117):

1. Hledisko efektivnosti – tj. souvislost mezi velikostí obcí a relativní cenou služeb, které obec poskytuje svým obyvatelům.
2. Hledisko lokální demokracie - souvislost mezi touto velikostí a demokratickým charakterem lokální politiky, zejména politickou participací občanů a vykazatelností místní vlády.
3. Hledisko distributivní spravedlnosti, tedy to, jak velikost obcí souvisí se spravedlivým rozložením daňové zátěže mezi obyvatele a služby, které jim obce poskytují.
4. Hledisko rozvojové – vztah mezi velikostí obcí a předpoklady jejich ekonomického rozvoje.

Následují argumenty, které jsou často uváděny ve prospěch obcí větší velikosti a tedy implicitně, v neprospěch obcí malých, a současně s nimi námitky a pochybnosti, které tyto argumenty vyvolávají. Rozdělíme je, shodně s Keatingem, do čtyř výše zmíněných skupin, které však budeme chápat v poněkud širším smyslu než jak je tento autor definoval pro britské poměry.

### **1. Hledisko ekonomické a správní efektivnosti**

- **Ekonomie rozměru** – s velikostí obce klesají relativní náklady na výkon místní vlády a na poskytované služby, takže tyto funkce jsou levnější. Jak ale Keating v citované práci upozorňuje, toto tvrzení je spíše hypotézou než prokázanou skutečností. Jeho pravdivost se dosud nepodařilo empiricky prokázat, a to hlavně kvůli téměř neřešitelným metodologickým obtížím spojeným s měřením výkonu resp. výkonnosti místní vlády, najmě v těch oblastech její činnosti, které nelze dobře kvantifikovat. Připomíná se také,

<sup>158</sup> Stručný přehled výsledků těchto výzkumů uvádí P. Swianiewicz (Swianiewicz 2000b).

že členitější struktura obcí podporuje soutěž mezi nimi o získání zdrojů, a tedy efektivnější alokaci kapitálu.

- Velké obce jsou přitažlivější než obce malé pro soukromý kapitál a mají tak větší šanci prosadit se v soutěži o jeho alokaci. Tyto obce mají také lepší předpoklady pro zpracování kvalitních rozvojových projektů (disponují kvalifikovanými odborníky nebo je mohou zaplatit), a tedy pro získání prostředků z různých fondů, včetně fondů evropských. Pochyby v tomto případě nevzbuzuje druhá část uvedeného argumentu týkající se kvality projektů. V podmínkách sílící komerční suburbanizace však nemusí vždy platit předpoklad, že velké obce jsou pro investory atraktivnější.
- Větší obce si mohou dovolit financovat náročnější investiční projekty, jejich rozpočty dosahují velikosti potřebné pro výstavbu vodovodů, kanalizace, čističek, místních komunikací apod., zatímco prostředky malých obcí takové projekty neutáhnou. Tvzení jistě pravdivé, opomíjející však skutečnost, že velké komunální investice jsou potřebné zejména ve velkých a nikoliv malých obcích a že malé obce mohou uskutečňovat náročné projekty sdružováním finančních prostředků a organizačního úsilí.
- Místní správa ve velkých obcích může být efektivnější, kvalifikovanější a tedy kvalitnější, protože v obecních úřadech a ve volených orgánech je větší specializace, aparát je početnější, profesionálnější a lépe technicky vybavený. Výkonnější místní správa pak znamená i spokojenější občany. O profesionalizaci a specializaci správy ve velkých obcích, stejně jako o schopnosti řešit složitější úkoly, která z toho plyne, není pochyb, stejně jako je na druhé straně zřejmé, že neuvolnění starostové v nejmenších obcích mívají často obtíže se zvládnutím obecní administrativy. Naproti tomu je však rozsáhlejší a specializovanější aparát náchylnější k byrokratismu, k technokratickým řešením, a může snáze unikat kontrole veřejnosti. Také samotný pojem kvality místní správy je nejednoznačný. Z hlediska kterých subjektů, zájmů a kritérií se tato kvalita definuje? Z pozice občanů obce? Obecní samosprávy? Jednotlivých jejích orgánů? Orgánů krajských? Ministerstva financí? Ministerstva vnitra? Politických stran? Podnikatelských kruhů? Je velmi nepravděpodobné, že by názory těchto aktérů byly shodné.
- Větší obce mají větší váhu při prosazování svých zájmů vůči státní správě, podnikatelským subjektům, sousedním obcím apod., a proto mají větší naději na úspěch při uplatnění těchto zájmů než obce malé. Jde o argument v obecné poloze zřejmě platný, zkušenost ale také ukazuje, jak mohou šance i malých obcí zvýšit výrazné osobnosti, kontakty, významní rodáci apod.

## **2. Hledisko lokální demokracie**

Větší velikost obce je předpokladem pro existenci diferencovaného místního politického systému s pluralitou subjektů a zájmů, vzájemné soutěže, kontroly a vyvažování – tedy demokratické lokální politiky. V obcích malých je lokální politika více záležitostí osobních vztahů a je zde větší příležitost pro nekontrolovatelné působení místních klik, rodinných klanů, autoritárních osobností. V obcích s větším počtem obyvatel existuje také větší rezervoár kompetentních kandidátů na volené funkce v zastupitelstvu a radě obce a zájemců o práci ve výborech zastupitelstva a v komisích rady. Protože s velikostí obce vzrůstá i prestiž těchto funkcí, lze současně předpokládat i větší ochotu, resp. zájem kvalifikovaných osobností se o ně ucházet.

Oba výše argumenty hovořící ve prospěch velkých obcí jsou nosné, na druhou miskou vah lze však položit neméně závažné argumenty upozorňující na výhody obcí malých: menší fyzická,

organizační a obvykle i sociální vzdálenost mezi občany a místními politiky umožňuje snazší kontrolu politiků, usnadňuje kontakty. Menší rozměr komunity poskytuje přehled, kdo je kdo, jak se chová a co lze od něho očekávat, občany lze snáze mobilizovat pro veřejné akce apod. Kromě toho početnější zastoupení „kvalitních“, tj. obvykle vzdělanějších a odborně kompetentních zastupitelů a radních v orgánech samosprávy, okolnost uváděná jako přednost větších obcí, může narušovat sociální reprezentativnost těchto orgánů, posilovat jejich elitistický charakter a vést např. k nadměrnému zastoupení zájmů podnikatelských kruhů.

### **3. Hledisko distributivní spravedlnost**

Je snazší vyrovnávat neodůvodněné místní rozdíly co do dostupnosti, rozsahu, kvality a ceny služeb pokud se tak děje v rámci jedné větší obce, než kdyby bylo nutné tentýž úkol řešit mezi-obecní úrovní. Podobně jako výše u výhod ekonomiky rozměru, máme i v tomto případě co do činění s hypotézou, jejíž platnost by bylo nutné empiricky prokázat.

### **4. Hledisko rozvojových možností**

Velké obce mohou kvalifikovaněji než obce malé koncipovat svůj ekonomický, sociální a územní rozvoj, a to jednak proto, že celky většího rozměru mají větší možnost svůj další vývoj ovlivňovat, mohou jej zvažovat v širších souvislostech, jednak také proto, že mohou zabezpečit profesionální přípravu příslušných koncepcí a plánů.

Větší obce jsou méně než obce malé ohrožovány výkyvy ve vnějších i vnitřních podmínkách svého fungování, ať už jde o změny cenové hladiny, výnosu daní, pravidel financování, o problémy postihující významné zaměstnavatele v obci, změny ve složení samosprávy apod. Jejich větší a diferencovanější organismus se s takovými změnami lépe vyrovná než obce malé.

Oba uvedené argumenty jsou zčásti oprávněné. Připomenout je ale nutné i některá opačně vyznívající hlediska: ve velkých obcích jsou koncepce, plány a programy jejich rozvoje pro veřejnost obvykle otažitější záležitostí než v obcích malých a lidé jim tam věnují menší pozornost. Některé nárazové změny, jako třeba odstěhování většího počtu obyvatel, které by velké obce pravděpodobně ustály, mohou skutečně mít pro malé obce fatální následky. Na druhé straně jiné nepříznivé okolnosti, jako např. delší dobu trvající výpadek elektrického proudu, mohou lidé v menších obcích přestát snáze - více je tu možné spoléhat na sousedskou výpomoc a na mobilizaci místní komunity.

Občasné poukazy na jednoznačně pozitivní význam komunitního charakteru malých obcí jsou ovšem neméně problematické. Tyto vztahy mohou totiž lokální demokracii nejen podpořit, jak o tom byla výše zmínka, ale prosazováním tradičních, často autoritárních hodnot a vztahů ji také mohou zablokovat.

Jak tedy tuto inventuru argumentů hovořících pro větší velikosti obcí a proti ní shrnout? Především je zřejmé, že žádný jednoznačný závěr učinit nedovoluje. V některých případech a z některých hledisek jsou vhodnější obce větší, jindy obce menší. Potvrdit nelze ani často tradovanou představu, že obce větší jsou výhodnější z hlediska efektivnosti místního vládnutí, kdežto obce menší zase z hlediska lokální demokracie. Fungování obcí tedy bude více záležet na jiných okolnostech než na jejich samotné velikosti. Bude záležet na okolnostech, z nichž některé s velikostí obcí souvisí, jiné jsou však na ní nezávislé nebo charakterizují spíše celkový společenský kontext v němž se obce nacházejí. Bez nároku na úplnost lze zmínit:

Na úrovni jednotlivých obcí:

- jejich regionální polohu;

- demografické charakteristiky;
- sídelní stabilitu obyvatel;
- charakter místní ekonomiky;
- ekonomickou a sociální strukturu obyvatel obce, zejména jejich vzdělanost;
- povahu místní politické kultury;
- zažité místní tradice;
- stupeň identifikace místních obyvatel s obcí;
- dělnost rady obce a osobnost starosty.

Na úrovni společnosti jako celku:

- charakter a vývoj sídelní struktury;
- ekonomickou dynamiku společnosti;
- význam a vliv politického a kulturního lokalismu;
- celkovou politickou atmosféru - centralizační či decentralizační.

Připomenout bychom také měli, že představa o existenci přímé či nepřímé úměrnosti mezi velikostí obcí a parametry jejich kvalitního fungování je většinou příliš zjednodušující. Obce, v nichž budou jednotlivá kvalitativní hlediska optimálně naplněna, nepatří totiž zpravidla k velikostně extrémním, tj. nepůjde o obce buď velmi malé nebo naopak velké, ale spíše o obce nacházející se někde uvnitř existujícího velikostního rozpětí.

### **Integrovat či neintegrovat?**

Rozhodování o tom, zda ponechat rozdrobenou strukturu obcí, či dát přednost její konsolidaci, nelze tedy oprávněně založit na předpokladu, že malé obce jako takové jsou ve srovnání s obcemi velkými všeobecně dysfunkční. K závěrům o vhodnosti spíše malých nebo spíše velkých obcí lze dojít (a i tehdy, jak jsme viděli, jen v některých případech) pouze z hlediska jednotlivých dílčích kritérií, o kterých byla výše řeč, zájmů, které za nimi stojí, a akterů, o jejichž zájmy jde, a jen v rámci konkrétních společenských kontextů. Půjde tedy o rozhodování po výtce politické.

V západoevropských zemích se názory na vhodnou strukturu obcí po 2. světové válce několikrát změnily (Keating cit. práce). V 60. a 70. letech minulého století, v období víry v roli státu blahobytu při zabezpečování ekonomického a sociálního rozvoje společnosti, důvěry ve strategické plánování a uplatňování technokratických přístupů ve veřejné politice, převládala tendence obce integrovat do větších jednotek. V této době zde také skutečně řada integračních reforem proběhla. V 80. letech však nástup neoliberalismu, nedůvěry k možnosti řídit společnost, prosazování přístupů inspirovaných teoriemi veřejné volby apod. integrační snahy přibrzdil a v některých případech dokonce vedl k rozpadu velkých komunálních celků (připomenout lze rozpad metropolitní veřejné správy v Londýně na soubor vzájemně nezávislých městských obvodů). Součástí tohoto proudu byla ovšem i nedůvěra režimu v úlohu lokální demokracie a snaha nevytvářet integraci obcí do velkých celků konkurenty centrální vládě (Thornley 1991).

Od 90. let se atmosféra v západní Evropě opět mění. Do hry vstupuje na jedné straně globalizace a s ní spojený tlak na obce, aby obstály v širší a ostřejší soutěži než dosud, a na druhé straně směřování k další demokratizaci veřejné správy uplatňováním systému označovaného jako „governance“ („vládnutí“), tj. správy uplatňující intenzivní interakce

s veřejností, jak s jednotlivými občany, tak s jejich skupinami a organizacemi, zjišťování jejich názorů a návrhů, konzultace, diskuse, zmocňování organizované veřejnosti k výkonu některých správních funkcí apod.<sup>159</sup> Nové problémy a požadavky klade na veřejnou správu ve vyspělých zemích také rychlé tempo metropolizace, které problematizuje oddělení veřejné správy jádrových měst a obcí v jejich zázemí.

Důsledky těchto trendů pro územní strukturu veřejné správy jsou rozporné. V globální soutěži mají naději na úspěch větší jednotky a také politická a správní integrace metropolitních oblastí by přinesla vznik rozsáhlejších politicko-správních struktur. Na druhé straně však principy „governance“ lze lépe uplatnit v územních jednotkách nepřilíh rozsáhlých. Cestu z tohoto dilematu zřejmě představuje vytváření silných samosprávných regionálních struktur, které mohou být hráči na globální scéně, nikoliv však za cenu oslabování struktur komunálních, které jsou přirozeným prostředím pro uplatnění principů „governance“. Vcelku však lze konstatovat, že vývoj územně správní struktury na lokální úrovni měl během posledních padesáti let ve většině západoevropských zemích spíše integrační než dezintegrační charakter.

Na okraj však zde ještě musíme upozornit, že mechanický přenos poznatků o výhodách a nevýhodách obcí různé velikosti a o reformách územně-správních struktur do našeho prostředí, poznatků odvozených ze zkušeností západoevropských zemí, by mohl vést k nedorozuměním, pokud nebude brát v úvahu měřítko, které v různých zemích stojí za pojmy „velká“ a „malá“ obec. Zatímco u nás budeme za malé obce považovat jednotky, jež nebudou mít více jak nějakých 1 000 obyvatel, v Anglii a Walesu, ve Švédsku, v Nizozemí nebo v Dánsku budou „malé“ obce s řádově tisíci či desítkami tisíc obyvatel.<sup>160</sup>

Roztříštěnosti obcí a problémům, které přináší, lze čelit jejich konsolidací, která může mít dvě podoby. Strukturní integrace spočívá ve slučování malých obcí a vytváření obcí větší velikosti, zatímco integrace funkční ponechává stávající strukturu nedotčenou, přenáší však některé funkce (působnosti) malých obcí na obce velké, které je pak obstarávají i na území malých obcí ve svém zázemí. Přednost této méně radikální formy spočívá v tom, že neohrožuje samosprávnou identitu malých obcí a je proto také politicky lépe průchodná, její nevýhodou pak je skutečnost, že de facto zavádí další úroveň územní veřejné správy, jejíž strukturu tak komplikuje. Samotná funkční integrace pak může být buď obligatorní, kdy k ní dochází ze zákona, nebo dobrovolná, byť třeba podpořená různými, např. finančními stimuly.

V České republice se po r. 1990 integrace veřejné správy může realizovat jak v poloze strukturní, tak v poloze funkční. V zákoně o obcích (zákon č. 128/2000 Sb.) poskytla legislativa možnost dobrovolné strukturní integrace obcí jejich sloučením. Na základě vzájemné dohody se mohou sloučit dvě nebo více sousedících obcí nebo se obec může připojit k obci jiné, s ní sousedící. Dohodu o sloučení či připojení uzavírají zastupitelstva dotčených obcí, aniž by se požadovalo její schválení místním referendem. To se musí konat jen pokud je podán návrh na jeho konání. Až dosud zůstává tato možnost prakticky jen na papíře, využita byla v minimálním rozsahu. Obligatorní slučování obcí, které by bylo zřejmě protiústavní, se neaplikuje. Zpřísněním podmínek, které je třeba splnit, pokud se část obce hodlá osamostatnit nebo má vzniknout obec zcela nová, však zákon o obcích z r. 2000

<sup>159</sup> Systém governance má ovšem i své kritiky, kteří zpochybňují legitimitu účasti nevolených subjektů – občanských organizací, komerčních organizací, zájmových seskupení apod. v lokální politice a kladou striktní důraz na monopolní roli zastupitelskou demokracie.

<sup>160</sup> Průměrná populační velikost obcí v Anglii a Walesu je přibližně 123 tisíc obyvatel, ve Švédsku 29 tisíc, v Nizozemí 20 tisíc, v Dánsku 18 tisíc obyvatel. Obce s méně jak tisícovkou obyvatel zde neexistují s výjimkou Nizozemí, kde tvoří 0.2 % celkového počtu obcí (Swianiewicz 2002b:7).

přibrazil dezintegrační tendence. Část obce, která se chce oddělit, musí mít samostatné katastrální území, sousedící nejméně se dvěma obcemi nebo jednou obcí a cizím státem, a musí tvořit souvislý územní celek. Po oddělení musí mít alespoň 1 000 občanů. Stejně podmínky musí splňovat po oddělení i obec, od níž se její část oddělila. Souhlas s oddělením musí být v osamostatňující se části obce schválen místním referendem a konečný souhlas s oddělením dává krajský úřad.

V značném rozsahu se naproti tomu uplatňuje funkční forma integrace obcí v oblasti výkonu jejich přenesených působností, tj. kompetencí, které obce vykonávají jménem státu (nikoliv tedy jejich působností samostatných, kterými se obce projevují jako samosprávné celky). Obce byly z hlediska rozsahu svěřených přenesených působností a velikosti územních obvodů, v nichž tyto působnosti realizují, rozděleny do tří kategorií. Obce základního (prvního) typu, obstarávají tyto působnosti, pokud jim byly svěřeny, jen na svém území (jde o většinu obcí venkovských). Obce druhého typu – tzv. obce s pověřeným obecním úřadem – vykonávají navíc některé další přenesené působnosti také pro obce ve svém zázemí. Konečně obce třetího typu, tzv. obce s rozšířenou působností – ve všech případech jsou to města – obstarávají ještě další přenesené působnosti pro celý okolní region. Konvenčně se tyto jejich správní obvody někdy označují jako „malé okresy“. Vyčlenění obcí s rozšířenou působností (zákonem č. 314/2002 Sb.) účinné od r. 2003 představuje dosud nejradikálnější integrační krok, jaký byl u nás od r. 1990 podniknut.

Kromě toho vytvořila legislativa v zákoně o obcích široký prostor pro vzájemnou spolupráci obcí v oblasti jejich samostatné působnosti. Obce mohou navazovat spolupráci k plnění jednotlivých konkrétních úkolů, mohou společně zakládat právnické osoby s hospodářským posláním nebo zakládat svazky obcí za účelem ochrany a prosazování svých společných zájmů. Jako nová varianta integrace obcí, a to nejen v oblasti samostatné, ale i přenesené působnosti, se do budoucna rýsuje, zatím pouze v podobě navrhovaného záměru novely zákona o obcích, možnost vytvářet tzv. společenství obcí (Ministerstvo vnitra ČR 2005). I když i v tomto případě by mělo jít o integraci funkční a dobrovolnou, představovala by navrhovaná společenství tím, že by sdružovala výkon jak přenesených, tak i některých samostatných působností obcí a byla by masivně podpořena finančními stimuly, fakticky první krok ke strukturální integraci územní veřejné správy na obecní úrovni, a tedy pravděpodobně vůbec nejradikálnější změnu v obecním zřízení po r. 1990.

## **Závěr**

Ztěží bychom mohli za našimi úvahami udělat vhodnější tečku než jakou byla následující odpověď starosty jedné z větších českých venkovských obcí na otázku, jaký má názor na tvrzení, že české obce jsou příliš malé a početné a že by se měly slučovat do větších celků:

*„To je velký problém, který lze neřešit centrálně. Osobně si myslím, že v ČR existuje mnoho malých obcí a že by se někdy měly slučovat do větších celků. Ale i ty nejmenší obce se dokáží dobře spravovat samy, pokud se mezi jejich občany najdou lidé, kteří jsou ochotni se v samosprávě angažovat. Když se od naší obce odtrhla v roce 1993 její nevelká místní část, osobně jsem si tehdy myslel, že dělají velkou chybu. Nyní si ale myslím, že asi udělali dobře, získali sebevědomí, pocit větší sounáležitosti s obcí, nemohou se na nikoho vymlouvat, že nejsou peníze atd. A nic nestojí v cestě tomu, aby se třeba za několik let s námi zase spojili. Ale musí to být na bázi dobrovolnosti a uvědomění, že činí dobrý krok.“*

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**Participace občanů na ochraně a využívání kulturního dědictví  
na českém venkově**

**Participation of Citizens on the Protection and Utilization  
of Cultural Heritage in the Czech Countryside**

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**Key words**

cultural and natural heritage, rural areas, development, social networks, tourism, participation

**Abstract**

The article presents the actual attitudes of Czech population towards the cultural heritage and its preservation. Cultural and natural heritage is considered as one of the tools of local and regional development of rural areas, especially in the context of tourism. There are also presented in the paper some results of the empirical researches that were made in several Czech regions and communities between the local population and their activities linked with tourism. The observations are mostly made about the level of identity of local population, about their will to participate at public activities, about the partnership and communication in rural communities etc.

## Participace občanů na ochraně a využívání kulturního dědictví na českém venkově

Problematika významu kulturního dědictví v rozvoji venkovských komunit a přístupy obyvatel k jeho záchraně a využívání nebyla v České republice explicitně zkoumána. Na naší katedře jsme se podíleli na výzkumech, které byly zaměřeny na dopady reformy veřejné správy a na možnosti podpory regionálních rozvojových aktivit. Součástí těchto výzkumů byly také otázky vztahu českého obyvatelstva ke kulturnímu a přírodnímu dědictví a jeho participaci na zachování kulturních památek.<sup>161</sup> V našem příspěvku uvádíme některé výsledky těchto výzkumů s akcentem na význam využití kulturního a přírodního dědictví v rozvoji venkova. V našem příspěvku jsme se také zaměřily na postižení procesu participace občanů na veřejném životě venkovských obcí a malých měst, resp. ve sdruženích obcí a měst, v tzv. mikroregionech.

Vesnice a venkovský prostor byly v minulosti spojovány s pojmem zemědělství. **Zemědělská výroba determinovala sociální postavení obyvatel**, určovala způsob života, hierarchii hodnot, chování, normy a další jevy sociálního i kulturního charakteru. V průběhu druhé poloviny devatenáctého století došlo k významným změnám venkovského prostředí v důsledku industrializačních a urbanizačních procesů. Vývoj a přeměna českého venkova neprobíhaly územně a časově rovnoměrně. Regionální rozdíly je možné zaznamenat, jak v rámci jednotlivých regionů a lokalit ve vnitrozemí, tak i v pohraničí země. Mezi faktory, které vývoj našeho venkova ovlivňovaly, patří zejména prostorové a geografické podmínky, historický vývoj sídelních struktur, urbanizační i industrializační procesy, které probíhaly v návaznosti na změny v technologii zemědělské výroby a další.<sup>162</sup>

V historické retrospektivě nejhlubší a také nejrozpornější změny postihly český venkov **po druhé světové válce a po roce 1989**. Vývoj zemědělství v ČR byl ve srovnání s vývojem s ostatními zeměmi bývalého východního bloku poznamenán výrazněji modelem intenzivní kolektivizace a následnými procesy, které byly spojené s privatizací a navracením půdy původním vlastníkům. Stát přestal do značné míry regulovat poptávku a garantovat ceny, snížily se podstatně subvence, což se následně projevovalo v ještě zásadnějších proměnách životních podmínek obyvatel i ve změně způsobu jejich života.

Přeměna venkova úzce souvisí také s podobou i zachováním dosavadní **sídelní struktury**. Vznikají problémy, jak řešit budoucnost českého venkova při garantování základních životních podmínek jejich obyvatel. Otázky stability a uchování venkovského prostoru se v současné době dostávají do popředí odborného, společenského i politického zájmu. Většina odborných prací a studií, které se věnují venkovské problematice a možnostem rozvoje venkova, je zpracovávána v souvislosti s proměnou zemědělské výroby, menší pozornost je stále ještě věnována menší odborná pozornost.

Z vývojového pohledu nebyl brán příliš zřetel na **globální přeměny společnosti a na regionální rozdíly ve vývoji venkovských sídel**. Především venkovská sídla v dosahu

<sup>161</sup> Tyto výzkumy probíhaly od roku 1992 až do současnosti v různých lokalitách a regionech ČR. V této studii prezentujeme výsledky výzkumů, které byly realizovány ve Sdružení mikroregionů Křivoklátsko, Berounsko, v mikroregionu Novohradsko, Broumovsko, ve městech Louny, Cheb a v některých obcích Jihlavska a Plzeňska. Výsledky našich výzkumů jsou uloženy v archivu katedry veřejné správy a regionálního rozvoje, VŠE Praha.

<sup>162</sup> Blíže viz: Kadeřábková, J. a kol.: Úvod do regionálních věd a veřejné správy. Vyd. A. Čeněk, Plzeň 2004, s. 15 a n.

velkých měst, průmyslových aglomerací, podhorských nebo horských oblastí měnila velmi rychle své sociálně ekonomické i demografické charakteristiky.

Všechny změny, které se na našem venkově odehrávají, mají dopad také na funkci venkovských obcí i na možnosti jejich budoucího rozvoje i budoucí existence. Určitou výhodou našich obcí je, že většina jejich obyvatel má pozitivní vztah ke svým sídlům, kromě některých obcí v pohraničních oblastech, které byly dosídleny a kde probíhala i probíhají silnější tendence k migraci obyvatel.

S diferenciací vývoje českých venkovských sídel souvisí také sociální a demografická struktura, od které se odvíjí preference, hodnotové postoje i způsob života. Nemaý vliv v těchto postojích i způsobu života sehraávají negativní jevy, které byly spojené s transformací, privatizací a následnými strukturálními změnami (např. nezaměstnanost, odchod mladých lidí apod.). Tyto procesy se s různou intenzitou dotkly života venkovských sídel a jsou regionálně diferencovány. Je velmi nesnadné hodnotit venkovská sídla bez rozsáhlých výzkumů v různých oblastech ČR, a to nejen ve vnitrozemí, ale také v pohraničních regionech země. Dosavadní výzkumy spíše potvrzují jedinečnost každé venkovské obce, proto lze velmi obtížně vytvářet jejich charakteristiky jak v rovině celého státu, tak i v rámci jednotlivých regionů. V našich výzkumech jsme se pokusili zachytit tendence, které se ukazovaly být obdobné anebo shodné pro více obcí, které jsme na našem území sledovali.

Dosud málo je v našich podmínkách využíván rozvojový potenciál, který vyplývá ze skutečnosti, že venkov a venkovská sídla mají svojí historicko-kulturní hodnotu i specifika, která jim dávají prostor pro jejich zachování i rozvoj. K významným prvkům, který mohou ovlivňovat rozvoj mnohých vesnických sídel, patří společenské a kulturní aktivity i zájem občanů o rozvoj vlastní lokality. S těmito aktivitami je také spojen **zájem občanů podílet se na aktivitách v oblasti zachování přírodního a kulturního dědictví** i jeho využívání pro ekonomické, sociální a kulturní účely.

V této souvislosti se stále více v odborných i v politických kruzích diskutuje o rozvoji venkova v souvislosti s cestovním ruchem, jehož rozvoj by mohl přispět k zachování českého venkova. Využívání jeho hmotných i nehmotných kulturních hodnot i neopakovatelné krajiny může zásadně ovlivnit dosavadní přístupy k řešení budoucnosti českého venkova i nabídnout nové možnosti, které by mohly vést k novým podnikatelským aktivitám i k oživení života a životních podmínek jejich obyvatel.<sup>163</sup>

Zkušenosti z některých evropských států ukazují, že rozvoj cestovního ruchu a turismu v regionech nebo sídlech provází silný multiplikační efekt, který přináší nové možnosti rozvojových aktivit, nová pracovní místa a další pozitiva pro zachování venkovských sídel. Je však třeba také poznamenat, že tento rozvoj provází také negativní dopady ne venkovské komunity, které se s rozmachem cestovního ruchu i turismu musí naučit žít. Tyto zkušenosti však také naznačují, že převažují pozitiva nad negativními vlivy aktivit spojených s cestováním a turismem.

Ve vyspělých zemích je kulturní dědictví (památky a sbírky, živé umění, tradice, kulturní aktivity) chápáno jako významný ekonomický stimul, který je možné využívat pro rozvoj území. Regionům, které nemají rozvinutý průmysl, může cestovní ruch přinést možnosti nových pracovních míst, jejichž vznik není závislý na každodenní dojíždce za prací a ve

<sup>163</sup> Srv: Koncepce účinnější péče o movité kulturní dědictví v ČR na léta 2003-2008. In Věstník Asociace muzeí a galerií ČR 2003, č. 1-2.

svém důsledku pak napomáhají udržet trvalé osídlení těchto regionů a otvírají prostor pro zachování venkovských hodnot i kulturní krajiny.<sup>164</sup>

Výsledky výzkumů prováděných v různých regionech ČR a zaměřených na postižení vztahu občanů k obnově a zachování kulturního a přírodního dědictví a k participaci na aktivitách spojených s rozvojem cestovního ruchu ukázaly, že rozvoj těchto aktivit je otázkou dlouhodobějšího vývoje. Výzkum zachytil ochotu občanů přispět ke zlepšení životních podmínek a podílet se na ochraně a využívání památek.

Na aktivitách občanů ve venkovských obcích má silný vliv jejich sociální prostředí a kvalita života komunit, které charakterizují časté kontakty i široký rozsah sociálních vazeb. Ty patří mezi významné činitele integrace různých sociálních skupin v rámci komunity, což se projevuje ve větší šanci realizovat společné akce, které vstupují do historie komunity a potvrzují její integritu. Pozitivně se projevují ve vzájemné výpomoci, komunikaci, společných aktivitách, informovanosti o dění v obci. Hodnoty a hodnotové postoje mají v takovýchto komunitách jasnější obrysy a jejich dodržování je přísně determinováno velmi silnou sociální kontrolou.

Sociální prostředí venkovských obcí je samotnými občany oproti městu charakterizováno jako místo, kde dochází k intenzivnějším sociálním kontaktům i kde je větší sociální kontrola a ochota jednotlivců podílet se na aktivitách obce, které mají často ryze pragmatický charakter. Hodnocení městského způsobu života a prostoru je u venkovského obyvatelstva spojeno s názory, že sociální kontakty ve městě jsou povrchnější a sociální kontrola je malá nebo žádná. V tomto smyslu naprostá většina obyvatel zkoumaných venkovských sídel spojovala výhody žít ve vesnickém prostředí vždy s výhodami silnějších sociálních kontaktů a větší schopností domluvit se na společných akcích.<sup>165</sup>

Přesto naše výsledky výzkumu ukázaly, že v jednotlivých obcích se postoje občanů nepatrně liší, neboť ne vždy jsou občané ochotni se zapojit do dobrovolných aktivit spojených se zlepšením obrazu obce a podílet se na zachovávání kulturního dědictví. Také si jen velmi málo uvědomují, že mohou sami přispět různými aktivitami k rozvoji své obce nebo regionu. Rovněž uvnitř obce se jednotlivé sociální skupiny vyjadřovaly rozdílně, avšak všichni se vyjádřili, že by různými formami přece jen přispěli k lepšímu obrazu obce. Již tato výsledky výzkumů naznačují, že změna myšlení a postojů bude mít dlouhodobější charakter a bude třeba mnohem více než dosud přistoupit k odbornému poradenství i profesionalizaci veřejné správy, která by na různých úrovních byla schopna podpořit aktivity spojené s rozvojem venkovského prostoru.

Z hlediska ekonomického a sociálně demografického složení většiny našich venkovských sídel, je dojíždka za prací, za službami, za vzděláním významným charakteristickým rysem utvářejícím život českého venkova. Tyto faktory jsou významnými činiteli, které se promítají do participace občanů na veřejném životě, na podnikatelských aktivitách, v péči o kulturní a přírodní dědictví, o životní prostředí a další oblasti jejich každodenního života. V případě, kdy mají obyvatelé možnosti získat zaměstnání v blízkém okolí a mají dostatek volného času, mohou se více podílet na veřejném životě svých sídel.

<sup>164</sup> Srv.: Kompendium of basic text of the Council of Europe in the field of cultural heritage. Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1998.

<sup>165</sup> Výsledky našich výzkumů v městských typech sídel však ukázaly, že také v určitých částech měst např. v ulicích s řadovými domky, nebo staré zástavbě s malou výměnou obyvatel, na sídlišťích apod. mají občané obdobné názory.

O vztahu obyvatel ke zkoumaným sídlům vypovídají otázky týkající se názorů na obnovu a způsoby využívání kulturních památek nebo významných objektů spojených s historií obce a regionu. Z odpovědí respondentů je patrný intenzivní vztah k těmto objektům, který není příliš modifikován sociálním nebo vzdělanostním postavením respondentů. Respondenti v našich výzkumech potvrzovali svůj vztah ke svým lokalitám a pozitivně se vyjadřovali k rozhodnutím samospráv udržovat, rekonstruovat a využívat památky a historické stavby pro potřeby rozvoje obcí.. Mnozí také souhlasili s finanční podporou ze strany samospráv a sami uvažovali o finanční i časové pomoci při aktivitách, které by přispěly k zachování kulturního i přírodního dědictví jejich obcí.

Vztah obyvatel k obci je významným ukazatelem také pro zástupce samospráv, neboť ukazuje, že samosprávy mohou počítat s aktivním podílem a participací obyvatel na rozvojových aktivitách, kulturním a společenském životě lokalit atd. Vzájemná komunikace v těchto oblastech života ovlivňuje postoje i spokojenost obyvatel s prací i vedením samospráv. Tím, že se občané zajímají o dění ve svých obcích, lze předpokládat také jejich aktivní účast na jejich rozvoji i snahu a zájem podílet se na aktivitách, které podporují rozvoj lokalit. Pozitivní přístup občanů k dění v obcích odráží jejich spokojenost s podmínkami a způsobem života, což se odráží v tendencích a stabilitě mnoha venkovských obcí.

Výsledky výzkumu ve všech lokalitách potvrzují, že existuje také určitá pasivita obyvatel v některých zkoumaných obcích k dění v obcích (na Jihlavsku, i na Křivoklátsku i v pohraničních regionech).<sup>166</sup> Potvrzovala se tendence, že občané očekávají spíše impulsy od samospráv nebo lokálních neformálních „aktérů“, než by vycházely impulsy od samotných občanů. Úloha lokálních formálních aktérů je často spojována s jejich angažovaností v politických stranách, proto nejsou vždy pokládány „jedinečné lídry“ nových a nevyzkoušených aktivit v obci.. Za lokální aktéry, kteří mají vliv na chování komunity, byli považováni většinou ti občané, kteří se zasloužili o aktivní život obce, dokázali prosazovat rozvojové aktivity v různých oblastech života obcí, a kteří se sami podílejí na změnách v obcích.

Výsledky výzkumů také potvrdily, že spokojenost občana s podmínkami života v daném sídle nezávisí pouze na úrovni a na kvalitě bydlení, na materiálním zajištění, ale také na jeho sociálním, společenském a kulturním zapojení do života komunity. Významným zjištěním bylo, že většina lidí, kteří mají možnost pobývat v obci významnou část dne, by přispěli jak manuálně, tak i radami. Tyto postoje souvisí také se sociální a vzdělanostní strukturou. V odpovědích na otázky, které se týkaly postojů občanů k účasti na různých aktivitách obce, vyjadřoval respondenti ochotu zapojit se do zlepšování života obce. Kromě věkové a vzdělanostní struktury byla ochota jednotlivých skupin občanů zapojit se do veřejných aktivit závislá i na jejich členství v zájmových a občanských spolcích.

Významným faktorem pro rozvoj participace občanů na rozvoji obcí a jejich podílu na zachování kulturního a přírodního bohatství byly komunikační schopnosti kromě představitelů samospráv i neformálních aktérů. K významným krokům pro získání občana pro rozvojové aktivity obce patřila také kvalita a především četnost komunikace na místní i na regionální úrovni. Nemalou roli hrálo získávání dostatku informací o dění v obci, které byly pro rozhodování zastupitelstva i občany oboustranně důležité.

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<sup>166</sup> Z pohledu diferenciací venkovských obcí ve vnitrozemí a v pohraničí ČR byla mnohdy překvapivá shoda odpovědí v obou typech regionů. Především obyvatelé pohraničních obcí, jejichž předci sem přišli krátce po válce a setrvali, měli shodné názory v mnoha otázkách týkajících se kulturního a přírodního dědictví jako obyvatelé venkovských obcí ve vnitrozemí (blíže viz: Kol. autorů: Euroregiony, státní správa a samospráva. Vyd. Ústav geoniky AV ČR, Praha 2005).

Komunikace s občany patří mezi významné strategie modernizace a reformy veřejné správy. Komunikace s občany neznamena pouze poskytování informací o činnosti samospráv, o záměrech a jednotlivých aktivitách v oblasti ekonomické, sociální, vzdělanostní i kulturní. Tato komunikační strategie by měla odrážet také reakci lokálních i regionálních samospráv na konkrétní potřeby a požadavky jednotlivých skupin občanů obcí nebo celého regionu.

Z našeho pohledu bylo významné zjištění, že jedním z významných zdrojů pro získávání informací občanů zkoumaných obcí, je existence fungujících míst pro vzájemná setkávání, mezi něž patří **bývalé kulturní domy, sokolovny a také hospody**. Tento typ informovanosti převažoval spíše v obcích s silnou a integrovanou lokální společností.

Naše výsledky výzkumů také prokázaly, že v obcích, kde neměli možnosti pořádat společenské nebo kulturní akce v odpovídajících prostorách, byl sociální život touto situací značně omezen. Občany byl tento stav kritizován a společenský život v obci byl závislý na individuálních akcích v rámci rodiny, v příbuzenských nebo v přátelských skupinách. Nedostatek prostoru pro setkávání představoval významnou bariéru sociálních kontaktů i sociální integrace i schopnosti realizovat aktivity spojené s rozvojem života v obci.

Jeden z významných faktorů hodnocení spokojenosti občanů se životem ve zkoumaných obcích byla úroveň společenského a kulturního života. Jedná se o hodnoty, které lze využít pro rozvoj cestovního ruchu i turismu a jejich rozvoj byl občany velmi pozitivně hodnocen. Ve většině obcí byli respondenti spíše nespokojeni s možnostmi a nabídkou společenských a kulturních aktivit. V obcích, kde chybí vhodné prostory pro pořádání společenských a kulturních akcí byla nespokojenost občanů ještě průkaznější. Z jejich odpovědí bylo také patrné, že si uvědomují význam těchto aktivit pro integraci obce a kvalitu života komunity.

V rozvoji venkovských sídel vždy sehrávala a sehrává významnou **úlohu místní škola**, která je významným vzdělávacím a kulturním místem. Venkovské školy se podílejí na rozvoji společenského a kulturního života v obcích. Prostřednictvím různých aktivit, na kterých se venkovské školy podílejí, dochází k posilování lokální identity a spoluvytváření nových občanských postojů a hierarchie hodnot. Zachování venkovských škol hraje významnou úlohu pro šíření vzdělanosti, pro rozvoj místních tradic i pro vytváření jedinečného vztahu k místnímu kulturnímu dědictví. Tyto funkce venkovských škol sehrávají důležitou roli pro současný a budoucí vývoj obcí.

Nové impulsy z hlediska rozvoje společenského a kulturního života přinášejí do života **obcí i chalupáři a chataři**. Jedná se o specifické skupiny, které nebývají vždy jednoznačně původními komunitami obcí přijímány. Tyto skupiny se v mnoha oblastech podílejí na zachování urbanistické i architektonické tvářnosti obcí, i když jejich zásahy nebývají ve všech případech pozitivně hodnoceny. Chataři i chalupáři bývají v mnoha případech rovněž iniciátory místních tradic a podílejí se na rozvoji společenských a kulturních aktivit obcí.<sup>167</sup>

**Jedinečným místem pro setkávání obyvatel českých sídel je hospoda**, která hraje důležitou roli ve zprostředkovávání informací, je místem, kde se při významných akcích obce vytvářejí jejich „ideje“ a stanovují jejich hlavní aktéři. Je také místem „politických debat“ i kritiky sportovních aktivit jak v lokalitě, tak se také hodnotí situace v celé ČR. V některých lokalitách je to místo pro mužskou část populace sídel, i když se v současnosti tato situace mění. Tam, kde byly „zprivatizovány“ kulturní domy anebo sokolovny, zůstaly jediným místem, kde se mohou odehrávat společenské nebo kulturní akce obcí.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Srov. Fialová D., Vágner J., Struktura, typologie, současnost a perspektivy druhého bydlení v Česku. In: *Geografie*. Roč. 110, 2/2005, str. 73-81

<sup>168</sup> Blíže viz: Haukanes H., Velká dramata – obyčejné životy. SLON, Praha, 2004. Str. 90 a n.

Významné bylo zjištění, že stále ještě nebyla v povědomí obyvatel zkoumaných lokalit a regionů dostatečně zřejmá souvislost mezi rozvojovým potenciálem obcí a regionů a existencí kulturních památek. Ve zkoumaných lokalitách i regionech bylo zpracováno jen málo projektů, které by využívaly kulturní památky, kulturní aktivity obyvatel a služeb spojených s jejich využíváním pro rozvojové koncepce lokalit.

Na základě dotazníkových šetření, rozhovorů a studia literatury jsme se snažily postihnout základní předpoklady, které by umožnily zlepšení ochrany i využívání kulturního dědictví a ukázalo se, že se vždy jednalo o následující:

- **stav památek a jeho vlastnictví** (fyzické opotřebení), jejich skladbu, architektonické a , urbanistické proměny (revitalizace, oživení a využívání),
- **sociální a kulturní klima v sídlech** (rozšíření nabídky kulturních akcí, autenticita, charakter, tradice, zapojení menšin, konflikty mezi residenty a návštěvníky...),
- **ekonomika sídel** (pracovní příležitosti, nové komerční aktivity, výhradní orientace na CR, atraktivita lokalit, ceny nemovitostí, růst cen...<sup>169</sup>).

Empirické výzkumy, které se zabývaly otázkami podílu lokálního společenství na zachování kulturního dědictví ukázaly, že ne všichni občané si uvědomují, že mohou přispět a podílet se na harmonickém vývoji lokalit nebo celých regionů také podílem na ochraně a také zachováním kulturního dědictví. Pouze málo občanů zkoumaných obcí si uvědomovalo, že podíl jejich participace nejen na ochraně životního prostředí, ale také kulturního dědictví může spočívat na dílčích aktivitách, které obohacují každodennost života obcí.

V této souvislosti je možné podotknout, že jsme se v průběhu výzkumů<sup>170</sup> setkávali také s tím, že pouze malá skupina obyvatel si uvědomovala, že rozvoj obcí i regionů do značné míry závisí na intenzitě jejich sounáležitosti s lokalitou nebo regionem. Málo respondentů si bylo vědomo, že harmonický rozvoj jejich sídel je odrazem jejich aktivního přístupu k veřejnému dění i zájmu o účast na rozhodovacích procesech. Teprve v řízených rozhovorech občané si začínali uvědomovat rozsah svých vlastních možností jak přispět k rozvoji svých lokalit nebo regionů.

Příkladem pro intenzivnější zapojení občanů do těchto procesů rozhodování jsou rozvojové aktivity, které jsou většinou spojeny s jednotlivými podnikateli nebo jejich rodinami. Nejlépe ilustruje tuto mylnou představu rozvoj cestovního ruchu v jednotlivých obcích i celém regionu. Ten je závislý nejen na schopnostech a možnostech podnikatelských subjektů, ale také do značné míry na celém spektru služeb, které využívají nejen tyto subjekty, ale celé komunity. Rovněž kvalitní sociální vazby uvnitř těchto komunit, celé spektrum kulturní a osvětové činnosti hrají roli při rozhodování a zájmu návštěvníků strávit svůj volný čas v těchto obcích a regionech.

Naše výsledky ukázaly, že rozvoj cestovního ruchu je proces dlouhodobý a neobejde se bez aktivního přístupu obyvatel a profesionálního přístupu samospráv. V odpovědích respondentů se objevovaly rozporuplné postoje. Na jedné straně si většina z nich uvědomovala, že kulturní dědictví v obcích nebo v mikroregionu hraje roli pro rozvoj cestovního ruchu, avšak jen málo respondentů by se rozhodlo pro podnikání v této oblasti. Ve volných otázkách a v řízených rozhovorech se objevovaly „naivní“ představy dotazovaných, které se blížily předpokladu, že turisté sami budou vyhledávat jejich obce nebo mikroregiony. Tyto postoje byly zřejmé ve vyjádřeních typu: „Vždyť u nás je tak krásně“.

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169 Blíže viz. Kesner L., Marketing a management muzeí a památek, Praha, Grada, 2005.

170 Především v řízených rozhovorech.

V obcích, kde samospráva přistupuje koncepčněji k využívání kulturního potenciálu a aktivit občanů, se daří pozvolna rozvíjet některé činnosti, které se již orientují na pořádání akcí, které jsou lukrativní nejen pro místní obyvatelstvo, ale jsou vyhledávány také návštěvníky z jiných oblastí (některé obce Sdružení mikroregionů Křivoklátska, Berounska, Broumovska, Chebska, Lounska atd.).<sup>171</sup>

Toto konstatování můžeme podložit srovnávacím výzkumem v Košeticích a ve Starém Plzenci, kde chybělo jak odborné poradenství, tak i finanční podpora buď ze strany státu, nebo aktivity ze strany neziskového sektoru, spolků anebo sdružení. V obou lokalitách se zatím nevytvářelo nezbytné zázemí pro takové kulturní aktivity, které by vtáhly místní obyvatelstvo do života obce. Tento stav negativně vstupoval do sociálních vztahů místních komunit a do jisté míry je desintegroval. V obou zkoumaných obcích existuje kulturní potenciál, avšak z mnoha důvodů není využíván (Košetice - nevyřešené restituční nároky, Starý Plzenec - malá aktivita samosprávy a pasivita občanů).

Výsledky těchto výzkumů by se mohly stát významnou základnou pro řízení kulturní politiky na různých úrovních řízení veřejné správy. Výsledky výzkumu potvrdily, že kultura a kulturní dědictví může být významným stimulem socio-ekonomického rozvoje obcí nebo mikroregionů. Bez koncepčních, odborně vedených kroků a bez aktivní účasti obyvatel nemůže být kulturní potenciál dostatečně využit pro rozvoj území. Výzkum také potvrdil, že kulturní aktivity zlepšují kvalitu života, umožňují intenzivnější sociální komunikaci i sociální integraci, což potvrzuje jejich nezastupitelnost. Domníváme se, že ze strany veřejné správy nejsou, až na některé výjimky, otázky finanční pomoci a odborného vedení doceněny.

Charakter zkoumaných oblastí dotváří specifická struktura kulturního dědictví, jeho uchování a využívání v současnosti. Z odborného hlediska hlubší analýza zkoumaných oblastí ukázala, že dochované kulturní památky, původní i nové lokální tradice jsou odrazem socio-ekonomického vývoje území. Jsou také úzce spojeny se schopnostmi komunit přijímat inovace, které se promítají v dynamičnosti vývoje regionu. Tento vývoj byl ovlivňován především geografickou polohou, průběhem industrializace a urbanizace (Křivoklátsko, Berounsko) a v pohraničním Broumovsku také vývojem poválečného dosídlování, obdobně jako v části Domažlicka, avšak s některými odlišnými charakteristikami procesu dosídlování regionů po roce 1945.

Přes celospolečenské, i když lokálně modifikované procesy, jsou tyto společenské a kulturní aktivity spojené s dodržováním nebo vytvářením lokálních tradic do značné míry závislé na samosprávách a na charakteru místních společenství. Výzkumy ukázaly, že tam, kde nejsou dochovány hmotné kulturní památky a zaměstnanost v průmyslu dlouhodobě vytvářela názory i kulturní hodnoty místního obyvatelstva. Samospráva i občané mají snahu podpořit vytváření nových kulturních tradic, které vstupují do historie obce a pozitivně ovlivňují její život (Křivoklátsko, Berounsko). Domníváme se, že tyto činnosti jsou pouze začátkem a nyní bude třeba na ně navázat a hledat nové formy rozvoje venkovských obcí, které by také měly být akceptovány jejich obyvatelstvem. Většina obcí hledá svoje kulturní a historické kořeny a snaží se je využívat při svém rozvoji.

Chtěli bychom zdůraznit, že bez odborné a finanční podpory se rozvoj lokální a regionální kultury neobejde. Odbornost a politická kultura spojená s intenzivní komunikací s obyvateli mnohdy nahradila nedostatek financí, avšak tento stav není dlouhodobě udržitelný. Otázky

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<sup>171</sup> V této souvislosti je třeba zdůraznit, že v obou oblastech sehrála pozitivní roli podpora nadace Open Society Fund Praha, která odbornými konzultacemi a finanční podporou usnadnila realizaci kulturních akcí, které vstupovaly do historie obcí a pomáhaly spoluvytvářet pozitivní obraz oblastí, který se mimo jiné, promítl také ve zvýšeném turistickém ruchu.



financování kultury stejně jako ve vyspělých evropských státech patří a bude patřit stále k zásadním otázkám rozvoje společnosti. Je však zřejmé, že financování kultury a kulturního dědictví do budoucna nebude závislé pouze na možnostech státu, ale také na sponzorech, nadacích a dalších nevládních organizacích i schopných jednotlivcích.

Analýza a následná interpretace výsledků našich výzkumů umožnili specifikovat některé problémy, které by měly být v budoucnu řešeny nejen ve zkoumaných lokalitách a regionech, ale mohou se stát podkladem pro další odbornou činnost. Domníváme se, že již tyto výsledky mají obecnější platnost.

Na základě těchto zjištění jsme dospěli k závěru, že určité okruhy problémů, spojené s využíváním a ochranou kulturního dědictví mohou být rozvíjeny na úrovni lokálních vlád prostřednictvím následujících aktivit :

- rozvíjení komunikace občan-samospráva;
- posilování role místních aktérů v rozvoji komunit;
- podpora identifikačních procesů občanů ke svým lokalitám ze strany samospráv;
- rozvoj a podpora dobrovolných aktivit (překonáváním bariér vzniklých v důsledku minulého vývoje);
- zlepšení a modernizace dnešních forem public relation (umění pracovat s médii a využívat jejich současný význam ve společnosti.

Venkovská sídla by si měla zachovat některá svá specifika a zároveň posilovat svou obytnou funkci tak, aby se zachovávala efektivnost jejich existence. Na regionální i lokální úrovni rozvoje půjde o udržení takových forem života, který by zabránil vyliďňování vesnic, podpořil rekultivaci tam, kde je nutná a napomáhal k tomu, aby obyvatelé těchto sídel přispívali také vlastními silami a nápady ke zlepšování svého životního prostředí. Výzkumy v západní Evropě ukazují, že je to jedna z možností jak výhody těchto venkovských sídel zachovat.

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# **Motivace pracovní činnosti a velikost sídla**

## **Work Motivation and the Settlement Size**

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### **Klíčová slova**

motivace, velikost sídla, práce

### **Abstrakt**

Stat' uvádí část výsledků grantového projektu GAČR 406/03/0896, věnovaného zkoumání motivace pracovní činnosti a kvality života při práci na českém venkově. Výsledky se týkají analýzy variance řady ukazatelů a vykazují statisticky významné rozdíly v motivačních ukazatelích u souborů lišících se ve velikosti sídla respondentů.

### **Key words**

work motivation, settlement size

### **Abstract**

The paper presents some results of a GACR grant project #406/03/0896. The project dealt with research on work motivation and the quality of the working life in the Czech countryside. The data, analyzed by ANOVA, show statistically significant results in the motivation measurement scales in samples of respondents from settlements of different sizes.

# Motivace pracovní činnosti a velikost sídla

## Cíl výzkumu a metodika

Cílem výzkumu bylo zjistit, zda lze identifikovat rozdíly v motivaci pracovního chování mezi obyvateli velkých měst a menších obcí, resp. obyvateli pražské metropolitní oblasti a menších obcí. Výzkum byl proveden jako dotazníkové šetření a získaná data byla zpracována pomocí analýzy variance (ANOVA), korelační a faktorové analýzy. Zde se budeme věnovat pouze výsledkům zjištěným pomocí ANOVA.

Při výzkumu byl použit dotazník EDMK, který jsme popsali jinde a několik našich vlastních otázek, které jsme k EDMK připojili.

Před vlastní analýzou byla ověřena reliabilita použitých škál pomocí výpočtu Cronbachových alf.

## Výsledky

### Popis souboru

Základní deskriptivní údaje o souboru analyzovaných dat jsou uvedeny v tabulce č. 1. Soubor tvořil přibližně stejný počet mužů a žen, od 20 do více než 60 let, přičemž průměr odpovídá rozmezí 31 - 45 let. Vzdělání respondentů je převážně střední, vysokoškoláků je méně. V případě velikosti sídla (bydliště respondenta) odpovídá průměr malému městu do 10 000 obyvatel.

**Tabulka č. 1: Deskriptivní údaje o souboru dat**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Průměr	Std. odchylka
pohlaví	882	1,00	2,00	1,4558	,49832
věk	882	1,00	5,00	2,8095	,86815
vzdělání	882	1,00	6,00	3,8696	1,03295
Velikost sídla	877	1,00	9,00	4,1950	1,84615

### Reliabilita

Šařecová a Hladíková (2005) uvádějí pro Cronbachovu alfu následující podmínky:

- Škála je velmi spolehlivá, je-li vypočítaná alfa rovna nebo větší než 0,90;
- Škála je spolehlivá, je-li vypočítaná alfa rovna nebo větší než 0,85;
- Spolehlivost škály je uspokojivá a lze ji použít, je-li vypočítaná alfa rovna nebo větší než 0,65.

V případě dvou škál dotazníku EDMK, na jehož použití byl referovaný výzkum založen, nedosáhly hodnoty Cronbachových alf hodnoty 0,65. Proto byly tyto dvě škály z dalšího zpracování vyloučeny. Hodnoty, které byly nalezeny u dalších škál, jsou uvedeny v následující tabulce.

**Tabulka č. 2: reliabilita škál**

škála	alfa
RS – odpovědnost	0,676
MF – smysluplnost práce	0,673
OC – oddanost organizaci	0,681
JI – zaujatost prací	0,679
SR – stres vztažený k práci	0,773
TL – tendence změnit zaměstnání	0,82
SA – spokojenost s prací	0,83
RP – naplnění požadavků role	0,698
PH – fyzické podmínky vykonávání práce	0,710

K otázkám dotazníku EDMK jsme připojili naše vlastní otázky, kódované zde jako otázky DP. U těchto otázek nebylo možné vypočítat alfy, protože šlo o jednopoložkové škály.

#### *Analýza variance*

Pomocí výpočtu ANOVA se řešitelé pokusili podpořit hypotézu o rozdílech v motivaci pracovní činnosti mezi obyvateli Prahy, Středočeského regionu a menších obcích. Pomocí ANOVA byly porovnávány tři podsoubory celého zpracovávaného souboru dat, označené jako Praha, Střední Čechy a Klatovy. V následujících tabulkách jsou tyto tři podsoubory označeny (ve stejném pořadí) jako Sloupec 1, 2 a 3. V souborech Praha a Střední Čechy jsou zařazeny údaje od respondentů, kteří uvedli, že v těchto regionech žijí. Název třetího podsouboru je pracovní. Do tohoto souboru byly zařazeny údaje získané tazatele, kteří byli instruováni, aby se snažili získat odpovědi od respondentů z malých obcí. Následující tabulky ukazují, že svůj úkol splnili natolik, aby výsledky statisticky významně podpořily dřívější nález (viz Kolman, 2001).

Ze škál dotazníku EDMK jsme při porovnávání těchto podsouborů našli statisticky významný rozdíl pouze u škály TL. Zjištění, že v menších obcích je tendence změnit zaměstnání nižší než ve druhých dvou podsouborech lze vysvětlit tím, že mimo Prahu a Středočeský region je šance nalézt nové zaměstnání výrazně nižší.

**Tabulka č. 3 : tendence změnit zaměstnání**

Faktor						
<i>Výběr</i>	<i>Počet</i>	<i>Součet</i>	<i>Průměr</i>	<i>Rozptyl</i>		
Sloupec 1	87	1044	12	16,30233		
Sloupec 2	161	1936	12,02484	16,87438	TL	
Sloupec 3	297	3277	11,03367	14,86373		
ANOVA						
<i>Zdroj variability</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>Rozdíl</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Hodnota P</i>	<i>F krit</i>
Mezi výběry	130,4838	2	65,24189	4,159365	0,016119	3,012351
Všechny výběry	8501,564	542	15,68554			
Celkem	8632,048	544				

Nalezli jsme statisticky významný rozdíl též u otázky DP6, která zjišťuje očekávané důsledky pracovní činnosti pro respondenta. Toto zjištění odpovídá nálezům z dřívější studie z roku 2001.

**Tabulka č. 4: Důsledky pracovní činnosti**

Faktor						
<i>Výběr</i>	<i>Počet</i>	<i>Součet</i>	<i>Průměr</i>	<i>Rozptyl</i>		
Sloupec 1	87	199	2,287356	1,323443		
Sloupec 2	161	399	2,478261	1,226087		DP6
Sloupec 3	296	779	2,631757	1,433429		
ANOVA						
<i>Zdroj variability</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>Rozdíl</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Hodnota P</i>	<i>F krit</i>
Mezi výběry	8,617259	2	4,308629	3,180683	0,042336	3,012382
Všechny výběry	732,8515	541	1,354624			
Celkem	741,4688	543				

Dále jsme našli statisticky významné rozdíly u demografických charakteristik podsouborů, všechny přitom odpovídají nálezům dřívější zde citované studie.

**Tabulka č. 5: Věk**

Faktor						
<i>Výběr</i>	<i>Počet</i>	<i>Součet</i>	<i>Průměr</i>	<i>Rozptyl</i>	<i>věk</i>	
Sloupec 1	87	254	2,91954	0,981823		
Sloupec 2	161	434	2,695652	0,725543		
Sloupec 3	297	871	2,93266	0,819774		
ANOVA						
<i>Zdroj variability</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>Rozdíl</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Hodnota P</i>	<i>F krit</i>
Mezi výběry	6,224898	2	3,112449	3,806487	0,022823	3,012351
Všechny výběry	443,1769	542	0,81767			
Celkem	449,4018	544				

**Tabulka č. 6: Vzdělání**

Faktor						
<i>Výběr</i>	<i>Počet</i>	<i>Součet</i>	<i>Průměr</i>	<i>Rozptyl</i>	<i>vzdělání</i>	
Sloupec 1	87	364	4,183908	0,849505		
Sloupec 2	161	641	3,981366	0,955901		
Sloupec 3	297	1152	3,878788	1,039312		
ANOVA						
<i>Zdroj variability</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>Rozdíl</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Hodnota P</i>	<i>F krit</i>
Mezi výběry	6,391424	2	3,195712	3,245788	0,039696	3,012351
Všechny výběry	533,6379	542	0,984572			
Celkem	540,0294	544				

**Tabulka č. 7: Velikost bydliště respondenta**

Faktor						
<i>Výběr</i>	<i>Počet</i>	<i>Součet</i>	<i>Průměr</i>	<i>Rozptyl</i>		
Sloupec 1	87	505	5,804598	0,624165		
Sloupec 2	161	724	4,496894	3,126553		
Sloupec 3	297	1141,5	3,843434	3,486384		
ANOVA						
<i>Zdroj variability</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>Rozdíl</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Hodnota P</i>	<i>F krit</i>
Mezi výběry	263,7661	2	131,883	45,07269	7,81E-19	3,012351
Všechny výběry	1585,896	542	2,926008			
Celkem	1849,662	544				

**Tabulka č. 8: Počet udávaných aktivně zvládaných jazyků**

Faktor						
<i>Výběr</i>	<i>Počet</i>	<i>Součet</i>	<i>Průměr</i>	<i>Rozptyl</i>	<i>jazyky</i>	
Sloupec 1	87	134	1,54023	1,321037	Praha nejvíc	
Sloupec 2	161	184	1,142857	0,860714	Klatovy nejméně	
Sloupec 3	297	391	1,316498	0,885977		
ANOVA						
<i>Zdroj variability</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>Rozdíl</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Hodnota P</i>	<i>F krit</i>
Mezi výběry	9,076902	2	4,538451	4,789664	0,00867	3,012351
Všechny výběry	513,5726	542	0,947551			
Celkem	522,6495	544				

**Český soubor na škálách EDMK**

Dále nás zajímalo, zda jsou výsledky české studie nějakým způsobem zvláštní. Postup, který jsme nakonec zvolili, spočíval v tom, že jsme u každé ze škál EDMK spočítali nejvyšší počet dosažitelných bodů a pak jsme stanovili, kolik procent z tohoto počtu představuje průměrná hodnota u téže škály, dosažená v našem šetření. Výsledky jsou obsaženy v tabulce č. 7.

**Tabulka č. 9: Průměr jako procento z maximálního počtu možných bodů**

RS	33 %	RS – odpovědnost
MF	47,8 %	MF – smysluplnost práce
OC	46,9 %	OC – oddanost organizaci
JI	38 %	JI – zaujatost prací
SR	60 %	SR – stres vztažený k práci
TL	46 %	TL – tendence změnit zaměstnání
SA	44 %	SA – spokojenost s prací
RP	44 %	RP – naplnění požadavků role
PH	53 %	PH – fyzické podmínky vykonávání práce

Tabulka č. 7 ukazuje překvapivě nízké procento u škály RS (odpovědnost) a také škála JI (zaujatost prací). Jinak se průměry pohybují poblíž středu škál.

**Diskuze a závěry**

Soudobé teorie motivace pracovní činnosti společně a souhlasně předpokládají, že ten, kdo dobře pracuje, tím získá něco, co je pro něj (či pro ni) cenné. Zpravidla to bývá plat, zaměstnanecké výhody, společenské resp. sociální postavení. Někdy to může být povýšení a

uznání, a také to bývají důsledky vnitřní, jako výše zmíněný pocit kompetence, pochopení smyslu vykonávané práce a v neposlední řadě osobní rozvoj. Ne vždy je však samozřejmé, že výkon práce má takovéto konsekvence. Nemusíme se obracet do dávné historie, abychom našli příklady otrocké práce, vykonávané v těžkých fyzických podmínkách, za hladu, hrozeb a ponižování, bez odměn a naděje na zlepšení. Takové věci se na různých místech světa dějí i dnes.

V časech reálného socialismu nebylo ani zdaleka tak zle, jako ve vypodobnění navrženém v předchozím odstavci. Ale na tom, jak dobře člověk pracuje, tehdy také nezáleželo. Reálný socialismus se sice odvolával na třídní princip, ve skutečnosti však společnost ovládaly rodinné klany, které svým příslušníkům přidělovaly lukrativní pozice, na nichž bylo třeba se udržet v mocenském boji s konkurenty, ale práce, znalosti či dovednosti se nevyžadovaly. Ostatní, všichni povinně zaměstnaní, více či méně, lépe či hůře pracovali. Když někdo dobře pracoval, těm nahoře se do jisté míry hodil. Hodil se jim však právě tam, kde svoji práci dělal tak dobře. Vyšší plat, zvláštní odměny či vyšší postavení bylo pro ty, co již byli nahoře, ne pro něj.

V zásadě analogické zkušenosti vedly k formulaci otázky DP6. Ta zní: „Jak pravděpodobný je ve vaší organizaci následující důsledek mimořádného pracovního výkonu: pracovníka nechají na stejném místě, protože tu práci umí.“ Ve studii, kterou Kolman publikoval v r. 2001, se ukázalo, že respondenti udávali tím vyšší pravděpodobnost takové konsekvence, čím byli starší a méně vzdělaní. Ve studii byly porovnávány vzorky zaměstnanců z různých organizací. Ukázalo se též, že vyšší pravděpodobnost tohoto důsledku chování udávali zaměstnanci z podniků, v nichž byl vyšší věkový průměr a nižší průměrné vzdělání. Kolman tehdy interpretoval zjištěné skutečnosti ve smyslu předchozího odstavce jakožto odraz setrvávajících představ a přesvědčení, které se v myslích lidí zformovaly před více než patnácti lety, a také jako důsledek sdílení hodnot v sociální skupině.

Dosti podobný vzorec vztahů našli řešitelé při porovnávání tří podsouborů pomocí analýzy variance (ANOVA). Tendence přikládat vyšší pravděpodobnost stavu popsanému otázkou DP6 měli statisticky významně respondenti ze vzorku Klatovy, kteří byli v průměru méně vzdělaní a pocházeli z menších obcí. Pokud označíme obyvatele menších obcí jako obyvatele venkova v kontrastu k těm, kdo obývají pražskou metropolitní oblast, pak jsou výsledky analýzy variance (tabulky 1 až 7) jedinými rozdíly mezi motivací lidí z venkovských oblastí a obyvateli větších obcí, které řešitelé v tomto výzkumu našli.

Je otázkou, nakolik ke zjištění, uvedeným zde v souvislosti s DP6, patří i nález zachycený v tabulce 9. Jak v této tabulce vidíme, v celém souboru nalézáme relativně nízké hodnoty u škály RS (*odpovědnost*) a také u škály JI (*zaujatost prací*). Jestliže se v Česku nalézá významné množství osob, které nečekají a nevěří, že budou za svoje pracovní úsilí řádně odměněni, nepřekvapí, když tato skutečnost sníží celkově prožívanou odpovědnost i zaujatost prací. V každém případě však údaje v tabulce 9 svědčí o snížené kvalitě života při práci v zemi.

Arnold a kol. (2005, s. 338) uvádějí v souvislosti s kvalitou života při práci dvě hlavní teoretické perspektivy, a to Herzbergovo *obohacení profese* (*job enrichment*) a poněkud starší směr, označovaný jako *socio-technické systémy*. U Herzberga šlo především o motivaci prostřednictvím zvýšení a posílení rozsahu odpovědnosti za vykonávanou práci. V rámci koncepce socio-technických systémů byla hlavně zdůrazňována nutnost integrace sociálního systému na pracovišti a systémů technických a též, jako u Herzberga, obecná humanizace práce. Zde někde asi bude jádro problému. V dřívějších letech nebyla odpovědnost předávána na nižší úroveň řízení. Lidé nevěřili nadřízeným a ti zase na oplátku nevěřili jim. V práci šlo o to, jak šikovně zamaskovat svoji malou výkonnost a kdo byl zaujat vlastní prací, jevil se



jako podivín. Po politické změně se začal uplatňovat management odvozený od primitivního taylorizmu a cokoli ve smyslu humanizace bylo považováno za „socialistické“. Zjevně kvalita života při práci v českých organizacích byla nízká tehdy a zůstává nízká i dnes. Je-li naše vysvětlení správné by ovšem bylo třeba ověřit dalším výzkumem.

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# **Vývoj vysokoškolského zemědělského vzdělávání po roce 1989 a jeho evropská dimenze**

## **Development of the University Education after 1989 and its European Dimension**

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### **Klíčová slova**

Česká republika, zemědělské vzdělávání, evropská dimenze

### **Abstrakt**

Po roce 1989 byly vysoké školy zemědělské postaveny do situace, kdy se postupně způsoby a cíle vzdělávání měnily. Původní studijní programy vysokých zemědělských škol přestávaly vyhovovat měnící se realitě hospodářského a společenského života. Transformované zemědělské podniky dnes hospodaří v jiných podmínkách a nepotřebují stejné typy manažerů a ekonomů, jako tomu bylo před rokem 1989. Cílem vzdělávání je flexibilní vysokoškolák, který je schopen reagovat na ekonomické změny hospodářského procesu i na sociální vývoj země. Je připraven na skutečnost, že příprava na profesi není jednorázová a není definitivně ukončena získáním diplomu. Je si vědom toho, že jeho konkurenceschopnost na trhu práce není omezena hranicemi České republiky a vyžaduje celoživotní vzdělávání, včetně zvládnutí jednoho či více světových jazyků. Evropská dimenze představuje požadavek přiblížení vzdělávacího procesu standardům Evropské unie, což znamená především důraz na celoživotní vzdělávání a kompatibilitu studijních programů a způsobů výuky v takovém rozsahu, který by umožňoval spolupráci evropských vysokých škol v jednotlivých oborech.

### **Key words**

Czech Republic, Agricultural education, European dimension

## Vývoj vysokoškolského zemědělského vzdělávání po roce 1989 a jeho evropská dimenze

Před rokem 1989 mělo vysokoškolské vzdělávání zcela jiný charakter než v současné době. Socialistické státy proklamovaly rovný přístup ke vzdělání a do vzdělání investovaly značné prostředky ze státního rozpočtu. Vzdělání bylo bezplatné a teoreticky přístupné všem vrstvám obyvatelstva. Uzavřený politický a společenský systém (především nemožnost cestovat, udržovat kontakty se zahraničními odborníky, získávat zahraniční literaturu, porovnávat vlastní schopnosti a zkušenosti v konkurenčním prostředí, účastnit se odborných diskusí atd.) postupně diferencovaně zhoršoval úroveň učitelských sborů na všech stupních vzdělávacích zařízení a celkovou úroveň vzdělání snižoval.

Kromě toho existovaly skryté mechanismy diferenciací vzdělanosti, především s politickým podtextem, kdy určitým jedincům či sociálním skupinám byl odepírán přístup k odbornému a vyššímu vzdělání. Kromě toho vzdělání viditelně nesouviselo s ekonomickým a sociálním vzestupem člověka, takže sice nezamýšleně, avšak systematicky se v určitých sociálních vrstvách, zejména dělnických a rolnických rodinách, petrifikoval utilitární přístup k profesnímu životu.

Investice do budoucnosti v podobě vzdělání neměly velký ekonomický smysl. Přesto můžeme zaznamenávat ve statistikách postupný růst vzdělanosti v každé další generaci, diferencovaný ovšem vzdělanostní úrovní rodičů, bydlištěm (ve městě či na venkově) a genderovými charakteristikami (ženy zpravidla volily nižší stupně vzdělání nebo na vzdělání rezignovaly).

Nebylo by správné připisovat všechny negativní tendence ve vzdělávání pouze socialistickému politickému systému. S obdobnými problémy se v historii potýkaly i státy, které byly budovány na demokratických a tržních principech. Tržní principy ovlivňovaly vzdělanost poněkud jinými cestami. Investice do vzdělání se rentovaly, mzdové rozdíly mezi kvalifikovanými a nekvalifikovanými profesemi byly mnohonásobné a v postindustriální (posléze informační) společnosti dále rostly. V sociální sféře nebyl vývoj vzdělanosti tak jednoznačný. Rovněž, jako v socialistických státech, zůstávaly stranou velké sociální skupiny obyvatelstva, které měly ztížený, případně uzavřený přístup ke vzdělávání.

Mnozí sociologové (např. Bourdieu) upozorňovali, že existuje sociální předurčenost vzdělání, která je vázána na sociální status, ekonomickou situaci rodiny, místo v hierarchii společnosti a další faktory. Děti z lépe situovaných a vzdělaných rodin častěji inklinují k vyšším stupňům vzdělání, zatímco děti, které pocházejí z dělnických prostředí, mají tendenci setrvávat ve své vrstvě (třídě) a nezvyšovat si vzdělání. Zájem o vzdělání a s ním související hierarchický vzestup je u nich nižší a často je zesilován nepříznivými ekonomickými i společenskými faktory (především rasou, etnicitou, náboženstvím a dalšími). V multikulturních společnostech s vysokým podílem imigrantů se do méně vzdělané vrstvy společnosti dostávají cizinci, přičemž důvodem nejsou pouze horší jazykové předpoklady, ale také jiné sociální a kulturní vzorce chování. Proto se demokratické společnosti snaží čelit podobné společenské diferenciaci kvótním přístupem. Tento systém se uplatňoval především v USA.

Dnešní situace ve vzdělávání je ovlivňována jak vlivy z minulosti, tak současnými trendy ekonomického a společenského vývoje. Česká republika se přibližuje jak zemím Evropské unie, tak – v některých rysech – celosvětovému vývoji. Modely plánování vzdělanosti musí vycházet z některých nesporných skutečností soudobého světa – sociální nejistoty a rychlých ekonomických změn. Vnímání světa jako relativně bezpečného místa pro život je soustavně

narušováno katastrofami způsobovanými lidmi i přírodními živly. Existující ekonomické a společenské rozdíly mají tendenci se prohlubovat. Vzdělání ovšem může být jedním z faktorů, které se na zmírňování nejistot mohou podílet, především proto, že vytváří intelektuální potenciál, schopný rychlých reakcí na změny.<sup>172</sup>

České zemědělství a venkov procházely v posledních patnácti letech vývojem, který významně ovlivnil práci a život venkovského obyvatelstva. Tržní hospodářství je založeno na odlišných principech, které se dotýkají všech oblastí lidského života. Příprava na profesní život se podstatně mění, i když vývoj probíhá v postupných krocích.

Sociální struktura v zemědělství a na venkově byla formována kladnými i zápornými faktory. Velkovýrobní socialistické zemědělství znamenalo industrializaci, koncentraci a specializaci zemědělské výroby. Soustředění investičních prostředků, růst mechanizace, změny v organizaci a řízení práce a další faktory umožňovaly po určitou dobu ekonomický rozvoj podniků. Velkovýrobní zemědělské podniky zaměstnávaly v manuálních profesích pracovníky jak starší, tak nekvalifikované, poskytovaly pracovní příležitosti důchodcům i ženám s dětmi a do značné míry suplovaly i občanské služby - provozovaly podnikovou dopravu a dopravu dětí do škol, závodní stravování, jesle, školky, zdravotní střediska, opravy bytového fondu atd. Velké zemědělské podniky tvořily ekonomický a sociální pilíř obce a zaručovaly venkovským lidem určitý stupeň jistot, bez ohledu na jejich pracovní výsledky.

Zemědělství patřilo před rokem 1989 k odvětvím národního hospodářství, které bylo finančně podporováno ze státního rozpočtu. Největší podíl byl tvořen družstevním sektorem, po něm následoval sektor státní a prakticky neexistoval sektor soukromý. Jednotlivě hospodařící rolníci tvořili 0,49 % pracovníků trvale činných v zemědělství. Počet pracovních sil v zemědělství dosahoval téměř 900 tis. osob.<sup>173</sup> Hlavními cíli zemědělské politiky byly: potravinová soběstačnost, nízké stabilní ceny potravin pro spotřebitele a rovnoměrné rozdělení příjmů v rámci zemědělství. Politika podpory cen a příjmů fungovala způsobem, který umožňoval všem podnikům vyplácet zaměstnancům garantovanou základní mzdu bez ohledu na hospodářský výkon.

