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# The Czech Republic in the rural Europe

## Česká republika v rurální Evropě

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**Abstract:** The paper addresses the comparison of the situation in the Czech Republic with the situation in the EU countries. The comparison is mostly focused on rural regions and based on analysing the selected geographical, demographic and socio-economic indicators. The data used for this analysis are statistical documents, official documents and articles closely related to the investigated issue. The paper aims at the analysis, of the problems in the Czech rural areas from the point of view of the indicators, which are used for assessment of unfavourable conditions. In conclusions, the difficulties are evaluated as a starting point of possible rural development.

**Key words:** Czech Republic, European Union, rural regions, unfavourable conditions for development, rural development

**Abstrakt:** V článku je srovnávána Česká republika se zeměmi asociovanými v Evropské unii, pokud jde o venkovská území, resp. jeho vybrané geografické, demografické a socioekonomické ukazatele. Vychází z dostupných statistických pramenů, oficiálních dokumentů a statí, které věnují pozornost této problematice. Cílem statí je analyzovat problematičnost rurálních oblastí České republiky v ukazatelích používaných pro stanovení nepříznivých podmínek vývoje. Problematičnost je v závěrech zhodnocena jako výchozí podmínka případného rurálního rozvoje.

**Klíčová slova:** Česká republika, Evropská unie, rurální oblasti, nepříznivé podmínky vývoje, rurální rozvoj

### INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses "Rural Europe" with special focus aiming at the situation in the Czech Republic. The paper is not based on the data generated through author's empirical research.<sup>1</sup> The data sources are official documents published by various bodies of the European Union as well as by their counterparts in the Czech Republic. These data and data which have been already published in the articles in the scientific journal *Agricultural Economics* are the backgrounds for thinking about unfavourable conditions of rural development in the Czech Republic. Therefore, the first part of the paper shows detailed comparison of the European Union countries (NUTS 1). Such comparison is based on demographic, geographic and socio-economic indicators which are used to identify unfavourable conditions for development. In the second part of paper, the situation of the European Union countries is compared with the situation of the Czech Republic. To implement this comparison, territorial units NUTS 2, NUTS 3 and especially NUTS 4 are exploited.

### THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL APPROACHES

The term which seems to be better for the use here is the term "Rural Europe". Its understanding in this text is close to its comprehension in the document *Rural Development* (1997). This material provides justification of the term "Rural Europe" rather than of another commonly used term – "Rural Society" (see "The Future of Rural Society" 1988). The issue is that both the aspect of physical space (identified through the set of the geographical and demographic indicators), and the aspect of social space (identified with more difficulties, through the set of socio-cultural attributes out of which the easiest identification concerns economic indicators), should be included in the discussed term – Rural Europe.

The term "Rural Europe" as used in the above outlined document, represents the space going across regions. It involves both (relatively) natural landscape including agricultural land or forest, and settlements – hamlets, small communities, villages, rural towns (regional centres) together with industrial zones built in the vicinity of towns limits in the open landscape. In this understanding, the conception of rural Europe includes heterogeneous and complex economic and social structures. Such rich and abundant structuration corresponds with factual diversity of European rural regions. Therefore, there is no wonder that there is no common definition of "rurality" and definition of the countryside within the EU. There is no common definition which would comprise both aspects of "rural Europe" considered as a certain physical and social spaces. The only argument exists in basic demographic, geographical and economical indicators

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is used as a background study for the research of authors under the grant MSM 411100013 "Effective integration of the Czech agrarian sector in the frame of European structures – the condition for sustainable development".

used for determining the level of rurality of territorial units (regions). It enables to compare the regions for the need of regional policy. We can conclude that efforts to measure the rurality dated back into 1930s (see P.A. Sorokin, C.C. Zimmerman and their "rural-urban continuum"), did not result in many useful outcomes. At the same time, the integration of rural and urban areas which were more separated in the past continues.

Political strategy implemented in relation to the countryside is changing in the time no matter whether this policy is labelled under the concept "rural development policy" or "regional policy". The 1970s can be considered as an important milestone in historical development. It is the period of the first obvious critique of the exogenous type of rural development which was implemented in these times. Exogenous development focused mostly on urban-centric management accentuating (exaggerating) the economic component of development in the detriment of ecological and social components. This type of development supports (consciously or unconsciously) the dependence of the countryside (periphery) on the city (centre). The rural development of endogenous type is emerging very slowly. The first evidences are indicated in the 1990s when the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) outlines certain social dimension (support of young farmers, early retirement, and farming in less favoured areas for agriculture) then modernisation and the Fordist system introduced into agriculture. With Spain, Portugal and Greece entering into the European Community in the 1980s, this old CAP policy faced great problems (many farmers and high level of surpluses in the European market with agricultural products). Therefore, necessity to change the view of agriculture concerning rural development was evoked. The shift from support of productivity to improvement of quality and establishing new markets for agriculture products took place. It opened the development focused on the environmental issues. The change in rural development strategy was complemented in important documents. They start from the already mentioned: "The Future of Rural Society" (1988), went through Cork declaration (The Cork Declaration – a living countryside, 1996) to Agenda 2000 (1997). The change from supporting the production in CAP to the integrated rural policy combined with measures to protect the environment and to diversify the economy have been clearly emphasised in the last mentioned document. The rural development is becoming a second pillar of the CAP in the form of Rural Development Regulation (RDR). Nevertheless, there are still complaints that sources for RDR are not adequate. Although there are real problems and imperfections, it is possible to agree with slowly increasing importance of such rural development approach which is related to local initiatives and to all local (internal) sources (which are diverse). Local actors of rural development have the best dispositions to sensitive reactions to the needs of development. They know how to mobilise internal potentials (of economic and non-economic character) to be used in development in the most efficient way. Only once having all

local capital (including economic, cultural and social capital) at disposal, such capital should be supported by external capital which is missing in development.

In conclusion, the exogenous type of development (reflecting the rural-urban continuum), did not bring expected results. The pressures of modern style of living showed themselves rather in the rural decadence (especially in marginal, remote regions). The newest concept of rural-urban areas relation called "convergence and divergence of rural and urban" is corresponding with endogenous type of rural development when referring to the practical policy. Endogenous rural development reveals again (re-discoveries again) the locality as an identification with certain physical territory (considered as a basis) combined with solidarity as its superstructure and with social identity (including relation among rural community inhabitants of this physical territory). These features are important for rural development, they are its core. For some rural municipalities and regions, this development will be achievable, for the other not, but for all of them it will be the development under general weakness of rural areas. Indicators used for measuring the rate of rurality and related demographic and geographic indicators confirm this statement.

## THE BASIC IDENTIFICATION OF RURAL AREAS

European states, if you like the European Union states, had generally come to the agreement, that rural areas can be defined by the indicator of population density. It is assumed that the population density indicator is supported by other demographic, geographical and socio-economical characteristics (landscape pattern, density of buildings, population development, economic activity and its results, etc.). In the time, when the need of regional policy is commonly acknowledged, it is needless to say that the condition of implementation of regional policy consist in the identification of regions and of their problems. Two basic research methods of territory classification (NUTS 1–5) for statistical and practical goals (OECD and Eurostat methodologies) operate with terms rurality/urbanity set through the indicators of population density.

In accordance with the OECD methodology, the administrative areas at regional level (NUTS 3) are grouped into three types depending on the share of particular region population living in rural communities:

- predominantly rural regions: more than 50% of the population living in the rural communities (it means communities with population density below 100 inhabitants per square kilometre);
- significantly rural regions: 15%–50% of the population living in rural communities;
- predominantly urban regions: less than 15% of the population living in rural communities.

The Eurostat methodology is based on the degree of urbanisation and divides the territory into three types of zones:

- Densely populated zones: these are the groups of neighbouring municipalities, each with total population for

the entire zone at least 50,000 inhabitants, the population density of the zone is more than 500 inhabitants per square kilometre;

– Intermediate populated zones: these are groups of municipalities, with population density more than 100 inhabitants per square kilometre, they are either neighbouring municipalities with total population about 50,000 inhabitants, or they are neighbouring a densely populated zone;

– Sparsely populated zones (the others).

The last methodology does not operate with the term "rurality". The Eurostat approach, in comparison with the OECD methodology, considers more the aspect of the regional (rural and urban) integrity degree. The usage of the limit 100 inhabitants per kilometre as a differentiating factor for two different types of regions is common for both methodologies (OECD and Eurostat), and we use the term "rural" (regions) or "sparsely populated". According to this parameter, almost 17.5% of the European Union population live in rural municipalities, which cover 80% percent of the EU territory. However differences between the EU countries are great. For example, in the Netherlands or Belgium, there live less than 5% of rural population, on the other hand, in Finland or Spain, there is over 50% of population living in the countryside (Rural Developments 1997).

## THE WEAKNESSES OF RURAL REGIONS

When speaking about indicators used for identification of territory, which are relatively easy measured, and are related to population density, especially the population development (measured through positive, negative and neutral development) and economic situation and development (measured through basic indicators: per capita

GDP, employment and the rate of unemployment) are exploited.

In the next part of text the authors are going to demonstrate, how these variables document the unfavourable conditions of development in the rural areas. The whole EU territory (NUTS 0) and the structure by the regions (NUTS 1) will be analysed. The sources of data for this analysis are Rural Developments (1997) and data from years 1980–1996 which are processed according to the OECD methodology. These data are analysed and compared in the way needed for the paper. Firstly, the EU countries are ranked by the degree of the "rurality". This degree is calculated as relation among the percentages of population living in the predominately rural (PRR), significantly rural (SRR) and predominantly urban (PUR) regions (Table 1).

The following text will develop the data outlined in table 1 through the indicators of population development measured by positive (i.e. more than 1% increase of population in community during ten years period 1981–1991), negative (i.e. more than 0.5% decrease of population in community during 1981–1991) and neutral (i.e. the increase of population is lower than 1% and the decrease of population is bellow 0.5%) development. The comparison is not complete, because the data about population development in Finland, Sweden, Austria and Portugal are missing in the sources analysed.

In eleven EU countries, there live more than a half of population (56.0%) in communities with the positive population development, one third (32.7%) in communities with the negative population development and the rest (11.3%) in communities with the neutral population development. If we reduce all communities just to the communities in the predominantly rural regions, we can see unfavourable decreasing in population development (46.2% communities with the positive population devel-

Table 1. The EU countries – the rate of rurality

	PRR (%)	:	SRR (%)	:	PUR (%)	
1. Finland	58.9	:	41.1	:	0.0	strong predominance of rural regions, especially
2. Sweden	63.2	:	17.7	:	19.1	predominantly rural regions
3. Denmark	39.6	:	31.3	:	29.1	
4. Ireland	46.6	:	15.1	:	38.3	dual regional structure (the proportion of rural
5. Austria	30.2	:	28.9	:	41.0	regions and urban regions)
6. France	10.5	:	56.2	:	32.9	
7. Greece	28.1	:	28.3	:	43.6	
8. Spain	12.7	:	41.5	:	45.8	
9. Portugal	18.1	:	22.8	:	59.1	
10. Germany	5.4	:	26.2	:	69.3	strong predominance of predominantly urban
11. Italy	4.1	:	27.1	:	68.8	regions and significantly low rate of predominantly
12. Great Britain	1.0	:	18.7	:	80.3	rural regions
13. Belgium	3.4	:	4.9	:	91.7	
14. Netherlands	0.0	:	6.7	:	93.3	
EU	9.7	:	29.8	:	60.5	

Source: Rural Developments 1997, Table 1: Rural population (page 8), adjusted

Note: 1 = the most rural region; Luxembourg with 100% rate of population in significant rural regions is not included

opment, 41.6% communities with the negative population development and 12.2% communities with the neutral population development). There are not essential differences in significantly rural and predominantly urban regions as compared to the entire average of all EU municipalities. If we consider the EU 11 as a whole, and exclude the critical category of communities belonging to the predominantly rural regions, then we will find out that they are urbanised countries (in particular Belgium, Germany and Great Britain) and Greece (with typical dual structure) which indicate the positive population development exceeding the average that exists in all EU municipalities in average. Three countries with dual regional structure (Spain, France and Ireland) show opposite trend, i.e. their negative population development is exceeding average in the EU. We can assume the tendency of the positive population development in predominantly rural regions in the more urbanised countries as compared to less urbanised countries. It can suggest about higher integrity degree of the predominantly rural regions in the national economy; about favourable regional policy and about lower necessity of the state to solve the problems of rural municipalities.

The next indicator connected with the EU countries rurality is per capita GDP. In the next table, there are EU 15 countries ranked according to per capita GDP in 1994. Comparing these data with the EU per capita GDP average, the ranking list looks as follows in Table 2.

The EU 15 average per capita GDP is 80.4% in predominantly rural regions, 88.4% in significantly rural regions and 109.6% in predominantly urban regions. There is decreasing per capita GDP with growing rurality of regions in all countries. The per capita GDP in rural regions is by 8%–30% below the national average per capita GDP. The most striking differences between per capita

GDP generated in predominantly urban and predominantly rural regions (with an advantage to the predominantly urban regions) show Austria, Portugal, Germany and Sweden (countries ranked respectively). They are the countries with different rate of rurality. On the other side, the smallest differences show the countries ranked as follows: Great Britain, Belgium, Greece and Denmark. These countries have also different rate of rurality. Both groups of countries, indicated above, are the countries generating over-average, average and under-average per capita GDP as related to the average per capita GDP in EU 15. Then we can assume, that there is not direct connection between rurality and per capita GDP generated in typical urban and typical rural regions. It means there are many other influences intervening into this relation, or in some of these countries economic disparity between predominantly rural and urban regions is better solved (mainly in Greece which is an economically weak country), in other countries this problem is bigger (see the countries with great differences between per capita GDP generated in predominantly urbanised and predominantly rural regions). We can refer to the high rate of rurality when speaking about the countries like Sweden and Austria. When speaking about Portugal, we can consider the whole weakness of economic situation. As for Germany, the combination of the high production capacity of the predominantly urbanised regions together with small amount of predominantly rural regions could account for the analysed results.

The following indicators – the level of incomes, the structure of employment in different sectors of economy, and the rate of unemployment are closely connected with per capita GDP generated in certain region. Especially these investigated indicators determine the rate of region integration into national economy. They outline the classification of regions according to the low, middle and high level of the integration. The classification is ranking regions as fully integrated, as regions with middle rate of integration, and remote regions. The data which are the source for this paper focus attention to two indicators out of whole set – rural employment and unemployment rate.

At first, we will deal with the rural unemployment<sup>2</sup> in its relation to the employment in agriculture. With respect to both observed indicators, the materials used as a background of this text, state that the most advanced countries are Denmark, Germany, France and Great Britain (note: data about these countries show different urbanisation rate, and their per capita GDP is always above the EU 15 average). Further, the analysed material draws attention to rural population participation in the labour market. It is generally lower than that of urban population. In various countries the increase of employment is different both for rural and urban population.

In the period 1986–1995, the employment of EU population had increased in total percentage to 4.7%, although

Table 2. The EU countries – per capita GDP

1.	Luxembourg (182.9%)	
2.	Denmark	
3.	Germany	
4.	Austria	GDP per capita over
5.	Belgium	EU 15 average
6.	France	
7.	Sweden	
8.	Netherlands	
9.	Finland	GDP per capita close to
10.–11.	Great Britain	the EU 15 average
	Italy	(i.e. 100%)
12.	Ireland	
13.	Spain	GDP per capita below
14.	Greece	EU 15 average
15.	Portugal (43.4%)	

Source: *ibid.*, Table 3a, adjusted

<sup>2</sup> In the materials used by the authors, there is especially emphasised the necessity to use NUTS 2 and NUTS 3 for an analysis of rural employment regional level.

Table 3. The EU countries – the employment development

1. Ireland (over 14.5%)	The development of employment is over EU 13 average
2. Netherlands	
3. Spain	
4. Luxembourg	
5. Belgium	
6. Great Britain	The development of employment oscillates around about EU 13 average (i.e. 4.7%)
7. Greece	
8. Germany	
9. Portugal	The employment increased, but it was below EU 13 average.
10. France	
11. Denmark	The employment decreased
12. Italy	
13. Finland (over 18%)	

The source: *ibid*, Table 4a, adjusted.

it decreased by 2.9% in the predominantly rural regions, increased by 5.2% in the predominantly urban regions and the biggest increase was in the significantly rural regions (it was over 5.4%). In the following table shows the development employment in various countries (there are not involved Austria and Sweden) – Table 3.

If we exclude data concerning rural regions to analyse rural employment development (to calculate it as the sum of predominantly and significantly rural regions), the increase was mainly recorded in countries with higher rate of urbanisation together with higher per capita GDP – Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Luxembourg. The next are the countries exhibiting at least high level in one of two indicators described above – Great Britain, Denmark and France. Ireland is an exception because of the over average increase of rural employment which is associated neither with high degree of urbanisation nor with high per capita GDP. Moreover, Ireland indicates rather opposite traits. On the other side, the absolute decrease of rural employment has been found in Finland, Portugal and Italy. They are the states with different degree of urbanisation, but with an average or under average per capita GDP as compared to the EU 15. Although there are many other factors influencing the investigated circumstances, the increase of rural employment is obviously tied with the rate of urbanisation in every country. In this case the urbanisation might be seen in greater complexity, not merely according to demographic and geographical indicators but also according to economic indicators. The last ones gives evidences about rural region integration into national economy. The exception of Ireland is probably connected with special development of this country supported from outside of Ireland by the European Union. With the exception of Ireland which is typical by high employment in agriculture, the over average increase of rural employment is associated with non-agricultural and non-food sector. This can be proved by the comparison of previous facts and data concerning employment in agriculture from the period 1990–1991 (note: data include part-time job in agriculture) – Table 4.

Table 4. The EU countries – the employment in agriculture

1. Portugal (20.3%)	The employment is above the EU 15 average
2. Greece	
3. Ireland	
4. Spain	
5. Italy	
6. Finland	
7. Austria	The employment oscillates around the EU 15 average (i.e. 5.8%)
8. Denmark	
9. France	
10. Netherlands	The employment is below the EU 15 average
11. Sweden	
12. Luxembourg	
13. Germany	
14. Belgium	
15. Great Britain (2.0%)	

Source: *ibid*, Table 7a, adjusted

Working only with data about rural regions, we will see, with some exceptions, that the rank of the countries is the same as in the previous table as for the employment in agriculture. France, Great Britain and all countries of Benelux are listed in the upper part of the table. France moves more ahead (before Austria and Denmark) and Great Britain positions more ahead Nordic countries (except of Finland).

What are the conclusions. If the highest rural employment increases are found in the countries, which exhibit (except of Ireland) average and mainly under average employment in agriculture, then new jobs based on employment increase will not be generated in agriculture. This is also supported by the evidence from countries with high level of employment in agriculture (Portugal, Finland and Italy). These countries show under average increase or mostly rural employment decrease. Spain is also the state with high level of employment in agriculture, but it indicates more than average increase rate of employment. But the employment increase is caused by increase in predominantly urban regions.

## THE UNEMPLOYMENT AND RURAL REGIONS

Unemployment is a typical phenomenon of modern society. The unemployment turns to be very negative phenomenon once it becomes a long term one and a mass problem. Therefore, the employment is labelled as a “strategic” phenomenon from about a mid 20th century. It is framed in the idea which is repeated many times: the states which are able to cope successfully with unemployment will be successful in modern world.

In one stereotype point of view, which is probably dominating in the Czech Republic, the unemployment is generally perceived as the problem just in rural areas. But the available data suggest a different situation. EU countries are divided into countries with significantly higher unemployment rate in the predominantly urban regions,

and other countries with prevailing rural unemployment. At first, we will compare again the general EU countries unemployment rate, and than we will analyse rural and urban unemployment. The source information dates back to period 1994–1996 (Table 5).

As for the countries with above average unemployment rate, Finland and Italy, predominantly rural regions are affected more than predominantly urban regions. On the other side, Spain and Ireland present rather the opposite tendency. All these four countries are typical by the high level of employment in agriculture and by relatively lower GDP per capita. However, what differs these countries, it is the development of employment. Finland and Italy tend to total employment decrease, relatively more in the countryside. Therefore, in these countries the problem of unemployment cannot be solved through high employment rate in agriculture. Spain and Ireland belong to the group of countries with unemployment rate which increases over the average. The core of Spain problem is more in predominantly urban regions. Ireland does not indicate any significant differences among the types of region. Spain and Ireland (according to available data) solve better the problem of unemployment than Finland and Italy. The high employment in agriculture can partly absorb and reduce the problem of unemployment in general.

Countries with less critical or with non critical level of unemployment rate in comparison with the EU countries unemployment rate can be divided into three groups:

- a) the problem of unemployment is mostly an issue of rural regions – Belgium, the Netherlands.
- b) the problem of unemployment affects more urban regions – Denmark, Greece, France, Greece Britain (in the case of France and Greece the problem of unemployment is solved through agricultural sector).
- c) there are not differences in unemployment rates between rural and urban regions – Germany, Austria, Sweden (the rural unemployment in Austria is relatively more solved in agricultural sector).

Table 5. The EU countries – the unemployment

1. Spain (23.2%)	The unemployment is above the EU 15 average
2. Finland	
3. Ireland	
4. Italy	
5. France	The employment oscillates around the EU 15 average (i.e. 10.7%)
6. Sweden	
7. Belgium	
8. Greece	The employment is bellow the EU 15 average
9. Great Britain	
10. Germany	
11. Denmark	
12. Portugal	
13. Netherlands	
14. Austria	
15. Luxembourg (3.1%)	

Source: Ibid, Table 5a, adjusted

*Note:* Luxembourg is a case, which cannot be evaluated because of untypical regional structure – 100% inhabitants live in significantly rural regions. The special situation is in Portugal where the unemployment is more difficult problem in predominantly rural regions than in predominantly urban regions, but it is bellow average in significantly rural regions).

To conclude the thoughts – the problem of EU countries unemployment is not a typical problem of rural regions, although the problem is related to the indicator of GDP per capita which is always lower in rural than urban regions in all EU countries. It can be supposed than only in some countries the problem of rural unemployment is partly absorbed (or it is intentionally solved) by the higher level of employment in agriculture (e.g. it is case of Ireland, Spain, Greece and France, but is not the case of Finland, Italy and Portugal). What is true, is that the countries with the higher employment increase have always solved the problem of unemployment through the increase of jobs outside agriculture, although it concerns rural regions. Such development is supported by higher GDP per capita and higher degree of urbanisation of the country. Considering available data we can make conclusions based on the high rurality rate and over than average GDP per capita of Denmark and France. Both these countries are able to cope very well with rural unemployment. The similar situation is in Sweden and Austria. It may be also the situation in Ireland and Greece – the states with bellow average GDP per capita. However, they are also solving a part of the problem through high employment in agriculture. More problematic situation and development (if we compare it with similar conditions of rurality, generating GDP per capita and rural unemployment development including employment in agriculture) is in Spain. More problematic than Spain seems to be the present Finnish situation, but the problem of high rate of rurality can be solved through above average GDP per capita resulting from creating jobs outside agriculture in the next years. A special case is Italy, a country with relatively low rurality, with slightly bellow average GDP per capita, but not solving yet rural employment quite well (in comparison to other countries). In the investigated point of view the least problematic situation seems to be in Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

## CZECH REPUBLIC AND RURAL REGIONS IN COMPARISON TO EU COUNTRIES

Rate of rurality in the Czech Republic (at the NUTS 1 level) does not differ from the EU 15 average. In the Czech Republic the rural population comprises 22.3% of entire population and 75% of the Czech territory are rural areas (the relevant data for EU average are 17.5% and 80%). The data about the rate of rural population are the most similar to France (23.7%) and Spain (24.4%). These data confirm that Czech rural areas are more populated. The Czech Republic is a country with the dense net of small-size rural type settlements. However, also in the Czech

Republic (at the NUTS 2 level) the range of population density differs from 2 418 inhabitants per square kilometre in Prague and 231 inhabitants per square kilometre in Ostrava region to 100 inhabitants per square kilometre in the Central Bohemia and 67 inhabitants per square kilometre in South-West region (Štřeleček et al. 2000, Table II).

