

Ländliche Gesellschaft und ländliche Politik als Prozess

Formation von Sozialkapital
Demografischer Wandel
Politische Entscheidungen

Lutz Laschewski
(Hrsg.)

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Management

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1 Einleitung: Die Wandelbarkeit des Ländlichen als Konstante

Lutz Laschewski

„Unsere Sprachen sind so konstruiert, dass wir in vielen Fällen eine ständige Bewegung, einen kontinuierlichen Wandel nur so ausdrücken können, dass wir ihm beim Sprechen und Denken zunächst den Charakter eines isolierten Objektes im Zustand der Ruhe geben, und dann, gewissermaßen nachträglich, durch die Hinzufügung eines Verbs zum Ausdruck bringen, dass sich das normalerweise Ruhende bewegt. Wenn wir zum Beispiel an einem Fluss stehen und das kontinuierliche Fließen des Wassers vor unseren Augen im Denken begrifflich fassen und in der Kommunikation mit anderen ausdrücken wollen, dann denken und sprechen wir nicht etwa, das kontinuierliche Fließen des Wassers; wir sagen und denken: Sieh, wie schnell der Fluss fließt. Wir sagen: der Wind weht, als ob der Wind zunächst ein ruhendes Etwas wäre, das sich zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt in Bewegung setzt und zu wehen beginnt – als ob der Wind etwas anderes wäre als das Wehen, als ob es auch einen Wind geben könnte der nicht weht.“ (Norbert Elias 1986, 119).

Ländliche Räume erfahren in jüngster Zeit wieder größere politische und gesellschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit. Die Gründe dafür sind vielfältig: der anhaltende landwirtschaftliche Strukturwandel und Probleme wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung in den zu einem erheblichen Teil ländlich geprägten Neuen Bundesländern, demografischer Wandel, der Rückbau des Wohlfahrtsstaates, die steigende Ernährungsnachfrage, die Sorge um den Klimaschutz und die Erhaltung der natürlichen Lebensgrundlagen. Insbesondere die Krise der ländlichen Räume in den neuen Bundesländern scheint in diesem Zusammenhang die Persistenz von statischen Denkmustern zu befördern, die das strukturschwache, unterentwickelte durch eine um ihre Existenz kämpfende Landwirtschaft kämpfende Land einer prosperierenden, vielfältigen Stadt gegenüber stellen. Alternativ ist das Land Gegenstand romantischer Verklärungen und Projekten einer heilen Natur und gemeinschaftlicher Geborgenheit, die der technisierten, anonym vergesellschafteten Stadt als Entwurf eines guten Lebens gegenüber gestellt wird.

Die Beharrlichkeit dieser Denkmuster steht in einem bemerkenswerten Kontrast zur Dynamik gesellschaftlicher Prozesse, die sich in den ländlichen Räumen selbst vollziehen, aber auch die Stadt-Land Verhältnisse neu bestimmen. Dies

betrifft über den Zeitraum von nicht einmal zwei Jahrzehnten in den neuen Bundesländern sowohl die Umgestaltung der politischen Institutionen, den Umbau der Wirtschaftsstruktur, den Wandel der ländlichen Bevölkerungsstruktur, die Neuordnung der Eigentumsverhältnisse, den Ausbau der Infrastruktur oder die Verbreitung der Informationstechnologien; um nur einige Themenbereiche zu nennen.

Eine mögliche Erklärung für die Beharrlichkeit der Denkmuster in dichotomen Land-Stadt Kontrasten mag in der im obigen Zitat von Norbert Elias festgestellten Begrenztheit unserer Sprachmittel liegen, der auch in den Gesellschaftswissenschaften dazu führt, dass „ein Typ von Abstraktionen vor(herrscht), der sich auf isolierte Objekte im Zustand der Ruhe zu beziehen scheint“ (Elias 1986, 124). Ein weitere Schwierigkeit ist darin zu sehen, dass gesellschaftliche Konzeptualisierungen in ihrer Geschichte sich stark an philosophischen Wissenschaftstheorien orientiert haben, die ihrerseits durch (klassische) physikalisch-chemische Wissenschaften geprägt waren und alles, was wandelbar und beweglich ist, auf unbewegliche ewige Naturgesetze zurück führen (ebenda). Diese Schwierigkeit gilt für die Wissenschaftsfelder, die sich üblicherweise mit ländlichen Räumen befassen - die Agrar- und die Regionalwissenschaften - in besonderer Weise. Hier konkurrieren und beeinflussen naturwissenschaftliche Raum- und Naturvorstellungen gesellschaftliche Analysen. Eine gewisse Emanzipation des sozialwissenschaftlichen Denkens zu Mensch-Natur Verhältnissen (z.B. Eder 1986), der Landschaft (Ipsen 2006, Kaufmann 2005) und Mensch-Raum-Verhältnissen (Löw 2001, Schroer 2006) ist verstärkt erst in den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten zu erkennen. Bemerkenswert an diesen Ausarbeitungen ist allerdings, dass – zumindest im deutschsprachigen Raum - in ihnen ländliche Räume kaum vorkommen.

Es ist dieses nicht der Ort diese theoretische Lücke zu füllen. Dennoch ist das gemeinsame Postulat der hier versammelten Beiträge, die statische Dichotomie Stadt-Land zugunsten einer Analyse gesellschaftlicher Prozesse zu verwerfen. Aus dieser Sicht sind somit bspw. scheinbar statische Zustände wie eine

anhaltende strukturelle Schwäche erklärungsbedürftig. Es wäre dann vielmehr die Frage aufzuwerfen, welche gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen zu einer Reproduktion derartiger Verhältnisse beitragen.¹ Eine weitere Folgerung aus dieser Betrachtung ist, ländliche Räume nicht als homogene Entitäten zu behandeln, sondern die Prozesse der Differenzierung zwischen ländlichen Regionen zu analysieren (Murdoch et al. 2003, Marini and Mooney 2006, Terluin 2003).

Die im Folgenden zusammen gestellten Beiträge beschreiben deshalb gesellschaftliche Veränderungen in ländlichen Räumen und politische Prozesse in Hinblick auf ländliche Politiken. Diese Beiträge sind zu unterschiedlichen Anlässen geschrieben worden und spiegeln exemplarischer Weise die Arbeit zum ländlichen Raum und zur ländlichen Politik, die mit einer Mitarbeiterstelle auch einen Teil des breiten Arbeitsgebietes der Professur für Landwirtschaftliche Betriebslehre und Management an der Agrar- und Umweltwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Rostock darstellen. Im Kern dieser Arbeiten stehen insbesondere die Analyse der Entwicklungsprozesse in den ländlichen Räumen Ostdeutschlands und die Gestaltung und Umsetzung der europäischen Politik für den ländlichen Raum. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist auch der europäische Vergleich im Rahmen von Universitätspartnerschaften und Netzwerkprojekten.

Der erste Beitrag (in englischer Sprache) analysiert Kontinuität und Wandel ländlicher Netzwerkstrukturen in den neuen Bundesländern und das mit ihnen gebundene Sozialkapital. Dieser Beitrag ist die überarbeitete und aktualisiert Fassung eines Vortrages und baut auf vorherige gemeinsame Arbeiten insbesondere mit Rosemarie Siebert (Siebert und Laschewski 2001, Laschewski und Siebert 2001, Laschewski und Siebert 2004) und anderen Kollegen auf.

¹ Hier könnte eingewendet werden, dass der Begriff der ländlichen Entwicklung den Anforderungen an eine prozessuale Gesellschaftsanalyse entspricht. Dem ist dem Grunde nach zuzustimmen. Allerdings sind viele theoretische Ansätze einem (normativen) Verständnis von Entwicklung verhaftet, dass Entwicklung in der Bewegung von einem scheinbar statischen Zustand A zu einem anderen, vermeintlich besseren statischen Zustand B (z.B. einem ökonomischen Gleichgewicht) sieht.

Der Beitrag von Dariusz Pienkowski ist ein Beispiel für die intensive Zusammenarbeit im Rahmen der Universitätspartnerschaften mit dem Institut für Soziologie der Universität Toruń, der Agraruniversität Prag-Suchbátar und der Universität Stettin (vgl. auch Laschewski et al. 2008, Maier und Kögl 2008). Er zeigt auf, in welcher Weise sich die Stadt-Land Migration in Polen in den letzten Jahren grundlegend verändert hat und diskutiert Konsequenzen aus dieser Beobachtung für die Landsoziologie.

Cornelia Schmidt ist die dritte Autorin dieses Berichtes. In ihrer Promotion untersucht sie die Institutionalisierung und Nutzung von Evaluationen im Rahmen der europäischen ländlichen Entwicklungsprogramme. In einem gemeinsamen Beitrag (ebenfalls in englischer Sprache) analysieren Lutz Laschewski und Cornelia Schmidt die Entscheidungsprozesse innerhalb der Europäischen Union im Vorfeld der Reform der Zweiten Säule der Gemeinsamen Agrarpolitik im Jahre 2004. Sie gehen der Frage nach, in welcher Weise die Ergebnisse der Evaluation von ländlichen Entwicklungsprogrammen in diesem Entscheidungsprozess genutzt wurden.