Konkurence v ekonomickém i sociálním smyslu byla před rokem 1989 velmi omezena. Masivní přerozdělování státních prostředků zakrývalo pokles produktivity a rentability zemědělských výrob. Nákladný sociální systém přestával být ekonomicky udržitelný. Právě tak nivelizované odměňování a limitované možnosti profesních kariér snižovaly motivaci k práci. Pro některé sociální skupiny venkovského obyvatelstva byly změny po roce 1989 pozitivní, otevřely jim cestu k dalšímu osobnímu rozvoji. Pro jiné skupiny byly změny nepříznivé, jejich pracovní a životní podmínky se rapidně zhoršily. Jednou z nejcitelnějších změn byla možnost ztráty zaměstnání. Na růstu nezaměstnanosti se podílely různé faktory. Rozpad velkých zemědělských podniků (státních a družstevních) a jejich následná privatizace a transformace přivodily pokles zaměstnanosti. Vývoj v obou částech republiky byl před rozdělením i po rozdělení v r. 1993 obdobný.<sup>174</sup> Počet osob trvale činných v zemědělské prvovýrobě se snížil téměř na třetinu.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>172</sup> volně podle P. Machonina: Česká společnost a sociologické poznání. Studie Národohospodářského ústavu Josefa Hlávky, Praha, 2005.

<sup>173</sup> Přehled zemědělských politik, Česká republika. Organizace pro hospodářskou spolupráci a rozvoj, OECD 1995, str. 15

<sup>174</sup> Trnková, V.: Srovnání trendů v zaměstnanosti v ČR a SR. In: Majerová, V., Bernáthová, I., Novotná, E.: Regionální a sociální rozvoj venkovských oblastí. Závěrečná zpráva grantu OSF, Praha 2001, str. 14

<sup>175</sup> Buchta, S.: Agrárna nezamestnanosť a životné podmienky na slovenskom vidieku; Sborník semináře Regionální a sociální rozvoj venkovských oblastí, ČZU PEF KHV, září 2001

Venkovské obyvatelstvo nuceno po roce 1989 měnit své pracovní návyky. Objevuje se střídání pracovních míst, práce na částečné pracovní úvazky, práce ve vedlejších pracovním poměru, předčasné odchody do důchodu, nezaměstnanost s pobíráním sociálních příspěvků, rekvalifikace, různé způsoby doplňkové a příležitostné práce. Vzdělanost, v této souvislosti, nabývá na významu.

Pro venkov je typická velmi široká škála profesí a zaměstnání, od vysoce kvalifikovaných pracovních míst (lékaři, učitelé, výzkumníci, řídící pracovníci, svobodní umělci, pracovníci ve výpočetní technice apod.), přes středně kvalifikované kádry (řidiči, opraváři, řemeslníci, účetní, zdravotní sestry, administrativní pracovníci atd.) až ke zcela nekvalifikovaným možnostem pracovního uplatnění. Z různých oborů činnosti je nejčastěji uváděno zemědělství a lesnictví, maloobchod, stavebnictví, výroba kovodělných výrobků, školství, veřejná správa, zdravotnictví a sociální činnosti, pozemní doprava, textilní průmysl, výroba potravin a nápojů a další.<sup>176</sup> Menší obce s horší infrastrukturou nabízejí obecně horší možnosti uplatnění, takže v nich může docházet ke zhoršování věkové a kvalifikační struktury venkovského obyvatelstva.

Před rokem 1989 byla největší část venkovského obyvatelstva zaměstnána ve státních podnicích. Dalším typem vlastnictví byla družstva. Menšími podíly byli obyvatelé venkova zastoupeni v jiných typech podniků: rozpočtových organizacích, příspěvkových organizacích, akciových společnostech a dalších organizacích a podnicích.

Po roce 1989 je struktura vlastnictví podniků odlišná. Pořadí největších vlastníků je následující: převládají akciové společnosti, podniky fyzických osob, společnosti s ručením omezeným, následují podniky ve státním vlastnictví a v družstevním vlastnictví. Menším podílem jsou zastoupeny rozpočtové, příspěvkové a neziskové organizace, veřejné obchodní a komanditní společnosti. V důsledku privatizace a během transformace došlo ke změnám především ve státním a družstevním vlastnictví a následně vzrůstal podíl vlastnictví fyzických osob.<sup>177</sup>

Využívání kvalifikace a mnohem větší možnosti rozšiřování kvalifikace patří k nesporným kladům změn po roce 1989. Z hlediska sociální skladby venkovské populace se tyto možnosti opět týkají pouze některých skupin. Vertikální a horizontální mobilita na venkově byla značná. Horizontální mobilita byla spojena především s rušením a přesuny některých výrobních podniků a vznikem a zánikem stávajících zemědělských i nezemědělských podniků ve venkovském prostoru a prostorovou dostupností zaměstnání (spojenou s redukcí a zdražováním dopravních spojů). Vertikální mobilita měla částečně tytéž příčiny, ale mnohem více se do ní promítaly osobnostní a kvalifikační předpoklady jednotlivců. Průběhy pracovních kariér měly vzestupný i sestupný charakter. Jako nejčastější příčiny vzestupného vývoje pracovní kariéry byly uváděny možnost využití vlastních schopností, zvýšení kvalifikace, možnost lepšího využití kvalifikace, vznik nového podniku v dostupném okolí, transformace podniku a další, zrušení politických sankcí nebo restituce nehrály v osobních kariérách nijak významnou roli. Sestupné pracovní kariéry byly nejčastěji spojovány s věkem, zdravotním stavem, rodinnými důvody, zánikem nebo transformací původního podniku.<sup>178</sup> Aktivita občanů je v korelaci se stupněm jejich kvalifikace a proto není náhodou, že programové dokumenty EU kladou rozvoj „vzdělanostní společnosti“ mezi priority udržitelného rozvoje venkovských regionů.

<sup>176</sup> Český venkov 2000 – základní informace. Závěrečná zpráva grantu VS97097, ČZU Praha 2001.

<sup>177</sup> Majerová, V. a kolektiv: Trendy sociálních změn v zemědělství a na venkově. Závěrečná zpráva, ČZU, Praha, 2001, str. 68-69

<sup>178</sup> Majerová, V. a kolektiv: Trendy sociálních změn v zemědělství a na venkově. Závěrečná zpráva, ČZU, Praha 2001, str. 69-70

Uvažujeme-li o budoucím vývoji venkovských oblastí, je nutno vzít v úvahu prosazující se trendy vývoje evropského venkova. V důsledku zvyšování produktivity práce došlo k významnému snížení podílu osob trvale v zemědělství. Tento podíl bude zůstat stejný, případně bude ještě klesat. Zároveň roste mezní hranice výměry rentabilního zemědělského závodu, což vede ke koncentraci a specializaci zemědělské výroby. Za této situace je možnost zvyšování počtu pracovních míst v zemědělské výrobě iluzorní, v úvahu tedy přichází rozšiřování rozdílných forem pracovního zapojení v zemědělství, hledání dalších zdrojů obživy, odpovídajících možnostem venkovského prostoru a podporování nezemědělských podnikatelských aktivit na venkově. Souběžně se zvyšují požadavky ekologicky šetrného zacházení s přírodními zdroji, nutnost ochrany vodních zdrojů, přírodního prostředí a venkovské krajiny. Produkční funkce je v ekonomických úvahách nahrazována multifunkční úlohou zemědělské výroby. S posunem od produkčního k post-produkčnímu modelu rozvoje venkova souvisí také jeho sociální rozvoj.

Akademická sféra má jedinečnou příležitost zasahovat prostřednictvím nabídky studijních programů a oborů do formování pracovních a životních podmínek venkovského obyvatelstva. Analýza studijních programů naznačuje nejvýraznější trendy vysokoškolského zemědělského vzdělávání v dlouhodobém i krátkodobém horizontu.

Zhruba před čtyřiceti lety byly sledované ekonomické fakulty zaměřeny především na vzdělání, využitelné v zemědělském provozu. Proto se i v jejich názvu objevovalo „provozně ekonomická fakulta“. Naprostá většina vyučovaných předmětů souvisela s praxí rostlinné a živočišné výroby a předpokládalo se, že většina absolventů po skončení vysoké školy nastoupí do managementu zemědělských družstev a státních statků.<sup>179</sup> Tyto předpoklady byly splněny pouze částečně. Vývoj zemědělského odvětví ani vysokoškolského vzdělávání neprobíhal lineárně a byl ovlivňován především politicko-ekonomickými opatřeními sedmdesátých a osmdesátých let.

Po roce 1989 se situace ve vysokém školství pozvolna začíná měnit. Sledované fakulty vysokých zemědělských škol postupně měnily své studijní programy (kurikula) v závislosti na měnící se společenské realitě. Původní představa o jejich typu, směru a frekvenci však, jak ukazují studijní programy a další materiály, doznala změn. Předpoklad, že univerzity budou rychle reagovat na ekonomické a sociální změny ve společnosti změnou nabídek aktuálních předmětů ve studijních programech se potvrdil jen částečně.

Akademická práce má svá pravidla a zvyklosti, které nelze měnit překotně. Jistá obsahová a věcná kontinuita musí zůstat zachována, aby se příslušná vysoká škola udržovala v povědomí veřejnosti svým specifickým zaměřením, dosaženým kreditem, rozsahem a kvalitou svých vzdělávacích aktivit. Reakce na měnící se skutečnost zpravidla neústí do bezprostředních radikálních změn. Příprava nových studijních směrů a předmětů je poměrně dlouhodobá činnost, kterou mohou zvládat jen zkušení pedagogové s dostatečným vzdělanostním zázemím. Kvalifikovaných pedagogů s dostatečně dlouhou praxí, kteří jsou zároveň schopni značné flexibility a adaptability, není na žádné vysoké škole nadbytek.

Univerzity se trvale nacházejí pod tlakem komplexu různorodých faktorů, které jejich fungování a vývoj ovlivňují. Není možno hledat jednoduché nebo lineární souvislosti.

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<sup>179</sup> Mezi stěžejní vyučované předměty patřily např. zemědělská botanika, zemědělská zoologie, agrometeorologie, půdoznalství, mikrobiologie, fyziologie rostlin, genetika, mechanizace zemědělské výroby, geodézie, biochemie, agrotechnika, zemědělské stavby, pícninářství, ochrana rostlin, základy krmení hospodářských zvířat, rostlinná výroba, zemědělská ekonomika, organizace pracovních procesů, meliorace, skladování a zpracování zemědělských výrobků, šlechtění rostlin a semenářství, finanční hospodaření zemědělských podniků a vědecký komunismus (příklad je použit ze studijního programu provozně ekonomické fakulty v Českých Budějovicích z let 1962 – 1967).

Modelové situace lze apriori konstruovat, nelze však spoléhat, že budou přesně odpovídat realitě.

Ve vývoji studijních programů univerzit lze najít logickou a předvídatelnou složku, vyjádřenou změnami kurikula, reflektujícími změny ve společnosti. Je to zejména zánikání předmětů a jejich nahrazování předměty lépe postihujícími potřeby studujících, obměna předmětů a studovaných témat, rozšiřování nabídky o atraktivní a potřebné směry studia.

Dále existuje rovněž logická a částečně předvídatelná složka, která souvisí s cyklem akreditací a reakreditací, s kopírováním trendů v evropském a světovém vývoji studijních směrů a programů a s rostoucím tlakem na kvalitu vzdělávání, především odbornou a vědeckou kvalitu pedagogů, vyjádřenou dosaženými akademickými stupni PhD., docent a profesor a průběžně sledovanými položkami vědecko-výzkumné a publikační činnosti.

Kromě toho se na vývoji kurikula podílí i poněkud nepředvídatelné faktory, kterými jsou osobní přínosy a vlivy akademických funkcionářů. Mohou mít kladné i záporné důsledky. Každá změna akademických funkcionářů přináší trochu jiný styl řízení a rozvoje univerzity. Někdy po sobě jsou garnitury řídících pracovníků univerzity posilují určitý nastoupený trend, jindy jeho průběh může kolísat. Obojí může sloužit ke prospěchu (např. modernizaci výukového procesu) či k neprospěchu (např. konzervaci zaběhaných stereotypů) univerzity. Kvalita a frekvence osobních vztahů i způsob řešení konfliktů na pracovišti patří do této, ne zcela předvídatelné, kategorie.

Strategické záměry univerzit sledují hlavní trendy rozvoje společnosti v základních obrysech. V jemnějším členění se rozvojový proces může dělit na dílčí proudy, které – pokud působí stejným směrem – zesilují účinnost změn a zkvalitňují výsledky univerzity.

V současné době patří ke zřetelným vývojovým trendům vysokého školství postupně se obměňující kvalifikační a věková struktura pedagogických sborů. Zesiluje konkurence v národním a mezinárodním měřítku, přičemž se výzkumná práce, v minulosti vyhrazená téměř výhradně pracovištím akademie věd a rezortním výzkumných ústavům, stává nezastupitelnou součástí univerzitního života. K nesporným kladům patří rostoucí jazyková vybavenost pedagogů a studentů, znalost a využívání informatiky ve výzkumném a výukovém procesu, lepší dostupnost zahraniční literatury a kontaktů a z toho vyplývající rozhled, informovanost a schopnost tvůrčího myšlení.

Z analyzovaných dat (studijních podkladů a studijních programů) vyplývají některé následující poznatky. Je potvrzeno, že všechny zkoumané vysoké školy postupně měnily studijní programy a změny studijních programů probíhaly ve všech zkoumaných školách zhruba obdobným způsobem. Ovšem proces směřování od úzce zaměřeného odborného studia k širšímu pojetí a postupnému zahrnování předmětů, důležitých pro přípravu na povolání ve změněných ekonomicko-sociálních podmínkách, neměl lineární charakter, nebyl jasný, jednoznačný a nevratný. Změny byly sice vesměs plánovány, ale zároveň sledované vysoké školy musely brát v úvahu všechny doprovodné faktory, kterými změny byly ovlivňovány – především časové nároky na přípravu nových předmětů, existenci či neexistenci studijních materiálů, postupně rostoucí zkušenosti s rozvíjením nové látky, postupně vznikající kontakty s jinými tuzemskými i zahraničními vysokými školami, personální kapacity při rozšiřování studijních programů, časovou zátěž vyplývající z doprovodné organizační a výzkumné činnosti na univerzitách, tlak na publikační činnosti a přednáškové činnosti v cizích jazycích a další.

Změny sice neprobíhaly živelně a nelogicky, avšak o logickém, promyšleném a předvídatelném směru a proporcích rovněž nelze mluvit. Jednotlivé školy měly své tempo a charakter změn, které ovšem nelze v časové řadě jednoznačně interpretovat.

Nesporný je zvyšující se podíl výuky cizích jazyků, mnohem větší nabídka předmětů, související s ekonomickými změnami v národním hospodářství, především privatizací, transformací a růstem podnikatelské činnosti právnických i fyzických osob. Na druhou stranu, témata související s ekologií, ochranou přírody a rozvojem lidského potenciálu jsou sice částečně zastoupena v sylabech povinných předmětů, ale důraz je na ně kladen především v nabídce volitelných předmětů. Tento fakt je možno interpretovat dvojím způsobem: na jedné straně mají studenti větší možnost vybrat si volitelný předmět podle svého zájmu, na druhé straně ovšem povinné předměty mají v rámci studijního programu větší váhu a z volitelných předmětů studenti pravidelně vybírají takové, jejichž požadavky

se jeví jako snadněji dosažitelné. Možnost výběru tedy nemusí být vždy využita, je-li spojena s pracností či větší náročností studia určitého předmětu.

Změny studijních programů reflektují potřeby vzdělávání, vznikající v souvislosti s přípravou vstupu a vlastním vstupem ČR do EU. Tuto skutečnost potvrzují i výsledky rozhovorů s akademickými funkcionáři sledovaných škol. Mezi povinnými předměty však dosud nejsou zastoupeny některé z těch, které jsou běžné na univerzitách v EU, zaměřené např. na problémy rovnosti mužů a žen (gender studies), stárnutí populace (ageing studies), zabývající se situací uprchlíků a migrantů (refugee studies), a další.

Nelze také tvrdit, že by změny ve studijních programech jednoznačně směřovaly k větší přehlednosti a zjednodušení výukového procesu.

Výuka vysokoškolských studentů není mechanickým procesem, do něhož se stavebnicově zařazují jednotlivé komponenty vzdělávání. Univerzita je živým sociálním organismem, který má své vypočitatelné, ale i poněkud nevypočitatelné reakce. Její kvalita se ovšem pozná ze způsobu, jakým je schopna reagovat na všechny podněty a požadavky veřejnosti.

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# **Vnímání venkova: klíčový fenomén jeho rozvoje?**

## **Perception of the Country: Key Phenomenon For Its Development?**

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### **Klíčová slova**

venkov, region, identita, regionální rozvoj, Česko

### **Abstrakt**

Příspěvek se zabývá problematikou vnímání a definice venkova v souvislosti s možnostmi jeho rozvoje. Pojem venkov autoři nechápou jako specifický „neměstský“ prostor, ale jako společenství lidí s charakteristickým životním stylem, definované na základě určitých znaků, vlastní identity. Tito lidé utvářejí venkov a mají také svou specifickou identitu. Vymezení venkova na bázi identity, resp. toho, co se považuje za venkovské, se dále srovnává s nejednoznačností jeho vymezení pomocí územních obvodů obcí. Vymezení venkova na základě identity umožňuje lépe rozpoznat jeho specifické problémy. Problematika rozvoje venkova je zmiňována především v širších souvislostech regionálního rozvoje. Autoři tvrdí, že pro venkov není důležitá jeho plošná podpora jako celku, ale zejména podpora spolupráce a kooperace mezi centry a jejich zázemím v určitých specifických regionech. Ty jsou základní jednotkou prostorové organizace společnosti, z hlediska vztahů relativně komplexní a uzavřenou. Venkov má identitu pouze společenskou, tj. bez konkrétního vztahu k určitému místu (sociální identita). Nicméně vazba a vztah k určitému místu či regionu (regionální identita) je pro obyvatele území a míru jejich sebeidentifikace jako (regionálního) společenství významnější, než to, zda se považují za obyvatele venkova (venkovany). Proto je z pohledu rozvoje vhodnější uvažovat části venkova jako části regionů, respektive odlišovat různé specifické venkovy v různých regionech, jako prostorech v krajině vymezených s určitým cílem na základě určitých kritérií. Rozvoj těchto regionů pak znamená i rozvoj venkova v nich obsaženého. Příspěvek vznikl v rámci řešení grantového projektu Grantové agentury UK č. 278/2005/B-GEO/PrF: Geografická diferenciacie regionální identity obyvatel v Česku v období vstupu České republiky do EU.

### **Key words**

country, region, identity, regional development, Czechia

### **Abstract**

The article deals with the problem of perception and definition of the country according to the possibilities of its development. The authors do not see the term country as a specific non-urban space, but as a community of people with a characteristic lifestyle, defined by certain signs, its own identity. Those people make the country and also have their specific identity. Delimitation of the country on the basis of identity, by what is treated as rural, is next compared with the ambiguity of its delimitation by means of the municipality districts. Delimitation of the country on the basis of identity makes it possible to recognize its specific problems better. Problem of the development of country is especially mentioned in the wider context of regional development. The authors argue, for the country the general support as all is not so important. Particularly the support of the partnership and cooperation between the

centres and its surroundings in certain specific regions is important. They are basic units of the spatial organization of the society, relatively complex and closed. The country has only societal identity, that means without particular relationship to specific place (social identity). Nevertheless the relation to certain place or region (regional identity) is for the citizens of an area and the rate of their selfidentification as a (regional) community more important, than accounting themselves as rural inhabitants (countrymen). Therefore it is according to regional development better to recognize the parts of the country as the parts of regions. We can speak about different countries in specific regions as the spaces delimited with certain purpose by certain characteristics in the landscape. The development of those regions also means the development of the countries included in them. This paper has been prepared as part of the grant project GA UK no. 278/2005/B-GEO/PrF: „Geographical differentiation of regional identity of inhabitants in Czechia in period of accession the EU“.

## Vnímání venkova: klíčový fenomén jeho rozvoje?

### Úvod

Náš příspěvek rozvíjí otázku, zda a jak ovlivňuje vnímání venkova jeho rozvoj. Je pro rozvoj venkova důležitější koncept dvou samostatných objektů města a venkova, nebo je můžeme považovat za subjektivně vymezené kategorie, které jsou součástími jednoho a téhož objektu, nodálního regionu?

Na venkov se dnes obvykle nahlíží jako na neměstský prostor. Z tohoto pojetí také vycházejí současné pokusy o jeho rozvoj. Do jaké míry je však tento přístup vhodný? Nemůže být sám o sobě paradoxně překážkou rozvoje? Při podpoře venkova by neměl být uvažován pouze aspekt jeho objektivní existence. Uvedené pojetí je třeba propojit s pocitem územní sounáležitosti obyvatel venkova s různými regiony, regionální identitou.

Tento článek je pouze obecným příspěvkem do diskuse o dané problematice. Neklade si za cíl jasně definovat venkovský prostor a jeho problémy, ale pouze upozornit na některé aspekty jeho rozvoje v souvislosti s jeho vnímáním.

### Venkov v současném vnímání

Pokud hovoříme o venkově, myslíme jím obvykle určitý prostor. Zpravidla se již nezamýšlíme nad tím, zda bychom našli různé pohledy na to, co tento prostor znamená, a na způsoby jeho možného vymezení. Zdálo by se tedy, že existuje jakási entita, jedinečný prostor, jeden venkov. Přitom však na venkov může být nahlíženo v různých souvislostech a z různých úhlů pohledu. Nejčastěji se jedná o:

- a) venkov jako neměstský prostor;
- b) venkov jako krajinu;
- c) venkov jako prostor zemědělské výroby;
- d) venkov jako životní styl;
- e) venkov jako prostor rekreace a odpočinku.

#### ad a)

Zřejmě nejobvyklejší vymezení venkova vychází ze snahy o jeho odlišení vůči městu. Za tímto účelem jsou používány především normativní kvantitativní ukazatele. Jedná se např. o maximální hustotu zalidnění (obvykle 100 až 150 obyv./km<sup>2</sup>), maximální velikost obce (obecně respektovaná a přijímaná hranice 2 000 obyv.) či jejích částí (Korčák 1929), záporná bilance migračního salda, nadprůměrná zaměstnanost ekonomicky aktivních v primárním sektoru hospodářství (priméru) či nadprůměrná nezaměstnanost apod. Taková data jsou pravidelně zjišťována a publikována, bývají tedy i snadno dostupná a umožňují jednoznačné vymezení sledovaného objektu zájmu. Proto je obvykle používají různé organizace a instituce (OECD, Evropská unie, vládní instituce národních států, statistické úřady atd.), a to především s cílem zachování objektivity různých rozhodnutí (např. udělení/neudělení podpory). Uvedená kritéria však nemusí vždy zohledňovat obecně přijímané typické znaky venkova a jejich variabilitu v prostoru. Ty mají totiž spíše kvalitativní povahu a jsou obtížně měřitelné. Jedná se např. o odlišný vzhled krajiny a krajinný ráz, odlišný životní styl tamních obyvatel v komunitách s užšími společenskými a osobními vazbami apod.

Normativní kritéria tedy nemusí plně vystihovat danou realitu, v určitých případech se s ní mohou dokonce rozcházet. Stačí si jenom uvědomit, co vše pomineme, např. při použití kritéria maximální populační velikost obce. Za venkovské se obvykle považují obce s méně než 2 000 obyvateli. Podle současného Zákona o obcích (obecní zřízení) č. 128/2000 Sb. v platném znění se ale města mohou stát až obce s více než 3 000 obyvateli, takže není zcela jasné, kam mají být zařazeny obce náležející do intervalu 2 000 – 3 000 obyvatel. Použití kritéria maximální populační velikosti obce 2000 obyvatel nám tedy rozdělit beze zbytku prostor na dva typy, městský a venkovský, nemožňuje. Navíc také nezohledňuje existenci malých měst. Díky specifickému historickému vývoji, kdy statut města mohl být udělen bez ohledu na populační velikost, totiž dnes najdeme na území Česka i města s méně než 3 000 obyvateli. Jsou potom tato města centry na venkově, nebo centry pro venkov? Jsou jeho součástí, nebo se nacházejí mimo něj?

#### **ad b)**

S pojetím venkova jako neměstského prostoru úzce souvisí chápání venkova jako krajiny. Důsledkem procesu urbanizace je nejen komplexní změna převážně venkovské (v dnešním smyslu slova) společnosti na městskou, ale i proměna způsobu nahlížení na okolní prostředí, krajinu a vnímání prostoru vůbec. Venkov se stal jakousi alternativou k uzavřenému a stísněnému městskému prostředí, ideálem volně prostupného prostoru s dalekými výhledy a bohatou scénérií. Pro tuto domnělou prostupnost a otevřenost je pak venkov ztotožňován s pojmem krajina. Město samotné je většinou příliš malé, aby mohlo být samo o sobě vnímáno jako určitá krajina. Mezi základní charakteristiky krajiny totiž patří daný minimální rozměr (rozloha v řádech desítek km<sup>2</sup>), který hraje roli i při subjektivním rozhodování o tom, zda již pozorovaný prostor jako krajinu vnímáme či nikoli (k tomu Löw, Míchal 2003, Lipský 1998). V urbanizované společnosti, kdy se většina populace zdržuje v relativně velkých městech, chybí pohled na město z vnějšku, jako sídlo v krajině. Tedy sídlo, které je součástí jedné krajiny i se svým okolím. Převládá snaha vnímat venkov jako něco venku, za hranicemi města. Jako zdánlivě nezastavěné a méně intenzivně využívané území. Není zohledňován fakt, že i v tomto prostoru se nacházejí další sídla, která mohou být součástí téže krajiny jako to, ve kterém se právě nacházíme. Rozlišení na město a venkov je tedy nepřesné, pokud o prvním mluvíme jako o místě a druhém jako o krajině. Město je – stejně jako každé jiné sídlo – zpravidla pouze součástí krajiny jako krajinná jednotka, jako prostor, který lze považovat v daném měřítku sledování za homogenní (Zonneveld 1989). U všech typů sídel můžeme vnímat určitou hranici, předěl mezi zastavěným a nezastavěným územím. Stojíme-li ve vsi, nemluvíme přeci o prostředí, které ji obklopuje, jako o venkovu, nýbrž jako o krajině. Nenacházíme se ve městě v obdobné situaci, když máme na mysli tentýž prostor?

#### **ad c)**

Jak již bylo zmíněno výše, jedním z kritérií pro vymezení venkova je zaměstnanost v primárním sektoru hospodářství, tedy v zemědělství, lesnictví a rybolovu. I v tomto případě se jedná o vnímání vycházející z převážně městského charakteru současné společnosti. Město totiž představuje otevřený systém, který je energeticky nesoběstačný a silně závislý na svém okolí. Pro přežití populace ve městě je nutný dostatečný přísun této potřebné energie z vnějšku. Příkladem těchto energetických toků může být nejen zásobování různými surovinami, ale také potravinami. Z toho důvodu se vytváří zkreslená představa, že mimo město převažuje v ekonomických aktivitách právě zemědělství. To je však pouze subjektivní dojem obyvatel měst, související se specifickým charakterem prostředí, ve kterém přebývají. I na tzv. venkově, tedy za hranicemi daného města, mohou existovat jiné ekonomické aktivity než zemědělství, lesnictví a rybolov. Tento rozpor vystupuje do popředí zvláště v situaci,

kdy je již podíl ekonomicky aktivních v priméru ve vyspělých zemích velmi nízký nebo klesá. Uvažujeme-li o venkově jako o prostoru zemědělské výroby, zohledňujeme pouze jeden z jeho aspektů. Pokud chceme podporovat venkov a mluvíme přitom o podpoře zemědělství, bude naše pomoc věnována úzké skupině obyvatel, která nemusí mít na život na tzv. venkově a jeho podobu rozhodující vliv. A to nejen např. v souvislosti s fungováním komunit, produkcí potravin, ale také s ohledem na tzv. péči o krajinu. Ačkoli zemědělství je jedním z krajinotvorných činitelů, uživateli krajiny zodpovědnými za změny její struktury a změny v jejím fungování jsou všichni, kteří se v ní pohybují a ovlivňují ji. Na tzv. údržbě krajiny se nepodílí jen zemědělství, ale nepřímě celá společnost.

#### **ad d)**

Často můžeme slyšet, že obyvatelé venkova mají jiný životní styl, odlišný od městského (Blažek 2004). Městský způsob života se vyznačuje zvláštní kvalitou, koncentrací a intenzitou společenských vztahů (Wirth 1996). V různorodějším prostředí města prožívají lidé intenzivnější interakci s okolím a je to právě otevřená společnost, která má na začlenění jedince a jeho jednání rozhodující vliv. Městské prostředí je nesourodé a rychle se měnící, a proto zde působí více různých podnětů najednou. Základním znakem života ve městě je tedy neustálá konfrontace s okolím a intenzivní mezilidská komunikace s množstvím různých a neznámých jedinců.

Proti tomu na venkově se vždy tradičně uplatňoval vliv do jisté míry uzavřených lokálních komunit (Blažek 2004). Nezastupitelnou úlohu zde mají úzce omezené osobní vztahy, které ovlivňují sociální interakci silněji než dané profesní role a s nimi spojená očekávání. Avšak s rozvojem přímé i nepřímé urbanizace význam lokálních komunit jako hlavních aktérů socializace jedince do společnosti slábne. Mění se tak i charakter života na venkově. S přiblížováním venkova městu a města venkovu (ať už uměle zavedenou snahou o nivelizaci životního standardu nebo přirozeným procesem nepřímé urbanizace) je otázkou, zda se dnešní česká venkovská společnost ještě vyznačuje odlišným životním stylem ve smyslu jiného žebříčku hodnot, nebo se už jedná pouze o nutnost vycházející z odlišných možností. Vytrácí se identita, vědomí života na venkově, což může v extrémních případech vést až k odcizení jednotlivých skupin obyvatel či ztrátě vztahu obyvatel k jejich obytnému prostředí (Kučera, Kuldová 2005).

#### **ad e)**

Důsledkem zmiňovaného procesu urbanizace je taktéž vznik idealizované představy venkova, jako místa ke klidnému, bezproblémovému, nenáročnému životu. S koncentrací lidí do měst se změnil charakter jejich obytného prostředí. Relativně otevřená vesnická scénérie byla nahrazena uzavřenými městskými prostory. Zpočátku byl radikální úbytek volného prostoru ve městě reflektován romantickým hnutím 19. století. Stejně jako dřívější tradice vlastnictví letních sídel měšťanskými a šlechtickými rody se toto romantické putování krajinou dotýkalo stále jen úzkého okruhu jedinců (Librová 1988; Stibral 2005). Teprve v průběhu 20. století došlo k rozvoji masové turistiky. Rozvoj průmyslu a s ním spojené změny v dopravě otevřely nové možnosti pro cestování. Nový fenomén „volného času“ vedl k poptávce po rekreaci, a to zejména v klidném prostředí, v zeleni. A tak začal venkov poprvé v dějinách plnit rekreační funkci pro širší vrstvy obyvatel. Dnes se pak jedná o jednu z jeho hlavních rolí.

V českém prostředí se v důsledku specifických historických podmínek (tradice trampingu, omezená možnost vycestování do zahraničí za socialismu) rozvinuly navíc další typy rekreace – tzv. chataření a chalupaření (Vágner 2001). V Česku dodnes není neobvyklé vlastnit takový rekreační objekt a trávit v něm volný čas. Druhé bydlení má však i své stinné

stránky. Může způsobovat sice krátkodobé, ale intenzivní přetěžování krajiny. Rekreaanti nutně nemusejí mít kladný vztah ke svému bezprostřednímu okolí. Problematické může být také jejich začlenění do lokálních venkovských komunit. Funkce venkova jako rekreačního prostoru je proto z pohledu jeho rozvoje nejednoznačná.

Výše uvedené kategorie představují pouze základní shrnutí možných způsobů současného nahlížení na problematiku venkova. Venkov nemusí být vnímán výlučně prostřednictvím jediné z nich. Těmto kategoriím je však společné to, že mají všechny původ v městském prostředí. Jaká je ale potom identita venkova? Kdy vznikla a existuje vůbec?

### **Idea venkova v historickém vývoji**

Obvykle označujeme pojmy to, co je mimo nás, čeho nejsme součástí, a můžeme se tak proti tomu vymezit (Tress, Tress 2000). Obdobně s rozvojem měst a urbanizací společnosti vznikla představa venkova. Teprve tehdy se mohla vyčlenit tzv. městská společnost vůči venkovské. To se stalo nejprve na základě jiných společenských práv a role, následně odlišností životního stylu a identity. Urbanizace podnítila změny v chápání a vnímání světa. A to plně v souladu s tvrzením, že „uspořádáváním prostoru (či prostorů) jsou zároveň uspořádávány a ve fyzickém tvaru zviditelňovány významy, které vyjadřují, jak daná společnost a doba chápe svůj svět“ (Kratochvíl 1998, s. 75). Vznik měst znamenal natolik výraznou proměnu obytného prostředí, že se jí člověk nemohl zcela přizpůsobit. Nastoupil tak nutně pocit nedostatku volného prostoru a jakéhosi „stesku“ po přírodě. V důsledku toho začala být představa venkova idealisticky spojována s přírodním prostředím, volným prostorem a zdánlivou volností pohybu.

Zprvu bylo s ideálem svobody spojováno město. Měšťané byli úzce vymezenou privilegovanou společenskou skupinou. Prudké změny v 19. století (průmyslová a demografická revoluce, intenzivní urbanizace) roli měst zcela proměnily. Vzrostl jejich význam a zdůraznila se jejich centrální role systému osídlení. Když se většina společnosti náhle ocitla ve stísněném, neosobním prostředí měst, začala tento prostor vnímat jako konfliktní, nebezpečný. Představa „divočiny“ jako něčeho nehostinného, jež byla dříve omezena výhradně na přírodní prostředí, se nyní přenesla na město samotné (Löw, Míchal 2003). Obraz přírody a venkova se potom stal výrazem volného a svobodného prostoru, do kterého utíkají z měst jejich obyvatelé. Myšlenka návratu k přírodě je pro mnohé lákavý ideál, uskutečnitelný opět jen jako vysoce privilegovaná výjimka, nikoli jako společensky účinná strategie. Každý nemůže mít vilu (ani chatu či chalupu) na venkově jako bohatý renesanční měšťan. A navíc úplná decentralizace osídlení a faktický zánik měst není vzhledem ke způsobu využívání zdrojů, stávajícímu počtu obyvatel a uspořádání společnosti v podstatě možná (Librová 1996 a 1997; Löw, Míchal 2003). Privilegovaným se dnes stává ten, kdo žije na venkově, nikoli však vesničan v tradičním pojetí. Je to ten, kdo má dostatek finančních prostředků k tomu, aby mohl zároveň stále udržovat kontakt s městem.

### **Venkov, region a identita**

S otázkou vnímání a vymezení venkova úzce souvisí problematika jeho identity. Je vůbec nutné venkov vymezovat a odlišovat? Je toto důležité pro jeho rozvoj? Čím je takový venkov charakteristický?

Venkov je zpravidla pojímán jako neměstský prostor. Protože jsou však město a venkov dvě subjektivní kategorie, každý je může vnímat – jejich rozdíly, hranice a rozsah – podle svých představ. Objektivní vymezení venkova je potom více než nejednoznačné a problematické. Kromě toho mají lidé tendenci vnímat sociogeografické členění prostoru spíše prostřednictvím jednotlivých regionů, než přes jednoduchou polaritu město a venkov.

Příkladem takového způsobu rozdělení může být soustava územně správních jednotek uvnitř jednoho státu.

Regiony obecně mají jádro a zázemí a jsou charakteristické relativně úplnou vztahovou uzavřeností (Hampl, Gardavský, Kühnl 1987; Hampl 2005). I proto je můžeme alespoň přibližně vymezovat na základě ukazatelů kvantitativních (např. dojížděka do zaměstnání a do škol) nebo kvalitativních (identita, tj. sounáležitost obyvatel s daným územím). Jak takové regiony vznikají? Na tuto otázku se snaží odpovědět koncept regionální identity (Paasi 1986). Obecně lze říci, že identita člověka předpokládá identitu místa či regionu, tj. jejich symbolickou a významovou náplň (Norberg-Schulz 1996). Identita jako taková pak znamená „způsob, jímž se jednotlivec nebo skupina jednotlivců definuje, pocituje svou existenci (jedinečnost) a o který se opírá, když si uvědomuje (vymezuje) sama sebe ve vztahu k jiným“ (Chromý 2003, s. 167). Regionální identita vzniká, když se určitá část společnosti definuje ve vztahu k určité oblasti a následně pak se sílí sebeidentifikací obyvatel a prostřednictvím institucionalizace formuje region (Paasi 1986). Regionální identita není statická, jedná se o společenský proces a lze ji získat, posílit, zeslabit či ztratit. V čase se proměňuje s tím, jak se přetvářejí okolní vnější podmínky a názory a postoje lidí uvnitř dané části společnosti.

Ke vzniku regionu a jeho identity musí být tedy splněny dva základní předpoklady: 1) region musí být jako objekt uznán z vnějšku, obyvateli mimo něj, a 2) musí existovat vůle a potřeba sebevymezení spojená se vznikem regionálního vědomí uvnitř dané části společnosti. Region (regionální identita) je potom průnikem vymezení podle vztahové uzavřenosti na základě vybraných ukazatelů (identita regionu) a vztahové uzavřenosti na základě vzájemného ztotožnění se příslušných subjektů jako obyvatelů určitého regionu (regionální vědomí). Regionální identita ve výsledku integruje fyzické vlastnosti regionu s představami jeho obyvatel, regionální komunity (Paasi 1986). Význam regionů v praktické rovině stoupá, např. při plnění úlohy samosprávy a v souvislosti s problematikou regionálního rozvoje (Hampl 2005). Je totiž jednodušší zaměřit pomoc na stanovené regiony, pro určitou část společnosti, než jednoznačně a rozporuplně vymezenému venkovu jako celku.

Do jakého území bychom měli směřovat pomoc pro tzv. venkov? Je venkov region s vlastním územím a regionální identitou? Venkovu je obvykle přisuzováno dominantní zaměření na primární výrobu (zemědělství, lesnictví, rybolov). Může na tom ale stavět svoji identitu? Dnes, po průmyslové revoluci? Ne, dnes už k tomu nejsou v souvislosti s poklesem zaměstnanosti v zemědělství podmínky. Staví snad město svoji identitu na nějakém výrobním sektoru? Zřejmě ne, spíše na způsobu života a na symbolech (památkách, významných jevech). To mají město a venkov společné. Užívání symbolů je více podmíněno regionálně (regiony). Nezáleží na tom, zda se nacházejí ve městě nebo na venkově. Proč se tedy užívá spojení „město a venkov“? Čím je typický venkov (a město)? Proč jsou proti sobě stavěni měšťané a venkované? Jak jinak než slovy se tato identita projevuje? Prezентuje se někde „český venkov“, „české město“? Jak? Opět jen přes typickou architekturu, artefakty, kulturu. Ty jsou ale regionálně podmíněné. Nelze vymezit jeden venkovský dům podle určitých architektonických prvků (jako např. vzhled, zdobení apod.). Existuje šumavský dům, roubenka či hrázděný dům, kopaničářské chalupy, selské baroko atd. Navíc řada konstrukčně a architektonicky podobných typů domů se uplatnila jak na venkově, tak ve městě. Jen z hlediska funkčního je venkovský dům jiný. To souvisí s odlišným typem ekonomických aktivit. A znovu jsme u toho, že venkov je odlišný svou výrobní funkcí. To je pravděpodobně jediná identita venkova, která se dnes již v podstatě neuplatňuje.

Od 19. století docházelo k postupnému přiblížení města a venkova. A to ať už více či méně umělému nebo přirozenému. Dochází k pronikání městského stylu života mimo vlastní okruh obyvatel měst do jejich zázemí (tzv. nepřímá urbanizace) a městské hodnoty a přístup



k životu se stávají celospolečenskými. Obyvatelé žijící v sídlech na venkově dnes nemusí být nutně zaměstnáni v primárním sektoru hospodářství a naopak řada dříve tradičně městských povolání není vázaná pouze na města. Mění se tedy význam a obsah představy venkova. Je stále obtížnější jej charakterizovat jako neměstský prostor.

### **Rozvoj venkova jako kooperace centra a zázemí**

Venkov je městskou kulturou podmíněný pojem. Je neregionální, jedná se pouze o takový prostor, který leží někde mimo město (venkov od venku, tj. za městem). Má identitu pouze společenskou, to znamená bez konkrétního vztahu k určitému místu (sociální identitu). Navíc tato společenská identita mu byla přiřazena z vnějšku. Určitá část společnosti je tedy ve výsledku spíše za venkovany považována, než aby se ve větší míře aktivně jako venkovská vyčleňovala. Nanejvýše se jedná o protiurčení k městskému obyvatelstvu, s jejichž životním stylem se tyto tzv. venkované neztotožňují.

Ostatně ani obyvatelé měst sami sebe nepojmenovávají jako měšťany, ale identifikují se s názvem příslušné obce, z níž pocházejí. Podobně obyvatel konkrétní vesnice (či jiného neměstského sídla) sebe nepředstaví jako venkovana, spíše se označí za příslušníka lokální komunity, obyvatele dané obce či oblasti. Proto venkov jako takový není víceméně vztahově uzavřený region, uznávaný většinou jeho obyvatel a plně institucionalizovaný s danými hranicemi.

Města a různé neměstské prostory (venkovy) jsou tedy součástí těchto regionů. Jednotliví měšťané či venkované se tím pádem mohou označit za obyvatele jedné a téže oblasti, jednoho a téhož regionu. Vazba a vztah k určitému místu či regionu (regionální identita) je pro obyvatele území a míru jejich sebeidentifikace jako (regionálního) společenství významnější, než to, zda se považují za obyvatele venkova (venkovany) nebo města (měšťany). Proto je z pohledu rozvoje venkova vhodnější uvažovat části venkova jako části regionů. Respektive odlišovat různé specifické venkovy v různých regionech, jako prostorech v krajině vymezených s určitým cílem na základě určitých kritérií. Rozvoj těchto regionů pak znamená i rozvoj venkova v nich obsaženého. Snaha o přesné územní vymezení venkovského prostoru může narušit přirozené regionální vazby mezi centrem a jeho zázemím, a být tak paradoxně překážkou rozvoje venkova.

### **Závěr**

Město a venkov nepředstavují dva na sobě nezávislé objekty, ale jsou vzájemně podmíněné. V realitě venkov tvoří homogenní územní celek. Jeho jednotlivé části lze zařadit do různých nodálních regionů, které jsou relativně vztahově uzavřenými jednotkami sociogeografické organizace společnosti. Vyčlenění venkova v podobě samostatné entity a na tomto přístupu založený rozvoj může narušit přirozené vztahy mezi centry a jejich zázemím. Vnímání venkova jako něčeho zcela odlišného by se tak mohlo paradoxně stát překážkou jeho rozvoje. Proti tomu podpora kooperace mezi centry a jejich zázemím v jednotlivých regionech umožňuje nepřímou podporu rozvoje venkova při současném respektování přirozených vazeb. To ovšem předpokládá vůli ke spolupráci mezi zúčastněnými částmi společnosti.

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# **Změny českého venkova z pohledu sociologických výzkumů**

## **Changes in Czech Rural Areas from the Social Research Viewpoint**

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### **Klíčová slova:**

rozvoj venkova, sociologický výzkum, zkoumané okruhy problémů

### **Abstrakt**

Český venkov prošel v průběhu minulého století významnými změnami, z nichž pouze některé byly zachyceny v datech, popsány a interpretovány. Dlouhodobě byla pozornost věnována především ekonomické stránce rozvoje venkova a témata zkoumání sociální reality tyto ekonomické pohledy částečně kopírovala. Zaměření současného výzkumu venkovského prostoru musí vycházet z možností, které Evropská unie nabízí. Představa českého venkova, jako idylického místa uprostřed měnícího se světa pozvolna mizí. Z dosavadních teoretických prací i výzkumných poznatků evropských rurálních sociologů se vynořují dosud nezkoumané problémy. Hledání identity, národní i evropské, pokračuje. Příspěvek se zaměřuje na otevřené otázky rozvoje českého venkova v evropském kontextu.

## Změny českého venkova z pohledu sociologických výzkumů

### Výzkum českého venkovského prostoru po roce 1989<sup>180</sup>

Různé koncepty trvale udržitelného rozvoje venkova v evropských i zámořských zemích se zaměřují na hledání strategií, které by pomohly odstranit disproporce mezi regiony. Nerovnoměrnost a nevyváženost vývoje je zřejmá v lokálním, regionálním i nadregionálním pohledu a jejím důsledkem je především zranitelnost jednotlivých systémů a globální hrozby. Jejich závažnost můžeme řadit podle různých kritérií, obecně je uznáváno za nejzávažnější ohrožení životního prostředí a přírodních zdrojů, které se následně promítá do ohrožení ekonomického a sociálního rozvoje oblastí.

Otázky, které si pokládáme, zní:

- které okruhy venkovského života byly v nedávné minulosti (především po roce 1989) zkoumány,
- proč jim byla věnována pozornost, jaké byly shledány změny,
- jak dalece byly tyto změny podstatné pro rozvoj venkova,
- zda se je podařilo zachytit a správně interpretovat skutečnost,
- které okruhy problematiky zůstávají dosud mimo naši pozornost,
- které problémy venkovského rozvoje se objeví v budoucnu jako důsledek našeho vstupu do EU?

Pro ekonomický a sociální vývoj po roce 1989 byly nejpodstatnější procesy restituce půdy a majetku, privatizace a transformace zemědělské výroby. Radikálně změnily vlastnickou strukturu výrobních subjektů ve venkovském prostoru, vyvolaly procesy vertikální a horizontální mobility a změny v sociální struktuře. Výzkumy ovšem ukázaly, že další očekávané změny neprobíhaly tak lineárně, jak se očekávalo a některé předpokládané souvislosti vůbec nevznikly.

Nejzávažnějším problémem pro rozvoj venkova byla rostoucí, regionálně diferencovaná nezaměstnanost, neboť počet osob trvale činných v zemědělské prvovýrobě se podstatně snížil (asi na jednu třetinu), měnily se odbytové možnosti a otevíraly se cenové nůžky mezi vstupy a výstupy zemědělské produkce. Politicky podporovaná a očekávaná masivní privatizace zemědělských hospodářství i dalších výrobních subjektů ovšem nenastala z řady příčin objektivních (nejasná legislativa, nedostatek investičních prostředků, nekoordinovaná podpora soukromého podnikání, demografická struktura venkovského obyvatelstva apod.) i subjektivních (osobní, rodinné a zdravotní příčiny, obava riskovat, nezvyk a nechuť zkoušet něco nového, nevhodné sociální klima v obcích, spoléhání na stát atd.).

Aplikovaný charakter sociologického výzkumu venkova a zemědělství nás vedl k zamyšlení, odkud začít a jak systematicky pokračovat v odhalování příčin a důsledků současného vývoje na venkově, abychom měli potřebnou datovou základnu, kterou je možno podle aktuálních potřeb rozšiřovat. Za východisko jsme považovali podrobný popis sociálně-demografické struktury venkova a její změny (regionální disparity, populační vývoj obyvatelstva, migraci),

<sup>180</sup> V příspěvku vycházím z výsledků sociologických výzkumů Sociologické laboratoře z let 1997 – 2005, především z publikací „Český venkov 2000 – základní informace“, „Český venkov 2001 – Instituce“, „Český venkov 2002 – Podniky a podnikání“, „Český venkov 2003 – Situace před vstupem do EU“, „Český venkov 2004 – Život starých a mladých lidí na venkově“ a „Český venkov 2005 – Rozvoj venkovské společnosti“.

míru nezaměstnanosti, analýzu vertikální a horizontální mobility, pracovních možností, průběhu pracovních kariér, možností a bariér podnikání, ochoty podnikat a výsledků podnikání. Dalšími okruhy zájmu byly rodina a domácnost (velikost, struktura, generační skladba), jejich hospodaření (příjmy a výdaje, jejich struktura, životní úroveň – včetně srovnání s minulostí), vybavenost domácnosti (typická vybavenost, změny ve vybavenosti), způsob bydlení a existence osobního hospodářství. Tyto kvantifikovatelné a materiální podmínky života byly doplněny informacemi o trávení volného času a dovolené, vlivu sousedství a příbuzenství, soudržnosti obce, její vybavenosti a fungování zastupitelstva. Zvláštní kapitolou byla analýza průběhu restitucí a jejich vlivu na ekonomický a sociální vývoj venkova, politický a společenský život na venkově, životní cíle a hodnoty venkovské populace.<sup>181</sup>

Data reprezentativního sociologického výzkumu tvoří základ pro srovnávání v těchto vymezených okruzích. Ovšem již při interpretaci většiny otázek se ukázalo, že komplexnost venkovského prostoru vyžaduje mnohem důkladnější teoretickou přípravu pro empirický výzkum a jeho širší záběr. Další etapa výzkumu se proto zaměřila na instituce ve venkovském prostoru a to jak instituce státní správy a samosprávy, tak instituce vzdělávací, instituce a subjekty politického procesu, třetí sektor jako sociální a společenskou instituci a socio-kulturní instituce venkova. Byly zohledněny genderové přístupy a význam rodiny ve vývoji venkovských společenství.<sup>182</sup>

Obnova soukromého podnikání byla jednou z politicky prosazovaných premis dalšího ekonomického a sociálního vývoje zemědělství a venkovského prostoru. Praxe ukázala, že situace je mnohem komplexnější a složitější, než předpokládaly zjednodušené výklady. Provedli jsme analýzu transformačních kroků v zemědělství, především změn podnikatelské struktury, zaměstnanosti a formování sociální struktury v zemědělství, identifikaci sociálně ekonomických skupin pracovníků a vztahů k půdě. Z hlediska podnikání jsme se zabývali úlohou a místem podnikání na venkově, jeho typy, úspěšností, programy podpory malého a středního podnikání, specifiky venkovského cestovního ruchu jako druhu podnikání (včetně ekocertifikace) a reflexí podnikání v programech českých politických stran. Případová studie Jihočeského kraje přiblížila na konkrétním příkladu výhody a problémy podnikání, tvorbu podnikatelského klimatu, hodnotové orientace a životní styl malých a středních podnikatelů ve vybraném regionu.<sup>183</sup>

S přibližováním data vstupu České republiky do Evropské unie se objevovala další témata a otevřené otázky: jaká bude pozice ČR v rámci EU, jaké změny přinese nové uspořádání veřejné správy, zda se změní životní úroveň českého obyvatelstva, co přinese pracovní trh EU, jaký bude vývoj mezd, co znamenají v praxi principy rovnosti a partnerství, soudržnosti a solidarity, subsidiarity a empowermentu. Jak se projeví etnická rozdílnost, nakolik bude rozvoj společného evropského venkova ovlivněn rozdílnými socio-kulturními vzorci chování v národních státech. Stručně řečeno, zda je společné fungování evropského venkova utopie či reálná možnost (případně nezbytnost). Ve spolupráci s přírodovědeckou fakultou UK v Praze byla v terénním šetření odzkoušena platnost apriori vytvořených typů venkova (suburbánní zóna, bohaté zemědělské oblasti, severní bohaté Sudety, jižní chudé Sudety, vnitřní periferie a moravsko-slovenské pomezí) byly analyzovány jejich rozdíly ve vybavenosti obcí, infrastruktuře, finančním hospodaření a přístupu k rozvoji obce. Byly srovnávány životní styly, životní úroveň, charakter příbuzenské výpomoci, sousedských vztahů a celková kvalita života v obci. Do ní se bezesporu promítá činnost samosprávy a participace občanů, která

<sup>181</sup> Český venkov 2000 – Základní informace. Závěrečná zpráva, Sociologická laboratoř, ČZU Praha, 2000

<sup>182</sup> Český venkov 2001 – Instituce. Závěrečná zpráva, Sociologická laboratoř, ČZU Praha, 2001

<sup>183</sup> Český venkov 2002 – Podniky a podnikání. Závěrečná zpráva, Sociologická laboratoř, ČZU Praha, 2002

posiluje lokální identitu venkovského obyvatelstva.<sup>184</sup> Podobně jako v roce 2000, výsledky empirického výzkumu byly chápány nejen jako zdroj aktuálních informací, ale především jako databáze pro srovnávací výzkumy v budoucnosti.

V této fázi výzkumu se již stále častěji vedle lokálních problémů začínaly objevovat souvislosti s problémy evropského venkova. Dosud nezkoumanou venkovskou problematikou v ČR byly životní strategie mladých a starých lidí, žijících na venkově. Empirický výzkum byl zacílen na prostorovou mobilitu obyvatel venkova, roli rodáků a přistěhovalců a charakteristiky cílových sociálních skupin – juniorů (v členění student, zaměstnaný, nezaměstnaný, mladá rodina u rodičů, samostatná mladá rodina) a seniorů (v členění senior žijící sám, senior u rodiny, seniorský pár, seniorský pár u rodiny). U obou generačních skupin byly zkoumány vzájemné vztahy a vazby, vzájemná pomoc, vztah k obci, generační aspekty lokální politické participace a společenský život. Aktivní strategie byly sledovány ve vztahu k vývoji na trhu práce a vztahu k možnostem důstojného stáří ve venkovských obcích. Hodnotové preference pak ilustrovaly spokojenost či nespokojenost se současným životem na vesnici a představu o vlastní budoucnosti.<sup>185</sup>

Rozvoj venkovské společnosti je mnohadimenzionální problematika, jejíž uchopení není jednoduché. Je zjevné, že intuitivní hledání nejvýznamnějších faktorů kladného či záporného společenského vývoje má své limity. Jedinou možnou další cestou je orientace v teoretických pracích, které se rozvojem venkova zabývají a hledání spojitostí s českou realitou.<sup>186</sup>

### **Rozvoj venkova - evropský pohled<sup>187</sup>**

Neujasněné představy o rozvoji venkova souvisejí především se skutečností, že přesně nevíme, jak by měl současný venkov vypadat. Ve většině evropských zemí jsou venkovské oblasti silně diferencované z hlediska ekonomického i sociálního. Závisely a dosud do jisté míry závisí, na přírodních podmínkách (především klimatických a půdních), což je činí ekonomicky a následně i sociálně zranitelnými.

V českých zemích je situace obdobná, rozdíly mezi jednotlivými venkovskými oblastmi jsou výrazné.<sup>188</sup> K tomuto hledisku přistupuje český fenomén (či možná fenomén malých národů), který na venkovu cení jeho tradicionalismus, jako záruku uchování národních hodnot (jazyka, kulturních a hodnotových vzorců). Tato role je venkovu ovšem imputována převážně zvenčí, z městského prostředí.

V pracích zahraničních autorů jsou uváděny dva konvenční přístupy k definici venkova a sice podle deskriptivních (pozorovatelných a měřitelných) proměnných, jakými jsou např. počet a hustota obyvatelstva, jeho zaměstnanost, rozloha území apod. Druhým přístupem je sledování různých sociokulturních charakteristik ve vazbě na prostředí, v němž lidé žijí, např. v malých či velkých sídlech.<sup>189</sup> Podle našeho názoru je však deskripce nutným základem pro sledování jakýchkoliv dalších vztahů.

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<sup>184</sup> Český venkov 2003 – Situace před vstupem do EU. Závěrečná zpráva, Sociologická laboratoř, ČZU Praha, 2003

<sup>185</sup> Český venkov 2004 – Životní strategie mladých a starých lidí na vesnici. Závěrečná zpráva, Sociologická laboratoř, ČZU Praha, 2004

<sup>186</sup> Český venkov 2005 – Rozvoj venkovské společnosti. Závěrečná zpráva, Sociologická laboratoř, ČZU Praha, 2005

<sup>187</sup> volně zpracováno podle kapitoly „Teoretické přístupy ke zkoumání venkova“ (Majerová, V.). In: Český venkov 2005 – Rozvoj venkovské společnosti. Závěrečná zpráva, Sociologická laboratoř, ČZU Praha, 2005

<sup>188</sup> viz Perlín, Radim: Typologie venkova. In: Majerová, V. a kol.: Český venkov 2003 – Situace před vstupem do EU. Závěrečná zpráva VZ MSM 411100011, ČZU Praha, 2003, str. 113 - 120

<sup>189</sup> McDonagh, John, 1998. „Rurality and Development in Ireland – the need for debate?“ *Irish Geography*, Volume 31 (1), str.47-54.

V evropské diskuzi o povaze venkova se zmiňují tři problémové oblasti: oblasti formované tlakem moderního života (moderní zemědělské a nové rezidenční oblasti), oblasti upadající (migrace z venkova do měst a extenzivní farmaření) a odlehlé oblasti (geograficky periferní s řídkým osídlením). John McDonagh<sup>190</sup> na toto zobecnění (přesněji řečeno zúžení) nahlíží kriticky a venkov chápe „nejen jako fyzikálně-geografické území, ale jako mnohost sociálních prostorů v téže geografické oblasti, kde každý sociální prostor má svou vlastní logiku, své vlastní instituce a své sítě aktérů.“ Nenavrhuje definici, ale zkoumání, jak se obsah pojmu „venkov“ (případně „ruralita“) vytváří a jak se uplatňuje v různých kontextech.

Klíčovým, avšak problematickým pojmem v soudobých úvahách je „rozvoj venkova“. Podle Bullera and Wrighta (eds., 1990. *Rural Development: Problems and Practices*, UK: Avebury) je možno tímto pojmem označovat „pokračující a zásadně intervencionistický proces kvalitativních, kvantitativních a distributivních změn, které vedou k poněkud lepší obživě některých skupin lidí“. Autoři se ptají, jaký smysl má intervence? Proč nenechat tato území vyvíjet podle jejich vlastních možností a proč mají veřejné finanční prostředky podporovat právě venkovská sídla? Podle nich je iluzí myslet si, že venkov a město jsou vzájemně nezávislé; o venkovských a městských společenstvích je třeba uvažovat jako o celku. Důvody podpory rozvoje venkova lze spatřovat v ekonomické efektivitě, rovnosti, a potřeby péče o krajinu, ve které žijeme. O venkovu se musí uvažovat v termínech komplexu činností, které dohromady venkov utvářejí. Venkov je konstrukce sestavená z množství ekonomických, politických a socio-kulturních významů.

Johna McDonagha lze považovat za poměrně ostrého kritika aktivit, které ze strany EU venkovu implantují určité způsoby ekonomického a sociálního chování, přestože Irsko bývá často používáno jako příklad chudé země, která se díky evropské podpoře stala prosperujícím územím. Autor ovšem pojmenovává cenu, kterou za to platí – a domnívá se, že je to potlačování lokálních iniciativ (jako nezbytného předpokladu trvalé prosperity a demokratického vývoje) a rostoucí státní centralismus.

Další autor<sup>191</sup> upozorňuje na nutnost spojení abstraktního myšlení a empirického přístupu (s kritickým odkazem na práci Cloke, Dole et al. 1994, „Writing the Rural“ a naopak vyzdvižením přístupu Murdocha a Marsdena, 1994 v „Reconstituting rurality“). Vrací se k Pahlově knize „The Rural-urban continuum“ z r. 1966 v němž je koncept sociologicky zvláštního venkovského světa označován za zavádějící, matoucí, zastaralý. Venkov, v ideologickém obraze zpodobňovaný jako harmonická soudržná společnost, považuje za teoretický konstrukt neadekvátní moderní době. Jazykem empirického výzkumu řečeno, tento koncept nechával velkou část reality bez povšimnutí (např. kapitalisticky organizované farmaření).

V pracích současných evropských autorů se objevují okruhy problémů, které u nás zatím zkoumány ani diskutovány nebyly. Ani v české odborné literatuře se nemůžeme opřít o koncept, který by odrážel současnou venkovskou realitu tak, aby se mohl stát východiskem empirického výzkumu. Mění se vztah produkce a konzumace se výrazněji začíná ve venkovském prostoru objevovat až po vstupu ČR do EU, neboť změny produkčních modelů v post-produkční způsoby ekonomického chování se projevují postupně.

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<sup>190</sup> McDonagh, John, 1998. „Rurality and Development in Ireland – the need for debate?“ *Irish Geography*, Volume 31 (1), str.47-54.

<sup>191</sup> Miller Simon, 1996. „Class, Power and Social Construction Issues of Theory and Application in Thirty Years of Rural Studies.“ *Sociologia Ruralis*, Volume 36, No 1, 93-116

Jedním z důležitých okruhů zkoumání je přeskupování mocenských vztahů při restrukturalizaci venkova.<sup>192</sup> Vlivem globálních procesů na lokální dění dochází nejen k přeskupování mocenských vztahů, ale také ke vzniku nových sociálních nerovností. Cílem evropské politiky pro venkov je jejich zmírňování pomocí ekonomických a sociálních intervencí. Postupně se upouští od exogenního modelu a přijímá se endogenní model rozvoje. Znamená to posílení významu lokálních aktérů a místních mocenských sítí.<sup>193</sup>

Ve většině evropských zemí je restrukturalizace vedena snahou o zmírnění intenzivního zemědělského hospodaření ve prospěch ochrany přírody, ekologicky šetrného hospodaření a utváření krajiny. Na druhou stranu tyto procesy „post-produktivismu“ zhoršují podmínky zaměstnanosti a mohou se stát zdrojem sociálního napětí. To vede k věkově, kvalifikačně a profesně determinované migraci mezi městem a venkovem. Od čistě ekonomických pohledů se postupně přechází k uznávání důležitosti socio-kulturních faktorů. V evropském měřítku zahrnují rozdíly ve vymežování a chápání venkova, v národních kulturních konstrukcích rurality a také v definování obrazu venkova a jeho konceptualizaci v různých kulturních kontextech.

Od deskripce sociální struktury venkovského prostoru, která byla převažující náplní dosavadních českých empirických studií, se postupně musíme orientovat na hlubší analytický pohled jejího formování, ovlivněného politicko-mocenskými procesy. Tyto procesy nelze nahlížet jen z politologického hlediska, ale je nutno hledat především jejich sociální a ekonomické souvislosti.

Rozvojové programy otvírají další otázky, např. role nových a starých elit, priority jednotlivých sociálních skupin, genderové nerovnosti, potencionální konflikty sociálních skupin s rozdílným přístupem k mocenským mechanismům ovlivňování rozhodovacích procesů na venkově a další. Na jedné straně je decentralizace, tedy přesun moci shora dolů, nesporným pokrokem pro budování funkčních sociálních sítí a vztahů na lokální úrovni. Na druhé straně někteří autoři ze starých členských zemí EU<sup>194</sup>, na základě delších zkušeností a jejich vyhodnocování upozorňují, že místní aktéři se mohou snadno stávat loutkami státní a evropských elit, které mají lepší strategické pozice a lepší přístup ke zdrojům.

Obavy z nezamýšlených důsledků, např. oslabování lokálních iniciativ, byrokratizace či posilování lobbistických tlaků jsou opodstatněné. Hlubší pohled na změny sociální struktury venkovského prostoru, společně se snahou o porozumění vztahům a souvislostem jejích jednotlivých prvků je potřebný. Česká zkušenost s rozvojem venkova v evropském kontextu je teprve v začátcích. Bude zajímavé sledovat další český i evropský vývoj.

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<sup>192</sup> Halfacree, K., Kovach, I., Woodward, R. (eds). 2002. Leadership and Local Power in European Rural Development. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.

<sup>193</sup> na tomto principu je koncipován program LEADER

<sup>194</sup> Goverde, H. and de Haan, H.: The Politics of Rural Development in The Netherlands (str. 33-58), Woodward R., Halfacree, K: Influences on Leadership and Local Power in Rural Britain (str. 59-90)



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# **Význam dopravní obslužnosti v rozvoji venkovských oblastí** **A Role of Transportation in Development of Rural Areas**

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## **Klíčová slova**

dopravní dostupnost, automobilizace, dojížděka, venkovské oblasti

## **Abstrakt**

Příspěvek se zabývá problematikou dopravní dostupnosti jako klíčového konceptu v dopravněgeografických analýzách venkovských oblastí. Nejprve je tento obecný pojem stručně diskutován, následně jsou analyzovány dopravní možnosti venkovských oblastí. Na konci příspěvku je připojeno několik obecných závěrů k problematice dopravní obslužnosti venkovských oblastí a doporučení pro regionální politiku. V 90. letech dramaticky poklesl přepravní výkon veřejné dopravy (autobusová a vlaková doprava) a veřejná doprava upadla do tzv. bludného kruhu: narůstající cena jízdného podpořila přechod obyvatelstva na používání individuální automobilové dopravy, čímž se znovu snížila obsazenost a ekonomická rentabilita spojů. Tento nepříznivý trend byl zastaven administrativní reformou, jmenovitě přesunem zodpovědnosti za organizaci veřejné dopravy z okresních úřadů na úřady krajské. Pozitivní zlom je patrný z rozhovorů se starosty, které byly provedeny v rámci našich výzkumů v okr. Rakovník, České Budějovice aj. Současně se zmíněným trendem došlo ke zvýšení míry automobilizace obyvatelstva i k nárůstu používání automobilů. Tento proces je podmíněn především dvěma příčinami, na jedné straně je to změna životního stylu (spojená s přechodem na západní způsob dopravního chování), na straně druhé nezbytnost dopravní dostupnosti center z venkovských/periferních oblastí. Popsané trendy jsou dokumentovány statistickými daty za národní a okresní úroveň; význam dopravy v dojížděce za prací a do škol bude zhodnocen na příkladu obcí Rakovnícka. Výsledky analýz jsou prezentovány formou map a grafů.

## **Key words**

transport accessibility, automobilisation, commuting, rural regions

## **Abstract**

The contribution deals with a problem of accessibility as a key concept of transport-geography analyses of rural areas. At first, this general concept is briefly discussed and then the possibility of transportation in rural regions is emphasised. Several conclusions about accessibility in rural regions and some general recommendations for regional policy are made in the end of the contribution. In the 1990's a performance of public transport services (bus and railway transportation) dramatically decreased and public transport fell into so called vicious circle: increasing fare push inhabitants to use an individual automobile transport what again caused less occupancy of public transportation and its lower cost-effectiveness. This adverse trend has been stopped by administrative reform, namely by shifting the responsibility for public transport organization from district authorities to regional one. This positive turn is obvious from interviews which have been done in framework of our

researches in Rakovník and České Budějovice district. Concurrently to above-mentioned trend, a rate of automobilisation and using cars has risen. This process is conditioned mainly by two causes: On one hand it is change of a lifestyle (transition to the western traffic behaviour) connected with increasing wealth of inhabitants, on the other hand it is necessity of accessibility in rural/peripheral regions. Described trend are documented by statistical data at national and district levels. A case study of communities of Rakovník district shows an importance of transportation in commuting to work and schools. The analytical results are presented in form of maps and charts.

## Význam dopravní obslužnosti v rozvoji venkovských oblastí

### Úvod

Dostupnost je jedním z klíčových pojmů zmiňovaných v souvislosti s problematikou venkovských a periferních oblastí. Proces koncentrace obslužných, výrobních a dalších aktivit získal v období transformace na dynamice a bude nadále prohlubovat rozdíly mezi jádrovými a periferními (většinou venkovskými) oblastmi. Polarizace prostoru poroste i v mikroregionálním měřítku, tzn. uvnitř obcí, mezi „střediskovým sídlem“ a ostatními částmi obce. Při nedostatku pracovních příležitostí a absenci základních služeb v místě bydliště je pro obyvatelstvo čím dál více nezbytné za těmito cíli dojíždět a akcesibilita těchto cílů se stává jednou z nejdůležitějších podmínek života ve venkovských oblastech. V tomto širokém smyslu také definuje akcesibilitu Nutley (1998) jako možnost dostat se na místo potřeby. Přitom časové vyjádření dostupnosti je z psychologického hlediska podstatnější nežli dostupnost kilometrická. Ukazuje to např. dojíždka z obcí do Prahy, která je ovlivněna položením rychlostních dopravních sítí (především dálnic, ale i hlavních železnic) spíše než vzdáleností od metropole (Vondráčková 2004).

Ve smyslu nutnosti realizovat cesty za základními potřebami je poptávka po dostupnosti ve venkovských oblastech v podstatě vyšší než ve městech, kde je široká nabídka dopravních možností. Naopak z hlediska počtu osob je poptávka v řídké zalidněných venkovských oblastech nízká a způsobuje ztrátovost obslužnosti veřejnou dopravou. Tato základní skutečnost pak vede k nutnosti hradit provozovatelům tzv. prokazatelnou ztrátu, ale částečně podmiňuje i konkurenceschopnost jednotlivých druhů dopravy, klesající zhruba ve škále vlak – autobus – automobil. Konkurenceschopnost uvedených dopravních prostředků je samozřejmě výrazně ovlivněna také rozdílným způsobem výpočtu cen dopravy (u železniční je zahrnuta i cena za údržbu dopravní cesty, zanedbány jsou ceny škod na životním prostředí ad.).

Lze předpokládat, že klesající kvalita obslužnosti periferních oblastí veřejnou dopravou je stále častěji nahrazována dopravou individuální automobilovou, popř. jinými, alternativními způsoby obslužnosti (např. sdílené jízdy, mikrobuses apod.). Tato tendence by se měla projevit na vývoji automobilizace, která by z uvedených důvodů měla být v oblastech s řídkým osídlením vyšší. Tento vztah zjistil už Nutley ve svých studiích o venkovských oblastech v Británii a USA (1996) a v Austrálii (2003) a naznačují ho analýzy situace v Česku (Marada 2003a). Vyšší automobilizaci lze ovšem předpokládat také v „bohatých“ metropolitních oblastech. Příčiny vyšší automobilizace jsou ovšem ve jmenovaných typech regionů rozdílné. Zatímco v prvním případě (řídké venkovské osídlení) vyplývá z nezbytnosti zajištění základních životních potřeb (problém dostupnosti), druhý případ je podmíněn vyšší ekonomickou úrovní velkých měst. Proto se obě kategorie budou pravděpodobně výrazně lišit kvalitou vozového parku, tj. průměrným stářím vozů a „luxusností“ značek automobilů.

Tento příspěvek chce proto stručně popsat vývoj obslužnosti hromadnou dopravou a srovnat ho se stupněm automobilizace obyvatelstva na straně jedné („možnosti dopravy“), dále pak zhodnotit regionální rozdíly ve využívání uvedených dopravních možností pro cesty do zaměstnání a škol podle výsledků Sčítání lidu, domů a bytů 2001 (dále SLDB 2001).

### Vývoj obslužnosti veřejnou hromadnou dopravou

Jak bylo naznačeno výše, autobusová a železniční osobní doprava je kvůli kvantitativně malé poptávce po dopravě ekonomicky nejméně efektivní v oblastech rozdrobeného osídlení.

Prokázat toto tvrzení za celé Česko, např. i jen v „hrubé“ úrovni okresů, je ovšem nemožné, neboť data o dopravních výkonech za okresy nejsou centralizována ani za autobusovou dopravu, železniční doprava vede svoji evidenci tradičně po železničních tratích. Přesto lze uvedenou tezi považovat za reálnou na základě množství regionálních studií (např. Květoň 2004, Jansa 2004 aj.). K opačnému závěru došel Seidenglanz (2001) ve své dopravní analýze okresu Jeseník. Za příčinu překvapivého zvýšení kvality obslužnosti okresu veřejnou dopravou považuje ustavení okresu Jeseník v roce 1993. Význam administrativního faktoru v rozvoji dopravní obslužnosti dokládá také celorepublikový vývoj dopravní obslužnosti: Zatímco do roku 2003 si při našich výzkumech představitelé obcí stěžovali právě na problém špatné a pro rozpočty obcí finančně náročné dopravní obslužnosti, po přenesení kompetencí ze zaniklých okresních úřadů na úřady krajské jsou se stavem obslužnosti vcelku spokojeni. Je pravdou, že dotace na zajištění dopravní obslužnosti se po převedení na kraje zvýšily a tlak na rozpočet obcí ustal (viz obr.č. 1 a 2). Zvážit ovšem musíme také skutečnost, že obyvatelé venkovských sídel si na nižší frekvenci linek již přivykli a potřebnou úroveň obslužnosti nahradili jinými prostředky, např. vlastním automobilem nebo vlastním mikrobusem (případ mikroregionu Balkán na Rakovnicku) apod.

### **Kritika dat a metodika sledování**

Ověření uvedených hypotéz o automobilizaci je výrazně omezeno dostupností dat. Počty automobilů a kvalita vozového parku jsou v současnosti evidovány v tzv. Centrálním registru vozidel Ministerstva vnitra České republiky. Přibližně do poloviny 90. let byly vozy evidovány okresními dopravními inspektoráty české policie a souhrnný přehled těchto starších evidencí nebyl dosud zpřístupněn. Celorepublikové srovnání lze proto provést pouze za období 1998 – 2005. Databáze jsou dostupné za okresy, tj. za 77 administrativních jednotek státní správy, které byly platné v letech 1960 – 2002. Ačkoliv tyto jednotky byly často vymezeny poněkud neorganicky a část z nich neodpovídá přirozené spádovosti obyvatelstva, lze je pro účely hodnocení automobilizace považovat za uspokojivé.

Jinou otázkou je kvalita zmíněných údajů. Např. hodnota průměrného stáří vozů v okresech, která se pohybuje kolem 15 let naznačuje, že v evidenci je pravděpodobně zahrnuta řada vozů fakticky nevyužívaných a možná také přívěsy za osobní vozy, jejichž stáří je nejpravděpodobnějším důvodem ovlivnění dat. Majitelé vozů jsou povinni platit za svůj vůz tzv. povinné ručení, což by je mělo nutit staré a nepoužívané vozy z evidence odhlašovat. Údaje o počtu majitelů, kteří zákonné pojištění neplatí, však nejsou autorovi známy. Data z centrálního registru je navíc obtížné ověřit a korigovat pomocí jiných pramenů. Jediným dalším zdrojem dat o vybavení obyvatelstva automobily je census prováděný jednou za 10 let. V něm je v rámci vybavení domácností sledováno i vlastnictví jednoho, dvou a více automobilů. Vzájemný přepočít mezi domácnostmi a obyvateli nelze provést, a tak tyto data slouží kontrole evidence jen rámcově. I když tedy oficiální evidence nemusí úplně odpovídat faktickému stavu, regionální diferenciace míry automobilizace (viz níže) ukazuje, že pro relativní srovnání jsou data z registru postačující, dokládají základní trendy a regionální diferenciace a následná analýza z hlediska domácností ji vhodně doplňuje.