The Czech Republic belongs to the countries with typical dual structure, which is again most similar to France. As for the Czech Republic, 6% of inhabitants are living in the predominantly rural regions, 60.2% in the significantly rural regions and 33.8% in the predominantly urban regions, while in France 10.5% of inhabitants are living in the predominantly rural regions, 56.5% of inhabitants are living in the significantly rural and 32.9% of inhabitants in the predominantly urban regions. The comparison of the Czech Republic with the EU 15 as a whole supports the fact, outlined above, that the Czech Republic is the country of small-size rural settlements. Speaking about the EU 15, 9.7% of inhabitants live in predominantly rural regions, and proportion in inhabitants living in significantly rural regions and predominantly urban regions is almost contrary to Czechia: 29.8% of them live in significantly rural regions and 60.2% in predominantly urban regions. We assume middle level of urbanisation in the Czech Republic. Although the indicator about the rate of inhabitants living in predominantly rural regions shows the Czech Republic as being similar to strongly urbanised Germany, the share of inhabitants living in the predominantly urban regions in the Czech Republic is lower than in Ireland, Austria, Greece, Spain, Portugal (e.g. they are the countries with lower and middle level of urbanisation) and of course it is lower than in the EU countries with high degree of urbanisation (Germany, Italy, Great Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands).

Authors F. Štřeleček and J. Skálová (Štřeleček, Skálová 2000) have analysed other geographical, demographic, and economic indicators of development of Czech territorial units (NUTS 1–NUTS 4). The following text will use their paper to compare development and situation of the Czech Republic with EU countries.

Both authors mentioned in previous paragraph presented population development in the Czech republic in 1990s. According to them: 31.2% of Czech population lives in settlements with the positive population development, 20% of inhabitants in settlements with the neutral (stagnating) development; and 49.3% of inhabitants in settlements with negative population development. The rate of inhabitants living in positively or negatively population developed settlements is almost contrary to EU countries in 1990s (see page 483, however only 11 EU countries were included in statistics). The contemporary EU countries situation is comparable to situation in the Czech Republic in 1980s. However, statistical surveys conclude that the situation in the Czech Republic has been changing this negative population tendency toward the benefit of the population development in rural regions since the middle of the 1990s. Nevertheless, especially in predominantly rural regions (at the NUTS 4

level) the situation is critical, namely in the districts of Middle Bohemia and Plzeň region. We can also see a very unfavourable age structure (the number of inhabitants in the age of 60–64 is highly exceeding the group of 15–19 years of age) in the districts of others regions (Pardubice, Brno and České Budějovice region). Negative population development is typical for some predominantly urbanised districts: Plzeň-město and Brno-město. The Czech Republic corresponds with the general EU 15 tendency – negative population development in the most predominantly rural regions.

Another comparison concerning GDP scores in the Czech Republic 58.7% of the EU average (1999). This percentage is lagging Czechia behind all EU countries, because of Greece, Portugal and especially Ireland indicate faster development in the last five years. The low level of GDP at Czech NUTS 4 level (i.e. lower than 75% of the Czech Republic average) is found, with the exception of one predominantly urban district (Kladno), especially in predominantly rural districts. The most critical situation is in Middle Bohemia and Zlín region when talking about the level NUTS 3.

High rate of unemployment (or better to say higher than the average in EU countries because the unemployment in Czechia is 8.5% in the middle of 2001 which is not as high as EU countries average) affects same number of districts in predominantly urban and rural regions, and lower number of district in significantly rural regions. However the highest rate is in predominantly urban regions (especially districts belonging to Ústí nad Labem and Ostrava regions). The following regions are significantly rural and predominantly rural regions (the unemployment is more concentrated to districts of Olomouc region). In this point of view the Czech Republic situation is the most similar to one of the EU countries – Portugal, where unemployment rate is below average both in predominantly urban and in predominantly rural regions also.

## LESS FAVOURABLE AREAS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

For the classification of territorial units used for the needs of regional policy, it is very important to set up the system of criteria. It will help to identify regions, which are labelled as less favourable areas (LFA), because of economic backwardness or due to significant structural changes. Structural funds of the EU and special programs prepared for the EU pre-accession countries are aiming at these LFAs. The following criteria are involved in the EU methodology, which is also used in the Czech Republic (see ex-ante evaluation of the Czech SAPARD for period 2000–2006 – H. Hudečková was a member of team which evaluated the Czech SAPARD):

- low population density (i.e. lower than 50% of the Czech Republic average, which is 65 inhabitants per square kilometre)
- unfavourable age structure of population, which is based on the ratio between 5–14 years and 55–64 years (i.e. lower than 90% of the Czech Republic average)

- negative population development (i.e. decrease more than 0.5% in 1988–1997 period)
- low GDP (i. e. lower than 75% of the Czech Republic average)
- low income in agriculture (i. e. lower than 80% of the Czech Republic average)
- high unemployment rate (i. e. higher than 11.3%, which was the EU 15 average in 1997).<sup>3</sup>

In the following text we will deal with the concentration of unfavourable conditions in territorial units development in the Czech Republic. There is not taken into consideration, if any condition is more important than the other. The source of information used for the analysis is included in material, mentioned above (Czech SAPARD Plan), in the section concerning Rural development context. There is Table 9: NUTS III counties and NUTS IV districts with less favoured conditions according to 1997 (1999) figures. These available data can be used to make out the rank of the territorial units (at the level NUTS 2, NUTS 3 and NUTS 4) according to the course of unfavourable socio-economic conditions. The first position in the rank (for the level NUTS 2 and NUTS 3) means the highest concentration of unfavourable conditions per one district of every region. In the case of NUTS 4 level the concentration is represented by the number of unfavourable condition (5 unfavourable conditions, 4 such conditions or 3). Districts, including less than 3 unfavourable conditions, are not listed (Table 6).

The Central Moravia area (especially Olomouc region) belongs to backward economic regions including rural areas oriented predominantly on agriculture. This area is characterised by the relatively high unemployment rate

and low incomes in agriculture. Two regions in Central Moravia are very different. Problems are concentrated in the Olomouc region (and especially in districts Jeseník, Prostějov and Přerov) as contrary to Zlín region.

Ostrava region is structurally affected, it indicates very high unemployment (in all districts of region except of Opava district), lower GDP or incomes in agriculture and negative age structure in some cases. The most problematic district as for the high concentration of unfavourable conditions in the Czech Republic in total – Bruntál – belongs to the Ostrava region.

The Central Bohemia is strongly influenced by the Prague agglomeration. This influence especially produces demographically and economically weak districts – the most significant is this situation in Benešov, Kutná Hora, Kolín and Rakovník districts.

There is a remote economically weak area characterised by unfavourable population development – the South-West area – which includes Plzeň (mainly Plzeň-jih district) and Budějovice region (all districts are included).

Similar situation exists in the South-East area to a certain extent. Economic weakness is more significant problem, than population development. The unfavourable conditions are concentrated into Jihlava region (and Pelhřimov district). The district Znojmo is the most problematic district of Brno region, because of its orientation to agriculture.

The South-West area is the second most structurally affected area in the Czech Republic. In the problematic parts of South-West area, there is the industrial Ústí nad Labem region characterised by the high unemployment rate in all districts (including also Louny district orient-

Table 6. The concentration of unfavourable development conditions by the course of the Czech Republic territorial units

NUTS 2	NUTS 3	NUTS 4
1. Central Moravia	1. Olomouc region	5 Bruntál
2. Ostrava area	2. Jihlava region	4 Pelhřimov
3. Middle Bohemia	3. Ostrava region	4 Benešov
4. South-West area	4. Middle Bohemia	4 Kutná Hora
5. South-East area	5. Budějovice region	4 Plzeň-jih
6. North-West area	6. Plzeň region	3 Rakovník
7. North-East area	7. Pardubice region	3 Louny
8. Praha	8. Ústí region	3 Jeseník
	9. Brno region	3 Prostějov
	10. Zlín region	3 Přerov
	11. Karlovy Vary region	3 Nový Jičín
	12. Liberec region	3 Kolín
	13. Hradec Králové region	3 Rakovník
	14. Praha – city	Nineteen Czech districts are represented by two unfavourable conditions of development

<sup>3</sup> Pilot regions in South-West and Ostrava regions (at the level NUTS 3) and micro regions Jeseníky and Haná (at the level of NUTS 4 and NUTS 5) were chosen for the program PHARE support with respect to the unfavourable socio-economic indicators. The next part of the text will show that the indicators of unemployment and environment were accentuated. It is supposed that the sources of PHARE and SAPARD programs will be complemented. The SAPARD program especially focuses on farmers and rural municipalities, while PHARE program supports non-agricultural entrepreneurs including projects of towns.

ed to agriculture). Second, Karlovy Vary region has the most problematic indicator in low incomes in agriculture.

In the more economically weak South-East area, the regions (NUTS 3) grouped into two types: the first presents unfavourable socio-economical indicators (Pardubice and Liberec region), second, Hradec Králové region have tendency not to be a problematic region, similarly as Prague.

If problematic regions, which indicate structurally affected industry and partly agriculture, and suggest high unemployment rate, are already solving the problems with the support of PHARE program, it will be important to focus on the other weaknesses in the following rank: South-West and Central Bohemia area, Jihlava region in the South-East area and Pardubice region in the North-East area.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Czech Republic belongs to the middle (or less) urbanised countries according to the demographic and geographical indicators used for international comparison of regions in the frame of the EU countries. Contrary to the EU countries average, the Czech Republic has more densely populated rural areas. Over average is the number of Czech population living in the significantly rural regions (this characterisation brings the Czech Republic close to Luxembourg). On the other side, the rate of inhabitants living in the predominantly urban regions is below the EU average. The dual structure of the Czech Republic is expressed in the rate of inhabitants living in the predominantly rural, significantly rural and predominantly urban regions (in that case the Czech Republic is similar to France). The Czech rural area is characterised by relatively dense network of settlements and numerous population as well. This picture of rural area settlement would be favourable (in the point of view of either transport facilities or possibilities for the other services needed for common standard of living), if we consider our perspective from the point of view of rural renaissance perspective.

On the other side, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the potential is still not used. Lower level of technical infrastructure development, inadequate civil infrastructure and economic background of rural economy resulted in the above average negative population development situation of Czech rural inhabitants as compared with the EU countries. We have found certain changes of this tendency in half of 1990s. Such change had place in EU countries ten years ago. Results of surveys, concerning migration and reason of migration, support to construct the hypothesis, that changes are not due to better conditions for living in the countryside, but they are more the result of negative or becoming negative conditions for living in the cities (especially as for the possibilities to have a flat and due to environmental problems).

There is an evidence of still significantly lower level of GDP generated in the rural areas (e.g. districts) in the Czech Republic, which is also typical with the situation of the EU countries.

The Czech Republic belongs to countries affected by unemployment relatively stronger in urban areas, even though the absolute number of the most affected districts is half and half rural and urban. Districts, where the problem of unemployment is related to restructuring industry, are joined by districts the economy of which is lagging behind other regions for a long time (there are especially predominantly rural and significantly rural regions), and by agricultural districts. The last ones are characterised by significant structural adjustment and decreased number of jobs in agriculture.

If we focus on concentration of unfavourable (or less favourable) conditions for development analysed for the needs of EU regional policy, we will find out that the concentration of these unfavourable conditions is higher in rural districts. There are three types represented in similar proportion: districts territorially belonging to external periphery (close to boundaries); internal territory periphery (areas at the district or region borders); and district "hidden under the shadow of cities". The differentiation of problems is based on the belonging into one of these three type of district. The common feature for all districts is their handicap in human factor of development (local leaders and local initiatives are missing). However, human factor is a basic condition for endogenous development discussed above. It accounts for the need of prior channeling the investments into human and cultural capital. These investments are not returned to their donors and providers but they will bring the benefits to rural localities dwellers.

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# Possibilities and strength of qualitative approaches in evaluating indicators used in SAPARD Plan

## *Možnosti a síla kvalitativních přístupů v evaluaci indikátorů použitých v Plánu SAPARD*

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**Abstract:** Rural development is often viewed from functionalistic perspective. Inequalities among elements due to their different functions may result in dysfunction which can threaten the whole system. Therefore measures to eliminate the dysfunction are taken. One of such measures highlighted by EU and reflected in pre-accession countries SAPARD Plans consists in improving the quality of life in rural regions. However, the question how to evaluate quality of life emerges. Since quantification is not always applicable, the paper addresses the issue how qualitative methods, used in sociology, can be exploited in rural development. Such methods are also useful for incorporating rural stakeholders into monitoring and evaluation of rural development programs. Using concrete case, an author questions the validity and reliability of some indicators in the Czech SAPARD Plan and suggests to use qualitative methods to measure the impacts of strategies indicated in rural development plans. One of such methods is called heuristic intervening investigation.

**Key words:** qualitative evaluation of SAPARD Plan, heuristic intervening investigation, functionalism, quality of life, indicators of project impacts

**Abstrakt:** Sledujeme-li různé přístupy k rozvoji venkova, je možno jako jejich teoretická východiska nejčastěji vysledovat vlivy funkcionalismu. Protože funkce jednotlivých elementů jsou rozdílné, mohou se mezi nimi objevit nesoulady rezultující až do dysfunkcí. Ty mohou za určitých okolností ohrožovat fungování celého systému. Proto se přijímají opatření, která omezují nežádoucí dysfunkce sociálních systémů. Jedno z takových opatření, které je zvýrazňováno EU a které našlo svůj odraz i v Plánu SAPARD, se týká zlepšení kvality života na venkově. Zde se však objevuje otázka, jakými indikátory a postupy hodnotit ono zlepšení. Článek poukazuje na možnosti využití kvalitativních metod používaných v sociologii. Ty jsou také velice vhodné pro začlenění samotných venkovanů do monitorování a evaluace těchto projektů. Za využití konkrétního příkladu sleduje autor validitu a reliabilitu některých indikátorů použitých v Plánu SAPARD a v případě jejich nedostatečnosti poukazuje na sílu kvalitativních metod. Jednou z nich je metoda heuristického intervenčního vyšetřování.

**Klíčová slova:** kvalitativní evaluace Plánu SAPARD, heuristické intervenční vyšetřování, funkcionalismus, kvalita života, indikátory dopadů projektů

## INTRODUCTION

Sociology as the science dealing with human social lives, groups, and societies (Giddens 1989: 732) is characterized by many approaches how to comprehend the society. These approaches gave an origin to different sociological paradigms through which sociology became a multi-paradigmatic science. One of the paradigms – the functionalism – perceives the society as a very complicated mechanism which is composed of many other complicated subsystems. These subsystems are related to each other in order to perform certain functions. These functions ensure and guarantee the operation and stability of an entire social system as a holistic entity. Because of different functions which are implemented by the subsystems of an entire system, the subsystems are not and cannot be absolutely identical and homogenous. This situation opens a way for differences to emerge among particular subsystems. Such differences emerg-

ing from functions of various subsystems indicate, under certain circumstances, the potentiality to disturb the state of dynamic equilibrium (stability) of entire social system (the whole society) which was achieved through previous mutual operation of all subsystems. The deconstruction of the old order, because the old subsystems are not able to guarantee its future operation, necessitates the work to set up such mechanisms that the subsystems will again contribute to the benefit of the entire entity (the subsystems will not restrain the operation of the whole social system). Therefore in the deconstruction of an old system, a construction of a new system has to be implemented in the same time, otherwise the state of long lasting *anomie* embraces the whole system which therefore does not work properly. During such change joining deconstruction of an old system with the construction of a new system (more detailed account of the construction and deconstruction in social change can be found in Kabele 1998), the subsystems have to be rear-

ranged, reconstructed in a way to enable the operation of the entire system. It is related to the achievement of dynamic equilibrium of elements composing the system.

Based on functionalistic approach, the issues related to measures how to improve and to modify the functions of rural region (the question of the social change) to contribute to the benefit of the whole society are the main focus of this paper. It will address mostly the ways of evaluating such measures. The paper will attempt to outline possible approaches to evaluation of some circumstances related to rural development in accordance with EU requirements towards evaluation practices. They are mostly the circumstances bounded to the quality of life which is the term often quoted in EU documents. This text is based on author's work in ex-ante evaluation (prior appraisal) of the Czech SAPARD Plan, and uses author's experience and knowledge from the research grant "Effective integration of the Czech agrarian sector in the frame of European structures – the condition for sustainable development" (grant No. 411100013 funded by the Czech Ministry of Education). This was the grant when an author of this text used the approaches described below. These approaches were elaborated, and firstly used and tested in previous grant "The processes of rebirth" implemented in 1997–1999 in one Czech rural community by a broad team of the Czech sociologists.

## FUNCTIONALISM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The functionalistic approach in sociology is also projected into the ideas related to rural development as they are presented by various policy-makers and development plan-makers. Therefore the functionalism and the ideas forming its background are also tacitly reflected in many practical measures in rural development programs. Based on author's own analysis of EU documents (see The Cork Declaration – A Living Countryside from 1996 as a fundamental document addressing rural development) and the analysis of the works of other authors dealing with the issues of regional (rural)<sup>1</sup> development (e.g. Ray 2000, Lowe 2000), it seems to be evident that it is a functionalist approach which shapes the most used theoretical background in preparation and implementation of programs and measures aiming to rural or regional development. The ideas about rural (regional) development perceive the national society as operating entity (the whole) which is composed of different regions performing various functions (industrial, agricultural, recreational, etc.). In a case when each of these regions implements its functions and is complementary with other regions in mutual harmony, also the whole society operates without any problems. However, the variety of functions can result, in Merton's words, into certain

dysfunction which can be both beneficial and harmful for the whole system. For instance, the variety of functions suggests potential dissimilarities which can finally result into inequalities. It is because the elements cannot be the same, if they are to implement various functions needed to the work of the entire systems. The dissimilarities and potential inequalities related to them are indicated in differences and they can, under certain conditions (e.g. structures created by political measures), act either as an impetus for the development or as a destructive power disabling any positive development. The differences can be found in the spheres of geography, climate, demography, economy, society, culture or environment, and they depend on the functions which are implemented by given region in the society. However, when the dissimilarities and inequalities are not properly justified, social problems emerge (Velký sociologický slovník 1996). Social problems are tied to social change and the state of *anomie*. Old institutionalized ways of action do not work and new ones still do not work as well. Deconstruction of an old order has to be accompanied by construction (justification) of a new order (even in the form of the vision).

Projecting theoretical contemplation about functionalism into analysis of rural development programs brings us into following ideas. The case, when particular region does not fulfill or cannot fulfill the function which is assumed to implement in the in the whole social entity (e.g. the main function of rural areas was the production of food for a long time /see Lowe 2000/), threatens to disturb (deconstruct) the whole system (for example, some rural areas are not able to produce the competitive food for the market because of the climate, or due to trade liberalization in agriculture which sometime enables to supply suspiciously cheap food products for international and domestic markets; the background of the change in the functions is related to the radical social changes such as in 1989 in communist countries but it can be also traced as an outcome of gradual development as in Western Europe). The situation when a needed subsystem does not work properly can, under certain circumstances, disturb the work of entire system. Therefore various measures are accepted to reintroduce the dysfunctional region into the whole social system to work again. Sometime the dysfunction can be positive because it stimulates necessary changes resulting in better work of the system, sometime it is negative because it disturbs the whole system, leaving people in the state of long lasting *anomie*.

An author of this paper is aware of possible critical remarks as for functionalism and its limitations. As for the criticism of functionalism, there are two streams involved in this discourse. Especially "radically" oriented sociologists blame functionalism in diverting from

<sup>1</sup> The paper will not distinguish precisely between rural and regional development. It is because the paper will address rural regions as defined according to EU criteria, and therefore rural and regional overlap here, although regional development *per se* does not cover only rural development.

human beings as beings from "blood and bones". In their opinion functionalism reduces the social world into such mere words like function, functioning, operation. It is done without any interest in concrete individuals living their own lives based on their own decision making (based not on certain "independent" functions). The possibility to weaken such criticism of functionalism related to rural development is offered in contemporary tendency to integrated endogenous rural development (see Lowe 2000). Such kind of development is functionally oriented but the functions of the rural areas are bounded with endogenous potentials (incl. the people from "blood and bones") of these rural regions. In a similar way the functionalism is criticized by conservative sociologists blaming functionalism in particular fatality (everything is ruled by some functions). It brings functionalism, in their views, very close to Marxism because there is an attempt to find and understand a kind of all embracing and all explaining rules through the use of which it is possible to govern the world (as soon as we identify various functions, we can manage the development of the regions with success). Also these objections can be settled through referring to the concept of integrated endogenous rural development. This development takes into account the variety of functions and potentials in rural areas. Once the functions and potentials are various, because they are related to endogenous sources, their diversity and specificity protect to find any general rules, general laws. Moreover, the focus on endogenous potentials of particular regions is too far from an idea about "external" (exogenous) interventions related to the knowledge of a kind of general laws and rules valid always and everywhere (like in natural sciences). The concentration on the unique character of regions denies any possibility to think about common general laws and rules, and brings us, as following paragraphs will show, close to qualitative approaches with their focus on uniqueness.

#### QUALITATIVE APPROACHES IN EVALUATING THE MEASURES AND INDICATORS RELATED TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT (THE CASE OF SAPARD PLAN EVALUATION)

Reading the Cork declaration (<http://europa.eu.int>), we can find there the words about growing demands towards quality of life, health, safety, personal develop-

ment, leisure and improving the overall quality of life in the rural regions.<sup>2</sup> These words suggest what issues are also on the top agenda in the question of rural development – they are the issues related to the quality of life.

Quality of life (see Velký sociologický slovník 1996) is less elaborated term of sociological origin. This term is mostly defined in an opposition to volume, macro-aggregated and profit-related criteria of efficiency and prosperity of social system. The most frequently (but there are also other definitions) this term represents something which transcends purely material needs which can be satisfied through material goods. Therefore the quality of life is considered mostly through the indicators of environment, health and disease, level of housing and recreation, human relations, social and technological characterizations of work, personal and collective security, social security, human rights and the degree of possibilities to participate in the governance of the society. They are the indicators which are difficult to be grasped in any material terms, they are often intangible issues. Such character of quality of life might result into difficulties in the attempts to provide its standardized quantification. However such quantification is required in development projects as their necessary part (see The New Programming period 2000–2006: methodological working papers 2000: 13) in order to measure how the functions of regions were improved or readjusted under implemented measures. But, as it has been just mentioned, in the area of quality of life, the standardized quantification of the goals or impacts of various plans might be difficult. Therefore it seems to be necessary to start to think about more wider use of qualitative approaches known in sociology to measure the quality of life.

The qualitative approaches in sociology are such approaches (see Sociologické školy, směry, paradigma 1994: 174–175) which consider as the main task of sociology understanding the lived world (*Lebenswelt*)<sup>3</sup> of social actors and the rules of concrete conduct of social actors, including their motivations and the ways people de-code the meanings attached to things, processes, activities and symbols used in the world they live in. It is the way how qualitative approaches differs from quantitative sociology emphasizing calculation, measurements, quantitative and formalized expression of relations.