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2 The formation and destruction of social capital – lessons from East German rural restructuring

Lutz Laschewski

2.1 Introduction

More than 15 years after the German unification, rural East Germany still remains in a deep economic crisis. Despite huge financial transfers to modernise East German infrastructure and industries rural unemployment remains on an unimagined high level. European Enlargement to the East has exerted additional economic pressure on East Germany, particularly because of the apparently sheer abundance of cheap labour force. The fact that the physical as well as the social and private infrastructure have improved significantly, but with seemingly little effect on the economic performance and negative demographic trends, raises the question of alternative, institutional and social explanations for the current crisis.

In this context the paper will explore the concept of social capital. In recent years social capital has been identified as a key element for successful rural development. Yet, social capital is often discussed as if it could be handled like a physical entity, that has durable existence independent from the basic state institutions and that it can simply be used as an additional ingredient and precondition for externally initiated development plans and interventions. The message of this paper is that different forms of social capital exist that may grow or decline in relation to institutional changes and policy design. However, not all forms of social capital will endure during institutional change, but new forms have to be created. Thus, for such a kind of question East Germany, that has undergone fundamental institutional changes, provides the ideal base.

The paper will discuss three forms of social capital in rural areas that has either vanished or been maintained during the transition phase. It will also be argued that the given institutional framework does not offer suitable incentives for the formation of other forms of social capital that are necessary to overcome the

rural crisis. Therefore, I will first discuss the concept of social capital and its relation to rural development. Second, the legacy of the socialist rural regime and its transformation during the recent years are described. Third, some basic patterns of rural change in East Germany shall be presented. Finally, the forms of social capital and the trajectory of their development are discussed.

2.2 Social Capital and Rural Development

By very broad definition social capital can, first, be understood as the capability of social groups to act collectively. Second, social capital is also described as an individual resource resulting from somebody's social position within a particular field of action. There is no agreed definition of social capital (see Woolcock 1998, Dasgupta and Serageldin 2002). However, four common aspects of scientific discussions can nevertheless be identified (Pretty and Ward 2001):

- Social Capital is generally associated with trust. Trust reduces the costs of control. A lack of trust makes the realisation of co-operative solutions more difficult.
- Social Capital is also associated with reciprocal exchange relations. Simultaneous exchange on the basis of roughly equal exchange is called specific reciprocity. More important in this regard is diffuse reciprocity. Diffuse reciprocity refers to exchange within lasting relationships which does not expect an immediate service in return for the service rendered, but is only connected with the expectation of a future service in return.
- Common rules, norms and sanctions are another important element of social capital and place collective interests above individual interests to the extent that it is mutually recognised. By this means, individual action is constrained but at the same time made possible because individual rights can be safeguarded and do not have to be constantly affirmed.
- The fourth aspect comprises the nature, content and extent of social relations, the networks of the local actors themselves and their relations to other (external) actors and networks.

Network theory plays an important role for both definitions of social capital. It also relates social capital to the concept of power. First, social capital as an individual source of power derives from one's social position within a network. Centrality of a social position is among the most common measures to describe positional power. However, the most central position within a network may not always be the most powerful position (Jansen 1999, 121 ff.). A second and for our analysis even more important result of network analysis is that social capital derives also from those positions that link different networks. Such weak (social) ties (Granovetter 1973), which bridge "structural holes" (Burt 1992), constitute social capital, too.

From a network theory perspective, individual social capital and collective social capital are not necessarily exclusive. The first argument in favour of this statement is that the network position can also be described for a group of actors or even of networks themselves. Second, some forms of individual social capital have clearly been identified to strengthen collective social capital, too. For instance, the structural autonomy of actors, which derives from the ability to bridge structural holes at what is called "cutpoints" (Burt 1992), is an individual form of social capital. As social capital theorists argue, the density of social linkages between networks is a form of collective social capital, which is based on such actors and brings about trust and norms of reciprocity on which successful cooperation is based (Putnam 1993, 173). In this sense, collective social capital goes along with structural autonomy of many people.

Many of these issues addressed by social capital theorists have been put forth by rural sociologists under the label of "endogenous" development (e.g. Van der Ploeg/Long, 1994, van der Ploeg/van Dijk 1995), and in German speaking countries as "autonomous" development (Pongratz/Kreil 1991). The main idea of this debate was to draw on internal community resources for rural development rather than to rely on external support. This general idea has been subject to further elaboration in line with Woolcock's (1998) argument that social capital is not only the ability to draw on intra-community resources, but also related to the existence of linkages to extra-community networks. A similar

idea was brought forward by Lowe et al. (1995). They say that there might be the case that peripheral regions may not be able to generate development from within. Therefore, they plead to go beyond endogenous growth models and "recognise and indeed celebrate interconnections between areas and between networks" (Lowe et al. 1995, 104). They stress the issues of participation and power within the development process. Empirical findings appear to confirm this view (Terluin 2001).

The crucial aspect of endogenous growth is that it draws on social capital as the ability to mobilise the potentials of an existing 'active society' that will generate entrepreneurs, and self-help institutions from within. In the recent debate, more and more scientists have stressed the diversity of local potentials. Related to this are two practical issues: How is social capital built and how is it related to the institutional environment provided by the state and is it affected by state interventions?

Putnam (1993) described social capital formation as a process lasting for centuries. In this sense, social capital is a cultural tradition and has to be treated as an exogenous variable (Paldam/Svensen 2000, 347). It may be argued that the low rate of social capital formation is due to little rational consideration of its development effects. Currently, it appears to be an open question to what extent social capital formation can be influenced at all. Often it comes about as a positive externality of activities aiming at another purpose. An optimistic view is to invest into institution building strategies and attempts to encourage co-operative movements within development policies. However, experience indicates huge difficulties and slow progress made (ibid.).

One basic problem is seen in the role of external and in particular state agencies to enforce participation. Many scientists argue that there is little or no opportunity for the state to contribute to social capital formation. Indeed, the basic idea of social capital refers to voluntary sector activities, and self-enforcement rather than third party enforcement. "Attempts by third parties - as public authorities - to enforce social capital may thus be counterproductive (Paldam/Svendsen 2000, 366). Warner (1999) questions this view. Her argument

is that it depends on the local context, i.e. the local power structures, what effects will come from policy influences. Referring to Woolcooks' (1998) concept of linkage, she argues that the structure of autonomy and linkages determines how communities respond to external influences. It is, in particular, in communities characterised by hierarchical social capital and weak or patronage government systems where outside support is required. In this context, devolution may be counterproductive. The idea of hierarchical social capital itself draws on the concept of paternalism (Schuman and Anderson, 1999). Paternalism describes a particular social setting that is rather common in rural places. I think that its basic characteristics are important for the understanding of rural East Germany (and probably other Central and Eastern European countries, too).

2.3 Paternalism, its nature and transformation

The concept of paternalism has been used to describe a traditional form of authority². Basic elements are the differentiation between classes, concentration of power and identification of the subordinate class with the members of the dominant class. The particular context of paternalistic systems is the industrial society starting in the late 19th century. The basic characteristic of a local paternalistic system is the *existence of a large firm in a relatively isolated geographical context*. Due to its domination of the local labour market, the firm is also dominating all other aspects of community life. However, the second feature of paternalism is an ethic of social responsibility among the dominating class. Due to this moral orientation, the elite tends to provide and support a wide range of social services and facilities, such as housing, health care and schooling.

With passing time, more and more aspects of local life are structured around the dominant firm, either symbolically, e.g. by naming public places after the firm or their owners, or physically, for instance by developing housing areas close to the plant. The close interrelation of the firm with the local community leads to

² In the following, I refer, in particular, to Ackers and Black (1991) and Newby (1978).

the situation that the history of many families is closely connected with the history of the firm. The recruitment of new staff is, therefore, typically oriented towards such family networks, and the identification of the employees with the firm is usually very high. Typically, we find a clear gender division of labour and a strong male domination within such a system. Private and workplace relationships overlap due to family employment, the firm's influence on the community life and the presence of building company-owned houses.

Generally, paternalism is seen as being connected with family ownership and the idea of the owner-managed firm. However, under western style capitalism many family firms have been transformed into companies with a diversified owner structure. Furthermore, there evolved quasi-paternalistic systems in nationalised industries (e.g. coal mining in Britain). Likewise, such systems developed under socialist conditions in Central and Eastern Europe. Here, the state as a body and its representatives in persona are in the position of the dominating class of the owners.

There are different opinions on the degree of unionisation in paternalistic systems within Western economies. While, for instance, in Britain's industry, most well known paternalistic employers have long encouraged and well-organised trade unions, in the US, paternalism is widely described as a structure that fought against unionism. However, paternalism produces paternalistic trade unions. Those tend to be small and parochial locally based organisations.

In many cases, paternalism is understood as reminiscence of early industrial times. It is argued that industrial paternalism has vanished because of bureaucratisation and the withdrawal of family owners from management. However, as argued above, forms of paternalism can also be identified without the existence of the family owner domination. Paternalism has also been identified in non-industrial sectors, such as agriculture. Hence, what appears to be more significant are social and economic changes, which undermine paternalism in western societies. On the one hand, the economic basis of paternalism, which is usually connected with the primary sector or traditional industries, has come under immense pressure because of forced global

competition. On the other hand, the geographical isolation has decreased in line with increasing mobility, and as a consequence geographically expanding labour markets.

In an ideal type situation, we would expect that the transformation of paternalistic local structures would allow for more independent local policies, a smaller influence of the dominating firm on the local social life, and scope for new entrepreneurial activities. In a word, the ideal development is characterised by a stronger differentiation of private, public and voluntary sector institutions and the involvement of a wider range of local actors.