Vlastní hodnocení bylo provedeno následovně: Všechny 77 okresů Česka bylo rozděleno podle hustoty zalidnění na tři kategorie – skupinu dvaceti nejvíce „venkovských“ okresů, skupinu dvaceti nejhustěji zalidněných okresů a na okresy ostatní (37 jednotek). V rámci uvedených kategorií byla vyčíslena hodnota automobilizace v roce 1996 a 2004, její změny a stáří vozového parku.

## **Regionální diferenciace automobilizace ve vztahu k venkovským periferním oblastem**

V transformačním období došlo v Česku k dynamickému nárůstu počtu automobilů. Zjednodušeně lze říci, že vývoj, kterým prošly vyspělé západní země za cca 30 let, proběhl v Česku v koncentrované podobě během jednoho desetiletí. Počet všech registrovaných motorových vozidel narostl v Česku proti roku 1990 o 58 %. Stupeň automobilizace (počet obyvatel na jeden osobní automobil) vzrostl z hodnoty 4,3 v roce 1990 na 2,7 v roce 2004 (v hlavním městě Praze dokonce pod 2 obyvatele na 1 osobní automobil).

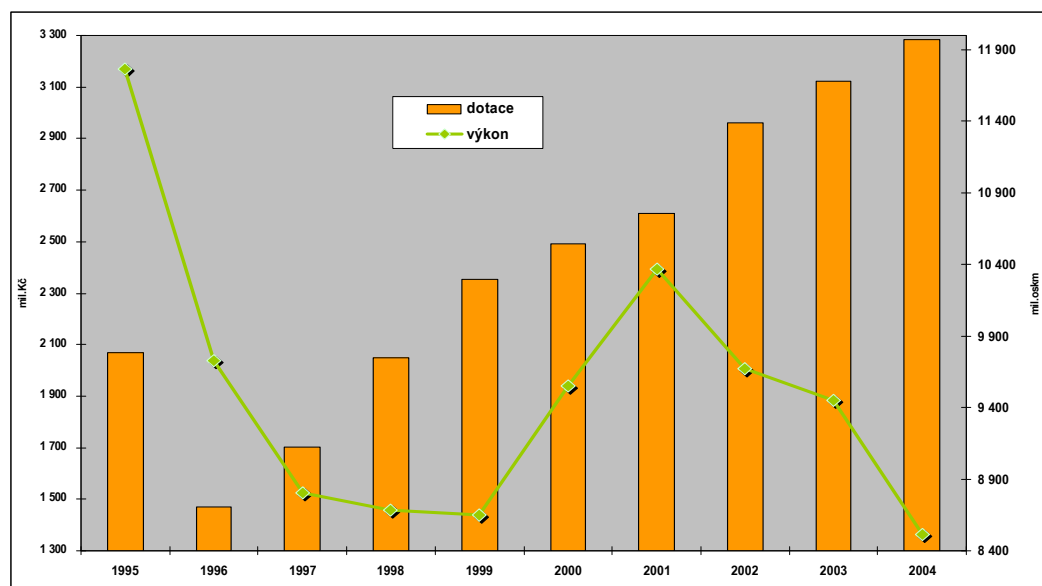
Obrázek č. 3 znázorňuje hodnoty automobilizace, tj. počet obyvatel okresu na jeden osobní automobil k 1. lednu 2006; index změny automobilizace mezi uvedenými roky 1998 – 2005 je na obrázku č.4. Ze srovnání vyplývá, že hodnota automobilizace celkově vzrostla ve všech okresech, ovšem Čechy stále zůstávají více automobilizované nežli Morava. Vysvětlení nelze hledat pouze v potřebě dostupnosti a bohatství okresů, ale např. i v hodnotovém žebříčku obyvatel. Zvažovat lze i efekt kontaktní difúze životního stylu, neboť jihozápad republiky přiléhající k Bavorsku byl více vybaven automobily již v totalitním období. Vyšší automobilizaci venkovských oblastí, jak ji ověřil na příkladu Británie zmíněný Nutley (1996, 1998), rámcově dokládá tabulka č. 1, ve které je vyčíslena průměrná míra automobilizace a průměrné stáří vozidel za výše uvedené skupiny okresů určené z hlediska hustoty zalidnění (jako jednoduchého, „hrubého“ znaku perifernosti). Je patrné, že ve skupině hustěji zalidněných okresů je stáří osobních automobilů nižší než je průměr Česka. Automobilizace v okresech s vysokou koncentrací obyvatelstva je skutečně nižší než český průměr a dokonce nižší než automobilizace řídce zalidněných okresů. Korelační závislosti však tento vztah potvrzují jen částečně (viz tabulka č. 2), neboť hodnota korelačního koeficientu mezi hustotou zalidnění a automobilizací je indikuje nezávislost. Lze shrnout, že zjištěné souvislosti je třeba prověřit na nižším regionálním řádu, neboť data za okresy téměř ve všech případech zahrnují také hodnoty za středisko okresu a české okresy byly často vymezeny dosti neorganicky. Podrobnější sledování umožňují např. zmíněné výsledky Sčítání lidu, domů a bytů v roce 2001, které evidují také použitý dopravní prostředek pro cesty do zaměstnání. Příklad výsledků vyjádřených za okresy přináší obrázky č.5 a 6, ze kterých je zřejmé vyšší využívání veřejné dopravy v moravských okresech než v okresech Čech. I tato skutečnost může souviset s odlišnostmi v životním stylu, který sekundárně podmiňuje míru automobilizace. Regionální diferenciace využívání osobních automobilů je, zjednodušeně řečeno, inverzní vzhledem k využívání veřejné dopravy.

## **Závěr**

Do budoucna se dá předpokládat, že dopravní obslužnost periferních obcí veřejnou dopravou bude stabilizována, nebo se bude mírně zhoršovat. Vzhledem k pokračujícímu koncentračnímu procesu je nezbytné udržet současnou úroveň dopravní obslužnosti veřejnou dopravou i z důvodu závislosti určitých skupin obyvatelstva na ní. Konkrétně se jedná o staré obyvatelstvo, děti a mládež, kteří ze zákona nemohou vlastnit řidičské oprávnění a o určité skupiny žen. Dotčené orgány by proto měly přemýšlet o alternativních možnostech zajištění obslužnosti. Těmi může být např. tzv. obecní taxi, autobus na zavolání, podpora sdílených jízd apod. Uvažovat lze i o dopravě služeb za obyvateli, tedy o dopravě cílů dojížděky obyvatel za nimi. Jedná se o různé, kdysi na venkově běžné pojízdné prodejny, ale i o knihovny, zubní ordinace, mobilní poštovní služby apod. Bez těchto kreativních řešení budou obyvatelé periferních venkovských oblastí stále více nuceni dojíždět vlastními automobily, bude docházet k sociální exkluzi zmíněných skupin obyvatelstva bez přístupu k automobilu a kvalita života tak bude v těchto oblastech klesat. Tato skutečnost ke

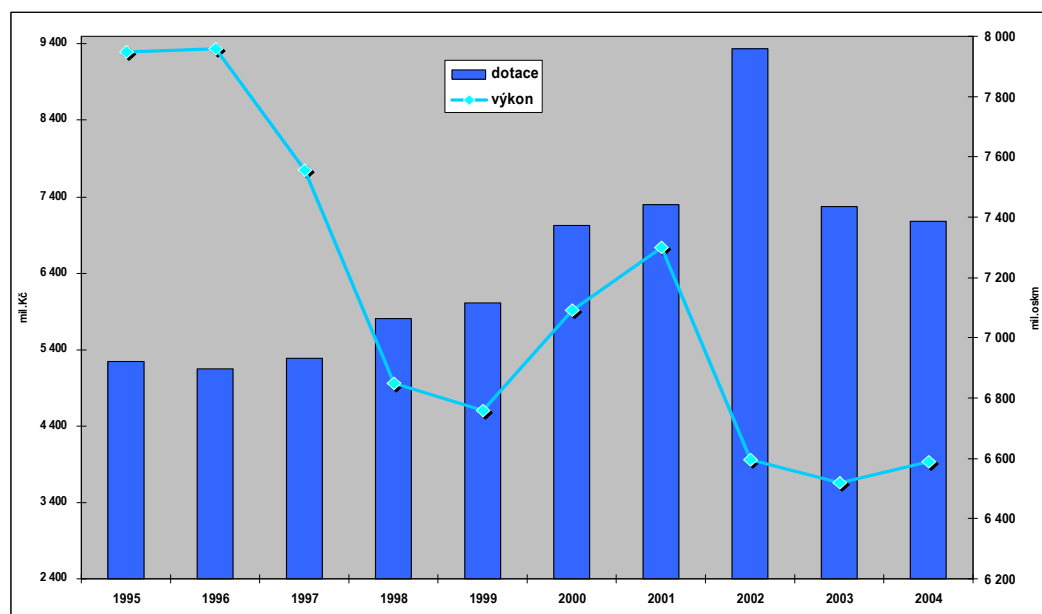
stabilizaci venkova samozřejmě nepřispěje a zajištění dopravní obslužnosti řídce zalidněných venkovských oblastí se musí stát klíčovým problémem regionální politiky.

**Obr. č. 1 – Vývoj dotací do linkové autobusové dopravy a jejích přepravních výkonů**



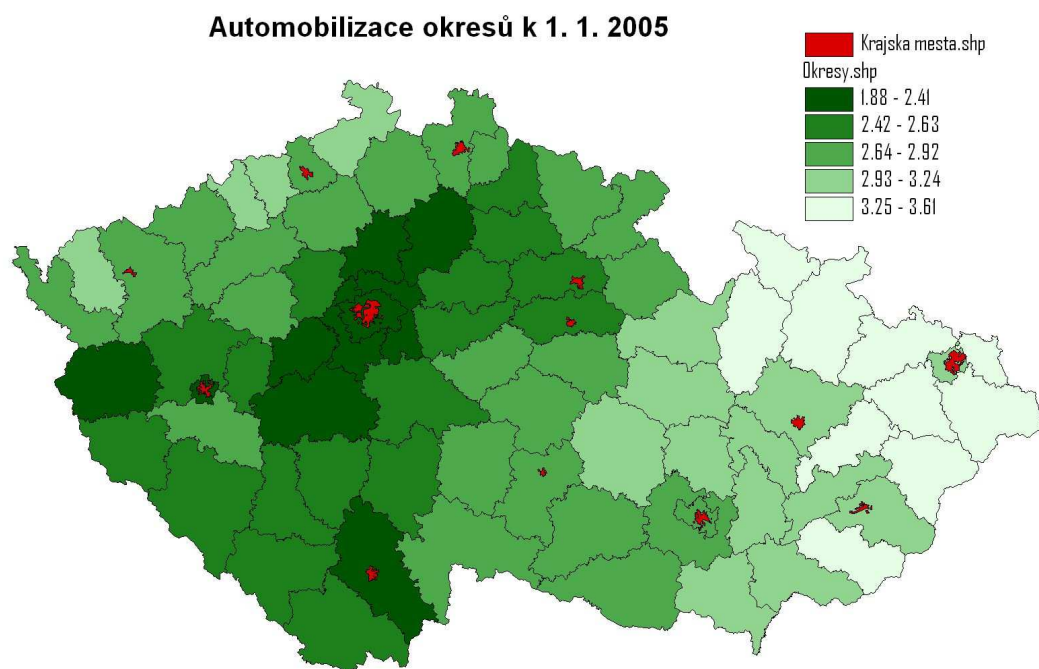
Zdroj: Ročenka dopravy 2004, CDV

**Obr. č. 2 – Vývoj dotací do železniční osobní dopravy a jejích přepravních výkonů**



Zdroj: Ročenka dopravy 2004, CDV

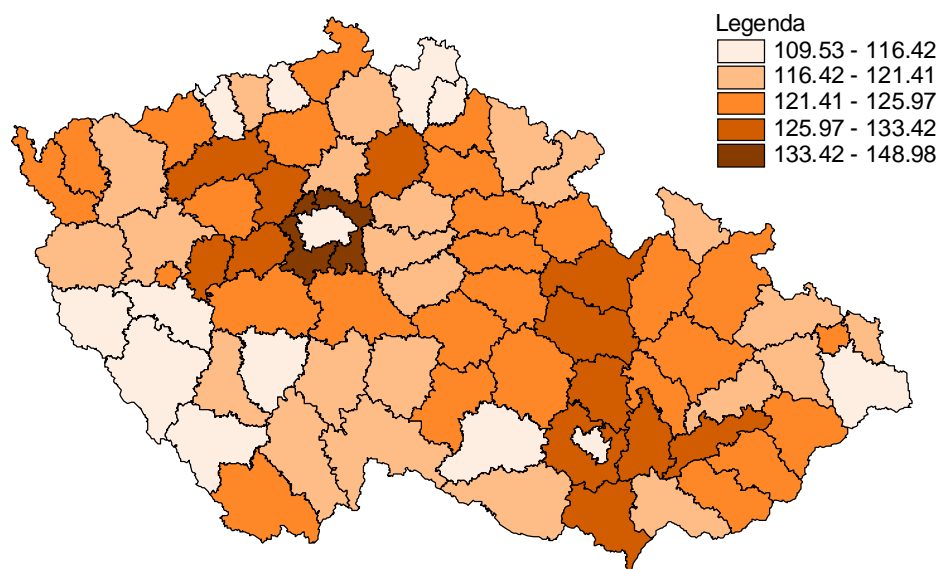
**Obr. č. 3**



*Zdroj: CRV MV ČR, ČSÚ*

Pozn.: Stupeň automobilizace = počet obyvatel okresu připadajících na jeden osobní automobil.

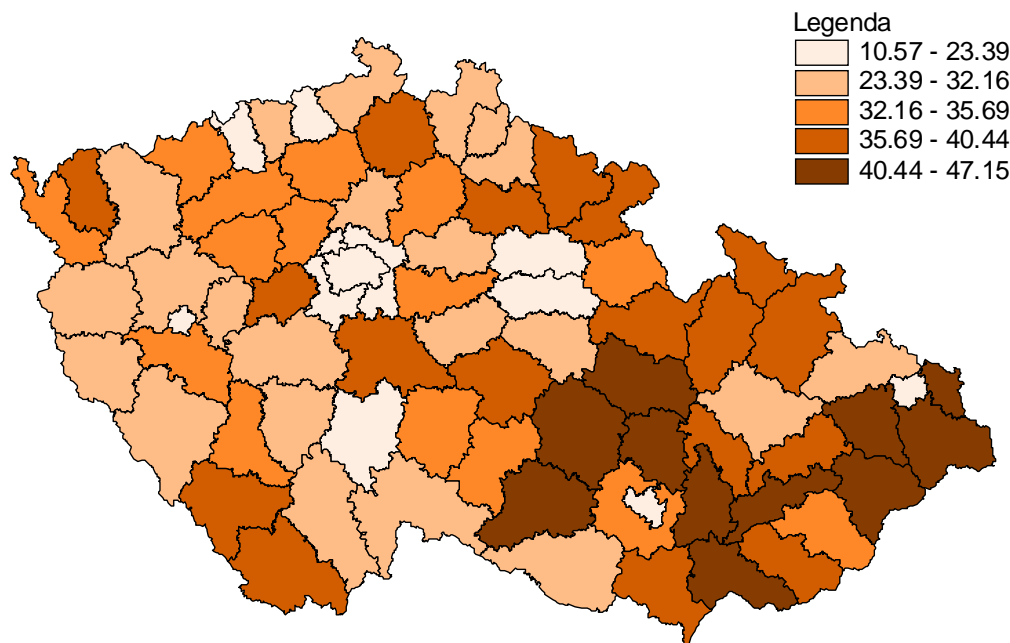
**Obr. č. 4 – Index změny automobilizace v letech 1998–2005**



*Zdroj: CRV MV ČR, ČSÚ*

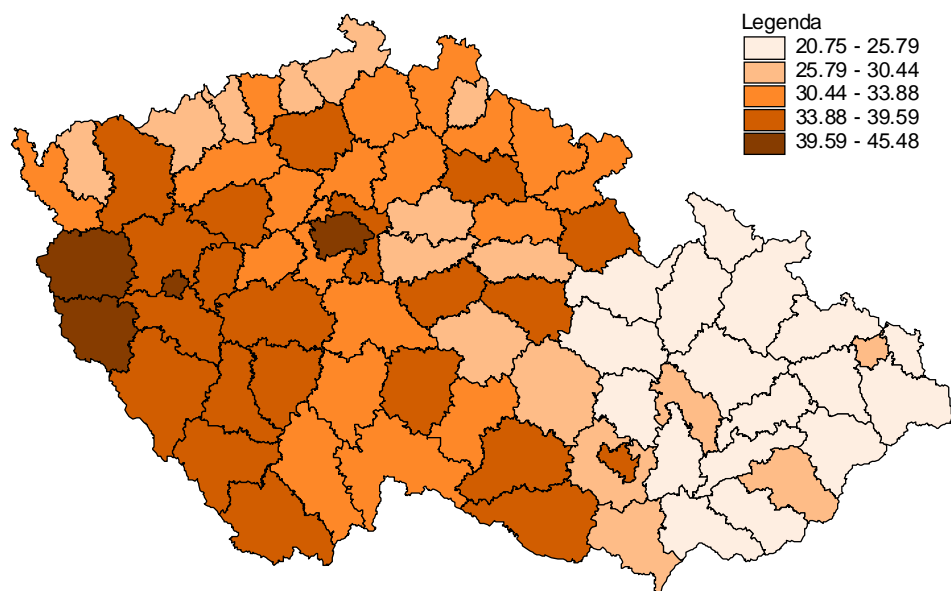


**Obr. č. 5 – Podíl obyvatel okresu využívajících k dojížděce za prací veřejnou dopravu v roce 2001**



*Zdroj: SLDB 2001*

**Obr. č. 6 – Podíl obyvatel okresu využívajících k dojížděce za prací automobil v roce 2001**



*Zdroj: SLDB 2001*

**Tabulka č. 1**

	<b>Průměrná míra automobilizace v roce 2005</b>	<b>Průměrný rok výroby osobních automobilů v roce 2005</b>
20 okresů s nejnižší hustotou zalidnění	2,73	1990,65
Česko	2,79	1990,99
20 okresů s nejvyšší hustotou zalidnění	2,87	1991,60

*Zdroj: CRV MV ČR, ČSÚ*

**Tabulka č. 2**

	<b>Hustota zalidnění</b>	<b>Stáří osobních automobilů v roce 2005</b>	<b>Automo bilizace v roce 2005</b>	<b>Index změny automobilizace 1998 – 2005</b>
Hustota zalidnění	1,000	0,446	-0,101	0,080
Stáří osobních automobilů v roce 2005	0,446	1,000	-0,223	-0,099
Automobilizace v roce 2005	-0,101	-0,223	1,000	0,182
Index změny automobilizace 1998– 2005	0,080	-0,099	0,182	1,000

*Zdroj: CRV MV ČR, ČSÚ*

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# **Kde je venkov? (vymezení hranic venkova v podmínkách ČR)** **Where is the Countryside? (Setting the Borders of Countryside in Conditions of the Czech Republic)**

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## **Klíčová slova**

venkov, kritéria vymezení hranic, vesnice, město, venkovský region

## **Abstrakt**

Při zkoumání venkovského obyvatelstva se nemůžeme vyhnout otázce, kde vlastně začíná a končí venkov, kde jsou jeho hranice? Tato otázka není tak jednoduchá, jak se zdá. Venkovem se totiž zabývají různé vědní obory, ale nepřímě i legislativa. Každý z těchto subjektů používá své vymezení podle svých kritérií. Některá jsou specifická, aplikovatelná pouze za Českou republiku či dokonce pouze určitý region, jiná jsou naopak mezinárodní. Pro vymezení venkova je tedy možno použít různá kritéria, od nejjednoduššího počtu obyvatel přes komplikovanější ekonomické znaky až po komplexy více faktorů, díky kterým je možno definovat různé typy obcí či regionů. Obecně je možno tyto ukazatele rozdělit na subjektivní a objektivní a kategorie dále členit podle dalších hledisek. Používané ukazatele mají své výhody i nevýhody, které omezují jejich použitelnost. Jako příklad můžeme uvést nejčastěji používané jednoduché kritérium počtu obyvatel – za venkovskou se obvykle považuje ta obec, ve které žije méně než 2 000 obyvatel. Existují však obce, které jsou podle mnoha dalších ukazatelů (historický vývoj, urbanistická struktura, ekonomická skladba obyvatel) typickými vesnicemi, ale zároveň mají více než 2 000 obyvatel a proto je podle tohoto kritéria za venkovské nepovažujeme (tato situace je častá na jižní Moravě). Jiným příkladem je použití historického statutu města (za venkovské se pak považují všechny obce, které toto právo nezískaly) – jedno z takových „měst“ má dnes méně než 50 obyvatel a je pouze místní částí jiné obce. Další problémovou oblastí jsou „venkovské“ obce, které jsou z územně správního hlediska součástí větších měst. Cílem tohoto článku je tedy shromáždit co nejvíce informací o způsobech vymezování hranic venkova používaných v České republice a dále uspořádání používaných kritérií do systému. Důležitou součástí textu bude zhodnocení jejich aplikovatelnosti a posouzení výhod i nevýhod jednotlivých ukazatelů či způsobů členění. Článek bude doplněn porovnáním statistických dat vztahujících se k vybraným typům vymezení venkova.

## **Key words**

countryside, criteria for demarcation of borders, village, town, rural region

## **Abstract**

When studying the rural inhabitants we cannot evade the questions: „Where the rural area (countryside) actually begins and ends? Where are its borders?“ This question is not as simple as it seems to be. Several branches of science and indirectly also legislature are dealing with rural areas. Each of these subjects, however, uses different aspects and criteria to characterize them. Some are specific, applicable in CR or even in certain region only, some are international. To determine what countryside is, different criteria can be used, from the simplest one – the population density to more complex ones like economic features or combination of factors characterizing particular types of municipalities or regions. Generally, it is possible to divide these features into subjective and objective and further categorize

according to other properties. Each parameter used for evaluation of conditions has its advantages and disadvantages, which limit the use of the parameter. As an example we can mention the most often used criterion of number of inhabitants – a municipality is considered to be rural if it has less than 2.000 inhabitants. However, there are also such municipalities, which are typically rural in their many other features (historic development, urbanistic structure, economic structure of inhabitants) but have at the same time more than 2.000 inhabitants and are therefore not considered to be rural (this is common in Southern Moravia). Other example is the use of historical status of a town (every other municipality, which had not acquired this right would be considered rural), although the „town“ far less than 2.000 inhabitants today. Other problematic issue represents the villages, which are administered by a nearby town. The objective of this article is to collect as much information as possible about defining the borders of rural areas used in the Czech Republic and to order these criteria into a system. We would like to evaluate applicability of these criteria and state the advantages and disadvantages of their use. The article also compares statistical data related to selected features characterizing countryside.

# Kde je venkov? (vymezení hranic venkova v podmínkách ČR)

## 1. Úvod

Při zkoumání venkovského obyvatelstva se nemůžeme vyhnout zásadní otázce - kde vlastně začíná a končí venkov, kde jsou jeho hranice? Tato otázka není tak jednoduchá, jak se zdá. Venkovem se totiž zabývají nejen různé vědní obory, ale i legislativa. Každý z těchto subjektů sleduje venkov ze svého pohledu, používá vlastní způsoby vymezení podle odlišných kritérií. Některá z nich jsou specifická, aplikovatelná pouze za Českou republiku či dokonce pouze určitý region, jiná jsou naopak mezinárodní. Podle jedné z takových definic může být za venkovský region považováno téměř celé území ČR (s výjimkou Prahy).

Cílem tohoto článku je tedy shromáždit co nejvíce informací o způsobech vymezování hranic venkova používaných v České republice a dále uspořádání používaných kritérií do systému. Důležitou součástí textu bude zhodnocení jejich aplikovatelnosti a posouzení výhod i nevýhod jednotlivých ukazatelů či způsobů členění. Článek bude doplněn porovnáním statistických dat vztahujícím se k vybraným typům vymezení venkova.

Pojem venkov je totiž natolik široký, že umožňuje mnoho výkladů. Pod tímto pojmem si každý může představit něco jiného – venkovan svou obec, ekolog přírodu, zemědělec hospodářsky využívanou půdu, turista volnou krajinu,... Podle toho také existuje mnoho různých kritérií a možností, jak venkov vymezit a ohraničit.

Protože na venkov je možno nahlížet z mnoha úhlů pohledu, není možno jej popsat jednou definicí. Každá z vědních disciplín, která se i jen okrajově problematikou venkova zabývá, si jej definuje ze svého hlediska. Proto bude následující text zaměřen sice na venkov obecně, ale s upřednostněním hlediska sociologického a socio-demografického.

Venkov obecně je vymezován jako řídko osídlený prostor, ve kterém má důležitou funkci zemědělství. Z hlediska demografického lze venkov vymezit nízkým počtem a hustotou obyvatel, z hlediska urbanistického specifickým typem zástavby, z hlediska sociologa například jiným způsobem života.

Velký sociologický slovník uvádí tuto definici: „**Venkov** je obydlený prostor mimo městské lokality tradičně charakterizovaný orientací na zemědělství a menší hustotou obyvatel, ale i jiným způsobem života, většinou propojeným s přírodou, a také s jinou sociální strukturou ve srovnání s městem...“<sup>195</sup>

Různé pojetí venkova můžeme rozdělit podle územního hlediska na venkovský prostor, venkovský region a venkovské sídlo - vesnici. Tyto pojmy bývají často zaměňovány či používány jako synonyma, někteří autoři je však definují odlišně.

Jako **venkovský prostor** se obvykle označují vesnice (venkovské osídlení) a krajina v jejich okolí, jiné pojetí říká, že to je souhrn katastrů venkovských obcí nebo podrobněji souhrn ploch zemědělské půdy, lesů, vodních ploch, intravilánů, venkovských sídel, polních cest a místních komunikací. Stejně tak můžeme jako venkov označit celé území mimo plochy měst.

Pojem **venkovský region** je využíván ve statistikách – obvykle označuje oblast definovanou na základě určených kritérií. Nejběžněji používaná metoda v EU hodnotí regiony podle podílu obyvatelstva žijícího ve venkovských obcích, které jsou pro tyto účely vymezeny danou maximální hustotou obyvatel (tj. počtem obyvatel na 1 km<sup>2</sup>) a dále podle podílu těchto obcí v regionu, který může být na různé velikostní úrovni (okres, VÚSC).

<sup>195</sup> Velký sociologický slovník, Karolinum Praha 1996, str. 1 380

**Venkovské sídlo, venkovská obec** či jednoduše **vesnice** je označení pro sídlištní jednotku ve venkovském prostoru. Z historického hlediska je to typické seskupení obytných a hospodářských stavení, plnících různé funkce, mezi nimiž měla důležité místo funkce zemědělská.

A Slepíčka je však rozlišuje a uvádí, že: „Venkovskými sídly rozumíme všechny prostorově oddělené sídlení útvary mimo města. Patří sem tedy samoty, malé skupiny domů (osady) i vesnice. Vesnice lze charakterizovat jako relativně kompaktní venkovská sídla, která charakterem zástavby, strukturou ploch intravilánu, velikostí staveb a jejich funkčním využitím a také skladbou obyvatelstva a jeho počtem (až do 2 000 až 5 000 obyvatel) nemají znaky města.“<sup>196</sup> A. Andrlé ztotožňuje venkovské sídlo se sídlením lokalitou. Tu definuje jako ucelený soubor obytných objektů, který je základní kolektivitou, kde žijí lidé. Teprve historický a ekonomický vývoj vedl ke spojení těchto základních kolektivit ve větší systémy, tj. „administrativní obce“. Tyto lokality byly použity jako územně nejpodrobnější sídlení jednotky při sčítání lidu v roce 1970.<sup>197</sup>

Pro dokreslení šíře problematiky je třeba zmínit význam pojmu obec, který není totožný s vesnicí. Ze sociologického hlediska je **obec** „větší či menší sociální jednotka, tvořená obyvatelstvem společně užívajícím určité vymezené území, ve kterém se odehrává převážná část denního, hospodářského a kulturního života.“ V Malém sociologickém slovníku se dále uvádí, že „původně se pojmu obec ve společenských vědách užívalo pro označení území s právně vymezenými hranicemi, obydleného obyvatelstvem, jež se zabývá hospodářskými činnostmi navzájem závislými a pro označení území tvořícího politicky samosprávnou jednotku. Za obce byly proto považovány vesnice, městyse, města i velkoměsta.“<sup>198</sup>

Charakteristickými znaky obce jsou: vlastní území (územní základ obce), obyvatelstvo (personální základ obce), vystupování v právních vztazích svým jménem, tj. právní subjektivita (právní základ obce), vlastní majetek a hospodaření podle vlastního rozpočtu (ekonomický základ obce).<sup>199</sup>

## 2. Kritéria pro vymezení venkova

Jak již bylo výše uvedeno, hranice mezi městem a venkovem se během historického vývoje postupně stíraly a v současné době dochází k jejich prolínání. Proto při procesu hledání hranic venkova narážíme na mnoho problémů. V první řadě jde o určení zda budeme hledat hranice pro venkovský prostor nebo venkovskou obec, v druhé řadě o kritéria, podle kterých budeme venkov vymezovat a v neposlední řadě o kvantifikaci těchto kritérií (je-li možná).

Řešení prvního problému není příliš složité. Vzhledem k tomu, že většina kritérií venkova se vztahuje k obcím, půjde tedy častěji o vymezení rozdílů mezi venkovskou obcí a městem. Pouze některé kvalitativní znaky je možno aplikovat i na celé regiony o různé velikosti – což bude v textu upřesněno.

Protože různých kritérií pro vymezení venkova je možno najít velké množství, pokusila jsem se v nich najít systém a rozdělit je do několika skupin a podskupin. Hlavním hlediskem pro rozdělení byla měřitelnost daných kritérií. Charakteristika jednotlivých vymezení:

### 1. Subjektivní vymezení – kritéria jsou pouze subjektivní, založená na dojmech a cítění lidí

<sup>196</sup> viz Slepíčka A.: Venkov a/nebo město, Lidé/sídla/krajina, nakladatelství Svoboda Praha 1981, str. 26

<sup>197</sup> dle Kubeš J.: Literatura o geodemografických aspektech vývoje venkovského obyvatelstva a osídlení v českých zemích a na Slovensku, in: Kubeš J. (ed.): Problémy stabilizace venkovského osídlení ČR, Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, 2000, str. 42-43

<sup>198</sup> Malý sociologický slovník, Nakladatelství Svoboda Praha 1970, heslo Obec, autor Jiří Musil, str. 252

<sup>199</sup> viz Koudelka Z.: Obce a kraje podle reformy veřejné správy v roce 2001, Linde Praha, 2001, str. 51

2. Objektivní vymezení kvalitativní – kritéria jsou víceméně přesně specifikována, ale lze je špatně kvantifikovat (měřit) – například architektonický vzhled, struktura osídlení, historický vývoj apod. Patří sem i kritéria sociální, která je možno sledovat pomocí sociologických výzkumů. Tato skupina je na pomezí vymezení subjektivního a objektivního. I kvalitativní znaky je možno přesně specifikovat a používat, stanovení hranic však věcí subjektivního názoru odborníka.
3. Objektivní vymezení kvantitativní – kritéria pro vymezení venkova jsou přesně definována, jsou měřitelná a jejich zjišťování a ověřování je snadné, jejich použití však přináší možné problémy.

Zařazení určitých kritérií do takto vymezených skupin je možná sporné – některé hledisko se může zdát spíše objektivní než subjektivní či naopak. Záleží však na účelu použití daného kritéria a jeho přesné specifikaci. Mnohá z uváděných kritérií jsou výsadou jiných vědních disciplín a jsou v odborné literatuře popsána podrobněji, než je v možnostech tohoto textu.

## **2.1 Subjektivní vymezení**

Toto vymezení je založené pouze na tak neměřitelných kritériích jako jsou první dojem či cítění místních lidí. Jednoduše se jedná o pocit, když poprvé vstoupíte do obce a prohlédnete si ji – obvykle snadno rozlišíte typickou vesnici a typické město. Jedná se tedy o souhrn kritérií, jako je velikost, vzhled, styl zástavby,... Není třeba znát definice a přesto je možno takto obce rozdělit. Existuje však velká skupina obcí, kde je rozlišení obtížnější (malá historická městečka, obce v okolí či na okrajích měst apod.). V posledním případě může být za vesnici označena i obec, která je ve skutečnosti městskou částí (běžné na okraji Plzně či Brna), ale svůj vzhled a charakter si nadále zachovává.

Ve sporných případech je možno použít druhé kritérium založené na pocitech místních obyvatel. Jednoduše stačí zeptat se, zda se cítí být venkovany. R. Perlín volí tento postup: Zeptejte se náhodně vybraného místního obyvatele, jak obvykle nazývá prostranství uprostřed obce a jak vícepodlažní budovy na jejím okraji – odpoví-li, že to je náves a bytovky, jste ve vesnici, řekne-li však, že to je náměstí a paneláky (sídliště), pak jste ve městě.

Velice specifickým typem osídlení jsou v současné době čím dál častěji tzv. satelitní městečka. Nejde v zásadě o města, ale o nové části připojované k původním venkovským obcím v okolí větších měst. Tyto čtvrti však nebývají s obcí organicky spojené a je sporné, zda se jejich obyvatelé cítí být venkovany (nebo zda toto označení považují spíše za urážku).

## **2.2 Objektivní vymezení - kvalitativní**

### **Urbanistická struktura a architektonické znaky**

Rozdíly mezi městem a vesnicí byly ve středověku výrazné jak v celkové urbanistické struktuře obce, tak i v detailech jednotlivých domů – jejich vzhledu, funkčním uspořádání, v materiálech, výzdobě apod. Mnohé z těchto znaků sice byly ovlivněny regionálními dispozicemi, jako jsou přírodní podmínky, typ krajiny či úrodnost půdy, ale obecně se sídla městského typu od počátku od vesnic odlišovala.

Zjednodušeně je možno konstatovat, že středověká města se vyznačovala obrannými hradbami, které chránily seskupení ulic a veřejných prostranství (náměstí, tržišť), většinou nepravidelného půdorysu. K výraznému růstu měst přispěl teprve rozvoj průmyslu v 19. století, který nastartoval proces urbanizace, tedy koncentrace obyvatel.



Dalším typickým znakem měst je hustá zástavba často vícepodlažních domů, které mívaly v přízemí prostory pro provozování obchodu či řemeslné výroby. Specifickým typem budov byly sídla (paláce), radnice, soudy či školy. Město se od vesnice odlišovalo také některými charakterickými stavebními prvky, jako například dlážděním ulic a náměstí, kašnou či pranýřem.

Vesnice vznikaly většinou na místech úrodných, vhodných pro obdělávání půdy. Vesnické domy byly stavěny většinou ze dřeva nebo místních surovin (pískovec, opuka apod.). Spojovaly v sobě funkce obytné, hospodářské a další. Chlévy byly často přímo vedle obytné místnosti, na ně navazovaly stodoly a další skladovací objekty.

Kritéria pro vymezení venkova můžeme najít u architektů či urbanistů, kteří rozlišují obce například podle podílu zastavěné plochy, podílu vícepodlažních budov v obci, zastoupení funkčních ploch či podílu budov používaných k rekreačním účelům. Tato kritéria slouží v první řadě k porovnávání obcí mezi sebou, pro stanovení přesných hranic mezi venkovem a městem je třeba zohlednit více okolností.

### **Historický vývoj**

Svou historií a dobou existence může nejedna z českých či moravských vesnic směle soutěžit s mnoha městy. První sídla městského typu vznikla na našem území už v dobách Velkomoravské říše (např. Staré Město u Uherského Hradiště), vesnické osídlení zde však bylo již dříve. Časem se původní funkce větších sídel (ubytovací a stravovací) rozšířily o další – nejen tržní, ale i řemeslné, správní, vzdělávací a později se stávala centry průmyslového rozvoje. Nejvýznamnější města vznikala na křižovatkách obchodních cest či v přístavech.

Mnoho vesnic, ač od svého založení či vzniku prodělaly bouřlivý vývoj, zůstalo dodnes vesnicemi, některé se rozrostly na městyse, jiné se staly součástí větších měst. Existují však i případy (a většinou z nedávné minulosti), kdy se prosperující město či městečko stalo (dle současných měřítek) opět vesnicí – například mnohé obce v oblasti Sudet, odkud bylo po druhé světové válce odsunuto německé obyvatelstvo.

### **Ekonomické znaky**

Jak již bylo uvedeno, města ve středověku sloužila jako střediska obchodu a řemeslné výroby. Uzlovými body feudální ekonomiky byl hrad, kostel, klášter a trh – tedy prvky městské, upevněné v pozdějších dobách výsadními „právy“ – pořádání trhů, vaření piva, apod... Venkov na druhou stranu zajišťoval zemědělskou prvovýrobu, některé obce však měly i jiné funkce – např. dřevařské či horní (na místech vhodných pro těžbu rud).

V současné době je možno venkov a město rozlišovat podle strukturálního kritéria, tj. podle ekonomicko-demografické struktury obyvatel. Za typicky venkovská se považují odvětví jako zemědělství, lesnictví a rybářství. Naopak průmysl, stavebnictví a také obchod, služby, státní a veřejná správa a další podobná odvětví jsou typická pro městské obyvatelstvo.<sup>200</sup>

### **Sociální znaky – styl života**

Od středověku až dodnes přetrvává pověst venkova, jako zaostalé oblasti, kde žijí lidé nevzdělaní, nekulturní, málo zasažení civilizací, věnující se převážně obdělávání půdy či chovu dobytka. Až se zrušením poddanství a nástupem průmyslu začali někteří obyvatelé vesnic pracovat ve městech. V průběhu industrializace se stále zvětšoval podíl takových

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<sup>200</sup> Roubíček V.: Úvod do demografie, CODEX Bohemia, Praha 1997, str. 198

osob, a tak se vesnice urbanizovaly, neboť tito lidé přenášeli na venkov městské zvyky a městský způsob bydlení.<sup>201</sup>

Venkovská (rurální) komunita se většinou vymezuje v protikladu ke komunitě městské (urbánní) těmito znaky:

- vyšší mírou vzájemné sociální závislosti,
- menší variabilitou profesních možností,
- menší sociální diferenciací a také zúženým prostorem sociální mobility,
- silnější vazbou na tradici a slabší inklinací k sociální změně,
- silnější determinací přírodním prostředím.<sup>202</sup>

Velký sociologický slovník dále uvádí, že: „...venkovskou (ne-městskou) společnost, resp. komunitu, pospolitost (Gemeinschaft) je možné charakterizovat posvátností, mechanickou solidaritou, statusem, lidovostí, tradicionalismem a naproti tomu městskou společností (Gesellschaft) světskostí, organickou solidaritou, kontraktem a racionalitou.“<sup>203</sup>

V povědomí lidí zůstávají fixované představy o venkovanech, které se dále uchovávají v literatuře, filmech i v lidových rčeních a pořekadlech. Člověk z venkova se označuje jako „buran“, říká se, že mu „leze sláma z bot“, vžitou představu, že venkované jsou hloupí využívají i televizní reklamy. Je sice pravda, že vzdělanostní struktura obyvatel venkova je i v současné době jiná (je zde více lidí s nižším vzděláním) než u obyvatel měst<sup>204</sup>, ale to není dáno místem narození, nýbrž tím, že školy vyššího typu jsou pouze ve městech a lidé za nimi musí odcházet (a bohužel se již na venkov nevracejí).

Na druhou stranu je inteligence venkovanů označována jako „zdravý selský rozum“ a celá venkovská společnost je považována za „lepší“, protože vyznává „tradiční hodnoty“.

Tato oblast života je předmětem sociologie venkova a sociologie vesnice (a také sociologie města), která se v současné době soustřeďuje na otázky změn a vytváření způsobu života všech skupin obyvatel venkova v důsledku urbanizace venkovských sídel, na otázky sociálních a ekologických přeměn. Praktický význam má při zpracovávání koncepcí sociálního rozvoje území, struktury venkovského osídlení a při řešení sociálních problémů venkovského prostoru (vztah město-venkov, vhodné využívání přírodních podmínek, účelné rozmístění a utváření sídlišť apod.).<sup>205</sup>

## 2.3 Objektivní vymezení - kvantitativní

### Postavení obce ve správním systému (v systému veřejné správy)

První snahy o zavedení určitého systému území a obcí v něm jsou spojeny s vládou Marie Terezie a jejího syna Josefa II. V rámci mnoha ekonomických, politických a sociálních reforem došlo také k zavedení systému krajských úřadů v čele s krajskými hejtmany. Toto uspořádání fungovalo až do roku 1849, kdy bylo reorganizováno a původní panství byla nahrazena okresy. Od roku 1850 proběhla řada reforem, kdy se měnil celkový počet i rozsah okresů. Kraje byly obnoveny až komunistickou územněsprávní reformou v roce 1949.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Votrubeč C.: Lidská sídla, jejich typy a rozmístění ve světě, Academia Praha 1980, str. 120

<sup>202</sup> Velký sociologický slovník, Karolinum Praha 1996, str. 1 380

<sup>203</sup> Velký sociologický slovník, Karolinum Praha 1996, str. 1 380

<sup>204</sup> což dokazují statistické údaje prezentované v textu: Maříková P.: Český venkov ze statistického pohledu, in: Majerová V. a kol.: Český venkov 2003 – Situace před vstupem do EU, PEF ČZU Praha, 2004, str. 42 - 43

<sup>205</sup> Velký sociologický slovník, Karolinum Praha 1996, str. 1173

<sup>206</sup> podle Jeleček L.: Územněsprávní reformy v Česku v letech 1848 – 2000, Geografické rozhledy, 5/1999-2000

Během existence Rakouska-Uherska byly také zavedeny obecní úřady – ty existovaly prakticky v každém i venkovském sídle. Zůstaly zachovány i po změně státního uspořádání a vzniku Československé republiky. V roce 1987 byla zavedena nová hierarchie sídel založená na kategoriích národních výborů – za města byla označena všechna města a obce s městským národním výborem (MěNV), tj. s národním výborem II. nebo III. stupně.

Po roce 1989 byly opět obcím mnohé kompetence vráceny a jejich samospráva byla obnovena.<sup>207</sup> Výše uvedená kategorizace obcí se však stala základem pro vymezení měst – těmi byly opět označeny stejné obce jako dříve, teď však dostaly statut (viz dále).

### **Označení (statut) obce**

V období zakládání středověkých sídel dostávaly obce od panovníka různé výsady, například cechovní privilegia či práva (vaření piva, pořádání trhů apod.). Právním panovníka bylo také povýšit osadu na město – to mohlo být královské či například horní (když se v jeho okolí těžily rudy). Získání městských práv znamenalo pro obec velkou změnu. Město mohlo mít vlastní prapor či znak. Tato práva a jejich insignie byla proto pečlivě ochraňována.

Kritérium historického statutu města není dnes stoprocentně použitelné – například jedno z takových „měst“ má dnes méně než 50 obyvatel a je pouze místní částí jiné obce.

S pojmem statut města se můžeme setkat v zákoně č. 128/2000 Sb. o obcích (obecním zřízení), který dle zákona č. 2/2003 Sb. uvádí taxativní výčet statutárních měst, jejichž působení se řídí statutem města.<sup>208</sup>

Na počátku 90. let byly všechny obce, ve kterých dříve pracoval národní výbor II. a III. stupně označeny jako města, ostatní obce byly chápány jako venkovské. Kterákoli z nich však mohla požádat o právo používat název město, které jí v souladu s ústavním pořádkem mohl předseda Poslanecké sněmovny na návrh vlády udělit. Toto právo nebylo nijak upraveno vymezením limitních hranic, takže právo používat označení město získaly prakticky všechny obce, které o to požádaly, bez ohledu na jejich postavení v struktuře osídlení nebo například počet obyvatel. Teprve přijetím nového zákona o obcích (č. 128/2000 Sb.) bylo toto právo podmíněno minimálním počtem 3 000 obyvatel a dalšími podmínkami, stanovenými Ministerstvem vnitra. Jedná se o kombinaci kritéria funkčního s kritériem velikostním. Je bráno v potaz hledisko stavební (domy městského charakteru, kanalizační, vodovodní síť apod.), hledisko základní vybavenosti (hotel či jiné ubytovací zařízení s více než 20 lůžky, základní škola, kulturně-společenská místnost), dále úroveň služeb a spádovost (zda vybavenost slouží nejen vlastnímu obyvatelstvu, ale i dalšímu území).

### **Počet obyvatel**

Vymezení hranic venkova maximálním počtem obyvatel v obci je jednoduché a nejběžněji používané kritérium. Nejen u nás se běžně používá hranice 2 000 obyvatel – menší obce jsou považovány za venkovské a jejich soubor tedy tvoří venkov. U nás tuto hranici používali jako definici venkovského sídla již J. Korčák v roce 1929 ve studii o vylidňování jižních Čech či J. Pohl v roce 1932 v práci „Vylidňování venkova v Čechách v období 1850 - 1930“.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>207</sup> zákonem č. 367/1990 Sb. o obcích (o obecním zřízení)

<sup>208</sup> jsou to Brno, České Budějovice, Havířov, Hradec Králové, Jihlava, Karlovy Vary, Karviná, Kladno, Liberec, Mladá Boleslav, Most, Olomouc, Opava, Ostrava, Pardubice, Plzeň, Teplice, Ústí nad Labem a Zlín

<sup>209</sup> dle Kubeš J.: Literatura o geodemografických aspektech vývoje venkovského obyvatelstva a osídlení v českých zemích a na Slovensku, in: Kubeš J. (ed.): Problémy stabilizace venkovského osídlení ČR, Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, 2000, str. 36-37

Oficiálně bylo toto kritérium pro vymezení venkovského obyvatelstva doporučeno Mezinárodním statistickým ústavem v roce 1938.<sup>210</sup> Ostatní obyvatelstvo bylo považováno za městské. V důsledku stále rostoucí koncentrace obyvatelstva se později začalo alternativně používat pro městské obyvatelstvo kritérium obcí s 10 000 a více obyvateli. Některé země používají také jiné hranice (od 200 po 12 000 obyvatel).<sup>211</sup>

Druhou možností, jak určit hranice venkova, je stanovení kritéria pro města – za venkov je pak možno považovat všechny ostatní obce. U nás bylo používána hranice dvou či pěti tisíc obyvatel. V oficiálních československých statistických materiálech ze začátku 60. let se za města považovaly obce s 10 000 a více obyvateli a další menší okresní města, za něž se pak publikovaly detailnější informace.

Používané ukazatele mají své výhody i nevýhody, které omezují jejich použitelnost. Jako příklad můžeme uvést nejčastěji používané jednoduché kritérium počtu obyvatel – za venkovskou se obvykle považuje ta obec, ve které žije méně než 2 000 obyvatel. Existují však obce, které jsou podle mnoha dalších ukazatelů (historický vývoj, urbanistická struktura, ekonomická skladba obyvatel) typickými vesnicemi, ale zároveň mají více než 2 000 obyvatel a proto je podle tohoto kritéria za venkovské nepovažujeme (tato situace je častá na jižní Moravě).

### Hustota zalidnění

Hustota zalidnění vyjadřuje počet obyvatel vztahený k velikosti území (katastru) dané obce, je tedy kombinací předchozích dvou kritérií. U nás se toto členění dosud příliš nepoužívá, ale v EU je to jedno z nejdůležitějších hledisek používaných pro vymezování venkovských oblastí (rural areas).

Metodika územního vymezení venkovských oblastí OECD, používaná v Evropském statistickém úřadě (EUROSTATem), vychází ze dvou hierarchických úrovní územních jednotek:

- **lokální úroveň** (obec) - jako venkovská obec je označena taková, ve které žije méně než 100 obyvatel na km<sup>2</sup>
- **regionální úroveň** (venkovské území – NUTS 3, okresy) - venkovský region je označen funkční, administrativní region, který se člení podle stupně „venkovskosti“, vyjádřeného podílem obyvatelstva ve venkovských obcích:
- Výrazně venkovský region (Predominantly rural region - PRR) – více než 50 % obyvatel žije ve venkovských obcích;
- Venkovský region (Significantly rural region - SRR) – 15 – 50 % obyvatel žije ve venkovských obcích;
- Výrazně městský region (Predominantly urban region – PUR) – méně než 15 % obyvatel žije ve venkovských obcích.

Výhodou tohoto členění venkova jsou stručná, jasná a přesně definovaná kritéria (povinně vykazovaná a shromažďovaná statistickým úřadem). Nevýhoda spočívá ve vysokém stupni zjednodušení - o našem venkově se nic nového nedozvíme, protože zařazení do kategorií vychází z příliš komplexních kritérií, která musí platit pro celou Evropu a nemohou se do

<sup>210</sup> dle: Andrlé A.: Změny v sídlení struktuře obyvatelstva, in: Moderní obec 3/1995, str. 24

<sup>211</sup> podrobněji viz kapitola Z. Pavlíka Vymezení venkovského obyvatelstva, in: Majerová V. a kol.: Český venkov 2005 – Rozvoj venkovské společnosti, PEF ČZU Praha 2005

nich promítnou specifické regionální odlišnosti. Při aplikaci na vyšší územní jednotky (kraje) se tak venkovem stává celé naše území (mimo Prahy).

## 2.4 Další typologie venkovského prostoru používané v EU

### Typy rurálních oblastí

Pro hodnocení venkovských (rurálních) oblastí se ve světě i v EU používá typologie, která rozděluje venkov na přilehlý (či integrovaný), mezilehlý (či relativně vzdálený) a odlehlý. Kritériem je míra integrace dané rurální lokality do národního hospodářství.<sup>212</sup>

Podrobnější charakteristika jednotlivých oblastí (s použitím anglické terminologie):

- integrated (peri-urban) rural areas – mají rostoucí počet obyvatel, zaměstnaných převážně v sekundární a terciární sféře hospodářství, zemědělské výroba zůstává hlavním způsobem využití půdy, objevují se zde potenciální hrozby pro životní prostředí, sociální a kulturní dědictví, oblasti jsou lokalizované relativně blízko měst, existuje zde však riziko „rurbanizace“ (= urbanizace venkovské oblasti) nebo toho, že se stanou „příměstskými noclehárnami“,
- intermediate rural areas – jsou relativně vzdálené od městských center, objevuje se zde sloučení primární a sekundárního sektoru, často se zde objevuje zemědělské hospodaření ve velkém rozsahu,
- remote rural areas - mají nejnižší hustotu obyvatel, nejnižší příjmy, starší populaci, obyvatelé jsou silně závislí na zemědělství, je zde méně služeb, objevují se zde „izolační prvky“ jako např. ráz krajiny, vzdálenost od dopravní infrastruktury.

Na podmínky České republiky nebyla dosud tato typologie aplikována, ale pro potřeby připravovaného programu EAFRD<sup>213</sup> bude nutno ji zohlednit. Hlavním problémem je, že se jedná o typologii kvalitativní a vymezení přesných kritérií je problematické.

## 3. Závěry

Vymezování venkova je možno považovat za obdobnou problematiku, jako vymezování měst. Jedna ze základních definic říká, že venkov je vlastně vše mimo města. Proto můžeme říci, že se jedná o hledání stejných hranic. A o problémech geografických hranic města píše C. Votrubec, že je „...nelze vést na základě jediného činitele, neboť město je organismus příliš složitý, jednotlivé jevy tu spolu těsně a dialekticky souvisejí a vzájemně se podmiňují. Proto je třeba při vymezování geografických hranic města zkoumat všechny složky charakterizující město.“<sup>214</sup> To samé je třeba udělat při hledání hranic venkova.

Každý z výše uvedených „pokusů“ o vymezení hranic venkova má své přednosti a své nedostatky. Některý je jednodušší, jiný složitější, žádný však není dokonalý. Některé z nich jsou v čase stálé, jiné se průběžně mění, což také ovlivňuje jejich využitelnost. Z hlediska regionálních odlišností na našem území by bylo vhodnější použití spíše subjektivních a kvalitativních kritérií, z hlediska mezinárodního srovnání je však nutno používat kritéria kvantitativní, statisticky pravidelně sledovaná a snadno zjištělná, ne vždy však dostatečně odrážející specifickou realitu českého a moravského venkova.

<sup>212</sup> podrobněji na webových stránkách: <http://www.nordregio.se/spespn/Files/2.3.ruralareas.pdf>,  
<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/library5/planning/rptrrluc-02.asp>

<sup>213</sup> European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development – Evropský zemědělský fond pro rozvoj venkova

<sup>214</sup> Votrubec C.: Lidská sídla, jejich typy a rozmístění ve světě, Academia Praha 1980, str. 199

Porovnáme-li výhody a nevýhody různých typů kritérií, nemůžeme jednoznačně určit, které z těchto kritérií, či která z kombinovaných typologií, je nejlepší a nejlépe odráží skutečnost. Každá má své klady a zápory. Subjektivní hodnocení se může jevit jako nejpřesnější, ale sama subjektivita je pouze odrazem názoru jedince, který se může lišit od názoru jiného člověka. Také sama realizace tohoto hodnocení je nereálná – jeden člověk by musel navštívit více než 6 000 obcí na našem území.

Hodnocení na základě objektivních kvalitativních kritérií je také sporné. Existují sice přesná a kvantifikovatelná kritéria (jako například podíl zastavěného území či podíl obyvatel pracujících v zemědělství), ale stanovení hranic, které by určovaly, kde končí město a začíná venkov je problematické. I na našem nevelkém území existují výrazné regionální diference, a proto toto hodnocení vždy vyžaduje pohled z více úhlů a tedy použití celého komplexu kritérií.

Můžeme se také spokojit s jednodušším, ale volnějším vymezením C. Votrubce: „V českých zemích můžeme počítat za venkovské všechny obce s méně než 2 tisíci obyvateli a část z obcí se 2-5 tisíci obyvateli.“<sup>215</sup> Tato definice však nemá přesná kritéria pro větší obce.

Zaměříme-li se tedy na použití kvantifikovatelných objektivních kritérií, jejichž využití je výhodné pro mezinárodní srovnávání a proto jsou mezi statistiky oblíbená, narazíme i zde na určité problémy. Nejčastěji používaným kritériem je počet obyvatel. Dvoutisícová hranice ve většině případů vyhovuje – s výjimkou jižní Moravy. Díky úrodnému kraji zde existují opravdu „typické“ a „tradiční“ vesnice (vzhledem, historickým vývojem i sociálními znaky), které však mají více než 2 000 obyvatel (mnohdy až 5 000) a ty z takto vymezeného venkova vypadávají.

Venkovské obce vymezené jako doplněk k obcím, které mají statut města, také nejsou optimálním řešením. Toto kritérium vychází z dřívějšího postavení obce v systému veřejné správy a z historického kontextu a dnes je vymezeno také počtem obyvatel. Existují však i města, která mají méně než 1 000 obyvatel (Bečov nad Teplou, Janské Lázně či Pec pod Sněžkou – 608 obyvatel) a naopak obce s více než 5 000 obyvatel (Bystřice, Králův Dvůr – 5 805 obyvatel).

Problémem použití kritéria hustoty zalidnění je jeho dosud minimální využívání. V mezinárodním měřítku, kde je každé srovnávání složitější, se musí dodržovat jednotná hranice a u tohoto kritéria se používá hranic několik – 100 či 150 (někdy i 120) obyvatel na km<sup>2</sup>. V současnosti snad již došlo ke sladění několika metodik a EU již používá pouze hranici 100 obyvatel, ale pro jistotu bude v následujícím porovnání použita i hranice 150.

V následující tabulce jsou výsledky porovnání tří posledně jmenovaných kritérií pro vymezení venkovských obcí na území ČR. Je patrné, že se tyto typologie liší. Rozdíly mezi jednotlivými klasifikacemi lze vyjádřit počtem obcí, které splňují či nesplňují kritéria pro zařazení do těchto skupin.

První a poslední řádek ukazuje obce, které splňují podle všech tří kritérií podmínky pro zařazení mezi vesnice či města. Ostatní řádky představují všechny možné kombinace splnění či nesplnění daných kritérií - můžeme například zjistit, že v ČR existuje 794 obcí, které mají méně než 2 000 obyvatel, nemají statut města, ale jejich zalidnění je vyšší než 100 obyvatel na km<sup>2</sup> (tedy mají relativně malý katastr) - EU by je tedy považovala za města. Zároveň však máme také 134 měst, která mají statut, více než 2 000 obyvatel, ale jejich území (výměra) je tak velké, že kritérium zalidnění nesplňují.

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<sup>215</sup> Votrubec C.: Lidská sídla, jejich typy a rozmístění ve světě, Academia Praha 1980, str. 40

**Tabulka č. 1: Počet obcí podle různých kritérií vymezení venkova - porovnání**

Počet obyvatel	Statut	Zalidnění	Počet obcí / % podíl ze všech obcí při kritériu zalidnění			
			100 obyv./km <sup>2</sup>		150 obyv./km <sup>2</sup>	
Venkov	Ostatní (venkov)	Venkov	4 763	76,2	5 226	83,6
Venkov	Ostatní (venkov)	Město	794	12,7	331	5,3
Venkov	Město	Venkov	41	0,7	49	0,8
Venkov	Město	Město	16	0,3	8	0,1
Ostatní (město)	Ostatní (venkov)	Venkov	49	0,8	85	1,4
Ostatní (město)	Ostatní (venkov)	Město	116	1,9	80	1,3
Ostatní (město)	Město	Venkov	72	1,2	134	2,1
Ostatní (město)	Město	Město	397	6,4	335	5,4
Celkem obcí			6 248	100,0	6 248	100,0

*Zdroj dat: Obce České republiky po okresech 2004, ČSÚ 2005, vlastní výpočty*

Další problémovou oblastí jsou „vesnice“, které jsou z územně správního hlediska součástí (místní částí) měst či větších obcí. I takových případů jsou na našem území stovky – tyto „ne-obce“ jsou však ze statistického hlediska těžko postižitelné, protože tato úroveň (části obcí a základní se statistické výkazy sledují pouze při sčítání lidu

Venkov však nadále zůstává specifickou oblastí. Výzkumem různých stránek života na venkově ze sociologického hlediska se dlouhodobě zabývá naše pracoviště - Sociologická laboratoř.

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# **Venkov jako hodnota - politika rozvoje venkova v České republice**

## **Countryside as a Value – Rural Development Policy in the Czech Republic**

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### **Úvod**

Velký podíl obyvatelstva u nás i v Evropě žije ve venkovských oblastech. Tyto oblasti pokrývají většinu rozlohy. Obyvatelé venkova mají své základní a vyšší potřeby týkající se společenské, hospodářské, environmentální a kulturní situace místa, prostředí, ve kterém žijí. Tyto potřeby jsou ovlivněny minulou zkušeností a očekáváním veřejnosti ohledně zabezpečení bezpečných potravin a ekologické stability. Potřeby a jejich uspokojování určují hodnotu venkova a života ve venkovských oblastech.

Politika rozvoje venkova ČR se začala formovat brzy po „sametové revoluci“. Později byla určována reformou Společné zemědělské politiky EU. Na počátku od roku 1991 Program obnovy vesnice a soutěž „Vesnice roku“ motivovaly venkovské obce ke zlepšování prostředí vesnic. Program SAPARD 2000-2004 rozšířil zaměření na rozvoj zemědělství a životního prostředí, a také podnikatelské aktivity, zavedl využívání místních rozvojových strategií území sdružených obcí. Další tři roky převládala orientace buď na zemědělství a životní prostředí, nebo regionální politiku. V období 2007-2013 očekáváme vyvážený Program rozvoje venkova zahrnující komplexní rozvoj konkurenceschopnosti zemědělství, lesnictví a potravinářského průmyslu, životního prostředí a krajiny, širší rozvoj venkova a podporu partnerství na principu Leader.

### **Venkov jako hodnota**

Většina obyvatel České republiky, 9,05 mil. (88,55 %) žije ve venkovských regionech – krajích. (Venkovským regionem podle metodiky OECD je území NUTS 3, kde více než 15 % obyvatel žije v obcích s hustotou do 150 obyvatel na km<sup>2</sup>). Tyto regiony zaujímají 99 % území státu, tj. celé jeho území ČR kromě Prahy. V obcích do 2 000 obyvatel žije 2,69 mil. (26,3 %) obyvatel. Podíl obyvatelstva, které v ČR žije a pracuje na venkově je velmi významný.

Obyvatelé venkova mají své základní a vyšší potřeby a očekávání, které souvisejí se společenskými, hospodářskými, environmentálními a kulturními charakteristikami místa, kde žijí. Třídění potřeb nelze nazírat normativně, spíš deskriptivně. To platí pro třídění na potřeby psychofyzilogické, sociální a kulturní i pro Maslowovo třídění potřeb, které může sloužit jako výchozí podklad pro popis situace.

Ve vztahu k místu můžeme identifikovat stejně jako všude jinde potřeby plného uspokojování základních potřeb psychofyzilogických stejně jako psychosociálních. Tyto základní potřeby s uspokojením nerostou, jejich uspokojení má povahu nasycení.

Tyto potřeby se mohou týkat všech společenských, hospodářských, environmentálních a kulturních charakteristik místa. Souvisejí s pracovními příležitostmi, mzdou, zásobováním,

odbytem a infrastrukturou, občanským vybavením, bydlením i kvalitou životního prostředí a společenského prostředí.

Mezi psychosociálními potřebami jsou potřeby sounáležitosti a zakořenění, které jsou významné pro vztah jedince k jiným lidem a k prostředí, a souvisejí se znalostí lidí a prostředí i s navázáním citových vztahů. Tyto znalosti a vztahy se nejsnáze nabývají praktickou činností, zkušeností a prožitkem a jsou základem pro rozvoj potřeb vyšších. Potřeby úcty, uznání, respektu a přesahování jsou více orientované k subjektu a k nárokům na kvalitu prostředí a vztahů.

Potřeby kulturní se charakterizují jako potřeby rozvojové. Jejich uspokojováním nedochází k nasycení a klidu, nýbrž k zvýšení nároků a naopak neklidu, novým tužbám. Rozeznáváme potřeby poznávací, estetické a etické. Tyto potřeby jsou úzce provázány s potřebami základními, jsou jimi dokonce podmíněny, a právě tak uspokojení potřeb základních je potvrzováno uspokojováním potřeb vyšších.

Potřeby poznávací může prostředí venkova uspokojovat mnohostranným působením v průběhu praktických činností, ale i učením, celoživotním vzděláváním a využíváním médií a internetu. Potřeby estetické jsou všudypřítomné, mohou být podmíněny kulturním a přírodním dědictvím, tvářím vesnic a krajiny, novou architekturou, rozvojem tvořivosti i „konzumem“ kultury prostřednictvím kulturních zařízení, ale i mezilidskými vztahy. Zvláštní postavení má místní kultura, související s místními dovednostmi a tradičními místními společenskými vztahy a projevy. Časoprostorové zakotvení mají estetické normy, jejichž přijetí však může i svazovat a vést k odmítání nekonformních nových forem s potenciální vyšší hodnotou. Potřeby etické jsou společensky a regionálně podmíněné. Vyžadují objektivní „správnost“ věcí, řád původem z křesťanství, ale mohou mít rozmanité projevy a funkce. Ve vztahu k prostředí a společnosti se týkají obecné dostupnosti služeb a hodnot pro všechny, sociální spravedlnosti, ekologické rovnováhy, zdraví.

Potřeby se vyvíjejí a jsou ovlivněny minulou zkušeností. Přijaté celospolečenské očekávání může potřeby v jednotlivých aspektech podpořit nebo zmírnit. Příkladem je očekávání společnosti, že venkov zajistí bezpečné potraviny a že venkovská krajina a příroda jsou základem ekologické stability území státu.

Tyto potřeby a jejich uspokojování, očekávání a jeho plnění determinují hodnoty venkova, kvalitu života ve venkovských oblastech.

Poznání vzájemné provázanosti a podmíněnosti potřeb lidí a hodnot venkova vede k závěru, že je nezbytné na venkov nahlížet celistvě – holisticky, a že tudíž také pojetí politiky rozvoje venkova musí být komplexní a vyvážené v jednotlivých aspektech.

### **Politika rozvoje venkova v České republice**

Ucelená politika rozvoje venkova („politics“) v České republice neexistuje. Dílčí aspekty se objevují v prohlášeních vlády nebo programech politických stran. Rozvoj venkova není v kompetenčním zákonu zakotven v žádném resortu. Pro rozvoj venkova neexistuje národní zákon. Politiku rozvoje venkova tvoří soustava podpůrných nástrojů („policy“) dnes už různých resortů a na různých úrovních (centrum, kraje, obce).

Program obnovy vesnice byl prvním programem vlády pro realizaci polistopadové politiky. Obsahově se inspiroval ze sousedních zemí Rakouska a Bavorska, kde takový program měli již 10 let. Na počátku Program neměl vlastní prostředky, ale dal impuls venkovským obcím začít se aktivně starat o prostředí vesnic. První financování začalo až od roku 1994. V pozdějších letech podpora dosahovala až ½ mld Kč ročně. Od roku 1995 se připojila soutěž „Vesnice roku“, za nejlepší přípravu a realizaci místních programů obnovy vesnice, která se

rychle rozšířila. Nyní má i krajskou úroveň a obsahuje řadu typů ocenění: za péči o prostředí, o mládež, o památky, spolkovou činnost apod. Hlavními organizátory Programu byly místní samosprávy a starostové, jimi vytvořené místní pracovní skupiny, které podněcovaly místní spoluobčany ke spolupráci, ke všímavosti k prostředí a k účasti na tvorbě koncepčních dokumentů, k výběru akcí a k jejich realizaci. Zaměřením prvního období bylo fyzické zlepšování prostředí – úpravy návší, plotů, osvětlení, hřiště pro děti, architektonické zlepšení vzhledu budov, drobné stavby, zeleň, květinová výzdoba. Program obnovy venkova od roku 1998 rozšířil pozornost také na společenskou aktivitu občanů, spolky, spolupráci, partnerství, vnitřní potenciál obyvatel venkova. Dal podnět ke spolupráci obcí v rámci malých mikroregionů a později zavedl zapojování místních podnikatelů a přímou podporu podnikání prostřednictvím obcí. V roce 2003 se Program přesunul na kraje, na centrální úrovni zůstalo celostátní kolo soutěže. Tím dostal další impuls a nové regionální priority. Program obnovy venkova vyrostl za 15 let v hnutí rozložené po celém území státu a jeho hlavním přínosem je převzetí péče o prostředí vesnic do vlastních rukou venkovských obcí, jejich samospráv a obyvatel. Vůdčí organizací je Spolek pro obnovu venkova sdružující venkovské obce a jiné právnické osoby, který využívá zkušeností z Programu obnovy venkova a integruje je do všech následujících programů.

Obdobou, složitější byl Program regenerace městských památkových rezervací a zón od roku 1992, který převedl principy Programu obnovy venkova do prostředí historických jader měst a zaměřením na obnovu a využití kulturních památek a celkové zlepšení vzhledu, funkcí a vybavení prostředí. Samosprávy ve spolupráci s místními organizacemi a podnikateli – místní pracovní skupiny na podkladě místních programů regenerace vybíraly a připravovaly realizaci akcí, v nejlepších letech až za 350 mil. Kč. Tím se mimo jiné obrátil směr vlivu investic z náhrady existujících stavebních struktur novou výstavbou nebo z exploatační přestavby na zachování, využívání a citlivé obnovování místního architektonického dědictví. Tyto zásady se využívaly i v malých venkovských městech a obcích a přispěly k jejich kráse a atraktivitě pro bydlení a podnikání. I zde je soutěž „Historické město roku“ a vůdčí organizace Sdružení historických sídel Čech, Moravy a Slezska.

Na Program SAPARD 2000 - 2004, první program EU v ČR měl Program obnovy venkova přímý vliv. Ve struktuře priorit Konkurenceschopnost zemědělství a zpracovatelského průmyslu, Udržitelný rozvoj venkova a Podmínky pro plné využití programu byla zařazena dvě opatření zaměřená na širší rozvoj venkova: Obnova a rozvoj vesnic a venkovské infrastruktury a Rozvoj a diverzifikace hospodářských činností, zajišťujících rozmanitost aktivit a alternativní zdroje příjmů. Jejich roční podpora dosahovala 220 mil. Kč. Vedle zavedení náročných požadavků EU tento Program dal podnět k zakládání svazků obcí podle nového zákona o obcích a přinesl 210 místních rozvojových strategií venkovských mikroregionů. Projekty z venkova musely být v souladu se strategií a byly vybírány na místní úrovni. Tím se Program přiblížil iniciativě LEADER zavedené v EU-15 v roce 1991. Hlavním přínosem byla modernizace zemědělských podniků a zavádění environmentálních funkcí zemědělství ve třech vybraných oblastech. Na realizaci se zavedla spolupráce dvou resortů. Programu předcházela národní program TEST zaměřený na metodiku a přípravu projektů, a také na dílčí realizace.

V prvních letech po vstupu do EU 2004-2006 se rozšířila struktura programů, které měly venkov v názvu, ale byly resortně specifické. Operační program Rozvoj venkova a multifunkční zemědělství a Horizontální program rozvoje venkova Ministerstva zemědělství poskytovaly prakticky veškeré prostředky do oblasti zemědělství. Malý podíl operačního programu tvořila diverzifikace činností zemědělských subjektů do oblasti agroturistiky a podopatření LEADER+, zavádějící plně principy iniciativy EU LEADER+ v ČR. V rámci tohoto opatření bylo podpořeno 10 místních akčních skupin a 10 jejich územních strategií.

Hlavním přínosem operačního programu byla modernizace zemědělských podniků, zaměření na kvalitu a péči o životní prostředí a zavádění náročných norem Společenství. Horizontální program rozvoje venkova zavedl plošnou podporu hospodaření v méně příznivých oblastech k vyrovnání příjmů zemědělských subjektů a plošné rozšíření zemědělských systémů ohleduplných k životnímu prostředí a krajině.

Národní Program LEADER ČR vznikl v roce 2004 na posílení podpory myšlenky LEADER. V jednotlivých letech byly mikroregiony podpořeny následovně:

**Tabulka č. 1**

	<b>Počet žadatelů MAS</b>	<b>Počet přijatých MAS</b>
2004	21	16
2005	41	21
2006	64	23

Místní akční skupiny partnerským způsobem připravily tzv. Záměr LEADER, zpravidla na základě již existující širší strategie s některým z nabídnutých témat:

- Nové formy zlepšení kvality života ve venkovských oblastech,
- Nové formy posílení místního ekonomického prostředí a tvorby pracovních míst,
- Nové formy zhodnocení místních přírodních a kulturních zdrojů.

Po přijetí vyhlásily místní akční skupiny výzvu k podávání projektů, posoudily je po administrativní stránce a z hlediska přijatelnosti a potom projekty vybíraly s pomocí výběrových kritérií. Dalšími kroky pak bylo sledování průběhu realizace projektů, jejich vykazování a hodnocení. Tím se místní akční skupiny naučily získat evropské prostředky do venkovského území a administrovat evropské prostředky. Zkušenosti z administrativy LEADER již má za tři roky 36 místních akčních skupin z území o 10 000 – 100 000 obyvatel.

Společný regionální operační program (SROP) v gesci Ministerstva pro místní rozvoj neobsahoval místní měřítko venkova, spíš strategické a páteřní projekty ve prospěch rozvoje regionů, zlepšující dostupnost, vyšší vybavenost a infrastrukturu pro cestovní ruch a podnikání. Širší venkov neměl významnější podporu.

Národní regionální rozvojové programy měly obdobné zaměření jako SROP, ale jejich působnost byla omezena na regiony (okresy) strukturálně postižené a hospodářsky slabé. Podobně obsahově zaměřená, s podmínkou přeshraničního efektu, a územně specifická byla iniciativa EU INTERREG, pokrývající okresy podél hranic se Saskem, Bavorskem, Rakouskem, Slovenskem a Polskem. Zavedl společné přeshraniční sekretariáty.

Hospodářské činnosti (mimo zemědělství) byly podporovány v regionálních programech zpravidla nepřímou podporou infrastruktury obcí.

Reforma Společné zemědělské politiky obrátila pozornost politiky EU z podpory produkce a odbytu k podpoře trhu a příjmů. Tím se postupně uvolňují prostředky rozpočtu EU, které se přesouvají ve prospěch rozvoje venkova, zejména environmentálních funkcí zemědělství a lesnictví. Tyto činnosti a jejich produkty již nenarážejí na námitky WTO a jsou v souladu se Smlouvou o EU aspektem významného primárního sektoru rozvoje venkova, tedy zemědělství a lesnictví. Podpora těchto činností se bude i do budoucna rozvíjet. Po vstupu do EU Česká republika získala a může postupně zvyšovat přímé platby do zemědělství až do doby, kdy se jejich výše vyrovná EU-15 a následně se oblast primárního sektoru bude vyvíjet obdobně jako v celé EU-25.

Rozvoj venkova je relativně nový pojem a v jeho vymezování jsou dosud velké mezery. Rozhodně neznamená jenom rozvoj zemědělství nebo jeho funkcí. Není ani jenom rozvojem vesnic a místních iniciativ. Jedná se o udržitelný komplexní rozvoj – společenský, hospodářský a environmentální, a samozřejmě i kulturní. Tyto aspekty by měly v koncepcích vždy být všechny zastoupeny a být pokud možno v rovnováze. Bohužel odbornost v plném rozsahu pojmu neexistuje, výsledek bude ještě dlouho záviset na společenském konsensu.

Příprava programů na období 2007 - 2013 započala již v polovině roku 2004 přípravou, právních předpisů EU, kde se poprvé ČR zúčastnila jako plnoprávná členská země. Následně Národního strategického plánu rozvoje venkova ČR na období 2007-2013, který vláda schválila 10.5.2006, a Programu rozvoje venkova ČR na období 2007-2013, jehož přípravy vrcholí. Tyto dokumenty poprvé umožňují komplexní pojetí venkova, vyvážené proporce podpor pro konkurenceschopnost zemědělství a lesnictví, životní prostředí a krajinu, diverzifikaci mimo zemědělství a kvalitu života na venkově, a rozvoj partnerství Leader. Záleží na členském státu, jak tuto nabídku pochopí a využije. Holistickým pojetím se odlišuje i od ostatních nástrojů EU.