The diffusion of quantitative approaches and their experienced exploitation by experts in evaluating various

<sup>2</sup> The Cork declaration says: "Conscious that European citizens pay growing attention to the quality of life in general, and to questions of quality, health, safety, personal development and leisure in particular, and that rural areas are in a unique position to respond to these interests, and offer grounds for a genuine, modern development model of quality" – Introducing part of the Cork declaration. "Sustainable rural development must be put at the top of the agenda of the European Union, and become the fundamental principle which underpins all rural policy in the immediate future and after enlargement. This aims at reversing rural out-migration, combating poverty, stimulating employment and equality of opportunity, and responding to growing requests for more quality, health, safety, personal development and leisure, and improving rural well-being. The need to preserve and improve the quality of the rural environment must be integrated into all Community policies that relate to rural development. There must be a fairer balance of public spending, infrastructure investments and educational, health and communications services between rural and urban areas. A growing share of available resources should be used for promoting rural development and securing environmental objectives" – Point 1 Rural preference of the Cork declaration.

projects can hit on more and more problems because of the demands to incorporate into evaluating practices also such issues which are difficult to be quantified. The recommendations (see The New Programming period 2000–2006: methodological working papers 2000: 14) to create appropriate indicators and procedures for monitoring intangible impacts seem to be too vague<sup>4</sup>. However the following sentence in quoted document speaks about the use of previous experience in these areas, about the analysis of benefits and losses, and opinions of those towards whom the projects are oriented (“Past experience in these areas, the analysis of successes or failures and the opinions of beneficiaries can provide a basis for proxy indicators and benchmarks for monitoring intangible impacts”). These words are closer to above mentioned nature of qualitative approaches (experience, lived world of social actors). But neither these words mention that they are the qualitative approaches which enable detailed evaluation of impacts of intangible aspects in rural development required by EU documents (such as the level of cooperation or conflicts among people). However, these aspects are many times very important for successful implementation of proposed measures.

Why the qualitative approaches can be of such importance and usefulness in evaluating and monitoring practices of intangible effects of rural development projects related to quality of life? It is because using qualitative approaches, it is possible to de-code the meanings people in their everyday activities attach to the concrete development projects. These meanings are very difficult to be found through quantitative survey techniques (like questionnaire survey)<sup>5</sup> but they are more accessible in the everyday interaction with people who are concerned by given projects. If local population interprets<sup>6</sup> certain project in the way that the project disables them to act, if the interpretation is that the project disturbs (limits) their

experienced ways of doing something which brought them benefits in the past (i.e. they perceive, interpret and explain the meaning of the project in their world views related to their everyday activities in negative sense), than the chances for realization of the project and to improve the quality of life are minimal. Even if the external experts think the chances for successful implementation are high because the project has been already implemented with success in another locality (see in EU documents mentioned use of former experience for setting up the approximate indicators), the transactional costs (cost in a sense of time, efforts etc. related to bargain certain transaction – like project implementation) will be very high. To “bargain a deal” (to agree the project introduced from outside into the locality) will be very difficult, if the project does not fit into the world views (perception, narration and explanation of the surrounding world and of the position of a man/woman in this world) of people who are concerned. If the rural population accepts the introduced projects (it means rural population considers them as fair<sup>7</sup>) than rural people internalize them thanks to the correspondence of these projects with their ideas or perceptions, narration, explanations (world views). Such circumstances significantly decrease the transactional costs.<sup>8</sup> If the rural population perceives the projects in opposite way, the “costs to operate the system” grow. To analyze the world views (the ways how people perceive, narrate and explain the world and their position in the world), the qualitative methods are more suitable. World views are difficult to calculate but they should be understood.

There is one more aspect supporting the use of qualitative methods in evaluating and monitoring implemented measures in rural regions. The Cork declaration speaks, *inter alia*, in Point 10 – Evaluation and Research about the necessity to increase the transparen-

<sup>3</sup> The term *Lebenswelt* was transferred to sociology by A. Schütz from the phenomenology (E. Husserl). The starting point for sociological analysis related to this concept is everyday life. It is a sort of “Copernican” changeover in sociology. While classical sociology pursued impersonal determinants of social lives existing outside concrete individuals (e.g. structures, laws, functions of the whole), the phenomenological sociology (developing Weber’s sociology of understanding, and American sociologists like G.H. Mead or W.I. Thomas) reoriented its interest to the subjectivity of a human actor. A human actor, according to phenomenological sociology of A. Schütz later developed in sociological constructivism of P. Berger and T. Luckmann (1966), creates a surrounding world through his/her cognitive and practical activities in his/her everyday life to be able to act in such constructed world and to understand this world. The world is not independent on human beings but it is their construction, it is the product of their activities.

<sup>4</sup> The quoted document says: “The ex ante evaluation should assist the planning authorities in quantifying proxy indicators and procedures for monitoring intangible effects”.

<sup>5</sup> Giddens (1989: 674) writes that the survey by their very nature “normally only find out what people say about themselves – not what they really think or do”.

<sup>6</sup> Here a parallel with W. I. Thomas definition of situation, as one of the fundamentals of sociological constructivism, is evident: “If a men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (cf. Coser 1977: 521).

A parallel with the ideas of the Czech economist Prof. Mlčoch (1997: 16) is drawn here. He considers an economic reform in Czechia in following words: “If majority of population accepts the structure of ownership rights and of entire institutional frame of economy, incl. “rules of the game” as fair and justified, the transactional costs of the contracting system decrease, and the “friction” in economic system declines. On the other side: every perception of institutions as unfair and unjustified necessary increases the tensions in society and “the costs to operate” the system grow”.

Another way how to decrease transactional costs is to use the institutions understood as hierarchically organized settings. The project which was not originally implemented due to local resistance is enforced with the administrative power and the project is no longer bargained. However, I assume that such a way of transactional costs reduction is efficient in the firm or company but it is the less appropriate form from the point of view of entire societal system operation.

cy of evaluating and monitoring procedures and to enable informed and public evaluation and debates over the issues related to concrete rural development. Those who are directly effected by the projects (i.e. rural population) must be involved not only in designing and implementing the projects but they have also to participate in their evaluation and monitoring ("Monitoring, evaluation and beneficiary assessment will need to be reinforced in order to ensure transparency of procedures, guarantee the good use of public money, stimulate research and innovation, and enable an informed public debate. Stakeholders must not only be consulted in the design and implementation, but involved in monitoring and evaluation"). However, how can concrete rural people participate in evaluating practice when these practices are often reserved to specially trained experts skilled in and mastering with special methods (such as quantitative ones which are far from everyday lives of lay members of the society). Nevertheless, referring to Gafinkel's and Sacks' (1990) term "doing sociology", the qualitative methods which are tied to everyday life (i.e. the activities which each of us is skilled to perform because we perform them everyday and thanks to this repetition they are accountable and understandable) open a way for incorporating also lay members of the society into evaluation. They do not need to be specially trained to master special methods often enabling their holders to play "power play" with those who do not master them (which is often the case of quantitative methods). The qualitative approaches are more closer to the lay members of the society because their main focus is to understand and account for the rules of everyday activities of other people. Such understanding we master in our lives without problems (we understand what the others are doing), and the rules are taken for granted. This is the sense which enables the participation of lay members of society in monitoring and evaluating the projects of rural development. Such people can indicate how far the newly introduced (through the project) "rules of the game" will change their experienced and mostly taken for granted rules, according to them they act for a long time. It will also tell a lot of about the chances of a particular project for the successful implementation. The qualitative methods are close to everyday lives. It enables rural stockholders to participate in evaluation and monitoring because also in our everyday lives we are skilled to de-code the meanings of what the others are doing.

#### **HEURISTIC INTERVENING INVESTIGATION AS A QUALITATIVE APPROACH TO EVALUATE AND MONITOR THE INDICATORS OF QUALITY OF LIFE**

Reflecting the calls mentioned above to develop methods and indicators for monitoring and evaluating intangible impacts, and to incorporate rural stockholders into evaluating and monitoring practices, a qualitative meth-

od of heuristic intervening investigation is offered by an author of this text. This method (more detailed see Kabele 1999) was not originally elaborated for EU evaluating practices but a team of the Czech sociologists and social anthropologists developed and used it in the study of the social change in one Southern Moravian community after 1989. Nevertheless this method fits to the requirements of EU calling to improve monitoring and evaluating practices (especially as for intangible issues), and also supports the incorporation of rural stockholders into evaluating and monitoring rural development projects. The nature of the method consists in its name composed of three words:

a) **Investigation.** A parallel with police investigation is drawn here and it seems to be essential for understanding the entire method. Such investigation is typical by certain strict rules (methods) which will be for our sociological inquiry described in more details in the parts related to heuristic and intervening components of the investigation. The reference to strict rules protect this method to be blamed in subjectivism often denying any method, like the works of P. Feyerabend suggest. The outcome of such investigation (as the outcomes of police investigation for the court trial) are the evidences (data) which must be accountable, demonstrable and understandable (it is in accordance with EU requirement for the clarity of indicators). The evidences (data) have not to be ambiguous (they have reflect the situation as best as possible). All the evidences must be at disposals for those who are concerned and they have to have the right to comment them and their comments can modify the previous evidences (it copy the EU requirement to incorporate rural stakeholders to monitoring and evaluating practices). For instance, all the data (transcripts of interviews, scanned printed materials, photos of various artifacts, diaries of researchers, notes of interlocutors, processed findings in the form of scientific papers, texts etc.) from the research in the Southern Moravian community were at disposal as a hyper-text in a form of ATLAS-ti hermeneutic unit in municipality mayor's office for local people to read them and to comment them directly into the hyper-text. Latter on several hearings about the results were organized. Only the names of persons, local communities and companies were changed in all the hyper-text.

b) **Heuristic** component of the investigation means all the time performed choices of investigation to achieve accountable, demonstrable and understandable picture of the situation. Through the choice of appropriate ways, the important information (data, evidences) for the research is achieved. The chosen ways of investigation have to be always subjected to argued justification of their use (we are talking about strict rules!). They cannot be random: that is the way how to eliminate the criticism toward qualitative methods as for their biased character (subjectivity). Everything related to the research has to be publicly accessible and has to be exposed to the criticism of everybody who might be concerned. The achievement of investigative choices

accompanied by critical discussion (incl. access to all data and to detailed ways of their processing) is the acquisition of the accounts of the situation and understanding the situation. These accounts can have both academic and practical use.

c) **Intervening** component of the investigation consists in the fact that researchers intentionally intervene into investigated situation to find the evidences according to the heuristic choice which will enable to understand the situation. It means that we accept, willing or not willing, we are intervening into the investigated issues. While many of research methods pretend to minimize interventions, this method accepts them. The background of this idea is that it is not possible not to intervene in any kind of social research. Therefore why to claim to be non-interventionists? Moreover, even in practical everyday lives the people intervene into the lives of others therefore why to minimize interventions in the research if the research is to map the social life? Jiří Kabele (1999: 116) writes: "A researcher sets up appropriate situations". Such "appropriate situation" can be even so-called unbiased questionnaire survey. This might be a way how to find required evidences according to heuristic choice. And even questionnaire survey intervenes into the life of community being studied because it is not its everyday activity.

## CONCRETE EXAMPLE

To illustrate all the world above addressing qualitative approaches and the method of heuristic intervening investigation following example is used to show the power of these approaches in evaluating practices. An example was found during the research activities named in the introduction to this paper.

The Czech SAPARD Plan (<http://europa.eu.int>) includes following socioeconomic indicators measuring the outputs of the implementation of the measures aiming to renew and develop villages and rural infrastructure (Measure 2.1 Renovation and development of villages and rural infrastructure, page 142).

Socio-economic indicators:

- the number of newly established /stabilised jobs;
- the number of new farmers' activities/small/medium enterprises;
- the increase in the number of people visiting attractive rural locations and other places of interest in the project area (e.g. micro-region);
- the increased income of both the municipalities (tax revenues, own operating income) and the rural population;
- the improved demographic trends – depopulation, ageing;
- the revival of tradition and customs, activity of NGOs, participation of inhabitants – number of actions, NGOs.

Let's look how these indicators of quantitative character can be valid and reliable for evaluating the improvement of quality of life which is one of the top issues in the agenda of rural development projects. Although the activities described below are not directly bound to SAPRD Plan (which, in fact, still officially did not start in Czechia because the accreditation of SAPARD agency delays, and therefore the SAPARD activities have to be funded completely from the Czech budget with the hope to be reimbursed later), the issues described below can be used to test the validity of quantitative indicators outlined in SAPARD project and to indicate the power of qualitative approaches.

In Kovíkov<sup>9</sup>, which is very close to one famous Czech open air rural houses museum, local people told us that in neighbouring village (Nové Mlýny) one man (a grandson of a well known Czech historian) restituted his family property and started to operate there a golf course and a horse park. To improve the quality of such facilities he started to build up a "country club". Local people told us that "*He considers all development as a sort of rural tourism*". However, this situation means also a deep intervention to the peacefulness, quietness of local community. Local people are not excited about his activities at all. The increased number of "*strangers*" visiting the community means for locals the lack of traditional home-order. Local people do not like such situation. Moreover, when operating his business a man did not hire local people but he employs people he knows from the city he lives ("*he took here his people*"). Therefore he neither contributed to decrease local unemployment nor to increase incomes of local people. The project mismatch the backgrounds which are often cited when talking about the development of rural tourism in general. The project was not very beneficial for the locality where a man started his business. Local people according to our interlocutors (but also based on our own observations) become grudging as for the project. Therefore a question emerges what is the future development of the project if local people indicate a resistance to it.

Looking through the eyes of the people in Kovíkov (rural stockholder should also participate in evaluation!) at the socioeconomic criteria related to the measures pointed out in Czech SAPRD Plan, the validity of some of them can be under question mark when using them to evaluate the improvement of the quality of life. The project of the man brought to the community new jobs, as one of the indicators requires, but the local people told us that they are not the jobs for them because those who are employed are not the residents of Kovíkov. However, the indicators do not speak about increasing the number of jobs for local dwellers, therefore if this project is SAPARD funded project, no rules of SAPRD Plan were broken (there are no any words about jobs for locals, only about increasing the number of jobs). Moreover, using only the characterization as required by this indicator

<sup>9</sup> The names of communities in the text are their alias because we guaranteed an anonymity to our interlocutors as the methods of heuristic intervening investigation requires.

(the number of newly established/stabilised jobs), the development of the community is confirmed because the new jobs are evident. However, in a reality we observe an opposition because local people did not find any job and their quality of life deteriorated. Using qualitative approach of heuristic intervening investigation (incl. field work in the locality and interviews) suggests that this indicator is not valid for this community.

Furthermore, the number of people visiting this attractive locality increased. It corresponds with the indicator: the increase in the number of people visiting attractive rural locations and other places of interest in the project area (e.g. micro-region). Therefore it might be seen in quantitative level the positive impact of this project. But we heard from local people, and we saw and experienced together with local people (it is the qualitative grasping the meanings!) that the situation of increased number of visitors in the community is considered negatively. Locals do not consider it as improving their quality of life but rather as its deterioration. Many outsiders in their village completely changed their experienced ways of doing certain activities and local people found themselves in *anomie*. For instance, they do not feel safely because "There are unknown people walking around, and we do not know what we can expect from them. I have heard somebody robbed a house at the outskirts of the village. I do not know what we will do in the future". But the safety is one of crucial indicators for quality of life.

The question emerges – what these two indicators (number of new jobs and number of visitors) actually measure? In a fact, they do not have the power to measure the impact of certain projects because they do not work with the *Lebenswelt* (subjectivity, social construction) of the actors. These indicators are just a facade, and are not able to take into consideration how local actors perceive, narrate and interpret these project. And if there is a gap between the project and their world views, the transactional costs to implement the project are high and the project could not help to improve the quality of life but rather to deteriorate it.

## CONCLUSIONS

The qualitative approaches (like the method of heuristic intervening investigation using also field work when through living with local people we are able to analyze the meaning they attach to certain project) enable to find how people understand implemented projects. The outcomes of the project can be in accordance with quantified indicators but they probably do not say anything about actual increasing the quality of life in rural areas. In the other words, some quantitative indicators in SAPARD Plan do not suggest if local people consider the projects (interpret their meaning) as a benefit for them and if these projects actually increased the quality of life in rural areas. Once locals consider the projects as a benefit, we can speak about improving the quality of life. To find the evidences about improving the quality of life

which are both reliable and valid we can do mostly through living in the investigated communities (or at minimum through conducting the non-structure interviews there with many local people).

Therefore it is also necessary local people to be involved in monitoring the project as the method of heuristic intervening investigation suggests. They have to be involved not only as "external controllers" but as internal participants. It is because they are the people who are concerned by these programs and therefore they are the most legitimized to intervene into such projects, and to evaluate and monitor them because the projects will change *their* lives (moreover, we are talking about endogenous development, therefore the local potentials, incl. local shareholders have to be included the first). If local people consider the project as a benefit, and if they evaluate the project in such a way (it can be found, for example, through investigating the level of conflicts or consensus), than, from functionalist point of view, a destructive power of inequalities emerging from various elements composing the whole is limited.

Therefore the indicators measuring the impacts of particular projects should also include the observation of the level of conflict (dysfunction) or of consensus (functions) among the elements. This level is not easy to be quantified but it is well found through the use of qualitative approaches interpreting various meanings of human activities and tempting to understand these activities. Longer field work in the localities, participation in everyday activities of local people can help to find how the local population views of the projects of development. For an external evaluator, the outcomes of the project might be in accordance with required quantitative indicators, however an internal participant in local events knows that it might be only the facade covering the dissatisfaction of people which actually exists among local people. Such dissatisfaction can be easily read from the symbols people attach to their everyday activities (like the allusions we saw in local pub when talking about rural tourism in Nové Mlýny).

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# Training as a part of preparation of participants in regional development to utilise the EU pre-structural and structural funds

## *Vzdělávání jako součást přípravy aktérů regionálního rozvoje na využívání předstrukturálních a strukturálních fondů EU*

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**Abstract:** The main aim of this paper is to recommend steps to be taken for improving the effectiveness of preparation of individual regional development actors in the field of their successful participation in the EU regional and structural policy. The partial aims of the paper are to specify the subject matter of training as the means of preparation for utilisation of structural and cohesion funds, recommend changes in the structure and form of presented information, and emphasise on the importance of active implementation of the acquired information in practise. The paper is divided into four parts. In the introductory part, the individual actors of regional development, their responsibilities and roles within the system are identified. Based upon a carried out analysis, close points of the system are identified and the principle of partnership emphasised. At this point, the authors attempt to specify the principal conditions necessary for successful implementation of projects of regional and structural policy. The next part of the paper is based upon the experience gained in realisation of an educational project funded by the PHARE resources. Specification of the regional participants involved in the project is presented in Tables 1 and 2. Using the project final report containing evaluation by the lecturers (subjective), evaluation by the consortium (in the form of SWOT analysis), and evaluation by the program participants, there are concrete recommendations for further progress of preparation of all the target groups in the field of regional and structural policy formulated in the third part. This part contains empirical data collected during the ex-post evaluation of the project (Figures 3–6). The method of model examples was evaluated as the most effective form of presenting information. The authors illustrate this by a model example of the city of Vienna project funded by structural funds. Recommendations and conclusions given in the individual parts of the paper are used for formulating an approach leading to improvement in effectiveness of the educational system as the means of preparation of all the target groups for full participation in projects carried out with the financial support of the EU pre-structural and structural funds.

**Keywords:** EU regional and structural policy, actors of regional development, public administration, further education, adult training

**Abstrakt:** Hlavní role v celém procesu přípravy na zapojení České republiky do regionální a strukturální politiky EU hraje veřejná správa. Ta garantuje vznik potřebných institucí, stanovuje priority pro dané období, provádí výběrová řízení, hodnotí průběh a výsledky realizovaných projektů, stává se partnerem dalších subjektů v konkrétních projektech. Kvalitní příprava pracovníků veřejné správy a všech aktérů regionálního rozvoje na plnění výše uvedených funkcí, je tedy nezbytnou podmínkou efektivního fungování celého systému. Hlavním cílem příspěvku je doporučit kroky k zefektivnění přípravy jednotlivých aktérů regionálního rozvoje s ohledem na jejich úspěšné zapojení do regionální a strukturální politiky EU. Dílčími cíli příspěvku je vymezení problematiky vzdělávání jako prostředku přípravy na využívání strukturálních a kohezních fondů, doporučení změn ve struktuře a formě podávaných informací a zdůraznění důležitosti aktivního využívání získaných informací v praxi. Na základě výše uvedeného hlavního cíle autoři nejprve identifikují jednotlivé aktéry regionálního rozvoje a definují dvě základní roviny implementační struktury regionální podpory, do kterých jsou jednotliví aktéři alokováni (obr. 1 a 2). Jde o širokou a značně heterogenní skupinu aktérů, kteří sledují různé cíle a zájmy a z definice mají v systému různá poslání. Proto se autoři domnívají, že vzdělávání a zejména volba formy vzdělávání umožní vytvoření společné vědomostní a komunikační základny, která přispěje k odstranění možných komunikačních bariér, a tím i k maximalizaci efektivity alokace prostředků určených k podpoře regionálního rozvoje v ČR z nástrojů EU v budoucnu. Proto je nezbytné při identifikaci příjemců školení zohlednit rozložení aktérů regionálního rozvoje v dané oblasti a jejich zodpovědnosti. Práce v heterogenních skupinách dává účastníkům jasnou představu o nutnosti spolupráce jednotlivých institucí (principu partnerství) při řešení problémů na regionální úrovni. Umožňuje modelování situací, ke kterým bude docházet při definování priorit v jednotlivých regionech a při

<sup>1</sup> The article is based on the authors' experience gained with realisation of a PHARE project No. CZ 9807-02-02-01-07-016: National Network of the Regional Training Institutions – NUTS II – Southeast Region – Central and Regional Administration Bodies. On this occasion, we would like to express our thanks to Ing. Radim Gill, the director of DHV ČR offices in Brno and Ostrava, for providing us with the project final report, statistical data, and professional consultations.

rozhodování o přijetí či nepřijetí konkrétních projektů v Regionálních radách. Současně zdůrazňuje také jednu z dalších zásad regionální politiky – princip koncentrace prostředků na jeden problém. Analýza pilotního projektu PHARE, který byl podkladem pro zpracování tohoto příspěvku, prokázala vhodnost tohoto přístupu (obr. 3–6, tab. 1–2). Důraz by měl být kladen i na výběr metod výuky. Zde by měl být zohledněn požadavek příjemců školení na aplikovatelnost získaných informací v praxi. Dochází totiž k tomu, že při úvodní analýze vzdělávacích potřeb je identifikována vysoká absorpce obecných informací bez schopnosti tyto informace aplikovat. Měla by tedy být snaha uvádět co největší počet již úspěšně realizovaných projektů a na jejich příkladu dokumentovat jednotlivé kroky vedoucí k předložení a implementaci konkrétního projektu v daném regionu. Tento přístup s sebou přináší vysokou interaktivnost výuky, která je příjemci školení pozitivně hodnocena (obr. 4). Vyváženost předávaných informací lze zajistit vhodným sestavením lektorského týmu. Spojení lektorů z akademické sféry s lektory z praxe se jeví jako nejvhodnější, neboť aktuálnost a metodická správnost podávání informací je doplněna nezbytným pohledem z reálného prostředí (obr. 5). Dodržení těchto tří doporučení považují autoři za nejdůležitější z pohledu zefektivnění přípravy jednotlivých aktérů regionálního rozvoje na jejich úspěšné zapojení do regionální a strukturální politiky EU.