However, in many cases the experience is rather different. First, we find that the development of a small business sector, which is able to compensate for job losses and constitutes the base for an active society, is rather the exception than the rule. The arguments for that are manifold (e.g. Rees and Thomas 1991, Laschewski 2000). Some stress explicitly the subjective barriers of workers to become entrepreneurs. It is no doubt that it means a huge psychological effort to overcome the habitus of a “Deferential Worker” (Newby 1978), and develop entrepreneurial spirit. However, the structural barriers are also huge. Many workers with similar knowledge and experience start to seek for opportunities in an environment that does not have to offer much. Under such conditions, long-distance commuting or migration often offers a more realistic chance for many, while the new entrepreneurs have often formerly been the middle-level managers or specialists of the previous dominant firm before. As a social consequence, we observe the evolution of new middle classes and also of a large social group of losers (e.g. Schuman and Anderson 1999).

Due to the weak development of the business sector, the old paternalistic firms’ (or its successors’) position remains, despite economic decline, rather dominant in the local labour market. Moreover, they have still control of important local resources, such as land, local housing estates etc. Nevertheless, those firms tend to withdraw from social activities. Therefore, voluntary activities face severe constraints due to lack of support.

In the following, it is argued that local rural structures in the former GDR can be understood as quasi-paternalistic structures. Therefore, the experience made in East Germany is to a large extent comparable to the development in other rural areas where paternalistic local structures came under economic pressure.

2.4 Rural structures in the GDR

Under socialism, a system of large-firm paternalism evolved, which had been specific for rural areas in the GDR since the 1970s. This system was based on:

- concentration and collectivisation of small businesses in large companies organised either as co-operatives or state firms (for these processes in agriculture see Laschewski 1998, for industry and service see Albach and Witt 1993).
- regulation of the labour market and also the housing market within planned economy. Due to the artificial isolation based on regulation, the type of rural paternalism, which will be described below, also existed in accessible locations.
- monopolistic domination by the socialist unity party, together with a caring ethic within the socialistic ideology.

Rural employment was largely based on agriculture and industries. The latter were located in larger rural towns. Locally there may have been other large employers, such as the army or tourist resorts. However, for most villagers there were two main employment options: either being employed by the local agricultural (co-operative or state-owned) firm or to commute to the next town. In particular in the remoter rural areas, agricultural firms employed up to a third of the labour (Rodewald and Siebert 1995). However, only about 60 percent of the jobs in such firms were agricultural jobs. Beyond those, there was a wide range of activities such as administrative and social services, building and construction, food processing, technical services and transportation (BMELF 1991, Großkopf and Kappelmann 1994).

Agricultural firms provided a wide range of services for the community (Parade 1998). Within the rural communities a transfer of functions from the municipality to the agricultural firm took place, which in many cases was accompanied by a power transfer from communal bodies to the firm. Frequently, chairmen of agricultural firms were more influential than local mayors were (Zierold 1997). Owing to financial restrictions of the municipality and the general supply shortages under socialism, agricultural firms were the central investors in local infrastructure (e.g. local roads, village halls) and suppliers of a variety of local services. As villages were greatly dependent on agricultural firms, that infrastructure was mainly in the interest of the firm. Agricultural firms were the main users of roads; they needed halls for their own assemblies and built houses to attract workers.

For social and cultural activities, too, use had to be made of facilities provided by agricultural firms. Social and cultural funds were sponsored by firms which also provided transportation or other services. In some cases, clubs (e.g. horse riding) were founded and supported by the firms. Often, agricultural firms initiated cultural events for the community (Zierold 1997), and social events for pensioners. Further social services that were usually provided by agricultural firms were child nurseries, canteens, holiday homes and camps. Since in almost every village family somebody was employed in an agricultural firm, a firm event was almost ever a village event, too.

Unfortunately, there has been little research on personal relationships among villagers and agricultural firms. The position of the chairman of the firm had, as already mentioned, been fairly strong. However, he or she was usually a party member, and therefore bound to party decisions. Otherwise chairmen were also mostly integrated into dense family networks within the community. Studies made after 1990 indicated that 'old peasantry' continued playing a distinctive role within many communities (Brauer, Willisch, Ernst 1996, Laschewski 1998). An important part of the population were refugees from the former Eastern parts of Germany, which had been settled in rural areas after the Second World War,

and mostly started with huge difficulties as 'new peasants' after the land reform of 1945.

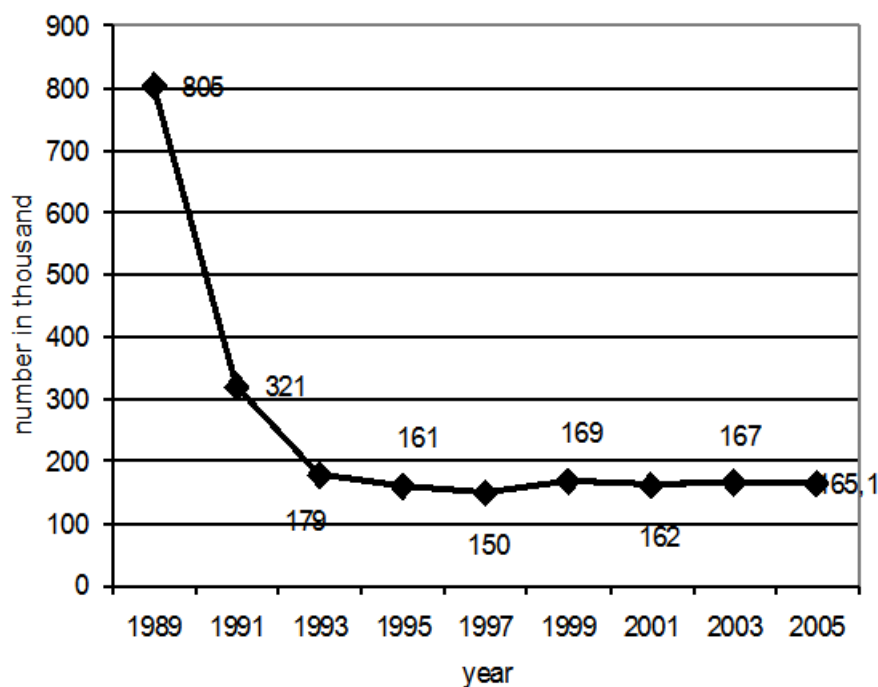
There has also been little research on the participatory practice within firms and villages. Formally, the democracy particularly within agricultural co-operatives was very strong. However, at the firm level, there was no realistic chance to influence economic plans made by state authorities. Representation through unions was also very weak and the labour regime comparatively rigid. Otherwise, the board of the cooperative consisted of about 15 to 20 people out of the staff, some of them nominated as women or youth representatives. Therefore, it is quite likely that social issues played an important role. There was also a wide range of committees which were at least formally open to everybody and not limited to the employees of the co-operatives. Although the power of committees might have been rather confined, it guaranteed the involvement of many.

The integrative role of agricultural firms and their undeniable social contributions may explain the high degree of identification by employees, which was expressed in 1990 (Hubatsch et. al. 1991).

2.5 Patterns of the rural crisis

With other former socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe, East Germany shares the experience of sudden market liberalization. Differently from those countries, East Germany did not create its own, new political institutions. West Germany provided an existing institutional framework, which simply had to be transferred. This could be considered to be an 'ideal' situation, if transformation from planned to market economy is the political objective. Therefore changes have been more fundamental in East Germany than in any other country, and in addition it was more profoundly hit by the momentum of market liberalisation that came along with the economic and monetary union in summer 1990. While the adaptation to the West German policy system, and for some policy fields such as Agricultural Policy also to the European policy system, needed some years to operate smoothly, market liberalisation took

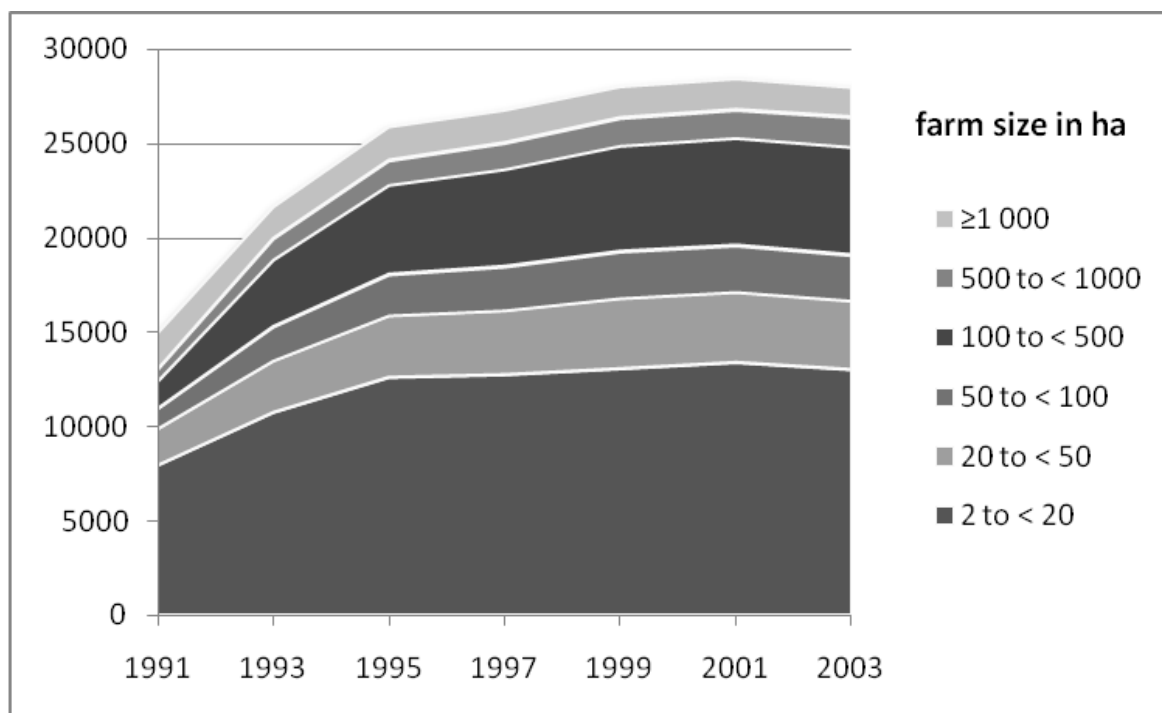
effect right away. The highly subsidised agricultural producer and consumer prices quickly adapted to the West European level. West European agricultural producer prices were, in international comparison still high, yet still much lower than those of the GDR. In the first two years after unification this sharp price drop has lead to a dramatic reduction of agricultural production capacities. The worst could only be prevented by huge financial payments to maintain liquidity of agricultural firms, and social policy measures, in particular early retirement, to avoid mass unemployment (For a detailed analysis of these processes and their consequences for rural areas see, among others Beckmann and Hagedorn 1997, Forstner and Isermeyer 2001, Siebert and Laschewski 2001, Laschewski et al. 2002). Still, the employment effects have been dramatic and are still at the core of the rural crisis.