Národní strategický plán rozvoje venkova identifikoval na venkově silné a slabé stránky, příležitosti a hrozby. Slabé stránky a příležitosti otevřely soubor témat, která se budou řešit v rámci Programu rozvoje venkova:

### **Slabé stránky**

- stárnutí obyvatel venkova a odliv obyvatel v produktivním věku;
- nedostatek pracovních příležitostí na venkově;
- chudá struktura ekonomických činností na venkově, nízká podnikatelská aktivita;
- nedostatečná nabídka vybavení a služeb na venkově;
- zastaralé technické a technologické vybavení zemědělských a lesnických podniků;
- nízký podíl produkce s vyšší přidanou hodnotou, nízká úroveň příjmů v zemědělství, vysoká zadluženost;
- nutnost zvýšení úrovně vzdělání a posílení osvěty v souladu s aktuálními požadavky Společné zemědělské politiky a ochrany životního prostředí EU;
- nedostatečné využívání marketingových praktik a poradenství zemědělskými podnikateli;
- pomalý přenos nových poznatků výzkumu a vývoje do praxe;
- vysoký podíl půd v méně příznivých oblastech nebo ohrožený erozí a degradací;
- snížená retence vody v půdě a krajině, nedostatečná preventivní protipovodňová opatření; nevyjasněné vlastnické vztahy k půdě;
- pokles biodiverzity a úbytek přírodních hodnot na druhově cenných stanovištích;
- nedostatečná integrace zemědělských prvovýrobců a zpracovatelského průmyslu;
- plošné znečištění povrchových i podzemních vod ze zemědělství a obcí;
- nízká vybavenost obcí do 2 000 obyvatel kanalizací s čistírnou odpadních vod;
- nevhodná druhová, prostorová a věková skladba lesů a jejich špatný zdravotní stav;
- špatný stavebně technický stav venkovských budov a památek;
- nedostatečná infrastruktura cestovního ruchu a informovanost o jeho možnostech;

- nedostatečné využití moderních informačních a komunikačních technologií;
- narušení funkčnosti rybníků a vodních nádrží včetně jejich hrází;
- nízká ekologická stabilita krajiny, zejména její postupující fragmentace a nedostatek krajinných prvků.

### **Příležitosti**

- mezinárodní podpora trvale udržitelného rozvoje v EU, růstu a zaměstnanosti, ochrany přírody - soustava Natura 2000;
- možnost širšího využití trhů v EU a v třetích zemích;
- produkce obnovitelných zdrojů energie v souladu se závazkem EU, zpracování a využití těchto zdrojů;
- rostoucí poptávka po kvalitních potravinách a bioproduktech;
- využití kulturních specifíků venkovských regionů pro cestovní ruch;
- rostoucí zájem společnosti o rozvoj venkova, ochranu přírody a krajiny;
- podpora rozvoje pracovních sil, vzdělanosti a kvalifikace venkovského obyvatelstva;
- využití místních partnerství a spolupráce ve venkovském prostoru;
- rostoucí poptávka po mimoprodukčních funkcích zemědělství i lesa;
- zvýšení potenciálu vodních nádrží z hlediska možností jejich víceúčelového využití;
- zvýšení role zemědělských a lesnických subjektů v péči o krajinu a přírodu.

Návrh na urychlení vývoje k řešení uvedených slabých stránek s využitím příležitostí obsahuje vytváření národních sítí napojených na Evropskou síť venkovských subjektů, podporu meziúzemní a mezinárodní spolupráce, přenos know-how a příkladů nejlepší praxe a využití moderních informačních a komunikačních technologií.

**Tabulka č. 2 Rozdělení národních finančních prostředků z EZFRV, roční průměr 2007-2013**

Osy	Veřejné zdroje			Podíl na osy v % (z EZFRV)
	Celkem	EZFRV	ČR	
	mld. Kč	mld. Kč	mld. Kč	
Osa I Konkurenceschopnost	3,107	2,330	0,777	22,39
Osa II Životní prostředí a krajina	7,192	5,745	1,447	55,20
Osa III Diverzifikace a kvalita života	2,349	1,762	0,587	16,93
Osa IV Leader	0,650	0,520	0,130	5,00
Technická pomoc	0,067	0,050	0,017	0,48
<b>Celkem</b>	<b>13,365</b>	<b>10,407</b>	<b>2,958</b>	<b>100</b>

## **Závěr**

V nadcházejícím období má Česká republika příležitost vytvořit komplexní národní politiku rozvoje venkova („Politics“) odpovídající celoevropským trendům, zakotvit ji v národních předpisech a institucích, a také ji vybavit potřebnými globálními podmínkami financování v rámci souvisejících předpisů.

# **Změny českého venkova v oblasti Českomoravské vysočiny Changes of the Czech Countryside in the Vysočina**

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## **Klíčová slova**

rentabilita, zadluženost, agroturistika, příležitosti a hrozby

## **Abstrakt**

Příspěvek obsahuje historické pohledy na české zemědělství oblasti centrální části Českomoravské vysočiny v období I. republiky, období zemědělské velkovýroby až po transformaci zemědělských podniků a restituce majetku v posledních patnácti letech. Historické aspekty vývoje zemědělství vyúsťují do posouzení současné ekonomické situace v oblasti Vysočiny zkoumané na vybraném vzorku podniků v letech 2001 až 2004. V souvislosti s otázkami budoucího vývoje zemědělství je nutné se zabývat i mimoprodukčními funkcemi zemědělství a možnostmi a příležitostmi, které v regionu Vysočiny existují, zejména z pohledu

## **Key words**

Profitability, Indebtedness, Agricultural tourism, Opportunities and threats

## **Abstract**

This contribution contains historical views of Czech agriculture in the area of the Bohemian-Moravian Highland (Českomoravská vysočina) in the last century from the period of the first republic to the period of agricultural mass production to the transformation of agricultural companies and property restitutions in the last fifteen years.

The historical aspects are followed by an evaluation of the present economic situation of companies in the area of the Highland. The situation is inspected in a chosen sample of companies in the years 2001 to 2004.

In connection with the issues of future development of agriculture, it is necessary to deal also with possibilities and opportunities existing in the region of Vysočina, especially from the viewpoint of project realisation since the entry of the CR into the EU.



## Změny českého venkova v oblasti Českomoravské vysočiny

### Úvod – zemědělství 20. století

Během minulého století prošlo naše zemědělství radikálními změnami, které ovlivnily samotné zemědělství i život většiny venkovského obyvatelstva. Na počátku 20. století vlivem rychlé industrializace společnosti význam zemědělství a lesnictví postupně klesal a české země se začaly z agrárně průmyslových měnit na průmyslové. První světová válka narušila zemědělskou výrobu, došlo k poklesu výroby a poválečná obnova byla založena zejména na získávání nových trhů po rozpadu monarchie. Po vzniku samostatné republiky následoval dynamický rozvoj zemědělství a úroveň českého zemědělství byla srovnatelná s vyspělým zahraničím.

Slibný vývoj našeho zemědělství byl násilně přerušen událostmi roku 1938 a druhou světovou válkou. Zemědělství bylo podrobeno reorganizaci, zájmové zemědělské organizace byly zrušeny, byl vytvořen Pozemkový úřad pro Čechy a Moravu, který chtěl zejména rozrušit jednotný etnický celek českého národa a vytvořit německé jazykové ostrovy v nejhustěji zalidněných oblastech protektorátu. Vlivem války se celkový objem zemědělské výroby zmenšoval, docházelo ke snižování ploch osevů i hektarových výnosů. Sami zemědělci neměli zájem na zvyšování výroby a plnění povinných dodávek.

Po skončení druhé světové války muselo zemědělství řešit naléhavé úkoly spojené s obnovou zemědělství a venkova. Negativně se promítaly snahy státu o zavedení direktivního řízení a omezování demokracie potlačováním činnosti zájmových organizací. Pluralitní demokratický systém byl omezen, došlo k rozpuštění a zákazu agrární strany, která byla v předválečném období základní vůdčí silou agrárního hnutí, které pozitivně ovlivnilo nejen naše zemědělství, ale zasáhlo i politickou a kulturní oblast. Z politických opatření v této době je potřeba zmínit novou formu státní správy na úseku zemědělství a to jmenovat soustavu národních výborů, které byly místní, okresní a zemské. Zemědělský úsek byl velmi důležitý pro svůj politický význam a zabýval se prováděním pozemkových reforem, a to zajišťováním nepřátelského majetku, dosazováním národních správ a zabezpečováním zásobování obyvatelstva.

V roce 1948 bylo přijato pět nových zákonů, které měnily vlastnické vztahy k zemědělské půdě a v podstatě znamenaly závěrečnou třetí etapu poválečné pozemkové reformy. Ta byla předpokladem k pozdější socialistické přestavbě našeho zemědělství. Po násilném převzetí moci KSČ v únoru 1948 se změnila poměry v našem zemědělství i na našem venkově. Došlo ke strukturální přestavbě zemědělství, ke změnám ve vlastnictví půdy a řízení zemědělství. Soukromé vlastnictví půdy bylo omezeno až zrušeno a byla budována zemědělská družstva nového typu. Jedinou propagovanou zásadou správného rozvoje zemědělství byl přechod od malovýroby k velkovýrobě socialistického typu. Nastala etapa perzekuce vůči jednotlivým vrstvám zemědělců, která vyvolala mnoho bezpráví a lidského strádání. Zákon č. 69/1949 Sb., o jednotných zemědělských družstvech se stal základním právním nástrojem pro združstevňování našeho zemědělství. Po IX. sjezdu KSČ začaly stranické a státní orgány uskutečňovat socializaci našeho zemědělství. JZD byla všestranně propagována, byly pořádány besedy a školení pracovníků odpovědných za zakládání družstev. Družstva lákala zejména bezzemky, kovorolníky, vzácně drobné rolníky. Vývoj družstev procházel od družstev I. typu přes družstva II. a III. typu. V první etapě združstevňování probíhající v letech 1949 až 1953 probíhal rychlý růst družstev, kdy na konci roku 1953 existovalo u nás 6 679 JZD vyšších typů, která sdružovala 380 983 zemědělců a obhospodařovala 2 170 900

ha zemědělské půdy, tj. 30,8 % tehdejší výměry zemědělské půdy v republice.<sup>216</sup> Poněvadž od roku 1954 došlo ke stagnaci ve vývoji družstevnictví, byl rozpoután boj proti větším sedláckům, kteří byli označeni za „kulaky“. Byli nuceni plnit vysoké dodávky a pokud je nebyli schopni splnit, byli odsouzeni k vysokým trestům, případně k vystěhování a jejich majetek propadl státu. V roce 1958 byla již většina zemědělské půdy obhospodařována socialistickým sektorem. JZD byla založena ve více než 75 % obcí. Na státní půdě byly zakládány státní statky, které dále přebíraly půdu církevní, půdu neosídlenou v pohraničí, půdu horských pastevních družstev a někdy i půdu špatně hospodařících a neperspektivních JZD. Struktura našeho zemědělství se během jednoho desetiletí naprosto změnila. Vzniklo 10 000 družstev o průměrné výměře 420 ha zemědělské půdy a přibližně 200 státních statků o průměrné výměře 7 000 ha zemědělské půdy. Téměř úplně vymizela soukromá hospodářství a pokud existovala, jejich majitelé byli znevýhodňováni a hospodařili za cenu obrovského vypětí a bez jakéhokoliv společenského ocenění.

Období od roku 1949 do roku 1989, tzn. období socialistického zemědělství je možné rozdělit na tři vývojové etapy, kdy každá má svou charakteristiku a svůj význam pro vývoj zemědělství a venkova:

- I. etapa do roku 1960 zahrnuje období socialistické přestavby zemědělství budováním JZD jako základní organizační formy hospodaření na půdě.
- II. etapa - období 1960 – 1975 zahrnuje období vytváření materiálně – technické základny v zemědělství s cílem zabezpečení dostatku potravin pro obyvatelstvo a surovin pro průmysl.
- III. etapa - období 1975 – 1989 zahrnuje koncentraci zemědělské výroby a prohlubování specializace. V zemědělství docházelo k zavádění nových technologických metod a postupů, v ekonomice se začaly uplatňovat nové metody řízení a v oblasti informatiky byl zaveden nový systém výpočetní techniky a zpracování dat – ASŘ.

### **Zemědělství dnes**

Zemědělství je odvětví národního hospodářství, které je z hlediska konkurence omezené mnoha zákony a předpisy ČR i EU, kdy na jedné straně společnost požaduje jejich dodržování a ekonomickou újmu, která s tím souvisí se pak snaží podnikům kompenzovat systémem dotací jednak přímo do výroby, jednak na jednotlivé dotační tituly vázané k rozvoji venkova, rozvoji lidských zdrojů, udržování krajiny a další.

- Zemědělství je charakteristické biologickým charakterem výroby, což znamená, že se projevuje
  - a) vysoká závislost na přírodních podmínkách,
  - b) časový nesoulad průběhu výrobního a pracovního procesu, dlouhý výrobní cyklus, náročnost na vysoký stav zásob vlastní výroby
  - c) sezónnost práce
- Celé zemědělství v naší republice prošlo řadou změn po roce 1990, které značně ovlivnily jeho další vývoj. Patří sem nejprve liberalizace obchodu, která byla odstartována bez jakýchkoli obranných mechanismů a ovlivnila vývoj zemědělství na počátku 90. let minulého století.

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<sup>216</sup> KUBAČÁK, Antonín. *Dějiny zemědělství v českých zemích II. Díl*. Praha: Ministerstvo zemědělství ČR, 1995. ISBN 80-7084-134-6

- Následovalo období transformací zemědělských družstev a státních statků, spojené s vypořádáváním restitučních nároků původních majitelů zemědělské půdy a zemědělského majetku z 50. let. Družstva se transformovala na nové subjekty, převážně a. s. a s.r.o., do kterých přecházel lukrativní majetek a ve starých zbylých subjektech zůstával zbytek majetku, který byl většinou nezajímavý a také zbylé závazky, které nové subjekty neměly ochotu převzít. Došlo tak k podstatným změnám podnikatelské struktury zemědělství. Do roku 1999 došlo k nárůstu počtu podniků fyzických osob z 0,4 % na 24 %, v zemědělství vznikly obchodní společnosti – nárůst z 0 % na 43 %, došlo k poklesu podílu družstev z 66 % na 32 % a téměř úplnou redukci státního sektoru z 34 % na necelé 1 %. Samostatně hospodařící zemědělci a další individuální podnikatelé tvoří 90 % všech zemědělských podniků zahrnutých do statistického agroregistru, jejich podíl na celkové výměře zemědělské půdy obhospodařované těmito podniky však činí necelou čtvrtinu.<sup>217</sup> Koncem roku 2000 připadlo na podniky fyzických osob 23,3 % zemědělské půdy a na podniky právnických osob 76,5 % . Průměrná výměra zemědělské půdy byla v roce 1989 2 850 ha na podnik, v roce 1999 pak 980 ha. Přesto v našem zemědělství převažují velké zemědělské společnosti a průměrná výměra našich podniků 5x překračuje průměr zemí EU (38 ha ).
- Zemědělské podniky se dostávaly do krize, neměly dostatek finančních prostředků, neměly odbytu, chyběla koncepce, docházelo k negativním jevům v zemědělství jako byl odchod kvalifikovaných odborníků do jiných oblastí, zhoršovala se životní úroveň zemědělců, docházelo k nedostatečné obnově stávajících výrobních zdrojů, snižovala se rentabilita zemědělských podniků a současně se zvyšovala jejich zadluženost.
- Důsledkem byly několikanásobné přeměny existujících subjektů se snahou snížit zadlužení firem a přežít. Míra zadluženosti, tzn. podíl cizích zdrojů na celkovém bilančním kapitálu družstev činila koncem roku 1999 57,7 %. Řada podniků zvláště v úrodnějších oblastech likvidovala zejména chov dojníc a výkrm skotu, mnohdy i prasata a hospodaří na půdě bez živočišné produkce, což je pro dlouhodobou úrodnost půdy nepříznivé. V rostlinné výrobě dochází k omezování ploch obilí, okopanin, zejména brambor z důvodu jejich nízké ceny a neprodejnosti.
- Je však třeba si uvědomit, že zemědělství ve společnosti zastává řadu funkcí, které byly v minulosti podceňovány a odsouvány na okraj zájmu. Je důležitým prvkem krajiny, je obrazem určité kultury národa a jeho vztahu ke kulturnímu dědictví předcházejících generací a je i důležitým faktorem uvědomování si vlastní identity jednotlivce i celého národa. Významné postavení v naplňování úkolů venkova budou mít v naší republice i efektivně hospodařící větší subjekty právnických osob. Musí ovšem být schopné zabezpečit požadavky na environmentální ochranu, pohodu zvířat a zlepšování prostředí venkova při dodržování platných standardů EU.

## Cíl a metodika

Cílem mého diskusního příspěvku bylo podat stručný přehled o vývoji sociální a ekonomické situace českého venkova v minulém století na pozadí politických změn ve společnosti.

Současný stav zemědělství na venkově v oblasti Českomoravské vysočiny je přiblížen na základě provedené finanční analýzy vybraného souboru zemědělských podniků právnických osob hospodařících v bývalém okrese Jihlava.

<sup>217</sup> DIVILA, Emil. *Politická ekonomie*, 2, 2001. Agrární struktura v ČR – současný stav a předpoklady dalšího vývoje

Budoucnost zemědělství na našem venkově bude rozhodujícím způsobem ovlivněna dotacemi z EU a státního rozpočtu a připraveností a schopnostmi podniků těchto dotací využít.

## Charakteristika zemědělství na Vysočině

### Rok 1930

Podle Statistické ročenky z roku 1930, ze které jsem mohla čerpat informace<sup>218</sup>, bylo v bývalém okrese Jihlava v tomto roce 3 318 závodů, z toho 3 258 závodů byly podniky fyzických osob, 1 podnik byl státní, 2 zemské a 50 závodů bylo obecních. Dále zde fungovaly 3 zemědělské soukromé společnosti, 2 nezemědělské a 1 nezemědělské družstvo.

Z celkového počtu 3 258 podniků fyzických osob 1 893 hospodářů provozovalo zemědělství jako jedinou činnost, 480 hospodářů jako hlavní činnost a 885 jako vedlejší činnost. Ze 480 hospodářů provozujících zemědělství jako hlavní činnost mělo další obživu ve vedlejší činnosti a to 79 v zemědělství jako úředníci, zřizenci a dělníci v zemědělských závodech, 249 jako samostatní v průmyslu a řemeslech, 23 jako domácí dělníci, 49 pracovalo v obchodech a peněžnictví, 40 v hostinských živnostech, 12 v dopravnictví, 3 pracovali ve veřejné správě, 22 osob žilo z renty a 1 osoba pracovala v jiném oboru.

V oblasti Podhoří Českomoravské vysočiny existovalo 55 445 zemědělských závodů, přičemž se jednalo většinou o závody velmi malé a roztráštěné, o čemž svědčí následující tabulka.

**Tabulka č. 1: Zemědělské závody podle velikosti v Podhoří Českomoravské vysočiny - rok 1930**

Výměra ha	Podle celkové výměry	Podle výměry zemědělské půdy	Podle výměry orné půdy
<i>Od 0,1 ha do 0,5 ha</i>	12 545	12 418	12 121
<i>Přes 0,5 do 1 ha</i>	9 060	8 991	8 875
<i>1 – 2 ha</i>	8 559	8 364	8 285
<i>2 – 5 ha</i>	11 105	11 032	10 948
<i>5 – 10 ha</i>	6 505	6 416	6 336
<i>10 – 20 ha</i>	4 483	4 319	4 232
<i>20 – 30 ha</i>	1 049	875	837
<i>30 – 50 ha</i>	347	220	183
<i>50 – 100 ha</i>	128	87	66
<i>100 – 200 ha</i>	67	59	54
<i>200 – 500 ha</i>	47	26	26
<i>Přes 500 ha</i>	31	2	2
<b>Úhrn všech závodů</b>	<b>53 926</b>	<b>52 809</b>	<b>51 965</b>

Zdroj: Státní úřad statistický: *Sčítání zemědělských závodů v republice Československé podle stavu dne 27. května 1930*, Praha 1935 Státní tiskárna v Praze

### Rok 1989

V 50. letech došlo ke kolektivizaci zemědělské půdy a ostatního majetku a nastupuje další důležitá etapa vývoje zemědělství ve 20. století, která trvala až do roku 1989. Zemědělství v tomto období mělo za cíl uspokojit poptávku po zemědělských produktech, dosáhnout

<sup>218</sup> Zdroj: Státní úřad statistický: *Sčítání zemědělských závodů v republice Československé podle stavu dne 27. května 1930*, Praha 1935 Státní tiskárna v Praze

soběstačnosti v zásobování občanů potravinami a zároveň zabezpečit vývozní požadavky jako zdroj cizí měny pro obchodování se západními státy. Dosažení těchto požadavků vyvolalo vznik zemědělské velkovýroby, kdy došlo k vysoké koncentraci výrobních kapacit a prosazování metod zvyšování produktivity práce. Přesto vlivem vysoké zaměstnanosti produktivita práce v porovnání s vyspělými zeměmi byla na velmi nízké úrovni.

*Informace, které charakterizují vývoj zemědělství ve zkoumané oblasti jsou z roku 1989 z ročního rozboru Okresní zemědělské správy Jihlava.*

Zemědělské podniky v řízení OO MZVŽ Jihlava obhospodařovaly v roce 1989 celkem 59 224 ha zemědělské půdy a 46 254 ha orné půdy. V okrese bylo 18 JZD, 4 společné zemědělské podniky a Státní statek Jihlava. V tomto roce pracovalo v zemědělství v okrese 8 477 přepočtených pracovníků a 6 934 trvale činných pracovníků. Průměrná měsíční mzda pracovníků v JZD byla 2 907 Kč, ve státním statku a ostatních zemědělských podnicích byla průměrná měsíční mzda přes 3 000,- Kč, s maximem u podniku Agrostav, kde činila 3 596 Kč. Zemědělství v této etapě – od 50. let do konce 90. let prošlo etapou kolektivizace, slučování podniků, intenzivní výstavbou a zvyšováním produkce, která byla prvořadým politickým úkolem.

### **Roky 2001 – 2003**

V roce 2003 existovalo v okrese Jihlava 29 zemědělských subjektů právnických osob, které obhospodařovaly 43 265 ha zemědělské půdy a 13 zemědělských subjektů fyzických osob. Celková výměra zemědělské půdy činí 46 007 ha. Pro posouzení předpokládaného vývoje jejich finanční situace byla provedena finanční analýza u vzorku podniků právnických osob s výměrou větší než 1 000 ha zemědělské půdy, která se zaměřila na ukazatele rentability, aktivity, likvidity a finanční nezávislosti. Jako prezentace stávajícího ekonomického stavu zemědělských podniků je předložena analýza dvou kritických faktorů a to rentability a zadluženosti.

### **Posouzení rentability podniků**

Pro posouzení rentability byly zvoleny ukazatele na bázi dosaženého zisku před zdaněním, tedy EBT v poměru k aktivům, vlastnímu kapitálu, dlouhodobému kapitálu, tržbám, výnosům a nákladům. Byl vypočten haléřový ukazatel jako poměr celkových nákladů k dosaženým tržbám.

V roce 2001 se rentabilita celkového vloženého kapitálu pohybuje u 9 podniků v kladných hodnotách do 2,84 %, u 4 podniků v záporných hodnotách do mínus 6,81 %, přičemž průměr souboru je -0,33%. Rentabilita vlastního kapitálu vykazuje podobné údaje, kdy nejvyšší kladná hodnota je 17,10 % a nejvyšší záporná hodnota dosahuje 17,09 %, přičemž průměr souboru je mínus 8,59 %. Rentabilita dlouhodobého kapitálu vykazuje průměrnou hodnotu mínus 1,60 %, u 9 podniků je v kladných hodnotách do 3,27 % a u 4 podniků je v záporných hodnotách do mínus 15,93 %. Rentabilita tržeb je u nejlepšího podniku 6,79 % , u nejhoršího mínus 10,04 %, průměrná hodnota souboru je 0,10 %, tedy 10 Kč zisku na 100 Kč tržeb. Rentabilita výnosů, tedy zisk na výnosy je u nejlepšího podniku 5,52 Kč na 100 Kč výnosů, u nejhoršího podniku mínus 7,82 Kč na 100 Kč výnosů. Rentabilita nákladů, definovaná jako zisk /náklady se pohybuje u nejlepšího podniku v hodnotě 5,85 % a u nejhoršího podniku mínus 7,73 %, průměr souboru je 0,22 %. Haléřový ukazatel, který vyjadřuje poměr nákladů na tržby se pohybuje v hodnotách od 0,9448 do 1,2044, přičemž průměrná hodnota tohoto ukazatele je 1,0205.

Průměrná hodnota publikovaná MZe v Zelené zprávě za rok 2001<sup>219</sup> uvádí ukazatel ROA pro celou republiku pro právnické osoby 1,20 %, pro horské a podhorské oblasti 0,86 %, u ukazatele ROE pro celou ČR u podniků právnických osob se hodnota pohybuje ve výši 2,17 %. Zkoumaný soubor podniků Vysočiny se pohybuje u obou ukazatelů v záporných hodnotách hluboko pod průměrem Zelené zprávy MZe.

V roce 2002 došlo k dalšímu snížení ukazatelů rentability, kdy vlivem špatného počasí došlo k nárůstu nákladů a snížení tržeb zejména v rostlinné výrobě. Z celkového počtu podniků se počet se zápornou rentabilitou zvýšil na 10 podniků a 3 podniky vykazují hodnoty kladné. Nejvyšší kladná hodnota je 2,92 %, nejnižší záporná hodnota je mínus 16,95 %, průměr souboru je mínus 4,00 %. U rentability vlastního kapitálu je situace podobná, u 2 podniků došlo k předlužení, takže ROE u nich dosahuje kladných hodnot, nejvyšší kladná hodnota je 3,99 %, nejnižší záporná hodnota je mínus 101 %, průměrná hodnota za soubor je 91,13 %. Tato hodnota je významně ovlivněna záporným vlastním kapitálem dvou podniků, takže vykazovaný výsledek je výrazně lepší, než je skutečná hodnota ukazatele. Průměrná hodnota ukazatele ROS za soubor je mínus 6,38 %, ROR mínus 5,17 %, ROC mínus 4,34 %. Zápornou hodnotu rentability tržeb, nákladů a výnosů vyazuje 10 podniků ze 13. Haléřový ukazatel má hodnotu 1,05.

Podle publikovaných údajů v Zelené zprávě<sup>220</sup> je průměrná hodnota ROA za celou republiku v roce 2002 u právnických osob mínus 1,81 %, pro podniky hospodařící v horských a podhorských oblastech mínus 0,03 %. U výnosnosti vlastního kapitálu je situace u právnických osob za celou republiku ztrátová ve výši -3,41 %. V porovnání souboru na celorepublikový průměr není situace u ROA tak hrozná, poněvadž vlivem dotací došlo ke zmírnění ztráty z provozní činnosti, při porovnání se skutečností s podniky v horské a podhorské oblasti je situace horší o 0,01. Rentabilitu vlastního kapitálu nelze porovnat pro výrazné zkreslení u předlužených podniků.

V roce 2003 je ukazatel ROA u 7 podniků v záporných hodnotách, nejvyšší kladná hodnota je 2,81 %, nejvyšší záporná hodnota je mínus 9,65 %, průměr souboru je mínus 1,40 %. Ukazatel ROE se u 6 podniků pohybuje v záporných hodnotách, jeden podnik je předlužený, takže je vykázán v kladné hodnotě. Nejvyšší kladná hodnota je 41,15 %, nejvyšší záporná hodnota je ve výši mínus 213,97 %, průměr souboru je mínus 17,16 %. Rentabilita dlouhodobých zdrojů vykazuje průměrnou hodnotu 21,43 %, která je ovlivněna vysokou hodnotou ukazatele u předluženého podniku. Rentabilita tržeb má průměrnou hodnotu v souboru mínus 1,85 %, rentabilita výnosů mínus 1,49 %, rentabilita nákladů mínus 1,339 %. Haléřový ukazatel má hodnotu 1,0153.

### **Analýza zadluženosti**

Pro účely analýzy zadluženosti byly zvoleny ukazatele:

- Zadluženost I jako poměr dlouhodobé dluhy/celková aktiva;
- Zadluženost II jako poměr dlouhodobé dluhy/vlastní kapitál;
- Zadluženost III (ukazatel věřitelského rizika) jako poměr celkové dluhy/celková aktiva;
- Finanční páka jako poměr cizích zdrojů a vlastního kapitálu;
- Ukazatel stability jako poměr vlastního kapitálu a celkových aktiv.

Ukazatele zadluženosti a stability vyjadřují vztah, který v podniku vzniká jako důsledek výsledků hospodaření a finanční strategie firmy. Z pohledu rozboru výkonnosti podniku je

<sup>219</sup> Zpráva o stavu zemědělství ČR za rok 2001 „Zelená zpráva“. Praha: Mze2001ISBN 80-86726-06-1

<sup>220</sup> Zpráva o stavu zemědělství ČR za rok 2002 „Zelená zpráva“. Praha: Mze2001ISBN 80-86726-06-1

nutné si uvědomit, že vysoká zadluženost je mnohdy důsledkem nedostatečné rentability a špatně řízené likvidity firem. Proto i rozbor finanční stability firem bude zaměřen zejména na ukazatele celkového zadlužení a samofinancování. Ve zkoumaném souboru vykazuje ukazatel zadluženosti III v roce 2001 hodnotu 0,74, tzn., že cizí kapitál tvoří 74 % hodnoty celkových aktiv. Situace je rozdílná podle firem – 2 firmy vykazují hodnotu zadlužení nad 90 %, jedna je na hodnotě 89 %. Stabilita je doplňkovým ukazatelem jako výraz pro samofinancování aktiv vlastním kapitálem. Míra úrokového krytí splňuje hodnoty u 1 firmy, ostatní jsou pod doporučovanou hodnotou 6, 4 firmy mají zápornou hodnotu.

V následujícím roce zadlužení nad 90 % vykazují 4 firmy, dvě jsou předloženy tak, že vykazují zadluženost ve výši 106 a 111 %. Míra úrokového krytí je záporná u 8 podniků, celkový průměr je – 2,49. Podíl cizího kapitálu na hodnotě aktiv celkem tvoří 62 %.

V roce 2003 je jedna firma předložena, zadlužení nad 90 % vykazují 4 firmy. Míra úrokového krytí má v průměru ještě stále zápornou hodnotu, ale dochází ke snížení záporné hodnoty. Podíl cizího kapitálu na aktivech je stejný jako v předcházejícím roce.

Podle Zelené zprávy je úroveň zadluženosti pro podniky právnických osob v roce 2001 44,1 % a v roce 2002 46,3 %. Pro podniky hospodařící v horských a podhorských podmínkách je průměrná zadluženost 54,21 % v roce 2001 a 51,46 % v roce 2002. Při porovnání zkoumaného souboru s údaji v Zelené zprávě je nutné konstatovat, že zadluženost v podnicích na Vysočině je zhruba o 23 % vyšší.

Pokud provedeme závěrečné shrnutí podle získaných informací, jeví se jako nejvíce problémová oblast rentability firem. Ve sledovaných třech letech se rentabilita pohybovala v záporných hodnotách, s tendencí se zvyšovat zejména v roce 2002 a ani rok 2003 nepřinesl podstatné zlepšení. Většina firem tak má kumulované ztráty z minulých let, které nemohou být pokryty ziskem následujících období, ani z rezervních fondů, kde nejsou dostatečné zdroje. S tím souvisí i nízká likvidita mnoha firem a problémy v oblasti financování. Podíl cizích zdrojů je vysoký, míra úrokového krytí nedává předpoklady pro získání dalších cizích zdrojů. Podniky se potýkají s nedostatkem finančních prostředků a chybí zdroje na zabezpečení krátkodobé likvidity.

### **Příležitosti zemědělských podniků na Vysočině**

Jednou z možností, jak zvýšit nízkou rentabilitu zemědělských podniků jsou samozřejmě dotace, které po vstupu do EU jsou odhadovány pro rok 2005 ve výši 30 mld. Kč.

Z dalších možností financování je možné zvolit cestu aktivního rozvoje a diverzifikace činnosti zemědělských podniků, která spočívá ve vypracování a realizaci projektů na rozvoj agroturistiky, rekonstrukci stávajících a chátrajících objektů, které sloužily jako administrativní a účelové budovy na ubytovací zařízení a zařízení poskytující služby turistické veřejnosti. Nabízejí se možnosti široké spolupráce s obcemi, s ostatními podnikatelskými subjekty v mikroregionech, jejichž výsledkem budou projekty na zvýšení atraktivity současného venkovského prostředí, spočívající ve využití přírodních podmínek a existujícího kulturního dědictví venkova spojené se zabezpečením sportovního vyžití a doplněné o speciality ze zemědělské činnosti jako je zaměření na rodinnou turistiku nebo využití chovu koní a podobně.

## **SWOT analýza centrální části Českomoravské vysočiny**

### **Silné stránky**

#### **Ekonomické podmínky:**

- vhodná velikostní struktura zemědělských podniků;
- diverzifikovaná zemědělská produkce (rostlinná i živočišná produkce);
- nabídka nevyužitých průmyslových a zemědělských objektů a areálů;
- dálnice D1 vytváří předpoklad rozvoje průmyslu, obchodních služeb;
- možnost vytváření pracovních míst při rozvoji mikroregionu a agroturistiky;
- pozitivní vztah a rostoucí zájem o agroturistiku.

#### **Životní prostředí a cestovní ruch:**

- atraktivní kulturní krajina Vysočiny;
- množství rybníků – možnost koupání;
- podnebí vhodné pro letní i zimní rekreaci;
- vysoký podíl lesů na celkové ploše a tím velký potenciál pro jejich využití;
- dostupnost turistických atraktivit i destinací díky dálnici;
- potenciál pro různé formy agroturistiky;
- řada jedinečných historických a kulturních památek;
- stavby a prvky lidové architektury.

#### **Obyvatelstvo a občanská vybavenost:**

- příznivá věková struktura obyvatelstva;
- nízká míra nezaměstnanosti;
- nízká kriminalita a nízký podíl sociálně rizikových skupin obyvatelstva;
- nostatečná vybavenost zařízeními zdravotní péče.

### **Slabé stránky**

#### **Ekonomické podmínky:**

- nedostatek kapitálu v zemědělském sektoru a ve venkovské ekonomice;
- špatná ekonomická situace u řady zemědělských podniků;
- malé zkušenosti s marketingem;
- malý podíl výrobků s vysokou přidanou hodnotou;
- nízká úroveň produktivity v zemědělských podnicích;
- nízká úroveň příjmů v zemědělství.

#### **Životní prostředí**

- převaha smrčín v lesích, málo různorodá skladba lesů;
- převážně chudé půdy, velký stupeň zornění, velké bloky půdy;



- nedostatečná vybavenost území turistickou infrastrukturou;
- malá část ubytovací kapacity je zaměřena na náročnější klientelu;
- málo naučných stezek a tématicky značených tras a cyklotras;
- nerozvinutá spolupráce subjektů v oblasti cestovního ruchu.

### **Obyvatelstvo a občanská vybavenost**

- vyliďňující se malé obce a jejich změna z obytné funkce na rekreační;
- málo nových pracovních příležitostí v mikroregionech vzdálených od krajského města.

### **Závěr**

Politické změny roku 1948 znamenaly rychlý zánik tradičního zemědělství založeného na různých formách vlastnictví zemědělské půdy a na tradičních způsobech obdělávání půdy v jednotlivých výrobních oblastech. Spolu s tím došlo likvidaci organizací zabezpečujících zpracování zemědělských produktů včetně jejich finalizace a tím byla zemědělská výroba zbavena možností se podílet na finančním zhodnocení vlastních výrobků a dostala se tak do výrobně ekonomické a finanční závislosti na státu. Místo tržní ekonomiky začal fungovat centralistický direktivní systém řízený státem.

Po roce 1966 došlo ke zmírnění direktivních forem řízení a rozšiřování prvků tržní ekonomiky, ale nástup normalizace tyto tendence přerušil. Místo toho byl vytýčen úkol dosáhnout soběstačnosti v potravinách. To vedlo ke snahám o zajištění maximálních hektarových výnosů a maximální užitkovosti v živočišné výrobě. Byly budovány velkokapacitní stavby, které měly zabezpečit zvýšení zemědělské produkce a produktivity práce. Hrubá zemědělská produkce v roce 1980 v porovnání s rokem 1970 vzrostla o 21,6 %, přičemž vyrobené přebytky byly vyváženy do SSSR a do zemí bývalého východního bloku za ceny neodpovídající vynaloženým nákladům. Nárůst produkce v horších přirozených podmínkách vyvolal potřebu zvýšení dotací do zemědělství ze státního rozpočtu.

V 70. a 80. letech minulého století proběhlo slučování družstev, které mělo zabezpečit zvýšení specializace a koncentrace, růst produktivity práce a snížení nákladů. Došlo k obrovským investicím do staveb a technologií, které se mnohdy projevovaly v devastaci životního prostředí.

V průběhu těchto změn došlo k řadě negativních zásahů do života vesnického obyvatelstva, což se projevilo ztrátou tradic, úpadkem duchovní kultury, zánikem menších sídel, vyliďňováním venkova a odcizením rolníků od půdy. Z pozitivních změn je nutné vyzvednout zabezpečení soběstačnosti v potravinách, zlepšení postavení žen na venkově a srovnatelnost některých výrobních odvětví se západním zemědělstvím.

V letech od roku 1990 postupně došlo k narovnání vlastnických vztahů k půdě, ke vzniku nové agrární struktury zemědělství, i když nedošlo a ani nemohlo dojít k vypořádání všech majetkových nároků a odstranění vzniklých osobních křivd.

Budoucnost českého zemědělství bude závislá na zvýšení rentability výroby, zabezpečení zdrojů financování a schopnosti využít i další příležitosti, které se po vstupu ČR do EU nabízejí.

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# **Malé a střední potravinářské podniky – příležitost pro venkov v globalizovaném světě**

## **Small and Medium-sizes Food Enterprises – Opportunity for Countryside in Globalized World**

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### **Klíčová slova**

globalizace, venkovské území a obyvatelstvo, malé a střední podniky, zpracovatelský průmysl a potravinářský sektor, Evropská unie, podpůrné programy, trh, kvalita, strategické dokumenty

### **Abstrakt**

Vývoj ve světě je spojen s procesem globalizace. Jednotlivé země se integrují do nadnárodních celků. V oblasti podnikání operují nadnárodní společnosti. Tyto společnosti přesouvají výrobní kapacity do míst s levnou pracovní silou a zdrojů surovin. Tyto procesy se týkají Evropy i ČR. Růst ceny práce povede k přesouvání výrob mimo ČR. ČR je zemí, kde převládá venkovské území (zhruba 90 %) a venkovské obyvatelstvo (zhruba 2/3). Proto je třeba hledat pro venkov vhodnou velikostní kategorii podniků, která se udrží. Touto kategorií jsou malé a střední podniky (MSP). Zejména mikrofirmy (do 10 zaměstnanců a do 10 mil. eur) a malé firmy (do 50 zaměstnanců a do 10 mil. eur), kde nastává úzké propojení vlastníků a managementu, jsou poměrně stabilní z hlediska místa podnikání a tím je často venkovský prostor. Z hlediska odvětví, vedle zemědělských podniků, k venkovu patří zejména MSP zpracovatelského průmyslu. Podle ČSÚ v MSP v roce 2004 pracovalo 57 % zaměstnanců tohoto sektoru. Klíčovou úlohu v zemích EU v rámci zpracovatelského průmyslu zaujímá potravinářský sektor. MSP v potravinářském sektoru ČR zaměstnávaly v roce 2004 plných 60 % pracovníků tohoto odvětví. Vstup ČR do EU přispěl k vytvoření lepšího podnikatelského prostředí (evropské právo, standardy, trhy). Zostřila se také konkurence. Silnou stránkou MSP v ČR však zůstává kvalita produkce a kvalifikace pracovníků. MSP jsou v EU podporovány programy v souladu s Evropskou chartou pro malé podnikání schválenou Evropskou radou (2000). MSP v ČR trpí nedostatkem dlouhodobých finančních zdrojů určených na modernizaci a rozvoj. Proto pro tyto podniky byly přijaty podpůrné programy realizované ČMZRB. Vedle centrálních zdrojů lze hledat podpory i přímo na venkově v rámci zákonných pravomocí obcí. Je to pronájem nebo prodej obecních nemovitostí či vlastní podnikatelská činnost obce aj. Pro MSP je přízná flexibilita na trhu. Příležitostí je získání národní značky kvality KLASA. Výzvou je širší zapojení MSP do inovačního procesu. Evropská technologická platforma Food for Life formuje vědní priority s ohledem na příští populační vývoj a jeho skladbě odpovídající potraviny. Ke zvýšení konkurenceschopnosti a kvality může přispět i strategie v souladu s Nařízením Rady (EHS) 2081/92 o ochraně zeměpisných označení a označení původu zemědělských produktů a potravin a s Nařízením Rady (EHS) 2082/92 o osvědčení o zvláštní povaze zemědělských produktů a potravin. Velkou příležitostí pro venkov, pro horizont let 2007 – 2013, jsou připravené národní strategické dokumenty pro nový evropský fond – EAFRD, na jejichž zpracování se podílelo VÚZE, spolu s dalšími partnery, pod vedením MZe.

## **Key words**

globalization, rural territory and population, small and middle enterprises, manufacturing industry and food sector, European Union, subsidiary programs, market, quality, strategic paper

## **Abstract**

The development in the world is linked to process of the globalization. Individual countries integrate to the supra-national unites. In the business area operate multinational companies. These companies move industrial production capacity to the place with cheap working force and raw material sources. These processes concern Europe and also CZ. The increase in price of work will lead to shifting productions out of CZ. CZ is country, where dominates rural territory and rural population. Therefore is necessary to search for countryside suitable side-category of enterprises. These category are small and medium-side enterprises (SME). Especially micro-firms and small firms, where is narrow connection proprietors and management and they have relatively stable place of business, by which is often countryside. From sector point of view, beside farms, to countryside belongs to especially SME of manufacturing industry. According Czech Statistical Office in SME in the year 2004 worked 57 % employees of this sector. The keys position in EU countries in terms of manufacturing industry to assume manufacture of food products and beverages. SME in this sector of CZ employed in year 2004 full of 60 % workers these sector. Accession CZ to the EU contributed to creation better entrepreneurial environment (acquis, standards, markets). Competition is also heightened. Strong point of SME in CZ however is staying quality of product and qualification of employees. In EU are SME subsidized from programs conformable with European charter for small business accept European counsel (2000). SME in CZ have lack of long-term financial sources intended on modernizing and development. Therefore for these firms was received subsidiary programs realized the Czech-Moravian Guarantee and Development Bank. Beside central sources it is possible obtain supports also directly in the country in terms of lawful authority of municipality. It that a lease or sale municipal estate or own business activity municipality etc. For SME is characteristic flexibility in the marketplace. Occasion is obtaining national brands of quality KLASA. The challenge is wider join SME in the innovative of the process. European technological basis Food for Life forms of science priority with reference of future population development and his composition corresponding groceries. To increasing competitiveness and qualities is able to contribute by also strategy conformable with Council Regulation (EEC) No 2081/92 of 14 July 1992 on the protection geographical indications and designations of origin for agricultural products and foodstuffs and Council Regulation (EEC) No 2082/92 of 14 July 1992 on certificates of specific character for agricultural products and foodstuffs. A big occasion for countryside, for horizon years 2007 – 2013, are draft national strategic papers for new European fund – European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development. On processing these papers participated VÚZE in conjunction with other partners, led by Ministry of Agriculture.

## **Malé a střední potravinářské podniky – příležitost pro venkov v globalizovaném světě**

### **Úvod a metodika**

Přelom 20. a 21. století je obdobím globalizace. Globalizace se dotýká prakticky všech sfér života. Jde o proces postupné integrace zemí do nadnárodních celků. ČR se stala členskou zemí EU a dalších nadnárodních seskupení. Na jejím území podnikají různé nadnárodní společnosti. V mnoha případech využívají k podnikání průmyslových zón. Pokud však ztratí komparativní výhody oproti mateřské zemi, přesouvají výrobní kapacity do míst s levnou pracovní silou a tam, kde jsou zdroje surovin. Pokud má ČR udržet ekonomický potenciál, je třeba hledat vhodnou velikostní kategorii podniků, která bude relativně stabilní z hlediska místa podnikání. Touto kategorií se jeví MSP, kde nastává úzké propojení vlastníků a managementu.<sup>221</sup> Současně jde i o volbu podnikatelského zaměření, a to na tradiční odvětví, avšak především ta, která dosud nevyčerpala růstové možnosti a jsou schopna dalšího rozvoje. V ČR k nim patří zvláště ta část zpracovatelského průmyslu, která bývá označována jako lehký průmysl.

Určité stírání hranic jednotlivých zemí v procesu globalizace, při volném pohybu zboží, osob a kapitálu, však na druhé straně zvyšuje význam jednotlivých regionů. Také ČR zavedla na svém území kraje. Podle odborníků na problematiku venkova převládá v ČR venkovské území (zhruba 90 %) a většina obcí má venkovský charakter. Zhruba dvě třetiny populace tvoří venkovské obyvatelstvo.<sup>222</sup> Také udržení venkovského obyvatelstva vyžaduje vhodnou formu podnikání. MSP, které se jeví jako stabilní z hlediska místa podnikání se také jeví jako vhodná velikostní kategorie pro venkov. Z těchto předpokladů, tj. udržení MSP v ČR vychází celkové pojetí příspěvku. Podle ČSÚ průměrný počet MSP ve zpracovatelském průmyslu v letech 2001 až 2003 klesal (ze 158 850 na 152 193 subjektů), zatímco v potravinářském průmyslu vč. tabáku průměrný počet těchto subjektů ve stejném období mírně vzrostl (ze 6 330 na 6 396 subjektů). Současně autoři jsou si vědomi toho, že celkový počet podniků v ČR bude výhledově, i přes určité kolísání spíše klesat. Dále, že se MSP nacházejí, a to oprávněně i ve městech a naopak velké podniky ve venkovském prostoru, resp. v průmyslových zónách, které jsou mimo město, ale současně postrádají charakter venkovské krajiny. Zkoumání problematiky průmyslových zón by však bylo již nad rámec tohoto příspěvku. Z hlediska odvětvového zaměření také k venkovu tradičně patří lehký průmysl a především ta jeho část, která navazuje na zemědělství, a to výroba potravinářských výrobků a nápojů.

Z metodického hlediska, s ohledem na cíl práce, který bude níže naznačen, jsou předmětem analýz MSP z hlediska jejich pozice a příležitostí. Jde o mikrofirmy (do 10 zaměstnanců s čistým obratem a celkovou bilancí do 2 mil. EUR), malé firmy (do 50 zaměstnanců a s čistým obratem do 10 mil. EUR) a střední firmy (s méně než 250 zaměstnanci a s čistým obratem do 50 mil. EUR a celkovou bilancí do 43 mil. EUR). Jde o definici EU k 1. 1. 2005, avšak v průběhu let zmíněné definice prošly určitým vývojem, takže hodnocení pozice MSP za předcházející období, odpovídá definicím platným pro toto, tj. předešlé období. Probíhající integrační procesy a růst produktivity práce si však mohou vynutit další změnu definice MSP v rámci EU. Tato otázka by se mohla stát výzvou pro výzkum v této oblasti.

<sup>221</sup> Blíže uvádí Majerová, V. a kol.: Český venkov 2002 – Podniky a podnikání, Praha: ČZU, v kap. 6 Podnikání na venkově (Herová), která čerpá z pramenů VŠE

<sup>222</sup> Vyplývá z údajů Trnkové, Trnka str. 12 a dalších z publikace Majerová, V. a kol.: Český venkov 2000 – Základní údaje, Praha ČZU

Za zpracovatelský průmysl, s nímž je porovnáván potravinářský průmysl, který je jeho součástí, je považována významná část průmyslu označovaná v rámci Odvětvové klasifikace ekonomických činností (OKEČ) pod písmenem D a za potravinářský průmysl je pokládán OKEČ 15 – Výroba potravinářských výrobků a nápojů.

## Cíl práce

Zvolený metodický postup, založený především na hodnoceních a komparacích má za cíl zdůraznit význam zvolených velikostních skupin podniků v rámci vybraných odvětví, posoudit uplatňovaný systém jejich podpor a tržní - výrobové a inovační možnosti. Celkovým cílem je přispět k hledání příležitostí pro rozvoj venkova v perspektivě let 2007 – 2013 v souladu s koncepčními záměry rezortu, které by měl podpořit nový evropský fond – Evropský zemědělský fond pro rozvoj venkova (European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development – EAFRD).

## Vlastní práce

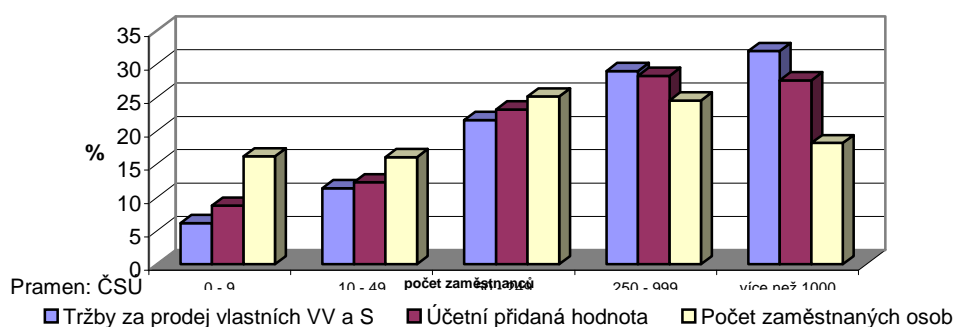
Produkční pozice malých a středních podniků (MSP) ve zpracovatelském průmyslu a v potravinářském průmyslu

Zpracovatelský průmysl patří ve vyspělých ekonomikách k rozhodujícím zdrojům tvorby hrubého domácího produktu. V České republice se v roce 2004 podílel na tvorbě HDP 27 %. Také na celkových tržbách (výkonech) průmyslu si zpracovatelská odvětví zachovávají nejvyšší podíl, který v roce 2004 činil 90,2 %. Dynamicky se rozvíjejí především zpracovatelská odvětví a obory, které vytvářejí vyšší přidanou hodnotu.

Struktura zpracovatelského průmyslu je patrná z tabulky č. 1 a grafu č. 1

Tabulka č. 1: Produkční charakteristiky v roce 2003 podle velikostních skupin					
(mil. Kč, osob)	0 - 9	10 - 49	50 - 249	250 - 999	více než 1000
Tržby za prodej VV a S v b.c.	132 089,7	244 287,6	464 424,4	621 467,5	686 254,7
Účetní přidaná hodnota v b.c.	50 472,8	70 576,1	133 577,4	162 587,5	158 750
Počet zaměstnaných osob	217 230	215 713	338 328	330 359	244 440
Pramen: ČSÚ, vlastní dopočet MPO					

Graf č. 1: Podíly velikostních skupin organizací na produkčních charakteristikách v roce 2003



Z tabulky č. 1 lze zjistit, že v roce 2003 se na tržbách za prodej vlastních výrobků a služeb nejvíce podílely firmy s největším počtem zaměstnanců a to firmy s 1 000 a více zaměstnanci

31,9 % před kategorií firem s 250 – 999 zaměstnanci 28,9 %. MSP jako celek se podílely na celkových tržbách 39,2 % a na velikosti účetní přidané hodnoty 44,2 %.

Výroba potravinářských výrobků a nápojů (OKEČ 15) je odvětvím zpracovatelského průmyslu úzce navazujícím na zemědělství. V letech 2000 – 2004 bylo ve výrobě potravinářských výrobků a nápojů u produkčních charakteristik zaznamenáno poměrně kolísavé a vcelku nižší tempo, než ve zpracovatelském průmyslu jako celku. Toto mírnější tempo růstu vyplývá z vysoké nabídky a širší sortimentu potravin na domácím trhu.

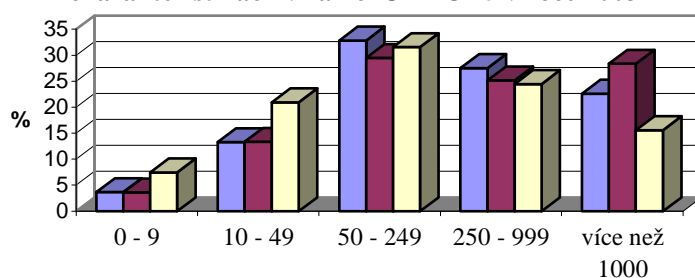
Produkční charakteristiky za rok 2003 podle velikostních skupin společností u výroby potravinářských výrobků a nápojů (OKEČ 15) uvádí tabulka č. 2 a graf č. 2.

**Tabulka č. 2 - Produkční charakteristiky v roce 2003 podle velikostních skupin – OKEČ 15**

(mil. Kč, osob)	0 - 9	10 - 49	50 - 249	250 – 999	více než 1 000
Tržby za prodej VV a S v b.c.	9 423,3	34 202,7	84 516,6	70 885,2	58 085,3
Účetní přidaná hodnota v b.c.	2 154,3	7 922,9	17 500,7	14 924,3	16 830,4
Počet zaměstnaných osob	10 339	29 052	43 768	33 924	21 634

*Pramen: ČSÚ, vlastní dopočet MPO*

**Graf č. 2: Podíl velikostních skupin organizací na produkčních charakteristikách v rámci OKEČ 15 v roce 2003**



Pramen: ČSÚ  
**počet zaměstnanců**  
■ Tržby za prodej vlastních VV a S ■ Účetní přidaná hodnota ■ Počet zaměstnaných osob

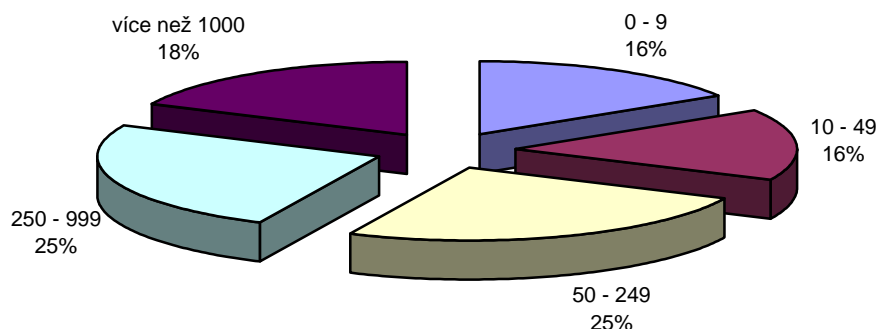
Z tabulky č. 2 lze zjistit že v roce 2003 se na tržbách za prodej vlastních výrobků a služeb nejvíce podílely střední podniky s 50 – 249 zaměstnanci. MSP jako celek se podílely na celkových tržbách téměř 50 % a na velikosti účetní přidané hodnoty 46,5 %.

### Struktura MSP z hlediska zaměstnanosti

Zpracovatelský průmysl jako celek zaměstnával 1 339 496 pracovníků v roce 2004.

Následující graf uvádí rozdělení velikostní struktury zaměstnanosti ve zpracovatelském průmyslu (2004).

**Graf č. 3: Velikostní struktura zaměstnanosti zpracovatelského průmyslu v roce 2004**



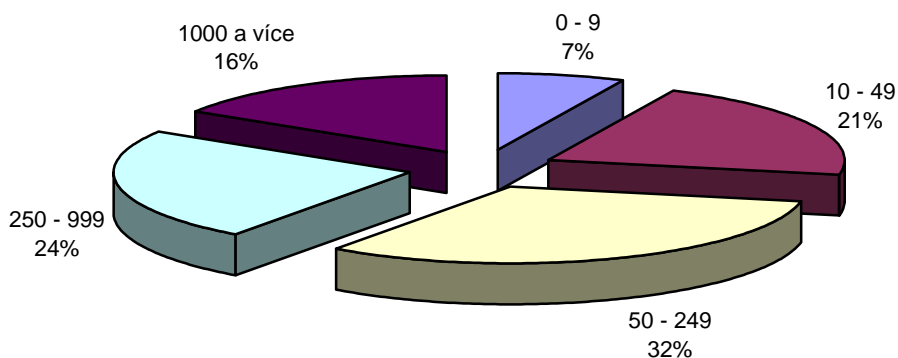
Pramen: ČSÚ

Z tohoto grafu lze zjistit, že nejvíce osob je zaměstnáno v kategorii firem s 250 – 999 a 50 – 249 zaměstnanci. MSP jako celek zaměstnávají ve zpracovatelském průmyslu 57 % pracovníků. Typickými odvětvími s vysokou zaměstnaností v MSP jsou výroba textilií, textilních a oděvních výrobků, výroba oděvů, zpracování a barvení kožešin, výroba usní a výrobků z usní, dřeva a dřevařských výrobků, vlákniny, papíru a výrobků z papíru, vydavatelství a některé další výroby, tj. ta část průmyslu, která bývá označována jako lehký průmysl.

Odvětví Výroba potravinářských výrobků a nápojů (OKEČ 15) jako celek v roce 2004 zaměstnávalo 133 801 pracovníků.

Následující graf uvádí velikostní strukturu zaměstnanosti v odvětví OKEČ 15.

**Graf č. 4: Velikostní struktura zaměstnanosti odvětví OKEČ 15 v roce 2004**



Pramen: ČSÚ

Z tohoto grafu lze zjistit, že pilířem odvětví OKEČ 15 zůstávají z hlediska zaměstnanosti, střední podniky s 50 – 249 pracovníky, u nichž najde pracovní místa téměř jedna třetina osob tohoto odvětví. MSP jako celek zaměstnávají 60 % pracovníků v rámci OKEČ 15. Tj. o plné 3 % více oproti celému zpracovatelskému průmyslu. Hlavní rozdíl z hlediska zaměstnanosti spočívá v tom, že v odvětví OKEČ 15 je nejvýznamnější kategorie středních podniků



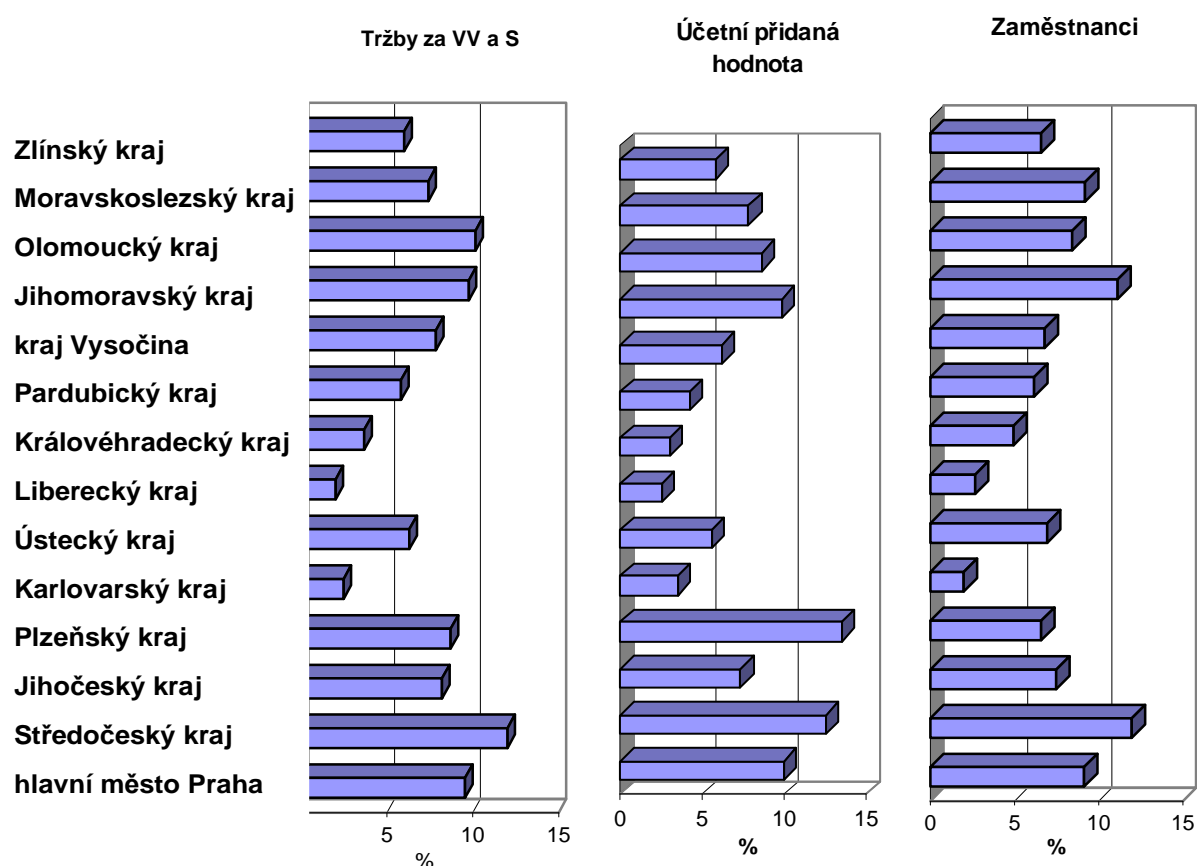
s kategorií malých podniků, zatímco u ostatních odvětví lehkého průmyslu kategorie mikropodniků. Ve výrobě potravin a nápojů nacházejí jako MSP uplatnění zejména pekárny a cukrárny, výroby masa a masných výrobků, zpracovny ovoce či výrobci piva a vína, a to zejména v některých regionech.

Pro ekonomiku výše uvedených firem, a to zejména malých podniků jsou charakteristické nízké náklady, poměrně stabilní poptávka a místní tradice.

Podle poznatků profesní organizace Potravinářská komory ČR (PK ČR) problémem zůstávají technologické modernizace a urychlení inovačního procesu.

Další charakteristikou je regionální struktura odvětví výroby potravinářských výrobků a nápojů (OKEČ 15) v roce 2003 podle krajů, která je zachycena v grafu č. 5.

**Graf č. 5: Podíly krajů na produkčních charakteristikách v roce 2003**



*Pramen: ČSÚ, vlastní dopočet MPO*

Prvenství si v této regionální struktuře udržuje Středočeský kraj (s podílem na tržbách 12 %, na přidané hodnotě 13 % a na počtu zaměstnanců 12 %). Další místa zauímají kraje Jihomoravský a Olomoucký (s vysokou produkcí agrárních surovin). Stejný podíl přidané hodnoty (13 %) jako Středočeský kraj vykazuje také kraj Plzeňský. Nejnižší podíly na regionální struktuře vykazují kraje Liberecký a Karlovarský, kde je zastoupení výroby potravinářských výrobků a nápojů nejmenší.

MSP z hlediska zaměstnanosti hrají nezastupitelnou roli jak v celém zpracovatelském průmyslu, kde zaměstnávají 57 % pracovníků, tak v odvětví výroby potravinářských výrobků a nápojů (OKEČ 15), kde zaměstnávají 60 % pracovníků. Co se týče podílu na tržbách mají svojí nezastupitelnou roli jak v rámci celého zpracovatelského průmyslu s 39,2 %, tak

především v odvětví výroby potravinářských výrobků a nápojů (OKEČ 15), kde se podílejí téměř 50 %. Proto by měly být vytvářeny podmínky pro udržení a zakládání těchto podniků zejména ve venkovském prostoru.

### Podpora konkurenceschopnosti MSP

Pozice a konkurenceschopnost MSP není v mnoha směrech rovnocenná s tržní silou velkých firem a zejména nadnárodních společností. Tyto podniky obtížně získávají zdroje pro financování, a to zejména dlouhodobějších provozních a investičních potřeb. K řešení této situace přispívá systém podpor, a to jak specificky určený těmto podnikům, tak další programy podpor, kterých se však mohou účastnit všechny podniky, které o ně projeví zájem a splní podmínky konkrétního programu.

Přehled poskytnutých záruk, zvýhodněných úvěrů, příspěvků na úhradu úroků a ostatních příspěvků a jednotlivých programů pro MSP, financovaných ČMZRB v roce 2004 za průmysl celkem a u výroby potravinářských výrobků a nápojů a podíl této výroby, na celkové podpoře poskytnuté do NH je zachycen v následujících tabulkách č. 3 až 6.

**Tabulka č. 3: Poskytnuté záruky (2004)**

Odvětví	Program ZÁRUKA celkem						z toho:					
							Záruky cenově zvýhodněné					
	počet		objem záruk		objem podpor		počet		objem záruk		cenové zvýhodnění	
(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	
Průmyslová výroba celkem	331	43,7	1882,1	57,8	514,7	63,1	279	54,6	1851,2	60,2	514,7	63,1
z toho - potravinářská vyr.	45	5,9	364,1	11,2	103,6	12,7	45	8,8	364,1	11,8	103,6	12,7
Celkem NH	758	100,0	3256,5	100,0	816,3	100,0	511	100,0	3076,4	100,0	816,3	100,0

Pramen: MPO

**Tabulka č. 4: Poskytnuté zvýhodněné úvěry (2004)**

Odvětví	Celkem				z toho:											
	počet		objem		KREDIT				KREDIT - malý úvěr				START			
	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)
Průmyslová výroba celkem	487	34,5	444,6	37,4	34	41,5	98,0	39,0	353	38,1	300,9	39,6	100	24,8	45,7	26,0
z toho - potravinářská vyr.	68	4,8	72,9	6,1	8	9,8	23,2	9,2	47	5,1	43,3	5,7	13	3,2	6,4	3,6
<b>Celkem NH</b>	<b>1 411</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1187,5</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>251,7</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>926</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>759,9</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>175,9</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Pozn.: objem poskytnutých úvěrů nezahrnuje jejich navýšení při restrukturalizaci

Pramen: MPO

**Tabulka č. 5: Poskytnuté příspěvky na úhradu úroků (2004)**

Odvětví	Celkem				z toho:							
	počet		objem		VESNICE				REGENERACE			
	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)
Průmyslová výroba - celkem	27	35,5	16,5	47,8	27	43,5	16,5	54,4	0	0,0	0,0	0,0
z toho - potravinářská vyr.	6	7,9	7	19,3	6	9,7	6,7	21,9	0	0,0	0,0	0,0
<b>Celkem NH</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>34,5</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>30,3</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>4,2</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Pramen: MPO

**Tabulka č. 6: Ostatní poskytnuté příspěvky (2004)**

Odvětví	Celkem				z toho:															
	počet		objem		TRH - certifikace				TRH - norm. shoda				KOOPERACE				SPECIAL			
	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)	(ks)	(%)	(mil.Kč)	(%)
Průmyslová výroba celkem	452	35,1	87,1	41,6	430	34,8	48,6	36,8	3	100,0	0,1	100,0	4	18,2	4,9	15,8	15	57,7	33,5	72,3
z toho - potravinářská výr.	26	2,0	4,6	2,2	25	2,0	3,1	2,4	0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1	3,8	1,4	3,1
<b>Celkem NH</b>	<b>1 286</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>209,5</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>1 235</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>132,2</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>0,1</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>30,8</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>46,4</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Pramen: MPO

Jak vyplývá z výše uvedených údajů v tabulkách, nejvyššího podílu podpor dosáhla potravinářská výroba u příspěvků na úhradu úroků (19,3 %), z toho u programu VESNICE dokonce (21,9 %) a u záruk (12,7 %). Podle předběžných údajů, tento specifický druh podpory určený pro MSP v roce 2005, co do objemu, ve výrobě potravin a nápojů v porovnání s rokem 2004 výrazně poklesl a patrně se snížil i intenzita veřejné podpory.

MSP v potravinářství se též mohou spolu s ostatními kategoriemi podniků ucházet o podporu v rámci Operačního programu Rozvoj venkova a multifunkční zemědělství (OP zemědělství), Operačního programu Průmysl a podnikání (OPPP) či o národní podporu formou dotací poskytovaných MZe. Tím je v současnosti podpůrný program – 13. Podpora zpracování zemědělských produktů, který byl schválen v roce 2005, resp. v rámci dalších programů. Výše dotace u podpůrného programu 13. je stanovena do 40 % přijatelných nákladů projektu resp. max. do 10 mil. Kč na každý jednotlivý projekt a jednoho příjemce. Výhodnější podmínky pro MSP v rámci tohoto programu stanoveny nebyly.

Z dosavadních poznatků, z pravidelného sledování problematiky podpor vyplývá, že pro MSP je často obtížné dosáhnout splnění podmínek pro zařazení do příslušného programu, tj. neodpovídající nastavení příslušných kritérií a dále nedostatek finančních zdrojů na financování investic do doby, než obdrží podporu a v neposlední řadě změny programů podpor v průběhu let. Jde i o nedostatečné odborné zázemí pro zpracování žádostí, jejich administrativní náročnost a náklady na ní a připravovaný projekt.

Vedle evropských a národních zdrojů může MSP poskytnout podporu i obec v rámci zákonných pravomocí. Jde např. o pronájem nebo prodej obecních nemovitostí či vlastní podnikatelskou činnost obce a jiné formy ovlivňování podnikatelské činnosti. Vhodná vzájemná interakce mezi obcemi a firmami vytváří příznivé klima ve venkovském prostředí. Nelze opomenout ani kraj, který spoluvytváří podmínky pro podnikání a zajišťuje vybavenost na svém území.

### **Tržní aktivity MSP se zaměřením na inovace a legislativa ES**

Důležitou podmínkou, aby se MSP udržely na trhu je jejich konkurenceschopnost a využívání vhodných nástrojů marketingu a komunikace se zákazníky a výroba specialit.

Jednou z šancí pro MSP v odvětví výroby potravinářských výrobků a nápojů (OKEČ 15) jak se zviditelnit a deklarovat kvalitu svých výrobků je usilovat o získání Národní značky kvality KLASA. Tuto značku uděluje od roku 2003 ministr zemědělství kvalitním domácím potravinářským a zemědělským výrobkům. Tuto prestižní značku spravuje od roku 2004 Odbor pro marketing Státního zemědělského fondu (SZIF). KLASA slouží spotřebitelům a odběratelům k lepší orientaci při identifikaci typických domácích produktů, prezentaci jejich kvality v porovnání s konkurenčními potravinami. Značka je propůjčována na tři roky a její vlastnictví může být po této lhůtě prodlouženo, ale také může být při zhoršení kvality či porušení podmínek pro její získání odebráno. Požadovanou kvalitu a složení výrobků mj. posuzuje a po jejím udělení kontroluje Státní zemědělská a potravinářská inspekce. K 9.1.2006 byla Národní značka kvality KLASA udělena 852 výrobkům od 143 podniků.

Další ze šancí pro MSP je možnost přihlášení výrobku (pokud splňuje daná kritéria) v rámci nařízení Rady (EHS) 2081/92 o ochraně zeměpisných označení a označení původu zemědělských produktů a potravin. Od roku 1993 bylo zapsáno více než 700 názvů, které se týkají zejména více než 150 označení sýrů, 160 označení masa a masných výrobků, 150 označení ovoce a čerstvé zeleniny a 80 označení olivových olejů. Z ČR již této ochraně podléhají 3 výrobky .

Dále se jedná o nařízení Rady (EHS) 2082/92 o osvědčení o zvláštní povaze zemědělských produktů a potravin; od vytvoření bylo zapsáno 15 zemědělských produktů a potravin.

Právě v těchto dnech probíhají usilovná jednání o novém znění těchto nařízení, nové finální verze bohužel ještě nejsou do termínu pro odeslání příspěvku k dispozici.

Výsledky průzkumu PK ČR u MSP mimo jiné uvádějí, že většina podniků by dala z hlediska opatření politiky zaměřené na zvýšení inovací v potravinovém řetězci přednost spolufinancování výzkumných a vývojových činností ze státních prostředků a ekonomickým pobídkám výzkumných a vývojových aktivit.

Na otázku jak jste financovali v posledních třech letech inovační aktivity vašeho podniku, největší procento odpovědí bylo financování z vnitřních zdrojů jako běžné výdaje (35,5 %) a půjčky od bank a podobných institucí (19,2 %).

Jako potenciální překážky, které způsobují obtíže inovačním aktivitám byly nejčastěji uváděny: vysoké náklady na inovační aktivity a dále nedostatek vnitřních finančních zdrojů.

Inovaci dotazovaných podniků provedenou v posledních třech letech nejvíce pomohly výzkumné obory: informační technologie a dále metody zlepšení hygieny.

Jako hlavní cíle inovačních aktivit podniky především uvádějí: zajištění rostoucích požadavků trhu, snížení nákladů, zlepšení jakosti a zlepšené postavení na trhu.

Nejvíce inovací měly dotazované podniky ve výrobních procesech a v oblasti balení. Většina dotazovaných podniků (72,6 %) nemá výzkumné a vývojové oddělení.

Evropská technologická platforma Food for life upozorňuje na stárnutí evropské populace a potřebu inovací v potravinářství. V ČR se předpokládá, že z dva a tři čtvrtě milionu lidí starších 55 let, což je podle ČSÚ současný stav, za 25 let to budou čtyři miliony.

V současnosti se firmy spíše ucházejí o podpory na investice a zejména na pořízení dlouhodobého majetku (stroje a zařízení). Zařazení potravinářských firem do programu INOVACE v rámci OPPI je obtížné z důvodu odlišného charakteru inovací v tomto odvětví (zřídka jsou vyššího řádu).

## **Výhledová strategie**

Příští komplexní rozvoj venkova se bude v ČR, stejně jako v ostatních členských zemích EU, opírat o EAFRD, a to počínaje rokem 2007. V sedmiletém období do roku 2013 budou z tohoto fondu poskytovány podpory v poměrně širokém rozsahu. V rámci připravených dokumentů, jímž jsou Národní strategický plán pro rozvoj venkova ČR (NSP) a PRV – Programu rozvoje venkova je zachycena celá strategie, priority a opatření na výše uvedené období.

S modernizací zemědělských, potravinářských a lesnických podniků a rozvojem odbytu kvalitních potravinářských produktů je počítáno spolu s dalšími prioritami. Jde však i o to, aby jednotlivé programy byly „nastaveny“ tak, aby účast MSP byla široká, urychlil se inovační proces, zejména směrem k více zpracovaným produktům a těm, které budou vyhovovat budoucím výživovým trendům spojeným se změnami kvality života a

očekávaným vývojem populace v ČR i v ostatních členských zemích EU. Podpora ze zdrojů EU v letech 2007 až 2013 především inovační aktivity akcentovat.

## **Závěr**

V zájmu regenerace a rozvoje venkovského prostoru je žádoucí v něm udržet MSP. Jejich počet i produkční a celková ekonomická pozice se bude postupně měnit a jejich definice by se měla přizpůsobit dalšímu vývoji.