**Klíčová slova:** regionální a strukturální politika EU, aktéři regionálního rozvoje, veřejná správa, další vzdělávání, metody výuky pro dospělé

## INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

At present, the Czech Republic finds itself in the phase of preparation for the full European Union membership. However, the process of approximation will still demand immense effort to fulfil all the requirements specified by the EU Council during its meeting in Denmark in 1993. These requirements, often referred to as the Copenhagen Criteria, must be fulfilled by every country before voting on its membership takes place.

All candidate countries including the Czech Republic have to achieve stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for human rights, and rights of minorities. Further requirements include the existence of functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with the competitive pressure within the EU market. Furthermore, the country must be capable of adopting and enforcing general EU laws referred to as *acquis communautaire*. The European Commission is well aware of the seriousness of this task and therefore, in its budget, it allocated resources for candidate countries to fund projects promoting fulfilment of all the three above mentioned criteria.

These resources are aimed mostly at creating democratic institutions, preparation and training of public administration. Approximation of economic level of candidate countries and their regions to the EU average being one of the priorities in the enlargement agenda, considerable proportion of the resources is aimed also at promoting regional development and structural changes.

Even today, legitimate subjects in the Czech Republic may utilise resources from the EU budget in the framework of PHARE, ISPA, and SAPARD programs. These resources represent an important source complementing the domestic budget expenditures. In future, after acquiring full membership, it will be possible for them to reach 4% of Gross Domestic Product. The period before acquiring full membership should be used in the most effective way, above all, experience gained in preparation and implementation of particular projects being taken into consideration. There should never arise a situation in which resources are not utilised due to the lack of well-prepared

projects. Only well-prepared projects have the chance of succeeding in the fierce competition.

Public administration plays the main role in the whole process of preparation for joining the EU regional and structural policy. It is responsible for creating the necessary institutions, formulates priorities for a particular period, carries out tenders, evaluates the process and results of implemented projects, becomes a partner for other subjects in particular projects. Therefore, a good quality preparation of public administration employees and all participants in regional development for fulfilling the above mentioned functions is an indispensable condition for effective functioning of the whole system.

The main aim of this paper is to recommend steps to be taken for improving the effectiveness of the preparation of individual participants in regional development concerning their successful participation in the EU regional and structural policy.

The partial aims of the paper are to specify the subject matter of training as the means of preparation for utilisation of structural and cohesion funds, recommend changes in the structure and form of presented information, and to emphasise the importance of active implementation of acquired information in practise.

The paper is divided into four parts. In the introductory part, the individual participants in regional development and their responsibilities and roles within the system are identified. Based upon the carried out analysis, close points of the system are identified and the principle of partnership emphasised. At this point, the authors attempt to specify the principal conditions necessary for successful implementation of the regional and structural policy projects. The next part of the paper is based upon the experience gained in realisation of an educational project funded by the PHARE resources. Using the project final report containing evaluation by the lecturers (subjective), evaluation by the consortium (in the form of SWOT analysis), and evaluation by the program participants, there are concrete recommendations for further progress of preparation of all the target groups in the field of regional and structural policy formulated in the third part. The method of model examples was evaluated as the most effective

form of presenting information. The authors illustrate this by a model example of the city of Vienna project funded by structural funds. Recommendations and conclusions given in the individual parts of the paper are used in formulating the approach leading to improvement in effectiveness of the educational system as the means of preparation of all the target groups for full participation in projects carried out with the financial support of the EU pre-structural and structural funds.

## METHODOLOGY

### Participants in regional development

First, when formulating a recommendation, it is necessary to specify the target group for which the recommendation will be applicable.

For the case of training needs analysis with which the authors are concerned, the target group may generally be referred to as "Participants in regional development". In the following part of the paper, we are going to present a brief characteristics of this target group.

Concerning the scope of their competence, the participants may be identified as for the national and regional level.

Participants on the national level perform the role of co-ordinators of the conceptual framework of regional policy; they are responsible for supervising and evaluating the situation in regions concerning regional differences and, particularly, they co-ordinate the resources of the so-called pre-accession EU aid. This last task serves as a model for the future situation when the national level participants will co-ordinate the flow of resources drawn

from the Structural Funds in the framework of the EU co-financing of regional development. Concerning foreign relations, the national level participants will bear considerable responsibility because, finally, it is the member country which is responsible for implementing the EU regional and structural policy and its tools (SF/CF).

The most important national level participants include especially the Czech government and its bodies, the Ministry for Regional Development, the National Program Committee for Economic and Social Coherence, the Monitoring Committee for Economic and Social Coherence, and the Czech Centre for Regional Development.

At present, the participants on the regional level are being formed; regions and their newly established bodies will play the main role in designing and implementation of regional policy. At present, a dynamic process of transferring individual functions both from the centre and district authorities (bodies of state administration) together with municipalities (self-governing units) to regions takes place.

Also, other participants practically carrying out RP/SP in their activities need to be mentioned: project managers, professional consultants and project developers, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and subjects from the financial sector: mainly bank institutions. The financial sector fulfils an important function in regional development because it is not possible to generate co-financing resources for development projects without its assistance. However, at present, involvement of this sector in regional development is minimal.

The authors aim at emphasising the fact that by no means the individual participants are able to effectively fulfil their roles independently. As illustrated by the dia-

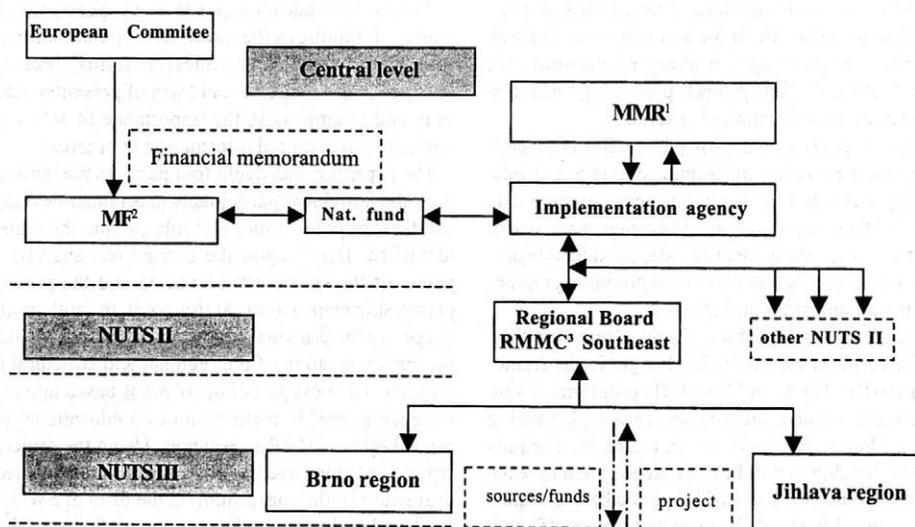


Figure 1. SF Implementation for NUTS II – Southeast region

¹MMR – Ministry for Regional Development, ²MF – Ministry of Finance, ³RMMC – Regional Managing and Monitoring Committee – Southeast

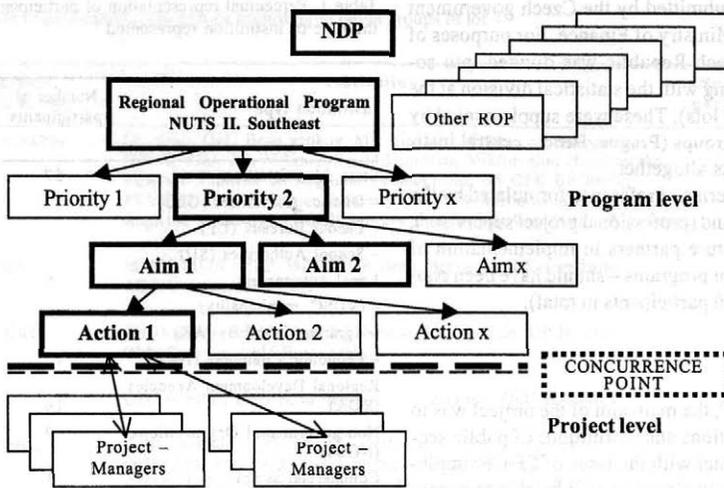


Figure 2. Regional Operation Programs – program and project level

gram below, the individual realisation levels interact with each other and influence each other by their activities. The diagram, as a cross-section of all the above mentioned levels, illustrates the implementation structure for the ERDF structural fund (Figure 1).

There is an important element of the whole system of EU regional support implementation: a concurrence point at which two levels meet.

The first, so-called “program” level represents the vertical system of interconnected program documents setting the priorities and strategic objectives of regional development from the regional (Regional Operation Plan) up to the national level (National Development Plan).

The second, “project” level, is constituted by project managers who aim at fulfilling the criteria and strategic objectives set on the program level.

Continuity of this concurrence point and the consequent successful implementation of EU regional support is, apart from other factors, determined by know-how, competency, and agreement of both levels.

The following part of the paper contains a factual definition of the above mentioned concurrence point with the instance of application the EU support for regional development.

First, every member country submits its vision, strategy, and priorities for common actions between the structural funds and the particular member country in the form of the National Development Plan (NDP) which, apart from other matters, contains a review of expected effects of the support, an outline of economic policy, employment strategies, human resources development, and regional policy of the relevant member country. The NDP represents the top program level; it is divided according to the priorities and implemented through regional and

sector operation programs (ROP, SOP). Consequently, based on this principal document and negotiations between the member country and the European Commission, a document generally referred to as the Community Support Framework (CSF) is designed. The CSF includes a system of program documents and expresses the agreement between the EU and the member country on priorities, strategies, financial conditions, and the implementation itself. Specific programs are approved by bodies of the member country (public administration) only after the CSF have been accepted by both the member country and the Committee. After formulating them, bodies of the member country take up the responsibility for designing further program levels and their actual implementation. The following diagram specifies the concurrence point of the program and project level at the Regional Operation Plan (ROP) – Figure 2.

The concurrence point was classified by the authors as a close point in the system of the regional support implementation. To achieve its maximal continuity, it is necessary to apply the principle of partnership<sup>2</sup> and to prepare the participants on both levels for mutual communication. In the final part of the paper, the authors identify the most suitable way of the above mentioned preparation.

## RESULTS

### Evaluation of an already implemented project

In this part, there will be summarised the results of the PHARE project – National Network of Regional Training Institutions (hereafter NNRTI) and recommendations and conclusions relevant to the main aim of the paper will be defined.

<sup>2</sup> The principle of partnership is one of the seven principles applied in implementation of the EU structural policy.

The project was submitted by the Czech government represented by the Ministry of Finance. For purposes of this project, the Czech Republic was divided into so-called lots overlapping with the statistical division at the NUTS 2 level (i.e. 8 lots). These were supplemented by two specific target groups (Prague, Brno – central institutions); thus, 10 lots altogether.

According to the terms of reference formulated by the National Training Fund (professional project supervisor), 160 participant – future partners in implementation of regional development programs – should have been chosen in every lot (1600 participants in total).

### Project Aims

According to ToR<sup>3</sup>, the main aim of the project was to ensure that organisations and institutions of public sector coming into contact with the issue of SF/CF<sup>4</sup> implementation in the Czech Republic will be able to access the complex know-how providing the means for them to use the pre-accession tools of the EU support during the period after the year 2000 (PHARE, ISPA, SAPARD) and to implement SF/CF during the period after joining the EU. A partial aim then was to create a sustainable training capacity in the particular NUTS 2 region which would then provide training and consulting services for all the target groups in the following period of time.

Taking the above mentioned reason into consideration, the Mendel University of Agriculture and Forestry was asked by the DHV ČR consulting firm to form a consortium which successfully applied for implementation of the project in lot 7 – NUTS 2 – Southeast. This is constituted by the South Moravian Region and Vysočina Region. Based on the Training Needs Analysis (TNA) in the NUTS 2 – Southeast region, there was undertaken a selection of individual participants. State administration officials were represented the most; representatives of the regional administration (VÚSC) the least. The lowest participation of the key level of implementation structure (VÚSC = NUTS 3) was caused by organisational reasons on the side of regional institutions (elections for the VÚSC representative bodies and their constituting partly collided with the project implementation) and, at the same time, partly by their unawareness of their future role (Table 1).

These participants absolved 3 primary modules aimed at the EU regional and structural policy (module I), Strategic planning and programming (module II), and Financial management and government contracts (module III). The content of the modules was strictly set by the professional project supervisor (National Training Fund – hereafter NVF) in order to achieve the comparable level of output knowledge of those who complete the course in all the lots. Identification of target groups and the methodology of information presenting was left up to the individual consortia. The basic division of attendants into groups is given in Table 2.

Table 1. Percentual representation of participants according to the type of institution represented

Institution type	Number of participants	Relative representation (%)
State administration	87	67
– District Authorities (OkÚ)		
– Labour Bureaux (ÚP)		
– School Authorities (ŠÚ)		
Local government	6	4
– (VÚSC, municipality)		
– Agrarian Chambers (AK)		
– Economic Chambers (HK)	17	11
Regional Development Agencies (RDA)	14	9
Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs)	9	6
Commercial sector	4	3
TOTAL	153	100

### Preliminary conditions

When dividing the participants into groups, two alternative ways were taken into consideration and they are reflected in the selected control groups. First – heterogeneous – formed by representatives of various regional participants (see groups 1, 2, 3, and 5 in Table 2). Second – homogeneous – formed by representatives of the same type of institutions (see the other groups). The objective was to test communication inside these groups especially when managing particular projects aimed at applying the principle of partnership.

The next problem which had to be solved in the initial phase of the project implementation was the choice of teaching methods. Upon the agreement among the consortium members and assessment of the applicants' requirements, high interactivity of teaching and use of the highest possible number of concrete examples were chosen. Also, there was put an emphasis on maximising practical use of the acquired knowledge.

Moreover, the composition of the team of lecturers was another aspect which may influence the final product of the project. Taking into consideration the composition and professional knowledge of lecturers, the method of their rotation during the individual training days was applied. The aim was to achieve homogeneity of knowledge within all groups and to increase the attendants' attention.

Furthermore, the preparatory phase of the project included a decision on didactic tools and study materials. These may influence considerably the quality of presented information, enable self-study, and make a later use of the acquired knowledge possible. Finally, three complementary forms of materials were chosen taking the quantity of presented information, dynamics of changes in the

<sup>3</sup> ToR – Terms of Reference

<sup>4</sup> SF – structural funds, CF – cohesion fund

Table 2. Division of participants into groups according to target groups in lot 7

No.	Target group (modules I, II, III)	Institution	Number of participants	Reserve
1	RMMC + NGOs	ŠÚ Brno, OkÚ Brno venkov, MÚ Slavkov, Member of Parliament Office, RDA Jm, Mikroregion Mikulovsko, Mikroregion Hustopečsko, Senate Committee on Regional Development, OS OPK BP Brno, PVVP Chaloupky, Regional charity Žďár n/S, Veronica institute, Regional assembly of ČSOP, Morava river Union, Greenways, Rezekvítek	16	0
2	MIN + RDA	MPSV, MMR, MŽP, MZE, ÚÚR Brno, Pedagogical Centre Brno, RDA Vysočina, RDA JM	15	1
3	ŠÚ+ÚP+OkÚ.	ŠÚ Hodonín, ŠÚ Břeclav, ŠÚ Znojmo, ÚP Hodonín, ÚP Břeclav, OkÚ Znojmo, OkÚ Brno venkov	16	0
4	OkÚ I	OkÚ Břeclav, OkÚ Brno venkov, OkÚ Znojmo, OkÚ Hodonín	16	0
5	INFRA+OHK	OHK Hodonín, OHK Břeclav, OHK Brno, OHK Pelhřimov, OHK Žďár n/S, OHK Třebíč, CHKO Moravský kras, CHKO Žďárské vrchy, ŘSD Brno, Povodí Moravy, ČÍŽP Brno	15	1
6	OkÚ II	OkÚ Blansko, OkÚ Žďár n/S, OkÚ Vyškov	15	1
7	OkÚ III	OkÚ Havl. Brod, OkÚ Pelhřimov, OkÚ Třebíč	16	0
8	ÚP	OP Brno město, ÚP Blansko, ÚP Vyškov, ÚP Třebíč, ÚP Jihlava, ÚP Pelhřimov, ÚP Havl. Brod, ÚP Žďár n/S, ÚP Znojmo	16	0
9	ŠÚ	ŠÚ Brno, ŠÚ Brno venkov, ŠÚ Vyškov, ŠÚ Jihlava, ŠÚ Žďár n/S, ŠÚ Třebíč, ŠÚ Blansko, ŠÚ Pelhřimov	16	0
10	OAK + reserve	OAK Břeclav, OAK Třebíč, OAK Havl. Brod, OAK Hodonín, OAK Žďár n/S, OAK Znojmo, OAK Brno, OAK Jihlava, OAK Vyškov, OAK Blansko	10	6

Explanatory notes: RMMC – Regional Managing and Monitoring Committee, NGOs – Non-governmental organisations, MIN – Ministry, RDA – Regional Development Agency, ŠÚ – School Administration, ÚP – Labour Bureau, OkÚ – District Administration, INFRA – Infrastructure organisation, OHK – District Economic Chamber, OAK – District Agrarian Chamber, CHKO – Protected Landscape Area, ŘSD – Road and Motorway Directorate, ČÍŽP – Czech Environment Inspection

respective field, and uniqueness of the NUTS 2 – South-east region into account (module I–III readers issued by MMR and NVF, OHP with presentation of specific issues used in the individual modules, and software applications with graphic and mathematical support). Factuality of the presented information was emphasised by all materials stressing the interactivity of didactic tools.

Also, a discussion was held concerning the place of the project implementation. In respect to the geographical diversity of the target group (South Moravian Region and Vysočina Region), the technical equipment of study rooms (data-projector, OHP, study room variability for various methods of teaching, copying facilities, etc.) and taking the terms of reference into consideration (residential form of the course), the offer of the Česká Společnost Akademie (SA) in Brno was accepted throughout a tender.

The assessment of the above mentioned preliminary conditions by participants in the training elaborated in the framework of the project final report is given below.

#### Completed courses evaluation

An assessment by the participants was carried out by the means of a standardised questionnaire (see Appen-

dix). The results, due to space limitations of this paper, are given only for three groups (No. 5, 8, 9). They are presented in the form of column graphs accompanied by comments (Figure 3).

Assessment by the participants corresponds with assessment by the consortium members. Concerning the project organisation, the training courses may be rated as very successful. Rating of all the criteria exceeds 4.0 points in all groups and approximates the maximum rating mark of 5.0 points (Figure 4).

Rating varies from 3.2 to 5.0 points. The lowest mark was achieved with the "Focus on problem areas which interest you the most" criterion in group 5. This may be explained by the relatively heterogeneous structure of the respective group (representatives of OHK, CHKO, RDA) with considerably differentiated views about the main points of the training.

However, the choice of heterogeneous groups appeared to be beneficial in respect to the interactivity of teaching and communication. This is reflected in participants' answers to the question regarding time devoted to discussion and/or their consultations with lecturers.

Also, the balance of theoretical and practical information was perceived very positively; this testifies to the

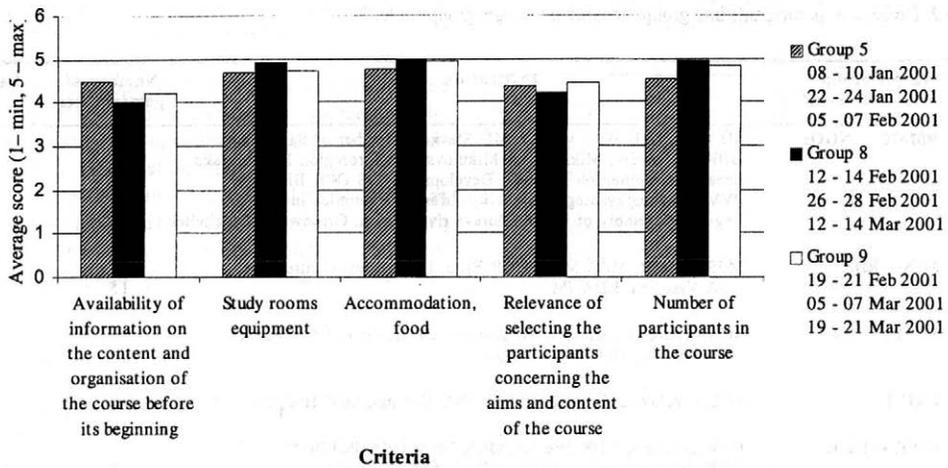


Figure 3. Evaluation of the course organisation

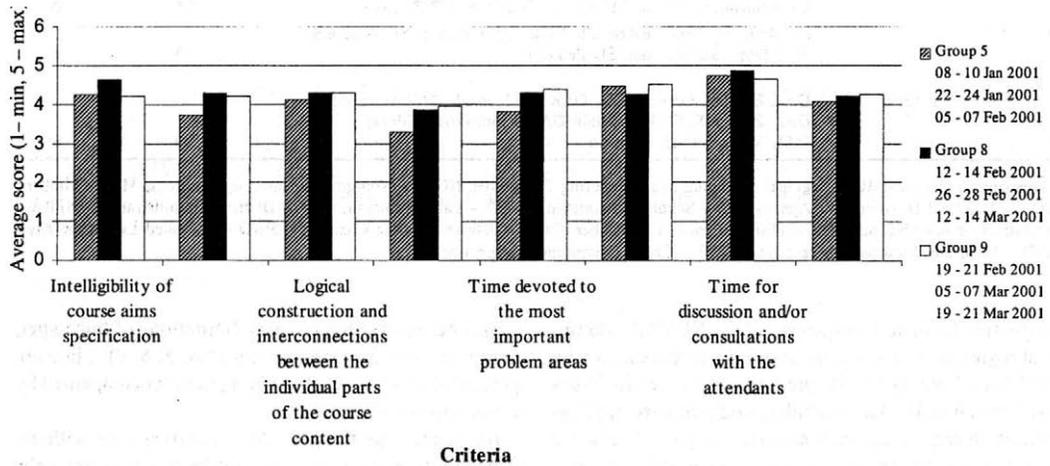


Figure 4. Evaluation of the course content

appropriateness of the team of lecturers composition (Figure 5).

Apart from group 8 in the "Possibilities of contacting lecturers outside the seminar", all ratings exceed 4.0 points. This may be perceived as a success. Also, for the team of lecturers, especially high rating of their professional skills often reaching the maximum mark of 5.0 points is very important (Figure 6).

It becomes apparent that the everyday work experience of the participants does not require the extent and depth of knowledge of the training subject matter presented in the framework of modules I-III. The conditions created by employers, in the selected sample of groups 5, 8, and 9, were rated as very good (see marks exceeding 4.0 points).