Picture 1: Agricultural Employment in East Germany, Statistical yearbooks.

During GDR time, as a result of socialist collectivisation and subsequent concentration processes, the number of agricultural enterprises fell, according to official statistics, from about half a million after the Second World War to just 8,668 in the year 1989. At this point about 805,000 people were employed in agriculture. Since then, in the course of the restructuring resulting from German unification, the number of agricultural enterprises has increased to the present

figure of about 27, 900, while the number of people employed in agriculture has fallen to about 166,700 (BMVEL 2002). The greater part of this dramatic loss of employment occurred in the first three years, which would have been impossible in this form without extensive social security measures.



Picture 2: Number of farms, Statistical yearbooks.

Since 1990 the farm sector was also subject to privatisation and restitution. However, collectivisation in the GDR did not formally mean the expropriation of former landowners, although practically those property rights were not effective. Because of that ironically the landownership structures of the 50s were preserved under socialism. However, the reinstallation of those property rights was comparatively easy, although some problems occurred, since former boundaries had to be identified and solutions had to be found for constructions, which were built under socialism on private land. About one third of agriculture land was subject to socialist land reform after 1945 and partly also in the early 50s, half of which was also restituted, while about 1,4 million are privatised. Due to immense legal uncertainties, this process is still going on. Until 2005 only about one quarter had been privatised. Agricultural Policy tried to overcome the socialist farm structure with financial subsidies. Consequently the

number of farms increased continuously until 2001. However, the emerging structure is very specific (picture 2).

Characteristic elements of the current farm structure in East Germany are:

- The existence of a small number of very large agricultural enterprises that came into existence mainly as successor enterprises to agricultural production co-operatives (LPG). Usually they manage more than 800 ha.
- A certain number of highly professionalized enterprises of varied legal status which are large (100 to 500 ha) by international standards.
- Numerous smaller, part-time family farms. More than 50% of the farms use less than 50 ha.

Another element is the almost complete separation of owners and farmers, which is reflected in the high proportion of tenancies among agricultural enterprises. The "ownership problem" is the historical result of agricultural collectivisation and restitution policies after German unification. Agriculture in East Germany is first and foremost tenant farming. In addition, it is in great measure confronted with various forms of absentee ownership; that is to say it is faced with owners who are (no longer) locally resident and on occasion have not yet been identified

Despite the dramatic loss of employment, agriculture in East Germany, especially in remote rural areas, is still a significant economic activity, accounting for a comparatively high proportion of local employment. The total value added of the agricultural sector in East Germany is, in comparison to other German regions, low though. The most common problem is the lack of capital, which would allow to build up more animal production. At the same the farm structures seem to enforce profit (from capital) maximisation rather than value added growth.

In such a situation non-agricultural development is vital for the rural economy. Much attention has been paid to new entrepreneurship. Several studies reveal that rural areas generally show poor business formation rates (e.g. Braun/Diensberg 2002, Laschewski/Siebert 2001). Business formation is usually urban-based and located in cities and suburbs. A notable exemption here is tourism. Tourism is an important rural economic sector that utilises non-material

land-use potential. In many rural areas it represents the growth sector, but it is generally still in the phase of development and can scarcely be regarded as consolidated. However, despite drastic decline agriculture and food industries remain the backbone, in particular of those rural regions that show little attraction for tourism. Additionally, we find that even the potentials of touristic development have not been fully explored yet.

Finally, people, in particular in northeast Germany, respond to these problems with emigration rather than initiative. There is a lack of innovation and actors that take risk. At the same time emigration, in particular youth emigration has caused political concern (BBR 2000). Few job offers and insufficient training opportunities are core problems, which cause significant emigration among young people between 18 and 25. There is a danger of developing a 'culture of emigration', which affects the development potentials of rural areas (Siebert 1999). Currently the situation is getting even worse. The emigration patterns in conjunction with a general ageing of the German society have already initiated a debate of infrastructure provision in remote rural areas.

2.6 Forms of social capital in transition

Institutional changes and economic decline have gone along with changes in the forms of social capital. Some groups were able to draw successfully on their network relations, while others could not.

2.6.1 Exchange networks and community based activities

Community based networks in rural villages found their institutional backbone in the social service infrastructure provided by the agricultural co-operatives, and the consumer cooperatives that ran shops in almost every village. Due to the shortage of everything under socialism exchange networks also played a significant role. It was particularly useful to know somebody in a distributive position (in a shop or a store) or to have West German relatives that might send rare goods that could be used to barter. Household agricultural production had been financially made attractive under socialism by a price reform in the early

eighties. Thus, rural local life had also been structured surrounding those production activities.

Regarding these rich networking traditions it has been surprising, how quickly such social networks vanished. Indeed, a lack of civic commitment and a decreasing interest in voluntary activities in rural communities have been identified as a political as well as a developmental problem. On the one hand, local clubs that have survived, often suffer from a lack of interest. A typical example is the voluntary fire brigade (Rodewald 1994).

There is little doubt that higher mobility and job uncertainties have affected local networks and civic commitment. Additionally, due to well-functioning consumer markets former exchange networks have lost their function, and agricultural household production has widely been abandoned because of price reductions. Finally, the decline of agricultural cooperatives has affected the provision of services in rural villages. This has lead to a reduction in many services. In a community study Rodewald (1994) described the situation as follows: "All social and cultural services (Health Station, Pub, Local Shop) have meanwhile been closed. Institutions such as child nursery, day home for schoolchildren and classrooms are abandoned." Community networks have literally lost their place. In many localities community buildings and other places for local gatherings such as shops or the canteen of the co-operatives have been closed while new facilities have rarely been established. Hence, instead of being able to draw on existing networks, communities have to find its own, self-reliant status as a functioning unit independently of agriculture (Herrenknecht 1995).

However, according to Brauer (2001, 62), it is not a solely general lack of local initiative, but the way how local actors are treated as subjects rather than actors in the planning and development system and live by chance in the planning area. Under such circumstances, approaches of "civic participation" are to inform and teach local people rather than encourage bottom-up initiatives. Parallels to political agitation and attempts to mobilise local actors for public activities of socialist times are obvious (ibid., Laschewski & Siebert 2001, 40). Bruckmeier

(2000) argues that LEADER II, a European participatory rural development initiative, has served in East Germany as a conventional rural development tool rather than a measure to integrate independent projects. The village renewal program has been quite successful as a measure to improve the local infrastructure, but it has not been a successful tool in strengthening local participation. It appears that the sheer amount of development programs (Brauer 2001) and the tendency to favour large-scale projects (Beetz 2001, 83) are core problems, which seem to stabilise the involvement of the few rather than the participation of many.

2.6.2 Social Capital and agricultural restructuring

There is one group of actors, the managerial class of the agricultural firms, that due to its central professional position was generally able to maintain its power. As Küster (2002) has shown for the region of Thuringia in the southern parts of the former GDR in many cases they have not only managed to keep the former agricultural co-operatives in various legal structures together, but also the founders of highly professionalized agricultural firms largely came from this group. In an analysis of local participation process in Brandenburg, the area surrounding Berlin, we found the socially central role of a few large agricultural enterprises (Laschewski 2006). They are well organised to press their interests and participate in numerous activities at the interface between the state and the private sector. For this reason they seem to be the ideal type of actors for the idea of public-private partnership. The big agricultural enterprises, or their management representatives, are central actors in all the relevant associations, networks and initiatives. What is especially remarkable, is the continuing dominant role of the representatives of the big agricultural enterprises in the important local network structures despite the obvious decline in the economic importance of these enterprises. Their most important partner is frequently the state. The mass of the numerically significant small and very small agricultural businesses, but also the non-agricultural ones which, like the tourist sector, have an interest in public goods provided by agriculture, are scarcely integrated in these networks.