Z hlediska pozitivního vývoje venkova jde zejména o firmy podnikající v té části průmyslu, která bývá označována jako zpracovatelský průmysl. Jde především o lehký průmysl, jehož jádrem je výroba potravinářských výrobků a nápojů.

Udržení MSP však vyžaduje zachovat resp. prohloubit intenzitu veřejné podpory u výše zmíněné části průmyslu. Z tohoto hlediska je nutno přistupovat i k založení systému podpor pro delší časové období a zachovat v možné míře jeho stabilitu. K vytváření příznivého podnikatelského prostředí ve venkovském prostoru mohou přispět kraje i obce, což může docílený efekt dále znásobit.

Pro MSP je významná i jejich vlastní podnikatelská aktivita založená na marketingovém pojetí, kvalitní produkci a inovačním procesu, který bude reagovat na tržní podněty a v delší časové periodě se bude adaptovat na měnící se podmínky životního stylu v EU a ve světě.

Z důrazu na konkurenceschopnost založenou více na kvalitě než ceně, aniž by tyto atributy produkce byly od sebe odtrženy či v rozporu, by měly také vycházet dokumenty na léta 2007 až 2013, včetně strategie zaměřené na ochranu zeměpisných označení a označení původu resp. uznávající zvláštní povahu zemědělských produktů a potravin.

Naplnění těchto cílů je výzvou jak pro podniky, tak státní správu, a to jak v centru, tak v krajích a v obcích resp. i samosprávu. Impulsy k řešení situace MSP v potravinářství ve venkovském prostoru se týkají i výzkumu (ať už technologického, tak i ekonomického).

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# **Autenticita krajiny – perspektiva venkova? Countryside Authenticity – Prospect of Rural Areas?**

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Vztah člověka k prostředí, které ho obklopuje prochází vývojem stejně jako on sám i jako krajina, ve které žije. Nejprve si člověk vyhledával místo bezpečí a odpočinku - domov, k němu vedla cesta. Cesty a sídla byly prvními prvky, které člověk v krajině záměrně vybíral a dotvářel. Z domova šly cesty za obživou, k místu uctívání božstev a k sousedním sídlům. Tyto stezky, první stopy osídlení v krajině, vytvářely propojené sítě a čím dál více zpřístupňovaly a poznamenávaly krajinu. Když si člověk začal ohrazovat místo svého domova, vznikaly první „zahrady“ jako výraz sbližování se s krajinou ne však kořistnictví. Odtud byl už jen krůček k formování krajiny jako životního prostoru člověka.

Česká krajina je velmi rozmanitá se svou historickou strukturou osídlení patří bezesporu k nejkrásnějším v Evropě i na světě. Její historický vývoj ji poznamenal unikátními stopami krajinářských úprav, ať už se jedná o prehistorickou krajinu Pavlovských vrchů, renesanční soustavy rybníků v Jižních Čechách nebo o četné aleje, průhledy a osy barokní krajiny, česká krajina je krajinou s duchem a potenciálem lákajícím k dalšímu uchopení. Krajina byla primárně osvojována prostřednictvím sídla, z místa, kde člověk pobýval a kde cítil bezpečí. Prolínáním lidského života v sídle do krajiny se utvářel charakteristický kulturní ráz území. S rozvojem hospodářské činnosti a s rozšiřováním života sídelní komunity byly v krajině zanechávány výraznější stopy svědčící o způsobu hospodaření, společenském a duchovním smýšlení lidí. Tak se postupně vytvářel venkovský prostor s typickým strukturálním uspořádáním, vzhledem, společenským předivem, obyvatelností a v neposlední řadě s duchem.

Utváření venkovského prostoru vždy doprovázely také prvky devastace a nešetrného zacházení s krajinou. V našich podmínkách můžeme například vzpomenout na nedávné období intenzifikace zemědělské výroby, na současné příměstské oblasti se stavebním rozvojem daným převážně krátkodobě orientovanými komerčními zájmy. Tak stále ještě vzniká krajina nekulturní, které chybí jednota lidského ducha a přírodní podstata. Je to krajina bez identity, bez péče člověka a jeho tvůrčího génia, krajina bez charakteru a historické dimenze. Kladem snad může být to, že tyto přibývající „nepravosti“ v krajině jsou lidmi vnímány jako nežádoucí. Vedle procesu urbanizace, který je trendem posledních desetiletí, se objevuje nový směr rurbanizace. Vždyť proč by vznikaly kolonie „dormitory villages“ a proč by lidé stále více prchali na víkendové chaty a chalupy na venkov? Během posledních šesti měsíců v roce 2005 změnilo místo bydliště z pražské adresy do satelitních obcí v středočeském kraji šest tisíc lidí. Realitní kanceláře čím dál více ve svých nabídkách inzerují domy, které se otvírají přírodě, respektují svou architekturou venkovské prostředí, avšak nabízejí vysoký komfort. I když musíme tyto lákavé nabídky brát s rezervou, nesvědčí o hledání správného vnímání krajiny a o vzrůstající potřebě kontaktu s přírodou? O hledání klidu, krásy, identického prostředí a jeho vnímání? Lidé jsou v poslední době čím dál více ochotni zaměnit pohodlí města za nedostatečnou infrastrukturu venkova, i když to sebou nese četné komplikace. Lze hovořit o migraci za kvalitním životním prostředím se všemi jeho aspekty.

Aby byl venkov je i se svými specifiky, problémy a potřebami živým, krásným a příjemným místem pro život, měla by být motivována péče o krajinu jako celek. Má-li být krajina udržitelným způsobem veřejně i soukromě využívána, musí být její vývoj systémovým způsobem a demokratickými metodami koordinován. Z těchto principů vychází i politika Rady Evropy v péči o krajinu. Prvním evropským politickým dokumentem s důrazem na krajinu je Evropská úmluva o krajině, kterou Česká republika ratifikovala v roce 2004. Její přínos spočívá zejména v tom, že zahrnuje veškerou krajinu, krajinu přírodně a kulturně cennou, krajinu městskou, příměstskou i devastovanou. Chápe krajinu jako komplexní systém vnímaný lidmi, kteří v ní žijí. Úmluva vytváří vládou uznaný předpoklad pro zlepšení ochrany, správy, péče, sledování vyhodnocování, plánování a tvorby krajiny.

Odbor ekologie lidských sídel a člověka zpracoval přístup ministerstva životního prostředí k implementaci této Úmluvy. Základní teze tohoto materiálu vyplývají z jednotlivých úkolů daných Úmluvou:

- **Právní uznání krajiny.** Stávající legislativa v oblasti přírody a krajiny je dostatečná pro ochranu a správu, ale zásadně chybí zakotvení systému plánování krajiny a dalším nedostatkem je neprovázanost právních norem a nejednotnost základních pojmů. Nový stavební zákon též krajinu v intencích Úmluvy uznává.
- **Vytvoření krajinné politiky,** což je podmínkou pro koncepční přístup k ochraně, plánování a správě krajiny. Dokument Krajinná politika ČR bude zahrnovat základní filosofii přístupu, vysvětlení a sjednocení pojmů, měl by být dlouhodobou koncepcí základního přístupu k péči o krajinu, včetně legislativních, ekonomických, metodických a informačních nástrojů a měl by být zpracováván na všech úrovních veřejné správy.
- **Podpora osvěty, vzdělávání a šíření informací** jsou jednou z hlavních zásad Úmluvy. Ministerstvo životního prostředí bude podporovat vzdělávání odborníků, pracovníků soukromého i veřejného sektoru, výchovu dětí, informování a zapojení veřejnosti je však nutná spolupráce s ostatními dotčenými resorty, zejména Ministerstvem školství, mládeže a tělovýchovy.
- **Začlenění krajiny do územního plánování.** V současném územním plánování není řešen pohled na krajinu jako estetický, duchovní a ekologicky funkční fenomén. Pohled na krajinu v územně plánovací dokumentaci je nevyvážený, postihuje jen plošnou úroveň v podobě stanovení technické infrastruktury a ochranných limitů. Plánování krajiny by mělo podporovat aktivní systémový přístup a udržitelné využívání a vývoj krajiny ve spojení nebo v návaznosti na územní plánování. Předpokládá se spolupráce MŽP na přípravě vyhlášek nového stavebního zákona, zejména v oblasti územně-analytických podkladů.
- **Vymezení nástrojů pro plánování krajiny.** Přístupy jednotlivých resortů k plánování krajiny jsou nekoordinované. Je nutné tyto přístupy sjednotit, budou posíleny nástroje pro zapojení veřejnosti, místních a regionálních orgánů. Pilotáž metodiky plánu krajiny bude vyzkoušena na typologicky odlišných krajinných celcích.
- **Mezinárodní spolupráce, vzájemná podpora a výměna informací.** Do této oblasti je zahrnuto hledání společných principů a přístupů ke krajině. V rámci komplexního přístupu dochází k provázanosti systému s ostatními evropskými zeměmi.

Mezi hlavní úkoly resortu životního prostředí patří koordinace přípravy Národního implementačního plánu, který stanoví konkrétní úkoly při implementaci Evropské úmluvy o krajině do roku 2013. Tento plán bude vytvářen Národním implementačním týmem, který bude složen ze zástupců resortů ministerstva pro místní rozvoj, ministerstva zemědělství,

ministerstva kultury a ministerstva školství, přičemž ministerstvo životního prostředí bude koordinátorem. Pomocným orgánem tohoto týmu bude pracovní skupina, která bude kromě expertů ze zmíněných resortů zahrnovat též odborníky z profesních organizací i akademické sféry a neziskových organizací.

Mezi stávající aktivity ministerstva životního prostředí patří v rámci podpory osvěty, vzdělávání a šíření informací podpora soutěží Entente Florale Europe (mezinárodní soutěž „Kvetoucích sídel“), Zelená stuha (udílená v návaznosti na soutěž Vesnici roku) a Nejlépe realizované sadovnické dílo roku. Dále byla v roce 2005 zahájena pilotáž krajinného plánu Kladrubska, zpracovávaného výzkumným ústavem pro krajinu a okrasné zahradnictví. Byla zahájena česko-slovenská spolupráce nad otázkami plánování krajiny.

Je nepochybné, že venkov v sobě ukrývá obrovský potenciál a že jeho odlišnost od městského prostředí je značným kapitálem. Nejsme daleko od doby, kdy vrstva opravdu bohatých lidí bude chtít bydlet na venkově. Nelze však dopustit, aby tito noví obyvatelé venkova nepřiměřeným tlakem na využívání krajiny poškodili největší hodnoty venkova. Na druhou stranu je pozitivní, že cena krajiny touto invazí bude rychle růst a tím by logicky mělo dojít k jejímu uvážlivějšímu využívání. Může to znít paradoxně, ale venkov má svou perspektivu právě ve své původnosti.



# **Situace na trhu práce a pracovní příležitosti na českém venkově** **Labor Market and Work Oportunities in Czech Rural Areas**

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**ČZU**

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## **Klíčová slova**

práce, zaměstnanost, nezaměstnanost, trh práce, pracovní příležitosti, rekvalifikace, český venkov

## **Abstrakt**

V minulosti, po dlouhá desetiletí byla obživa a práce na venkově spojena především s obděláváním půdy, pěstováním celé řady plodin a chovem hospodářských zvířat. Získávání výsledků těchto činností bylo spojeno s tvrdou, každodenní manuální prací. Od druhé poloviny 18. století došlo i v tomto odvětví vlivem průmyslové revoluce, zaváděním strojů a mechanizace do všech pracovních činností ke značnému zefektivnění a ulehčení práce. Tento na jedné straně nepochybně pozitivní efekt s sebou přinesl i negativní sociální jevy – nezaměstnanost, nedostatek pracovních míst, vynucenou migraci obyvatel venkovských obcí (do měst). V 50. a 60. letech byla provedena na venkově násilná kolektivizace, soukromé vlastnictví zaniklo, byly zprůtrhány vazby jednotlivců k půdě. Hlavním zdrojem zaměstnání se kromě práce v továrnách ve spádových městech staly místní státní statky a zemědělská družstva. Na počátku 90. let došlo vlivem politických změn k nastavení nového sociálně ekonomického prostředí, které výrazně ovlivnilo i situaci na trhu práce. Realizace transformačních a privatizačních procesů vedla na venkově k omezení nebo zániku řady pracovních příležitostí v místě bydliště, nebo nejbližším okolí. S ohledem na rostoucí životní náklady obyvatelé venkovských obcí proto hledali jiné možnosti výděлку a zaměstnání. Důležitou roli při získání nových pracovních míst sehrály nejen faktory věku, odborného vzdělání, ale i např. dopravní dostupnost daného zaměstnání či ochota rekvalifikovat se, nebo přijmout práci neodpovídající pracovní kvalifikaci. U žen byl mnohdy výběr ještě zúžen o tu skutečnost, zda budou mít během dne zajištěnu odpovídající péči o své děti v předškolních zařízeních. Počet pracovních míst a jejich variabilita je také do značné míry vázána na lokální podmínky, a přestože je snaha ze strany vládních institucí, místních samospráv a lokálních iniciativ o vytváření nových pracovních příležitostí zatím jich stále není dostatek. Cílem příspěvku je charakterizovat současnou situaci na trhu práce a přinést pohled na možnosti a zdroje obživy na českém venkově.

## **Key words**

work, employment, unemployment, labor market, work possibilities, change of qualification, Czech countryside

## **Abstract**

In the past, for long decades, living and work in the countryside were connected with farming the land, cultivating various crops and keeping livestock. To make living from these activities meant everyday hard manual work. From late 18th century, agricultural work has been made easier and more effective due to the introduction of mechanization. This, on one hand very positive, change brought some negative impacts for the society – unemployment, lack of jobs, forced migration from small villages to towns. In 1950's and 1960's, collectivization of

private property was implemented in Czech countryside, private property ceased to exist and the ties of individuals to the land were torn. The main sources of jobs were, next to the factories in nearby towns, state farms and farmers' cooperatives. Situation at the labor market has changed greatly as a result of social-economic changes in 1990's, when the political system changed. Realization of transformation and privatization processes lead in the countryside to decrease or disappearance of local work possibilities in rural areas. With regard of growing living expenses, rural inhabitants have to seek new possibilities and ways of earning living. When looking for a new job, age, education, willingness to change qualification, willingness and possibility to commute played an important role. Women often had even a narrower choice due to the fact that not every village or municipality has an appropriate pre-school child facility. The number of jobs in certain area is also influenced by local conditions. Despite the efforts of both government and local authorities to create new working possibilities, there is not enough of them everywhere.

The objective of this paper is to describe current situation at the labor market and to bring an overview of possibilities and sources for making living in Czech rural areas.

## **Situace na trhu práce a pracovní příležitosti na českém venkově**

### **Úvod**

V minulosti, po dlouhá desetiletí, byla obživa a práce na venkově spojena především s obděláváním půdy, pěstováním celé řady plodin a chovem hospodářských zvířat. Získávání výsledků těchto činností bylo spojeno s tvrdou, každodenní, manuální prací.

Od druhé poloviny 18. století došlo i v tomto odvětví vlivem průmyslové revoluce, zaváděním strojů a mechanizace do všech pracovních činností ke značnému zefektivnění a ulehčení práce. Tento na jedné straně nepochybně pozitivní efekt s sebou přinesl i negativní sociální jevy – nezaměstnanost, nedostatek pracovních míst, vynucenou migraci obyvatel venkovských obcí do měst.

V 50. a 60. letech byla provedena na venkově násilná kolektivizace, soukromé vlastnictví zaniklo, byly zprůtrhány vazby jednotlivců k půdě. Hlavním zdrojem zaměstnání se kromě práce v továrnách ve spádových městech staly místní státní statky a zemědělská družstva.

Na počátku 90. let došlo vlivem politických změn k nastavení nového sociálně ekonomického prostředí, které výrazně ovlivnilo i situaci na trhu práce. Realizace transformačních a privatizačních procesů vedla na venkově k omezení nebo zániku řady pracovních příležitostí v místě bydliště, nebo nejbližším okolí. S ohledem na rostoucí životní náklady obyvatelé venkovských obcí proto hledali jiné možnosti výdělků a zaměstnání. Důležitou roli při získání nových pracovních míst sehrály nejen faktory věku, odborného vzdělání, ale i např. dopravní dostupnost daného zaměstnání či ochota rekvalifikovat se, nebo přijmout práci neodpovídající pracovní kvalifikaci. U žen byl mnohdy výběr ještě zúžen o tu skutečnost, zda budou mít během dne zajištěnu odpovídající péči o své děti v předškolních zařízeních.

Počet pracovních míst a jejich variabilita je také do značné míry vázán na lokální podmínky, a přestože je snaha ze strany vládních institucí, místních samospráv a lokálních iniciativ o vytváření nových pracovních příležitostí, zatím jich stále není dostatek.

### **Cíl a metodika**

Sociologická laboratoř při České zemědělské univerzitě v Praze se již od počátku své činnosti (r. 1997) soustavně věnuje výzkumům, které jsou zaměřeny na různé aspekty života obyvatel na českém venkově. V rámci projektu MPSV 1J 016/04-DP2 s názvem „Socio-ekonomický vývoj českého venkova a zemědělství“, který v současné době realizuje, provedla ve spolupráci s agenturou STEM v období listopad 2005 – únor 2006 celorepublikové dotazníkové šetření.

Cílem tohoto výzkumu bylo zjistit, jaké jsou dnešní životní strategie lidí na venkově – jejich názory např. na úroveň bydlení, důvody a možnosti stěhování, kvalita života v obci, situace domácností z hlediska příjmů, pracovní příležitosti, hodnotové orientace atd. Kritériem pro výběr jednotlivého respondenta bylo, že je obyvatel venkovské obce, tedy obce do 2 000 obyvatel a je ve věkovém rozmezí 18 – 64 let. Dále byly ve vzorku početně nadhodnoceny obce, kde byl vyšší počet obyvatel zaměstnaných v primárním sektoru. Výzkum v terénu probíhal formou rozhovorů – tazatel x respondent. Navíc ještě každý tazatel vyplnil samostatný dotazník, kde byly uvedeny další podrobné údaje o obci, kde šetření prováděl. Soubor dat od respondentů po vyřízení byl zpracována statistickým softwarem SPSS.

## Výsledky

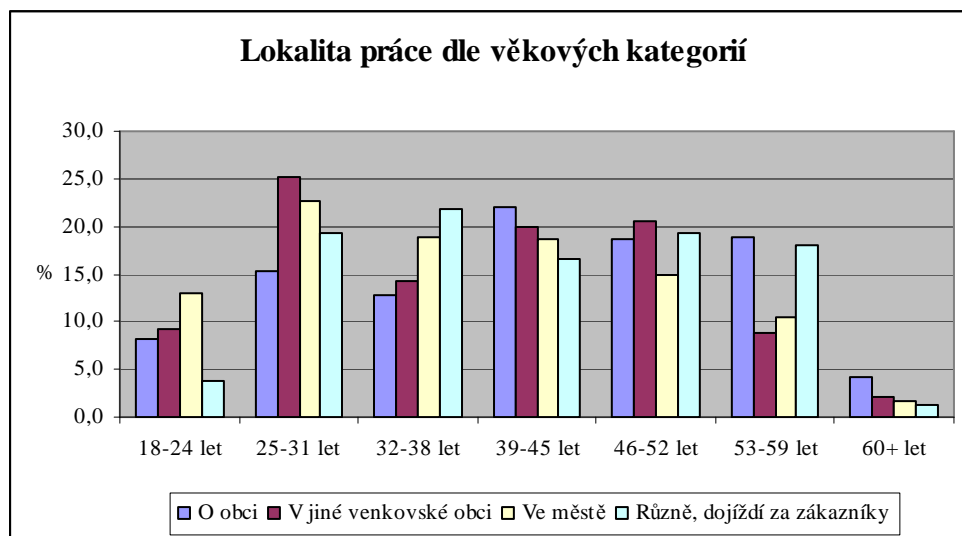
Celkový soubor tvořilo 1 944 respondentů. V příspěvku jsem se zaměřila na okruh otázek týkajících se pracovního zapojení dotázaných – zaměstnání v dané lokalitě, hodnocení dosavadní práce, reakce na ztrátu zaměstnání a možnosti soukromé podnikání.

### Místo výkonu práce, spokojenost ze současnou práci/zaměstnáním

V současné situaci na trhu práce, kdy je ve většině regionů nedostatek pracovních příležitostí a možností uplatnění, je velmi obtížné získat odpovídající, dobře placenou práci. Ve venkovských lokalitách jsou zdroje pracovních příležitostí nejen limitovány počtem subjektů, které pracovní místa nabízejí (podniky, i soukromí podnikatelé), ale i jejich dopravní dostupností (dnes dochází na venkově k značné redukci hromadné dopravy, mnohdy až na hranici zajištění dopravní obslužnosti daného místa). Už z historického kontextu vyplývá, že venkov a nejen ten český nebyl a není schopen zaměstnat všechny ekonomicky aktivní osoby, které zde žijí. Proto určitá část z nich nachází práci ve městech.

Analýza získaných odpovědí respondentů tuto skutečnost potvrzuje, kdy téměř polovina dotázaných 47,9 % pracuje na venkově (v místě svého bydliště, nebo v jiné obci) a další také téměř polovina 46,2 % je zaměstnána ve městě. Jen malý podíl 5,9 % respondentů nemá pevné pracovní místo a za svými zákazníky dojíždí.

#### Graf č. 1: Lokalita práce dle věkových kategorií



Zdroj: vlastní výpočty

Z výše uvedeného grafu vyplývá, že většina mladých lidí od 18 do 31 let pracuje mimo obec, kde bydlí, nejmladší generace jednoznačně preferuje práci ve městě. U střední generace (do 45 let) je pak patrný výrazný podíl vykonávané práce v místě bydliště, nebo jeho okolí, i když procento dotázaných, kteří dojíždějí za prací do města je také vysoký. U starších respondentů nad 46 let stejně jako v předchozím případě převažují spíše ti, kteří mají zaměstnání ve své obci.

Uvedená zjištění však může ovlivňovat celá řada faktorů. Jednak vnější faktory - aktuální stav v nabídce pracovních míst v daném regionu, možnost dojíždění, blízkost průmyslových center. Dále faktory vnitřní, mezi něž se řadí především vzdělání a kvalifikace konkrétního respondenta, léta praxe, ale např. také jeho ochota hledat si jakoukoliv práci (vzít méně placenou práci, jen abych nemusel dojíždět), nebo se rekvalifikovat. U mladých lidí se zde

může odrážet i jejich vazba na město vyvolaná předchozí dobou studia (vybudované kontakty, vazby, přátelé), či snaha najít uplatnění v oboru, který vystudoval.

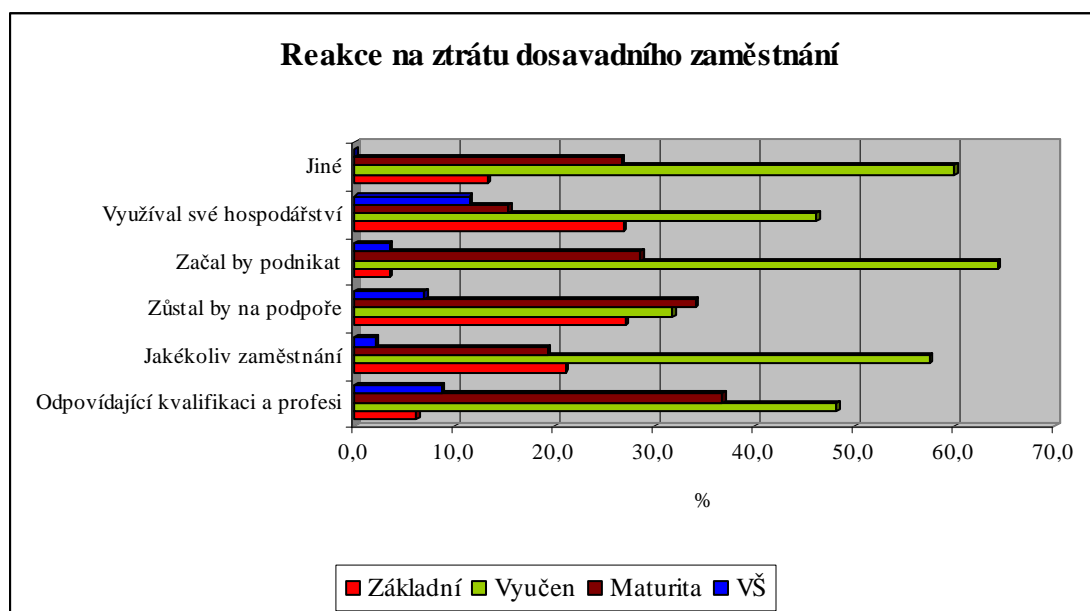
Obě dvě skupiny respondentů, jak ti kteří pracují na venkově, tak dotázaní kteří dojíždějí do města, jsou se svou prací spokojeni, jsou rádi, že ji mají.

### Možnosti řešení ztráty zaměstnání

Práce/zaměstnání poskytuje člověku v první řadě jistotu obživy a je zdrojem stálých příjmů. Profese, či pracovní pozice, kterou respondent zastává, je také spojena s určitým společenským statusem. Mít stále zaměstnání zaujímá spolu se zdravím a rodinou přední místa na žebříčku hodnot většiny lidí.

Ztráta zaměstnání vyvolává u každého jedince životní nejistotu a představuje významný stresový faktor. Je na každém, jak se s touto skutečností vyrovná. Jak by reagovali dotázaní respondenti na ztrátu svého dosavadního zaměstnání ve vazbě na jejich nejvyšší dosažené vzdělání představuje následující graf.

**Graf č. 2: Reakce na ztrátu dosavadního zaměstnání dle vzdělanostních kategorií**



*Zdroj: vlastní výpočty*

Z grafu je patrné, že respondenti se základním vzděláním by situaci řešili nejčastěji tak, že by zůstali na podpoře (27,1 %), dále by využívali produkty svého hospodářství 26, 9 % (vlastní spotřeba, prodej). Vyučení (těch bylo v celém souboru respondentů zastoupeno nejvíce (909 osob) by se rozhodli pro podnikání, nebo by např. odešli do (předčasněho) důchodu, na mateřskou dovolenou (60,0 %). S rostoucí úrovní vzdělání by respondenti hledali nové pracovní místo odpovídající jejich kvalifikaci (profesi) – respondenti s maturitou (38,6 %), jako další možnost by na druhém místě v pořadí zvolili pobírání podpory v nezaměstnanosti (34,1 %). Vysokoškolsky vzdělaní by nejvíce využívali své hospodářství (11,5 %), ale také by hledali pro sebe zaměstnání v profesi, kterou vystudovali (8,8 %).

### Soukromé podnikání

Jednou z možností, jak řešit situaci, kdy se člověk stane nezaměstnaným, je začít soukromě podnikat. Přijmout takové rozhodnutí je ale velmi obtížné a ne každý chce nést tak velké riziko nejistoty, kdy musí spoléhat sám na sebe. Kromě této neochoty má na nízký počet

podnikatelů v současnosti nezanedbatelný vliv také stávající legislativa v oblasti podnikání v České republice, která je doposud velmi složitá a nepřehledná.

Jak již bylo uvedeno výše, část respondentů by v případě ztráty zaměstnání tuto možnost zvolila. Jedná se však jen o velmi malý podíl z celkového počtu respondentů (pouze 2,2 % z 1 322 dotázaných, kteří na danou otázku odpověděli).

Zda, a v jaké míře by se obyvatelé na venkově z vlastní iniciativy chtěli věnovat soukromému podnikání, ukazuje následující tabulka.

**Tabulka č. 1: Pokud nepodnikáte, chtěl(a) byste soukromě podnikat?**

Odpovědi	Počet respondentů	%
Ano	287	15,9
Jen v krajním případě	620	34,3
Nebyl ochoten	899	49,8
Celkem	1 806	100,0

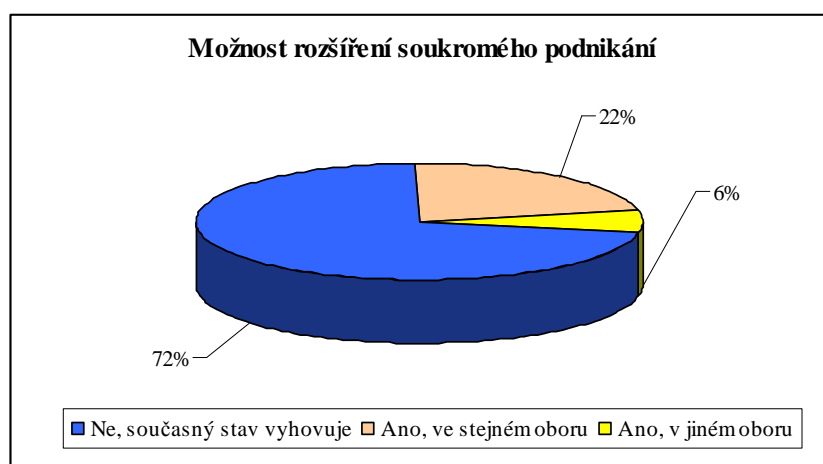
*Zdroj: vlastní výpočty*

I v tomto případě se většina respondentů 84,1 % k této variantě staví negativně, jen necelých 16 % by se této činnosti chtělo věnovat.

Dotázaní, kteří v době konání dotazníkového šetření již podnikali, se nejvíce orientovali na aktivity, které se zemědělstvím nespojují (78,6 %). Dalších 12,0 % uvedlo, že jejich firmy mají v oboru podnikání zahrnuto i zemědělství. A jen 9,4 % respondentů svoji podnikatelskou činnost realizuje pouze v zemědělství.

Zajímavé bylo také zjištění, jaké mají respondenti plány a představy o fungování své firmy/živnosti do budoucna. Zda v nejbližších 3 letech uvažují o tom, že své podnikatelské činnosti rozšíří. Jejich názory a stanoviska dokládá graf č. 3.

**Graf č. 3: Možnost rozšíření soukromého podnikání**



*Zdroj: vlastní výpočty*

## Obor působení

Útlum zemědělské výroby, který nastal po roce 1989, předznamenal rozpad mnoha zemědělských družstev a státních statků, nebo jejich transformaci do jiného podnikatelského subjektu. Rozsah doposud vykonávaných pracovních činností se radikálně zmenšil. S ohledem na ekonomickou výnosnost byly některé části výrobního procesu v daném

podniku zrušeny a nakupovány jako služba z vnějšku, případně došlo ke kooperaci, kdy jeden zemědělský podnik zajišťoval tyto služby ještě pro další podniky v okolí. Mnohdy největší lokální zaměstnavatel přestal fungovat a pracovníci byli propuštěni. Tyto tendence měly za následek radikální úbytek pracovních míst na venkově a nárůst regionální nezaměstnanosti.

Dalším faktorem, který měl dopad na život na venkově byl i proces restitucí. Jen velmi málo těch, kteří získali zpět půdu, začali na ní opět hospodařit, většina vlastníků ji pronajala zpět družstvům, které v regionu působily.

Tuto skutečnost dokazuje i podíl kladných odpovědí oslovených respondentů, viz tab. č. 2.

**Tabulka č. 2: Je zemědělství (lesnictví, rybářství) Vaším hlavním zdrojem obživy?**

Odpovědi	Počet respondentů	%
Ano	339	17,4
Ne	1 605	82,6
Celkem	1 944	100,0

*Zdroj: vlastní výpočty*

V celkovém přehledu jednotlivých kategorií zaměstnání respondentů jsou pak nejvíce zastoupeni kvalifikovaní dělníci (18,7 %), na druhém místě dotázaní pobírající starobní důchod (13,6 %), třetí v pořadí co do četnosti jsou provozní pracovníci ve službách a obchodu (10,1 %).

Jestliže se ještě zaměříme na místo výkonu jejich práce, tak z provedené analýzy vyplývá, že největší procentní podíl respondentů v každé z těchto uvedených kategorií pracuje ve městě (kvalifikovaní dělníci 31,2 %; provozní pracovníci ve službách a obchodu 19,0 %).

## **Závěr**

Jedním z velmi důležitých zdrojů, které má k dispozici každá společnost, je prvek lidského kapitálu. Hodnota tohoto prvku není konstantní a v průběhu času se vlivem celé řady různých faktorů neustále proměňuje. Společnost i samotný jedinec, který je jeho nositelem, by se měli zasadit o to, že jeho kvalitu budou soustavně zvyšovat.

Trh práce oproti minulému období (před rokem 1989) nyní klade velké nároky na uchazeče o pracovní místo. V různých profesích a pracovních procesech se neustále objevují nové a nové postupy, moderní stroje, zařízení a informační technologie. Adept na určitou pracovní pozici tak mnohdy již nevystačí s dosavadními získanými zkušenostmi, schopnostmi a kvalifikací. Proto je nutné, aby Ministerstvo práce a sociálních věcí spolu s dalšími institucemi realizovali kvalitní program, který cílenými pobídkami bude motivovat všechny ekonomicky aktivní obyvatele, aby se neustále vzdělávali.

Provedený výzkum potvrdil tradiční nutnost dojíždění části venkovského obyvatelstva za prací do měst. Střední generace a lidé ve starším věku mají svá pracovní místa přímo v obci, nebo jejím okolí, naopak mladí lidé častěji pracují ve městech. Tato skutečnost je podmíněna jak je uvedeno výše, jednak možností daného trhu práce, kdy stávají pracovní místa jsou z minulosti v dané lokalitě obsazena právě střední generací a staršími lidmi. Dále také tím, že mladí lidé často studují takové obory, pro které se na venkově nenajde (nebo jen velmi těžko) uplatnění.

Většina respondentů je zaměstnána a jen velmi malé procento se věnuje soukromému podnikání. Toto zjištění odpovídá i současnému vývoji v oblasti soukromého podnikání, kdy lidé neustále preferují jistotu zaměstnání před nejistotou podnikání.

Většina dotázaných je také se svým stávajícím pracovním zapojením spokojena.

Přestože je nabídka pracovních míst na venkově do určité míry omezena v současné době v provázanosti s aktivitami a programy EU se pro obyvatele venkova otvírají nové pracovní příležitosti a možnosti.

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# **Vliv sociálního kapitálu na ekonomickou výkonnost zemědělských producentů v České republice**

## **The Impact of Social Capital on Economic Performance of Agricultural Producers in the Czech Republic**

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### **Klíčová slova**

zemědělské podniky, soukromé farmy, sociální kapitál, průřezové modely, Česká republika

### **Abstrakt**

Změna politického režimu ze socialistického centrálního plánování na tržní hospodářství a pluralitní společnost vyžadovala reorganizaci nejen zemědělské výroby, ale i organizací, které ji podporují. V České republice je zemědělská výroba v současné době charakterizována dvojí strukturou, tzn. soukromými zemědělci na straně jedné a zemědělskými podniky na straně druhé. Avšak v obou těchto skupinách mají někteří zemědělci větší ekonomické úspěchy než ostatní. Obecně řečeno na to má vliv odlišné zavádění výrobních faktorů, tj. půdy, pracovních sil a kapitálu. V naší studii budeme analyzovat, zda zemědělci jsou schopni spolupracovat s jinými farmami, podniky a zemědělskými podpůrnými organizacemi. Tato schopnost představuje další faktor, který již byl analyzován pod pojmem sociální kapitál. Na základě zjištění z průzkumu, který byl proveden na vzorku 62 farem pomocí faktorové analýzy a mnohonásobné regrese, je možno dedukovat, že sociální kapitál je skutečně důležitým faktorem určujícím výši zisku farmy.

### **Key words**

corporate farms, private farms, social capital, cross sectional models, Czech Republic

### **Abstract**

The change of the political regime from the socialist central planning system to a market economy and pluralistic society required the reorganisation not only of agricultural production, but also of the organisations in their support. In the Czech Republic, agricultural production is characterised by a dualistic structure in these days, i.e. private farmers on the one side and corporate farms on the other. However, among both groups some had been economically more successful than others. In general, a varying adoption of production factors, i.e. land, labour and capital is identified as being of influence. In this paper will be analysed whether their ability to collaborate with other farms, enterprises and agricultural organizations. This ability is an additional factor which has been discussed under the concept of social capital. Based on the findings of a survey among a sample of 62 farms by adopting factor and multiple regression analysis it can be deduced that social capital is indeed a significant factor determining the level of farm income.

# Vliv sociálního kapitálu na ekonomickou výkonnost zemědělských producentů v České republice

## Úvod

Před změnou socialistického centrálního plánování na tržní ekonomiku ve střední a východní Evropě se předpokládalo, že družstevní hospodářství a státní statky se poměrně rychle přetransformují na soukromé farmy a dokonce na rodinné farmy. I když mnoho lidí začalo soukromě hospodařit na základě pravidel transformačního procesu, tzn. dekolktivizace, restituce a privatizace zemědělského majetku, nezískali takovou důležitost, jak se původně předpokládalo. Zemědělská výroba byla ovládána zemědělskými podniky, tj. transformovanými zemědělskými jednotnými družstvy, akciovými společnostmi a společnostmi s ručením omezeným, které byly vytvořeny z dřívějších družstevních a státních subjektů. Dnes je možno pozorovat typický bimodální nebo dualistický charakter zemědělských výrobců, tj. soukromě hospodařící zemědělci na straně jedné a zemědělci v zemědělských podnicích na straně druhé.

Téměř 15 let po transformaci se objevuje poměrně rozmanitý obraz, i když zemědělství neprosperuje tak, jak se původně předpokládalo. Svůj vliv prosazuje zřejmě mnoho faktorů, nejdůležitější z nich můžeme shrnout následovně: málo rozvinuté venkovské finanční systémy a komplikovaný způsob restrukturalizace farem znamenaly omezený přístup k půjčkám v důsledku nízké ziskovosti, rizik a nejistot. Podobným způsobem byl zemědělský sektor charakterizován slabou strukturou lidského kapitálu, který měl spravovat soukromá hospodářství, rozdrobeným vlastnictvím půdy, rychlými změnami zemědělské politiky a nedostatečným právním rámcem.

Jako důvod navíc, kromě odlišného přístupu k hlavním výrobním faktorům, se uváděla nízká úroveň sociálního kapitálu, což vedlo k nízké ekonomické výkonnosti (např. Paldam a Svendsen, 2000). Tento faktor, který se již analyzuje déle než celé desetiletí pod pojmem sociální kapitál, se týká problému spolupráce a vazeb mezi lidmi, kteří se dostali do stejné situace. Cílem naší analýzy bude otázka, zda tento dodatečný faktor zvyšuje hospodářský blahobyt. Vede nás hypotéza, že - mimo zajištění jiných výrobních faktorů - může být sociální kapitál označen jako důležitý činitel pro stanovení úrovně výkonnosti hospodářství zemědělských výrobců. Budeme tuto hypotézu zkoumat tak, že využijeme údajů z dotazníkového šetření prováděného u zemědělských výrobců, a to jak u soukromých zemědělců, tak i v zemědělských podnicích v České republice, který byl prováděn v roce 2003.

## Pojem sociální kapitál

Pojem sociální kapitál byl přijat ve společenských a ekonomických vědách teprve před krátkou dobou. V ekonomii se zpravidla růst a vývoj zakládají na efektivním přijetí hlavních ekonomických faktorů, tj. zpravidla půda, pracovní síly a kapitál, nebo konkrétněji přírodní kapitál, fyzický nebo vytvořený kapitál (tj. pracovní nástroje a technologie). Někteří ekonomové oddělují od fyzického kapitálu finanční kapitál (tj. úspory, úvěry a investice) a od jeho rozpoznání v ekonomii v 60. letech minulého století, lidský kapitál (tj. vzdělání, zdraví a odbornou přípravu). V 19. a 20. století docházelo k masivní akumulaci lidského kapitálu, což bylo příznivé pro rychlý rozvoj ekonomické prosperity. V posledních letech však bylo stále zřejmější, že podobné vybavení výrobními faktory nevede nutně k podobným modelům ekonomického růstu a vývoje.

Ekonomové se obecně soustředí na to, jak sociální kapitál přispívá k ekonomickému růstu. Na mikroekonomické úrovni se to jeví jako primární v tom smyslu, jak sociální kapitál zlepšuje fungování trhů. Na makroekonomické úrovni ovlivňují makroekonomický výkon instituce, právní rámce a úlohu vlády v organizaci výroby (Grootaert, 1998: 2). Sociální kapitál zřejmě ovlivňuje hospodářský vývoj především tím, že ve společnosti usnadňuje hospodářské operace mezi jednotlivci, domácnostmi a skupinami. Tato pomocná funkce může na sebe vzít několik podob: (1) Účast jednotlivců v sociálních sítích zvyšuje dostupnost informací a snižuje jejich náklady. To platí pro formální i neformální organizace, zvláště když informace mohou zvyšovat příjmy ze zemědělství. (2) Účast v místních sítích a vztahy vzájemné důvěry mohou každé skupině usnadňovat kolektivní rozhodnutí a realizaci společného postupu. Jelikož při jednání o cenách je síla jednotlivých zemědělských subjektů zpravidla příliš slabá, aby měla na jednání s nákupními společnostmi nějaký dopad, k maximalizaci jejich příjmu mohou napomoci jejich vlastní skupiny a organizace. (3) Sítě (networky) a vztahy snižují oportunistické chování příslušníků skupiny. Společenský tlak a obavy z vyloučení mohou jednotlivce přinutit, aby se chovali takovým způsobem, který bude pro skupinu prospěšný.

V analýze bude sledován pragmatičtější přístup. V souladu s jinými autory (např. Sobelem, 2002: 139) používáme zcela úzkou definici sociálního kapitálu. Rose (2000: 1) definuje sociální kapitál takto: „Sociální kapitál se skládá z neformálních sítí (networků) a formálních organizací, které používají jednotlivci a domácnosti k tomu, aby produkovali zboží a služby pro svou vlastní spotřebu, výměnu nebo prodej“. Obecně zahrnují neformální společenské sítě (networky) přímé vztahy mezi omezeným počtem jednotlivců, kteří se navzájem znají a jsou spolu svázáni příbuzenskými vztahy, přátelstvím nebo časovou i prostorovou blízkostí. Neformální sítě (networky) jsou „instituce“ v sociologickém smyslu slova tím, že na sebe vzájemně působí podle určitého a opakujícího se vzorce. Chybí jim však právní uznání, zaměstnanci, psaná pravidla a vlastní fondy. Zpravidla nejsou formálně strukturovány, jelikož neexistuje jejich žádný představitel, nýbrž pouze činitelé, kteří si vyměňují informace, zboží a služby. Formální organizace jsou na druhé straně právně registrované a představují tudíž právnickou osobu. Jsou vázány pravidly a musejí ve své správě postupovat podle formálních postupů. Zpravidla mají zajištěný roční rozpočet, který může být vytvořen jejími členy, trhem a/nebo státem. Formální organizace může mít za členy jednotlivce i/nebo další organizace. V tomto ohledu je organizace podnikovým aktivním účastníkem, který jako hlavní představitel koordinuje své činitele a má zisk z činnosti svých činitelů (Rose 1999: 149; Abele et al., 2001: 4).

Úzce spjatá s diskusí o definici sociálního kapitálu je otázka, jak jej kvantifikovat a měřit. Stejně jako lidský kapitál, je sociální kapitál obtížné a snad i nemožné měřit přímo. Z empirických důvodů je nutno použít zástupné ukazatele. Roky vzdělávání a roky pracovních zkušeností mají dlouhou tradici jako zástupné hodnoty pro lidský kapitál a často prokázaly svou hodnotu v empirických studiích podle předmětu výzkumu. Podle přijaté definice se také mění počet a zaměření ukazatelů, které činí značně obtížným jakékoli srovnávání studií sociálního kapitálu. Ukazatele se liší jak geograficky, tak i podle sektorů (Grootaert/van Bastelaer, 2002: 6-7). V naší analýze byl použit pouze omezený rozsah ukazatelů. Budeme tedy postupovat podle pragmatičtějšího přístupu a soustředíme se v této analýze na členství ve formálních organizacích.

### **Přehled sledovaných zemědělských organizací**

Organizační struktura zemědělské výroby České republiky je v současné době zastoupena soukromými zemědělci přibližně v počtu 53 000, to představuje 94,6 % všech hospodářství. Obdělávají však pouze 26 % zemědělské půdy. Průměrná velikost jejich hospodářství je asi

18 ha. Na druhé straně počet zemědělských podniků je 3,027, což představuje 5,4 % všech farem. Obdělávají asi 74 % veškeré zemědělské půdy a průměrná velikost hospodářství dosahuje asi 886 ha. Co se týká hlavních právních forem, tj. transformovaných zemědělských družstev, akciových společností a společností s ručením omezeným, jejich velikost je ve stejném pořadí přibližně 1,420 ha, 1,262 ha a 541 ha. Stále tedy ještě existuje výrazný duální model zemědělských organizací.

K významným zemědělským organizacím v České republice, které podporují zemědělské výrobce patří:

- **Agrární komora:** byla založena v roce 1992 ze zákona. Jejím hlavním cílem je zastupovat zájmy svých členů, tj. všech podniků v zemědělství, potravinářském průmyslu a lesnictví. Tři hlavní skupiny členů jsou zemědělské podniky, soukromí zemědělci a zemědělsko průmyslové podniky. Zatímco jen asi 4 % soukromých zemědělců jsou členy Agrární komory, vstoupilo do ní asi dvě třetiny zemědělských podniků. Členy se staly transformovaná zemědělská družstva a akciové společnosti. Zdá se, že malá přitažlivost AK pro soukromé zemědělce je důsledek jejich slabého vlivu na rozhodovací proces. Nenašel se žádný způsob, jak najít kompromis mezi často konfliktními zájmy většiny malých soukromých zemědělců a většinou velkých zemědělských podniků. Z toho důvodu z ní odešel značný počet soukromých zemědělců. Avšak členství soukromých zemědělců rovněž závisí na atraktivitě služeb, které příslušné okresní kanceláře nabízejí, a na důvěře, která se v důsledku toho vytváří. Například okresní AK byly velmi nápomocné při vzniku odbytových družstev na počátku 90. let 20. století. Z dotazů kladených při dotazníkovém šetření, o kterém budeme hovořit v kapitole 4, bylo zřejmé, že soukromí zemědělci vystoupili z AK zvláště v těch okresech, kde tato družstva po krátké době zkrachovala, např. v okrese Klatovy a zůstali členy AK v těch okresech, kde byla tato družstva poměrně úspěšná, např. v okrese Pardubice.
- **Zemědělský svaz:** Tato organizace byla zaregistrována v roce 2001 a vznikla transformací bývalé Asociace zemědělských družstev, která byla založena v roce 1968. Více než jedna třetina všech zemědělských podniků se stala jejími členy. Existuje však výrazný rozdíl mezi farmami, které byly transformovány přímo z dřívějších kolektivních subjektů, tzn. zemědělských družstev a farem, které byly transformovány ve druhém kroku nebo byly vytvořeny v důsledku privatizace dřívějších státních statků, tj. akciovými společnostmi a společnostmi s ručením omezeným. Zatímco asi dvě třetiny akciových společností se stalo členy skoro o 20 % více než společností s ručením omezeným. Průměrná velikost farem právnických osob je asi 690 ha. To je asi o 200 ha méně, než je průměrná velikost všech zemědělských podniků. Můžeme předpokládat, že velké zemědělské podniky nevidí potřebu vytvářet nebo připojovat se k této formální organizaci, aby je podporovala.
- **Asociace soukromých zemědělců:** byla založena v roce 1999. Jejím hlavním úkolem je chránit ekonomické, sociální a profesní zájmy samostatných zemědělců. Řídí se úctou k rodinnému hospodaření a vírou, že tato hospodářství budou tvořit důležitou součást moderního zemědělství a rozvinutého venkova. Vznikla splynutím tří malých předchozích organizací, které byly vytvořeny během počátku 90. let. Všechny začínaly od nuly. Organizování soukromých zemědělců nebylo příliš úspěšné. Vstoupilo do ní pouze asi 6 % všech soukromých zemědělců. Avšak velký počet nečlenů se na ASZ obrací s žádostí o radu (ASZ Praha, pan Šebek, 19. září 2005). Avšak na rozdíl od zemědělských podniků do ní vstoupili zvláště velcí soukromí zemědělci. Průměrná velikost farem členů asociace je až asi 100 ha.
- **Odbytová družstva:** vznikají od počátku 90. let minulého století. V roce 2002 byl jejich počet 84 (Zemědělec 47/2002: 4) a jsou rozprostřena po celé republice. Jejich hlavní

úlohou je upevňovat postavení zemědělských výrobců vůči spotřebitelům a zpracovatelskému průmyslu. Zvláště od konce 90. let měla rovněž za cíl upevňovat postavení českých prvovýrobců na budoucím trhu Evropské unie. Velmi často bylo podporováno vytváření odbytových družstev Agrární komorou a vládou. Soustřeďují se především na upevňování vyjednávací pozice zemědělských výrobců, což se odráží ve vyšších výstupních cenách zemědělských produktů a nižších vstupních cenách. Značný počet prodejních družstev však během 90. let neuspěl, takže jejich pověst není u zemědělských výrobců dobrá. Větší farmy se však k družstvům tohoto typu připojily, zatímco malé farmy prodávají své produkty zpravidla přímo zemědělským obchodním organizacím. Odbytová družstva se prozatím soustřeďují především na trh s mlékem a hovězím masem, vepřovým masem, ovocem a zeleninou. První odbytová družstva podnikající na krajské úrovni se spojila a vytvořila druhotná družstva na celostátní úrovni. Tato celostátní odbytová družstva nejenže zajišťují pro své členy obchodní cesty na celostátní a mezinárodní úrovni, nýbrž také informační a právní služby.

- **Profesní organizace:** Se změnou politického režimu se jejich počet v agrárním sektoru rychle zvýšil. Jsou to společnosti s odborným zaměřením podporující sdílení informací a jejich šíření a chránící zájmy svých členů vůči politickým orgánům a společnosti jako celku. Jejich cílem je trvale zvyšovat kvalitu určitého produktu a odpovídající ekonomickou výkonnost na úrovni farmy. V roce 1996 bylo registrováno v České republice celkem 360 profesních organizací (Brokl, 1997: 153). Žádné současné informace týkající se počtu zemědělských profesních organizací však bohužel nejsou k dispozici. Podařilo se zjistit z průzkumu 21 různých profesních organizací ve čtyřech. Podobně neexistují žádné informace o jejich příslušné důležitosti, tj. o počtu členů, ročním obrátu atd. Z průzkumu můžeme uvést důležitost těchto organizací Svaz chovatelů vepřového masa, Svaz chovatelů holštýnského skotu a Svaz pěstitelů cukrové řepy.

Můžeme říci, že v České republice existuje zřetelná duální struktura zemědělských hospodářství. Soukromé farmy jsou co do svého počtu důležité, ale ne už co se týče rozlohy jejich pozemků a produkce. Nezískaly zpět důležitost, kterou měly před kolektivizací a nehrají tak důležitou roli jako v západní Evropě. V zemědělské výrobě převažují zemědělské podniky. Zemědělské podniky jsou mnohem lépe organizované než jejich soukromí zemědělci. Zdá se, že to podporuje tezi, že zvláště soukromí zemědělci mají malou zásobu sociálního kapitálu, což vysvětluje jejich poměrně skromné hospodářské úspěchy. Zdá se, že jsou méně organizovaní, ale vybudovali organizaci pro hájení svých zájmů od prvopočátku. Manažeři zemědělských podniků se mohou spoléhat na osobní vazby, které byly vybudovány před obdobím transformace. Mohou se tedy více zapojit do aktivit prováděných jejich podpůrnými organizacemi, zatímco soukromí zemědělci se musejí více soustředit na svou vlastní práci, aby si zajistili příjem.

Neexistuje však pouze dělení na soukromé farmy a zemědělské podniky, nýbrž rovněž značné rozdíly v ekonomické úspěšnosti uvnitř těchto dvou skupin samotných. Tak například největší zemědělské podniky zřejmě nevstoupily do své „jasné“ organizace sloužící k jejich podpoře, tj. do Zemědělského svazu. Znamená to, že tyto největší zemědělské podniky mají také nižší zásobu sociálního kapitálu, stejně jako soukromí zemědělci? Vyzkoušíme naši hypotézu, že sociální kapitál představuje nezávislý faktor mající vliv na příjem farmy, na základě empirického průzkumu v České republice prováděného v roce 2003.

## Analýza údajů

V tomto příspěvku bude analyzováno, jak sociální kapitál podporuje vývoj zemědělství v přechodových ekonomikách. Předpokládáme, že členství v zemědělských organizacích povede k vyšší ekonomické výkonnosti farem. Analýza se tedy zakládá na ústřední hypotéze, že - mimo zajišťování hlavních výrobních faktorů, jako je půda, práce a kapitál - je možno sociální kapitál označit za další důležitý faktor vysvětlující hospodářský vývoj na celostátní, regionální a místní úrovni. Přesněji vyjádřeno, sledujeme hypotézu, že hospodářský blahobyt zemědělských výrobců je, alespoň do určitého rozsahu, určován jejich členstvím ve formálních organizacích. Tato hypotéza vychází ze zkušeností kolegů v IAMO Halle (SRN), kde již v předešlých letech získali přehled o sdružování zemědělců do zájmových a odbytových organizací. Můžeme tuto hypotézu vyzkoušet tak, že použijeme údaje z dotazníkového šetření prováděného u zemědělských výrobců v České republice. Uvedený průzkum byl realizován výzkumným ústavem VÚZE (Praha), prováděl se koncem léta 2003 a empirické údaje byly z roku 2002.

## Oblast průzkumu

Uvedené čtyři okresy byly vybrány podle svých přírodních výrobních podmínek (horské nebo nížinné) a svých ekonomických ukazatelů (velikost podniku, výnosy, hrubá přidaná hodnota) zakládajících se na údajích FADN.

Hlavní ukazatele popisující čtyři kraje, v nichž jsou dané okresy umístěny, jsou shrnuty v tabulce č.1.

**Tabulka č. 1: Klíčové ukazatele popisující dané čtyři kraje pro rok 2002**

	Ústecký kraj včetně okresu Litoměřice	Plzeňský kraj včetně okresu Klatovy	Pardubický kraj včetně okresu Pardubice	Jihočeský kraj včetně okresu Strakonice	Česká republika
Zeměpisná charakteristika	Nížinný	Hornatý	Nížinný	Hornatý	
Míra nezaměstnanosti	13,0	5,1	5,7	4,6	7,3
HDP v €/hlavu	11 465,2	13 156,4	11 840,4	12 748,3	14 318,5
Ekonomicky aktivní populace v zemědělství (%)	3,0	5,7	5,3	7,5	3,9
Hrubá přidaná hodnota v zemědělství (%)	2,0	5,4	5,3	6,6	3,1
Výnos pšenice (t/ha)	6,13	5,77	5,95	5,64	5,96
Užitkovost (l/krávu*den)	16,44	14,55	16,78	14,62	16,39

Zdroj: Eurostat (2005) a ČSÚ (2004).

Všechny čtyři kraje jsou z hlediska HDP na hlavu ekonomicky méně prosperující než je průměr České republiky, avšak oba horské kraje jsou na tom lépe než kraje nížinné. To je dáno vlivem dotací do oblastí LFA, které podporují extenzivní zemědělství v horských

oblastech. Kromě nejnižšího HDP vykazuje Ústecký kraj nejvyšší míry nezaměstnanosti a proto má tento kraj v tomto šetření nejmenší ekonomickou kapacitu. Míra nezaměstnanosti je v ostatních třech oblastech nižší než je celostátní průměr. Zemědělský sektor je důležitější v horských krajích, avšak nížinné kraje mají vyšší výnosy pšenice a mléka. Domníváme se, že vyšší výnosy odrážejí spíše působení lepších přírodních výrobních podmínek než intenzivnější výrobu.

Šetření se provádělo v hornatých okresech Klatovy a Strakonice a v nížinných okresech Pardubice a Litoměřice. V Klatovech prováděla sběr dat nezávislá statistická společnost, která se dotazovala u náhodně vybraných zemědělských farem a podniků. Ve třech dalších okresech průzkum prováděl zástupce Agrární komory, který se více soustředil na své členy. Průzkum zahrnoval 42 zemědělských podniků, tzn. akciových společností, transformovaných zemědělských družstev a společností s ručeným omezením a také 20 rodinných farem.

Na základě odpovědí respondentů z dotazníkového šetření bylo možno použít devět proměnných k analýze jejich vlivu na dvě proměnné měřící ekonomickou výkonnost farem, z nichž pět proměnných představuje sociální kapitál a další čtyři jsou veličiny mající vliv na daný systém. Analýza dat začíná popisnou statistikou, aby se získal přehled vzorku. Jelikož ekonomická výkonnost závisí na celé řadě proměnných korelovaných hodnot, provedlo se další hodnocení za použití faktorové analýzy, aby se extrahovaly nezávislé faktory ze souboru korelovaných proměnných. Tyto faktory se použily v posledním kroku vyhodnocování, aby se vypočetl model mnohonásobné regrese a bylo zjištěno, zda tyto faktory mají signifikantní dopad na ekonomickou výkonnost farem. Všechny uvedené výpočty byly provedeny pomocí softwarového souboru SPSS (sada statistických programů pro sociální vědy).

## Popisná statistika

Uvedených devět vysvětlujících proměnných bylo možno spojit do šesti kategorií (tj. pracovní síly, půda, kapitál, sociální kapitál, právní forma a intenzita výroby). Tyto kategorie byly použity při kvantitativní analýze uvedené níže. Jako závislé proměnné byly použity dvě proměnné pro ekonomickou výkonnost (tj. celková zemědělská výroba a hrubý příjem farmy/podniku). V následujícím textu popíšeme 11 proměnných rozdělených podle právní formy, tzn. zemědělské podniky a soukromé farmy a to jako úhrnný vzorek.

**Pracovní síly:** Spotřeba práce se měřila jako součet celkové celoroční pracovní doby vypočtený z celkového počtu pracovních sil násobeno 2 000 hodinami pro pracovníky zaměstnané na plný úvazek a 1 000 hodinami pro pracovníky zaměstnané na částečný úvazek. Byla také zahrnuta pracovní doba sezónních pracovníků. Střední spotřeba práce dosahuje až 148 000 hodin na zemědělský podnik a 4 000 hodin na rodinnou farmu.

**Půda:** Tento ukazatel pokrývá celkovou rozlohu obdělávané půdy na farmě včetně stálých pastvin, víceletých plodin a zastavěných pozemků. Zemědělské podniky o průměrné velikosti 1 723,5 ha jsou značně větší než rodinné farmy, které jsou na přibližně 112,0 ha. Jak je uvedeno v Kapitole 3, tato čísla jsou téměř dvojnásobně vyšší než je průměrná velikost zemědělských podniků a asi šestkrát větší než je průměr soukromých farem v celé zemi. Musíme tudíž připustit, že náš vzorek nepředstavuje celostátní průměr, nýbrž větší zemědělské výrobce.

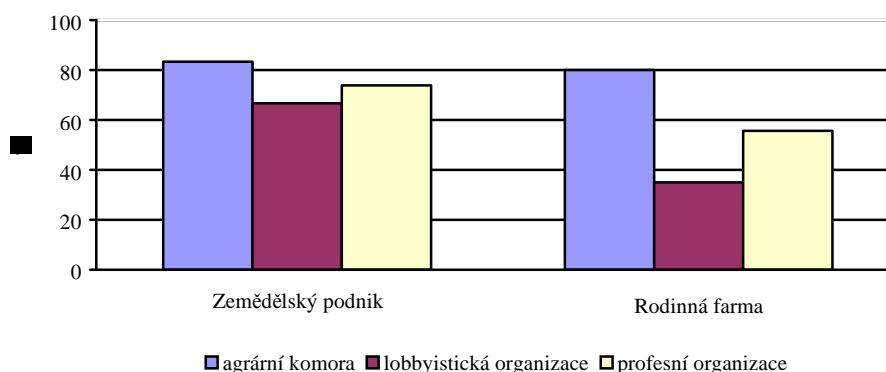
**Kapitál:** Dotazník nezahrnoval údaje o hodnotě kapitálu (budovy, stroje, zvířata atd.). Dotazoval se však na hodnotu ročních odpisů na farmu. Tato proměnná byla použita jako předběžný ukazatel kapitálu farmy. Průměrné odpisy na zemědělské podniky dosahují částky 5 609 tisíc Kč a 350 tisíc Kč na rodinné farmy.

**Intenzita výroby:** Intenzita výroby má nesporný účinek na ekonomickou výkonnost farmy. Jelikož téměř všechny farmy pěstují obilniny, bude tedy v tomto případě průměrný výnos obilovin jako vhodný zástupce intenzity výroby. Nicméně jsme si vědomi, že intenzita výroby závisí nejen na ekonomických a lidských faktorech výroby, ale odráží také přírodní podmínky. Zemědělské podniky měly výnos v průměru 3,5 t/ha, zatímco rodinné farmy sklízely 3,8 t/ha. Tento rozdíl není statisticky signifikantní (Mann-Whitneyho test).

**Sociální kapitál:** Naše studie se zaměřuje na sociální kapitál. Jak jsme uvedli výše, museli jsme analýzu omezit na její strukturální formu. Žádné proměnné tedy neodrážejí neformální stránku nebo dokonce kognitivní stránku sociálního kapitálu. V tomto stádiu se soustředíme na ukazatele popisující pasivní členství ve formálních organizacích a dva distribuční toky. Celkem existovalo pět různých proměnných týkajících se sociálního kapitálu.

Co se týká formálních organizací, bylo možno rozlišit čtyři různé typy: (a) Agrární komora, (b) politické lobbyistické organizace, (c) profesní organizace a (d) odbytové organizace. Jak jsme již probírali výše, významnou úlohu hraje Agrární komora. Členství v Komoře je v našem vzorku jak u zemědělských podniků, tak i u rodinných farem velmi vysoké. 83,3 % (35 ze 42 farem) manažerů zemědělských podniků a 80,0 % (16 z 20 farem) vedoucích rodinných farem uvedlo, že jsou jejími členy. Jedním z důvodů této vysoké úrovně členství se zdá být skutečnost, že pohovory ve třech ze čtyř okresů prováděli zástupci Komory. Členství v lobbyistických organizacích jako je Zemědělský svaz České republiky a Asociace soukromých zemědělců však ukazuje poněkud odlišný obraz. Asi dvě třetiny zemědělských podniků bylo členy Zemědělského svazu, zatímco přibližně jedna třetina soukromých zemědělců vstoupila do Asociace soukromých zemědělců. Zde byly opět zemědělské podniky lépe organizované, avšak ve srovnání s celostátní úrovní je organizační stupeň obou forem ve vzorku velmi vysoký.

**Obrázek č. 1 :Členství v zemědělských organizacích pro zemědělské podniky a pro rodinné farmy (procento farem)**



*Zdroj: Vlastní výpočet s údaji z průzkumu farem VÚZE z roku 2003.*

Jelikož je členství v lobbyistických organizacích zaměřeno více na zastupování zájmů vůči tvůrcům politiky, není přímo spojeno se zemědělskou výrobou jako takovou. Aby mohli zemědělci získat profesní informace a zlepšit svoje technické znalosti, spojují se do odborných organizací. Zdá se, že členství je motivováno výrobním profilem dané farmy. Jelikož jsou zemědělské podniky větší než rodinné farmy a mají tudíž výrobní profil více diversifikovaný, jsou členy více profesních organizací (až 5 v našem vzorku) než rodinné farmy (až 3 v našem vzorku). Pouze 26,2 % zemědělských podniků nejsou členy ani jedné profesní organizace, kdežto u rodinných farem nevstoupilo do žádné profesní organizace 44,4 farem. Pro výpočet jsme použili absolutní počet členství.



Použité distribuční toky jsou dobrým zástupným ukazatelem schopnosti manažerů vytvářet sítě (networky) podporující jejich ekonomickou situaci. Soustředíme se pouze na dva distribuční toky „společný prodej prostřednictvím odbytových družstev“ založených na dobrovolném členství tvoří jednu stranu. Jelikož značný počet odbytových organizací během 90. let zkrachoval, není jejich popularita mezi zemědělskými výrobci dobrá. Veškeré prodeje jinými distribučními toky se považují za „vlastní“ prodeje a v našem průzkumu představují druhou distribuční cestu. Třetí skupinu tvoří vlastní spotřeba zemědělských produktů. Zatímco prodej prostřednictvím odbytových družstev vyžaduje vytvoření sociálního kapitálu spolu s ostatními farmami, vlastní prodej tento typ kapitálu nevyžadují. Považujeme tedy vysoké podíly prodeje realizovaných odbytovými organizacemi za zástupce vysoké úrovně sociálního kapitálu, zatímco vysoký podíl vlastního prodeje představují nedostatek sociálního kapitálu.

Ředitelé a manažeři farem byli dotazováni na podíl výroby prodávaný oběma těmito toky v roce 2002. Oba distribuční toky dosahují v průměru dvou třetin prodeje a mají tudíž v našem vzorku stejnou důležitost. Rozdíly mezi zemědělskými podniky a rodinnými farmami nejsou signifikantní pro oba distribuční toky (Mann-Whitneyův test).

**Právní forma:** Průzkum zahrnuje jak zemědělské podniky, tak i rodinné farmy. Dotazníkem bylo osloveno 42 zemědělských podniků a 20 rodinných farem. Pro naši regresní analýzu byli zakódováni zemědělské podniky jako 0 a rodinné farmy jako 1.

**Ekonomická výkonnost:** K měření ekonomického výkonu byly použity dva ukazatele (jako závislé proměnné). První ukazatel se vztahuje k celkové výkonnosti a zahrnuje nejen obrát zemědělské produkce, ale rovněž další typy příjmu tzn. služby a turistiku. Co se týče zemědělských podniků, průměrný celkový výkon dosáhl 48,4 milionu Kč. U rodinných farem dosáhl 1,9 milionu Kč. Jako druhý ukazatel byl použit hrubý příjem farmy vypočítaný jako celková výkonnost minus výrobní spotřeba, tj. měrné náklady a zemědělské režijní výdaje. Tato proměnná se bude používat jako zástupná pro výkonnost farmy. V průměru dosahoval hrubý příjem farmy 11,5 milionu Kč na zemědělské podniky a 600 tisíc Kč na rodinné farmy.

### Faktorová analýza

Těžištěm studie je zkoumání vlivu sociálního kapitálu na celkovou výkonnost a hrubý příjem farmy. Je tedy zapotřebí zajistit, aby nebyl ve vzorku sociální kapitál vztahován k dalším ovlivňujícím proměnným jako je hodnota kapitálu nebo rozloha obhospodařované půdy. Faktorová analýza je vícerozměrná metoda, při které se extrahují nezávislé faktory z množiny korelovaných proměnných. Extrahované faktory je pak možno použít v dalších, pokročilejších výpočtech. Jako vstupní údaj byla použita matice korelačních koeficientů (Kendallovo tau). Kaiser-Meyer-Olkinovo kritérium (MSA: míra vzorkovací adekvátnosti) dosáhla hodnoty 0,69; čímž se prokázalo, že tato matice je průměrná, je však pro faktorovou analýzu vhodná (Backhaus et al., 2003: 276). Podle analýzy hlavních komponent s varimaxovou rotací a Kaiserovou normalizací mohly být ze souboru devíti proměnných vyjmuty čtyři faktory objasňující 79,2 % celkového rozptylu v těchto proměnných. V další analýze se používají pouze faktory s vlastní hodnotou větší než 1, jelikož faktor by mohl přinejmenším vysvětlovat tolik variability jako způsobuje jedna proměnná (Kaiserovo kritérium). Faktory s nižší vlastní hodnotou se tedy dále neuvažují.

Tabulka č. 2 sdružuje výsledky výpočtů tak, že ukazuje všechny faktorové zátěže. Ty, které jsou větší na 0,6 nebo menší než -0,6, jsou uvedeny tučným písmem pro devět proměnných na čtyřech faktorech. Označili jsme tyto čtyři faktory podle proměnných, které mají faktorové zátěže větší než 0,6 nebo menší než -0,6. *Faktor 1* zastupuje tři proměnné, které popisují klasické výrobní faktory půdy, pracovní síly a kapitál. Dva faktory ukazují dílčí aspekty

sociálního kapitálu. Byly nazvány jako „prodej prostřednictvím odbytových organizací“ (*Faktor 2*) a „členství v zemědělských organizacích“ (*Faktor 3*). *Faktor 4* zastupuje intenzitu výroby.

V tomto stádiu je možno vyvodit závěr, že faktorová analýza jasně oddělila klasickou zemědělskou výrobu od faktorů ukazujících sociální kapitál. Členství v zemědělských organizacích a použití různých distribučních toků jsou nezávislé na velikosti farmy a na objemu kapitálu. Jinými slovy také ukazuje, že velikost farmy *per se* nemá vztah k členství ve formálních organizacích a tudíž k vyšší úrovni sociálního kapitálu. To bylo povzbuzením k hlubší analýze.

V závěrečném kroku bylo spočteno skóre pro čtyři samostatné faktory, aby se nahradily čtyři korelované proměnné v modelu mnohonásobné regrese a aby se zjistilo, zda tyto dva faktory sociálního kapitálu mají signifikantní účinek na celkový výkon a hrubý příjem farmy.

**Tabulka č. 2: Faktorové zátěže pro devět proměnných na čtyřech faktorech (analýza hlavních komponent, varimaxová rotace s Kaiserovou normalizací)**

Proměnná	Faktor			
	1	2	3	4
Intenzita výroby	-0,014	0,054	0,009	<b>0,974</b>
Celková roční pracovní doba	<b>0,908</b>	-0,027	0,094	-0,008
Obdělávaná půda	<b>0,888</b>	0,017	0,160	-0,060
Členství v Agrární komoře	-0,106	-0,031	<b>0,844</b>	-0,060
Členství v lobbyistických organizacích	0,300	0,113	<b>0,716</b>	-0,039
Členství v profesních organizacích	0,380	-0,020	<b>0,608</b>	0,289
Procento celkového ročního prodeje odbytovými organizacemi	-0,020	<b>-0,947</b>	-0,065	0,012
Procento celkového vlastního prodeje	-0,024	<b>0,946</b>	-0,015	0,073
Odpisy	<b>0,875</b>	0,008	0,089	0,074
<b>Vlastní hodnota</b>	<b>2,63</b>	<b>1,81</b>	<b>1,64</b>	<b>1,05</b>

Poznámky: Relevantní faktorové zátěže větší než 0,6 nebo menší než -0,6 jsou vyznačeny tučným písmem.

Zdroj: Vlastní výpočet IAMO s údaji z průzkumu farem VÚZE z roku 2003.

### Analýza metody mnohonásobné regrese

V posledním kroku analýzy byly vypočteny následující modely lineární vícenásobné regrese, aby se prozkoumalo, zda existuje signifikantní dopad faktorů sociálního kapitálu na celkovou zemědělskou produkci a hrubý příjem farem:

$$(1) \quad Z\_TO = \text{právní\_forma} + \sum_{i=1}^4 b(i) * \text{faktor}(i)$$

$$(2) \quad Z\_GFI = \text{právní\_forma} + \sum_{i=1}^4 b(i) * \text{faktor}(i)$$

$Z\_TO$  : standardizovaná celková výkonnost

$Z\_GFI$  : standardizovaný hrubý příjem farmy

právní forma : fiktivní proměnná (0=zemědělský podnik, 1=rodinná farma)

- $b(i)$  : koeficient pro n-tý faktor,  $n = 1..4$   
faktor(i) : skóre pro n-tý faktor,  $n = 1..4$

Kromě uvedených čtyř faktorů byla zavedena fiktivní proměnná s ohledem na právní formu dané farmy. V důsledku chybějících hodnot a jedné extrémní hodnoty dosáhl celkový počet pozorování počtu 53 farem v *rovnici 1* a 43 farem v *rovnici 2*, na jejichž údajích se zakládaly výpočty regresivní analýzy. Výpočet byl zahájen s plným modelem, který byl zpětně redukován tak, že nesignifikanční faktory byly krok za krokem z tohoto modelu vylučovány. Faktor byl pokládán za nesignifikanční, jestliže jeho hladina významnosti byla vyšší než 0,10. Tabulka č. 3 shrnuje výsledky regresivních analýz, tzn. pouze vliv všech pěti faktorů na straně jedné a vliv signifikantních faktorů na straně druhé.

**Tabulka č. 3: Výsledky analýzy mnohonásobné regrese**

Závisle proměnná: standardizovaná celková produkce	Model se všemi faktory		Model pouze se signifikantními faktory	
	b(i)	Hladina významnosti	b(i)	Hladina významnosti
Půda, pracovní síly a kapitál	0,746	0,000	0,785	0,000
Prodej prostřednictvím odbytových organizací	0,070	0,135		
Členství v zemědělských organizacích	0,065	0,210		
Intenzita výroby	0,096	0,041	0,082	0,078
Právní forma	-0,085	0,407		
Opravená hodnota R <sup>2</sup>	0,85		0,85	
Závisle proměnná: standardizovaný hrubý příjem farmy N = 43				
Půda, pracovní síly a kapitál	0,601	0,000	0,647	0,000
Prodej prostřednictvím odbytových organizací	-0,226	0,048	-0,177	0,093
Členství v zemědělských organizacích	-0,034	0,775		
Intenzita výroby	0,184	0,077	0,171	0,096
Právní forma	-0,366	0,224		
Opravená hodnota R <sup>2</sup>	0,52		0,52	

Poznámky: Hladina významnosti nižší než 0,10 představuje signifikantní účinek tohoto faktoru na závisle proměnnou

Zdroj: Vlastní výpočet IAMO s údaji z průzkumu farem VÚZE z roku 2003

Na celkovou produkci farmy (*rovnice 1*) má signifikantní dopad pouze klasické výrobní faktory - půda, pracovní síly a kapitál a intenzita výroby, zatímco obě proměnné sociálního kapitálu i právní forma nemají vliv žádný. Míra determinace je 0,85 uspokojivě vysoká a ukazuje, že náš model zahrnuje většinu faktorů určujících produkci farem. Koeficient faktoru „půda, pracovní síly a kapitál“ je kladný a ukazuje, že větší farmy mají vyšší produkci. To nepřekvapuje a je to v souladu se neoklasickou ekonomickou teorií. Podobně kladný faktor „intenzita výroby“ ukazuje, že farmy využívající moderní technologie a/nebo působí za příznivých podmínek dosahují vyšší produkce.