The analysis of participants' assessment is further used for formulating the recommendations stated in the conclusions of this paper.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the paper, the authors identified the participants in regional development and defined two primary levels of the regional development implementation support for which the individual participants are allocated. It is a wide and considerably heterogeneous group of participants following various objectives and interests and, by their definition, varying in their role within the system. Therefore, the authors suppose that training and espe-

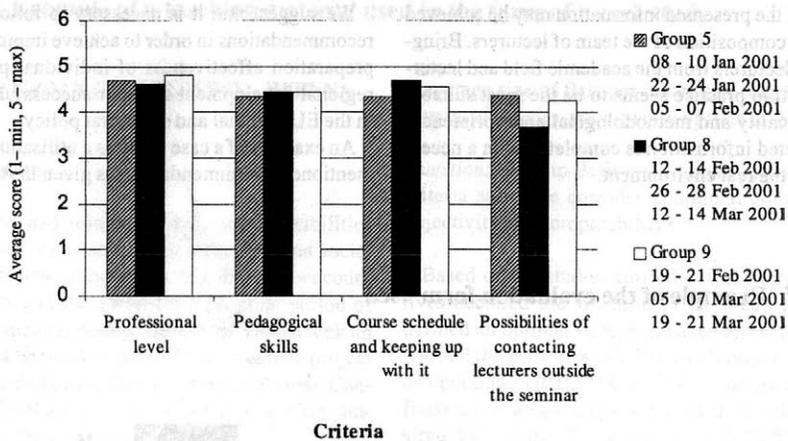


Figure 5. Evaluation of the lecturers' performance

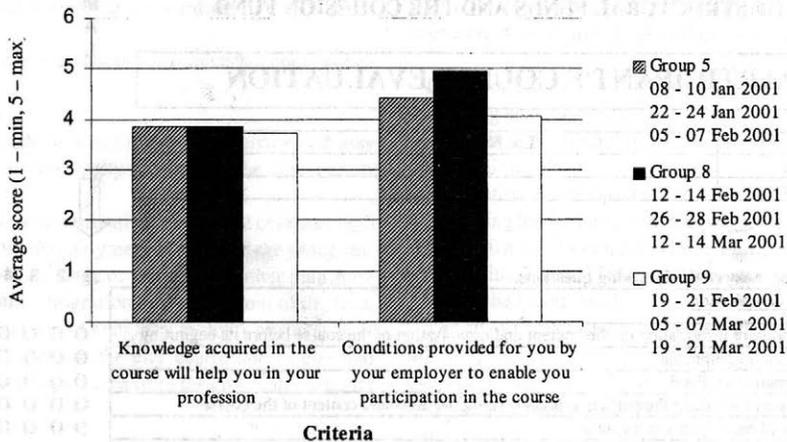


Figure 6. Evaluation of motivation, expectations, and aims of the participants

cially the choice of its form will enable creating shared knowledge and communication base which will contribute to eliminating possible communication barriers and, by this, maximise the effectiveness of allocating resources intended for regional development in the Czech Republic from the EU tools in future.

Therefore, when identifying attendants of the training, it is necessary to consider the distribution of participants in regional development in the relevant field and their responsibilities. Working in heterogeneous groups gives the participants a clear idea of the necessity of co-operation among individual institutions (the principle of partnership) when solving problems on a regional level. It enables simulating situations which will occur when defining priorities in the particular regions and when deciding whether to accept or refuse a particular project in Regional Councils. At the same time, it stresses another principle of regional policy – the principle of concentrat-

ing resources on one problem. The analysis of the PHARE initial project proved appropriateness of this approach.

Also, an emphasis should be put on the choice of teaching methods. In this case, the requirement stated by attendants of the training that the acquired information be applicable in practice should be taken into consideration. For there happens that, during the initial training needs analysis, a high level of absorption of general information without the ability to apply this information is identified. Therefore, there should be an effort to present as many already successfully implemented projects as possible and, based on their example, to illustrate the individual steps to be taken in submitting and implementing a particular project in the particular region. This approach brings along a high level of teaching interactivity which is perceived positively by attendants of the training.

Balance of the presented information may be achieved by a suitable composition of the team of lecturers. Bringing together lecturers from the academic field and lecturers coming from practice seems to be the most suitable because topicality and methodological appropriateness of the presented information is completed with a necessary view of the real environment.

We suggest that it is necessary to follow these three recommendations in order to achieve improvement in the preparation effectiveness of individual participants in regional development for their successful participation in the EU regional and structural policy.

An example of a case study as a utilisation of the above mentioned recommendations is given in Appendix 2.

### Appendix 1: Example of the evaluation form used



PHARE CZ 9807 – 02 - 02



M I N I M A L M A X I M A L N/A

#### TRAINING AS A PART OF PREPARATION FOR UTILISATION OF STRUCTURAL FUNDS AND THE COHESION FUND

### PARTICIPANT'S COURSE EVALUATION

<b>Institution:</b>	<b>Lot No.</b>
<b>Lecturer(s):</b>	
<b>Module title:</b>	



Please, answer the following questions.

	1	2	3	4	5	
<b>Course organisation</b>						
Availability of information on the content and organisation of the course before its beginning	0	0	0	0	0	0
Study rooms equipment	0	0	0	0	0	0
Accommodation, Food	0	0	0	0	0	0
Relevance of selecting the participants concerning the aims and content of the course	0	0	0	0	0	0
Number of participants in a course	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Course content</b>						
Intelligibility of course aims specification	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suitability of course focus in respect to your functional position	0	0	0	0	0	0
Logical construction and interconnections between the individual parts of the course content	0	0	0	0	0	0
Focus on problem areas which interest you the most	0	0	0	0	0	0
Time devoted to the most important problem areas	0	0	0	0	0	0
Balance of theoretical and practical parts of the program	0	0	0	0	0	0
Time for discussion and/or consultations with the attendants	0	0	0	0	0	0
Participants' possibility of modifying the course from the contentual and/or organisational point	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Lecturers</b>						
Professional level	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pedagogical skills	0	0	0	0	0	0
Course schedule and keeping up with it	0	0	0	0	0	0
Possibilities of contacting lecturers outside seminars	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Your motivation, expectations, and objectives</b>						
Knowledge acquired in the course will help you in your profession	0	0	0	0	0	0
Conditions provided for you by your employer to enable you participation in the course	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other evaluation aspects (according to your choice)						
	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0

## Appendix 2: Example of a teaching material used in the form of a case study

### CASE STUDY URBAN GÜRTEL WEST – WIENNA URBION

#### Basic information

After Austria had joined the EU, new possibilities emerged for regions to solve their structural and social problems. In the time of joining the EU, the member countries had just begun the 1994–1999 program period of regional and structural policy. The city of Vienna took up the chance and decided to prepare an extensive project of redevelopment of its problematic municipal areas. Concerning its regional division, the city of Vienna is in a similar situation as the Czech capital Prague.

The city representatives assessed the potentials and defined the possibility of applying the aid of EU Structural Funds in the framework of the Community initiatives<sup>5</sup>, particularly the URBAN initiative.

*Question:* How is it possible to make such a conclusion?

Initial state:

- Problem area identification: There is an area which may be marked as structurally afflicted in the west part of the city.
- Criteria for area identification: High level of crime, high percentage of unemployment of younger age group residents, high percentage of residents of other than Austrian nationality, migration of residents out of the area, low representation of company sector – business people, limited access to the city centre due to elevated railroad separating the area from the city centre, smaller

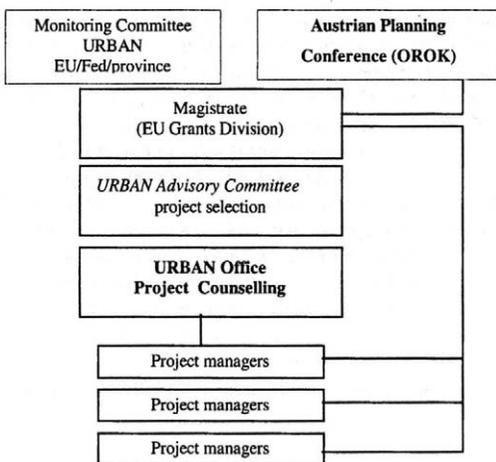


Figure 7. The URBAN Gürtel Plus program implementation structure

<sup>5</sup> Community Initiatives – URBAN, LEADER, EQUAL, INTERREG.

average size of flats per inhabitant compared to other parts of the city, poor quality of flats in the area.

*Question:* How to define a problem region/area; what criteria are to be considered optimal concerning their objectivity and comparability?

Based on the studies carried out, the city representatives declared the situation in the area unsatisfactory, defined an optimal state and, based on their own priorities and the priorities of URBAN Community Initiative, designed the URBAN Gürtel West program which defined the strategic steps to be taken to achieve the desired final state. The program took into account the principles of EU regional and structural policy, especially the principles of partnership and concentration.

*Question:* How does public administration follow the above mentioned principles in their activities?

- Expected effects of the URBAN Gürtel West program
- Creating several hundred jobs;
- Adaptation and founding 7 000– 10 000 sq. m of urban vegetation;
- Stimulation of investments into building renovations exceeding the framework of the project in the volume of 150–200 mil. ATS (approx. 11 mil. Euro);
- Retraining 2 500–3 000 people, enable their participation in the labour market.

The city of Vienna received an assurance of co-financing the program within the framework of the URBAN Community Initiative. By this, implementation of the program was factually made possible and the implementation structure for this program was created according to the EU RP/SP regulations. On this implementation structure, the application of the principle of partnership may be observed (Figure 7, Table 3).

Table 3. Financial overview of the URBAN Gürtel Plus program (Euro)

EU (ERDF fund)	166,000,000
The city of Vienna	253,000,000
Federal budget	76,000,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>495,000,000</b>

The program was developed successfully and considerable number of projects succeeded in the tender (cf. Appendix to the case study and consultations with lecturers).

*Suggestion of the task:*

After a study of basic data, provided detailed materials, and consultations with the lecturers, find a similar

structurally afflicted area in the Czech Republic and design a draft of a program or an individual project corresponding with the system of Czech program documents and conforming to all the principles on which participation in SF in the framework of EU regional and structural policy is built. Design and specify the implementation structure and possible sources of domestic financing of the project. Identify problematic – close – points which may occur during its implementation within the conditions of the Czech Republic.

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# The role of property as commodity and gift

## *Pozemkové vlastnictví v roli zboží a daru*

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**Abstract:** The restitution of agricultural lands in the Czech Republic has cast a new light on the meaning of property ownership and the construction of rural social alliances. Since 1991 in the village of Bartov (a pseudonym), over 80% of village agricultural land has been returned to pre-collective farm owners. After the transfer of ownership was complete, "new" landowners needed to decide how they would use their lands. Opportunities existed for them to remain in the cooperative farm and receive rent for their property or to lease their land to any of the three families who were forming private farms. Grievances and grudges held against the private farmers for "destroying a well-functioning collective farm" kept most villagers from leasing their lands to these families. The socialist mentality of an equal distribution of wealth was well in tact; the private farmers were considered greedy for putting their needs over that of the community as a whole. The families that leased their lands to the private farmers made a political and social statement – they were breaking from the "old" socialist tradition and embracing the entrepreneurial or capitalist model. They were also aligning themselves with families who began to wield a level of influence in the village (one farmer is now a member of the parliament). Property became a bargaining chip in the exchange of information, wealth, and social influence.

**Key words:** property, commodity, gift, exchange, sabotage

**Abstrakt:** Restituce zemědělské půdy v České republice přinesla nový pohled na význam vlastnictví pozemků a vytváření rurálních sociálních svazků. Článek seznamuje s výsledky 14měsíčního terénního výzkumu (1997–1998, 1999), který autorka uskutečnila s využitím zúčastněného pozorování, hloubkových rozhovorů, dotazování a studia dokumentů v obci na jihozápadní Moravě. V textu se zaměřuje na otázku pojetí role pozemkového vlastnictví obyvateli zkoumané vesnice, na projevy sociálních důsledků tohoto pojetí pro lidi hospodařící jiným způsobem. Další diskutovaný problém se týká polemiky s teoretickým pojetím výměny zboží (vztah mezi směňovanými objekty) a výměny darů (vztah mezi subjekty) jako polarizovanými pojmy. Pozemkové vlastnictví podle autorky zakládá jak vztah mezi odměňovanými objekty (peníze a právo užívat půdu), tak vztah mezi subjekty (vlastník půdy a nájemce). Poslední pojem, nazývaný „dar“, neznamená však, že právo užívat půdu je bezplatné. Vlastník půdy vybírá, komu svěří užívací právo, takže toto nabývá symbolického významu. Ve vesnici Bartov (pseudonym) bylo po roce 1991 vlastníkům z doby před kolektivizací vráceno přes 80 % vesnické zemědělské půdy. „Noví“ vlastníci se museli po převodu půdy rozhodnout, jak budou svých pozemků užívat. Jednou možností bylo zůstat v družstvu a pobírat rentu za své pozemky, druhou možností pak pronajmout svou půdu některé ze tří rodin, které založily soukromé farmy. V pronájmu půdy soukromým farmářům však mnohým vesničanům zabránily pocity rozhořčení a nepřátelství k farmářům za „rozbití dobře fungujícího zemědělského družstva“. Projevila se socialistická mentalita rovného rozdělení bohatství. Soukromí farmáři byli považováni za hrabivé, poněvadž kladli své zájmy nad zájmy komunity jako celku. Článek popisuje různé formy projevů těchto postojů vesničanů k farmářům (ale i jiným soukromým vlastníkům): poškozování nebo ničení jejich majetku (luxusního auta, plaveckého bazénu apod.), kritika a posměch za jejich nezkušenost nebo špatné hospodaření (u farmáře z města), příp. pomluvy za neobvyklé chování (údajná porážka koní na maso). Jako podtext jednání vesničanů se jevil jejich protest proti nerovnoměrné distribuci majetku po restitucích. Na druhé straně si vesničané vážili dvou farmářských rodin pro jejich laskavost a pracovitost. Právo užívat půdu bylo chápáno nejen jako materiální směna, ale i jako symbolická transakce daru tohoto práva vybraným osobám. Rodiny, které pronajaly svou půdu soukromým farmářům, učinily tedy politickou a sociální výpověď – odpoutaly se od „staré“ socialistické tradice a přijaly podnikatelský či kapitalistický model. Spojily se s rodinami, které získaly určitou úroveň vlivu ve vesnici (jeden z farmářů je nyní členem parlamentu). Pozemkové vlastnictví se tak stalo jedním z faktorů výhod ve výměně informací, bohatství a sociálního vlivu.

**Klíčová slova:** vlastnictví pozemků, zboží, dar, výměna, sabotáž

## INTRODUCTION AND METHODS

Anthropologists have long discussed commodity economies and gift economies in which the dichotomy

revealed distinctions between the so-called "West" and "Rest". Gregory states that "commodity exchange establishes a relationship between the objects exchanged, whereas gift exchange establishes a relationship between

the subjects" (1982: 19). Commodity economies were traditionally tied to the "west" and gift economies to the "rest" or developing world. In the village of Bartov (pseudonym) in the Czech Republic, this schema cannot be viewed in binary or polarized terms. I argue instead for a unifying theory in which property, a commodity is also a "gift". In other words, the exchange of property usage rights evinces a relationship between the objects exchanged (money and land usage rights) and between the subjects (the landowner and the leaser). It is true that in Bartov, property has been exchanged for monetary benefits, foodstuff and labor. However, the nature of the transaction is embedded in the symbolic meaning of property and land ownership. In this paper, I will *first* illuminate how villagers define ownership. *Second*, I will provide examples of the types of social consequences for people who operate outside of the socially accepted, traditional definitions of ownership, including how sabotage plays a large role in the actions/alliances of villagers. *Third*, I will outline the contexts in which property transactions are also gift transactions.

This paper is based on over 14 months of ethnographic research in the village of Bartov<sup>1</sup> in southwestern Moravia. I began a 12-month research project in the village in the fall of 1997 on a Fulbright Fellowship and returned in 1999 for two months with the support of the American Councils on International Education and the Nippon Foundation. Ethnographic research is predicated on participatory observation, in-depth interviews, questionnaires and archival research. During the 14 months I lived in the village I conducted over 50 interviews, observed and participated in village activities (including the village festival, harvest activities, pig killings, church services, school events, weddings, funerals and name-day celebrations), collected questionnaires and read the chronicle as well as other archival documents on the village<sup>2</sup>. I am greatly indebted to the generosity of the people of Bartov who shared with me their time, energy and thoughts about their lives and the state of affairs in the village.

## DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

The nature of ownership in the last century has changed quite dramatically. First, the Austro-Hungarian nobility was required to sell vast amounts of land to local peasants in the first land reforms of the new country of Czechoslovakia after the First World War. Thus, many landless peasants were able to begin to farm their own land. Those who were able to purchase large amounts of land typically had ties to the nobility. For example, the grandfather of Mr. Merlíček, the largest landowner in the village of Bartov, was an employee of the Earl in the area. Because of his relationship with the Earl, Mr. Merlíček's

grandfather was able to purchase 75 hectares of land relatively cheaply during the land reforms. Ownership of land during the First Republic symbolized independence from the aristocracy and the ruling powers that had been in place for centuries. Many of the current private family farmers look fondly to this period considering it crucial in the history of their farms and their relationships to land. Even for the families who farmed their own small parcels of land before the first land reforms, the change in the political structure gave many a sense of self-determination and freedom regarding their land and its uses.

World War II and subsequently communism disrupted the private ownership of land in Bartov. During the German occupation, farmers were allowed to keep their land, however the products of their farming efforts were not theirs. The Germans appropriated crops for their military purposes. In Bartov, family Hašek operated a mill on the outskirts of the village along the river. They were required to give substantial portions of their flour to the Germans during the occupation. The commodity, therefore, was the product of the land, and not the land itself. The German military did not desire to farm the land, but only to receive the foodstuffs from it. The exchange of this commodity was unequal or rather a negative exchange. A "gift" of foodstuffs was made under duress. After World War II, farmers were able to resume private family farming.

By 1948, the communist party took power. Committees were formed to proceed with the collectivization of farmlands. In Bartov, the largest landowners, the Merlíček family, provided the foundation for the collective farm with their 75 hectares. Other families contributed their lands (both by choice and force) so that by 1960 almost all of the farming land in the village was part of the JZD (jednotné zemědělské družstvo – Uniform Agricultural Cooperative). Ties to the land in the JZD varied depending on whether villagers made the choice to contribute to the collective freely. Those, like the Merlíček family, who believed that collective farming was the reasonable choice for increased productivity, did not mind (at least initially) that the boundaries of their land were dissolved, as hundreds of hectares were cultivated with unified crops. Those who were more or less coerced into giving their lands to the JZD were more likely to be upset about dissolving boundaries. The forms of coercion varied and typically farmers felt social and economic pressure to join the collectives. Mr. Pavlík senior explained the situation "We had to fulfill. If we didn't fulfill, they wouldn't allow us to kill. The kids were small and the local council didn't allow us to kill pigs for slaughter. Here everything went through the local council and it was a bad life. People had to enter the collective or they were moved out of their homes."

Communism played an interesting role in the interpretation of property – not only land, but commodities in

<sup>1</sup> All identifying names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of people who graciously helped me with my research.

<sup>2</sup> For a further discussion of the ethnographic methods used in my research, please see Vanderkar (1999). For preliminary results of the research, see Vanderkar (2000).

general. Money had very little value under communism. More important were the ties individuals and families made with others. These networks of exchange relationships, or the "second economy", formed the way in which people could acquire commodities without money. A villager illustrated this relationship – she discussed how when shopping she could go into a store with enough money to purchase a pair of shoes. However, a clerk would say that the store did not have any shoes. The next customer could come in and ask for shoes as well. Having a former arrangement with this customer, the clerk would disappear behind the counter and reappear with a pair of shoes. In exchange for the shoes, she might take nails, nylons, cassette tapes or some other commodity. Things had value, not in terms of money, but in terms of their exchange value and in terms of the relationships between subjects.

Issues of ownership under communism were very distinct. Most land, for example, was part of the collective farm (except for small garden plots). The land still belonged, in theory, to those who gave it to the collective and worked in the collective, and the mentality was such that members felt they had rights to the products of the collective. This was not only in terms of the formal agreements members had with the collective (for foodstuffs, etc.), but also in terms of the informal rights villagers felt they had. The presence of collective ownership allowed villagers, even those who were not members, to feel it was their right to take fruit, corn, poppy seeds, etc. from the fields. Villagers walked through fields, ruining produce, if the paths were more convenient. Children played freely in the fields. Additionally, villagers appropriated other non-food items from the cooperative. One cottager told about how he "acquired" the cement and wood for his cottage through informal connections with the collective. Verdery describes such activities as a "parasitic use" of the official economy (1991: 423). However, in many ways the relationship was more of a symbiotic one in which both sides benefited; villagers benefited from additional "acquired" items, and the collective benefited by having more contented workers. Holy characterizes the relationship as such: "In that system, enterprises in 'socialist ownership' were officially declared to be in the common ownership of all people and in the popular perception they were seen as belonging to no one" (1996: 157). Everyone felt they had the right to take from the non-private institutions. Holy contends that stealing, lying, and cheating in the public realm were considered appropriate; in fact, to not steal from work was deemed a wrong committed against the family (1996: 25).

Many of the resources acquired from the work place fed into the second economy as they were often traded for more desired goods. Lampland (1991) proposes a definition of the second economy as an economy operating outside of the state sector. Kideckel (1993) believes that the second economy allowed people to supplement their incomes in subsistence agriculture and provided them with resources and networks necessary to lead a more comfortable and "proper" life. Household plots formed

the way in which many villagers could operate in the second economy and produced food staples needed for daily consumption and food surplus that could be sold.

The household or garden plots are important in our discussion of ownership. Villagers stole or acquired goods from the collective farm or from the state, but they did not typically steal from the private garden plots of others. Homes and cottages were private vestiges for people. Jan Sokol characterizes private property: "A natural expression and tangible form of this care about a piece of the world is private property: a house, a garden, a workshop, a shop. Ownership and property are, in this form, a condition of normal human freedom" (in Holy 1996: 157). Public and private realms characterized different forms of ownership and therefore different behaviors were appropriate while operating within each system.

The classification of public and private commodities and property is currently under social debate. As a result of the restitution process, ownership of collectivized land is legally defined. Those who reclaimed their land from the collective farm are the rightful owners. However, several social views dictate the "correctness" of private ownership in Bartov. In a questionnaire, 57% of the respondents indicated that they felt restitution was right and that the people should be able to use their land as they choose. Their comments included "property should be given to its rightful owner" (35 year-old man), "restitution was correct; it was their property" (51 year-old woman), "restitution was right, but property was not returned justly" (48 year-old man). Forty-three percent of the respondents indicated, however, that the land should have been left in the collective. Their comments included "the state should have left the land; it was already a well-functioning system" (66 year-old man), "we were content in the collective" (80 year-old man), "private farmers destroyed it" (54 year-old woman), "young people have left the village" (74 year-old woman). Although the majority of respondents indicated positive views regarding restitution, the general sentiment of the village seemed to take the form of the latter group.

Sentiment regarding private ownership of land can be further broken down as to whether village families, after restitution, leased their lands to the cooperative, rented them to a private farmer or farmed the lands themselves. Those who leased their lands to the cooperative were not found to be at fault by most villagers as these landowners allowed the cooperative to continue to function. Those who rented their land to private farmers, however, were seen to have been contributors to the "destruction of the JZD". Those who started private farms were even more highly criticized. The sentiment against private ownership of land was expressed overtly and covertly. Mrs. Příjemná made this comment about Mr. Merlíček, the largest private farmer, in an interview: "He farms poorly and has a lot of smells coming from his pig shed" (November 1997). Ironically, the swine occupy the same shed as they did under communism when the JZD had the rights over the building and its contents. The smells, presumably, should be about the same. However, feelings

about those who tend to the swine have changed. Also, Mr. Pavlík discussed in an interview one villager's response to his withdrawal from the collective. An anonymous letter was sent to him chastising him in his ambitions to farm privately. The letter stated that the family farm would fail and that the collective would not accept him when he would want to come back.

Other forms of sabotage are rampant in the village. Acts of sabotage are not only committed against private farmers, but private owners of many sorts. One family purchased a large, metal basin that was intended to become a swimming pool. Despite the fact that it weighed almost a ton, the basin was tipped and rolled down into the forest late one night. It took almost a year for the family to rent equipment strong enough to haul it back up the hill. Another family purchased a large, plastic swimming pool. Overnight, someone cut through the plastic, rendering it unswimmable. A young couple with horses made an agreement with the mayor of the village to rent a parcel of land for grazing. The electric fence they put up was cut through after only a few weeks. A family from the city who renovated an old farmhouse found their dog dead one morning, shot by a villager. Further, a well-off villager with a nice car found his car vandalized soon after he purchased it. This villager now keeps his nice car in a garage in a neighboring city and drives an old car back and forth to Bartov.