What can be assumed from that is, first, that it was not the socially central role of the managerial class in the firms alone, but also the embeddedness in professional networks that also encompassed the agricultural administration and professional associations. This allowed the former cadres to control central information in the firm, but also to have access to rapidly changing external information during the transition phase.

As a consequence, ironically the agricultural policy designed to support family farms stabilised the agricultural sector, dominated by large farms that now turns out to be rather disconnected from the rest of the rural economy (Laschewski & Siebert 2001). Generally, exclusive elements are the bureaucratisation and professionalisation of planning procedures that, on the one hand, form a barrier for "real" participation. They encourage the development and maintenance of networks of professionals and development experts, which are only loosely coupled to the majority of local actors. However, while in the local context the farm managers remain in a stable position, inter-farm linkages and forward and backward linkages have suffered from the fundamental restructuring since 1990. Many production chains simply do not exist any more and new chains and networks had to be established.

2.6.3 None agricultural inter-firm networks

The agricultural experience is rather unique. For almost all other industries of the former GDR the restructuring process took a different path. One reason for this was that a small and medium size business sector did not exist. Even classical small business industries such as the construction and service sector had been organised in large cooperatives or state firms of a much larger scale than agricultural firms. Dependent on the specifics of each sector those firms either grew, dissolved into smaller units or were taken over or even replaced by competitors from West Germany and international competitors (e.g. Kokalj et al. 1997, Brussig 2003).

Classical rural industries such as tourism, construction, and other handicrafts saw a strong growth in the number of small and micro-businesses. Meanwhile the food industries experienced a strong consolidation and were mainly taken

over by external investors. For the modernization of the food sector, financial subsidies were given according to master plans written by West German economists, who paid little attention to business relations, but primarily technical relations and quantities. Needless to say that those plans failed terrifically (Laschewski 1998). At the same time, due to the monetary union and the introduction of the strong German D-Mark special market linkages to Eastern Europe were suddenly lost. In sum, some economists identified “torn networks” as a basic problem of East German recovery. Rebuilding network relations therefore has become a major concern of newly founded, but also re-organised business (Nuissl et al. 2002).

The fundamental restructuring of the economy has had a huge impact on the employees. It has not only been the rising unemployment, but also the increasing job insecurity. Losing a job has suddenly become an everyday experience. The public sector was probably the only sector that was largely excluded from that. Family networks became the last refuge for many, and also the basis for start-ups. However, social exclusion has also become an extensive rural phenomenon. “Rural ghettos” of long-term unemployed, socially marginalised groups dependent from social welfare evolved as a new reality.

2.7 Lessons to learn

The brief description provided here, shows that in times of institutional change and economic transition social capital cannot easily be seen as a resource. In the case of Rural East Germany it was difficult for many actors to draw on network relations, simply because those networks vanished after having lost their meaning and/or its institutional and also physical basis. However, as the example of local commodity exchange networks shows, occasionally the network existence is an expression of institutional deficits. In such cases the dismantling of networks does not necessarily imply a “loss” for the society. One lesson to be learnt from this is that networks cannot be separated from their social meaning or its content. The network content may be an economic, social or cultural function. The network relations and therewith the social capital related to the network do not exist without a particular content. And only if this

social meaning is reproduced the social network relations are too. Because of the concentration of so many economic and social functions in the agricultural firms under socialism agricultural restructuring has had such devastating effects on rural society after the unification. One additional aspect may have been the absence of strong alternative, non-state institutional structures outside of the former socialist state that at least temporarily could have served as a backup. For instance, East Germany, unlike other post-socialist countries such as Poland, is nowadays largely an atheistic country where churches do not play a significant role. Therefore, rebuilding social capital has to become a core concern for rural development policies.

The fact that the former cadres successfully exploited their positional power has two sides. It highlights on the one hand the centrality of those actors in the former rural regime. However, it also has to be seen as the outcome of institutional structures and in particular agricultural policies, which were transferred from the West, and simply did not fit to East German realities. The kind of problems, which have been addressed to this extent are unknown in Western Europe and therefore institutional structures to cope with such problems did not exist. Even further, because of that the institutional structures as mentioned earlier at least partially seem to increase the negative trends. Therefore the change of the rural policy process is important to avoid further negative effects on civic commitment of groups less favoured during transition.

A generalization from the East German experience could be that besides the identification and measuring of social capital, it is important to identify its base and therewith its likely durability in times of change. If an economic, social or cultural function is lost, it is likely that social capital related to this function will be destroyed, too. Undoubtedly, this raises new questions, since social capital has been identified as crucial, in particular in times of change. However, this also gives room for careful optimism, due to the fact that new economic, social or cultural activities may serve as the basis for new social capital. Finally, in times of economic transition it is important to consider other spheres of the society, even because of economic reasons. Social capital encompasses a quite

paradoxical element of the "usefulness of the useless" (Laschewski & Siebert 2001, 40). As already mentioned, this brings another aspect to fore, which also shows the limitations of network theory: the problem of social meaning and culture (see also Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994).

As long as local actors are perceived as 'incapable' and rural areas as 'underdeveloped' they become subjects for political intervention. The development of horizontal social capital will only be successful in connection with different understanding of rural development, which recognises the dimension of democratisation, civic commitment and local participation as development objectives and not only as another additional development factor to increase economic growth.

Such a perspective would also allow addressing the problem of social exclusion. Rural research mostly focuses on the economic development and rarely on social integration. As some network theories argue, it depends on the nature of the social problem which form of social capital is more important. While social capital based on strong ties is more important for social integration, weak ties are mostly related to performance.

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3 Landsoziologie angesichts aktueller sozioökonomischer Veränderungen in Polen

Dariusz Pieńkowski

Land- und Agrarsoziologie ist die Wissenschaft von den Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Struktur und der Entwicklungsprozesse innerhalb ländlicher und landwirtschaftlich geprägter Gemeinschaften. Heutzutage muss sich die Landsoziologie den Herausforderungen stellen, die mit dem Prozess der sozialen Urbanisierung von ländlichen Räumen verbunden sind. Immer wichtiger werden neue Funktionen des Dorfes, während die bisherigen, Funktionen, die hauptsächlich im landwirtschaftlichen Bereich angesiedelt sind, marginalisiert werden.

Das Dorf beginnt eine immer größere Rolle im Prozess der nachhaltigen sozioökonomischen Entwicklung zu spielen. Ländliche Gebiete sind die Hauptquelle des sozialen, menschlichen und ökologischen Kapitals. Immer seltener sind in diesen Gebieten typisch landwirtschaftliche Haushalte zu finden. In diesem Zusammenhang kommt den übrigen Funktionen ländlicher Räume immer mehr Bedeutung zu. Sie stellen eine nachhaltige Alternative für die sozioökonomische Entwicklung des Landes dar.

In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden die gegenwärtigen demografischen Veränderungen im Hinblick auf ihre Bedeutung für den nachhaltigen Entwicklungsprozess Polens sowie neuerer Aufgaben der Land- und Landwirtschaftssoziologie aufgezeigt.

3.1 Die demografische Situation des heutigen Polens vor dem Hintergrund der Nachkriegsveränderungen

Mit dem Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges begann in Polen ein dynamischer Wiederaufbau der sozioökonomischen Strukturen. Diese Zeit ist gekennzeichnet

durch eine sehr hohe natürliche Bevölkerungszuwachsrates und ein stabiles, etwa gleichmäßiges Bevölkerungswachstum (Abbildung 1). Obwohl die natürliche Bevölkerungszuwachsrates mit der Zeit eine sinkende Tendenz zeigte, wuchs die Bevölkerung bis Mitte der achtziger Jahre praktisch jedes Jahr um 250.000-530.000 Personen. Die folgenden Jahre, in denen sozioökonomische Veränderungen fortschritten, standen im Zeichen der Industrialisierung des Landes, und später, mit den Transformationsprozessen, entwickelte sich die polnische Wirtschaft zu einer Dienstleistungsgesellschaft. Im Jahre 2003 betrug der Bruttomehrwert im Dienstleistungssektor 67%, in der Industrie 29% und in der Landwirtschaft 4%. Diese Richtung der wirtschaftlichen Veränderungen blieb nicht ohne Einfluss auf die demografische Situation ländlicher Gebiete (Abbildung 2). Von einem dynamischen Bevölkerungswachstum waren in Polen vor allem städtische Gebiete im Laufe der Industrialisierungsprozesse gekennzeichnet. Oberschlesien ist heute ein gutes Beispiel für die diese Prozesse begleitenden demografischen Veränderungen. Auf dem Lande war indes stabile demografische Situation stabil, obwohl mit zweifellos sinkender Tendenz. Im Jahre 2003 machte die Landbevölkerung 94% ihrer Anzahl von 1946 aus. Im Vergleich zu dem hohen Wachstumstempo der Stadtbevölkerung (fast 300% der Größe von 1946 am Jahresanfang 2000) hat die Landbevölkerung in diesem Zeitraum einen weitgehenden sozioökonomischen Marginalisierungsprozess erfahren. Dieser Prozess hing mit dem schnellen Wachstum des Stadtbevölkerungsanteils zusammen: Unmittelbar nach dem Krieg entsprach die Anzahl der Landbewohner etwa der Hälfte der Stadtbewohner. 1946 wurde die Landbevölkerung auf über 25,5 Mill. geschätzt, während in den Städten 8 Mill. Menschen lebten. Gegenwärtig haben sich die Proportionen fast genau umgekehrt. Die Stadtbewohner werden auf 23,5 Mill. geschätzt, während die Landbevölkerung nur knapp 14,7 Mill. zählt (2005), wobei in den letzten Jahren die bisherigen Tendenzen diesbezüglich Veränderungen erfuhren: In der sozioökonomischen Entwicklung Polens beginnen ländliche Räume eine neue Rolle zu spielen.