Druhý model (*rovnice 2*) zkoumá dopad pěti faktorů na hrubý příjem farmy. Míra determinace je s 0,52 značně nízká, takže se muselo připustit, že tento model ponechává v hrubém příjmu farem nevysvětlenou asi polovinu variability, model je nicméně signifikantní. Stejně jako u prvního modelu zvyšují uvedené dva faktory „půda, pracovní síly a kapitál“ a „intenzita výroby“ hrubý příjem farem. Navíc je signifikantní faktor "prodej

prostřednictvím odbytových organizací". Jeho koeficient je záporný. Jelikož je zde záporná faktorová zátěž na proměnné "procento celkového prodeje prostřednictvím odbytových organizací", záporný koeficient znamená rostoucí hrubý zemědělský příjem pro vyšší procento prodeje realizovaných odbytovými organizacemi. Prodej prostřednictvím odbytových organizací může být považován za jeden z aspektů sociálního kapitálu a usuzujeme, že hypotéza - sociální kapitál zvyšuje ekonomickou výkonnost zemědělských podniků v České republice, je našimi výsledky potvrzena.

Druhý faktor sociálního kapitálu „členství v lobbyistických organizacích“ není u obou modelů signifikantní. Vyvozujeme závěr, že to není pasivní členství co zvyšuje ekonomický výkon, nýbrž aktivní účast ve formálních organizacích, jak to ukázali Wolz et al. (2005a). Jelikož nebyly v tomto průzkumu získány žádné údaje týkající se aktivního členství, nemůžeme tuto otázku vyhodnotit. Proměnná sociálního kapitálu „obchodování pomocí odbytových organizací“ ukázala příznivý dopad pouze na hrubý příjem farem, avšak nikoli na celkovou produkci farem. Jelikož jsou vyšší ceny za společný prodej jedním z cílů společných odbytových organizací, zdá se být tento výsledek poněkud překvapující. Odbytové organizace však poskytují nejen vyšší ceny za společný prodej, ale také nižší ceny nákupu společných vstupů, čímž se výrobní náklady snižují. Tento účinek se projevuje snižováním cen a je ještě výraznější, vezmeme-li do úvahy skutečnost, že prodej prostřednictvím odbytových organizací snižuje rovněž odbytové náklady a poskytuje zemědělcům užitečné informace a cenách a kvalitě. Připomínáme proto, že účinek snižování nákladů při prodeji prostřednictvím odbytových organizací převyšuje účinek zvyšování návratnosti. Právní forma farem nevykazuje žádný signifikantní vliv na závislé proměnné, takže nemůžeme učinit závěr, že rodinné farmy jsou více nebo méně úspěšné než zemědělské podniky.

Počet respondentů je v naší studii dosti malý. Musíme být proto při generalizaci našich výsledků na všechny farmy v České republice opatrní. V samostatných studiích by mohla být úloha formálních organizací jako charakteristika sociálního kapitálu potvrzena, je však zapotřebí provést hlubší průzkumy u zemědělských producentů v České republice (Wolz et al., 2005a a Wolz et al. 2005b). Výsledky uváděné v těchto studiích navíc k této analýze potvrzují naši tezi, že sociální kapitál je sice podceňovaný, nicméně je to však důležitý výrobní faktor.

## **Závěr**

V článku je řešen vliv sociálního kapitálu na ekonomickou výkonnost farem. Byl použit empirický průzkum prováděný mezi vedoucími pracovníky farem (N = 42) a soukromými zemědělci (N = 20) ve čtyřech okresech České republiky. Průzkum byl prováděn koncem léta 2003. Cílem tohoto průzkumu bylo ověřit hypotézu, že sociálního kapitál má vliv na ekonomickou výkonnost farem.

Pomocí faktorové analýzy bylo zjištěno, že dva faktory související se sociálním kapitálem, tj. „prodej prostřednictvím odbytových organizací“ a „členství v zemědělských organizacích“ byly zřetelně odděleny od klasických výrobních faktorů. Proto navazovalo další zkoumání této hypotézy pomocí mnohonásobné regresní analýzy. Jak se předpokládá podle neoklasické teorie, výkonnost farem je signifikantně určována tradičními výrobními faktory, tj. půdou, pracovní silou a kapitálem a intenzitou výroby. Právní forma farem však nevykazuje žádný signifikantní vliv na ekonomickou výkonnost. Můžeme tedy učinit závěr, že soukromé farmy jsou více méně úspěšné než zemědělské podniky.

S ohledem na první proměnnou ekonomické výkonnosti, tj. standardizovaná celková výkonnost, oba faktory sociálního kapitálu nevykazovaly žádný signifikantní vliv. Avšak co

se týká druhé výkonnosti související s proměnnou, tj. standardizovaného hrubého příjmu farmy, měl faktor sociálního kapitálu „prodej prostřednictvím odbytových organizací“ signifikantní vliv. Dospíváme tedy k závěru, že hypotéza byla touto analýzou potvrzena. Na druhé straně se neukázalo, že náš druhý faktor sociálního kapitálu „členství v zemědělských organizacích“ měl signifikantní vliv na výkonnost farem. Domníváme se, že to není pasivní členství v zemědělských organizacích, které je v tomto průzkumu hodnoceno, nýbrž je to aktivní účast, která bude mít vliv na výkonnost farem.

Můžeme tedy učinit závěr, že sociální kapitál má signifikantní pozitivní vliv na výkonnost farem v České republice. Hypotéza byla potvrzena touto analýzou. Může být tedy vyvozeno první doporučení: Oba typy farem, tj. zemědělské podniky a soukromé farmy, mohou zlepšit svůj příjem, vstoupí-li do odbytových družstev. Hlavní výhodou se zdá být snižování nákladů pomocí společného nákupu vstupů a nikoliv vyšší ceny produktů.

Přesto musíme připustit, že dopad sociálního kapitálu není tak silný, jak se předpokládalo. Jedním z hlavních důvodů se zdá být poměrně malý počet zkoumaných farem. Navíc je třeba toto pojetí vylepšit. Byla pokryta strukturální stránka sociálního kapitálu vzhledem k formálním organizacím, nejsou však žádné údaje týkající se neformálních sítí (networků) na kognitivní straně. Podobným způsobem nemůžeme nic vypovědět o nákladech na vytváření sociálního kapitálu. Existuje tedy rozsáhlý prostor pro zlepšování metodologického přístupu. Bude zapotřebí provést hlubší průzkum, abychom objasnili pojetí sociálního kapitálu, jeho měřitelnost a jeho vliv na příjem farem.

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# **Je strategický plán nástroj rozvoje venkovských mikroregionů? Does the Strategic Plan Develop Rural Microregions?**

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## **Klíčová slova**

strategický plán, rozvoj mikroregionů, investice, veřejná správa

## **Abstrakt**

Strategické plány jsou jedním z klíčových dokumentů sociálně ekonomického rozvoje venkovských mikroregionů. Více než 500 venkovských mikroregionů připravuje nebo již připravilo tento dokument. Cílem většiny strategií je na základě podrobné sociálněekonomické analýzy identifikovat hlavní trendy rozvoje mikroregionu. Skutečné uplatnění dokumentů je však mnohem omezenější. V návrhové části strategických dokumentů se většina autorů zaměřuje především na vypracování souboru více nebo méně konkrétních opatření, která mají směřovat k rozvoji řešeného území. Je však velmi obtížné v podmínkách české sídelní soustavy a rozdrobené veřejné správy nalézt skutečně rozvojové projekty pro celé území mikroregionu. Ve většině dokumentů jsou uváděny pouze projekty, které směřují k rozvoji jedné obce nebo dokonce pouze jedné lokality. Příkladem takových projektů jsou návrhy na budování jednotlivých sítí technické infrastruktury. Projekty, které se dotýkají celého území mikroregionu, se omezují pouze na aktivity v oblasti veřejné dopravy a budování sítě místních komunikací včetně cyklistických stezek nebo akce ke zvýšení všeobecné znalosti o mikroregionu. Důsledkem absence skutečně rozvojových mikroregionálních projektů a soustředění se na projekty pro rozvoj jednotlivých obcí je snižování důvěry a vůle starostů a dalších komunálních představitelů efektivně spolupracovat ve svazku. Dalším důsledkem je vnímání mikroregionu pouze jako nástroje pro možné získání dotací pro jednotlivé obce a vlastní strategie pak představuje pouze nástroj pro získání dotace a nikoliv dlouhodobý program rozvoje. Řešením tohoto rozporu mezi množstvím mikroregionálních strategií a jejich naprostou mizivým významem pro rozvoj spočívá pouze v změně orientace jednotlivých dokumentů na skutečně rozvojové projekty, které povedou ke stabilnímu a dlouhodobému rozvoji celého řešeného území. Takové projekty by měly být zaměřeny na podporu místní ekonomické základy, na zvýšení zaměstnanosti v řešeném území a na zvýšení mikroregionální identity posílením skutečně významných prvků místní kultury, historie nebo identity. Takové prostředky je účelné koncentrovat buď do mikroregionálního centra nebo na jednu významnou lokalitu v regionu a proto jsou v rozporu s dosavadním vnímáním podpory jako plošného nástroje na zajištění základních funkcí jednotlivých obcí v regionu.

## **Key words**

strategic plan, development of microregions, investment, public administration

## **Abstract**

Strategic plans are one of the key documents of socio-economic development of rural micro regions. More than 500 rural micro regions are preparing or has already prepared this document. The aim of most strategies is to identify main trends of development of micro regions on the basis of detailed socio-economic analysis. However the real use of the documents is much more limited. Most authors direct primarily at developing the set of more and less particular measures aiming at development of the handled territory in the proposal part of strategic plans. To find really developmental projects for the whole territory of a micro region under the circumstances of Czech settlement structure and fragmented public administration is however very difficult. In most documents there are presented only projects aiming at development of one municipality or even one settlement unit. Proposals of building individual networks of technical infrastructure are the examples of such projects. The projects, handling the whole territory of a micro region, limit themselves only to activities in the sphere of public transport and to building network of local communications including cycling routes or actions directed towards increasing of general knowledge about micro region. The consequence of the absence of really developmental micro regional projects is lowering the confidence and will of mayors and other communal authorities to cooperate effectively in one association of municipalities. The perception of micro region merely as a tool for possible acquiring of subsidies and not as a long-term programme of development is another consequence. Solving of this discrepancy between the amount of micro regional strategies and their totally infinitesimal significance for development lies just at the change of orientation of strategic documents into really developmental projects leading to stabile and long-term development of the whole handled territory. Such projects should be aimed at the support of local economic base, at increasing of employment in the handled territory and micro regional identity through strengthening of really significant elements of local culture. Such means are useful to be concentrated either into micro regional centre or into one significant locality in the region and that is why they are in contradiction to existing perception of support as a general tool for securing the basic functions in individual municipalities in the region.



## **Je strategický plán nástroj rozvoje venkovských mikroregionů?**

### **Úvod**

Od počátku 21. století se strategické plány staly velmi žádaným a módním nástrojem územního rozvoje. Obrovský nárůst intenzity používání tohoto typu dokumentu souvisí s celou řadou jevů, z nichž za nejvýznamnější můžeme považovat především přípravu na vstup do Evropské unie a očekávané možnosti využití pomoci prostřednictvím strukturálních fondů. V období na jedné straně očekávaného vstupu a na straně druhé omezeného množství často nepřesných informací o podmínkách vstupu do EU a čerpání vznikaly nejpozději od roku 1999 jednotlivé strategické dokumenty často s vágním odůvodněním potřeby takového materiálu v souvislosti se vstupem do EU.

Tento text je zaměřen na kritickou analýzu použití jednoho z nejvíce rozšířených typů strategických dokumentů – Strategie/program rozvoje venkovských mikroregionů, který se používá na českém venkově a zaměřen na sociálněekonomický rozvoj relativně malého venkovského území. Článek diskutuje možnosti zpracování a využití jednotlivých dokumentů a pokouší se na základě analýzy textu jednotlivých strategických dokumentů naznačit základní chyby a problémy, kterých se dopouštějí jednotliví zpracovatelé a které omezují další využití dokumentu.

Hlavním cílem textu je především poukázat na opakující se chyby strategických dokumentů a zdůraznit přeceňování jejich role v mikroregionálním rozvoji.

Pod používaným spojením strategický dokument v dalším textu chápu všechny typy rozvojových dokumentů, programů, integrovaných projektů rozvoje nebo vlastních komplexních strategií, které venkovské mikroregiony připravovaly a v současné době alespoň částečně realizují nebo mají zájem takový dokument realizovat. Hodnocení strategického dokumentu tedy není omezeno pouze na analýzu procesu tvorby dokumentu, ale je stejně tak zaměřeno i na jeho realizaci. Strategický dokument je úplný pouze tehdy, pokud se připravovaný text začne skutečně v konkrétním území naplňovat.

### **Legislativní ukotvení**

Příprava jednotlivých strategických dokumentů nemá (na rozdíl od územních plánů) svoji jednoznačnou podporu v zákonech nebo jiných právních předpisech. Strategické plány nebo další ekvivalentně chápané dokumenty jsou již od roku 1990 zmiňovány v zákoně o obcích (o obecním zřízení), kde je ustanovena jako jedna ze základních kompetencí zastupitelstva právo schvalovat program rozvoje obce.<sup>223</sup> Obce začaly tento nástroj využívat až po roce 1999.

Strategické plány jsou dále rámcově legislativně upraveny v zákoně na podporu regionálního rozvoje, který v §2 definuje základní pojmy takto<sup>224</sup>:

a) regionem územní celek vymezený pomocí administrativních hranic krajů, okresů, správních obvodů obcí s pověřeným obecním úřadem, správních obvodů obcí s rozšířenou působností obcí nebo sdružení obcí, jehož rozvoj je podporován podle tohoto zákona,

<sup>223</sup> §84, odst 2, písm a) zák 128/2000 Sb. v platném znění

<sup>224</sup> §2 zák. 248/2000 Sb v platném znění

b) strategií regionálního rozvoje střednědobý dokument, na období 3 - 7 let, který formuluje přístup státu k podpoře regionálního rozvoje, poskytuje potřebná východiska a stanovuje rozvojové cíle a zásady pro vypracování regionálních programů rozvoje.

Zákon dále definuje Strategii regionálního rozvoje ČR a upravuje postavení jednotlivých orgánů při zpracování na projednávání tohoto typu dokumentu. Zákon se však výslovně nezmiňuje o dalších typech strategických dokumentů.

Iniciační podporu pro zpracovávání strategických dokumentů venkovských mikroregionů nepochybně sehrál dotační titul Program obnovy vesnice. Po změně a rozšíření okruhu podporovaných aktivit (1997) byl do programu dále zařazen i Dotační titul č. 7 Integrované projekty venkovských mikroregionů, který poskytuje podporu až do výše 70 % skutečně vynaložených nákladů na zpracování dokumentů. Na základě tohoto národního dotačního titulu a všeobecného očekávání podpory pro aktivity, které v souladu s principem programování EU budou čerpány jak v předvstupním období tak i po vstupu do EU, zahájily jednotlivé venkovské obce bez jakékoliv přípravy práce na vzniku desítek strategických dokumentů.

### Členění dokumentů

Protože jednotlivé strategické plány vznikají pro různě velká území a s různými cíly je možné jednotlivé dokumenty dále rozdělit na několik základních typů dokumentů:

- a) **Strategické dokumenty pro národní úroveň vznikají pro potřeby národních politik**, připravuje vláda a ministerstva a do této kategorie patří jak resortní strategické dokumenty, tak i národní komplexní dokumentu typu Strategie rozvoje ČR, Národní rozvojový plán a další dokumenty.
- b) **Strategické dokumenty pro regionální úroveň** jsou dokumenty, které vznikaly po obnově krajů. Jednotlivé dokumenty pořizují krajské úřady a je možné sem řadit jak úzce zaměřené strategie (např. nakládání s odpady), tak i širěji chápané strategie jako je Regionální operační program.
- c) **Strategické dokumenty pro rozvoj měst** vznikaly jako dokumenty pro usměrňování socioekonomického rozvoje měst. Dokumenty pořizuje městský úřad a schvaluje jejich vymezené části zastupitelstvo.
- d) **Strategické dokumenty rozvoje venkovských mikroregionů** představuje nejčastější typ dokumentů, které zpracovávají svazky obcí nebo jinak by vymezené mikroregiony tvořené převážně z venkovských obcí.
- e) **Strategické dokumenty pro rozvoj venkovských obcí** jsou reprezentovány místními programy obnovy venkova. Tyto dokumenty slouží pro rozvoj jedné venkovské obce, nemají všechny znaky strategického dokumentu a jsou používány spíše jako návrh potenciálních investic v obci než jako vnitřně propojený systém opatření.

V další části příspěvku se budu věnovat pouze hodnocení využití strategických dokumentů venkovských mikroregionů. Tento typ dokumentů pořizují především dobrovolné svazky a sdružení obcí. Sdružení obcí jsou spojením obcí a dalších fyzických nebo právnických osob. Svazky i sdružení obcí vznikají bez ohledu na stávající změny územně správního členění Česka. Některé venkovské obce dokonce participují na práci dvou a více svazků.

Zatímco strategické dokumenty připravují především svazky obcí, úzce specializované projekty rozvoje především jedné složky technické infrastruktury připravují sdružení obcí často ve spolupráci se správcem konkrétního media nebo dodavatelem určité služby.

## Strategické dokumenty

Strategickým dokumentům je v posledním období věnováno větší množství kritických, analytických i metodických příspěvků. V jedné z prvních praktických prací se Bičík, Perlín a Šefrna pokusili na konkrétním území – povodí Kocáby vymezit základní rozvojové předpoklady venkovské oblasti v exponovaném jižním zázemí pražské metropolitní oblasti (Bičík, Perlín, Šefrna, 1999). Již v této podrobné studii dokumentují velmi obtížné nalezení témat pro vzájemnou spolupráci představitelů místní správy a obtížnou komunikaci mezi jednotlivými starosty a dalšími aktéry lokálního rozvoje.

Vlastní roli strategického plánování při usměrňování socioekonomického rozvoje hodnotí Vozáb (1999), který uvádí, že „strategické plánování není proces, jehož cílem je připravit dokument – strategický plán. Strategické plánování je proces, jehož cílem je naplánovat a uskutečnit změny, které ovlivní současnou situaci v daném území v takovém směru, jaký je definován na základě potřeb a představ subjektů existujících v území“. Proto úspěšnost materiálu nelze poměřovat hodnocením kvality přípravy dokumentu, ale je nutné úspěšnost dokumentu poměřovat především množstvím skutečně realizovaných aktivit. Úspěšnost nebo efektivita skutečně vynaložených prostředků na pořízení dokumentu se projeví až v průběhu uskutečňování jednotlivých záměrů strategického plánu.

Podle Vozába (1999) je strategické plánování orientováno na využití vnitřních zdrojů a na aktivní participaci lokálních aktérů. Toto tvrzení je v souladu s názory dalších odborníků, jako jsou např. Borja a Castells, Glorioso a Moss nebo Blakely, ze kterých Vozáb čerpal. Podle Blakelyho (1994) je strategické plánování nejefektivnějším nástrojem pro rozvoj obcí. Jeho efektivnost je založena na zjišťování místních potřeb a využívání vlastních zdrojů. Hlavním cílem celého procesu je pak zvýšení konkurenceschopnosti daného území. Právě důraz na využití místních zdrojů a aktivizaci lokální komunity by mělo být jedním z hlavních cílů strategického plánování.

Nový pohled na charakteristiky venkovských mikroregionů přinesl Spišiak (2004), který rozděluje venkovské mikroregiony Slovenska na:

- spící, tedy neaktivní,
- snící, které mají vizi, ale nevědí, jak ji uskutečnit,
- plánující mikroregion, mezi které řadí ty, které mají plán, ale nenaplnují jej,
- realizující připravené projekty.

Poslední nejvyspělejší kategorií autor chápe jako regiony nově podnikající, které komplexně zajišťují nové činnosti na základě naplněného strategického záměru. Dělení podle míry aktivity v regionu je závislé na schopnosti „měřit“, kvantifikovat míru aktivity v regionu a míru vlivu zpracovaných strategických dokumentů na jednotlivé projekty. V rozdělení mikroregionů podle Spišiaka nelze zařadit kategorií komunikujících mikroregionů – tedy svazků obcí, kde jednotlivé obce si spolu vyměňují zkušenosti a koordinují jednotlivé záměry.

Hodnocením i metodickými postupy přípravy a schvalování tohoto typu dokumentů se zabývala celá řada autorů.

Mezi nejčastěji citované práce patří především Rektořík, Šelešovský a kol. (1999). Autoři se pokusili na základě analýzy většího počtu dokumentů naznačit metodický postup zpracování, ale ve své práci se nezaměřují na jeho realizaci. Tato práce a stejně jako i další texty (Horký, Havrdová, Maier) se soustřeďují na diskuzi přípravy jednotlivých dokumentů a nevěnují pozornost skutečné realizaci strategického plánu.

V metodické příručce pro představitele venkovských mikroregionů Perlín (2001) sleduje především diskuzi dvou odlišných typů zpracování dokumentu a upozorňuje na smysl a problémy spojené s realizací jednotlivých záměrů strategie. Práce se soustřeďuje především na identifikaci metodicky odlišných přístupů ke strategickému plánování a v menší míře se zabývá také předpoklady realizace jednotlivých záměrů.

Především formálnímu členění jednotlivých dokumentů z hlediska délky jejich návrhového období se mimo jiné zabývají Markvart a Navrátilová (1999). Autoři rozděluje dokumenty podle časového hlediska na krátkodobé (do 2 let), střednědobé (2-5 let) a dlouhodobé (nad 5 let).

Představitelé mezinárodní konzultační skupiny Berman group se dlouhodobě zabývají strategickým plánováním měst a proto ve větší míře zdůrazňují význam trvale udržitelného ekonomického rozvoje měst. Berman (1998) argumentuje, že ekonomický rozvoj se v současné době opírá o programy a politiky, které dávají městu (regionu či státu) schopnost úspěšně se přizpůsobovat ekonomickým změnám pomocí zlepšování vlastního konkurenčního postavení v kritických produkčních faktorech jako jsou: lidské zdroje, informace a technologie či kapitál a infrastruktura a podtrhuje nutnou spolupráci s podnikatelským prostředím. Úspěšná strategie ekonomického rozvoje je založena na tomto prostředí. Právě spolupráce s podnikatelským prostředím a vzájemná komunikace nejen mezi jednotlivými členy svazku obcí, ale především mezi svazkem obcí a dalšími ekonomickými subjekty, které v mikroregionu působí, představuje jeden ze základních problémů přípravy a realizace úspěšné strategie rozvoje.

I přes relativně široké spektrum jednotlivých teoretických i metodických studií, které sledují možnosti uplatnění strategického plánování při rozvoji měst a venkovských mikroregionů, jednotliví autoři používají svoje vlastní metodické postupy, které neodrážejí jednotlivé dosažené výsledky.

## **Mikroregiony**

Mikroregiony jako specifická forma spolupráce venkovských obcí se rozvíjejí v souladu se zákonem o obcích. Již od roku 1990 se jednotlivé venkovské obce na základě společné vůle mohly sdružovat za účelem zajištění některých činností veřejné správy. Nejčastějšími typy spolupráce v prvním období do roku 1998 byly účelové svazky obcí s cílem vybudovat nebo rozšířit jednotlivé typy technické infrastruktury nebo zajistit jednu zcela konkrétní investici. Obce se také sdružovaly například z důvodů zajištění provozu regionální skládky.

Teprve po změně přístupu k dotační politice (od 1998) zahajují velmi intenzivně venkovské obce budovat venkovské mikroregiony jako sdružení obcí s cílem zajistit „komplexní“ sociálně ekonomický rozvoj. Toto období je charakteristické překotným vznikem mikroregionů a těsně předcházelo období explozivního nárůstu počtu zpracovaných dokumentů – strategií rozvoje. Neexistovaly a dosud neexistují žádné legislativní úpravy, které by vedly k přesnějšímu vymezení územního rozsahu jednotlivých mikroregionů nebo by vymezily formy spolupráce. Jednotlivé mikroregiony vznikají zcela živelně a zdrojem pro vznik byly především neověřené informace o předpokládaných typech podpory.

Po roce 2000 se dosud živelný rozvoj spolupráce obcí mění ve více formalizovanou strukturu a zákon o obcích odlišuje svazky obcí jako veřejnoprávní korporace, které jsou tvořeny pouze obcemi a volnější mikroregionální sdružení, kde účastníky spolupráce jsou kromě obcí i další právnické osoby. Mikroregionální sdružení pak vystupuje jako další fyzická osoba a její jednání již není vedeno v systému veřejnoprávním, ale v systému soukromém.

V současné době Ústav územního rozvoje Brno eviduje více než 525 – 536 mikroregionálních svazků. Rozdílný počet závisí na míře vykazování a funkčnosti svazku a jeho zaměření. Jednotlivé svazky mají velmi rozdílnou velikost (počet zúčastněných obcí) i rozsah činnosti.

### **Význam strategického plánu**

Jednotlivé mikroregiony zpracovaly až od roku 2000 až do současnosti základní strategické dokumenty. Podle jednotlivých metodik pro zpracování strategických plánů lze rozdělit jednotlivé dokumenty na dva základní typy. Pro první typ je používáno označení komunitní metoda a pro druhý typ se běžně používá označení expertní metoda zpracování dokumentu.

#### **1. Komunitní metoda**

Komunitní metoda je založena na dialogu mezi zpracovatelem a potenciálními uživateli dokumentu a vychází z podrobné znalosti místního prostředí, vnímání jednotlivých problémů místními představiteli a aktéry územního rozvoje. V tomto metodickém postupu se relativně malý význam klade na podrobnou a vyčerpávající analýzu a mnohem větší důraz se klade na identifikaci hlavních problémů rozvoje území. Jako velmi obvyklý způsob se používá metoda komunitních setkávání a diskuze nebo metoda brainstormingu, a to jak pro identifikaci klíčových problémů a stejně tak i pro vymezení hlavních rozvojových problémů. Způsob práce je závislý na aktivitě místních představitelů a na složení jednotlivých diskuzních skupin a jejich aktivitě. Pro vlastní přípravu návrhu je charakteristický především důraz na obecnou shodu na jednotlivých problémech nebo řešeních a vysoká znalost dokumentu a tím i vysoké očekávání realizovatelnosti jednotlivých záměrů. Omezení této metody spočívá především v potenciálu jednotlivých účastníků procesu tvorby dokumentu a jejich schopnosti identifikovat klíčové nebo významné problémy, které je možné z pozice veřejné správy ovlivňovat. Stejně tak je omezujícím faktorem i vůle jednotlivých účastníků komunitního plánování aktivně participovat na často velmi širokých a zdánlivě nekonkrétních debatách, které mají za cíl formulovat jednotlivé závěry.

#### **2. Expertní metoda**

Expertní způsob zpracování dokumentu je charakteristický relativně široce koncipovaným zaměřením dokumentu se snahou o maximální objektivizaci zjištěných poznatků a jejich hodnocení. Postup zpracování vychází z podrobné analýzy řešeného území s množstvím velmi detailních informací, které často k předmětu práce nemají bezprostřední vztah. Syntéza, zpracovávaná obvykle metodou SWOT, vychází místo ze snahy o klasifikaci problémů z jejich přehledu a vlastní strategie je založena velmi široce s cílem odstranit pokud možno všechny zásadní rozvojové problémy. Na obecněji formulovanou strategii navazuje dále velmi obecně chápáná návrhová část, které ve formě opatření pouze naznačuje možnosti řešení. Účast veřejnosti a představitelů veřejné správy při přípravě a projednávání dokumentu se omezuje na formální kontrolu správnosti jednotlivých údajů a závěrů a není zaměřena na aktivní účast v procesu přípravy. Představitelé veřejné správy vycházejí z teze „objednávku má zajistit zpracovatel a za to je také finančně odměněn“ a často nemají zájem nad rozsah svých běžných kompetencí se spolupodílet na přípravě dokumentu. Dokument je připraven po formální stránce velmi kvalitně a věcně správně, jeho znalost a vůle realizovat alespoň některé závěry je však díky neznalosti jednotlivých souvislostí relativně malá.

**Tabulka č. 1: Rozdíly při zpracování strategického dokumentu mikroregionu**

	<b>Komunitní způsob</b>	<b>Expertní způsob</b>
analýza	založená na zkušenosti a výpovědi	vychází z podrobného studia
syntéza	SWOT	SWOT
strategie	pouze vize dílčí nebo chybí	podrobněji zpracována vychází ze SWOT
návrh	podrobná forma opatření (kroků)	pouze v obecnější podobě
role zpracovatele	moderátor, komunikace s místními aktivisty	zpracovatel vlastního návrhu
role místní správy	aktivně vstupuje do procesu přípravy	přebírá a kontroluje jednotlivé dosažené výsledky
role veřejnosti	zastupují lokální aktivisté	formální projednávání na veřejné schůzi
zaměření	konkrétní cíle	„komplexní“ řešení

Oba základní typy zpracování strategických plánů mají mnoho dalších subtypů a postup přípravy se liší především v závislosti na osobě hlavního zpracovatele a jeho zkušenosti s tímto typem práce.

Venkovské mikroregiony zpracovávají svoje rozvojové dokumenty oběma způsoby. Většina dokumentů je však zpracována expertním způsobem se snahou zapojit do procesu přípravy především místní představitele, v menším počtu dokumentů jsou používány i metody blízké komunitnímu způsobu práce (MR Podlipansko okr. Kolín).

Závislost na způsobu zpracování a možnostech realizace zkoumala Doubravová (2005). Z její práce na příkladu 5 rozdílných strategických plánů mikroregionů v diferencovaném prostředí a zpracovaných různými autory vyplývá, že není možné prokázat souvislost mezi formou zpracování a skutečnou realizací konkrétních navrhovaných aktivit v území. Doubravová dokládá, že vlastní uskutečnění jednotlivých aktivit v území je mnohem více závislé na místní aktivitě a osobnosti vedoucích představitelů obce než na způsobu zpracování dokumentu a poukazuje na to, že jednotlivé činnosti, které se v území skutečně realizují, nejsou bezprostředně iniciovány strategickým plánem, ale osobní aktivitou jednotlivých představitelů veřejné správy.

### **Využití strategického plánu**

Využití strategických plánů při usměrňování rozvoje venkovských mikroregionů je možné sledovat pouze na příkladě podrobného studia ve zvoleném území. Celkové statistické sledování za celé území nebo alespoň sledování způsobu práce s vypracovanými strategiemi se dosud neuskutečňuje. Pro hodnocení využití strategických dokumentů bylo vybráno území charakteristické svojí relativní stabilitou venkovské struktury bez výraznějšího bezprostředního ovlivnění největšími metropolitními územími. Vlastní hodnocení bylo provedeno na území okresů Plzeň – sever a Rakovník. Řešené území je charakteristické velkým počtem relativně malých obcí s větším množstvím malých místních částí, absencí dominantních center osídlení. Územím prochází bývalá hranice sudetského osídlení a celé území patří mezi okrajové regiony. Oba okresy jsou vymezeny jako území se soustředěnou podporou státu. Východní část okresu Rakovník (Jesenicko) a severní část okresu Plzeň – sever (Manětínsko, Kralovicko) patří mezi území s extrémně nízkou hustotou zalidnění.

V obou na sebe navazujících územích byla na začátku projektu identifikována rozdílná situace. Zatímco v okrese Rakovník existovalo celkem 6 mikroregionálních sdružení, které formálně

vykonávaly svoji činnost. Na celém území dále působilo i sdružení s celookresní působností, které se také podílelo na formování mikroregionálního rozvoje. Tento specifický svazek obcí s celookresní působností zpracoval nezávisle na menších mikroregionech svůj vlastní strategický plán pro území celého okresu. V okrese Plzeň sever byla sice mikroregionální sdružení ustanovena, ale nikdy žádnou ani formální činnost nevykonávaly, s výjimkou některých aktivit, mezi které patří také zpracovávání rozvojových dokumentů.

Jednotlivá sdružení mají vesměs zpracované strategické dokumenty. V okrese Rakovník se jedná o strategické dokumenty malých svazků obcí vypracované expertní metodou v období 2000 – 2003 vždy na podnět představitelů vůdčí obce v mikroregionu. Stejně tak i pozdější strategický dokument celookresního svazku vychází i přes deklarovaný komunitní přístup převážně z expertní metody a je založen na velmi široce pojaté analýze území. Vlastní strategická část nenabízí širší okruh aktivit a shrnuje pouze některé možné plány rozvoje s důrazem na rozvoj cykloturistiky. Strategické dokumenty vycházejí z podrobné analýzy řešeného území, který je často nahrazena popisem jednotlivých dostupných statistických podkladů bez snahy doplnit studii o některá měkká data nebo ověřit některá tvrzení v konfrontaci s názory občanů.

Návrhová část je zpracována povrchně pouze s důrazem na strategickou část dokumentu a bez identifikace jasně vymezených navrhovaných opatření nebo jiných prováděcích částí. V dokumentech zcela chybí ukazatele monitoringu, které by umožnily zpětnou kontrolu plnění dokumentu a případné doplnění již zpracovaných strategických záměrů.

Představitelé veřejné správy (rozhovory s celkem 24 starosty obcí) potvrdili, že sice strategii zpracovanou mají, ale nebyli schopni vysvětlit ani hlavní zaměření strategie, nebyli schopni popsat rozvojové osy nebo iniciativy, navrhované ve strategii. Standardní odpovědi v rámci řízeného rozhovoru na otázku. „Mohli byste formulovat hlavní záměry ve vaší strategii?“ bylo odkázání na CD, kde je celá strategie k dispozici.

Rozdíly je možné sledovat především v obcích se sídlem mikroregionu a ostatních obcích, které se pouze účastní práce konkrétního mikroregionu. V obcích, kde působí nejaktivnější (zakladatelská) obec mikroregionu, je starosta obce i vůdčí osobností celého svazku a je schopen poskytnout relativně ucelenou informaci o práci svazku. V ostatních obcích je standardní odpovědí odkázání na tohoto aktivního starostu. Obce sice mají zpracovaný strategický dokument, ale nepracují s ním, nejsou schopné nebo ochotné orientovat budoucí socioekonomický vývoj podle jednotlivých závěrů strategie a k plánování jednotlivých investic strategii ani nepotřebují. Pokud uvažují o smyslu strategie, pak celkem bez jakýkoliv zábran sdělují, že tento dokument používají hlavně pro vyplnění příslušné kolonky v žádosti o dotace a jaksi automaticky předpokládají, že neexistence takového dokumentu by vedla ke snížení možnosti obcí využívat jak domácí, tak i evropské dotační programy.

Na území okresu Plzeň sever byly strategické plány zpracovány v prvním období vzniku sdružení obcí a nyní nejsou používány ani pro formální důvody (vyplnění kolonky v žádosti). Jednotlivé dokumenty nejsou pro představitele veřejné správy k dispozici a starostové a další zastupitelé s nimi nepracují.

Na základě analýzy použití strategických plánů pro plánování socioekonomického rozvoje venkovských obcí je možné formulovat některé závěry:

- Strategické plány jsou zpracovávány pro téměř všechny mikroregiony.
- Jednotlivé dokumenty jsou vytvářeny především expertní metodou.
- Dokumenty vznikají na základě impulsu představitelů vůdčí obce ve svazku.
- Ostatní obce nemají zájem, snahu a možnosti vstupovat do přípravy dokumentů.

- Dokumenty nejsou používány pro usměrnění mikroregionálního rozvoje.
- Cílem přípravy dokumentů je pouze splnit očekávané formální podmínky pro získání dotace.
- Dokumenty mají velmi podrobně zpracovanou analytickou část za využití velkého počtu sledovaných dat.
- Obsah strategických dokumentů je zaměřen na obecně formulovaný rozvoj, není kladen důraz na jasně vymezený okruh aktivit nebo činností, které mohou obce zajišťovat.
- Jednotlivé akce mají charakter aktivit jednotlivých obcí a pouze v malé míře mají integrační charakter, které spojují více zúčastněných obcí.
- Opakují se stejné typy projektů (podpora pro cestovní ruch), které ale nemohou přinést významný impuls do rozvoje území.
- Rozvoj území je zajišťován jinými akcemi, které jednotlivé obce s větším nebo menším úspěchem zajišťují.
- Strategické dokumenty navrhují koncentrované projekty několika obcí do skutečně rozvojových impulsů (zvýšení zaměstnanosti apod.) na jednom místě například v největší obci MR.

V jednotlivých strategických dokumentech, ale stejně tak i v názorech představitelů obcí jsou velmi často zaměněny rozvojové aktivity a činnosti, které vedou k odstranění starých zátěží. Většina obcí klade důraz na doplnění technické infrastruktury nebo zlepšení fyzického vzhledu veřejných prostranství v obci a považují tyto investice za rozvojové impulsy pro obec. Samotné inovativní projekty nebo projekty vedoucí k posílení sociální soudržnosti jsou v navrhovaných strategických dokumentech i v skutečné realizaci ve výrazné menšině.

## **Závěr**

Příprava a zpracování strategických dokumentů se stala na přelomu století jedním z významných činností, které jednotlivé mikroregiony zajišťovaly. Zpracování strategických dokumentů bylo podpořeno i dotačním titulem v rámci Programu obnovy vesnice. Postupu zpracování i metodickým návrhům na využití jednotlivých typů dokumentů byla věnována celá řada odborné i metodické literatury. Vlastní využití jednotlivých dokumentů obcemi nebo jejich svazky je však velmi omezené. Pro další využití není klíčový převažující postup zpracování, ale především vůle představitelů obce skutečně podle tohoto dokumentu dlouhodobě usměrňovat socioekonomický rozvoj obce nebo svazku obcí. Protože ale obce jsou dosud ve svých investičních plánech orientovány především na investice, kterými se zajišťuje odstranění starých zátěží a nikoliv na skutečně rozvojové investice, nemohou prostřednictvím strategických dokumentů skutečně zajišťovat inovativní rozvoj. V obcích dosud chybí vůle ke spolupráci na skutečně rozvojových aktivitách, které by vznikaly jako společná akce více obcí založená také na společném financování a přitom by byla umístěna pouze v jedné z obcí. Je jen velmi obtížné najít a identifikovat projekty, které by bylo možné zajišťovat společně pro více obcí, nebo které by vedly k užší spolupráci obcí sdružených ve svazku obcí.

Studované strategické plány nesplňují jeden za základních předpokladů strategického plánování a tím je snaha o využití místních zdrojů a podpora místní komunity při zajištění socioekonomického rozvoje. Autoři jako Borja a Castells, Glorioso a Moss nebo Blakely právě zdůrazňují, že strategické plánování má sloužit k aktivizaci místního prostředí a vidí v strategickém plánování prostředek pro zvýšení aktivity místní komunity. V domácích



strategických plánech je naproti tomu důraz kladen na nalezení externích finančních zdrojů na zajištění navrhovaných cílů. Strategický plán je vnímán jako nástroj na čerpání dotačních prostředků.

Strategické dokumenty venkovských mikroregionů mají jen velmi omezené použití. Jejich role by měla být především jako platforma pro diskuze mezi představiteli obcí a místními podnikateli a dalšími aktivními obyvateli o hlavních problémech a o hlavních směrech dalšího rozvoje. Pouze dokumenty, které vznikají jednak za společné vůle obcí nejen strategický plán připravit, ale také i realizovat, mají svůj význam. V jiných případech je vhodné najít jiné a levnější varianty pro zajištění socioekonomického rozvoje nebo zajištění některých investic.

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# **Strategické přístupy v řízení regionálního rozvoje** **Strategic Approach in Management of Regional Development**

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## **Klíčová slova**

regionální rozvoj, konkurenceschopnost, strategický management, klastry

## **Abstrakt**

Při uplatňování strategického řízení sledujeme při rozvoji regionů zvyšování jejich výkonnosti a regionální konkurenceschopnosti. Jednotlivé regiony, města a obce mezi sebou soutěží zejména při získávání ekonomických subjektů, které vytvářejí a stabilizují nová pracovní místa a tím i ovlivňují prosperitu a životní úroveň obyvatel regionů a obcí. Příspěvek je zaměřen na vymezení nových přístupů regionálního rozvoje s využitím postupů strategického řízení a se zaměřením na možnosti zvyšování konkurenceschopnosti regionů se zohledněním vytváření klastrů.

## **Key words**

regional development, competitive advantage, strategic management, clusters

## **Abstract**

We observe by using strategic management in the regional development the increasing of regions' efficiency and competitive advantage. The individual regions, towns and municipalities compete among of them by obtaining of economic subjects. They create and stabilize new jobs and by this influence prosperity and living standard of regions' or municipalities' inhabitants. The article deals with characterisation of new regional development approaches with using of strategic management methods. There are described possibilities of increasing of region' competitive advantage by creation of clusters.

## Strategické přístupy v řízení regionálního rozvoje

### Úvod

Význam strategického řízení pro rozvoj regionů narůstá se snahou jejich představitelů o zvyšování regionální výkonnosti a konkurenceschopnosti. Jednotlivé regiony, města a obce mezi sebou soutěží zejména při získávání ekonomických subjektů, které vytvářejí a stabilizují nová pracovní místa a tím i ovlivňují prosperitu a životní úroveň jejich obyvatel.

Regionální konkurenceschopnost lze definovat jako schopnost regionů generovat příjmy a udržet zaměstnanost na úrovni odpovídající národní a mezinárodní konkurenci. Je ovlivňována následujícími faktory: strukturou ekonomických aktivit, úrovní inovací, stupněm dostupnosti regionu a úrovní dosažené vzdělanosti pracovních sil. Indikátory uvedených faktorů poté vymezují základní strategické cíle rozvoje regionů a úroveň jejich naplňování slouží jako nástroj pro hodnocení efektivnosti regionálních institucí [6].

Rozvoj regionů je ve všech zemích EU podporován a ovlivňován jednotlivými státy a regionálními institucemi. Tento proces je řízen a plánován. Z tohoto pohledu je významný zejména posun paradigmat regionální politiky (tabulka č. 1), v rámci něhož dochází ke zvyšování významu např. učících se regionů, vytváření inovačního prostředí, podpora sítí a klastrů. V rámci tohoto nového pojetí jsou cíle rozvoje regionu postaveny na zvyšování konkurenceschopnosti s využitím proaktivního, plánovaného a strategického způsobu jejich realizace. Dochází rovněž k ústupu od programů podpory k rozvojovým programům se zdůrazněním významu regionálních institucí a kolektivního rozhodování za účasti co nejširší veřejnosti a její souběžné participace [4]. Tyto nové přístupy lze uplatnit a zajistit s využitím moderních nástrojů strategického řízení, ke kterým kromě metodického aparátu (jeho základem jsou analýzy vnitřního a vnějšího prostředí, SWOT analýza apod.) patří rovněž vhodně nadefinované poslání regionu, vymezení zájmů klíčových realizátorů, stanovení cílů, způsobů jejich řešení nebo-li strategií, jejich následná implementace a kontrola [1, 3, 4, 5, 7].

**Tabulka č. 1: Posun paradigmat regionální politiky [4]**

Kritérium	Klasická regionální politika	Moderní regionální politika
<b>Koncepční model</b>	Teorie lokalizace odvětví: Hlavními faktory jsou regionální atributy, jako např. výrobní náklady, dostupnost pracovníků	Teorie učících se regionů: Hlavními faktory regionální schopnosti, např. inovační prostředí, klastry, sítě
<b>Charakteristiky politiky</b>		
Dlouhodobé cíle a záměry	Spravedlnost (rovnost) nebo efektivnost	Rovnost a také efektivnost
Konkrétní cíle	Tvorba zaměstnanosti, zvýšené investice	Zvýšená konkurenceschopnost (např. podnikání, inovace, dovednosti)
Oblasti zásahů	Úzké (ekonomické, průmyslové)	Široké (multisektorové)
Způsob realizace	Reaktivní založený na konkrétních projektech	Proaktivní, plánovaný, strategický
Kritérium	Klasická regionální politika	Moderní regionální politika
<b>Struktura politiky</b>		
Prostorové zaměření	Problémové oblasti	Všechny regiony

Analytická základna  Hlavní nástroje Orientace pomoci	Indikátory regionálních disparit  Programy podpory Podpora podnikům Tvrdá infrastruktura	Komplexní SWOT analýza regionů  Rozvojové programy Podnikatelské prostředí Měkká infrastruktura
<b>Organizace</b> Příprava politiky Vedoucí organizace Partneři Administrativa Výběr projektů Časová orientace	Centralizovaná (shora – dolů)  Centrální vláda Žádní nejsou Jednoduchá a racionální Interní (rozhodováním) Roční rozpočty	Kolektivní (založená na jednání)  Regionální orgány a instituce Lokální orgány a sociální partneři Složitá a byrokratická Participativní (široká účast) Víceleté plánovací období
<b>Hodnocení</b> Etapy Výstupy	Ex post  Měřitelné	Ex ante, Interim, Ex post  Obtížně měřitelné

V rámci strategického řízení regionálního rozvoje je v současné době zdůrazňována zejména podpora malého a středního podnikání a možnosti vytváření sítí těchto podniků. K podpoře zvýšení konkurenceschopnosti regionu přispívá významně tvorba klastrů.

Klastrem rozumíme geografické soustředění vzájemně provázaných firem, specializovaných dodavatelů, poskytovatelů služeb, firem v příbuzných odvětvích a přidružených institucí, jako jsou univerzity, agentury a obchodní asociace různých směrů, které spolu soutěží, ale také spolupracují, mají společné znaky a také se doplňují. Klastry lze tedy vymezit jako geograficky soustředěná odvětví, která získávají svoji výkonnostní a konkurenční výhodu tím, že využívají umístění v určité lokalitě a všech faktorů, které s tím souvisí a tím podporují rozvoj regionu [7].

## Metodika

Cílem příspěvku je charakterizovat přístupy v regionálním rozvoji s pomocí strategického řízení a se zaměřením na moderní pojetí zvyšování konkurenceschopnosti regionu, a to využití klastrů. Výstupem je rovněž návrh odvětví v Jihočeském kraji vhodných pro vytvoření klastru.

Obecný postup identifikace klastrů probíhá v několika etapách. Nejprve se provede analýza dostupných statistických údajů, identifikují se klíčová odvětví s použitím koeficientu lokalizace a vybere se nejvýhodnější odvětví - dle stanovených kritérií (např. dle výše LQ či počtu zaměstnanců). Ve druhém kroku se provede bližší výzkum vybraných klastrů a je organizována diskuze v pracovních skupinách a individuální interview s firmami pro hodnocení vstupního potenciálu klastru. Dalším krokem analýzy je stanovení charakteristik klastru [4]. V našem příspěvku jsme se soustředili na první krok.

K analýze regionu je použit především stav zaměstnanosti, který je základním kvantitativním měřítkem firemní aktivity (ostatní data jsou obtížně srovnatelná napříč firmami) a je provedeno srovnání s celkovou zaměstnaností v regionu z důvodu zjištění míry vlivu příslušného odvětví na rozvoj regionu.

Pro zjištění možnosti vytvoření klastru je použit výpočet lokalizačního koeficientu, tzv. LQ koeficientu, který je standardním měřítkem, které charakterizuje příznivost koncentrace daného odvětví či průmyslu v regionu nebo oblasti. Výpočet LQ koeficientu se provádí podle následujícího vzorce:

$$LQ_i = \frac{e_i / e}{E_i / E}$$

kde  $LQ_i$  = koeficient lokalizace pro i-té odvětví,

$e_i$  = zaměstnanost v i-tém odvětví v regionu,

$e$  = celková zaměstnanost v regionu,

$E_i$  = zaměstnanost v i-tém odvětví ve státě,

$E$  = celková zaměstnanost ve státě.

Pokud je lokalizační koeficient větší než 1, zaměstnanost v odvětví v regionu je vyšší než průměrná zaměstnanost ve stejném odvětví v ČR. Toto odvětví je tedy pro region významné a je třeba se jím zabývat a rozvíjet ho. V opačném případě (LQ je menší než 1) není odvětví výhodné pro vytvoření klastru.

V příspěvku jsou hodnocena data za Jihočeský kraj a jeho jednotlivá odvětví za rok 2004.

## Výsledky

Podle výběrových šetření pracovních sil, které uskutečňuje Český statistický úřad, je v hospodářství Jihočeského kraje zaměstnáno celkem zhruba 300 tis. osob, z toho téměř 30 % ve zpracovatelském průmyslu, více než 12 % v obchodu a opravách spotřebního zboží, 10 % ve stavebnictví. Zemědělství, které má v kraji silnou tradici, zaujímalo v roce 2004 až 8 místo co se týče zaměstnanosti a oproti roku 1993 se v něm výrazně snížil počet zaměstnaných (rozdíl 6 %). Naopak větší nárůst počtu pracujících zaznamenaly odvětví nemovitost, obchod a zpracovatelský průmysl - viz tabulka č. 2.

**Tabulka č. 2: Počty zaměstnanců v jednotlivých odvětvích Jihočeského kraje**

Odvětví	1993		2004	
	n (v tis. obyv.)	%	n (v tis. byv.)	%
Zemědělství, myslivost a souv. činnost	30,6	10,1	13,3	4,5
Lesnictví, rybolov, chov ryb a souv. činnost	9,1	3,0	4,8	1,6
Těžba nerostných surovin	1,2	0,4	0,8	0,3
Zpracovatelský průmysl	79,9	26,3	87,4	29,5
Výroba a rozvod elektřiny, plynu a vody	7,3	2,4	6,3	2,1
Stavebnictví	30,6	10,1	29,1	9,8
Odvětví	1993		2004	
	n (v tis. obyv.)	%	n (v tis. byv.)	%
Obchod, opr. motor. vozidel a spotřeb. zboží	28,6	9,4	36,9	12,4
Ubytování a stravování	11,6	3,8	12,1	4,1
Doprava, skladování a spoje	21,0	6,9	18,4	6,2
Finanční zprostředkování	4,6	1,5	5,8	2,0
Nemovitost a pronájem, podnik. činnosti	8,0	2,6	12,4	4,2
Vzdělávání	26,5	8,7	22,5	7,6
Zdravotní a soc. péče, veterinární činnosti	16,7	5,5	18,2	6,1
Ostatní služby	18,8	6,2	18,0	6,1
Jiné	9,0	3,0	10,4	3,5
Celkem	303,3	100,0	296,6	100,0

Zdroj: ČSÚ a vlastní výpočty

Po výpočtu koeficientu lokalizace pro jednotlivá odvětví v Jihočeském kraji členěná dle OKEČ do sekcí, vyšla hodnota LQ vyšší než 1 pro osm odvětví a dokonce pro pět odvětví větší než 1,20. Můžeme tedy předpokládat, že se jedná o odvětví, která mohou tvořit základ klastru. Tabulka č.3 ukazuje přehled odvětví s počtem zaměstnanců, firem a vypočteným ukazatelem LQ. Nejvíce firem a tedy i nejvyšší zaměstnanost vykazuje odvětví zpracovatelský průmysl. Vysoká hodnota LQ vyšla pro odvětví rybolov (9,64).

**Tabulka č. 3: Vybrané ukazatele odvětví Jihočeského kraje za rok 2004**

Odvětví	Zaměstnanost (v tis. obyv.)	Počet firem	LQ
<b>Zemědělství, myslivost a souv. činnost</b>	11 273	205	2,15
<b>Lesnictví a související činnosti</b>	2 309	19	2,18
<b>Rybolov, chov ryb a souv. činnost</b>	700	11	9,64
<b>Zpracovatelský průmysl</b>	63 974	491	1,24
<b>Výroba a rozvod elektřiny, plynu a vody</b>	4 066	25	1,33
<b>Stavebnictví</b>	8 935	162	1,11
<b>Obchod, opr. motor. vozidel a spotřeb. zboží</b>	9 312	151	0,70
<b>Ubytování a stravování</b>	1 469	43	0,61
<b>Doprava, skladování a spoje</b>	6 339	56	0,49
<b>Finanční zprostředkování</b>	374	46	0,12
<b>Nemovitost a pronájem, podnik. činnosti</b>	7 128	124	0,70
Odvětví	Zaměstnanost (v tis. obyv.)	Počet firem	LQ
<b>Vzdělávání</b>	17 087	564	1,18
<b>Zdravotní a soc. péče, veterinární činnosti</b>	12 541	116	1,12
<b>Ostatní služby</b>	4 924	315	0,89
<b>Celkem</b>	159 202	2 730	x

*Zdroj: ČSÚ a vlastní výpočty*

Problémem analýzy založené na výpočtu koeficientu lokalizace je však dostupnost relevantních dat. K dispozici jsou většinou data o regionální zaměstnanosti za první dvě místa OKEČ, pro detailnější analýzu klastrů by však byly potřebnější podrobnější údaje pro 4 až 5 místo OKEČ.

Pro výběr odvětví do potenciálního klastru byly stanoveny následující kritéria: LQ vyšší než 1,2 a hranice počtu zaměstnaných 500 a zaměření se na podniky primárního a sekundárního sektoru.

Podle rozboru statistických dat zaměstnanosti (LQ a počtu zaměstnaných) bylo identifikováno zhruba 7 klastrů, kde vybraná odvětví spravují více než 42 % pracovních míst v JK. Nejvyšší hodnotu LQ vykazuje odvětví Rybolov (hodnota téměř 10). Odvětví uvedena v tabulce č. 4 samozřejmě netvoří celý klaster, pouze základ pro vytvoření potenciálního klastru. Vybraná odvětví by zasluhovaly podrobnější analýzu. Klaster nemusí tvořit jen jedno odvětví, ale mohou v něm spolupracovat další odvětví.

**Tabulka č. 4: Potenciální klastry v Jihočeském kraji – údaje za rok 2004**

Klastr	Odvětví	LQ	Zaměstnanost	Počet firem
<b>Rybolov</b>	Rybolov, chov ryb	9,64	700	11
<b>Dřevo, nábytek, papír</b>	Lesnictví a souv. čin.	2,18	2 309	19
	Výroba dřevař.v.kr.nábytku	2,54	3 393	57
	Výroba nábytku, zprac.pr.jn.	2,27	5 740	54
	Výroba vlákniny, papíru	1,92	1 962	13
<b>Zemědělství</b>	Zemědělství, myslivost a souv. čin.	2,15	11 273	205
	Výroba potravin a nápojů	1,68	9 605	67
<b>Průmyslová zařízení</b>	Výr., opravy strojů, zař.	1,33	8 968	71
	Výr. zdrav.přístr.a hod.	1,39	1 439	13
	Výr.el.strojů, zaříz. j. n	1,18	5 140	29
<b>Textil a oděvy</b>	Výr. oděvů, zprac. kož.	1,62	2 165	25
	Výr. textilií, text. výr.	1,08	2 504	21
<b>Elektřina, plyn</b>	Výroba a rozvod el., plynu	1,33	4 066	25
<b>Výstavba</b>	Stavebnictví	1,11	8 935	162
<b>Celkem</b>			<b>68 199</b>	<b>772</b>

*Zdroj: ČSÚ a vlastní výpočty*

Po této počáteční fázi analýzy by měla následovat hlubší část a to doplnění kvalitativními charakteristikami formou dotazníků, jednání a diskuzí s firmami a institucemi, které se mohou podílet a spolupracovat na vytvoření a rozvoji klastrů.

### **Závěr**

V současné době je při strategickém řízení regionů preferován ve větší míře rozvoj malých a středních podniků. Důraz je kladen zejména na zvyšování jejich inovační schopností, např. prostřednictvím klastrů. Jedním ze základních ukazatelů hodnotících možnost jejich vytvoření je tzv. LQ koeficient.

V Jihočeském kraji se jeví pro vytvoření klastru podle tohoto ukazatele jako nejvýhodnější odvětví rybolov, lesnictví a zpracování dřeva. LQ však představuje pouze vstupní ukazatel a pro upřesnění je nutné analyzovat celkovou situaci v regionu, institucionální zabezpečení, zastoupení vědeckotechnických parků, vzdělávacích a dalších organizací, zabývajících se rozvojem a inovací firem. Uvedené hodnocení je však nad rámec tohoto příspěvku.

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# **Spolupráce venkovských obcí - zkušenosti a výhledy**

## **Cooperation of Rural Municipalities - Experiences and Prospects**

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### **Klíčová slova**

spolupráce obcí, slučování malých obcí, legislativní změny, velikost

### **Abstrakt**

V České republice se diskuse o optimální velikosti místní správy často zjednodušuje na otázku „slučovat či neslučovat (malé) obce“. Převážná většina představitelů malých obcí slučování odmítá, oceňuje autonomii svých obcí a odolává ekonomickým argumentům i tlaku. Naopak spolupráce obcí na dobrovolné fázi je přijímána bez obav a během zhruba desíti let existence svazků obcí různého typu získali zúčastnění řadu zkušeností a dosáhli nejednoho cíle. Nové výzvy před svazky obcí kladou různá opatření, legislativní změny a finanční incentivy spojené s reformou veřejné správy. Příspěvek představí na základě empirických šetření zkušenosti zejména malých venkovských obcí s fungováním dobrovolných svazků obcí a na pozadí analýzy připravovaných legislativních změn také výzvy, kterým je spolupráce obcí v současnosti vystavena.

### **Key words**

cooperation of municipalities; merging of small municipalities; size; changes in legislatures

### **Abstract**

There is an extreme territorial fragmentation in the Czech Republic with high proportion of very small municipalities which not even under the economic pressure do not want to give up their autonomy and to merge with others. They prefer to cooperate with each other to solve common problems. So called micro-regions includes associations with two to several tens of municipalities and with some hundreds to more than hundred thousands inhabitants. New ministerial proposal of Act on Municipalities amendment plans to support only cooperation of smaller municipalities fulfilling a set of requirements. The proposal introduces new model of cooperation of municipalities aimed to improve financial resources of small municipalities. However, preconditions of this model could bring new problems for many localities that are analysed in this paper based on findings of different researches focused on present-day form of voluntary association of municipalities.

## Spolupráce venkovských obcí – zkušenosti a výhledy<sup>225</sup>

### Úvod

Česká republika má rozdrobenou sídelní strukturu, což podstatně ovlivňuje podobu obecní samosprávy, neboť jednotlivá sídla se ve velké míře shodují s politickými obcemi. Podílem malých obcí se Česká republika přibližuje evropskému extrému – Francii. Navíc po roce 1989 došlo, podobně jako v jiných zemích, k další fragmentaci dříve násilně slučovaných obcí. Opačným příkladem je Polsko, které se teritoriální organizací blíží skandinávským zemím. Tyto země spolu s Velkou Británií v minulosti provedly rozsáhlou územně-správní integraci a proto v nich nalezneme v průměru mnohem větší obce než na jihu Evropy (Illner, 1992).

**Tabulka č. 1: Velikost samosprávných obcí ve vybraných zemích**

(průměry a % údaje jsou zaokrouhleny)

Země	Průměrný počet obyvatel	Průměrná rozloha v km <sup>2</sup>	Počet obcí	
			v roce 1988	v roce 1991
<b>Česká republika</b>	1 800	14	4 104	5 768
Slovensko	1 850	17	2 269	2 835
Maďarsko	33 00	30	1 364	3 313
Polsko	15 000	129	2 383	2 419
Anglie	123 000	533	365	
Švédsko	29 500	1595	282	
Dánsko	18 000	156	276	
Norsko	9 000	713	454	
Francie	1 300	15	36 000	

Zdroj: Baldersheim et al. (1996, s. 25) a Horváth (2000, s. 43)

Velikost správních jednotek patří při srovnávání systémů místní správy mezi nejčastěji diskutované proměnné. Autoři jako Baldersheim a Illner (1996) či Swianiewicz (2003) přibližují různá teoretická východiska, která předkládají argumenty pro a proti malým či naopak velkým samosprávným celkům. Diskuse o optimální velikosti místní samosprávy se obvykle točí kolem otázek ekonomické efektivity, podmínek místní demokracie, distribuce služeb a daňového zatížení a ekonomického rozvoje (Keating, 1995, Widemannová, 2002). Zastánci takzvaného „reformního hnutí“ (Ostrom, 1973, Mouritzen, 1989) podporují spíše spojování obcí do větších celků, naopak teorie veřejné volby nebo advokáti lokalismu argumentují ve prospěch menších obcí. V České republice se zmíněná diskuse často zjednodušuje na otázku „slučovat či neslučovat (malé) obce“.

<sup>225</sup> Tento příspěvek vznikl v rámci projektu *Proměny lokálních politických elit na vesnici a malém městě*, reg. č. 403/03/D241, podporovaného Grantovou agenturou ČR v sekci POST-DOC grantů, a v souvislosti s *Výzkumem zavádění managementu rozvoje jako nástroje zvyšování absorpční kapacity a úspor finančních prostředků v mikroregionech* (řešitel CpkP střední Morava), který v rámci programu Výzkum pro potřeby regionů podpořilo Ministerstvo pro místní rozvoj ČR.

**Tabulka č. 2: Obce České republiky podle velikosti**

	Česká republika (1994)			
	počet obcí	% ze všech	% obyvatel	kumulativní %
0-999	4 975	79,8	16,7	16,7
<b>1 000-1 999</b>	646	10,4	8,6	25,3
2 000-4 999	345	5,5	10,2	35,5
5 000-9 999	135	2,2	9,0	44,5
10 000-19 999	66	1,1	9,0	53,5
20 000-49 999	42	0,7	11,8	65,3
50 000-99 999	17	0,3	11,3	76,6
100 000+	7	0,4	34,7	100,0
Celkový počet	6 230	100,0	10 334 000	100,0

Zdroj: Lacina a Vajdová (2000, s. 290) (upraveno)

V roce 1997 proběhl v rámci projektu *Local Democracy and Innovation* mezinárodní výzkum, v kterém se výzkumníci ptali slovenských, polských a českých starostů mj. na jejich postoje ke slučování obcí<sup>226</sup> a důsledky, které by taková změna přinesla. Na obecné rovině neviděla na spojování obcí nic dobrého většina starostů ze všech tří zemí, častěji pak starostové menších obcí a s nižším vzděláním. Argumenty reformní teorie, která spojování malých obcí podporuje, dokázali v celku pozitivně ocenit jen starostové z Polska.

V České republice považovala sloučení se sousedními obcemi za dobrý návrh většina představitelů měst s 50 a více tisíci obyvateli, jednoznačně za špatný pak velká část starostů obcí do 2 tisíc obyvatel (Vajdová, 1997, s. 3-4). Zastánci sloučení považovali za nejpodstatnější důsledek „efektivitu zajištění služeb“, kterou na prvním místě z jedenácti položek uvedlo 41 % z nich. Dvě třetiny zastánců byly přitom přesvědčeny o zvýšení této efektivity. Výběr nejdůležitějšího dopadu u těch, co sloučení nepovažovali za dobrý nápad, bylo rozptýlenější. „Konflikt mezi částmi obce“ vybralo 23 %, „podmínky pro místní demokracii“ 15 % a „efektivitu zajištění služeb“ 14 % z nich. Odpůrci sloučení vyjadřovali spíše obavy ze zhoršení situace a to i v případě efektivity zajištění služeb, jak to ukazuje následující tabulka.

**Tabulka č. 3: Očekávaný vývoj v oblasti efektivity zajištění služeb v závislosti na postoji ke sloučení obcí (uvnitř tabulky řádková procenta, zaokrouhleno)**

Sloučení obcí	Efektivita služeb			četnost	
	zlepšení	žádná změna	zhoršení	absolutní	relativní
dobrý nápad	<b>67</b>	18	15	115	25
nezajímavé	24	37	39	97	21
špatný nápad	21	33	<b>46</b>	242	53
absolutní četnost	150	138	166	454	
relativní četnost	33	30	37		100

Zdroj dat: Soubor z výzkumu *Starostové obcí a měst v sedmém roce samosprávy – ČR 1997* poskytnutý Sociologickým datovým archivem, vlastní výpočet.

Otázka slučování obcí ve spojení s efektivitou se objevila také ve výzkumu *Politici představitelé evropských měst z roku 2003*, který se zaměřil na starosty a starostky obcí a městských částí s nejméně deseti tisíci obyvateli. S výrokem „malé obce by se měly slučovat,

<sup>226</sup> Šlo o otázku: „Představte si situaci, kdy úřady navrhnou sloučení města (obce), kde jste v současnosti starostou, s jednou nebo několika sousedními městy (obcemi). Takový návrh by podle Vás byl velmi dobrý, dobrý, špatný, anebo velmi špatný? Nebo by Vás takový návrh příliš nezajímal?“ Podrobnosti k výzkumu, jehož česká část nesla název *Starostové obcí a měst v sedmém roce samosprávy*, viz Vajdová (1997) či Illner (2001).

aby se zvýšila jejich efektivita“ souhlasilo 60 % respondentů, 18 % nesouhlasilo, ostatní zvolili střední variantu (Vajdová, Illner 2004). Naopak více než tři čtvrtiny představitelů obcí do dvou tisíc obyvatel, kteří se ve stejném roce účastnili výzkumu *Současný venkov*, by připojení k jiné obci neuvítali a počítají i nadále se samostatností obce (Pavlíková 2003). Se slučováním obcí tak souhlasí ti, kterých by se nedotklo. Naopak představitelé „postižených“ obcí se většinou takovým vyhlídkám brání. Jedna strana argumentuje ekonomickou efektivitou, druhá se brání odkazem na Ústavou zaručená práva obcí a jejich orgánů. Vzácně vyrovnaný pohled zaujala Marie Widemannová v textu zpracovávajícím evropskou diskusi na toto téma: „O nutnosti slučování obcí tedy nelze přesvědčit na základě objektivních zjištění, zejména pokud jedním z faktorů je také spokojenost občanů, proto jde o otázku politickou, a to získání zejména hospodářských a sociálních argumentů pro optimální velikost spolu se zajištěním účasti občanů v demokratickém řízení obce“ (Widemannová, 2002).<sup>227</sup>

### **Spolupráce obcí - analýza mikroregionů**

Studium dobrovolných svazků obcí, tzv. mikroregionů stěžuje nedostupnost úplných a přesných údajů. Různé databáze<sup>228</sup> se liší i v tak základních údajích, jakým je počet obcí ve svazku.<sup>229</sup> V tomto textu prezentuji výsledky šetření mikroregionů v Olomoucké a Zlínském kraji<sup>230</sup> společně s dalšími veřejně dostupnými údaji o mikroregionech. Tyto informace konfrontuji s údaji z návrhu věcného záměru novely zákona o obcích, v němž Ministerstvo vnitra ČR navrhuje vytvoření nového typu spolupráce obcí, tzv. společenství obcí.<sup>231</sup> Základní údaje přibližuje následující tabulka. Celkové počty jsou poněkud podhodnoceny, neboť databáze z Jihomoravského kraje je závislá na informacích dodaných představiteli mikroregionů, v případě Olomouckého a Zlínského kraje byli ze šetření některé svazky obcí vyloučeny a s některými se nepodařilo navázat kontakt (viz poznámky ke zdrojům dat).

<sup>227</sup> Otázkou je, zda není sloučení na místě např. v těch obcích, v nichž není při obecních volbách zvoleno zastupitelstvo proto, že nebyla podána žádná kandidátní listina. V roce 2002 šlo o několik desítek většinou velmi malých obcí (cca v rozmezí 50 až 500 obyvatel). Kde by jinde mělo začít slučování samosprávných obcí než tam, kde se nenajdou občané ochotní podílet se na demokratickém řízení obce?

<sup>228</sup> Na internetu lze nalézt jak centrální seznamy (např. portál Programu pro obnovu venkova <http://www.isu.cz/ukazatele/index.asp> či webové stránky regionálních informačních systémů <http://www.risy.cz/mikroregiony/>), tak seznamy pořizované jednotlivými kraji (např. <http://mikroregiony.kr-jihomoravsky.cz>). Jihomoravský kraj vydal ve spolupráci s Ústavem územního rozvoje a Českým statistickým úřadem také tištěnou verzi katalogu mikroregionů (Katalog 2005).

<sup>229</sup> O obtížích při zkoumání mikroregionů referovala na mezinárodním workshopu „Modernizace veřejné správy v ČR a v Evropě“, který ve dnech 22.-23.11. 2005 pořádal Ústav státu a práva AV ČR, také Zdenka Vajdová ze Sociologického ústavu AV ČR. Viz také výstup z projektu *Spolupráce obcí - prvek lokální demokracie a efektivní nástroj samosprávy* (GA ČR 403/04/0593), v jehož rámci se autorka obracela na představitele mikroregionů prostřednictvím internetu (Vajdová, Čermák 2006).

<sup>230</sup> Šetření probíhalo jako součást projektu *Výzkum zavádění managementu rozvoje jako nástroje zvyšování absorpční kapacity a úspor finančních prostředků v mikroregionech* podpořeného Ministerstvem pro místní rozvoj v rámci Výzkumu pro potřeby regionů. Viz Škrabal, Ryšavý a kol. (2005).

<sup>231</sup> Viz [http://www.mvcr.cz/odbor/reforma/pracsk\\_1.html](http://www.mvcr.cz/odbor/reforma/pracsk_1.html) (navštíveno 20.9.05) nebo příloha časopisu *Veřejná správa* 15/2005.

**Tabulka č. 4: Základní údaje o mikroregionech třech moravských krajů (počty obyvatel a průměry jsou zaokrouhleny)**

Kraj	Počet svazků obcí	Počet obcí v mikroregionech			Počet obyvatel v mikroregionu		
		minimální	maximální	průměrný	minimální	maximální	průměrný
Jihomor.	58	3	42	10	1 200	55 500	10 500
Zlínský	19	7	30	15	6 000	70 000	25 200
Olomouc	36	1 <sup>232</sup>	30	13	750	130 000	19 100
MV ČR	474	2	47	11	neuveden	262 800	13 300

*Zdroje dat: Jihomoravský kraj – seznam vedený na internetových stránkách kraje<sup>233</sup>; Zlínský a Olomoucký kraj – Škrabal, Ryšavý (2005)<sup>234</sup>; MV ČR – Návrh věcného záměru novely zákona o obcích (část A), bod 1).*

Porovnáme-li údaje z tabulky s materiálem ministerstva, zjistíme, že tabulka zahrnuje asi čtvrtinu všech ministerstvem registrovaných svazků obcí. Jihomoravské mikroregiony jsou oproti celorepublikovému průměru menší, olomoucké a zejména zlínské pak větší a to jak co do počtu obyvatel, tak počtu obcí ve svazku. Zřetelná je velká variabilita v obou ukazatelích jak uvnitř jednotlivých krajů (široké pásmo mezi minimem a maximem), tak i mezi kraji (rozdíly v průměrech). Podrobněji tuto variabilitu ukazuje tabulka č. 5.

**Tabulka č. 5: Počty a podíly mikroregionů podle jejich velikosti**

Počet obyvatel	-10 000	10 001-20 000	> 20 000	10 - 20 tisíc	medián
JM kraj	39	11	8	19 %	7 500
ZL kraj	4	5	10	26 %	21 000
OL kraj	15	11	10	31 %	11 800

Dle návrhu věcného záměru novelizace zákona o obcích by ministerstvo rádo podpořilo vznik společenství obcí zhruba v rozmezí 10 - 20 tisíc obyvatel.<sup>235</sup> Při určení ideální velikosti modelovaného společenství se návrh řídí především průměrným počtem obyvatel ve stávajících mikroregionech, nepřehlíží však k rozmanité velikostní struktuře. Z hodnot mediánu plyne, že ve Zlínském kraji polovina mikroregionů přesahuje horní hranici, kterou chce návrh podporovat, v Jihomoravském kraji naopak polovina mikroregionu nedosahuje ani minimální úrovně. V rozmezí 10 - 20 tisíc obyvatel se pohybuje přibližně jen pětina jihomoravských, čtvrtina zlínských a třetina olomouckých mikroregionů. S výjimkou Zlínského kraje se přitom podíl mikroregionů do 20 tisíc obyvatel příliš nevzdaluje celorepublikové hodnotě. Z uvedeného je zřejmé, že by muselo dojít k poměrně zásadním změnám, pokud by se současné dobrovolné svazky měly transformovat do podoby, která by odpovídala limitům navrhovaným pro společenství obcí. U větších svazků by např. mohlo jít o vyloučení obcí s více než dvaceti tisíci obyvateli, kterým by podle návrhu věcného záměru

<sup>232</sup> Seznamy zahrnují i mikroregion Přerovsko, ačkoliv zahrnuje pouze město Přerov. Proto je v závorce uveden i druhý nejnížší počet obcí.

<sup>233</sup> V databázi je vedeno 61 mikroregionů, u třech chybí údaje o počtu obyvatel (Kuřimka, Deblín a Hodonínsko), viz <http://mikroregiony.kr-jihomoravsky.cz> (navštíveno 19.9.2005).

<sup>234</sup> Z šetření byly vyloučeny mikroregiony, pro něž jediným důvodem existence byl společný postup v některé infrastrukturní investiční akci (všech deset v Olomouckém kraji), přibližně o deseti dalších většinou ze Zlínského kraje se nepodařilo získat potřebné informace. Mikroregion Morkovsko je započítán pouze do Zlínského kraje, ačkoliv některé z obcí náleží k Olomouckému kraji. Blíže k výběru viz Škrabal, Ryšavý (2005, s. 6-10).

<sup>235</sup> Návrh nejprve uvažuje o velikosti 15-20 tisíc a později je doporučována podpora 10-15 tisícových společenství. Zde uvažují o spojení obou variant do širšího pásma.

novely mělo být zabráněno ve vstupu do společenství obcí. V praxi je však těžko představitelné, jak by se choval region Hranicko bez Hranic, Otrokovicko bez Otrokovic atp.

Přinejmenším jeden typ mikroregionů je úzce svázán se svým centrem, které mu také dává jméno. Obvykle se jedná o mikroregiony, které zahrnují věnec menších obcí obklopujících spádové centrum – větší nebo nějakým způsobem významnější město. Jiný typ svazků obcí svým pojmenováním charakterizuje celou oblast. Jeho název připomíná například významný přírodní prvek (Za Moravú, Pobečví, Jižní Valašsko, Podchřibí) nebo třeba historické pojítka (Panství hradu Veveří, Mohyla míru). Tento typ mikroregionů zahrnuje spíše větší počet obcí přibližně stejné velikosti nebo významu. Dva zmíněné typy lze od sebe odlišit jednoduchým indexem, který dostaneme vydělením velikosti největší a druhé největší obce mikroregionu.<sup>236</sup> Následující tabulka ukazuje souvislost mezi indexem centrality a velikostí mikroregionu v mikroregionech Olomouckého a Zlínského kraje.<sup>237</sup>

**Tabulka č. 6: Index centrality podle velikostních kategorií mikroregionů**

Index centrality	Počet obyvatel mikroregionu				Název dle největší obce
	-10 000	10 001-20 000	> 20 000	Celkem	
do 2 včetně	16	11	3	30	5
větší než 2	3	5	16	24	20
Celkem	19	16	19	54	

První z popsaných typů mikroregionů (index větší než 2) má obvykle více než 20 tisíc obyvatel a z velké části je pojmenován podle největší z obcí. Druhý typ spadá nejčastěji mezi nejmenší mikroregiony do 10 tisíc obyvatel a jen zřídka bývá nazýván podle největší obce. Žel rozmezí návrhem modelovaných společenství obcí pokrývá spíše prostor „mezi“ těchto dvou typů mikroregionů, čímž se vzdaluje od současné podoby dobrovolných svazků.