Holy asserts, "the two most often mentioned negative characteristics of Czechs are envy and intolerance" (1996: 89). These traits are certainly evident in Bartov and they provide a definitive leveling effect. Those who are private owners of property not commonly held by others or considered luxury items are condemned. As Holy indicates "this construction inevitably engenders egalitarianism" (*ibid.*). In the post-communist context, allowing private ownership and differential wealth is very difficult for many villagers. It also has consequences for farmers. People do not observe property boundaries and private farmers complain of stolen produce, inconsiderate people who tread on crops, and children who play in and destroy fields. Unfortunately, these behaviors have been carried over from the socialist era and may take much time to change.

Private owners, who hold the rights in which to dispose of property, hold influential positions in the village. For the first time since the collectivization process, landowners could receive payment for the use of their land. However, property negotiations also involved social and political alliances. For example, landowners who did not wish to farm the land themselves were faced with a dilemma - to whom should they lease their land? Monetarily, it made little to no difference; the collective and the private farmer offered similar rents. To lease land to the collective was the choice of many families who did not want the collective to dissolve. Such families usually still

had ties to the collective. Economic ties included: retired persons who could receive lunches very cheaply, people who still wanted to be able to purchase foodstuff at lower costs, and people who wanted to be able to call upon the services of the collective - for waste disposal, etc. Politically, leaving land with the collective could be viewed as placing these landowners within the "socialist" camp - those who wanted to preserve the traditions of the socialist era and preserve the well-functioning collective. Socially, the landowners who leased their lands to the collective were more respected and tolerated in the village. On the other hand, those who leased their land to the private farmers were, in effect, enabling a degree of success in the private, capitalist enterprises. One landowner mentioned that he did not lease his land to the collective because of a lack of respect for the current and former management. He hoped that leasing lands to private farmers would destabilize the "corrupt" collective organization. He thus gave *de facto* support for the private farmers.

Leasing property, therefore, evinced a relationship between the objects (land for money) and between the subjects (landowners and leaser). The "gifts" of property<sup>3</sup> were important as they demonstrated the landowners' support for the collective or private farmers. In the early 1990s, this had more implications than it might currently as those who leased to private farmers were stigmatized. They were considered to be conspirators in the destruction of the collective. However, the collective did not fall apart and is doing rather well at present. Currently, two of the three private farmers are rather successful and have gained considerable status within the community for their hard work. Some people now take pride that they lease their land to these farmers despite the fact that many villagers still resent the private farms. One private farmer is not doing well, currently he has not been able to make steady payments to the landowners. Landowners leasing their land to this farmer generally are not concerned about the material aspect of the exchange (they know they will receive their rent at some point). They are more concerned with the farmer's decline in status. For example, villagers discuss the ways in which he leaves hay out in the fields for weeks even with the threat of rainy weather that would cause the hay to mold. They disapprove of his residence being in a neighboring town. The villagers are quick to discuss the ways in which he farms "he is a city boy - what is he doing back here?" Additionally, it was rumored that he killed several of his horses for meat, a practice that is not common in the village and thought of to be cruel. As a result, several landowners are considering transferring the leasing rights to one of the other farmers. This example illustrates the importance of the symbolic meaning of the property transaction. The relationship between the subjects (the unskilled farmer and the landowner) and the status of

<sup>3</sup>"Gift" is used here to illustrate the relationship between subjects - the landowner and leaser and not to imply that land was given without payment. The rights to use a parcel of land are viewed as the gift.

each member are more important than monetary gains for the landowners.

## CONCLUSION

In his edited volume, *Property Relations*, Hann (1998) and others illustrate how property is embedded politically and economically, embracing culturally bound symbolic and material contexts. The "embeddedness" of property relations in Bartov encompasses the historical contexts of property relations from the first Czechoslovak Republic through the end of communism, as well as the current relationships to property and land ownership in the village. In addition, the notion of private property and ownership has refashioned social, political & economic relations. The social standing of the private farming family members is a paradox. The family members are, on the one hand, held in contempt and envied for their successes and mocked for their failures. On the other hand, relationships with them are cultivated in order to maintain advantageous reciprocal exchanges. Further, they are respected for their hard work, achievements and, in the case of two families, their kindness. In defining the positionality of private family farmers within the commu-

nity, landownership and its meaning symbolically and practically must be examined.

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# Preference analysis of meat and meat products purchases in selected households' categories

## *Analyza preferencí při nákupu masa a masných výrobků u vybraných kategorií domácností*

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**Abstract:** The contribution is focused on the analysis of the consumer preferences, demonstrating the purchases of meat and meat products in different household categories. From the categories, the preference analysis studied the households of employees, farmers, self-employees and pensioners. The household's preference research was realised by indirect approach, concretely by means of the basic characteristic of individual demands. These characteristics were computed from the Engel's demand models, which the author has developed and verified statically. The studied preference structures were assessed (evaluated) on the base of marginal and average propensity to buy, and income elasticity coefficients.

**Key words:** hierarchy of needs, consumer preferences, indirect preference quantification, meat and meat products, households' categories

**Abstrakt:** Preference s hrávají klíčovou úlohu ve všech oblastech ekonomie, ale i v ostatních společenských vědách, včetně zkoumání růstu a akumulace kapitálu, analýzy blahobytu, účinků reklamy, dopadů zdanění, monopolní tvorby cen, voleb zaměstnání, hlasovacího tlaku referenční skupiny a kulturních vlivů. Tento článek se zaměřil na analýzu spotřebitelských preferencí projevujících se při nákupu masa a masných výrobků. Spotřebitelské preference u vybraného statku byly zkoumány u čtyřech různých kategorií domácností: zaměstnanců, zemědělců, samostatně činných a důchodců. K výzkumu sledovaných preferencí byl využit nepřímý způsob vycházející z kvantifikace základních poptávkových charakteristik. Potřebné charakteristiky byly vypočteny na základě sestavených a statisticky verifikovaných Engelových modelů čisté individuální poptávky. Sledované spotřebitelské preference pak byly hodnoceny prostřednictvím mezního a průměrného sklonu k nákupu a dále prostřednictvím koeficientů příjmové pružnosti dané poptávky. Provedením nepřímé analýzy spotřebitelských preferencí bylo zjištěno, že agregátní statek maso a masné výrobky měl pro všechny zkoumané kategorie domácností ve sledovaném období normální charakter. Přičemž z pozice mezního sklonu k nákupu masa a masných výrobků v rámci vyšší příjmové skupiny silněji reagovaly v daném období na zvýšení disponibilního příjmu zaměstnanecké domácnosti oproti domácnostem samostatně činných. V nižší příjmové skupině dosahovaly výrazně vyšší hodnoty mezního sklonu k nákupu domácností důchodců před domácnostmi zemědělců. Větší průměrná hodnota průměrného sklonu k nákupu masa a masných výrobků byla vypočtena u vyšší příjmové skupiny pro domácnosti samostatně činných. U kategorie zaměstnaneckých domácností byl tento výdajový podíl o něco nižší. V rámci nižší příjmové skupiny byla ve sledovaném období zjištěna výraznější průměrná hodnota průměrného sklonu k nákupu u domácností důchodců oproti domácnostem zemědělců. Podle dosažených průměrných hodnot koeficientů příjmové elasticity lze konstatovat, že nejcitlivější reakce na 1% změnu disponibilního příjmu se ve sledovaném období objevila u zaměstnaneckých domácností. Po této kategorii domácností následovaly domácnosti zemědělců a samostatně činných osob. Naopak zcela nejslaběji se v tomto směru projevily domácnosti důchodců.

**Klíčová slova:** hierarchie potřeb, spotřebitelské preference, nepřímé kvantifikace preferencí, maso a masné výrobky, kategorie domácností

## INTRODUCTION

The preferences perform key role in the all fields of economics and in other social sciences; it includes the

analyses of increase and accumulation of capital, welfare analyses, promotion effects, tax effects, monopoly determination of price, occupation choice, voting pressure of reference group, and cultural influences. Usually, the

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majority of economists and political scientists do not pay attention enough to the preference structures. On the other side, the analytical research of psychologists, sociologists or anthropologists is especially focused on the qualitative aspects of consumer preferences. They leave without deeper mathematical evaluation of the quantitative mechanisms of preferences (Becker 1997).

## THEORY OF CONSUMER PREFERENCES

Preference theory is used in microeconomics especially in the area of ordinalist approach to consumer behaviour<sup>1</sup> in the output market. In these markets, the consumer preferences are possible to define as a schema, according to which the consumer subjects strictly arrange qualitatively and quantitatively their consumable combination of goods. (Frank 1995). Psychological and sociological theoretical basis of the modern ordinalist school are based on the Maslow's (hierarchy) theory. This theory pertains to motivation theories and it differentiates five hierarchical levels of needs in the ascending order. They are physiological, security, love and belonging, esteem and status, and finally self-actualisation (Lea, Tarpy, Webley 1994). The older ordinalist theory of consumer behaviour was also based on certain order of the individual needs, but the reasons for the formation of the individual preference structures were associated only with the satisfaction of physiological and security needs. G. S. Becker has reacted on the shortcomings of the older concept of consumer preferences and he has developed the new expanded theory of the consumer preferences. Becker's preference theory has integrated apart from "basic" needs also "higher" and social needs, as well as other important factors of the determination of consumer preferences (Becker 1997).

The above part has plainly showed, that the preference structures are influenced by great many factors. According to the Maslow's theory, these factors can be divided into psychological variables and sociological influences. The psychological variables (factors) are classified into the following: motivation, perception, learning, attitude, and personality and lifestyle. The group of the sociological influences includes the family, social class, and culture (McCarthy, Perreault 1990). Time factor plays a specific role in the determination of consumer preferences. Some effects of the time influence can be found among the above mentioned psychological and sociological factors (for example experience, habit, custom or tradition). In addition to this implicit dynamisation of consumer preferences, the influence of time factor is possible to implement into preference structures directly – explicit dynamisation (Becker 1997).

In microeconomics, the preferences of individual consumer subjects are ordinarily described by means of util-

ity function treatment. Apart from this expression of consumer preference structures, the preferences can be identified in the form of marginal, average and elastic characteristics. These characteristics can be determined on the basis of the developed model of individual net<sup>2</sup> demand (Maurice, Phillips 1992). This indirect way is fully adequate for an appraisal of differences in the preferences and, moreover, it provides relatively objective (unequivocal) choice of mathematical functions. On the other hand, this indirect description of preferences involves the economical background of optimal consumer choice. The fact is necessary for the right interpretation of achieved results.

## MATERIAL AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The analyses of consumer preference were provided on the database of the Czech Statistical Office (CZSO), especially on the database of the Labour and Social Statistics (LSS) – Living Standard (LS). This data is available on quarterly basis. The assumed research was conducted on the food market, focusing mainly on meat and meat products. This aggregate good has in the records of LSS – LS database the following composition: pork, beef, other kinds of meat, offal; poultry; sausages, canned meat and other products based on meat including poultry; meat-based preparations or food for immediate consumption.

The chosen aggregate good was observed in the expenditure form. The use of the database has enabled the research of consumer preferences in buying meat and meat products for different household categories<sup>3</sup>. From the potential household categories, the research has analysed the households of employees, farmers, self-employed, and pensioners.

The household categories are governed by its head social group, irrespective of other members statuses. The household's head is always the male in complete families. In incomplete families, it is mostly the parent, only in the case of his or her economic inactivity, an active child may be regarded as the head of household. The head of a non-family household is the person with the highest income. The households of employees include persons in employment – i.e. workers and other kinds of employees in all sectors except for agriculture. The legal status of the employer (private, public, co-operative) is not taken into account. Those who run Ltd. companies (or partners of commandites) also fall within this category, when concurrently working as employees in their own firm. The households of farmers include persons working in agricultural production, i.e. members of agricultural co-operatives, workers and other employees of various types of agricultural enterprises or self-employed farmers. According to the LS methodology, employees of agricultur-

<sup>1</sup> It is assumed, that the consumer subjects behave only rationally.

<sup>2</sup> Net form of individual demand represents the observation of purchase demand.

<sup>3</sup> Household represents individual consumer subject.

al enterprises, who are not working directly in agricultural production (i.e. craftsmen, administrative workers etc.), are not considered farmers. The CZSO, LLS-LS defines self-employed persons as those who run any kind of enterprise outside agriculture. The self-employed are persons who, themselves or with a certain number of employees, on the basis of a special permit, produce goods, are engaged in trade, provide services or do work as free-lance professionals or artists. The heads of pensioners' households are economically inactive persons receiving pension. If a household is to belong into the group of pensioners' households, none of its members may be employed on a long-term basis. The economic activity of such people is restricted in length within the given year, and the total annual income gained must not exceed 12 000 CZK. Households not fulfilling this condition were removed from the sample

With respect to the database of CZSO, LLS-LS, the preference research was done using the indirect methods, i.e. by means of standard demand characteristics. For that reasons, the first author developed a fitting mathematical demand model for individual households. Therefore, the analysed good – meat and meat products, had an aggregate character, the preference research took Engel's demand concept. For Engel's model of household demand, the author used linear form. The linear form is applied for basic description of consumer preferences and moreover it is easy for practical interpretations.

$$E_j = A_j + B_j m_j \quad (1)$$

Where  
 $E_j$  = theoretical label of net individual demand for meat and meat products of  $j$ -household categories in expenditure form  
 $m_j$  = value of available nominal<sup>4</sup> income of  $j$ -household categories  
 $A_j$  and  $B_j$  = parameters of the linear Engel's model of demand

Index  $j$  has differentiated household categories consequently:

- $j=1$  households of employees
- $j=2$  households of farmers
- $j=3$  households of self-employed
- $j=4$  households of pensioners

For quantification of the Engel's demand model of investigated households, the Czech Statistic Office in the LSS-LS database supplied the data of expenditures for meat and meat products (Table 1) and nominal household incomes (Table 2).

The above tables (Table 1 and Table 2) display, that the acquired database is composed from time series data. Therefore, a lot of authors (for example Hruška 1999) recommend the use of database for the construction of dynamic models, conversely they eliminated time factor from this database. The realised research of consumer

preferences used the first presented method. This method contained relatively less steps for calculation. The original static Engel's model of individual household demand (1) was adapted for explicit dynamisation consecutively:

$$E_{jt} = A_j + B_{1j} + B_{2j} t \quad (2)$$

Newly included time variable was defined:

$$\begin{aligned} t=1 & \text{ I./1995} \\ t=2 & \text{ II./1995} \\ & \dots\dots\dots \\ t=3 & \text{ IV./2000} \end{aligned}$$

This definition of time variable does not make it possible to engage the periodical oscillations in demand, but for the basic description of consumer preference structures, it is entirely sufficient. And moreover, the results of preference analyses will be easily interpreted. The addition of time variable modified lower index differenti-

Table 1. Expenditures for meat and meat products in observed household categories (quarterly per capita averages in CZK)

Year	Quarter of year	Households of			
		employees	farmers	self-employed	pensioners
		$e_1$	$e_2$	$e_3$	$e_4$
1995	I.	805	585	815	1 158
	II.	870	645	881	1 218
	III.	860	677	835	1 261
	IV.	1 055	758	1 079	1 441
1996	I.	918	665	947	1 302
	II.	989	793	1 040	1 410
	III.	1 009	815	1 045	1 454
	IV.	1 200	913	1 262	1 632
1997	I.	981	755	1 067	1 505
	II.	1 033	817	1 079	1 514
	III.	1 043	840	1 064	1 594
	IV.	1 271	992	1 303	1 833
1998	I.	1 055	773	1 059	1 508
	II.	1 142	860	1 155	1 594
	III.	1 111	907	1 116	1 663
	IV.	1 333	1 041	1 303	1 858
1999	I.	1 020	780	1 035	1 506
	II.	1 029	819	1 938	1 476
	III.	1 050	825	1 044	1 545
	IV.	1 242	963	1 242	1 749
2000	I.	999	825	1 008	1 446
	II.	1 032	879	1 089	1 491
	III.	1 050	942	1 113	1 563
	IV.	1 245	1 050	1 302	1 731

Source: CZO, LSS-LS

<sup>4</sup>Nominal level of household income is sufficient for indirect description of preferences and especially for their comparison. For the use of nominal income, it is possible to give the fact, that all consumers have identical market prices and changes.

Table 2. Nominal disposable income in observed household categories (quarterly per capita averages in CZK)

Year	Quarter of year	Households of			
		employees	farmers	self-employed	pensioners
		$m_1$	$m_2$	$m_3$	$m_4$
1995	I.	13 270	11 442	13 248	10 606
	II.	14 186	12 101	14 105	11 280
	III.	14 875	13 024	14 399	12 120
	IV.	16 310	15 522	16 060	12 262
1996	I.	15 453	13 416	15 443	12 261
	II.	17 072	14 195	17 110	13 916
	III.	16 436	14 557	17 181	13 847
	IV.	18 315	16 360	18 865	14 874
1997	I.	16 872	14 794	17 432	15 077
	II.	18 727	15 412	18 439	15 205
	III.	18 174	15 882	18 181	16 243
	IV.	19 661	17 145	19 880	17 107
1998	I.	19 433	15 393	19 355	16 703
	II.	20 155	16 422	20 207	17 072
	III.	20 206	16 970	19 825	18 123
	IV.	22 121	18 073	20 953	17 932
1999	I.	19 785	16 392	19 797	17 904
	II.	21 555	16 914	20 328	18 126
	III.	21 219	17 382	20 940	18 483
	IV.	22 119	18 909	22 812	18 960
2000	I.	19 962	17 334	19 788	18 516
	II.	21 528	17 925	21 177	18 543
	III.	20 745	18 321	21 447	18 558
	IV.	22 785	19 749	23 379	19 266

Source: CZO, LSS-LS

ated the time periods of variables in model ( $E, m$ ). In addition to parameters  $A_j$  a  $B_j = B_{1j}$  in the constructed model, there is the third new parameter ( $B_{2j}$ ), that measures time influence on the studied individual demands. Others symbols has been kept intact.

Regression analysis was used for the model creation. Regression parameters of the Engel's demand model were computed by the ordinary least square method in UNISTAT 5.1. The statistical significance of the computed parameters was numerically assessed in this statistical software too. Test criterion  $T$  for significance of absolute parameter in model ( $A_j$ ) had the form:

$$|T_{A_j}| = \left| \frac{A_j}{s_{A_j}} \right| \quad (j = 1, 2, 3, 4) \quad (3a)$$

and for the next two regression coefficients ( $B_{1j}, B_{2j}$ ) the following form:

$$|T_{B_{ij}}| = \left| \frac{B_{ij}}{s_{B_{ij}}} \right| \quad (i = 1, 2) \text{ a } (j = 1, 2, 3, 4) \quad (3b)$$

Apart from the statistical verification of single regression parameters, statistical evaluation of significance for developed demand model has passed off by means of  $F$ -test. For constructed linear model  $F$ -statistic has got this formula:

$$F_j = \frac{\frac{r_{E_j \cdot m}^2}{k}}{\frac{1 - r_{E_j \cdot m}^2}{n - k - 1}} \quad (j = 1, 2, 3, 4) \quad (4)$$

where

$r_{E_j \cdot m}^2$  = coefficient of determination for created Engel's demand model

$k$  = degrees of freedom for denominator

$n - k - 1$  = degrees of freedom for numerator

and for developed regression model in linear form is  $k = 2$  and  $(n - k - 1) = 21$ .

The statistical verified demand model was used for the analysis of consumer preferences. Preference structures of studied household categories were evaluated indirectly by the standard characteristics for income relations in individual demand. From these standard characteristics the research used:

1. Marginal propensity to buy ( $MPB$ ):

$$MPB_{jt} = \frac{\delta E_{jt}}{\delta m_{jt}} = B_{1j} \quad (j = 1, 2, 3, 4) \quad (5)$$

2. Average propensity to buy ( $APB$ ):

$$APB_{jt} = \frac{E_{jt}}{m_{jt}} = \frac{A_j + B_{1j} m_{jt} + B_{2j} t}{m_{jt}} \quad (j = 1, 2, 3, 4) \quad (6)$$

3. Coefficient of income elasticity ( $\eta_{jt}$ ):

$$\eta_{jt} = \frac{MPB_{jt}}{APB_{jt}} \quad (j = 1, 2, 3, 4) \quad (7)$$

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to the described methodology of the research, the preference analysis begun with the model creation of the household Engel demand for meat and meat products. Computed value of regression parameters are listed on following table (Table 3). The table is organised according to the studied categories of households.

After the computation of regression parameters, the developed demand models were statistically tested by means of  $T$ -statistic (3a), (3b) and  $F$ -statistic (4). Results of  $T$ -tests have determined almost all regression parameters as statistical significances (95%).  $T$ -statistics often have achieved significant level higher than 99.9%, except category of self-employees' households. Lesser significant level for absolute and time-factor parameter were attained. But the satisfactory result of  $F$ -test, 99% signifi-

Table 3. Regression parameters of the dynamic Engel's models of individual demands

Household categories ( <i>j</i> )	$E_{jt} = A_j + B_{1j}m_{jt} + B_{2j}t$
Employees ( <i>j</i> = 1)	$E_{1t} = -401.4396 + 9.2743 \times 10^{-2}m_{1t} - 22.8233t$
Farmers ( <i>j</i> = 2)	$E_{2t} = -374.1380 + 8.3639 \times 10^{-2}m_{2t} - 10.6280t$
Self-employed ( <i>j</i> = 3)	$E_{3t} = -356.5834 + 9.0177 \times 10^{-2}m_{3t} - 17.4404t$
Pensioners ( <i>j</i> = 4)	$E_{4t} = -238.5229 + 1.38414 \times 10^{-1}m_{4t} - 35.7603t$

ificant level of determination coefficient, has made it possible the practical use of the demand model. The demand models for the other household categories had significant level of determination coefficient according *F*-test radically higher than 99.99 %. On the basis of achieved results of statistical significance, the constructed demand models were permitted for the analyses of the preference structures.

Because the analysis was especially focused on comparison of consumer preferences, the attention was firstly dedicated to conditions of household comparability. In accordance with the implementation of income demand characteristics for description of preferences, the research investigated income comparability of studied household categories. The identification of similar income groups of the households was accomplished by a computation of the average household income in observed period (1995–2000). Different number of household's members was solved by a calculation of the household income per capita. Obtained average incomes for studied household categories are shown on Table 4.

The above table (Table 4) shows, that the studied household categories can be divided into two income groups. The households of employed and self-employees belonged to the first-upper income group, and the households of farmers and pensioners to the second-lower income group.

The indirect analysis of the households preferences for meat and meat products was started on the quantification of marginal propensity to buy (*MPB*), according to formula (5). The creation of linear form of Engel's demand model gave constant level for *MPB* characteristics in observed time-period, that the *MPB* constancy is also seen from the formula (5). This constant feature of *MPB* was used to the one-numerical description of studied preference structures. The values of *MPB* for studied household categories are depicted in Table 5.