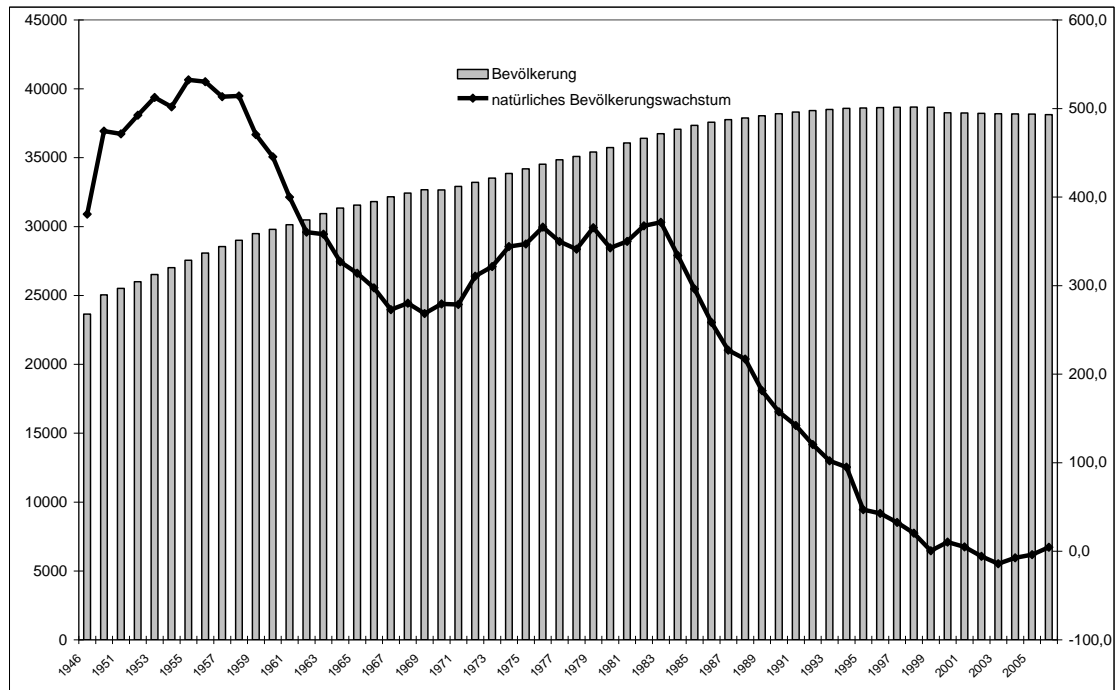


Abbildung 1: Bevölkerungswachstum und Bevölkerung Polens in den Jahren 1946-2003. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa

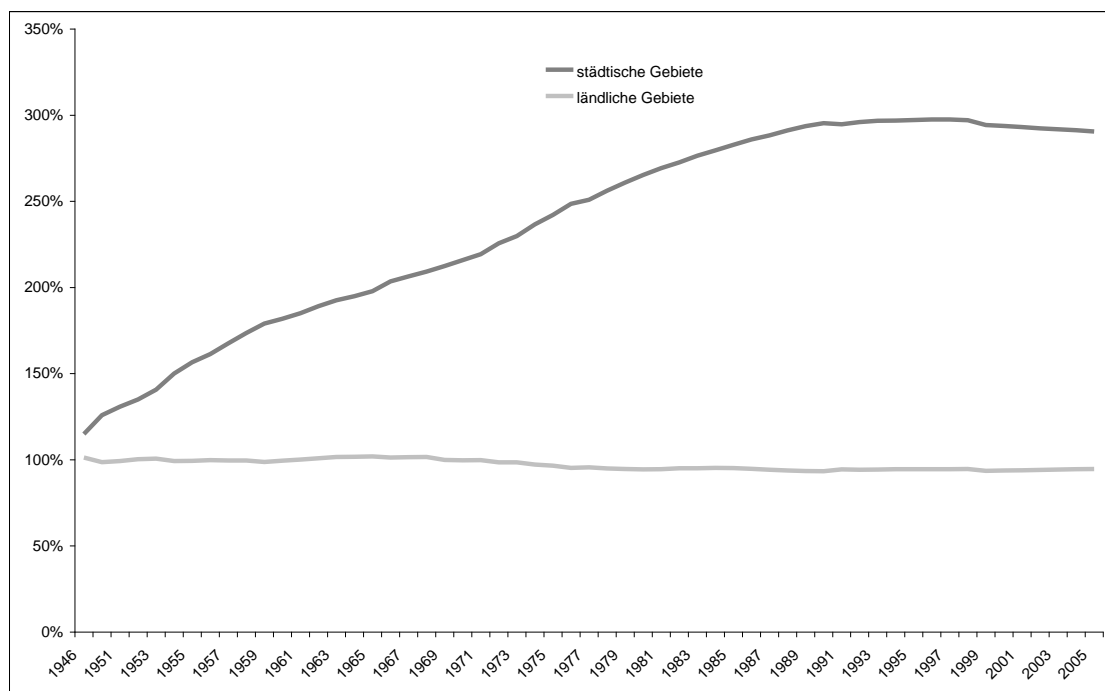


Abbildung 2: Veränderungsdynamik der polnischen Bevölkerung auf dem Lande und in der Stadt in den Jahren 1946-2003 (1946=100). Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa

Erhebliche Veränderungen gehen mit Systemumgestaltungsprozessen in Polen einher. Diese Prozesse haben das Tempo der Schrumpfung der natürlichen Bevölkerungszuwachsrates beschleunigt, die ab 2002 negativ ist (-5.721) und weiter abnimmt (-14.158 schon im nächsten Jahre 2003). Im Hinblick auf diese Veränderungen scheinen die Land-Stadt-Relationen nach 2000 interessant zu sein. Das Umbruchsjahr ist augenscheinlich das Jahr 1999, in dem ein Bevölkerungsrückgang in Polen einsetzt, der bis heute andauert (Abbildung 3). Elemente dieses Prozesses sind sowohl ein negativer Auslandsmigrationssaldo als auch eine negative natürliche Bevölkerungszuwachsrates (Abbildungen 4 und 5).

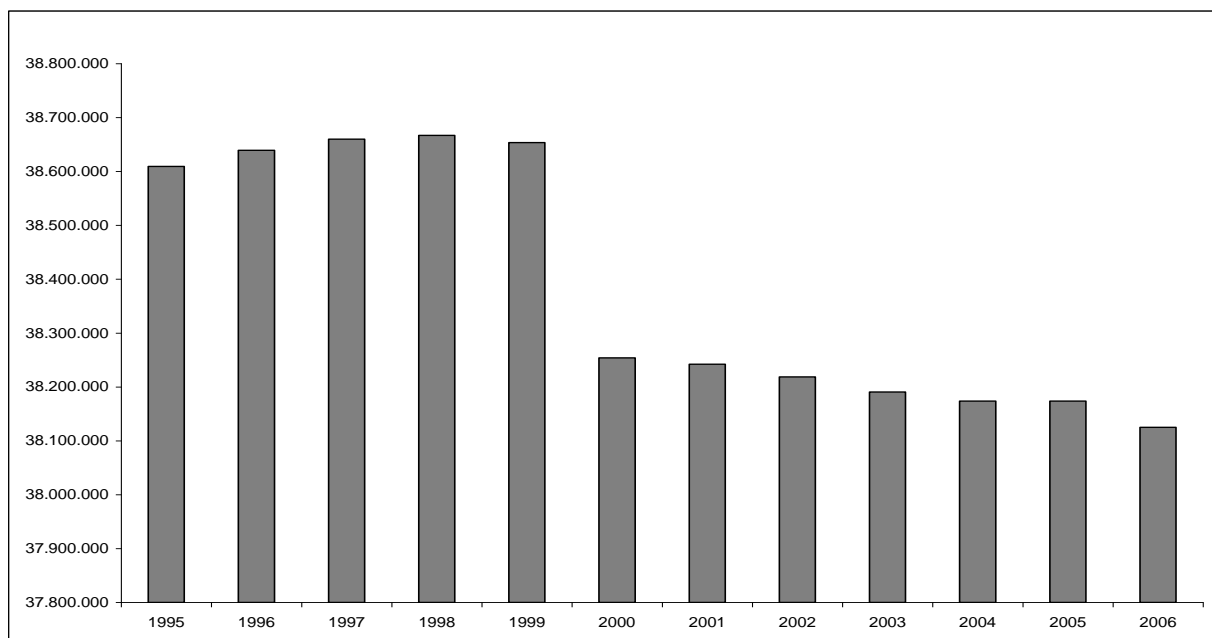


Abbildung 3: Bevölkerung Polens in den Jahren 1995-2005. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa, Powierzchnia i ludność w przekroju terytorialnym w 2005 r. GUS, Warszawa 2005.