### Ústup od dobrovolnosti a vytyčování hranic

Snad ještě větší výzvou pro současnou podobu dobrovolných svazků obcí je požadavek „respektování obvodů obcí s rozšířenou působností při územním vymezení společenství obcí“ (Návrh, část C), bod 1.1). Tento nárok je pochopitelný z hlediska státní správy (a její přenesené působnosti), méně už z pohledu spolupráce samosprávných obcí, jejímž základním rysem je dobrovolnost neřídící se hranicemi území pověřených obcí či jinými hranicemi.<sup>238</sup> Pokud by měla být naplněna i výše zmíněná kritéria velikosti společenství, vede podmínka dodržovat hranice obvodů tzv. trojkových obcí ke stěží řešitelným konfliktům. Za prvé jsou obce s rozšířenou působností *de facto* návrhem děleny do dvou skupin podle velikosti. Obce s rozšířenou působností do 20 tisíc obyvatel mohou být součástí společenství, větší obce nikoli.<sup>239</sup> Za druhé vyloučením centrální obce ze společenství dojde přinejmenším v některých případech k rozdělení území na několik nesouvisejících částí a to je další z překážek vytvoření společenství.<sup>240</sup>

<sup>236</sup> V mikroregionu s indexem dvě má největší obec dvojnásobný počet obyvatel oproti druhé v pořadí.

<sup>237</sup> Maximální hodnotu indexu najdeme v Olomouckém kraji u Olomoucka (hodnota 31), ve Zlínském kraji to bylo Holešovsko a Vsetínsko (cca 10). Vynechán je mikroregion Přerovsko, neboť jde o jedinou obec.

<sup>238</sup> Dobrovolnost, pestrost a nejednotnost mikroregionů vysoce ocenil např. Bohuslav Blažek (2004).

<sup>239</sup> Z třinácti pověřených obcí jich více než 20 tisíc obyvatel má pět ve Zlínském a čtyři v Olomouckém kraji. V Jihomoravském kraji jde o šest obcí z jednadvaceti pověřených.

<sup>240</sup> Dobrým příkladem je stávající mikroregion Valašskomeziříčsko-Kelečsko ([www.meziricsko.cz](http://www.meziricsko.cz)), které kopíruje správní obvod pověřené obce Valašské Meziříčí. Do podporovaného rozmezí 10 až 20 tisíc obyvatel by se mikroregion „vešel“ po vynechání Valašského Meziříčí. V takovém případě by ovšem od území zbylého

## Komu slouží plány rozvoje?<sup>241</sup>

Většina dobrovolných svazků obcí v minulosti přijala strategické plány, část z nich tyto dokumenty v pozdější době aktualizovala.<sup>242</sup> Z šetření v Olomouckém a Zlínském kraji vyplývá, že většině svazků obcí pomohly financovat zpracování plánů rozvoje dotace, nejčastěji byl zmiňován Program obnovy venkova. Tento program novelizovaný usnesením vlády (č. 730 z 11.11. 1998) po mikroregionech vyžadoval, aby vytvořily strategické plány, pokud budou chtít získávat dotace. Návrh věcného záměru novely zákona o obcích postupuje obdobně a proto jej mohou potkat stejné problémy.<sup>243</sup> Část představitelů mikroregionů v rozhovorech vyjádřila názor, že strategie zpracované „jen kvůli dotacím“ nepostihovaly hlavní problémy obcí nebo ne v dostatečné míře. Pochybnosti o smysluplnosti se promítaly také do odpovědí na otázku, zda strategie rozvoje splnila očekávání, která do ní byla vložena.

**Tabulka 7: Spokojenost se strategiemi rozvoje mikroregionů**

Splnila strategie očekávání?	Četnost	Podíl v % (zaokrouhleno)
Ano	25	47
Ano i ne, částečně	4	8
Ne	16	30
Ani ano, ani ne; neuvedeno	4	8
Bez očekávání	4	8

*Zdroj: Škrabal, Ryšavý (2005, s. 22)*

Celkově mírně převažovali spokojení spolu s částečně spokojenými, nelze však přehlédnout ani třetinu nespokojených. K čemu ale vytvářet strategii rozvoje mikroregionu, když ji po letech někdo zhodnotí slovy „nic jsme do ní nevládali“? Pokud se už na začátku lišila očekávání, neslučují kategorie „ano“ a „ne“ navzájem nesourodé odpovědi? Vždyť nespokojenost pro jedny vyplývala z toho, že realizace projektů vážne. Jiní považovali strategický plán pouze za formální dokument či dokonce za „snůšku snů, soupis všeho, koho co napadlo“.

Jak zabránit tomu, aby se povinná tvorba programů hospodářského a sociálního rozvoje nových společenství obcí nestala jen další vítanou příležitostí pro firmy zabývající se tvorbou těchto strategických dokumentů, ale přinesla své ovoce zúčastněným obcím? Částečnou odpověď nabízí souvislosti odhalené při výzkumu ve dvou zmíněných krajích. Představitelé mikroregionů byli mnohem častěji spokojeni s těmi strategiemi rozvoje, které měly specifikován časový plán. Jako vhodná se jevila kombinace krátkodobého, střednědobého a dlouhodobého výhledu, která překračuje čtyřleté funkční období reprezentantů jednotlivých obcí. Vyšší spokojenost byla také nalezena v mikroregionech, v nichž byly strategické dokumenty v přípravné fázi široce konzultovány a to nejen se starosty či jinými představiteli

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společenství zůstaly ve východní části izolovány tři obce (Zašová, Střítež nad Bečvou a Velká Lhota, úhrnem cca 4 000 obyvatel), které by sami při snaze vytvořit společenství obcí nedosáhli ani spodní podporované hranice 10 tisíc obyvatel. Blíže viz Ryšavý (2005).

<sup>241</sup> V této části práce velmi podstatně čerpám z části studie Škrabal, Ryšavý (2005, s. 19-24). Strategické plány rozvoje podrobil kritické analýze Perlín (2006).

<sup>242</sup> Výjimku tvoří svazky obcí zaměřené na realizaci jediné investiční akce (vodovodu, plynofikace atp.), které často plán rozvoje nezpracovávaly.

<sup>243</sup> „Základní povinností společenství obcí bude vypracovat a schválit program hospodářského a sociálního rozvoje. Projednání a schválení tohoto programu přísluší shromáždění zástupců... Program se zpracovává na dobu nejméně čtyř let. Schválený program hospodářského a sociálního rozvoje společenství je jednou z podmínek, která musí být splněna při předkládání projektů spolufinancování „z národních programů“ i ze strukturálních fondů...“ (Návrh, část C), bod 1.3)



obcí, ale také podnikateli, zemědělci, zástupci nestátních neziskových organizací atd. Nejsložitější je obvykle zahrnout do projednávání strategií samotnou veřejnost, obyvatele mikroregionů.

## Závěr

Představitelé venkovských obcí ve své většině odmítají slučování malých samosprávných obcí. Naopak bez obav přistupují ke spolupráci na dobrovolné fázi, s níž během posledních let získal zkušenost stále rostoucí počet obcí. V této studii konfrontuji výsledky výzkumů, tzv. mikroregionů s návrhem věcného záměru novely zákona o obcích, v němž ministerstvo vnitra předkládá nový typ spolupráce v tzv. společenstvích obcí. Tento legislativní návrh vychází z velmi povrchní analýzy struktury a fungování současných dobrovolných svazků obcí. Jeho realizace by např. v oblasti strategického plánování mohla vést k chybám, jimž se v minulých letech řada dobrovolných svazků nevyhnula a snaží se z nich dnes poučit. Navrhovaný model společenství obcí může místně pomoci řešit ekonomické problémy malých obcí, ale zároveň řadě jiných obcí svazujícími podmínkami dále omezí možnosti spolupráce. Sám se tak při realizaci snadno stane nejen nástrojem vyrovnávání rozdílů, ale také příčinou vytváření nových nerovností. V úhrnu tak může být zpochybněno i klíčové kritérium navrhovaných změn, kterým je efektivita využití ekonomických a lidských zdrojů na venkově.

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# **Nové trendy ve využívání venkovského prostoru v ČR a v jiných středoevropských zemích**

## **New Trends of the Contemporary Development of the Countryside in the Czech Republic and in Other Middle European Countries**

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### **Klíčová slova**

vymezení venkova, hlavní rysy vývoje venkovského prostoru v současné době, diferenciací venkova a obyvatelstva žijícího ve venkovských sídlech, rozdílnost zájmů a priorit hlavních sociálních skupin na venkově trvale žijících a těch, kteří na venkově jen pobývají, role zemědělských velkofarek z hlediska jejich vztahu k přeměnám venkovských sídel a krajiny, role veřejné správy v péči o udržitelný rozvoj venkovského prostoru

### **Abstrakt**

V současné době probíhají ve venkovském prostoru v ČR i v dalších postsocialistických evropských zemích zásadní změny v utváření sídel i krajiny. Venkov se výrazně diferencuje na národní, regionální i lokální úrovni, což se odráží ve změnách struktury obyvatelstva i v utváření sídel a krajiny.

Zatímco pro okrajová území v dopravně nepříznivé poloze je charakteristický útlum, v zázemí velkých měst probíhá spontánní až chaotický stavební ruch.

Populace venkovských sídel se skládá jak z trvale bydlících obyvatel, k nimž patří jednak „starousedlíci“, jednak nově přistěhovalí obyvatelé, tak z početné vrstvy lidí, využívajících venkov pro rekreační pobyty.

Tyto tři skupiny obyvatel mají často rozdílné zájmy a priority co do využití a utváření sídel a krajiny a jejich složek.

Na utváření venkovské krajiny mají výrazný vliv velké zemědělské farmy o průměrné výměře cca 1 000 ha zemědělské půdy. Tyto podniky hospodaří převážně na půdě pronajaté od drobných vlastníků za poměrně nízké nájemné. Farmáři a manažeři těchto velkofarek nejsou zatím motivováni k péči o krajinu a sídla.

Veřejná správa na lokální úrovni je rozdrobená, což omezuje její možnost účinně koordinovat rozvoj venkova.

Vysoké školy společenského a zemědělského zaměření by měly ještě více než dosud přispívat k harmonickému rozvoji venkova, a to zejména výchovou odborníků schopných a ochotných působit ve prospěch udržitelného rozvoje venkova a také soustavným sledováním a vyhodnocováním probíhajících změn venkovských sídel a krajiny.

**Key words**

definition of the countryside, main features of the contemporary development of the rural space, diversity of the countryside and of the people living in the rural seats, the diversity of the interests and of the priorities of the main social groups living permanently or seasonally in the countryside, the big agricultural enterprises and their relations to the rural seats and the landscape, the structure and the role of the public administration, the mission of the universities from the point of view of the sustainable development of the rural space

## **Nové trendy ve využívání venkovského prostoru v ČR a v jiných středoevropských zemích**

### **Nástin hlavních soudobých tendencí vývoje venkovského prostoru v ČR**

Charakteristickou tendencí je v České republice v současné době pokles váhy venkovského prostoru jako místa pracoviště při současné stabilizaci až po posilování jeho role místa bydliště a také místa rekreace. Převážná část ekonomicky aktivních obyvatel dojíždí denně nebo na celý pracovní týden za prací z venkovských sídel do měst, při čemž se zvětšuje vzdálenost mezi místem bydliště a místem pracoviště a prodlužuje se čas, potřebný pro překonání této vzdálenosti.

**Zemědělství má v ČR i v jiných evropských (v tom i v sousedních postkomunistických zemích) nyní převážně „zaměstnaneckou“ povahu a je hlavním zdrojem příjmů jen relativně malé části venkovské populace.** Pro většinu obyvatel je už jen vedlejším nebo doplňkovým zdrojem obživy. Prohlubuje se disproporce mezi enormním počtem vlastníků zemědělské půdy a velmi malým počtem velkých zemědělských podniků - dominujících uživatelů zemědělské půdy.

**Z center velkých a středních měst se stěhují do suburbánních zón i do vzdálenějších, ale dopravně dobře situovaných sídel v atraktivním prostředí nejen méně majetné, zejména mladé rodiny, ale také příslušníci vyšší střední třídy.** Ti si někdy nechávají budovat na okraji vesnic a malých měst - a mnohdy i ve volné krajině - chaotické drúzy pompézních domů, (označovaných též jako „nové české baroko“), cizích charakteru krajiny i sídel.

Pro český venkov je více než v jiných středoevropských zemích charakteristickým rysem **velký počet objektů pobytové rekreace (cca 350 000 - kromě zahrádkářských objektů)** - rekreačních chat, rekreačních chalup a rekreačních domků, využívaných obyvateli měst, a to někdy i celoročně.

**Z hlediska vztahu k venkovskému prostoru, k jeho sídlům i volné krajině, lze obyvatelstvo venkova rozdělit do tří skupin - na trvale bydlící tj. „starousedlíky“ a nově přistěhovalé, převážně mladší obyvatele (nazývané často starousedlíky slovem „náplava“) a na venkově pobývajících rekreanty.** Všechny tři relativně velké skupiny obyvatel mají na utváření venkova značný vliv a často odlišný názor a mají i jiné priority. Usměrnění tohoto „trojího lidu“ je velmi náročným úkolem „atomizované“ veřejné správy, která ho zatím uspokojuje nezládá. **Na utváření venkovských sídel a krajiny však mají stále větší vliv také vlastníci zemědělských velkopodniků,** kteří obhospodařují převážnou část zemědělsky využívaných ploch.

Obtížnost usměrňování přeměn našeho venkova je znásobena nevyjasněným a zatím spíše technokratickým přístupem k jeho rozvoji a působením vnějších faktorů, ovlivňujících stále výrazněji přeměny našeho území včetně venkovského prostoru. Nepříznivým jevem je zejména **celkové zaostávání až úpadek některých venkovských území v periferní poloze a jejich chaotická suburbanizace v zázemí velkých měst. Venkovský prostor se stále více diferencuje – na celostátní, regionální i místní úrovni.**

Trvale bydlící i rekreačně na venkově pobývajících obyvatelé však mají také mnoho společných zájmů a obdobných požadavků na utváření sídel a krajiny. Tyto **společné zájmy lze uspokojovat jen při cílevědomé spolupráci, vzájemné toleranci a účelné koordinaci aktivit a chování všech, pro které je venkov životním prostorem.**

## Postavení venkovského prostoru v ČR a jeho charakteristické rysy

**Venkovský prostor zaujímá převážnou část území ČR.** Pokud bychom vycházeli z definice Evropské unie, podle které zahrnuje venkovský prostor všechna území s hustotou zalidnění do 100 obyvatel na čtvereční kilometr, připadalo by na venkovský prostor 92,4 % území a 76,2 % populace ČR, neboť by do něj spadaly všechny kraje (NUTS 3) kromě Prahy a Moravskoslezska.

Vezmeme-li za základ pro vymezení venkovského prostoru obce do 2 000 až 5 000 obyvatel, které se na celkovém počtu obcí podílejí 79 %, **představuje venkov 74,9 % rozlohy státu a žije v něm trvale přibližně třetina až dvě pětiny naší populace** (v r. 2001 žilo v obcích do 5 000 obyvatel 35,1 % obyvatel; kromě toho je nutno započítat také obyvatele malých obcí a sídel, administrativně začleněných k městům).

Z demografického hlediska se český venkov odlišuje od vývoje v mnoha jiných evropských zemích zatím relativní stabilitou až mírným růstem celkového počtu obyvatelstva. Obdobně jako v jiných evropských zemích, nejen střeoevropských, patří k příznačným rysům vývoje obyvatelstva na venkově **stárnutí populace**, což se projevuje také v poněkud nižším podílu obyvatelstva v produktivním věku na trvale bydlícím obyvatelstvu.

Kardinálním problémem rozvoje českého venkova je **nedostatek postačujícího počtu a širší palety pracovních míst v časoprostorově únosné dostupnosti**, zejména sofistikovanějších pracovních příležitostí pro mladé lidi se středoškolským až vysokoškolským vzděláním. Znevýhodnění jsou zvláště méně mobilní lidé v produktivním věku, především ženy s malými dětmi a starší a handicapovaní lidé žijící v malých, dopravně izolovaných sídlech.

Drastický pokles zaměstnanosti v zemědělství po r. 1989 nebyl na venkově nahrazen pracovními příležitostmi v jiných odvětvích. **Zemědělství má převážně zaměstnanecký charakter – ve struktuře zemědělských podniků dominují velkofarmy** – v r. 2004 obhospodařovaly podniky o průměrné výměře 925 ha 72,5 % zemědělské půdy.

**Příznačným rysem agrobusinessu je vlastnické oddělení a vzájemná rozpornost zájmů jeho jednotlivých složek:** zemědělská půda je dosud ve vlastnictví drobných a středních majitelů (jejichž počet je odhadován na 2 až 3 miliony), provozní, skladovací a technologické prostory a zařízení jsou ve vlastnictví soukromých podnikatelů nebo družstev, potravinářský průmysl stejně jako obchodní síť ovládají z velké části nadnárodní korporace.

Malá atraktivita práce na venkově je - kromě omezeného počtu a druhů pracovních příležitostí - snižována také **nízkou úrovní platů a mezd**, což platí zejména o zemědělství: v r. 2004 byla průměrná mzda v zemědělství o 28 % pod průměrem v národním hospodářství a reálná mzda v zemědělství byla oproti roku 1989 nižší o 11 %. Výrazně nižší mzdy jsou ve srovnání s městy vypláceny na venkově také v ostatních odvětvích.

Specifickým rysem ČR vůbec a českého venkova zvláště je **velmi malé zastoupení malých a středních podniků**, a to nejen v zemědělství, ale také v průmyslu, v řemeslech a v živnostech.

Nepříznivým rysem životních podmínek na venkově je **nízká úroveň technické infrastruktury** a s tím spojené obtíže zásobování venkovských obyvatel, zejména pokud jde o kvalitní pitnou vodu, odstraňování odpadních vod a také shromažďování, třídění a likvidaci tuhých komunálních odpadů. Palčivějším problémem je rovněž zaostávání venkova na úseku informační technologie, což platí také o **nízkém vybavení domácností počítačem a internetem**.

Nesporná kvalita venkovské krajiny a sídel a jejich atraktivita jako místa trvalého bydliště nebo rekreačního pobytu, znásobená také množstvím kulturních památek a chráněných

území, je negována **přibývajícím počtem opuštěných, devastovaných a pustnoucích rodinných domků a chalup a jejich okolí a také neobdělávaných a zaplevelených pozemků, zejména luk a pastvin, a křovinami zarůstajících pěšin a cest.**

Z hlediska dopravní obsluhy venkovského prostoru, propojení sídel s krajinou, venkovských sídel navzájem a dostupnosti měst do nichž se stále více koncentrují pracovní příležitosti - v průmyslu i ve službách a také zařízení sociální infrastruktury - je nepříznivým jevem velmi **špatný až kritický stav silnic III. třídy i ostatních místních komunikací – silnic, ulic a cest.**

Pozitivním rysem venkovské krajiny je **vysoké zastoupení ekologicky příznivých složek půdního fondu** (lesů, luk a pastvin, sadů a zahrad, vinic, vodních ploch) které se podílejí na celkové rozloze země 48 %. S tím kontrastuje jednak mnohdy poměrně špatný stav těchto kultur, jednak vysoký podíl zornění zemědělské půdy (na ornou půdu připadá 39,2 % rozlohy země, což představuje 72 % zemědělské půdy) a nízké zastoupení strukturálních krajinných prvků jako jsou stromořadí, aleje, pásy křovin aj.

**Charakteristickým rysem soustavy venkovských sídel je jejich poměrně rovnoměrné rozložení a převaha malých sídel. Její významnou předností však je zpravidla kompaktní zástavba a podstatně menší zastoupení rozvolněných forem osídlení** v podobě malých skupin nebo jednotlivých vysídlených dvorců, které jsou typickým jevem na venkově v jiných, v tom také západoevropských zemích. Problémem současného vývoje sídel venkovského typu v ČR je jednak rozvolňování jejich zástavby na úkor volné krajiny při výstavbě souborů nových rodinných domů, jednak již zmíněné chátrání některých nevyužívaných usedlostí a ploch uvnitř zastavěného území sídel.

Při srovnávání venkovského osídlení a systému veřejné správy v ČR se situací v jiných středoevropských zemích je patrné, že **v ČR je relativně (v přepočtu na plochu) podstatně méně sídel než je tomu v sousedních zemích, ale že ČR má ve srovnání s většinou jiných evropských zemí příliš atomizovanou veřejnou správu na lokální úrovni.** Zatímco je na území ČR přibližně jen 15 000 sídel, ale 6 248 obcí o průměrné velikosti 1 637 obyvatel, v Rakousku je více než 42 000 sídel, ale pouze 2 300 obcí o průměrném počtu cca 3 000 obyvatel a v SRN je celkem 16 040 obcí o průměrné velikosti cca 5 000 obyvatel, přičemž jen s samotným Bavorsku je více než 50 000 sídel.

## **Nástin charakteristiky hlavních skupin uživatelů venkovského prostoru**

### **1. Starousedlíci**

**Až dosud na venkově zpravidla početně převažují „starousedlíci“.** Jejich sepětí s daným územím vůbec a příslušným sídlem zvláště je odvozeno od dlouhodobého působení jejich rodin, případně dokonce několika generací jejich předků v místě, obci a regionu jejich současného trvalého pobytu.

**Kromě historických kořenů je k danému místu váže často také vlastnictví zemědělské usedlosti,** zahrnující obytný dům, hospodářské budovy (stodoly, kůlny, garáže, přístřešky, sklepy aj.), zahradu a předzahrádku, zemědělské nářadí a stroje a chov drobných zvířat (zejména drůbeže, králíků, prasete, ovcí aj.) určených pro vlastní potřebu, případně i pro přilepšení širší rodině včetně rodin dětí žijících už zpravidla někde jinde, nejčastěji v městě a pobývajících na usedlosti o víkendech a po část prázdnin.

Někdy dosud přetrvává soužití až tří generací žijících v jedné usedlosti, při čemž **mladší ekonomicky aktivní členové rodiny zpravidla vyjíždějí za prací mimo místo bydliště** nebo pracují v dílně, kanceláři, prodejně nebo jiné živnosti v rodné nebo sousední vesnici nebo městě.

**Starousedlíci zpravidla vlastní také zemědělskou půdu** začleněnou do půdních bloků obhospodařovaných v nájmu (v pachtu) některým zemědělským velkopodnikem na základě smlouvy uzavřené na 10 někdy jen na 5 let nebo výjimečně i na delší dobu. Roční nájem za pronajaté pozemky zpravidla osciluje kolem 500 až 1 000 Kč za jeden hektar.

V některých případech obhospodařují starousedlíci sami vlastní půdu, případně si připachtovávají další pozemky. Jejich usedlosti včetně zahrad skýtají mnohdy postačující prostorové podmínky pro obnovu nebo založení nezemědělských aktivit.

Rodiny těchto trvale bydlících a s daným místem nejvíce spjatých **obyvatel mají zájem především o ekonomickou stránku, dobrý stavební stav, úpravnost a vybavenost vlastní usedlosti** s důrazem zejména na její hospodářskou část včetně nezastavěných ploch (dvora, zahrady).

Zajímají se o dění v obci, a to někdy i zapojením do funkcí s cílem hájit své zájmy. Usilují především o zlepšování technické infrastruktury v místě bydliště, o dobré fungování dopravní obsluhy obce a také o dostatečnou nabídku dobře placených pracovních příležitostí a zařízení sociálního vybavení denní a časté potřeby v časoprostorově únosné vzdálenosti. Menší úsilí zpravidla věnují péči o pořádek v obci a pokud jde o volnou krajinu, za hlavní nedostatek považují špatný stav komunikací.

Od ostatních obyvatel vesnice či městečka očekávají respekt odpovídající dlouhodobému působení jejich rodin i jich samotných v daném místě. Velmi si zakládají na dobrých sousedských vztazích a zpravidla jsou ochotni přispět v nouzi radou i pomocí.

Jsou nositeli lidových tradic a zvyků a spočívá na nich zachování identity kraje a obce.

## **2. Nově přistěhovalí obyvatelé**

**Výhodou nově přistěhovalých obyvatel („náplavy“) je zpravidla jejich vzdělání a věk,** schopnost rychleji se orientovat v předpisech a legislativě vůbec, možnost využít kontaktů z míst předchozího i současného působení, znalost práce s počítačem včetně internetu **a větší mobilnost a adaptabilita.**

Důvodem jejich přistěhování do vesnice je nejčastěji potřeba získat vhodné podmínky pro bydlení, zejména při zakládání rodiny, při osamostatňování se po studiích a odchodu od rodičů apod., nebo přestěhování se do blízkosti svého nového pracoviště případně jiné důvody (zdravotní, podnikatelské aj.).

Snaží se bydlet moderně a účelně spojovat výhody zdravého prostředí na venkově s možností sledovat a využívat vymoženosti civilizačního pokroku a podle toho vybavit svůj byt či dům. **Nezastavěné plochy u domu věnují především pěstování okrasných stromů, keřů a květin a jen v malé míře také pěstování zeleniny a ovoce. Obvykle respektují zásady dobrého sousedského soužití a nenarušují klid a pořádek v sídle ani v krajině.**

**Zpravidla více chápou nutnost ovlivňovat kvalitu života v místě svého bydliště** tím, že se pokud možno osobně angažují v činnosti veřejné správy, případně neziskových a zájmových organizací nejen v obci, ale také na úrovni mikroregionu či kraje.

**Svémi znalostmi a kontakty mohou napomáhat prosadit zájmy obce při jednání s nadřízenými úřady, podnikateli a smluvními partnery.** Péčí o svůj byt a dům, jeho vybavením a estetickým ztvárněním jsou zpravidla následováním hodným příkladem ostatním obyvatelům a přispívají tím ke zlepšení vzhledu a pořádku v obci. Snaží se podporovat podnikání v obci.



Určité riziko pro jejich harmonické soužití se starousedlíky a ostatními obyvateli vesnice spočívá v přezíravém, povýšeneckém chování a vystupování, ke kterému však dochází jen výjimečně. Většinou vyjíždějí za prací do měst, někdy na značnou vzdálenost a vracejí se domů pozdě večer. Jsou proto alergičtí na hluk v blízkém okolí a mají pro podmínky venkova až nadměrné požadavky na respektování klidu ve večerních hodinách a v noci (ruší je štěkání psů, hlomoz motorových sekaček trávy a cirkulárek, hluk z restaurací a hospod, hlasité hovory poblíž jejich domu aj). Těmto jejich striktním požadavkům není na vesnici snadné vyhovět.

Složitá situace mnohdy nastane, když v krátké době získají přistěhovalci výraznou početní převahu a vytvoří uzavřené společenství, ovládnou zastupitelstvo a prosazují své zájmy na úkor ostatních obyvatel vesnice.

### **3. Pobytoví rekreanti, chalupáři, obyvatelé rekreačních domků a chat**

**Pobytoví rekreanti, chalupáři, obyvatelé rekreačních domků a chat jsou nesourodou skupinou, která se od předchozích dvou skupin značně liší.**

Odlišnost rekreantů nespočívá jen v sezónnosti jejich přítomnosti v katastru obce, ale také ve způsobu jejich života během pobytu v obci a v jejich malém ekonomickém a někdy i intelektuálním přínosu pro její rozvoj.

Rekreanti se neradi podílejí na činnosti obce, jen zřídka se účastní společných akcí a odmítají působit v orgánech obce či v zájmových a jiných organizacích. Vzhledem k tomu, že v obci neplatí daně, ale jen malé poplatky za služby, nejsou pro ni významným ekonomickým přínosem.

**Malý výnos z jejich pobytu je v kontrastu s jejich často neúměrnými nároky, kladenými na obec** v zájmu uspokojení jejich požadavků. Jde mnohdy o splnění nároků, které si nekladou ani trvale bydlící obyvatelé, neboť je zřejmé že přesahují možnosti skromného rozpočtu malé obce. Tráví většinu času uvnitř svého teritoria a stýkají se převážně jen mezi sebou.

**Nevýhodou pro obec a podnikatele v okolí je, že rekreanti zpravidla velmi málo nakupují potraviny a jiné zboží v sídle svého rekreačního objektu, ale vozí si je s sebou z města.** Řemeslnické a jiné práce na svém objektu a jeho zařízení někdy zadávají živnostníkům odjinud, jindy naopak využívají venkovské řemeslníky i pro úpravy svých městských bytů.

Jejich prioritou je nerušený pobyt včetně volného pohybu po obecních cestách, v lesích a lukách s nárokem na dobrý stav komunikací a také na bezporuchové fungování ostatních sítí technické infrastruktury.

Někteří majitelé rekreačních objektů na nich pobývají celoročně a vylepšují si tak své příjmy výhodným pronájmem svého bytu, za který platí v městě jen regulované nájemné.

Přes někdy oprávněné výhrady k chování některých pobytových rekreantů je dlužno přiznat, že **významně přispívají k oživení a zpestření života ve venkovském prostoru.** Mnohdy jsou zanícenými a zkušenými zahrádkáři a kutily a **svými zkušenostmi napomáhají šířit nové poznatky, které vedou ke zvyšování kvality života na venkově.** Stali se **neodmyslitelnou součástí většiny obcí a mohou značně napomáhat k jejich celkové regeneraci.**

#### 4. Vlastníci a manažeři velkofarem

**Dominantní postavení co do využití a utváření volné krajiny zaujímají velkofarmy** o průměrné výměře blízké se tisíci hektarům. Je to dáno tím, že zemědělsky využívané plochy představují více než polovinu rozlohy ČR a spolu s lesy, na které připadá celá třetina území našeho státu, jsou rozhodujícím faktorem životního prostoru země vůbec a venkova zvláště.

**Ve volné krajině jsou zemědělsky využívané plochy její nejdynamičtěji se měnící součástí.** Její utváření poměrně rychle reaguje na změny sociálně ekonomických podmínek a přizpůsobuje se jim. **V průběhu posledního půlstoletí se v několika vlnách uskutečnily dramatické změny v charakteru a struktuře podniků zemědělské prvovýroby.**

Ty vedly ke kolosálním změnám v tradičním utváření jak volné krajiny (extravilánu), tak zastavěného území venkovských sídel (intravilánu). Na základě projektů pozemkových úprav a jejich realizací vznikly v krajině velké půdní celky (půdní bloky, hony) o výměře několika desítek hektarů a na okraji venkovských sídel, vybraných za střediska zemědělské výroby, byly vybudovány velkokapacitní stájové a skladovací prostory, do nichž byla koncentrována rozhodující část živočišné výroby a navazujících skladů krmiv. Tím byla založena nová prostorová struktura zemědělské prvovýroby, která v podstatě nadále přetrvává a významně ovlivňuje i současnou velikostní strukturu zemědělských podniků hospodařících na půdě.

**Vlastníci zemědělských velkofarem se při svém rozhodování o způsobu využití obhospodařovaných pozemků, převážně propachtovaných od drobných a středních vlastníků, řídí podmínkami diktovanými tržním hospodářstvím a intervenčními dotacemi Evropské unie a státu.** To je motivuje k orientaci na pěstování velmi omezeného počtu plodin, které nabízejí relativně největší výsledný efekt. Předpokladem uspokojivého výsledku je také minimalizace investic do krátkodobě pronajatých pozemků a také snížení nákladů na pracovní síly. Nežádoucím důsledkem je mj. pokles biodiverzity krajiny a zaměstnanosti.

Vlastníci velkých farem nejsou zpravidla zainteresováni na péči o údržbu polních cest, meliorací, vodotečí, stromořadí či protierozních opatření a tím méně na péči o vzhled sídel a o jejich obytné prostředí.

Majitelé a manažeři velkých farem ve venkovských sídlech někdy ani nebydlí a jejich problémy nežijí, neboť dojíždějí do svých kanceláří z měst. Zisky z provozu svých velkofarem často investují mimo zemědělství a venkov, případně je vkládají do spekulativního odkupu zemědělské půdy od vlastníků v okolí velkých měst a v místech plánované výstavby dálnic, průmyslových zón, logistických center aj.

Velkopodnikatelé v zemědělství tak zpravidla zatím významně nepřispívají k sociálně ekonomickému rozvoji venkovského prostoru, ani ke kultivaci prostředí venkovských sídel a krajiny. **Jejich nezastupitelná role se zatím omezuje především na zachování statu quo - obhospodařováním pozemků brání spontánnímu zpustnutí krajiny.**

#### 5. Veřejná správa

Koordinační role veřejné správy ve venkovském prostoru je negativně ovlivněna její roztržitostí - nadměrným počtem převážně malých obcí k jejichž hlavnímu znevýhodnění patří nedostatek disponibilních finančních prostředků a také špatná dostupnost informací.

**Malé venkovské obce stejně jako malé zemědělské podniky měly až dosud nepatrnou šanci získat dotace ze strukturálních fondů Evropské unie.** Předpokladem pro zlepšení jejich vyhlídek je i v tomto ohledu sdružování obcí v rámci mikroregionů a malých a

středních farem formou společných podniků. Důležitou roli by tu měly sehrát orgány veřejné správy na regionální úrovni a také poradenská činnost neziskových organizací.

Nezastupitelné úkoly čekají také příslušné školy. **Rozhodující však bude iniciativa samotných zastupitelstev a starostů venkovských obcí.**

### **Závěr - společné zájmy a potřeba spolupráce**

**Ze stručné a jen rámcové charakteristiky hlavních aktérů, kteří nejvíce ovlivňují utváření venkovských sídel je patrné, že předpokladem pro naplnění jejich očekávání a uspokojení jejich zájmů je nezbytná cílevědomá spolupráce.**

Společným cílem všech uvedených i dalších aktérů musí být vyvážený, harmonický, udržitelný rozvoj venkova, venkovských sídel i volné krajiny. **Jen tak lze uspokojit i legitimní specifické požadavky a odlišné priority jednotlivých společenských skupin, které jsou na utváření venkovského prostoru kladeny.**

Koordinující funkci v usměrňování udržitelného rozvoje venkova musí **v souladu s principy demokratické společnosti** plnit veřejná správa na lokální, regionální i celostátní úrovni. **Aby tuto roli veřejná správa splnila,** je nejen nutné překonat její atomizaci formou spolupráce obcí v rámci mikroregionů, ale je nezbytné vytvářet pro to i další předpoklady. **K těm patří zejména překonání dosud převažujícího technokratického přístupu k rozvoji venkova ve společnosti, výrazné zlepšení hospodářské situace venkovských obcí a mikroregionů, dosažitelnost informací a vzdělání srovnatelná s městy, zlepšení časoprostorové dostupnosti mezi venkovskými sídly navzájem i mezi venkovem a městy, vytváření nových pracovních příležitostí podporou malých a středních podniků s těžištěm ve využívání místních potenciálů a konkurenčních výhod.**

Zvláště potřebná je zřejmě motivace zájmu zemědělských podniků a celého agrobiznesu i jiných odvětví a podniků jednak na produkci komodit s vysokou mírou přidané hodnoty, jednak na nepotravinářském využití zemědělské produkce a venkovského prostoru (obnovitelné zdroje energie, cestovní ruch, bioprodukty včetně léčiv, lázeňství, zdravotnictví a rehabilitace, sport, řemesla a živnosti).

K prioritám v zájmu všech lidí pobývajících na našem venkově – trvale i přechodně - a celé společnosti patří dosažení obratu v narůstajícím deficitu péče o „společná zařízení“ v sídlech a v krajině (**komunikace a sítě a zařízení technické infrastruktury, meliorace, vodoteče a ostatní vodní plochy a zdroje, strukturální a ochranná zeleň**), a o kulturně historicky významné objekty a jejich soubory. **Důležitou roli by tu měla sehrát koordinace příslušných programů a plánů pro přetváření našeho venkova, zejména programů rozvoje a územních plánů na regionální i komunální úrovni a také plánů pozemkových úprav - a zajištění dostatku prostředků na jejich realizaci, cestou vícezdrojového financování včetně spolupráce veřejného a soukromého sektoru.**

Nezastupitelné poslání mají v úsilí o udržitelný rozvoj našeho venkova vysoké školy vůbec a vysoké školy se společenskovědním a zemědělským zaměřením zvláště. **Jejich posláním je vychovávat dostatek odborníků, odhodlaných a schopných co nejvíce přispět k úspěšnému rozvoji našeho venkova.** Prohlubující se evropská integrace tu vytváří dříve nemyslitelné předpoklady pro prohlubování mezinárodní spolupráce a výměnu zkušeností.

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Různé další podklady

# **Zapojování veřejnosti v obcích do 2 000 obyvatel Public Participation in Municipalities to the 2 000 Inhabitants**

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## **Klíčová slova**

zapojování veřejnosti, venkovská sídla, urbanismus, komunita

## **Abstrakt**

Zapojování veřejnosti do procesu rozhodování přivádí občany, zastupitele a experty k jednomu stolu. Na samotné občany se hledí jako na místní experty, kteří znají své životní prostředí nejlépe a proto mají důležité rozhodovací pravomoci.

## **Key words**

participation, rural areas, land-use planing, community

## **Abstract**

Participation drive the inhabitants, officials and expertds to the one desk. Inhabitens are experts in participation, which know owen living environment best and because that they have responsible possition in making decision.

## **Zapojování veřejnosti v obcích do 2 000 obyvatel**

### **Zapojování veřejnosti v obcích do 2 000 obyvatel**

Participace ve venkovských sídlech, neboli účast veřejnosti při rozhodování v obcích do 2 000 obyvatel je proces, při kterém jsou občané pravidelně seznamováni s děním v obci, sami se podílí na určování rozvojových možností obce a přebírají spoluzodpovědnost za své životní prostředí.

### **Participační proces**

Zapojování veřejnosti do procesu rozhodování přivádí občany, zastupitele i experty ke společným jednáním. Na samotné občany se při takových jednáních hledí jako na místní experty, kteří znají své životní prostředí nejlépe a proto se jim přisuzují důležité rozhodovací pravomoci. V rámci společných sezení formují s profesními odborníky a zastupiteli své představy až do konečné fáze, kdy projektant připraví na základě domluvených podkladů projekt. Pokud chceme vytvořit funkční komunitu vesnice, případně malého města, ve které bude mít veřejnost možnost zapojit se do rozhodovacích procesů, je třeba se připravit na dlouhodobou a trpělivou práci s lidmi.

Pokud se obec rozhodne přizvat občany ke společnému rozhodování o jejich životním prostředí a to ideálně ke každému zasedání zastupitelstva, je třeba počítat s prvotními neúspěchy. Lidé nemívají s podobnými akcemi zkušenosti, u mnohých převládá nedůvěra i nechuť k takovýmto setkáním a to zejména proto, že nikdy neměli možnost se rozhodování o svém životním prostředí aktivně účastnit. Problémy tak mohou nastat zejména na počtu zúčastněných obyvatel i při formě společné diskuse. Je třeba mít na paměti, že lidé zvláště při prvotních jednáních potřebují získat rychlé a hmatatelné výsledky, k čemuž je třeba první sezení přizpůsobovat a lidem pravidelně ukazovat výsledky práce a částečně na ně předávat i zodpovědnost (s pravomocemi roste zodpovědnost, rozhodovací slovo má však volený orgán obce).

Členové zastupitelstva, kteří jsou v tomto procesu tazateli a sběrateli podkladů pro svou práci nemají dostatečné zkušenosti se způsoby dotazování, vyrovnání se s rozdílnými reakcemi a základě rozdílných osobností a temperamentů každého jedince, což také přispívá k častým neúspěchům dobře myšleného záměru. Z tohoto důvodu bývá k prvním setkáním s veřejností přizván tzv. facilitátor, tedy osoba, která má s podobnými projekty zkušenost, ví jakým způsobem občany oslovit, jak lidi motivovat k diskusi a umí reagovat na neočekávané situace a připravit zastupitele k dalším jednáním.

Facilitátor bývá nejčastěji nezávislá osoba, která nemá k danému místu žádnou vazbu a lidé tak nemají důvod podezírat ji z korupce či prosazování vlastního zájmu. Dobré je, aby se facilitátor podobných sezení účastnil přibližně po dobu 1 - 2 let. Tedy dostatečné doby k tomu, aby se veřejnost, zastupitelé i případní experti naučili základům procesu zapojování veřejnosti do procesu rozhodování a byly schopni podobná jednání vést sami. I tak je dobré občas odborníka přizvat a znovu absolvovat společné sezení s jeho asistencí.

### **Participace v praxi**

V praxi se často setkáváme se dvěma formami iniciace účasti veřejnosti při procesech rozhodování. První z nich je ta, kdy iniciátorem je spolek občanů (občanské sdružení, nezisková organizace apod.), v druhém případě je iniciátorem samo zastupitelstvo.

Pokud je iniciátorem občanské sdružení, často se jedná o projekt, který není v zájmu zastupitelstva a trvá delší dobu než se stane součástí rozhodování na nejvyšší úrovni obce. Celkově je takový proces samotnými lidmi lépe vnímán, dříve se přizpůsobí nové roli a začnou komunikovat. Finanční podporu může občanské sdružení získat přes několik v České republice již tradičně fungujících neziskových organizací zabývajících se touto problematikou. Pravidlem i v tomto případě zůstává zajištění externího facilitátora, který pomůže přenést diskuse „od stolu“ k činům a má předpoklady zajistit dlouhodobost celého záměru.

V případě, kdy je iniciátorem samo zastupitelstvo, se problémem stává získání důvěry lidí a motivovat je k tomu, aby svůj soukromý čas věnovali diskusím o budoucnosti své obce. Organizační náročnost je bohužel podceňována, je řada obcí, které mají zájem aby se veřejných zasedání účastnilo co nejvíce obyvatel, ale nedaří se jim svůj cíl plnit. Větší počet občanů se sezení účastní, jen pokud se jedná například o konkrétní problém (budování nové skládky). Pak jsou také situace, kdy se podaří zajistit větší účast občanů, avšak celá akce nedopadne dobře. Velkou roli zde hraje neznalost práce s větší skupinou lidí a neznalost lidí diskuse při zastoupení většího počtu diskutujících. Velká část podobných aktivit se setkává s neúspěchem již díky nevhodné formě pozvání k jednání, kdy neosloví dostatečné spektrum obyvatel nebo se pozvánka smyje s množstvím reklamních textů ve schránkách, tisku i na vývěskách. Proto je dobré nepodcenit přípravu a neodradit nevhodným přístupem obyvatele od společných setkání.

Dobré je, aby byla veřejnost přizvána na všechna sezení zastupitelstva, minimálně 4x ročně a optimálně 6 - 10x ročně. V případě potřeby je možné doplnit setkání veřejná se zapojováním veřejnosti se setkáními veřejnými bez diskuse s veřejností (např. 5/1).

Zapojování veřejnosti slouží jako pro prostředek pro kvalitnější komunikaci v obci, lidé mají lepší přehled o svém bydlišti, seznámí se s problémy druhých a mohou se sami účastnit na tvorbě svého životního prostředí. Důležitost zapojování veřejnosti do procesu rozhodování není dána pouze možností lidí vyjádřit se k problematice rozvojových možností místa, ale dochází také k podporování (v některých případech dokonce tvorbě) občanské komunity v obci. Komunita, tedy vzájemně komunikující společenství obyvatel, která je díky podobným projektům podporována, je identifikovatelná zejména zvýšenou vazbou obyvatel k místu, vysokým počtem různorodých společenských akcí, zvýšenou komunikací a informovaností lidí, možností spoluúčasti lidí na tvorbě a údržbě veřejných prostranství, větší mírou tolerance, funkční sociální sítě, snižováním nezaměstnanosti, nižším věkovým průměrem obyvatel a pro návštěvníka především vzhledem veřejných prostranství, nabídkou služeb a celkovou atmosférou místa.

Pokud se snažíme oslovit obyvatele je důležité uvědomit si několik zásad:

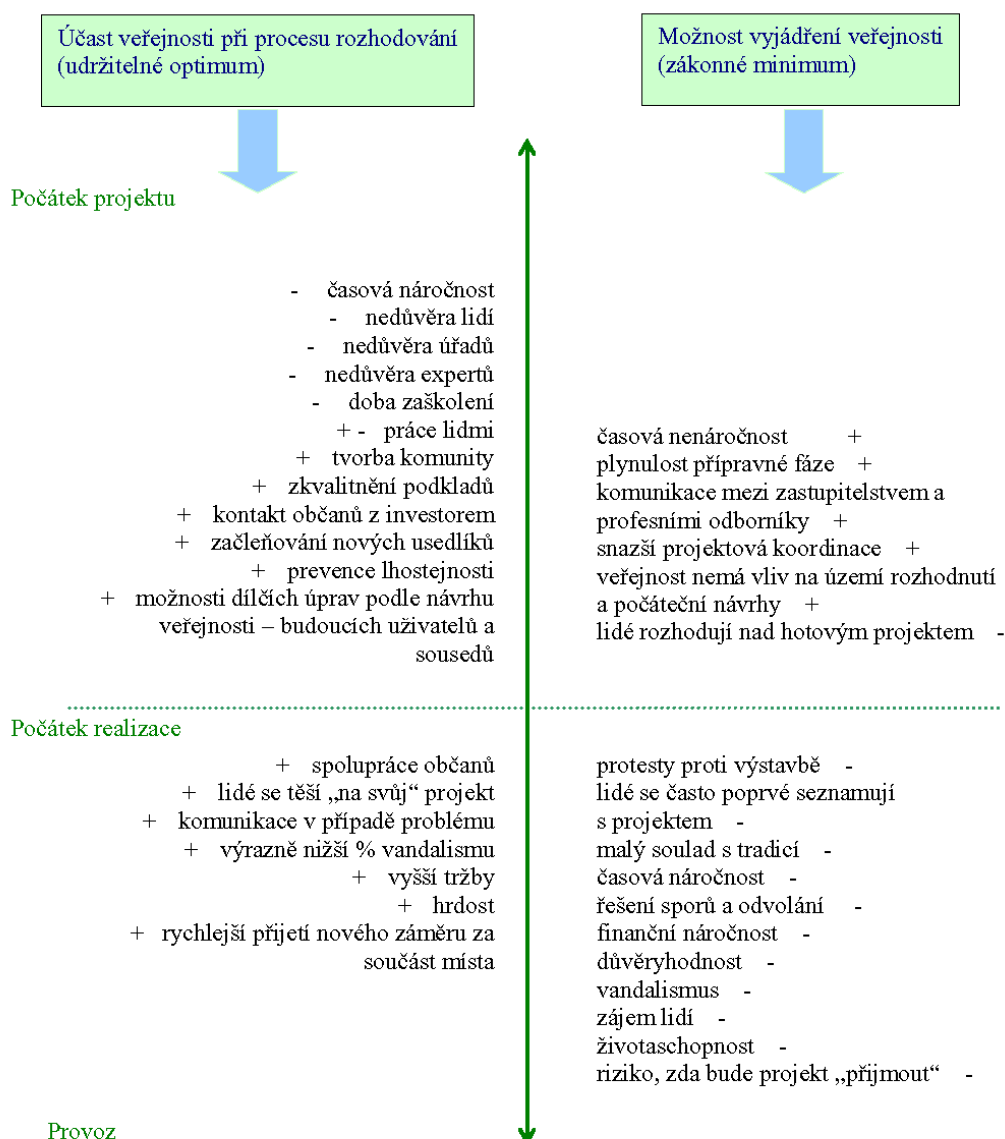
- Oslovit co největší počet občanů.
- Oslovit i názorově odlišné skupiny.
- Zaujmout jak aktivní tak pasivní obyvatele.
- Zaujmout obyvatele napříč věkovým spektrem.
- Získat účastníky rozdílných profesí i vzdělání.

Každý facilitátor či organizátor podobné dlouhodobé akce si musí uvědomit, že projekt je úspěšný pouze tehdy, pokud místo (komunita, objekt, apod.), funguje stejně dobře během zrození projektu, jeho realizace jako i po odchodu koordinátora, vypršení grantu, konce volebního období apod.

## Přednosti participace

Zapojování veřejnosti chápou jako jediný možný morální přístup k plánování. Zapojování veřejnosti do principů udržitelného rozvoje měst a obcí je také nutným procesem, bez kterého nenaplníme mezinárodní úmluvy z přelomu 20. století, ke kterým se Česká republika zavázala. Bohužel podle právních předpisů českého státu není zapojování veřejnosti dán takový prostor jaký by si zasloužilo. Stále je na veřejnost nahlíženo jako na neodborníky, kteří mají v úmyslu mařit veřejnospěšnou výstavbu.

### Srovnání výhod a nevýhod zapojování veřejnosti





## **Výhody zapojování veřejnosti**

Získáme názor napříč věkovými i zájmovými skupinami občanů:

- Produktivní věk.
- Důchodci.
- Studenti.
- Děti.

Množství různých metod zapojování veřejnosti i jejich rozmanitosti, umožňují snadnou kombinaci podle potřeby konkrétní situace či záměru.

Zároveň lze využít metod pracujících na různých základech, tak abychom pokud možno oslovili většinu obyvatelstva (nejlépe veškeré). Jedná se tedy o různé formy komunikace jako je:

- Přímá účast na setkání obyvatel,
- Diskuse,
- Písemné vyjádření,
- Zodpovězení dotazníku,
- Umělecké vyjádření,
- Komunikace mailem, SMS,
- Zakreslování do map,
- Vyjádření k výstavě fotografií.

## **Obecné pojetí**

### **Participovat – zúčastnit se**

Dvousměrný proces zahrnující sdílení informací a idejí mezi dvěma a více stranami. Participovat – účastnit se, participace – zapojování. Participace by měla být mostem, způsobem jak spojit myšlenky dvou oddělených stran. Možností komunikovat. Participace je základním prvkem demokracie – volby, odbory, demonstrace, tak lze chápat pojem participace na politické rovině.

„Aktuální diskuse o participaci a udržitelnosti podtrhuje relevantnost participačních elementů v moderním hospodářství pro zvládání sociálních a věcných souvislostí. Zvláště v devadesátých letech 20. století byly participační metody vyvinuty a vyzkoušeny pro kooperační plánování a rozhodovací procedury. Na základě moderního myšlení, skrze které přichází normativní stanovování cílů trvale udržitelného rozvoje do hospodářství, budou jak možnosti tak také hranice vyvíjející se participační a udržitelné kultury patrné.“<sup>244</sup>

Existuje řada různých definic obecného pojmu participace, případně zapojování veřejnosti. Participaci lze chápat jako spoluúčast občanů na rozhodování správních orgánů a politickém dění či konkrétněji jako zapojování občanů do přípravy projektů v nejširším pojetí.

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<sup>244</sup> Přeloženo autorem: Heinrichs, H. Kultur-Evolution: Partizipation und Nachhaltigkeit in: Michelsen, G., Godemann, J. Handbuch Nachhaltigkeits-kommunikation, Grundlagen und Praxis. S.709. ekonom, Muenchen, 2005.

„**Formální participace** je druh participace právě naplňující literu příslušných právních nařízení, z nichž vychází. Příkladem formální participace může být například veřejné projednávání nebo vystavení územně plánovací dokumentace (ať už ve formě návrhu zadání, konceptu řešení nebo konečného návrhu) obce v rámci územního či stavebního řízení. **Neformální participace** je taková forma participace, která přesahuje a rozšiřuje omezený rámec daný právními předpisy, zpravidla vykazuje některé prvky přímé demokracie. Participace ve většině případů nenahrazuje činnost demokraticky volených orgánů, jejím cílem není předat veškerou rozhodovací pravomoc do rukou nájemníků (jak by se mohlo zdát při pohledu na žebřík participace), ale participační proces a jeho výstupy slouží jako významný doplněk principu zastupitelské demokracie. Příslušné správní orgány (obvykle obecní/městské zastupitelstvo) hrají klíčovou roli při výběru otázek, na jejichž řešení by se měli nájemníci podílet.“<sup>245</sup>

## **Závěr**

Důležitost zapojovacích procesů je namířena na období předpřípravy a přípravy projektů, kdy je veřejnost přizvána již k rozhodování o typu projektu a posléze k prvním návrhům. Předchází se tím nejen různým odvoláním občanských iniciativ a protestním akcím při zahájení projektu, ale je především dodržen etický a morální přístup při komunikaci. Kromě vyšší spokojenosti obyvatel, pozitivnějšímu dlouhodobému vývoji v lokalitě, bývá také celý proces pro investora z finančního a časového hlediska méně náročný.

Z praktického hlediska je pro investora (zadavatele) důležité, že člověk, který se podílí na vytváření jakéhokoliv díla, se s konečným projektem snáze ztotožní a najde si k němu cestu. Lidská hrdost a touha být součástí „něčeho“ je tak velká, že projekty vytvářené při zralé diskusi s občany jsou okolím dobře vnímány, mají dlouhodobou prosperitu a díky faktu, že si jich lidé, právě kvůli možnosti spolupodílení se věží, nedocházejí k tak častému opovrhování či dokonce vandalismu a jiným formám odpůrných akcí.

Z pohledu morálního je důležitý fakt, že investor (zadavatel), který podpoří a bude dodržovat pravidla účasti veřejnosti při rozhodování se zaslouží o zlepšení fungování celé lokality, zvýší zájem lidí o své okolí a bude tímto motivovat obyvatele k další práci a potlačovat tak nezáměr o životní prostředí – významně přispěje k udržitelnému rozvoji místa i osobností.

Tento článek vznikl za podpory Fondu rozvoje vysokých škol v roce 2006 – G5 2362 „Aktualizace výuky předmětu Sociologie sídel a bydlení z hlediska desetiletí udržitelného rozvoje“.

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<sup>245</sup> Převzato a upraveno z <http://seb.soc.cas.cz/projekty/manual/partic> participace nájemníků na regeneraci panelových sídlišť.

# **Vybrané problémy malých obcí Selected Problems of Small Municipalities**

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## **Klíčová slova**

rozvoj venkova, malé obce

## **Abstrakt**

Cílem tohoto příspěvku je ukázat, že pro venkov charakteristická rozdílná úroveň služeb, základní infrastruktury a dopravní obslužnosti je významná obzvláště u malých obcí. Z posouzení socio-ekonomických ukazatelů vyplývá, že těmito problémy jsou nejvíce zasaženy malé obce do 1 000 obyvatel. Problémem je zejména nižší ekonomická aktivita, vysoký průměrný věk obyvatelstva, vysoký přirozený úbytek, vysoký podíl ekonomicky aktivních osob vyjíždějících za prací mimo obec, nízká profesní skladba a zaměstnanost v pro venkov netypických odvětvích. S rostoucí velikostí obce se však jednotlivé ukazatele zlepšují a mezi velikostí obcí a sledovanými ukazateli je možno pozorovat vysokou korelační závislost. Příspěvek byl zpracován v rámci výzkumného záměru MSM 6007665806.

## **Key words**

rural development, small municipalities

## **Abstract**

The aim of this article is to show the different level of services, basic infrastructure and transport services in the countryside. This different level is significant especially in small municipalities. Resulting from the analysis of socio-economic indicators small municipalities up to 200 inhabitants suffer with these problems most. Among the main problems belong lower economic activity, high average age, high natural decrease, high share of commuters out of municipality, employment in branches unusual for countryside. The monitored indicators are improving with increasing number of inhabitants in a municipality. There is a strong correlation dependence between the number of inhabitants in a municipality and the monitored indicators. This entry was elaborated within the framework of MSM 6007665806.

## Vybrané problémy malých obcí

### Úvod

Pro venkov je charakteristická rozdílná úroveň služeb, základní infrastruktury a dopravní obslužnosti. Špatný stavebně technický stav zástavby, neupravená veřejná prostranství a zeleň a zanedbané a rozpadající se stavby u mnohých vesnic vyžadují vysoké kapitálové výdaje. Opatření týkající se základních služeb pro hospodářství a obyvatelstvo venkova spolu s opatřením na obnovu a rozvoj vesnic by měly přispět ke zlepšení tohoto stavu. Zachování kulturního dědictví venkova, zvýšení informovanosti a vzdělání venkovského obyvatelstva oživí kulturní život na venkově.

Jednou z významných možností jak posílit ekonomiku obcí je využití podpor ze strukturálních fondů EU, které podstatným způsobem mohou pomoci k jejich rozvoji. Za tím účelem bylo provedeno vyhodnocení předvstupního programu SAPARD, opatření 2.1 Obnova a rozvoj vesnic.

Opatření 2.1a Obnova a rozvoj vesnic bylo zaměřeno na obnovu a využití zapsaných kulturních památek, modernizaci obecních bytů, obnovu zařízení základní občanské vybavenosti, výstavbu nových zařízení základní občanské vybavenosti, úpravu objektů nebo ploch pro podnikání, zřízení vzdělávacích zařízení, obnovu a úpravu veřejných prostranství, krajiny, vodních ploch, zřízení ICT informačních center včetně SW a sítí, obnovu a využití ostatních tradičních místních obytných a hospodářských budov a na akce občanských iniciativ na oživení tradic a zvyků.

Opatření 2.1b Rozvoj venkovské infrastruktury bylo zaměřeno na obnovu místních komunikací vč. pěších cest a cyklostezek, výstavbu nových místních komunikací, výstavbu technické infrastruktury (vodovody, kanalizace, čističky odpadních vod), zavedení nebo rozšíření veřejné dopravy, výstavbu nebo zřízení výrobních nebo spotřebních zařízení na využití obnovitelných zdrojů energie, sběr tříděného odpadu, výstavbu zařízení na využití odpadu. Veřejné příspěvky pokryly 98,23 % celkových přijatelných nákladů beneficiantů.

### Metodika a cíle

Účelem tohoto příspěvku je ukázat, že výše uvedené problémy jsou zvláště významné u malých obcí (do 1 000 obyvatel) a na druhé straně rozpočtové příjmy těchto obcí na obnovu venkova jsou nedostačující.

Předkládaná analýza je založena na účasti obcí a měst (obecních a městských úřadů) na opatřeních programu SAPARD. Jako informační zdroje byly použity tyto veřejně přístupné zdroje internetu:

- Státní zemědělský intervenční fond – SZIF ([www.szif.cz](http://www.szif.cz)).
- Centrální evidence dotací z rozpočtu – CEDR ([cedr.mfcr.cz](http://cedr.mfcr.cz)).
- Automatizovaný rozpočtový informační systém – ARIS ([www.info.mfcr.cz/aris](http://www.info.mfcr.cz/aris)).

V Centrální databázi dotací z rozpočtu jsou uvedeny dotace za obec jako celek ve struktuře požadovaná dotace na SAPARD v projektu, přiznaná dotace na základě výběrového řízení a dosud čerpaná dotace. Za základ analýz byla použita přiznaná dotace obci na základě výběrového řízení. Z hlediska jednotlivých opatření převládají dotace na opatření 2.1a a 2.1b. Nejsou však vyloučeny dotace na ostatní opatření, a to 2.2, pokud obec podniká v oblastech, např. turistiky, službách, alternativních zdrojů biomasy. U některých obcí do celkových

dotací jsou zahrnuty i dotace SAPARDu spravované MZe, pokud obec podnikala v zemědělských aktivitách. Rozlišení dotací podle druhu opatření nelze však provést z důvodu nerozlišení těchto dotací v informační databázi CEDR. V příspěvku pracujeme s celkovým objemem dotací programu SAPARD, které byly přiznány obci na základě výběrového řízení.

## **Výsledky**

Významnost malých obcí (do 1 000 obyvatel) z hlediska všech obcí do 2 000 obyvatel lze charakterizovat těmito údaji. Z celkového počtu 5 616 obcí do 2 000 obyvatel představují malé obce 88,21 %. Počet malých obcí je 4 954. Na celkovém počtu obyvatelstva venkovských obcí (2,68 mil. obyvatel) představují malé obce 65,7 %. Řešení problematiky malých obcí znamená řešit problémy téměř  $\frac{2}{3}$  obyvatel venkovských obcí a problémy více jak 88 % všech venkovských obcí. Obyvatelé malých obcí představují více jak 17 % obyvatel ČR.

## **Populační vývoj**

V obcích do 2 000 obyvatel dosahuje relativní saldo migrace v průměru 0,65 %, v obcích do 100 obyvatel je to pouze 0,12 %, což značí nízký zájem o trvalé bydlení v těchto malých obcích. S rostoucí velikostí obce se relativní saldo migrace zvyšuje, nejvyšších hodnot dosahuje u obcí s 1 101 - 1 200 obyvateli (0,97 %), dále 0,87 % u obcí s 1 701 – 1 800 obyvateli.

Ve všech velikostních skupinách venkovských obcí, stejně jako v celé republice, je patrný záporný přirozený přírůstek obyvatelstva. Koeficient přirozeného přírůstku je nejnižší u nejmenších obcí do 100 obyvatel, a to -0,69 %, u větších obcí je vymírání obyvatel relativně nižší. Nejvyšších hodnot dosahuje u středně velkých venkovských obcí (od 901 do 1 000 obyvatel) – v průměru -0,1 %.

Tento nepříznivý stav je vyrovnáván pozitivním saldem migrace, což vede k celkovému přírůstku venkovského obyvatelstva. V malých obcích do 200 obyvatel, zejména však v nejmenších obcích do 100 obyvatel, tento převis přistěhovalých nad vystěhovalými nepokryje razantní přirozený úbytek obyvatel. U těchto nejmenších obcí dosahuje celkový relativní přírůstek hodnoty -0,57 %, což znamená, že každé dva roky klesne počet obyvatel o jednoho obyvatele. U obcí nad 200 obyvatel pozitivní saldo migrace převyšuje záporný přirozený přírůstek, v průměru činí ve venkovských obcích relativní celkový přírůstek 0,43 % pozn. Relativní přírůstek celkem, koeficient přirozeného přírůstku a relativní saldo migrace je vztaženo ke stavu obyvatel k 31. 12.

S výjimkou obcí do 200 obyvatel převyšuje kladné migrační saldo záporný přirozený přírůstek obyvatelstva a celkové saldo je tedy kladné. Naopak u městského obyvatelstva (nad 2 000 obyvatel) je jak přirozené saldo, tak i migrační saldo záporné, takže tyto obce mají v průměru relativní přírůstek obyvatelstva ve výši -0,19 %.

## **Ekonomická aktivita venkovského obyvatelstva**

Ekonomická aktivita vyjádřená podílem ekonomicky aktivního obyvatelstva k obyvatelstvu celkem činí na venkově 49,3 %, v ČR je o 2,1 bodu vyšší. Nejnižší je v nejmenších obcích do 100 obyvatel (45,9 %), přičemž ve 120 obcích je nižší než 40 %. U obcí do 1 000 obyvatel nepřesáhne ekonomická aktivita v průměru 49 %. S rostoucí velikostí obcí ekonomická aktivita téměř monotónně roste. Nejvyšší hodnoty (49,5) dosahuje u obcí s 1 201 – 1 400 obyvatel.

## **Zaměstnanost v zemědělství, lesnictví a rybolovu**

V odvětví zemědělství, lesnictví a rybolovu je patrný vysoký podíl osob zaměstnaných v těchto odvětvích v obcích s malým počtem obyvatel, který s nárůstem počtu obyvatel v obci plynule klesá. V České republice je v zemědělství, lesnictví a rybolovu zaměstnáno celkem 230 tis. ekonomicky aktivních obyvatel (tj. 4,4 %), z tohoto počtu 145 tis. žije v obcích do 2 000 obyvatel (tedy 11,1 % venkovského EAO). V obcích do 100 obyvatel je v těchto odvětvích zaměstnáno 21,1 % ekonomicky aktivních osob, tedy více než jedna pětina. Více než jedna desetina ekonomicky aktivního obyvatelstva je v zemědělství zaměstnána v obcích do 800 obyvatel. S nárůstem počtu obyvatel obce tento podíl klesá až na 5,9 % v obcích s 1 901 – 2 000 obyvateli. Mezi velikostí obce a podílem ekonomicky aktivního obyvatelstva, které pracuje v zemědělství, lesnictví a rybolovu existuje silná nepřímá korelační závislost s koeficientem korelace  $r = -0,89$ . V obcích s více než 2 000 obyvateli pracují v zemědělství pouze 2,2 % EAO. Pro malé obce je práce v zemědělství stabilizujícím faktorem především pro nevyjíždějící obyvatelstvo. V tomto smyslu by tyto užitečné více diverzifikovat zemědělské činnosti s cílem zvýšit počet pracovních míst, především u malých obcí.

## **Osoby vyjíždějící do zaměstnání**

Pro celou Českou republiku, stejně jako pro venkovský prostor, je typický vysoký podíl osob vyjíždějících do zaměstnání. Podíl osob vyjíždějících do zaměstnání k ekonomicky aktivnímu obyvatelstvu činí v ČR 81,6 % a na venkově je téměř totožný (81,5 %). Naopak podíly osob vyjíždějících do zaměstnání v rámci obce a v rámci okresu se od republikového průměru výrazně liší. Zatímco v ČR vyjíždí do zaměstnání v rámci obce 38,8 % EAO, na venkově se tento podíl pohybuje od 6,9 % v obcích do 100 obyvatel do 25 % v obcích s 1 901 – 2 000 obyvateli. Opačný trend vykazuje podíl vyjíždějících v rámci okresu. Tento podíl klesá z 52,7 % u obcí do 100 obyvatel až na 35,1 % u obcí s 1 401 – 1 500 obyvateli. Z venkovských obcí vyjíždí do zaměstnání v rámci okresu v průměru 44,3 % ekonomicky aktivního obyvatelstva, tedy více než dvojnásobek průměru ČR (20,3 %). S rostoucí velikostí obce však přibývá pracovních příležitostí v rámci obce, a tedy odpadá nutnost vyjíždění za prací v rámci okresu.

Snížení podílu vyjíždění do zaměstnání v rámci okresu zvláště u malých obcí je třeba řešit zvýšením pracovních příležitostí v souvislosti s diverzifikací zemědělských podniků budováním malých provozoven.

## **Nezaměstnanost**

Úroveň míry nezaměstnanosti měřená podílem počtu uchazečů o zaměstnání k ekonomicky aktivnímu obyvatelstvu je v jednotlivých skupinách obcí poměrně vyrovnaná a nevykazuje závislost vůči velikosti obce. V roce 2004 se u jednotlivých velikostních skupin pohybovala v rozmezí od 9,5 do 11,4 %. V časové řadě let 2002 až 2004 je u všech skupin obcí patrný nárůst nezaměstnanosti, který kopíruje trend vývoje nezaměstnanosti v celé České republice.

## **Vzdělanost obyvatelstva**

Nejpočetnější vzdělanostní skupinou (měřeno podílem počtu osob s daným vzděláním k obyvatelstvu staršímu 15 let) jsou vyučení a středoškoláci bez maturity, a to jak na venkově (43,7 %), tak i v rámci celé republiky (38 %). Podíly vyučených jsou v jednotlivých velikostních skupinách obcí poměrně vyrovnané, pohybují se od 42,5 % (obce s 1 501 – 1 600 obyvateli) do 44,7 % (obce s 301 – 400 obyvateli).

Na venkově je zřetelný vysoký podíl osob se základním vzděláním (28,3 % oproti 23 % v ČR). S rostoucí velikostí obce však tento podíl klesá, a to z 33,2 % u obcí do 100 obyvatel až na 25,8 % u obcí s 1 601 – 1 700 obyvateli.

Naopak podíly středoškoláků s maturitou a vysokoškoláků zaznamenávají opačný trend. Nejnižší podíl středoškoláků mají obce do 100 obyvatel (17,5 %) a tento podíl se s rostoucí velikostí obcí zvyšuje až na 22 % u obcí s 1 601 – 1 700 obyvateli. V průměru žije na venkově 19,9 % středoškoláků, za Českou republiku je tento podíl vyšší (24,9 %). Podíl vysokoškoláků je na venkově oproti republikovému průměru sotva poloviční (4,2 % na venkově a 8,9 % v ČR). I zde je možno při rostoucí velikosti obce pozorovat zvyšující se podíl. Nejméně vysokoškoláků je opět v malých obcích s 101 – 200 obyvatel (3,3 %), nejvyšší podíl na obyvatelstvu (5,3 %) zabírají v obcích s 1 501 – 1 600 obyvateli.

### **Infrastruktura**

Pro venkov je charakteristická rozdílná úroveň vybavenosti, základní infrastruktury a dopravní obslužnosti. U obcí do 500 obyvatel zpravidla chybí škola, pošta a zdravotnické zařízení. Všechny tyto služby vyžadují dojíždění. Ze setkání se starosty malých obcí jasně vyplynulo, že zrušení školy výrazně utlumilo kulturní život na vesnici.

Na veřejný vodovod je napojeno méně než 81,7 % obcí, kanalizace chybí u více jak 82 % obcí do 500 obyvatel. Také nízký podíl plynofikace u malých obcí vyžaduje využívat lokální topné systémy. Vzhledem ke stávajícímu vývoji cen plynu nelze předpokládat, že by se podíl plynofikace domácností zvýšil. Také rozvojové plochy pro bydlení jsou v malých obcích nižší a nedostačující. Nízké příjmy malých obcí jim brání účinně rozvinout svoji infrastrukturu. Provozování některých služeb je pro ně nereálné jako například trvalá služba lékaře, základní školství a další.

Z dané analýzy vyplývá, že malé obce mají malý přirozený přírůstek, nízkou ekonomickou aktivitu, vysoký podíl osob vyjíždějících do zaměstnání mimo obec, poměrně značnou míru nezaměstnanosti, nízký index vzdělanosti a vysoký podíl osob zaměstnaných v zemědělství, lesnictví a rybolovu, horší infrastrukturu a nedostatečné příjmy pro svůj rozvoj. Vzhledem k tomu, že důchodová situace v zemědělství je nízká, dá se předpokládat, že malé obce mají i nízkou důchodovou situaci.

### **Podíl malých obcí na programu SAPARD**

Na programu SAPARD se podílelo 160 obcí. Z celkového počtu projektů 160 obcí bylo 120 venkovských obcí. Druhým největším podílníkem byly obce s počtem obyvatel 2001 – 4000, které získaly 26 projektů (16,26 % z celkového počtu projektů). Tedy obce do 4 000 obyvatel získaly 91,25 % projektů.

Z hlediska podílu obcí a podílu počtu obyvatel na jeden projekt je zřejmé, že podstatně menší příležitost měly malé obce. Z rozdělení obcí podle uvedeného kritéria se ukazuje, že u obcí nad 800 v průměru každá patnáctá obec získala projekt, naproti tomu u obcí do 200 obyvatel to byla každá 235. obec, u obcí s 200 – 400 obyvateli to byla každá 193. a u obcí se 400 – 800 obyvateli to byla každá 30. obec. Z uvedeného rozboru je zřejmé, že obce s menším počtem obyvatel měly menší příležitost získat podporu z programu SAPARD.

Také průměrná výše podpory u menších obcí byla nižší než u velkých obcí. Zatímco u malých obcí do 600 obyvatel nepřevýšila velikost podpory 8 mil. Kč, přičemž u obcí s 200 - 400 obyvateli byla pouze poloviční, pak u obcí nad 800 obyvatel výše podpory ve většině případů převyšovala deset milionů Kč.

## **Vliv výše příjmů obcí na získání dotací z programu SAPARD**

Jedním z významných faktorů, který ovlivnil skutečnost, proč menší obce měly schváleny méně projektů, byla výše příjmů obce a kolik obec mohla věnovat ze svých příjmů na projekty SAPARD. Z tohoto hlediska lze rozdělit obce do čtyř skupin. Obce s příjmy po konsolidaci do 5 mil. Kč získaly 19 projektů a úspěšná byla každá 189. obec. Druhou skupinu tvořily obce s příjmy 5 – 10 mil. Kč. Tyto obce získaly 30 projektů a úspěšná byla každá 34. obec. Úspěšnost třetí skupiny byla od 13. do 19. obce. Obce s vyššími příjmy 25 mil. Kč byly úspěšnější, maximálně každá jedenáctá obec získala schválený projekt.

Mezi příjmy obcí po konsolidaci a úspěšností obcí při získání projektu z programu SAPARD je zřejmá přímá závislost. Obce s nízkými příjmy po konsolidaci měly malou pravděpodobnost získat podporu z programu SAPARD.

## **Významnost podpory z programu SAPARD pro jednotlivé obce**

Z analýzy finanční struktury jednotlivých programů je zcela zřejmé, že převládaly projekty s menším objemem prostředků, tj. do 10 mil. Kč. Jejich vliv na rozvoj obce lze hodnotit porovnáním ročních příjmů obce a velikosti finančních prostředků vycházejících z programu SAPARD. Z tohoto hlediska je patrné, že tyto projekty napomáhaly především venkovským obcím. 21 % obcí s průměrným ročním příjmem do 5 mil. Kč získaly průměrnou dotaci větší než 10 mil. Kč. Tedy u těchto obcí dotace dvakrát nebo vícekrát převyšovala roční objem těchto příjmů. U 57,9 % je uvedená dotace nižší či na úrovni ročního příjmu obce.

U obcí s příjmem do 10 mil. Kč (průměrná velikost obce 674 obyvatel) u 60 % obcí průměrná výše dotace činila více než polovinu jejich ročních příjmů, u jedné třetiny obcí byla výše dotace větší než je jejich roční příjem. Podíl dotací z projektu na rozpočtových příjmech po konsolidaci s velikostí obce tedy významně klesá. Významnost podpor z programu SAPARD pro malé obce je zcela evidentní.

Shrňme-li tyto úvahy, pak je zřejmé, že u malých obcí byla podpora programů SAPARD vysoce účinná. Obce mohly realizovat projekty, které by bez této podpory mohly realizovat pouze s několikaletou prodlevou.

Závislost mezi velikostí podpory z programu SAPARD a velikostí obce vyjádřenou počtem obyvatel, mezi velikostí podpory a rozpočtovými příjmy obce a mezi velikostí podpory a příjmy obce na jednoho obyvatele nebyla prokázána. Výše korelačních koeficientů nepřesahuje 0,3, přestože jsou patrné mírné tendence růstu objemu dotací v závislosti na růstu velikosti obce a rozpočtových příjmech obce. Naproti tomu závislost výše dotace na příjmech obce po konsolidaci na jednoho obyvatele je mírně negativní. Vysoká variabilita podmíněných rozdělení četností dotací nedovoluje učinit jednoznačnější závěry.