On the basis of *MPB* values from the above table (Table 5), it is possible to declare, that all household categories have reacted on the increase of the nominal income by the increase of purchase of meat and meat products. In analysed time-period, thus the aggregate good had normal character for every studied household category. In upper income group, the self-employed households showed poorer purchase reaction, other than employees households. The *MPB* difference in the investigated expenditures amounted to  $2.5660 \times 10^{-3}$  CZK. In the income lower group of households, the purchase reaction was markedly stronger for pensioners households, where it attained the marginal value of  $1.3814 \times 10^{-1}$  CZK. For farmers households, the change in expenditures had level of  $8.3639 \times 10^{-2}$  CZK.

In addition to *MPB*, consumer preferences were analysed by the means of average propensity to buy (*APB*),

Table 4. Average households' incomes in 1995–2000 (CZK per capita)

Average household income	Household categories ( <i>j</i> )			
	employees ( <i>j</i> = 1)	farmers ( <i>j</i> = 2)	self-employed ( <i>j</i> = 3)	pensioners ( <i>j</i> = 4)
$\bar{m}_j = \frac{1}{24} \sum_{t=1}^{24} m_{jt}$	18 790	15 985	18 765	15 958

Table 5. Marginal propensity to buy meat and meat product in studied household categories

Characteristic of consumer preferences number 1	Household categories ( <i>j</i> )			
	employees ( <i>j</i> = 1)	farmers ( <i>j</i> = 2)	self-employed ( <i>j</i> = 3)	pensioners ( <i>j</i> = 4)
$MPB_{jt} = B_{1j}$	$9.2743 \times 10^{-2}$	$8.3639 \times 10^{-2}$	$9.0177 \times 10^{-2}$	$1.3814 \times 10^{-1}$

Table 6. Average values of average propensity to buy meat and meat products in studied household categories

Characteristic of consumer preferences number 2	Household categories (j)			
	employees (j = 1)	farmers (j = 2)	self-employed (j = 3)	pensioners (j = 4)
$AAPB_j = \frac{1}{24} \sum_{t=1}^{24} APB_{jt} = \frac{1}{24} \sum_{t=1}^{24} \left( \frac{E_{jt}}{m_{jt}} \right)$	5.6602×10 <sup>-2</sup>	5.1938×10 <sup>-2</sup>	5.9791×10 <sup>-2</sup>	9.6609×10 <sup>-2</sup>

Table 7. Average values of coefficients of income elasticity in studied household categories

Characteristic of consumer preferences number 3	Household categories (j)			
	employees (j = 1)	farmers (j = 2)	self-employed (j = 3)	pensioners (j = 4)
$A\eta_j = \frac{1}{24} \sum_{t=1}^{24} \eta_{jt} = \frac{1}{24} \sum_{t=1}^{24} \left( \frac{MPB_{jt}}{APB_{jt}} \right)$	1.6521	1.6158	1.5340	1.4482

which was calculated using formula (6). In observed time-period, the *APB* values fell. The fact is evidently seen from the basic formula (6). For one-numerical description of preference structures in observed time-period, the realised research used non-weighted arithmetic mean (*AAPB*). Computed averages of *APB* are presented in Table 6.

The above table (Table 6) demonstrates, that in the upper income group of households, higher ratio of expenditures for meat and meat products was located in self-employed households (5.98%), slightly lower than employees households (5.66%). For the lower income groups of the households, the expenditures ratio was higher in the household category of pensioners, than in the households of farmers. The average *APB* value for farmers households was determined at the level of 9.66%. Farmers household had only *AAPB* level of 5.19%. The quantification of *APB* values, respectively *AAPB* values, is also important for direct analysis of the preferences structures. The *APB* value or *AAPB* value can be used as partial exponent of utility function (Varian 1995).

And finally, the third characteristic for the indirect description of consumer preferences was the coefficient of income elasticity. The computation of this elasticity coefficient was executed by formula (7). For the linear models and for the appointed features of the formulas (5) and (6), the coefficient value had increase tendencies in the observed time-period. Equally as *APB* characteristic, the one-numerical description of studied preferences by means of the elasticity coefficient was performed on the basis of non-weight arithmetical mean. The advantage of the elasticity coefficients is without units, thus unlimited comparison of all studied household categories. Determined values of the coefficients are displayed in the following table (Table 7).

Table 7 showed, that the employees households reacted on 1% change in nominal level income most sensitively. They had 1.65% positive change in their expenditures for meat and meat products. The farmers' household had poorer expenditure reaction. The addition of expenditures for meat and meat products amounted to 1.61%. The self-employed households had even weaker expenditure reaction, than the previous household category (1.53%). Households of pensioners showed the poorest response in the expenditures for meat and meat products. In that case, the income elasticity coefficient achieved a level of only 1.45%.

## SUMMARY

The preference analysis discovered, that in the observed time-period (1995–2000), the aggregate good – meat and meat products – had a normal character for all studied household categories. In the upper income group of households, marginal propensity to buy meat and meat products achieved a little bit lower value for the household of self-employed, than for the households of employees. In the household group with lower incomes, the marginal propensity to buy attained a distinctly lower level for farmers households than pensioners households. In the upper income group of households, greater value of average propensity to buy meat and meat products was computed for self-employed household. In the category of employees households, a poorer expenditure ratio was achieved. In the lower income group, the higher value of average propensity to buy meat and meat products was measured for pensioners households. The expenditure ratio attained for category of farmers households was significantly lower. According to the computed coefficients of income elasticity, the most sensitive

reaction of studied expenditures at 1% change of nominal income was displayed in the category of employees households. After this category, it was followed by the category of farmers' households, then the self-employed households and finally the pensioners households.

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## Úspešnosť umiestňovania absolventov škôl na trhu práce

*Success of school graduated in finding jobs on the labor market*

R. KOČAN

*Národný úrad práce, Generálne riaditeľstvo, Bratislava, Slovenská republika*

### ABSOLVENTI V ŠKOLSKOM ROKU 1999/2000

V školskom roku 1999/2000 absolvovalo svoje štúdiá podľa štatistik MŠ SR 98 167 študentov. Prehľad absolventov jednotlivých typov škôl poskytuje tab. 1.

Tab.1. Prehľad absolventov jednotlivých typov škôl

	SOU	SOŠ	Gymnázium	Vysoká škola	Špeciálna škola <sup>1</sup>
Počet absolventov škôl	36 105	30 821	15 754	14 357	1 085
	331	342	182	83	41

<sup>1</sup>Špeciálne školy – stredné školy a odborné učilišťa pre zdravotne, telesne a mentálne postihnutú mládež. Spomedzi všetkých absolventov špeciálnych škôl v školskom roku 1999/2000 vyše 90 % študovalo na odborných učilištiach.

V porovnaní s minulým školským rokom tento rok absolvovalo o takmer 2 tis. študentov menej. Situáciu spôsobilo zníženie počtu absolventov stredných odborných učilišť o vyše 4,5 tis. osôb, ostatné typy škôl (najmä vysoké) počet absolventov mierne zvýšili (obr. 1).

V priebehu roku 2000 do evidencie úradov práce prišlo 61 338 absolventov stredných a vysokých škôl, z nich bolo 56,9 tis. absolventov školského roku 1999/2000. Zo všetkých absolventov stredných a vysokých škôl v školskom roku 1999/2000 to predstavuje takmer 58 %. Prítok absolventov kulminoval v mesiaci jún, keď na úrady práce prišlo 20 999 absolventov škôl.



Obr. 1. Prehľad absolventov jednotlivých typov škôl

Priemerný počet evidovaných absolventov stredných a vysokých škôl dosiahol v roku 2000 hodnotu 33 019 osôb. Absolventi tvorili v minulom roku 6,7% podiel na všetkých evidovaných nezamestnaných.

Priemerný ročný stav evidovaných absolventov poklesol v porovnaní s minulým rokom o 3 378 osôb (9,3 %) Podiel evidovaných absolventov ku všetkým evidovaným nezamestnaným sa znížil medziročne o 1,05 percentuálneho bodu.

### ZÁKLADNÉ ÚDAJE

Úspešnosť jednotlivého typu školy (pre účely tohto článku) definujeme ako percentuálny podiel absolventov typu školy (resp. školy) v danom školskom roku, ktorí *nie sú evidovaní* na úrade práce ku všetkým absolventom daného typu školy (resp. školy).

$$USP = \frac{ABS - ENA}{ABS} \times 100 \%$$

USP – úspešnosť

ABS – počet absolventov školy

ENA – počet absolventov, ktorí sú v evidencii úradov práce

Úspešnosť sa sledovala v troch obdobiach. Hneď po skončení školského roka k 30. júnu 2000, po letnom období k 30. septembru 2000 a ku koncu roka k 31. decembru 2000. Prehľad úspešnosti jednotlivých typov škôl udáva tab. 2.

Tab. 2. Úspešnosť absolventov jednotlivých typov škôl

Typ školy	Úspešnosť v %		
	k 30. 9.	k 31. 12.	k 30. 6.
Vysoké školy	42,53	65,87	83,07
Gymnaziá	94,43	80,72	81,69
SOŠ	65,85	53,14	60,04
SOU	67,59	55,12	59,17
Špeciálne školy	69,51	52,91	54,85

Najvyššiu úspešnosť umiestňovania zaznamenali absolventi *vysokých škôl*. Hoci koncom júna ich bolo mimo evidencie úradov práce len približne 43 % (najmenej spo medzi všetkých typov škôl), v priebehu roka si svoje uplatnenie našli takmer všetci. Ku koncu septembra sa úspešnosť zvýšila na 66 % a ku koncu roka už na 83 %. Na úradoch práce zostalo teda 17 % zo všetkých absolventov vysokých škôl. Medziročne sa koncoročná úspešnosť zvýšila o 1,3 percentuálneho bodu.

Počet absolventov gymnázií v evidencii úradov práce bol poznačený legislatívnymi zmenami, ktoré neumožnili evidenciu absolventa v prípade jeho záujmu pokračovať v štúdiu na vysokej škole. Preto bola úspešnosť absolventov gymnázií k 30. 6. takmer 95 %, čo je až o 30 percentuálnych bodov viac ako v rovnakom období minulý rok. Úspešnosť ku koncu roka dosiahla hodnotu 81,7 % a bola takmer o 3 percentuálne body vyššia ako pred rokom. Pod týmto zvýšením úspešnosti sa podpísalo najmä zvýšenie počtu novoprijatých študentov na vysoké školy.

Najvyššia úspešnosť umiestňovania absolventov *stredných odborných škôl* bola počas roka 2000 v júni, keď dosiahla hodnotu 65,8 %. V ďalších mesiacoch sa úspešnosť znížila až septembrovú hodnotu 53,1 %. Ku koncu roka bolo mimo evidencie úradov práce 60 % absolventov stredných odborných škôl. V porovnaní

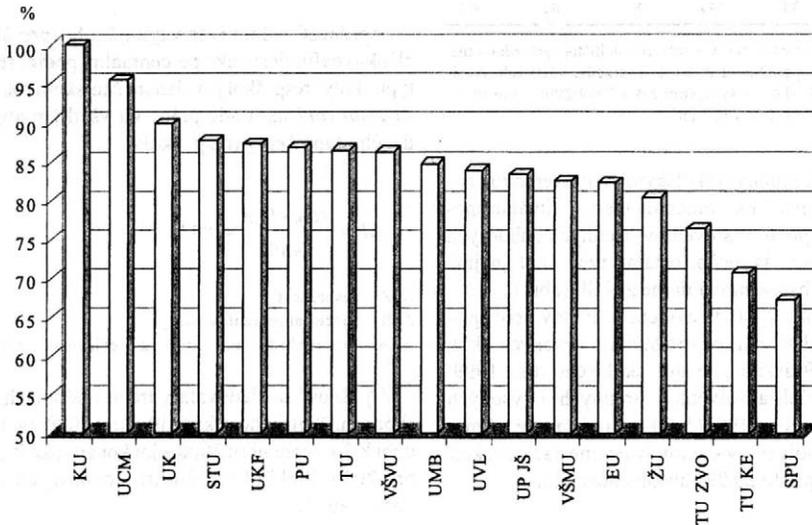
s minulým rokom sa koncoročná úspešnosť mierne zvýšila, a to o 0,8 percentuálneho bodu.

Ku koncu júna dosiahla úspešnosť absolventov *stredných odborných učilíšť* a *stredných odborných učilíšť s maturitou* úroveň 67,6 %. V priebehu nasledujúcich mesiacov sa však situácia ešte zhoršila, keď sa úspešnosť ku koncu septembra znížila len na 55,1 %. K 31. 12. 2000 dosiahla úspešnosť hodnotu 59,2 %. Oproti minulému roku sa situácia zhoršila, úspešnosť umiestňovania absolventov odborných učilíšť ku koncu roka klesla o 0,8 percentuálneho bodu.

Najnižšiu úspešnosť umiestňovania dosiahli absolventi *špeciálnych škôl*. Hoci v júni bolo v evidencii úradov práce len 30 % ich absolventov, ku koncu roka ich bolo evidovaných už vyše 45 %. Úspešnosť k 31. decembru tak dosiahla hodnotu 54,9 %. V medziročnom porovnaní nastal výrazný pokles až o takmer 16 percentuálnych bodov.

### Vysoké školy

Až 14 univerzít dosiahlo ku koncu roka 2000 úspešnosť umiestňovania vyššiu ako 80 %. Medzi slovenskými univerzitami mala najvyššiu úspešnosť na trhu práce *Katolícka univerzita* v Ružomberku, keď počas sledova-



Obr. 2. Prehľad úspešnosti absolventov jednotlivých univerzít k 31. 12. 2000

KU	Katolícka univerzita	UVL	Univerzita veterinárneho lekárstva
UCM	Univerzita sv. Cyrila a Metoda	UPJŠ	Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika
UK	Univerzita Komenského	VŠMU	Vysoká škola múzických umení
STU	Slovenská technická univerzita	EU	Ekonomická univerzita
UKF	Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa	ŽU	Žilinská univerzita
PU	Prešovská univerzita	TU ZVO	Technická univerzita Zvolen
TU	Trnavská univerzita	TU KE	Technická univerzita Košice
VŠVU	Vysoká škola výtvarných umení	SPU	Slovenská poľnohospodárska univerzita
UMB	Univerzita Mateja Bela		

ných období neprišiel do evidencie úradov práce ani jeden z jej absolventov. Úspešnosť nad 95 % dosiahla aj *Univerzita sv. Cyrila a Metoda* v Trnave. Úspešnosť umiestňovania týchto univerzít je však skreslená malým počtom absolventov. Katolícku univerzitu v šk. roku 1999/2000 absolvovalo len 15 študentov a Univerzitu sv. Cyrila a Metoda 132 absolventov. Spomedzi väčších univerzít bola najúspešnejšia *Univerzita Komenského* (úspešnosť 89,7 %), *Slovenská technická univerzita* (87,8 %) a *nitrianska Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa* (87,33 %).

Naopak, pomerne nízku úspešnosť zaznamenali *Slovenská poľnohospodárska univerzita* (67,2 %) a *Technická univerzita v Košiciach* (70,7 %) a *Zvolene* (76,5 %).

Medzi vysokými školami sa oproti minulému roku objavili novovytvorené univerzity *Katolícka univerzita* a *Univerzita sv. Cyrila a Metoda*, ktoré hneď obsadili prvé dve priečky úspešnosti. Naopak, minulý rok najmenej úspešná *Trenčianska univerzita* v šk. roku 1999/2000 nemala žiadnych absolventov.

V prehľade na obr. 2 sú zahrnuté všetky civilné vysoké školy na Slovensku. V poskytnutých údajoch z Ministerstva školstva SR chýbajú údaje o počte absolventov *Vojenskej akadémie* v Liptovskom Mikuláši, *Leteckej vojenskej akadémie* v Košiciach a *Akadémie licajného zboru* v Bratislave. Úspešnosť absolventov týchto vysokých škôl na trhu práce je však vysoká, na úradoch práce boli ku koncu roku 2000 evidovaní len štyria ich absolventi.

Najvýraznejší nárast úspešnosti zaznamenala *Univerzita veterinárneho lekárstva*, kde sa úspešnosť ku koncu roka zvýšila až o 12 percentuálnych bodov. Výrazné zvýšenie úspešnosti (o 5 p.b.) badať aj pri *Prešovskej univerzite*. Svoju úspešnosť si však zvýšila aj v rebríčku posledná *Slovenská poľnohospodárska univerzita*, a to o 2 percentuálne body.

Je paradoxom, že technicky zamerané vysoké školy *Slovenská technická univerzita*, *Žilinská univerzita* a *Technická univerzita Zvolen* zvýšili úspešnosť umiest-

ňovania svojich absolventov, kým rovnako zameraná *Technická univerzita v Košiciach* úspešnosť znížila približne o 3 percentuálne body. Najvýraznejší pokles úspešnosti zaznamenala *Vysoká škola múzických umení* (o 4 percentuálne body).

Prvá štvrtina škôl podľa poradia (horný kvartil) dosiahla priemernú úspešnosť 93,77 %. Posledná štvrtina škôl (spodný kvartil) mala priemernú úspešnosť 73,63 %.

### Stredné odborné školy

Spomedzi všetkých stredných odborných škôl najvyššiu úspešnosť dosiahli *konzervatóriá*, keď ku koncu roka (6 mesiacov po skončení školského roka) bolo mimo evidencie takmer 92 % ich absolventov. Konzervatóriá dosiahli najvyššiu úspešnosť vo všetkých sledovaných termínoch. Vysokú úspešnosť dosiahli aj *stredné zdravotnícke školy* (77 %), hoci k 30. júnu bolo v evidencii úradov práce až 40 % ich absolventov. Pomerne dobre sa uplatňovali aj absolventi *SPŠ elektrotechnickej*, *Školy úžitkového výtvarníctva* a *SPŠ odevnej* (úspešnosť približne 70 %).

Najhoršiu pozíciu na trhu práce mali absolventky *Dievčenských odborných škôl* s úspešnosťou 44 %, čo znamená, že po 6 mesiacoch od ukončenia štúdia zostalo v evidencii úradov práce až 56 % absolventiek týchto škôl. Úspešnosť *Dievčenských odborných škôl* bola najnižšia spomedzi všetkých typov škôl vo všetkých sledovaných termínoch. Nízku úspešnosť zaznamenali aj *Stredná poľnohospodárska škola*, *SPŠ drevárska* a *Obchodné akadémie* (tab. 3).

V porovnaní s minulým rokom sa situácia na trhu práce absolventov stredných odborných škôl veľmi nezmenila. Ku koncu roka 1999 boli takisto najúspešnejšie konzervatóriá, hoci ich úspešnosť klesla o vyše 5 percentuálnych bodov. Najnižšiu úspešnosť mali aj v roku 1999 *Dievčenské odborné školy*, ich úspešnosť však v porovnaní s minulým rokom vzrástla o 1,5 percentuálneho bodu.

Tab. 3. Prehľad úspešnosti absolventov jednotlivých typov stredných odborných škôl

Typ školy	Úspešnosť v % k 31.12.	Typ školy	Úspešnosť v % k 31.12.
Konzervatóriá	91,80	SPŠ chemické	63,19
Stredné zdravotnícke školy	77,16	Ostatné školy	63,18
Stredné odborné školy		Stredné priemyselné školy	61,50
(bez uvedenej špecializácie)	76,87	SPŠ dopravné	59,74
SPŠ elektrotechnické	70,73	Hotelové akadémie	58,82
Školy úžitkového výtvarníctva	70,19	Súkromné školy	58,17
SPŠ odevné	68,18	Združené školy	55,62
Pedagogické akadémie	67,14	Obchodné akadémie	55,43
SPŠ potravinárske	66,78	SPŠ drevárske	52,40
SPŠ stavebné	63,92	Stredné poľnohospodárske školy	46,94
SPŠ strojníc	63,46	Dievčenské odborné školy	44,23

Tab. 4. Prehľad úspešnosti absolventov jednotlivých typov stredných odborných učilíšť

Typ školy	Úspešnosť v % k 31. 12.	Typ školy	Úspešnosť v % k 31.12.
SOU odevné	75,52	SOU chemické	60,04
Ostatné SOU	62,31	Učilište strojárské	58,62
SOU strojárské	62,17	SOU poľnohospodárske	55,14
SOU potravinárske	62,05	SOU (bez uvedeného odboru)	54,94
SOU elektrotechnické	61,93	SOU služieb	54,28
SOU obchodné	61,74	SOU stavebné	53,31
Združené školy	60,89	SOU železničné	51,53
Učilištia (bez uvedeného odboru)	60,87	SOU súkromné (všetky špecializácie)	48,77

Najvýraznejšie medziročné zvýšenie úspešnosti dosiahli *SPŠ odevná* (+8,6 p.b.), *škola úžitkového výtvarníctva* (+6,8 p.b.) a *SPŠ dopravná* (+5,5 p.b.). Najvýraznejšie zníženie úspešnosti zaznamenali absolventi *Pedagogických akadémií* (-15,3 p.b.) a *SPŠ drevárskej* (-5 p.b.).

Maximálnu úspešnosť ku koncu roku dosiahli v roku 1999 tri školy, v roku 2000 takto úspešná nebola žiadna škola.

Úspešnosť ani 50 % nedosiahlo 94 škôl, po úrovňou 20 % ostalo 7 škôl a 1 škola zaznamenala nulovú úspešnosť. Prvá štvrtina škôl podľa poradia (horný kvartil) dosiahla priemernú úspešnosť 79,37 % a minimálnu úspešnosť 70,37 %. Posledná štvrtina škôl (spodný kvartil) mala priemernú úspešnosť 36,89 % a maximálnu úspešnosť 48,28 %.

## Gymnázia

Medzi jednotlivými gymnáziami sa vyskytli veľké difereencie v počte evidovaných absolventov k 31. 12. 2000. V priemere všetkých gymnázií bola úspešnosť umiestnenia absolventov na trhu práce 81,69 %, 100% úspešnosť dosiahli v minulom roku na piatich školách, tento rok len na jednej škole.

Úspešnosť pod 50 % zaznamenali len 4 školy. Prvá štvrtina škôl podľa poradia (horný kvartil) dosiahla priemernú úspešnosť 91,09 % a minimálnu úspešnosť 87,4 %. Posledná štvrtina škôl (spodný kvartil) mala priemernú úspešnosť 64,7 % a maximálnu úspešnosť 75 %.

## Stredné odborné učilištia

Najúspešnejšími odbornými učilišťami z hľadiska zotrávania v evidencii úradov boli *SOU odevné*, keď ich úspešnosť k 31. decembru dosiahla hodnotu 75,5 %. Ich úspešnosť bola spomedzi všetkých učilíšť najvyššia vo všetkých sledovaných obdobiach. S pomerne veľkým odstupom nasledujú *SOU strojárské* (62,2 %) a *SOU potravinárske* (62,1 %). Najviac absolventov v evidencii úradov práce mali *SOU železničné*, s úspešnosťou 51,5 % a *SOU stavebné* (53,3 %).

V medziročnom porovnaní sa úspešnosť umiestňovania paradoxne najviac zvýšila u najmenej úspešných absolventov *SOU železničného* (o 4 p.b.) a u absolventov *SOU obchodné* (2,3 p.b.). Zníženie úspešnosti najviac postihlo *SOU potravinárske* (o 9,4 p.b.), *SOU služieb* (o 2,9 p.b.) a *SOU stavebné* (o 2,9 p.b.) – tab. 4.

V roku 1999 ku koncu roku malo až 31 škôl 100% úspešnosť (ani jeden absolventov nebol v evidencii úradu práce). V roku 2000 takúto vysokú úspešnosť nedosiahla žiadna škola, pričom úspešnosť nad 90 % zaznamenalo 8 škôl.