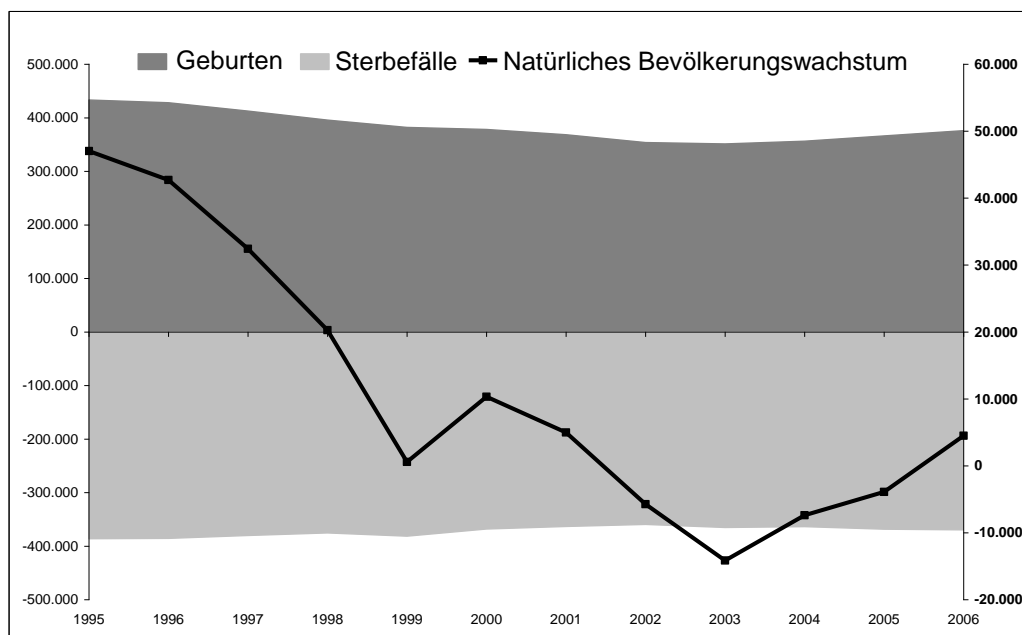


Abbildung 4: Natürliche Bevölkerungsbewegung in Polen in den Jahren 1995-2004. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa

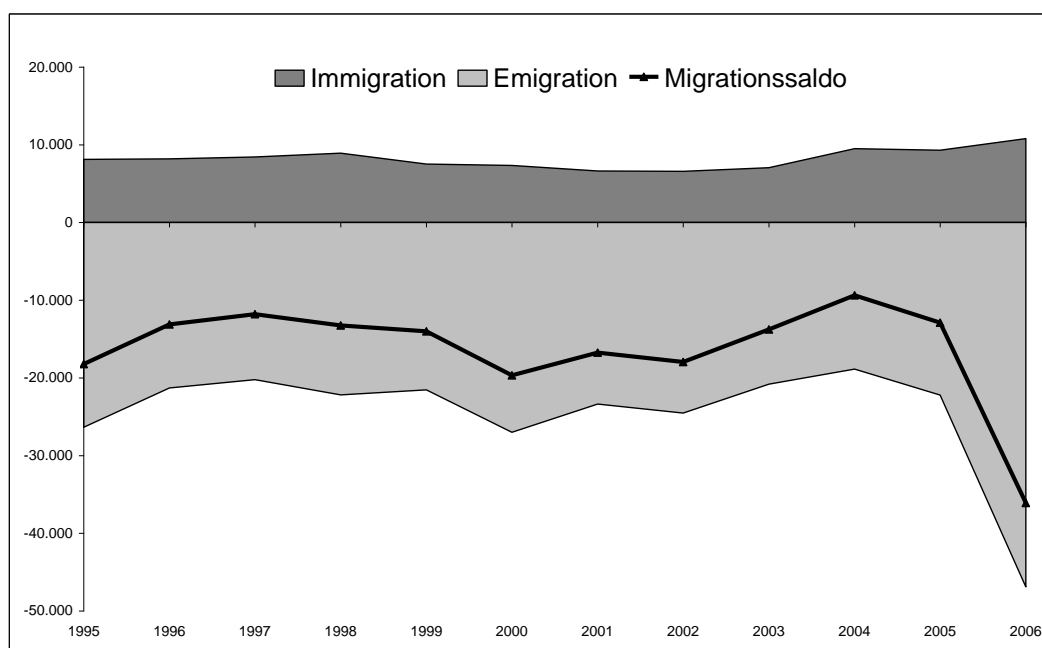


Abbildung 5: Migrationssaldo in Polen in den Jahren 1995-2004. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa.

Diese Veränderungen sind zum großen Teil durch die soziale Situation in den Städten determiniert. Ländliche Räume sind durch viel geringere Veränderungsdynamik sowie durch einen gleichmäßigeren (obwohl letzten Endes auch mit einem Minuszeichen zu versehenen) Umgestaltungsprozess gekennzeichnet (Abbildung 7). Mehr noch: Seit Mitte der 70er Jahre wächst langsam die Migration aus den Städten in die Dörfer, und dieses Interesse der Stadtbewohner an ländlichen Gebieten ist in den letzten Jahren besonders groß. Die Stadt wird immer seltener zum Wohn- und Familiengründungsort gewählt. Im Jahre 2000 wird zum ersten Mal ein positiver Migrationssaldo auf dem Lande verzeichnet, und 2004 beträgt er bereits 35.025 Personen (Abbildung 6).

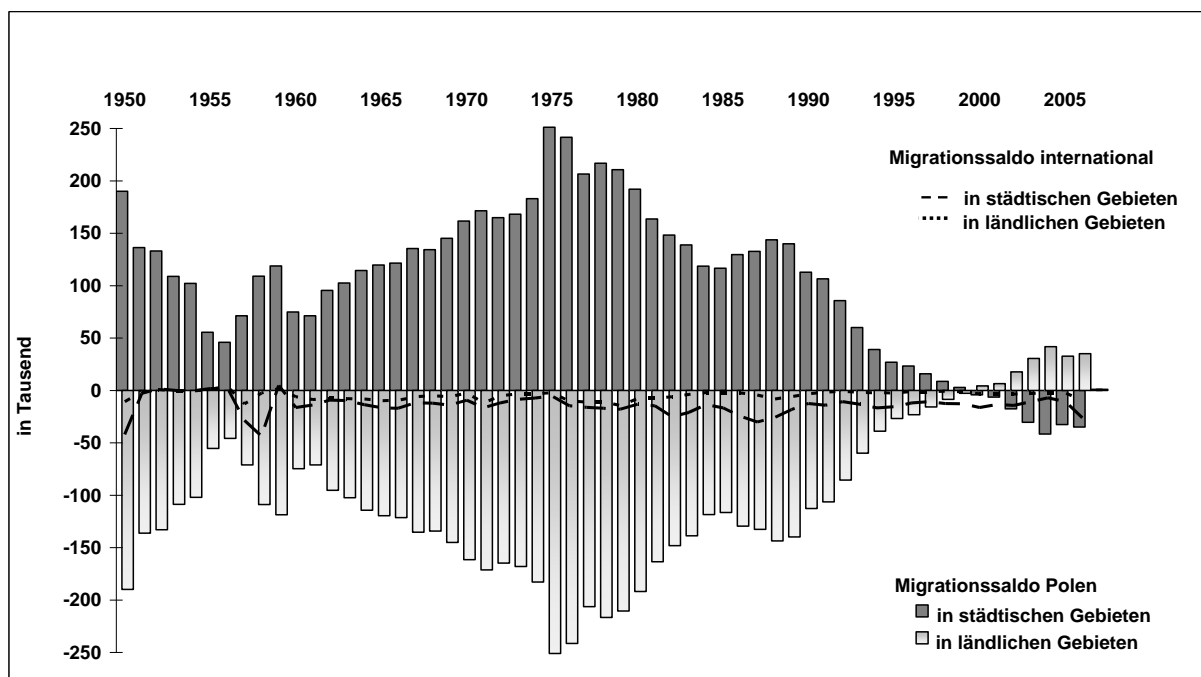


Abbildung 6: Bevölkerungsmigrationen in Polen und Binnen- und Auslandsmigrationssaldo nach der Migrationsrichtung: Land-Stadt in den Jahren 1950-2003. Quelle: Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa.

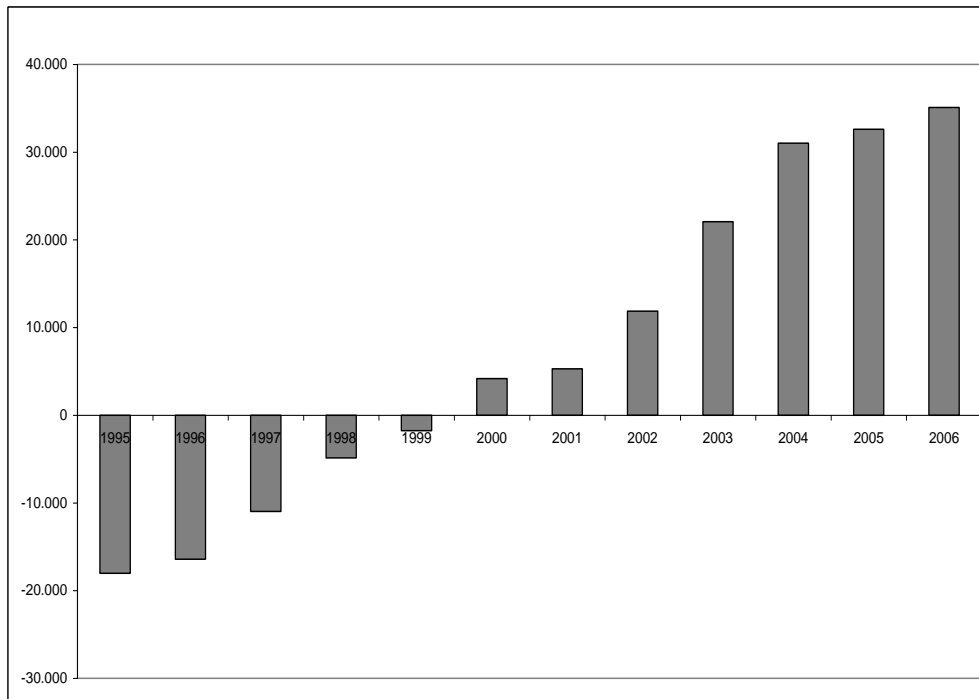


Abbildung 7: Migrationssaldo der Landgemeinden in den Jahren 1995-2004. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa.