## **Závěr**

Program SAPARD byl významným programem, který svými projekty významně přispěl k rozvoji venkovských obcí. U malých obcí získané projekty podstatným způsobem zvýšily možnost financování jednotlivých obcí, toto zvýšení bylo více než dvojnásobek ročních příjmů obce.

Na druhé straně počet projektů vzhledem k četnosti obcí a počtu schválených projektů ukazuje poměrně nízké zastoupení těchto obcí v programu SAPARD. To bylo způsobeno, že obec musela plně zafinancovat celý projekt a teprve po jeho dokončení získala prostředky z programu SAPARD. Tato skutečnost byla pro mnohé obce nepřijatelná a vedla tedy k malé frekvenci podávaných projektů.



Pro roky 2007 - 2013 je připravován program rozvoje venkova s financováním z fondu EAFRD. Celkový roční objem prostředků vyčleněný v tomto programu pro rozvoj venkova je 626 mil. Kč. Pro využití tohoto programu také malými obcemi (obce do 800 – 1000 obyvatel) by bylo užitečné zajistit garanci na přechodné zafinancování těchto obcí až do okamžiku proplacení dotace. Uvedené financování bude výrazným akceleračním prvkem pro rozvoj malých obcí. Bez podobného opatření nelze očekávat, že by se uplatnění malých obcí v projektech rozvoje venkova významně změnilo.

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Výroční zpráva o programu SAPARD v České republice za rok 2004  
(<http://www.sapard.cz/index.php?clanek=250>)

# **Příspěvek k sociální antropologii sportu na lokální úrovni Contribution to Social Anthropology of Sports on Local Level**

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## **Klíčová slova**

sport na lokální úrovni, sociální antropologie sportu, hasiči, Široký Důl na Poličsku

## **Abstrakt**

Příspěvek zvýrazňuje základní rysy sportovních aktivit v lokálním rámci. Postihuje především specifiku venkovského sportu, kterému se mimo jiné věnují dobrovolní hasiči. V některých obcích tento spolek vlastně zastupuje tělovýchovnou jednotu. V této souvislosti bude uveden názorný příklad hasičského sportu v Širokém Dole nedaleko Poličky. Z výkladu vyplývá, že tento druh sportu působí i jako důležitý organizační, stabilizační a socializační činitel. Jinak sportovní aktivity vstupují do ceremoniálního systému obcí a stávají se prestižní záležitostí. Představují rovněž stabilizační faktor.

## **Key words**

Sports on a local level, social anthropology of sport, voluntary fireman, Široký Důl

## **Abstract**

The presented contribution deals with social anthropology of sports on a local level. It observes certain cultural configuration and social functions on the basis of findings acquired during the field research in the village Široký Důl nearby Polička. Sports represent the important part of a particular lifestyle. In this case, it is crucial to count, on the hand, with local limits and, on the other hand, with the hobbies and taste of people living in the observed village. Meanwhile, these specific out-of-work activities constitute a spontaneous and stabilizing factor.

## Příspěvek k sociální antropologii sportu na lokální úrovni

### Dobrovolní hasiči v Širokém Dole jako sportovci

Příspěvek se bude zabývat základními rysy sportovních aktivit v lokálním rámci. Postihne především specifiku vesnického sportu, kterému se mimo jiné věnují dobrovolní hasiči. V některých obcích tento spolek totiž zcela substituuje tělovýchovnou jednotu. V této souvislosti bude hlavně prezentován hasičský sport v Širokém Dole na Poličsku. V letech 2003 – 2005 při terénním sociálně-antropologickém výzkumu byly zjištěny zajímavé poznatky, které upozorňují na různé kulturní konfigurace a sociální funkce. Sportovní aktivity tu mají na jedné straně určité limity, ale na druhé straně se bezpochyby prozrazují specifické záliby obyvatel obce.

Nejprve však uvedme základní údaje ke zkoumané vesnici. Tak Široký Důl (363 obyvatel v roce 2001) se především vyznačuje tím, že je prostorově členěn na dvě svébytné části (Kopec-Rovina), dále je zajímavý i z náboženského hlediska (katolíci-evangelíci), konečně pak se nachází na česko-moravském pomezí. Nadto Široký Důl je obcí, která díky existenci místní prosperující firmy Karla Flídra, má vhodné předpoklady dynamického vzestupu. Společenský ruch zajišťují především místní hasiči, kteří mají více než stovku členů. Jinak obec má výraznější tradicionalistické rysy, které se projevují například v hojné návštěvě katolického kostela. Pozoruhodné jsou rovněž převažující pohřby do země na dvou hřbitovech, katolickém u kostela a evangelickém na soukromém pozemku. Lze také poměrně přesně zvládnout příbuzenský systém této vesnice.

Jaké jsou zde limity sportu? Ve sledované obci neexistuje tělovýchovná jednotka typu Sokol nebo Spartak apod. Ke sportování není k dispozici ani tělocvična. Kopcovitý terén brání například rozvinout fotbal na velkém hřišti; hrací plochu většího rozsahu není tedy možné vhodně umístit do krajiny. Dále pro tzv. velký fotbal v soutěžích místní či okresní ligy je potřeba i širší hráčské zázemí v počtu kolem 15 – 20 osob.

- Mimochodem – v této obci se nacházejí dvě volejbalová hřiště, která je možné využívat i pro nohejbal. Jinak je rovněž instalován venkovní pingpongový stůl, který je využíván v letních měsících pro rekreační a zábavné účely. Jde také o příležitost k setkání mladých lidí. Volejbalová hřiště nejsou využívána pravidelně a ve větší sestavě hráčů.
- Nedá se říci, že by obyvatelé Širokého Dolu nebyli sportovně založeni. Existují různé individuální sportovní aktivity, z nichž například vyniká záliba v parkurových závodech koní. Samozřejmostí jsou také cyklistické výlety do okolí a vůbec přesun na kolech do sousedních obcí. Spíše náhodně se hraje florbal. V tomto příspěvku jde hlavně o deskripci a interpretaci kolektivních či týmových sportů.
- V obci přece jen existuje větší plocha pro sportování. Provozuje se na ní spontánně a zcela nepravidelně malá kopaná. Většinou však tento prostor slouží pro speciální pohybové, ba dokonce přímo sportovní aktivity hasičského sboru. Jde o dobře udržovaný travnatý povrch, který dlouhodobě zdarma pronajímá místní příznivec hasičů.
- Obecně lze říci, že se v tomto případě jedná o agonální hry (podle typologie Rogera Cailloise 1998), které organizuje místní hasičský spolek. Sdružení dobrovolných hasičů v Širokém Dole vlastně supluje tělovýchovnou jednotu. V dnešní době má zdejší hasičský sbor 102 členů, nichž je přes 30 aktivních členů a 18 dětí. Z této statistiky vyplývá, že jde o vysoký počet členů: zhruba třetina obce je organizována ve speciálním uskupení, a to má velký význam pro její integritu a stabilitu. Přitom záleží rovněž na frekvenci kontaktů

obyvatel. V některých obcích je přímo nadprůměrná, jak jsem například prokázal při terénním sociálně-antropologickém výzkumu v Dolní Rovni na Pardubicku (viz Šalanda 2004b). Tak v místní části Horní Roveň hasiči organizují společenská a jiná setkání minimálně jednou za měsíc.

Vraťme se však k Širokému Dolu: hasičský sport se tu plně rozvinul od roku 1998 za vedení aktivního člena a uznávaného vůdce silné skupiny v obci. Starosta hasičů Josef Břeň je opravdovým nadšencem pro věc, projevuje velkou snahu organizovat aktivity, podněcovat k výkonům. Byla sestavena družstva mužů, žen a dětí, která se zúčastňují soutěží i na republikové úrovni v simulovaných hasičských útocích, běhu na sto metrů přes překážky a ve štafetách. Hodí se dodat, že jde o postupové soutěže od okrsku, okresu, kraje až po mistrovství republiky. Sportovní výkony obyvatel Širokého dolu jsou odměňovány medailemi, poháry i věcnými cenami. Místní hasiči poměrně intenzivně trénují, většinou jednou nebo dvakrát týdně, když nastane sezóna závodů.

Prezentací obce je rovněž pořádání soutěží o pohár starosty. Ve zmíněné obci se pravidelně na začátku měsíce května sjíždějí hasičské týmy i z poměrně dalekého okolí. V roce 2005 byl v Širokém Dole uspořádán již 11. ročník sportovního zápolení v požárních útocích. (Jako srovnání s další zkoumanou obcí Sáňy na Poděbradsku uvádím, že ve stejné době o pohár starostky soutěžili hasiči teprve ve 2. ročníku.)

Největší událostí v životě obce je závěr sezóny koncem října, kdy se organizuje recesistická soutěž „O putovní pohár VŘSR - memoriál V. I. Lenina“. Soutěž má dvě části. Nejprve se rekonstruuje „světodějná“ událost za účasti „živého“ Lenina, kterého „dodávají“ dobrovolní hasiči z Dolního Třešňovce u Lanškrouna. Obvykle Lenin přichází pěšky za doprovodu pionýrek a příslušníků SNB. Scéna s křížníkem Aurora a proslulým výstřelem oznamuje začátek slavné revoluce. Třebas v roce 2004 několik místních účastníků znázorňovalo vyspělou sovětskou techniku. Malotraktor (tzv. motorobot), který táhl strom, nešel nastartovat. Pak se zázračně rozjel v doprovodu „ruských mužiků“ se sekýrami. Dále soutěž přijel podpořit rovněž Fidél Castro, který měl po zranění zafačované koleno a dlahu. Traktor přivezl i prezidenta Václava Klause, jehož imitoval místní obyvatel v masce. Každý rok se vymýšlejí nějaké inovace, které přinášejí i aktuality ze života naší vlasti. Tak v minulém roce (dne 29.10. 2005) se pro údajné špatné povětrnostní podmínky neustále očekávalo nouzové přistání letadla s kubánským představitelem. Nakonec se diváci dočkali: „velký“ Fidél byl vezen na drapákovém nakladači v letadle neobvyklé konstrukce, jejíž základ tvořila plechová vana. Jinak na traktorové vlečce zasedali poslanci parlamentu v zastoupení všech stran. Fiktivní pan premiér Jiří Paroubek dorazil s manželkou na motocyklu s postranním vozíkem. Také přišli účastníci technopárty, které premiér – po jejich mírumilovné a nevinné zábavě - nechal rozehnat policií.

Uvedená představení se odehrávají již od roku 1998 v areálu firmy Karla Flídra. Moderování úvodní části soutěže se ujímá sám majitel firmy. Atmosféru minulosti mimo jiné dotvářejí různé propagandistické materiály rozvěšené v areálu včetně budovatelských hesel. V neckách, používaných při zabíjačkách vepřů, odpočívá figurína „velkého“ Lenina s cigaretkou. Po půlhodinovém divadelním extempore začíná vlastní soutěž v požárních útocích za účasti více jak stovky družstev z celé republiky a v minulém roce i ze zahraničí, ze Spišské Soboty. Po představení je přece jen ještě spojovacím článkem mezi nevážným divadlem a vážnou soutěží vystoupení několika družstev seniorů v požárním útoku. Podmínkou účasti v mužstvu je nadváha, pevně stavění muži musí mít značně nad 100 kilogramů hmotnosti. Jsou prezentováni jako „Maxi Bulls“.

Pak nastává vážné soutěžení žen a mužů v požárním útoku, který roku 2005 absolvovalo 126 družstev. Přitom vítězí sedmičlenné družstvo s nejrychlejším časem, obvykle do 15 sekund,

než vystříkne proud vody na terč. Čas se elektronicky měří na setiny sekundy. Nejprve se ovšem musí pospojovat hadice, ponořit sací koš do kádě, správně nažhavit motor stříkačky a namířit vodu na cíl. Všichni účastníci berou akci velmi vážně, jde o věc prestiže: kdo bude nejlépe připraven. Místní družstvo sice vítězí jen zřídka, ale obsazuje jedno z předních míst, do první desítky účastníků.

Ve stanovený den se do poměrně malé obce sjede kolem tisícovky návštěvníků. Jsou vítáni v prostoru Flídrovy firmy, který dává k dispozici celé zázemí firmy včetně jídelny, hygienických zařízení a starých (dosud funkčních) výrobních hal. Více než padesát obyvatel obce zajišťuje organizaci soutěže jako pořadatelé, rozhodčí, kuchaři a číšníci. Muži a ženy čepují pivo, alkohol a limonády, servírují řízek se salátem, guláš, boršč a polévky. Dále připravují párek v rohlíku, smažené hranolky a bramboráky v dosti velkém množství.

Shora uvedená soutěž požárních útoků s úvodní parodickou částí je považována za vrchol sezóny i celého roku v obci. Další pravidelně se opakující událostí v Širokém Dole je rovněž valná hromada dobrovolných hasičů, konaná na začátku ledna. Zvláště poslední bilanční setkání hasičů, svolané na 8.1.2006, mělo obzvlášť zajímavý průběh, nejen proto, že bylo hojně navštíveno politickými celebritami. Za uplynulé roční období se konstatovaly mimořádné úspěchy hasičského sboru ve sportu, ale také se rekapitulovala rekonstrukce či stavba nové hasičské zbrojnice.

Za rok 2005 se uváděly vrcholy místních hasičů na mistrovství republiky. Dorost se v Plzni ve dnech 9. a 10.7.2005 umístil na 1. místě jak v celkovém pořadí soutěže, tak v požárním útoku. Družstvo mužů se na mistrovství republiky celkově umístilo na 2. místě ze 16 účastníků. Ba dokonce v běhu na 100 metrů překážek obsadil mladík ze „Širocka“ 2. místo a postoupil na hasičskou olympiádu do chorvatského Varaždínu, kde získal za své vítězství zlatou medaili.

Na lednové schůzi bylo dobře patrné, jak spolupracují jednotlivé generace. Ve většině případů jde o příbuzné: otce a syny. Někdy se této aktivitě věnují celé rodiny. Tak je tedy možné hovořit o mezigenerační spolupráci a solidaritě. Dále tato schůze vyznívala jako motivační pobídka pro nastávající období, kdy se v nedaleké Litomyšli bude konat mistrovství republiky v hasičských sportovních disciplínách. Měsíc září je tedy vytouženou metou pro podání nejvyšších sportovních výkonů.

V připraveném diskusním příspěvku na valné hromadě hasičů se jejich starosta Josef Břeň výstižně vyjádřil takto: „Když se vrátím k historii našeho sboru, každé období se neslo na určité vlně převažující činnosti. V minulosti vidíme pestrou spolkovou činnost divadelní, společná hasičská vystupování hasičů lezců, hasičů s náradím apod. Byly doby, kdy se sbor zaměřoval na pomoc obci při budování občanské vybavenosti. Nyní je to oblast požárního sportu, kterému se věnujeme vážněji již deset let. Ale v budoucnu přijdou jiné činnosti, jiní lidé a budou pokračovat v dlouhé a bohaté tradici našeho sboru.“ Právě tomuto starostovi hasičů byla loni na valné hromadě dána důvěra vést sbor do roku 2010.

Do výzkumu se obvykle zahrnuje hodnocení étosu zkoumané komunity, což znamená její celkové naladění nebo zaměření. Ve sportu a hře se postupuje podle určitých pravidel a zásad fair play. Při terénním výzkumu byl zaznamenán značný entusiasmus pro pohybové aktivity. V rámci prezentace lokality nelze počítat s výraznými projevy češství nebo vlastenectví. Jde přece jen o lokální fenomény, o vyjádření příslušnosti k lokalitě; na váhu padají rovněž pocity hrdosti. Nelze o místním sportu hovořit v tom smyslu, že je propojen s ideologií, politikou nebo konkrétními sociálními hnutími. Je to v podstatě záležitost integrující vlastní komunitu, reprezentující barvy obce.

Právě amatérský sport v lokálním rámci představuje závažnou lidskou aktivitu ve volném čase, sledující nejen zřetele zlepšování a upevňování fyzické kondice, nýbrž i vytvářející příležitosti pro setkání obyvatel. Při této aktivitě se uplatňují rovněž určité techniky těla, které nevyžadují speciální průpravu (jako například horolezectví nebo potápěčství). V úvahu také nepřípadají speciálně školení trenéři, popřípadě trenéři ověřenými mezinárodními úspěchy. Nicméně při hasičském sportu jsou nutní nadšení trenéři, rekrutující se z místního obyvatelstva.

Terénní výzkum v Širokém Dole mimo jiné potvrzuje určitý paradox: že spontánním organizujícím a stabilizačním činitelem obce jsou kratochvíle, zábavy a jiné aktivity ve volném čase. (To ostatně platí i pro další lokální komunity.) Lidé se organizují do spolkových, především sportovních skupin nebo týmů. Nastupuje tu specifická mimopracovní činnost, která sdružuje obyvatele různých generací. Přitom se neuplatňují věcné závislosti. Jinak řečeno: to znamená, že odpadají ekonomické činnosti, které by silně na sebe vázaly jednotlivé účastníky.

## **Závěr**

Předložený příspěvek se nezabýval ani národním a mezinárodním sportem nebo dokonce úlohou sportu v dnešním globálním světě. Nepronikl do tajů Super Bowlu ve Spojených státech amerických ani kriketu v Austrálii. Nezaměřil se ani na profesionální či špičkový sport, který je dnes proniknut komercí, reklamou, popřípadě různými aférami. následujících úvahách byla hlavní pozornost věnována analýze sportu a her v lokálním rámci. V tomto kontextu jde nejen o určité rekreační a relaxační činnosti, nýbrž i o formy trávení volného času. K tomu přistupuje rovněž snaha o zlepšování fyzické kondice. Zájem o sport – ať už se jedná o aktivní, nebo pasivní formy - také integruje obyvatele sledované obce, přispívá k pocitu sounáležitosti k lokalitě. (Ovšem netýká se to jen Širokého Dolu.) V dnešní době vesnici nedrží pohromadě společně vykonávaná činnost: zemědělství; touto činností se zabývá jen malé procento obyvatel. Jinak sport vykazuje vysokou prestiž jak pro jedince, tak i pro obce jako specifické celky.

V této souvislosti jsme se dotkli i určitých momentů organizačního chování na lokální úrovni. Stranou přitom zůstává působení obecního úřadu a základní školy. Právě určité momenty organizačního chování se projevují i ve spolkové činnosti, sportu a místní kultuře. Jde rovněž o institucionalizované a formalizované sociální vztahy.

Nedá se tuším říci, že by sport a hry přispívaly k výrazným transformacím lokální společnosti. Navazuje se na některé osvědčené aktivity. Vždycky se objevují lidé, kteří jsou schopni a ochotni rozvinout určité pohybové aktivity. Avšak není vůbec jednoduché vyžadovat na lidech kázeň, dodržování pravidel a dochvilnost.

Celkově vzato, během devadesátých let 20. století se nově začíná utvářet a stabilizovat ceremoniální systém vesnic, který jednak využívá osvědčené tradiční formy (například masopust nebo stavění májů, posvícení nebo poutě), jednak jsou jeho součástí sport a hry. Uplatňují se přitom nápady a iniciativa místních autorit, které jsou schopné vyvolat obecní nadšení pro určitou aktivitu.

Opomenout nesmíme ani ten moment, že hasičské sbory na české vesnici vytvářejí specifickou kulturu, která přispívá k žádoucí tendenci občanské společnosti. Sportovní aktivity hasičů ze Širokého Dolu mohou být nejen referenčním rámcem pro stanovení sociokulturních změn na české vesnici, nýbrž i jako východisko ke studiu sociální antropologie sportu.

## Post scriptum

Pro informaci se zmíním o mých terénních výzkumech zaměřených na studium českého venkova. Nejprve bude řeč o „návratu k návratnému výzkumu“ obce Široký Důl (363 obyvatel v roce 2001) na Poličsku, kde započal v roce 1912 krátkodobý výzkum etnolog Karel Chotek. Rokem 1973 se datuje snaha Ústavu pro etnografii a folkloristiku ČSAV provést poměrně komplexní výzkum „socialistické vesnice“ Široký Důl. V té době ho realizovalo oddělení zmíněného pracoviště, zaměřené právě na procesy kolektivizace a socialistických přeměn vesnice. Metodologie historického materialismu však k výzkumu vůbec nepřiléhala. Sami badatelé postupovali podle osvědčených, tradičních metod etnografie. Výzkum po dvou třech letech skončil a byly publikovány jen dílčí studie Nadi Valáškové o výběru partnera a Libuše Volbrachtové-Pourové o slavnosti stínání berana; materiál Miroslava Janotky k řemeslné výrobě zůstal v archívu. Tohoto výzkumu jsem zúčastnil jako elév, čerstvý absolvent pražské etnografie a archeologie. Zachytil jsem tu určitá sociální fakta a „folklorní povědomí“. Od roku 2003 vedu v této obci terénní výzkum studentů sociální antropologie Univerzity Pardubice.

V Dolní Rovni (1 851 obyvatel v roce 2001) vedl v letech 2002 – 2004 Petr Skalník za účasti studentů sociální antropologie Univerzity Pardubice široce koncipovanou terénní aktivitu (Skalník 2004, 2005). Všestranného opakovaného výzkumu se kromě mne ještě zúčastnil sociolog Jiří Šubrt. Jinak dlouhodobý výzkum Rovně je při každé příležitosti zasazován do širšího kontextu sociální antropologie Evropy a již se stal referenčním rámcem: Zjištěná data slouží mimo jiné pro komparaci diverzity sociálního života a subkulturních variací v moderním českém etniku. Jinak řečeno - jde o studium kulturních variací, regionálních historických a ekonomických sil a trendů (viz například Kottak 2000: 55).

Pro komparaci připadá v úvahu i další opakovaný výzkum v obci Sány (450 obyvatel v roce 2001, 821 obyvatel v roce 1930) nedaleko Poděbrad. (Opět jde o akci pardubických studentů.) Mezi dvěma světovými válkami to byla vzorná družstevní vesnice, která mimo jiné vzbudila pozornost sociologa Karla Gally (1936, 1937). Z Gallova sociologického výzkumu Sán byla publikována menší publikace v českém a anglickém znění. Po prudkém rozvoji v první polovině 20. století vesnice v současné době zaznamenává spíše útlum. Lidé vzpomínají na „velkou“ minulost vesnice a jsou spíše skeptičtí k jejímu dalšímu vývoji. Objektivně se obec nachází ve stadiu jisté regrese. Určité oživení může přinést spojení s dálnicí, která vede těsně za humny obce.

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# **Přispívá podpora zemědělcům v méně příznivých oblastech rozvoji venkova?**

## **Does Support for Agricultural Less-favoured Areas Contribute to Rural Development?**

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### **Klíčová slova**

méně příznivé oblasti, Horizontální plán rozvoje venkova, vyrovnávací příspěvky, rozvoj venkova, redukce plateb LFA

### **Abstrakt**

Příspěvky pro méně příznivé oblasti (less-favoured areas - LFA) představují 45 % z celkových plánovaných výdajů na Horizontální plán rozvoje venkova ČR 2004–2006. Jedním z cílů, které si toto opatření klade, je přispět ke stabilizaci venkovské populace. V tomto příspěvku je zhodnocena struktura vyrovnávacích příspěvků pro méně příznivé oblasti v ČR a ve vybraných zemích EU z hlediska zohlednění plánovaných cílů. Sazby jsou v zemích EU diferencovány nejen podle závažnosti přírodních omezení, ale ve většině zemí i podle výrobního zaměření zemědělského podniku, jeho velikosti a dalších specifických podmínkách podle politiky dané země. Obecně jsou více podporovány menší rodinné farmy zaměřené na chov skotu a ovcí. Česká republika je jedna z mála zemí, které neuplatňují žádnou podobnou restrikcí plateb. Pro výzkum byl využit registr půdních bloků (LPIS) a šetření sítě testovacích podniků (FADN). Byly simulovány platby příspěvků na podnik, na ha zemědělské půdy a na roční pracovní jednotku ve skupinách zemědělských podniků podle velikosti oprávněné plochy. Provedené rozborů prokázaly, že v ČR je největší podpora směřována velkým, extenzivně hospodařícím zemědělským podnikům bez ohledu na počet vytvořených pracovních míst. Podpory LFA přispívají ke stabilizaci venkovské populace nepřímo tím, že zemědělské využívání půdy udržuje kulturní venkovskou krajinu jako příjemné prostředí pro bydlení na venkově. Současný systém však dostatečně nepomáhá vytvářet či udržet pracovní místa v zemědělství v LFA. Redukce plateb LFA v závislosti na velikosti zemědělského podniku, kterou požaduje Nařízení Rady (ES) č. 1698/2005 o podpoře pro rozvoj venkova z Evropského zemědělského fondu pro rozvoj venkova pro roky 2007 – 2013, by mohla ušetřit určitou sumu prostředků, která by pak mohla být přesměrována přímo na podporu vytváření nových pracovních příležitostí na venkově.

### **Key words**

Less-favoured areas, Horizontal Rural Development Plan, compensatory allowances, rural development, reduction of LFA payments

### **Abstract**

The less-favoured areas (LFA) payments represent 45 % of total planned expenses for Horizontal Rural Development Plan of the Czech Republic for the period 2004 – 2006. One of the objectives of this measure is to contribute to a stabilisation of rural population. This paper evaluates the structure of compensatory allowances for less-favoured areas in the Czech Republic and selected EU countries from the point of view planned LFA objectives.

The payments rate are differentiated not only in accordance with natural conditions but in the most countries also in accordance with type of farming, size of enterprises or are differentiated in accordance with other specific conditions given by policy of individual country. In general a major support is given to smaller family farms with cattle and sheep holding. The Czech Republic is one of the few countries that do not apply any similar payment restrictions. The Czech Land Parcel Information System (LPIS) and data of Farm Accountancy Data Network (FADN) were used in this research. Average payments per farm unit, per hectare of utilised agricultural area and annual working unit were simulated in groups of farm according to a size of an eligible area. Expert analysis showed that maximum support in the Czech LFA was given to large extensive enterprises, regardless of a number of created working opportunities. Compensatory allowances contribute to a stabilisation of rural population only indirectly. Agricultural land use contributes to maintenance of rural countryside as a friendly environment for rural dwelling. The current Czech system does not help enough to create or keep job opportunities in agriculture in LFA. Reduction of LFA payments depends on a threshold level of area per holding, which is the demand of Council Regulation (ES) n. 1698/2005 on support for rural development by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD). The application in the Czech Republic could reserve some amount of financial recourses. This amount could be allocated to support for new job opportunity creation in the Czech rural areas.

## **Přispívá podpora zemědělcům v méně příznivých oblastech rozvoji venkova?**

### **Úvod**

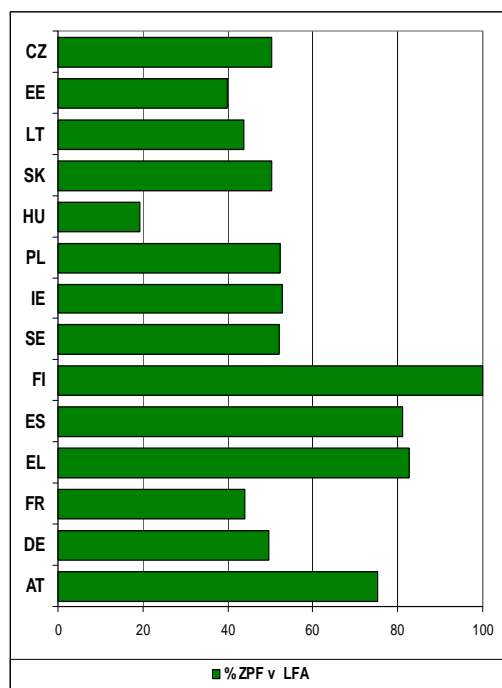
Podpora zemědělství v méně příznivých oblastech formou finančních příspěvků byla ve státech EU zavedena v roce 1975 s cílem podpořit pokračování zemědělství v oblastech se strukturálními a přírodními nevýhodami aby byla zajištěna minimální úroveň zalidnění a údržba krajiny (NR 75/268). V České republice byly podnikům v horších přírodních podmínkách poskytovány diferencované příplatky k tržbám za zemědělské výrobky. Tento systém sice udržel zemědělství ve všech oblastech ČR, ale stimuloval intenzivní hospodaření v nevhodných podmínkách se všemi nepříznivými dopady na životní prostředí a krajinu. Po roce 1989 se pomoc zemědělství v LFA postupně přizpůsobovala pravidlům EU a od roku 2004 je plně podřízena zákonům EU. Cílem podpory méně příznivých oblastí v Evropské Unii je podle stávajícího Nařízení Rady (EC) č. 1257/1999 přispět k:

- záruce pokračujícího využívání zemědělské půdy a tím k zachování životaschopné venkovské komunity;
- zachování venkovské krajiny;
- zachování a posílení trvale udržitelných systémů hospodaření, které budou jmenovitě brát ohled na požadavky ochrany životního prostředí

### **Porovnání podílu LFA a alokace finančních prostředků**

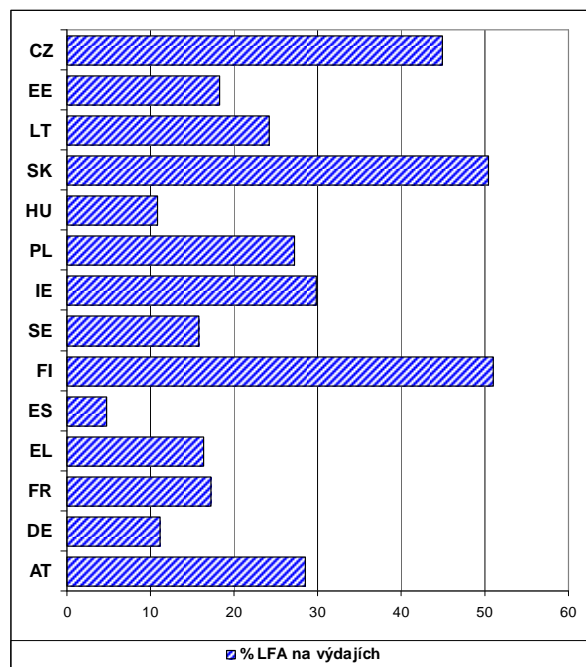
Podíl zemědělské půdy (ZP) vymezené jako méně příznivé oblasti na zemědělské půdě celkem je v jednotlivých státech EU velmi rozdílný v závislosti na přírodních podmínkách země [3]. Rozdělení celkové sumy veřejných zdrojů na rozvoj venkova do jednotlivých opatření závisí nejen na rozsahu LFA, ale odráží do určité míry i strategii jednotlivých zemí v oblasti podpor zemědělství a venkova. Na grafech č. 1 a 2 je porovnán podíl LFA na celkové výměře ZP daného státu a podíl prostředků na LFA na celkových prostředcích programu rozvoje venkova. Je zřejmé, že 45 % podíl v rámci Horizontálního plánu rozvoje venkova ČR 2004 - 2006 činí z plateb LFA velmi silné opatření. Vyšší je podíl prostředků na LFA jen na Slovensku a Finsku, které však má jako nepříznivé označeno celé území státu. Ostatní státy alokují relativně více prostředků např. do environmentálních opatření, podpory odbytu, poradenství, zakládání skupin výrobců, marketingu, alternativního využívání zemědělské půdy a dalších.

**Graf č. 1: Podíl LFA na zemědělské půdě**



*Pramen: Rada 2005, vlastní propočty*

**Graf č. 2: Podíl výdajů na LFA na celkových výdajích plánu rozvoje venkova**



*Pramen: plány rozvoje venkova 2000-2006, u nových členů 2004 - 2006, vlastní propočty*

## Struktura vyrovnávacích příspěvků ve vybraných zemích EU

Jednotlivé státy EU ve svých plánech rozvoje venkova často akcentují některý s cílů podpory nebo využívají platby LFA k podpoře řešení specifických problémů ve svém regionu [4].

Státy diferencují sazby vyrovnávacích příspěvků například podle:

- závažnosti omezení daných přírodními nebo specifickými podmínkami oblasti. Tuto diferenciaci uplatňují v podstatě všechny členské státy;
- využívání zemědělské půdy. Platby jsou poskytovány jen na plochu vybraných plodin, nejčastěji travních porostů a krmných plodin nebo některé plodiny jsou preferovány (např. plochy brambor ve Švédsku, sečené travní porosty v Řecku, zavlažovaná půda ve Španělsku);
- dodržování určených podmínek hospodaření. Například environmentální navýšení sazeb v závislosti na splnění stanovených zásad ochrany přírody a krajiny v Anglii a Walesu [5], omezení plateb jen na zemědělské podniky s chovem skotu, ovcí a koz, restrikce farem s tržní produkcí mléka ve Francii [1] apod.;
- charakteristiky farmáře nebo farmy. Např. v Řecku jsou zvýšeny sazby u mladých farmářů a farmářů vzdělaných. Ve Španělsku je sazba navýšena, pokud příjem farmy je nižší než 50 % referenčního příjmu a farmář musí mít bydliště ve stejné obci nebo obci sousedící s jeho farmou, ve Francii jsou vyloučeni žadatelé starší 65 let;
- velikosti oprávněné plochy na zemědělském podniku. Tato diferenciacie navazuje na NR 950/97 o zlepšení efektivnosti zemědělských struktur, které do roku 1999 striktně omezovalo velikost plochy pro poskytování kompenzačních plateb LFA na maximálně 120 ha na farmu a pro prvních 60 ha přiznávalo vyšší sazby [7]. Cílem bylo podpořit menší farmy a udržet zaměstnanost v zemědělství na venkově.

Snížením plateb pro velké podniky reagují jednotlivé země ve svých plánech rozvoje venkova na ustanovení odstavce 2 článku 16 NR (ES) 1257/1999, který upravuje podmínky poskytování vyrovnávacích příspěvků a který zní: „Platby budou stanoveny na výši, která vyloučí poskytnutí více než vyrovnání; tato zásada je zvláště důležitá v případě plateb pro méně příznivé oblasti“ [8].

Přehled o prahové úrovni plochy jednotlivých hospodářství, jak ji vymezily vybrané země EU v programovém období 2000 – 2006 [3], je uveden v tabulce 1 spolu se stanovenou minimální výměrou zemědělského podniku pro nárok na vyrovnávací příplatky.

**Tabulka č. 1: Přehled o uplatňování degresivity plateb u vybraných států EU v období 2000-2006**

Země	Minimální výměra podniku pro nárok	Degresivita plateb				Plocha bez nároku na platbu (maximum)
Francie	3 ha	do 25 ha	25 - 50 ha			nad 50
		110 %	100 %			0
Rakousko	2 ha	do 6 ha	6- 100 ha			nad 100 ha
		sazba 1	sazba 2 postupná redukce			0
Země	Minimální výměra podniku pro nárok	Degresivita plateb				Plocha bez nároku na platbu (maximum)
Sasko	3 ha					16 000 EUR na farmu + 8 000 EUR *)
Bavorsko	3 ha					12 000 EUR na farmu
Irsko		do 10 ha	do 45 ha			nad 45 ha
		114 %	100 %			0
Švédsko	3 ha	do 60 ha	nad 60 ha			není stanoveno
		100 %	50 %			
Řecko	1 ha	do 15 (50 u pastvin) ha				nad 15 ha (50 ha)
		100%				0
Španělsko	2 ha	do 5 ha	5 - 25 ha	25 - 50 ha	50 - 100 ha	nad 100 ha
		100 %	75 %	50 %	25 %	0
Anglie	10 ha	do 350 ha	351 - 700 ha			nad 700
		100 %	50 %			0
Wales	6 ha	do 140 ha	140 - 640 ha	640 - 800 ha		nad 800 ha
		100 %	65 %	30 %		0
Polsko	1 ha	do 50 ha	50 - 100	100-300		nad 300
		100 %	50 %	25 %		0
Maďarsko	1 ha	do 50 ha	50 - 100	100-300		nad 300
		100%	80 %	60 %		0
Ze zkoumaných zemí neuplatňuje degresivitu plateb Skotsko, Finsko, Slovensko, Lotyšsko, Litva a ČR						

*Ze zkoumaných zemí neuplatňuje degresivitu plateb Skotsko, Finsko, Slovensko, Lotyšsko, Litva a ČR*

*Pramen: Plány rozvoje venkova 2000 - 2006, u nových členů 2004 - 2006*

*\*) Maximální částka může být překročena, pokud má podnik více než 2 provozně nutné pracovní síly a to o 8 000 EUR na provozně nutnou pracovní sílu a rok (směrnice č. 18/2005, SächsABl s 630)*

Článek 37 odst. 4<sup>246</sup> Nařízení Rady (ES) č 1698/2005 o podpoře pro rozvoj venkova z Evropského zemědělského fondu pro rozvoj venkova zavádí tzv. „degresivitu plateb“ znovu ve všech zemích EU.

### **Struktura vyrovnávacích příspěvků v ČR**

Horizontální plán rozvoje venkova ČR 2004–2006 uvádí pro podporu hospodaření v LFA tyto cíle [6]:

- zajistit odpovídající příjmy zemědělským podnikům hospodařícím ve ztížených podmínkách. V návaznosti na tento cíl jsou sazby vyrovnávacích příspěvků diferencovány podle míry přírodního znevýhodnění;

<sup>246</sup> Platby se postupně snižují podle překročení určité prahové úrovně plochy jednotlivých hospodářství, která bude v programu vymezena [9].

- přispět k udržitelnému využití zemědělské půdy a ochraně ostatních přírodních zdrojů (zejména vodních zdrojů). V souvislosti s tímto cílem jsou platby poskytovány jen na plochu TTP;
- přispět ke stabilizaci venkovské populace. Pro dosažení tohoto cíle není aplikována žádná specifická úprava sazeb;
- udržet atraktivitu krajiny (krajinný ráz). Není aplikována žádná specifická úprava sazeb;
- podpořit systémy hospodaření přátelské k životnímu prostředí. Podmínkou plateb je dodržování „Zásad správné zemědělské praxe“.

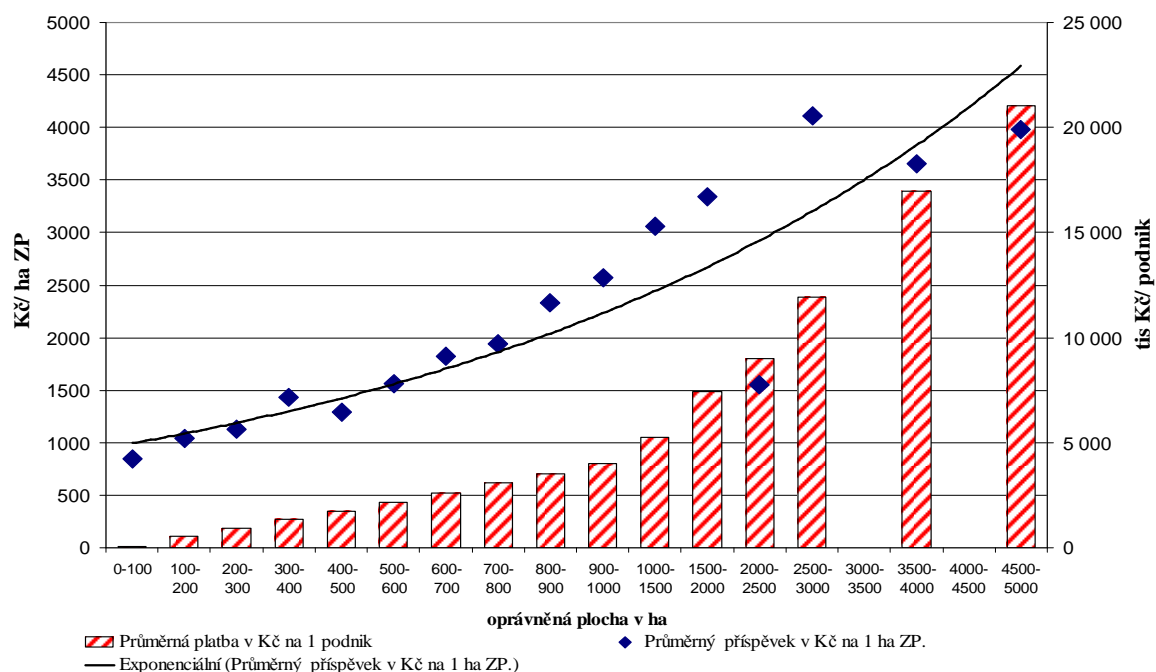
Nakolik současný systém plateb LFA v ČR napomáhá plnění stanovených cílů bude zřejmé až po několikaletém působení. V tomto příspěvku jsem se zaměřila na dvě otázky:

- 1) vylučuje současný systém plateb poskytnutí více než vyrovnání?
- 2) přispívá současný systém plateb stabilizaci venkovské populace?

Zkoumali jsme rozložení plateb LFA na podniky rozdělené do tříd podle výměry oprávněné plochy s nárokem na vyrovnávací příspěvky LFA. Modelové propočty byly provedeny na základě databáze registru půdních bloků LPIS v třídění podle jednotlivých uživatelů a podle katastrálních území k 17.5.2005. Sazby příspěvků na ha TTP byly přiřazeny na základě přílohy NV 241/2004. Je třeba zdůraznit, že se nejedná o skutečně vyplacené vyrovnávací příspěvky, ale o nárokovatelné částky zjištěné na základě výměry oprávněné plochy jednotlivých podniků bez případného snížení např. pro nedodržení „Zásad správné zemědělské praxe“ apod. [10]. Průměrné sumy plateb na podnik a na ha ZP uvádí graf č. 3.

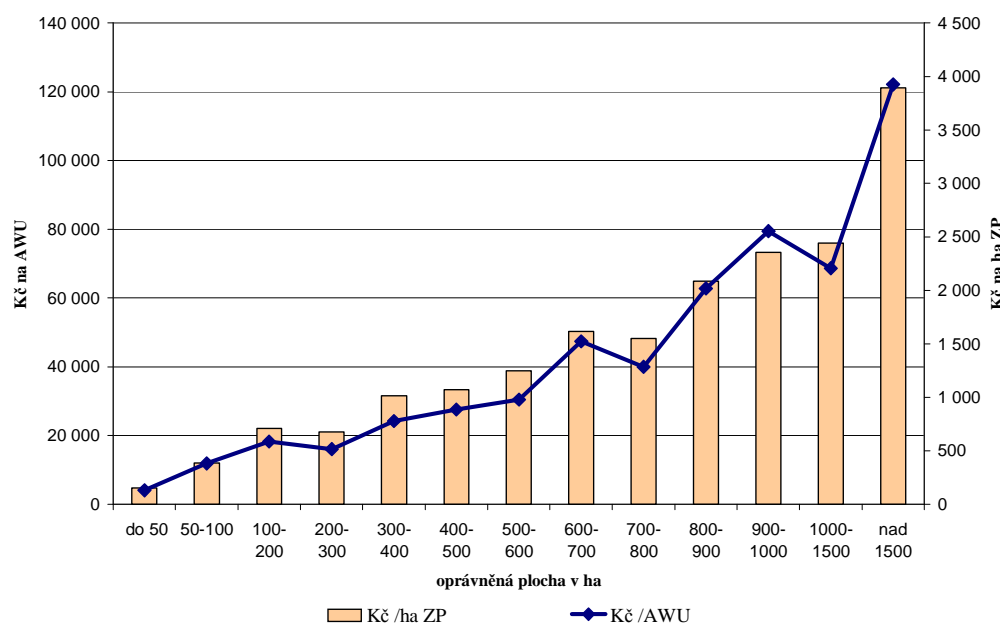
U velkých podniků se roční platby na jeden podnik mohou pohybovat i v řádu desítek milionů Kč. Do jednotlivých velikostních tříd byly zařazeny testovací podniky VÚZE FADN (Farm Accountancy Data Network) za rok 2003. V síti testovacích podniků nejsou zastoupeny podniky nad 2 tis ha oprávněné plochy. Jednotlivým podnikům byla přiřazena výše vyrovnávacích plateb LFA v podmínkách roku 2005. Zkoumána byla průměrná platba na ha obhospodařované zemědělské půdy a na roční pracovní jednotku (annual working unit - AWU) za jednotlivé velikostní skupiny. Výsledky shrnuje graf č. 4.

**Graf č. 3: Průměrné platby LFA na podnik a na ha ZP ve velikostních skupinách podniků**



Pramen: LPIS, vlastní modelové propočty

**Graf č. 4: Průměrné platby LFA na ha ZP a na roční pracovní jednotku ve velikostních skupinách podniků, simulace na souboru FADN**



Pramen: FADN, LPIS, vlastní modelové propočty

Průměrná platba na ha zemědělské půdy dosahuje u velkých podniků až 4 000 Kč. Objem platby LFA na roční pracovní jednotku může u velkých podniků přesahovat až 100 000 Kč ročně.



## **Závěry a doporučení**

Lze se oprávněně domnívat, že současný systém opatření LFA nemůže vyloučit poskytnutí více než vyrovnání. Provedená porovnání ukazují, že zejména podnikům s velkou výměrou půdy jsou poskytovány nejvyšší platby na ha zemědělské půdy i na roční pracovní jednotku.

Pokud jde o vliv podpory zemědělství na stabilizaci venkovské populace, je struktura zemědělských podniků v ČR odlišná od tradičních rodinných farem ve starých zemích EU. Velké podniky v ČR jsou zaměřeny na dosahování zisku, nikoli na zajištění důchodu členů rodiny jako malé rodinné farmy. Nelze očekávat, že vyplácení velkých objemů plateb povede velké podniky přímo k přijímání dalších zaměstnanců.

Ke stabilizaci venkovské populace mohou platby LFA v ČR přispívat zejména nepřímo tím, že podporovaní zemědělci udržují životní prostředí a kulturní krajinu pro bydlení na venkově. Působení plateb LFA směrem ke zlepšování životního prostředí by bylo možno ještě posílit například určitým navýšením při splnění omezujících podmínek hospodaření podle vzoru Anglie.

Snižování plateb v závislosti na velikosti podniků uváděné v Nařízení Rady (ES) č. 1698/2005 by mohlo uvolnit určitou sumu prostředků, která by pak mohla být směřována cíleně na podporu vzniku nových pracovních příležitostí na venkově, podporu diverzifikace činností, zlepšování služeb na venkově, obnovu a rozvoj vesnic.

Příspěvek vznikl v rámci podpory Národní agentury pro zemědělský výzkum projektu QF 3082,, Aktualizace a prohloubení vymezených méně příznivých oblastí a regionalizačních plánů pro nové programové období EU.“

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# **Spolupráce málotřídních škol na řízení a rozvoji: některé zahraniční inspirace**

## **Collaboration of the Small Schools in Management and Development: Foreign Inspirations**

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### **Klíčová slova**

málotřídky, spolupráce, řízení a rozvoj

### **Abstrakt**

Příspěvek chce upozornit na některé formy řízení málotřídních škol, které jsou rozšířené v zahraničí, a to zejména na území Velké Británie. Půjde o formy řízení, které jsou založené na vzájemné spolupráci několika škol. Společný postup při řízení málotřídek umožňuje těmto školám odolávat řadě problémů, které je ohrožují (např. izolaci, nedostatku materiální, finančních a ekonomických zdrojů nebo profesionální stagnaci učitelů). Existuje několik stupňů těsnosti spolupráce těchto škol. Mezi nejvolnější uskupení lze počítat ta, která spolupracují v oblasti extrakurikulárních aktivit. Málotřídky společně pořádají pro své žáky sportovní setkání, přírodovědné, výtvarné a další soutěže, organizují společné výlety atd. Tato seskupení nebývají formalizovaná, své aktivity realizují podle potřeby. Sdružení této úrovně můžeme najít i v naší republice. Těsnější míru spolupráce můžeme najít u tzv. clustrů. Tato seskupení, rozšířená ve Velké Británii, vznikají buď z popudu místních školských úřadů (LEA) nebo z vlastní iniciativy. Zaměřují se na spolupráci při zavádění inovací, předávání zkušeností, zpracování kurikulárních materiálů, společném získávání zdrojů atd. Školy participující na činnosti clustrů zůstávají i nadále samostatné. Nejtěsnější spojení málotřídek se nazývá federace. Jde o skupinu škol sloučených do jedné právnické osoby při zachování provozu jednotlivých členských škol. Ty si mezi sebou volí jednoho ředitele, jemuž je podstatně krácen učitelský pracovní úvazek ve prospěch času na řízení a administrativu. Školy mezi sebou koordinují využívání finančních, materiálních a personálních zdrojů. Společně je sestavován i rozvrh hodin, učitelé mohou mezi školami rotovat atd. Příspěvek diskutuje přínosy a omezení těchto sdružení, a to zejména na pedagogické rovině. Inspirující jsou však i ekonomické aspekty těchto uskupení. Z pohledu další existence málotřídek ve venkovských oblastech může jít o nosné modely jejich uspořádání.

### **Key words**

small schools, collaboration, management, development

# Spolupráce málotřídních škol na řízení a rozvoji: některé zahraniční inspirace

## Úvod

Myšlenka na spolupráci málotřídních škol<sup>247</sup> není nikterak nová. V různých podobách realizace bychom ji našli u nás i v zahraničí v průběhu celého 20. století. V jeho posledním čtvrtině, tedy zhruba od 70. let (s přihlédnutím k místním zvláštnostem) se evropským školstvím začala šířit myšlenka „accountability“, tedy jakéhosi skládání účtů, odpovědnosti za vynaložené zdroje a efektivitu využívání vložených prostředků (Rabušicová, 2000). Jejím důsledkem bylo koncentrování základních škol do větších regionálních center a rušení málotřídních škol. Ekonomická optika se trvale usadila ve školské politice i pedagogické teorii.<sup>248</sup> Evropský venkov té doby souběžně prožíval období velkého odlivu obyvatel, a to zejména v důsledku dalšího snižování podílu lidské práce v zemědělství.

Na mnoha místech Evropy se ve školské politice vyhrotil konflikt mezi centrem a periferií, tedy mezi politikou a zájmy národního státu a politikou a zájmy místních komunit. Na úrovni národní politiky státu začalo docházet k rozhodnutím směřujícím ke zvyšování kvality ve školství, ke změnám ve vzdělávacích cílech, postupech, kurikulu a evaluaci. Rozhodnutí o navýšení financí za práci, kterou musí někdo ve školství odvést spíše nepřicházela (Kvalsund, 2004). Analogické procesy probíhaly i na úrovni regionální politiky.

Venkovské, a zejména málotřídní školy začaly zažívat nejisté období. Významné množství těchto škol bylo zavřeno a zrušeno. Objevily se vlny pedagogických reforem a inovací, se kterými se musely a nadále musí vypořádávat. Vzrostl tlak na průběžné další vzdělávání učitelů a rozvoj jejich profesionálních kompetencí. S těmito nároky se málotřídky vyrovnávají obtížněji než školy plně organizované. Jejich personál je malý a jeho kapacita omezená. Více než kdy dříve vzniká potřeba realizaci jednotlivých kroků reforem konzultovat, sdílet vlastní zkušenosti, získávat další zdroje k jejich naplnění. Z iniciativy jednotlivých škol i řídících školský orgánů začaly vznikat různé druhy spolupracujících skupin a sdružení těchto škol, která podle potřeb kladou důraz buď na spolupráci v rovině pedagogické nebo spíše v oblasti řízení a ekonomického rozvoje školy.

O několika modelech takové spolupráce budu mluvit v tomto příspěvku. Jde totiž o zajímavé strategie vedoucí ke stabilizaci a rozvoji sítě málotřídních škol na venkově.

## Typy sdružení málotřídních škol a míra jejich spolupráce na rozvoji a řízení

Málotřídní školy zajišťují u nás i v okolní Evropě především primární vzdělávání. Jejich počet není zanedbatelný, od 90. let 20. st. se v naší republice pohybuje mezi 30 – 35 % ze všech základních škol. Přesto jsou na okraji zájmu jak pedagogického výzkumu, tak školské politiky.<sup>249</sup> Pro tu jsou již dlouhou dobu typem školy, který se jeví jako ekonomicky nevýhodný a pedagogicky diskutabilní (i když z hlediska učebních výsledků žáků dnes není pochyb o tom, že jde o školy rovnocenné, v některých případech i úspěšnější) (Kvalsund, 2004, *The Small Rural...*, 1998).

<sup>247</sup> Základní škola je organizována jako málotřídní tehdy, vyučuje-li se alespoň v jedné učebně společně dva nebo více ročníků. V České republice mohou být jako málotřídky organizovány pouze I. stupě ZŠ.

<sup>248</sup> Rozvíjí se témata jako pedagogická efektivita, kvalita vzdělání, učební výsledky...

<sup>249</sup> Toto neplatí pro celou Evropu obecně. Jsou země, které se snaží síť venkovských málotřídek stabilizovat a podporovat (např. Skotsko nebo Katalánie). V oblasti pedagogického výzkumu existuje mnoho empirické evidence zejména z oblasti Velké Británie, Finska, Norska a jiných zemí.

Zaměstnanci málotřídek se tak musí vyrovnávat nejen s nároky práce na škole, ale fakticky i s řadou ohrožení ze strany řídicích a správních orgánů.<sup>250</sup> Vznikají proto snahy čelit různým druhům deficitů a ohrožení společně, sdružováním těchto škol. Představím zde různé podoby takových sdružení, tak jak je můžeme najít v evropských zemích (zejména pak na území Velké Británie).

Míra těsnosti vzájemné spolupráce škol v takových sdruženích může variovat od velmi volné po velmi úzkou. Mezi nejvolnější patří tzv. asociace, těsnější spolupráci najdeme v clusterech a mezi úzký typ spolupráce lze počítat federace málotřídních škol. V tomto pořadí se s nimi i seznámíme. Jde o příklad z Velké Británie, ale obdobná sdružení lze najít i jinde v Evropě.<sup>251</sup>

### **Volná sdružení málotřídek (asociace)**

Nejvolnější sdružení, někdy označované jako asociace, venkovských málotřídek vznikají zejména z důvodu snížení izolace jejich žáků. Vznikají zpravidla na základě existujících osobních vztahů mezi učiteli nebo řediteli zúčastněných škol.

Sdružené školy připravují pro své žáky sportovní utkání, literární, přírodovědné a další soutěže, organizují společné výlety nebo exkurze. V organizaci těchto „podniků“ se jednotlivé školy střídají. Jejich četnost závisí na potřebách a možnostech sdružených škol. Jde o spolupráci na přípravě a realizaci extrakurikulárních aktivit, tedy zejména o spolupráci v rovině pedagogické, která není formalizována.

Je však známo, že ředitelé a učitelé těchto škol spolu udržují kontakt (telefonicky nebo elektronicky) a často spolu konzultují různé školské novinky (Trnková, 2004, McPake, 1998). Asociace tedy funguje i jako platforma pro neformální diskuse a konzultace strategií řízení a rozvoje školy. Tento typ sdružení nacházíme nejen ve Velké Británii, ale i v jiných evropských zemích, včetně naší. Za všechny jmenujme volná sdružení málotřídek fungujících v okolí Brna, na Novojičínsku nebo Chrudimsku.

Aktivita asociací málotřídek směřují hlavně ke snaze rozšířit žákům málotřídních škol možnosti porovnání vlastních výkonů v různých oblastech kurikula se svými vrstevníky. Vedle toho žáci získávají i možnost poznat prostředí jiných škol a učitelů, což může zmírnit potíže při přechodu na vyšší stupeň školy. Pro učitele je práce pro asociaci spíše prací nad rámec běžných povinností. Dá se tedy očekávat, že se do podobných aktivit zapojí spíše ti ředitelé a učitelé, kteří neuvažují o své práci pouze ve formálně daných limitech.

### **Clustry<sup>252</sup>**

Jde o rozvojové skupiny složené obvykle z několika primárních, popř. i oblastních nižších sekundárních škol. Školy začleněné do clustru jsou z hlediska právní samostatnosti i nadále svébytné, nicméně jejich činnost se může v mnoha ohledech dostat do roviny velmi intenzivní spolupráce. Ve Velké Británii byly v mnoha případech založeny, aby podpořily implementace změn v kurikulu a evaluaci výsledků žáků i školy.

<sup>250</sup> Jako příklad uveďme nedávnou změnu v udělování tzv. výjimek, o něž musí škola žádat, ocitne-li se počet žáků školy pod limitní hranicí. Tyto výjimky bývaly udělovány na 3 roky. Zkrácení tohoto období na 1 rok znamenalo fakticky nemožnost kdekoli žádat o peníze, plánovat další rozvoj atd.

<sup>251</sup> O příkladech z ostatních zemí se zmíním na odpovídajících místech v textu.

<sup>252</sup> České překlady slova cluster mohou být shluk, trs, skupina nebo chumel. Pro vyjádření sociálního seskupení se nám nejlépe hodí slovo skupina, které však považují za tolik nespecifické, že si dovoluji v celém textu používat i nadále anglického slova cluster.

Spolupráce škol v clustru se však neomezuje pouze na pedagogickou oblast. Neméně důležitá je i spolupráce v rovině ekonomické. Proto se pokusím v následujícím textu oba typy spolupráce odlišit, i když se mohou ve skutečnosti překrývat.

### **Ekonomická spolupráce škol v clustru**

Výzkum poukazuje na širokou varietu existujících uspořádání. Modely mají mnoho společných charakteristik a jsou mezi nimi významné přesahy. Mezi hlavní patří model sdíleného ekonoma. Ekonom ve škole je ve Velké Británii členem neučícího personálu se širšími povinnostmi než školní sekretář/ka. Stará se zejména o školní rozpočet a účetnické otázky. Je běžné, že málotřídky sdílí služby ekonoma v mnoha variantách:

- ekonom je zaměstnán na dvou nebo více sousedících primárních školách a vykonává pro tyto školy stejné funkce,
- ekonom je zaměstnaný jednou školou a poskytuje dohled a rady v oblasti účetnictví a rozpočtu méně kvalifikované sekretářce v sousední škole, popř. poskytuje sousední škole přímo své služby,
- ekonom je zaměstnancem školského úřadu (LEA) a jeho služby jsou kupovány řadou primárních škol v rámci smluv o poskytovaných službách daného školského úřadu.<sup>253</sup>

Druhé ze zmíněných variant se říká pyramidový model, a to v případě, že školou, která ekonoma zaměstnává, je nižší sekundární škola podílející se na činnosti clustru. Školy odmítající účast na tomto uspořádání uvádí jako důvod riziko nedostatečné identifikace ekonoma s potřebami jednotlivých škol (*The Small Schools and...*, 1996). V žádné z těchto variant není ohroženo právní postavení jednotlivých škol. Školám toto uspořádání umožňuje úspory.

V oblasti ekonomického řízení a rozvoje jsou na školy zvyšovány nároky, a to ve schopnosti formulovat vize rozvoje školy, zpracovávat strategie tohoto rozvoje a jeho ekonomickou i pedagogickou stránku, získávat další zdroje atd. To vše je spojeno se zvyšováním vzdělanosti v tomto směru, ale také, prozaičtěji, s růstem administrativy. Pro ředitele málotřídek je účast v clustru vydatnou pomocí, neboť urychluje náročný proces generování a formulování vizí a strategií. Cluster, jako sdružení ředitelů a učitelů škol, si může dovolit i společný nákup služeb různých poradců a konzultantů. Jednotlivě si takové služby, poskytované navíc v místě působení, málotřídky nemohou dovolit.

Existují i případy, kdy školy v clustru společně sdílí nebo využívají vlastní vybavení, materiály nebo pomůcky. Obvykle se to týká sportovišť, odborných učeben apod. V tomto směru na tom západoevropské málotřídky nemusí být o mnoho lépe než školy české. I britští ředitelé málotřídek si stěžují, že nemají vlastní pracovnu, tělocvičnu nebo dokonce toalety uvnitř hlavní budovy školy (Jordan, Whiteley, 1997).

### **Spolupráce v clustru v pedagogické oblasti**

Význam tohoto typu spolupráce pro málotřídky ve Velké Británii vzrostl ve chvíli, kdy byly postaveny před nutnost vytvářet vlastní kurikulum, zajistit jeho rozpracování do osnov a tematických plánů a toto vše doplnit vhodným didaktickým materiálem. I pro školy úplné byla tato kurikulární reforma náročná.<sup>254</sup> Vedle změn v kurikulu se objevily i inovace v hodnocení žáků i škol. Cluster, jako svého druhu svépomocná skupina, se jevil jako

<sup>253</sup> Takové služby poskytují místní školské úřady školám bez ohledu na jejich účast v clustru. Jsou-li však takto školy angažovány, práce tohoto ekonoma se jejich aktivitám přizpůsobuje.

<sup>254</sup> Aktuálně můžeme sledovat obtíže našich základních škol při zpracovávání školních vzdělávacích programů.

možnost, jak o přicházejících reformách diskutovat a uvažovat nad rámec vlastní školy, a to s lidmi, kteří jsou v podobné situaci. Podle Jordana a Whiteleye (1997) jde o jeden z největších přínosů clustů pro ředitele málotřídek.

Tyto diskuse nabývají i praktické podoby ve společné práci na kurikulární dokumentaci a materiálu. Ukazuje se, že cluster v této oblasti přispívá:

- k většímu potenciálu pro vypracování společného kurikula mezi školami,
- k rozvoji „domácího“ personálu díky společnému využívání lidských zdrojů,
- k zlepšení kvality a rychlosti tvorby kurikulárních materiálů využitelných v několika školách,
- k efektivnějšímu využití omezených finančních zdrojů pro tuto oblast.

Dobře fungující cluster využívá specializované aproby učitelů všech členských škol, může vytvářet tzv. předmětové koordinátory pro každou oblast kurikula (což je na škole s maximálně čtyřmi učiteli nemožné). Riziko profesionální stagnace a uzavřenosti učitelů málotřídek se snižuje. Obohacuje se tedy nejen kurikulum těchto málotřídek, ale i samotní učitelé.

Clustery vznikají na základě mnoha impulsů. Často jde o iniciativu místních školských úřadů, které jejich činnost podporují poradensky nebo finančně. Jindy jde o iniciativu zúčastněných škol. Ukazuje se, že podpora ze strany úřadů pomáhá překonávat těžkosti spojené s účastí v clusteru. Častěji se fungující skupiny nacházejí ve výrazně venkovských nebo odlehlých regionech. Tato spolupráce posiluje i sebedůvěru škol a snižuje jejich existenciální obavy (*Small Schools and...*, 1996, McPake, 1998).

V Katalánii ve Španělsku existuje podobný model, který se nazývá Zóny venkovských škol. Jde o uspořádání venkovských škol nacházejících se ve vzájemné blízkosti iniciované zemskou školskou správou. Ani v tomto uspořádání školy neztrácí svou právní samostatnost, vytváří spíš jakousi superstrukturu. Školy vzájemně využívají svých zdrojů, mohou si dovolit rotující speciální pedagogy a specializované učitele (nejčastěji hudební, výtvarné, tělesné výchovy a cizího jazyka). Pořádají společné akce. Pro jednotlivé zóny je vytvářen speciální vzdělávací servis ze strany pedagogických center, mají i vlastního školního psychologa. Většina škol vnímá toto uspořádání pozitivně, neboť narušilo jejich vzájemnou izolovanost a uzavřenost. Na řízení těchto zón se podílí v rovnocenném zastoupení zástupci škol, obcí a rodičů ze všech sdružených škol (Arjona, Aige, Mirada, 2000).

Britské clustery nebo katalánské Zóny venkovských škol představují struktury umožňující učitelům a ředitelům málotřídek pracovat ve větších skupinách, a to zejména na úkolech, které s sebou přinášejí kurikulární, evaluační a rozvojové reformy objevující se i jinde v Evropě.

### **Federace venkovských škol<sup>255</sup>**

Uspořádání škol do federace předpokládá, že se jednotlivé školy vzdají své právní samostatnosti a ta přejde pouze na jednu z nich. Obvykle se této škole říká centrální a její ředitel se stává ředitelem všech zúčastněných škol (označovaných jako základny), jejichž počet zpravidla nepřesahuje číslo pět. Nejčastěji federace venkovských málotřídních škol (všechny školy v federaci nemusí být málotřídní) vzniká proto, že v některé z málotřídek se nedaří obsadit místo ředitele. Toto nebo jiné ohrožení existence školy vede zpravidla místní

<sup>255</sup> V této části příspěvku čerpám ze dvou klíčových zdrojů, a to Thorpa a Williamsové (2002) a *Small Schools and Collaborative Arrangements* (1996). Přímé citace označuji, stejně tak jako ostatní využití zdroje.

školní úřad nebo i samotnou obec ke snaze uspořádat vztahy školy tak, aby byla v daném místě zachována. Federace je jednou z možností, jež je využitelná zejména tehdy, jestliže daná škola již dříve spolupracovala s některou z okolních škol, jež je stabilní a je ochotna ke spojení přistoupit. Celé uskupení má společný řídicí orgán (obdobu Rady školy), v němž zasedají zástupci všech škol a obcí.

Předem se musí vyjasnit způsob financování federativní školy. Hlavní odpovědnost za sestavování rozpočtu školy ve Velké Británii nese ředitel, který musí před učiteli i řídicím orgánem obhájit podobu rozpočtu pro celou federaci i pro každou ze škol. Zaměstnanci musí mít předem jasno, jaký je jejich status, plat, umístění a odpovědnost, neboť jejich práce v rámci federace se do značné míry mění.

Celá federace funguje asi takto. Řediteli<sup>256</sup> federace škol se vyučovací povinnost snižuje na minimum, a to ve prospěch času na řízení.<sup>257</sup> Rozvrh na jednotlivých školách se vzájemně koordinuje. Bývá zvykem, že se podporuje specializace učitelů jednotlivých škol, kteří mezi základnami rotují (jedná se zejména o učitele hudební a tělesné výchovy nebo cizích jazyků). Ředitel si může buď ponechat třídnictví v centrální škole nebo učí v každé ze škol svůj „silný“ předmět. Druhá možnost se zdá být vhodnější, neboť umožňuje řediteli udržovat kontakt s každou ze škol. I když ředitel neučí v každé ze škol, je vhodné, aby pravidelně každou základnu navštěvoval, průběžně vyřizoval administrativu a reagoval na potřeby jednotlivých škol.

Učitelé se domlouvají společně na tom, kde, kdo, kdy a proč bude vyučovat. Zachovává se obvykle systém třídního učitele, který vyučuje většinu předmětů s výjimkou těch, které vyučují specialisté. Dále učitelský sbor všech škol spolupracuje na tvorbě kurikula, školy tak mohou sdílet různé kurikulární odborníky, vytvářet předmětové komise, jež vypracovávají potřebné dokumenty pro všechny školy. Tím se učitelům snižuje administrativní a pedagogická zátěž. Jednotlivé školy mají možnost přizpůsobovat kurikulum vlastním specifikům.

Výuka žáků probíhá zejména na domovských školách. Bývá však zvykem žáky některé dny v týdnu na některý typ výuky přesunovat. Důvodem je zejména možnost organizace výuky ve vrstevnických skupinách a také využití lepšího vybavení některé ze škol. Žáci jsou seskupováni na základě řady kritérií.<sup>258</sup> Základní snahou však je omezit cestování žáků na minimum (což je důležité pro rodiče žáků).

V ideálním případě by měla federace škol zachovat tyto charakteristiky málotřídek: uchování blízkého vztahu s komunitou, poskytnutí rodinného prostředí uvnitř školy, odpovědnost k potřebám jedinců, kvalitní výuku a dobré výsledky učení, flexibilitu a inovativnost, lokální dostupnost s relativně nízkým počtem dojíždějících.

Vybudovat dobře fungující federaci málotřídních škol nemusí být snadné. Welští autoři Thorpe a Williamsová (2002) u stabilních a dobře fungujících federací málotřídek identifikovali tyto společné rysy:

- 1) Potřeba určitých společných předpokladů v historii škol – např. užší spolupráce (i v clustru), společná rada školy, podobná kultura školy nebo geografická blízkost;

<sup>256</sup> Mezi řediteli a učiteli škol vstupujícími do federace musí vzniknout shoda o tom, kdo se stane jediným ředitelem. Podle publikovaných údajů tato dohoda nebývá problematická, někdy se tito ředitelé po určitém období střídají (Thorpe, Williams, 2002).

<sup>257</sup> Tuto skutečnost každý ředitel málotřídky vítá, neboť při plné vyučovací zátěži je vždy nucen bojovat s nedostatkem času na řízení a rozvoj školy (+ nezbytnou administrativu) (Jordan, Whiteley, 1997).

<sup>258</sup> Může jít o seskupování žáků jednoho ročníku, seskupování za účelem projektové výuky, za účelem možnosti výuky kolektivních sportovních her, využití počítačové učebny apod.

2) Konzultace a komunikace musí probíhat na všech úrovních a všemi směry (uvnitř škol, uvnitř a mezi obcemi, s rodiči). Komunikaci je možné podporovat informacemi o fungování jiných federací. Musí být dány záruky, že tato reorganizace přinese školám stabilitu a nepovede k další reorganizaci nebo ke zrušení některé ze škol. Cítlivé je to zejména při různých velikostech škol;

3) Pocit identifikace rodičů a učitelů s vlastními školami je silně motivující a přispívající faktor ve chvíli, kdy o vznik federace škol usiluje zejména obec nebo místní školský úřad.

Federativní uspořádání málotřídních škol není na území Velké Británie příliš rozšířené, a to zejména z důvodu velké organizační a řídicí náročnosti celého procesu vzniku takové školy. Je-li úspěšně zvládnuta tato etapa a optimalizována pravidla fungování celého uspořádání, jeví se tato struktura jako velmi výhodná. Nízký výskyt federativních škol je dán i tím, že se jedná o uspořádání škol, které se objevilo ze všech uvedených příkladů až jako poslední.

### Limity spolupráce

Jak se zdá, činnost zmíněných forem seskupení venkovských málotřídních škol má četné výhody – snížení izolace školy, možnost spolupráce v oblasti tvorby kurikula, možnost vrstevnické a specializované výuky žáků, úspora finančních zdrojů atd. V polovině 90. let se aktivněji v těsnějších typech spolupráce na úrovni clustru angažovalo asi 21 % britských primárních a nižších sekundárních škol (*The Small School and...*, 1996).<sup>259</sup> Zdánlivě to není mnoho. A proto si souhrnně v závěru příspěvku uveďme některé z překážek či nevýhod stojících v cestě většímu rozšíření zmíněných modelů spolupráce málotřídek.

Ukazuje se, že jednou z nejzávažnějších skupin faktorů problematizujících účast v některém typu spolupracující skupiny jsou faktory *personální*. Projevují se např. rezistencí vůči spolupráci s ostatními školami, rezistencí vůči dalšímu profesionálnímu rozvoji, odmítáním další práce pro školu nad rámec daných povinností atd. Do značné míry jsou důsledkem rychlého sledu školských reforem, které Velká Británie zažila, které vedly k velkému zatížení učitelů (a to zejména na málotřídkách) (Jordan, Whiteley, 1997). V jiných zemích by se však podobné faktory našly rovněž, i když důvody by byly zřejmě jiné.

Druhou skupinou faktorů limitujících vzájemnou spolupráci málotřídek, úzce souvisejících se skupinou předešlou, jsou faktory *finanční*. Společná činnost asociací, ale často i clustrů není zpravidla finančně ohodnocena, jakkoliv jde o práci navíc. Pro mnohé učitele je to důvod, proč se takové spolupráce neúčastnit. Na venkově to znamená i to, že na vzájemná setkání je nutno cestovat – což znamená další náklady. Jak jsme již řekli, setkání některých clustrů podporují místní školské úřady, práci samotnou však nikoliv. Práce ve školství nepatří mezi lépe placené ani v západní Evropě, takže se jedná o faktor značně ovlivňující motivaci zúčastněných aktérů.

Svou úlohu mohou sehrát i faktory *strategické*. Některé málotřídky i úplné venkovské školy nestojí o ztrátu vlastní autonomie. Zpravidla jim jde o to zachovat si vlastní specifikum v oblasti kurikula (např. waldorfské nebo komunitní školy).

Limitující ve vztahu k vzájemné spolupráci málotřídek může být i *geografická* poloha škol. V případě odlehklých osad, ostrovů, vysokohorského osídlení atd. nemusí být pravidelná spolupráce reálná (zejména z důvodů cestování).

V neposlední řadě může spolupráci málotřídek limitovat *legislativa*. O tom ostatně píše i McPakeová (1998), když uvádí některé rozdíly ve školské legislativě mezi Skotskem a Anglií, které dlouhou dobu brzdily právě v Anglii rozvoj těchto struktur.

<sup>259</sup> Aktuální údaj o stavu v celé Velké Británii se nepodařilo zjistit.



Bylo by zřejmě možné identifikovat i některé další limity spolupráce. Ukazuje se, že klíč k jejich odstranění je z velké části v rukou politiků, kteří mohou nastavit pravidla pro tento typ sdružování škol tak, aby ředitelé a učitelé málotřídních škol byli pro účast v takových strukturách motivováni.

## Závěr

V současné době se naše základní školy potýkají s poměrně zásadní kurikulární reformou. Žádná ze škol to nemá jednoduché, jen málotřídky to mají horší. Tvorbu školního vzdělávací programu musí zvládnout v maximálně čtyřech lidech. Jde o období, kdy na ceně nabývá předávání zkušeností, týmová spolupráce a další formy sociálního kontaktu učitelů a ředitelů. Jde o období, kdy je vhodné uvažovat o práci na zmíněných úkolech i jinak. Příklad Klubu málotřídek Chrudimska [online] (2006) ukazuje, že je v našich podmínkách možné i bez velké vnější podpory začít s širším druhem spolupráce škol než jen v oblasti extrakurikulárních aktivit. Z vlastní zkušenosti vím o více neformálních skupinách ředitelů nejen málotřídních škol, které slouží k diskusím nad tématy, jež přináší pedagogická a řídicí práce. Zdá se, že by i v naší republice mohlo existovat podhoubí, z něž by mohly vznikat rozvojové struktury podobné těm, o nichž jsem psala.

V tomto příspěvku jsem chtěla upozornit na zahraniční zkušenosti ze vzájemné spolupráce málotřídních venkovských škol. Jedná se o modely, které mohou podnítit úvahy o tom, jak tyto školy podpořit a umožnit jim, v podstatě svépomocně, aktivně reagovat na objevující se změny jak ve školské politice, tak ve vlastní škole a obci. Tento druh spolupráce škol může zjemnit napětí spojené s realizací školských reforem a nedostatkem peněz na její realizaci. Jde totiž o cestu nejen k profesionálnímu růstu zaměstnanců školy, ale i o cestu k finančním úsporám. Obojí může posílit postavení málotřídních škol, jejichž kvalitní fungování je nezbytné pro úvahy o rozvoji venkova.

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