Úspešnosť pod 50 % zaznamenalo až 89 učilíšť, po úrovňou 20 % ostali 3 učilištia a 1 učilište malo nulovú úspešnosť. Prvá štvrtina učilíšť podľa poradia (horný kvartil) dosiahla priemernú úspešnosť 79,13 % a minimálnu úspešnosť 69,95 %. Posledná štvrtina učilíšť (spodný kvartil) mala priemernú úspešnosť 37,63 % a maximálnu úspešnosť 48,87 %.

## Špeciálne školy

Najvýraznejší medziročný posun v úspešnosti umiestňovania absolventov nastal pri *špeciálnych školách*. Špeciálne školy dosiahli úspešnosť len 54,9 %, čo predstavuje medziročný pokles takmer o 16 percentuálnych bodov. Spomedzi špeciálnych škôl mali vyššiu úspešnosť *stredné školy* (gymnázium, SPŠ, obchodné akadémie) až 71,6 %, kým *stredné odborné učilištia a odborné učilištia* len 53,4 % (tab. 5).

U oboch typoch škôl však nastal medziročný pokles úspešnosti umiestňovania, v prípade stredných škôl o vyše 5 percentuálnych bodov a v prípade učilíšť až o takmer 17 percentuálnych bodov.

Tab. 5. Prehľad úspešnosti absolventov jednotlivých typov špeciálnych škôl

Typ školy	Úspešnosť v % k 31. 12.
Špeciálne školy spolu	54,85
– stredné školy	71,60
– učňovské školy	53,42

Tab. 6. Prehľad úspešnosti absolventov v jednotlivých regiónoch Slovenska k 31. 12. 2000

Región	Úspešnosť v % k 31. 12. 2000			
	SOU	SOŠ	gymnázia	špeciálne školy
Západné Slovensko	63,10	64,50	82,76	66,74
Stredné Slovensko	58,62	58,96	81,35	45,49
Východné Slovensko	52,62	54,30	80,15	45,48
Spolu SR	59,17	60,04	81,69	54,85

## REGIONÁLNY POHĽAD

Úspešnosť jednotlivých typov stredných škôl bola v rôznych regiónoch odlišná. Boli zaznamenané výrazné rozdiely v úspešnosti medzi západnou časťou Slovenska a ostatnými regiónmi, menšie medzi Stredoslovenským a Východoslovenským regiónom (tab. 6). V nasledujúcom texte sa všetky úspešnosti vzťahujú k dátumu 31. december 2000.

### Stredné odborné učilištia

Práve v úspešnosti absolventov stredných odborných učilišť boli zaznamenané veľmi výrazné regionálne disproporcie. Na západnom Slovensku dosiahla úspešnosť vyše 63 %, kým na východe približne 53 %. Úspešnosť absolventov SOU na strednom Slovensku bola mierne nižšia ako celoslovenský priemer, keď dosiahla úroveň takmer 59 %.

V medzročnom porovnaní sa znížila úspešnosť absolventov vo všetkých troch regiónoch, pričom najvýraznejšie v najslabšom Východoslovenskom regióne o 1,5 percentuálneho bodu. Na strednom Slovensku sa úspešnosť znížila len mierne, o 0,2 percentuálneho bodu a na západe Slovenska o takmer 1 percentuálny bod.

### Stredné odborné školy

Aj absolventi stredných odborných škôl mali v jednotlivých regiónoch rôznu úspešnosť uplatnenia na trhu práce. Najlepšie sa uplatňovali v Západoslovenskom regióne, kde ich úspešnosť mala hodnotu vyše 64 %. Podobne ako v prípade SOU, aj absolventi SOŠ na strednom Slovensku mali úspešnosť (59 %) mierne nižšiu ako celoslovenský priemer. Najťažšiu pozíciu mali opäť na východe Slovenska, kde úspešnosť dosiahla hodnotu 54 %.

V medzročnom porovnaní sa zvýšila úspešnosť absolventov na trhu práce vo všetkých regiónoch, pričom najviac na strednom Slovensku (+2,3 p.b.). V ostatných regiónoch bolo zvýšenie nepresahujúce 1 percentuálny bod.

## Gymnázia

Regionálne disproporcie boli najmenšie v prípade absolventov gymnázií. Rozdiel medzi najúspešnejším regiónom (západné Slovensko) a najmenej úspešným regiónom (východné Slovensko) predstavoval len 2,5 percentuálneho bodu. Úspešnosť absolventov gymnázií na strednom Slovensku (vyše 81 %) sa opäť blížila k celoslovenskému priemeru.

V porovnaní s minulým rokom sa úspešnosť na západnom Slovensku zvýšila o 2 percentuálne body, na strednom o vyše 4 percentuálne body a na východnom Slovensku o 3 percentuálne body.

## Špeciálne školy

Situácia absolventov špeciálnych škôl je výrazne odlišná od situácie absolventov ostatných typov škôl. Kým špeciálne školy v Západoslovenskom regióne umiestňovali svojich absolventov s úspešnosťou takmer 67 %, na strednom a východnom Slovensku to bolo takmer zhodne len s úspešnosťou 45,5 %. Medziregionálny rozdiel tak činí alarmujúcich 21 percentuálnych bodov.

Veľmi výrazné bolo medzročné zníženie úspešnosti vo všetkých regiónoch, pričom najviac vo Východoslovenskom regióne, až o 25 percentuálnych bodov. Na strednom Slovensku zníženie predstavovalo hodnotu vyše 18 percentuálnych bodov a na západe Slovenska vyše 8 percentuálnych bodov.

## Závislosť úspešnosti škôl od podmienok regionálneho trhu práce

Dá sa predpokladať, že úspešnosť jednotlivých typov škôl závisí od regionálneho trhu práce. Nasvedčuje tomu aj vysoká miera disproporcie úspešnosti typov škôl medzi jednotlivými regiónmi Slovenska. Súvislosť medzi úspešnosťou typov škôl a mierou nezamestnanosti v danom okrese možno vyjadriť pomocou korelácií (tab. 7).

Istú závislosť medzi úspešnosťou absolventov a mierou nezamestnanosti možno badať u absolventov stredných odborných škôl a stredných odborných učilišť. Závislosť je najvyššia v júnovom termíne, teda hneď po skončení školy. Dá sa teda povedať, že úspešnosť absolventov SOU a SOŠ hneď po skončení školy závisí od

Tab. 7. Korelačné koeficienty závislosti úspešnosti škôl od regionálnych podmienok v roku 2000

Typ školy	jún	september	december
Stredné odborné školy	0,788775	0,66007	0,70928
Stredné odborné učilištia	0,709725	0,5876002	0,635749
Gymnázia	0,416602	0,36687409	0,437782
Špeciálne školy	0,444954	0,3558881	0,419114

regionálnych podmienok na trhu práce. V ostatných obdobiach sa táto závislosť znižuje.

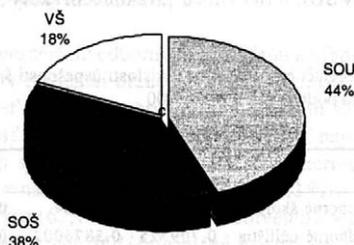
Korelačná analýza však nepotvrďuje častý názor, že v rozvinutejších regiónoch je uplatnenie absolventov každej školy lepšie ako v menej rozvinutých regiónoch. Štatistické výsledky potvrdzujú, že aj v okresoch s vysokou mierou nezamestnanosti si absolventi kvalitnej školy dokážu nájsť vhodné zamestnanie. A naopak, ani rozvinutý trh práce v hospodársky silnejších regiónoch v prípade menej kvalitného vzdelania neuchráni absolventov od evidencie na úrade práce.

## POĽNOHOSPODÁRSKE ŠKOLY

Poľnohospodárstvo patrí medzi odvetvia najviac postihnuté nezamestnanosťou. Neradosná situácia v tomto odvetví má priamy vplyv aj na umiestňovanie absolventov poľnohospodárskych škôl na trhu práce. Poľnohospodárske školy všetkých typov patria medzi najmenej úspešné, čo do úspešnosti uplatnenia na trhu práce. Len málo absolventov si nájde svoje zamestnanie v odboroch, ktoré vyštudovali. Mnohí z nich hľadajú svoje pracovné uplatnenie v ostatných odboroch.

V školskom roku 1999/2000, podľa údajov Ministerstva školstva SR, úspešne ukončilo svoje štúdium 6 033 absolventov poľnohospodárskych (poľnohospodárskolesníckych a veterinárnych vied a náuk) odborov. Z toho 2 664 absolventov učilíšť, stredných odborných učilíšť a stredných odborných učilíšť s maturitou, 2 264 absolventov stredných odborných škôl a 1 105 absolventov vysokých škôl. Na niektorých poľnohospodárskych školách sa študujú aj príbuzné nepoľnohospodárske odbory (ktoré neboli zahrnuté do tohto prehľadu), preto počet absolventov poľnohospodárskych škôl je vyšší ako udáva predchádzajúci prehľad.

Najviac absolventov poľnohospodárskych odborov ukončilo svoje štúdium v západoslovenskom regióne, o viac ako polovicu menej vo východoslovenskom regióne a najmenej poľnohospodárov vyšlo zo školských lavíc v stredoslovenskom regióne. Celkový prehľad poskytujú tab. 8 a obr. 3.



Obr. 3. Štruktúra absolventov poľnohospodárskych odborov v školskom roku 1999/2000

Tab. 8. Prehľad úspešnosti absolventov poľnohospodárskych škôl

	SOU	SOŠ	VŠ
Západoslovenský región	1 292	1 184	807
Stredoslovenský región	516	435	217
Východoslovenský región	856	645	81

## Stredné odborné učilištia

Celková úspešnosť umiestňovania absolventov poľnohospodárskych učilíšť, stredných odborných učilíšť a stredných odborných učilíšť s maturitou na trhu práce dosiahla ku koncu roku 2000 úroveň 55,14 %. Oproti predchádzajúcemu školskému roku sa táto úspešnosť zvýšila o 0,5 percentuálneho bodu. Napriek tomu patria poľnohospodárske učilištia medzi tie menej úspešné, keď celoslovenský priemer dosiahol hodnotu vyše 59 %.

Nepriaznivú situáciu absolventov poľnohospodárskych SOU dokazuje skutočnosť, že v najúspešnejšej desatine škôl (horný decil) sú len dve poľnohospodárske učilištia, kým medzi najhoršou desatinou (spodný decil) až devať poľnohospodárskych učilíšť.

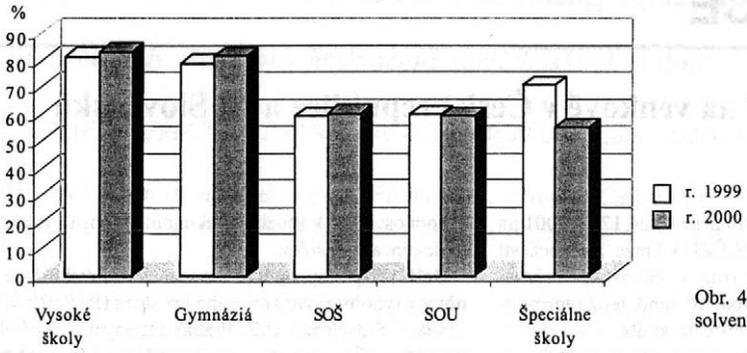
Z regionálneho pohľadu bola najvyššia konkoročná úspešnosť v západoslovenskom regióne (61,73 %). Na strednom Slovensku bolo ku koncu roka 2000 mimo evidencie úradov práce 53,72 % absolventov poľnohospodárskych učilíšť. Najmenej priaznivá situácia bola na východnom Slovensku, keď na úrade práce bola zaevidovaná viac ako polovica absolventov poľnohospodárskych učilíšť, a teda konkoročná úspešnosť dosiahla len 46,56 %.

## Stredné odborné školy

Aj medzi absolventami stredných odborných škôl patrili absolventi poľnohospodárskych odborov medzi najťažšie umiestniteľnými na trhu práce. S celoslovenskou priemernou konkoročnou úspešnosťou 46,94 % obsadili poľnohospodárske školy predposledné miesto medzi všetkými odbornými školami. Oproti minulému školskému roku sa ich situácia zhoršila o vyše 2 percentuálne body. Znamená to, že vyše polovice absolventov týchto škôl si do konca roka nenašla svoje zamestnanie. Pre porovnanie, celoslovenská priemerná úspešnosť všetkých stredných odborných škôl dosiahla hodnotu 60,04 %.

Medzi najlepšimi strednými odbornými školami (horný decil) je len jedna poľnohospodárska škola, kým medzi najhoršími (spodný decil) až osem poľnohospodárskych škôl.

Absolventom stredných odborných škôl poľnohospodárskych sa pri uplatňovaní na trhu práce darilo najviac na západnom Slovensku, kde konkoročná úspešnosť umiestňovania dosiahla úroveň 53,08 %. Vo východoslo-



Obr. 4. Úspešnosť umiestňovania absolventov jednotlivých typov škôl

venskom regióne to bolo však len 40,80 % a na strednom Slovensku dokonca ešte menej, len 40,55 %.

**Vysoké školy**

Na Slovensku sa poľnohospodárske odbory študujú na troch univerzitách, na Slovenskej poľnohospodárskej univerzite v Nitre, na Technickej univerzite vo Zvolene (lesnícke odbory) a na Univerzite veterinárneho lekárstva v Košiciach. Situácia absolventov vysokoškolských poľnohospodárskych odborov na trhu práce je analogická k ostatným poľnohospodárskym profesiám pri nižšom vzdelaní. Absolventi poľnohospodárskych odborov vysokých škôl majú spomedzi všetkých vysokoškolákov vôbec najťažšiu pozíciu na trhu práce, hoci ich úspešnosť je o desiatky percentuálnych bodov lepšia ako v prípade absolventov poľnohospodárskych stredných škôl alebo učilišť.

Nitrianska Slovenská poľnohospodárska univerzita dosiahla najnižšiu koncoročnú úspešnosť spomedzi všetkých slovenských univerzít, len 67,20 %, čo je však oproti predchádzajúcemu roku lepší výsledok o 2 percentuálne body. Absolventi Technickej univerzity vo Zvolene, z ktorých približne polovica študovala lesnícke odbory, zaznamenali vyššiu koncoročnú úspešnosť 76,12 %. Spomedzi poľnohospodárskych odborov sa na trhu práce najlepšie darilo absolventom košickej Univerzity

veterinárneho lekárstva. Úspešnosť tejto univerzity (83,95 %) presiahla celoslovenský priemer, ktorý bol na úrovni 83,07 %. Je však otáznne, koľko vysokoškolských absolventov sa zamestnalo v rezorte poľnohospodárstva a koľko si na svoje uplatnenie zvolilo (muselo zvoliť) iný odbor.

**ZÁVER**

V porovnaní s rokom 1999 sa v roku 2000 zvýšila úspešnosť umiestňovania absolventov vysokých škôl (1,3 p.b.), gymnázií (3 p.b.) a stredných odborných škôl (0,8 p.b.). Zníženie úspešnosti umiestňovania absolventov zaznamenali najmä špeciálne školy (-16 p.b.) a stredné odborné učilišťa (-0,8 p.b.). Medziročné porovnania úspešnosti jednotlivých typov škôl zobrazuje obr. 4.

Jedným z dôvodov vysokej nezamestnanosti čerstvých absolventov škôl je aj nedostatočné „zameranie na prax“ ich vzdelávania. Väčšina škôl nedokáže pružne zareagovať na meniace sa potreby trhu práce a tak sa každoročne na trh práce dostávajú absolventi s „nepotrebnou“ kvalifikáciou.

Analýza preukázala, že uplatnenie absolventov škôl je veľmi závislé od kvality vzdelania. Úspešnosť umiestňovania absolventov školy priamo nezávisí od miery nezamestnanosti v danom regióne, hoci celková úspešnosť škôl bola v hospodársky silnejších regiónoch lepšia.

*Mgr. Rastislav Kočan, Národný úrad práce, Generálne riaditeľstvo, Bratislava, Slovenská republika*

## Nezaměstnanost na venkově v České republice a na Slovensku (teorie a praxe)

Diskusní seminář na toto téma se konal 17. 9. 2001 na Provozně ekonomické fakultě ČZU v Praze. Byl součástí grantu Regionální a sociální rozvoj venkovských oblastí, uděleného nadací Open Society Fund, jejíž reprezentantka (K. Mlčková) se semináře účastnila.

Úvodní slovo přednesené zúčastněnými řešitelkami grantu (V. Majerová z ČZU v Praze a I. Bernáthová, VOKA Bánská Bystrica) bylo věnované informacím o charakteru a poslání řešeného úkolu. K. Mlčková je doplnila informacemi o nadaci Open Society Fund.

Výběr témat dále přednesených příspěvků se orientoval základním zaměřením semináře a rozvinul je v rozličných konsekvencích a úhlech pohledu na stav českého a slovenského venkova v post-transformačním období. Akcentována byla ale diskuse, kterou přednášené příspěvky vyvolávaly.

První blok příspěvků představoval precizní rozbor vývoje a stavu nezaměstnanosti na Slovensku se zřetelem k venkovskému prostoru (S. Buchta, Národní úřad práce SR) a možná dílčí řešení nepříznivého stavu prostřednictvím organizací typu VOKA (I. Bernáthová, Venkovská organizace pro komunitní aktivity). Okamžitá diskuse probírala specifické sektory nezaměstnanosti (romská, agrární, v typicky venkovských regionech aj.), způsoby jejího řešení (státem vyhlášený státní program veřejně prospěšných prací, konkrétní činnosti organizace VOKA na poli komunitního a ekonomického rozvoje venkova) a zkušenosti se státně a na občanské bázi organizovanými programy rozvoje venkova, zahrnujícími řešení nezaměstnanosti a jejich důsledků.

Příspěvek J. Kadeřábkové (VŠE Praha) navazoval svým tématem o sociokulturním potenciálu v rozvoji venkova na mínění předchozích diskutujících, že endogenní rurální rozvoj je (může být) cestou řešení. V diskusi byla zvláštní pozornost věnována kritice nadměrných očekávání, která byla vložena (a částečně přetrvávají) do agroturistiky jako nositele venkovského rozvoje v ČR i SR.

Další přednášející (J. Leština z JU České Budějovice) obrátil pozornost k zemědělství a jeho základním otázkám – konkurenceschopnosti, extenzivnímu a intenzivnímu zaměřením v souvislosti s přírodně klimatickými podmínkami, produkčním a mimoprodukčním funkcím, tzv. duálnímu modelu zemědělského hospodaření. Diskuse rozdělila účastníky na (zjednodušeně řečeno) větší příznivce zemědělské velkovýroby intenzivního typu akcentující ekonomickou konkurenceschopnost a ty, kteří vidí perspektivně i „odlišné zemědělství“ vztahující konkurence-

schopnost nejen k aspektům ekonomickým, ale také ekologickým a sociálním.

Další příspěvky, opět provázené živou diskusí, se věnovaly typologii venkovského prostoru (R. Perlín z UK Praha, Š. Štenclová z ČZU Praha) tak, aby mohla být dobrým východiskem pro „měkké výzkumy“ (k nimž patří sociologické). Takové typologie (oproti metodice OECD a Eurostatu) musí zahrnovat širší spektrum geografických, demografických, správních, hospodářských a sociokulturních indikátorů.

K oblasti potravinářství organizovaného formou malého a středního podnikání (často se sídlem ve venkovském prostoru) připoutal pozornost J. Mezera (VÚZE Praha). Zabýval se zejména problémy, kterým takové podniky čelí s handicapem oproti velkým podnikům (např. kontrola jakosti potravin jako nutná součást podnikových činností). Diskuse se odvíjela kolem podmínek existence tohoto druhu podnikání na venkově.

Další blok spíše informativních příspěvků se věnoval konkrétním dílčím otázkám venkovské zaměstnanosti/nezaměstnanosti při specifických úhlech pohledu na osoby v zaměstnaneckém poměru (G. Pavlíková z ČZU v Praze) a na ženy (P. Maříková z ČZU v Praze), srovnání základních vlivů působících na nezaměstnanost v celku ČR a vzorku venkovanů (2 142 z obcí do 2 000 obyvatel) (I. Herová z ČZU v Praze) a otázky životní úrovně, jejího vnímání a hodnocení tímtež vzorkem respondentů (L. Kocmánková z ČZU v Praze). Diskuse směřovala hlavně k objeveným rozdílům mezi výše uvedenou reprezentací venkovského obyvatelstva a průměrným stavem sledovaných jevů v celku ČR (rozdíly se povětšinou jeví jako nevýrazné). Tento blok příspěvků zpracovali účastníci řešeného grantu Regionální a sociální rozvoj venkovských oblastí.

Poslední blok příspěvků zpracovali další pracovníci katedry humanitních věd PEF ČZU v Praze, jejich společným rysem byla informace o jejich (případných) dalších výzkumných záměrech – P. Varvažovská začala rozpracovávat problematiku neziskových organizací, P. Blažek se věnuje reprezentaci zemědělských zájmů v politickém systému ČR, E. Kučerová s L. Křížem již řeší problematiku aktivní sociální politiky na venkově. Diskuse k těmto příspěvkům může jejich autorům pomoci v orientaci, jak dále pracovat se zmíněnými tématy.

Protože původně přihlášení (v počtu 37) nebyli všichni titíž co přítomní na semináři (31), i připravený sborník dvaceti šesti příspěvků se zcela nekryje s příspěvky přednesenými na semináři.

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Original scientific papers, short communications, and selective reviews (i.e. papers based on the study of agricultural literature and reviewing recent knowledge in the given field) are published in this journal. Articles are published in English, reviews and information also in English, Czech and Slovak. Each manuscript must contain an English and a Czech summary (including key words). Czech abstracts will be provided for foreign authors. The author is fully responsible for the originality of his paper, for its subject and format. The author should make a written declaration that his paper has not been published in any other information source. The board of editors of this journal will decide on paper publication, with respect to expert opinions, scientific importance, contribution and quality of the paper. The paper should not exceed 15 typescript pages, including tables, figures and graphs.

**Manuscript layout:** paper of standard size (210 × 297 mm), double-spaced typescript. A PC diskette should be provided with separate text and graphic files. Tables, figures and photos should be enclosed separately. The text must contain references to all these appendices.

If any abbreviation is used in the paper, it is necessary to mention its full form for the first time it is used, abbreviations should not be used in the title or in the summary of the paper.

The title of the paper should not exceed 85 characters. Sub-headings are not allowed.

**Abstract** should contain the subject and conclusions of the paper, not a mere description of the paper. It must present all substantial information contained in the paper. It should not exceed 170 words. It should be written in full sentences and contain basic numerical data including statistical data. It must contain keywords. It should be submitted in English and, if possible, also in Czech.

**Introduction** has to present the main reasons why the study was conducted, and the circumstances of the studied problems should be described briefly.

**Review of literature** should be a short section, containing only references closely related to the main topic of the paper.

Only original **methods** should be described, in other cases cite the method used and any modifications. This section should also contain a description of experimental material.

In the **Results** section figures and graphs should be used rather than tables for presentation of quantitative values. A statistical analysis of recorded values should be summarized in tables. This section should not contain either theoretical conclusions or deductions, but only experimental data.

**Discussion** contains an evaluation of the study, potential shortcomings are discussed, and the results of the study are compared with previously published results (only those authors whose studies are closely related to the published paper should be cited). The section Results and Discussion may be presented as one section.

The **References** section contains citations arranged alphabetically according to the surname of the first author. References in the text include the author's name and year of publication. Only the papers cited in the text of the study should be included in the list of references.

The author should give his full name (and the names of other collaborators), academic, scientific and pedagogic titles, full address of his workplace and postal code, telephone and fax number or e-mail.

**The manuscript will not be accepted by the editorial office in case its format does not comply with these instructions.**

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