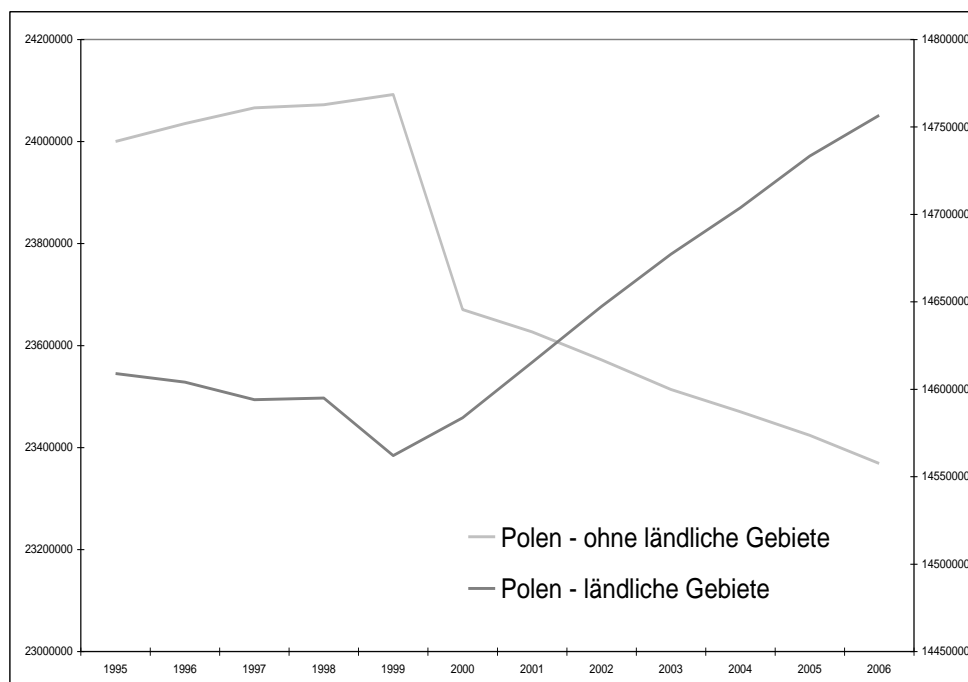


Abbildung 8: Bevölkerung Polens in Landgemeinden und in städtischen Gebieten in den Jahren 1995-2004. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa.

Die Migration in die Dörfer wird begleitet von einer positiven natürlichen Bevölkerungszuwachsrates, die in der untersuchten Periode, d.h. von 1946 an, stets sinkt. Die Veränderungsdynamik in ländlichen Gebieten ist jedoch kleiner als in städtischen Gebieten (Abbildung 9). Das beeinflusst die Bevölkerungsveränderungen in ländlichen Gebieten, wo die Einwohnerzahl in den letzten Jahren im Gegensatz zu den Städten, besonders den großen Woiwodschaftsstädten¹, wächst.

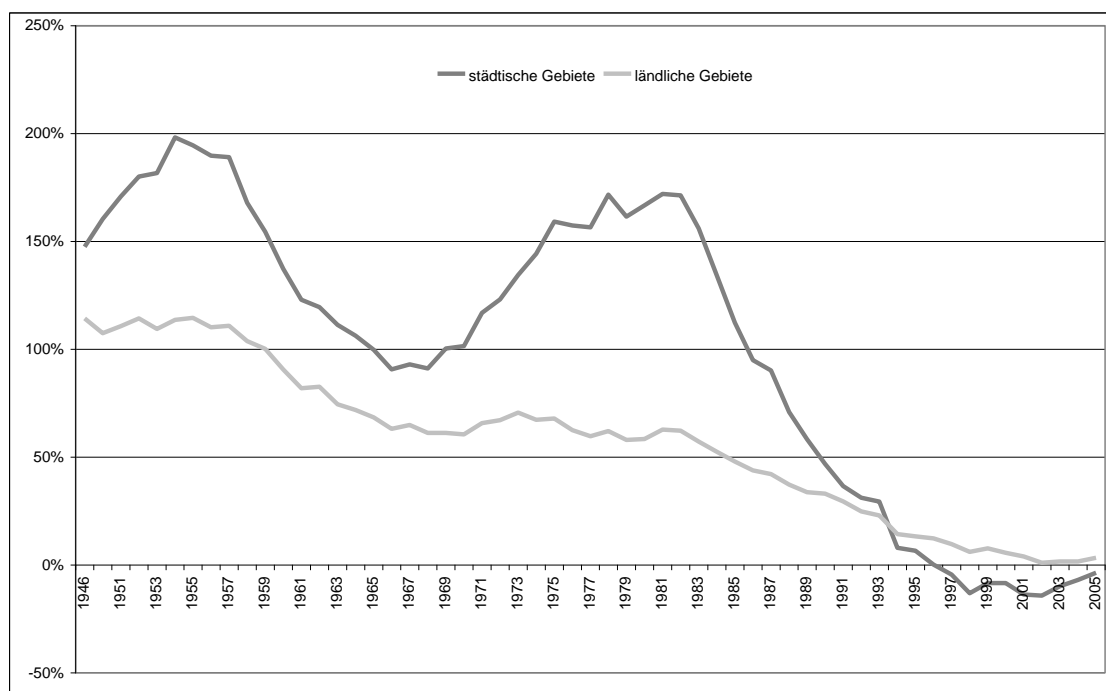


Abbildung 9: Veränderungsdynamik des Bevölkerungszuwachses in ländlichen und anderen Gemeinden Polens in den Jahren 1946-2003 (1946-100). Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa.

In Bezug auf die sozioökonomische Situation sollte man noch ein anderes wichtiges Element erwähnen, das die Entwicklung von ländlichen Gebieten kennzeichnet: Der Anteil von Kindern und Jugendlichen unter 18 Jahren ist in den ländlichen Gebieten erheblich höher als in städtischen Gebieten. Dieser Fakt hat bei der Planung von wirtschaftlichen Prozessen eine enorme Bedeutung. Der

¹ Nicht in allen Woiwodschaftsstädten sehen die demografischen Tendenzen genauso aus. In 2004 hatten 12 von ihnen eine negative Bevölkerungszuwachsrates (Ausnahmen sind Zielona Góra, Lublin, Koszalin und Łomża). Ein großer Teil von ihnen hatte auch einen negativen Migrationssaldo (Ausnahmen sind u.a. Warszawa und Kraków.)

mit ungünstigen Depopulationserscheinungen einhergehende Rückgang dieses Anteils verläuft in ländlichen Räumen langsamer, was diese zur Hauptquelle des für die künftige Erhaltung des jetzigen Wirtschaftswachstumstempos notwendigen Humankapitals macht (wobei man auch die höhere positive natürliche Bevölkerungszuwachsrates und die Migrationen berücksichtigen muss) (Abbildung 10/11). Die Landbewohner machen zwar knapp 40% der gesamten Bevölkerung Polens aus, aber innerhalb des Bevölkerungsteils unter 18 Jahren sind es schon fast 45%.

Das Dorf wird zu einer interessanten Alternative gegenüber den Lebensbedingungen in der Stadt, die wegen hoher Lebenshaltungskosten und großer Wohnungsprobleme immer schwieriger werden. Auch die verbesserte Stadt-Land-Verkehrsinfrastruktur ist nicht ohne Bedeutung. Diese Entwicklung ist nur teilweise mit der Landwirtschaftsproduktion verbunden. Der Anteil der in der Landwirtschaft Beschäftigten sowie der Einkünfte des landwirtschaftlichen Sektors sinkt, ähnlich wie der Anteil landwirtschaftlicher Nutzflächen (Abbildung 12). Ländliche Gemeinden gleichen ungünstige Veränderungen der Bevölkerungszuwachsdynamik im Landesmaßstab aus und bilden zugleich das soziale, kulturelle und ökologische Hinterland für die sich immer dynamischer entwickelnden städtischen Gebiete. Diese Prozesse werden auch den Charakter der ländlichen Räume verändern, indem sie zu Umgestaltungen beitragen, die diese Gebiete im höheren Grade neue, bis jetzt von den landwirtschaftlichen in den Hintergrund gedrängte Funktionen erfüllen lassen. Die Landsoziologie wird sich auch diesen Veränderungen stellen müssen und Projekte zu Umgestaltungen von ländlichen Räumen, unter Beachtung der unschätzbaren Kapitalressourcen, die in den Städten bereits zum großen Teil verbraucht worden sind, erarbeiten.

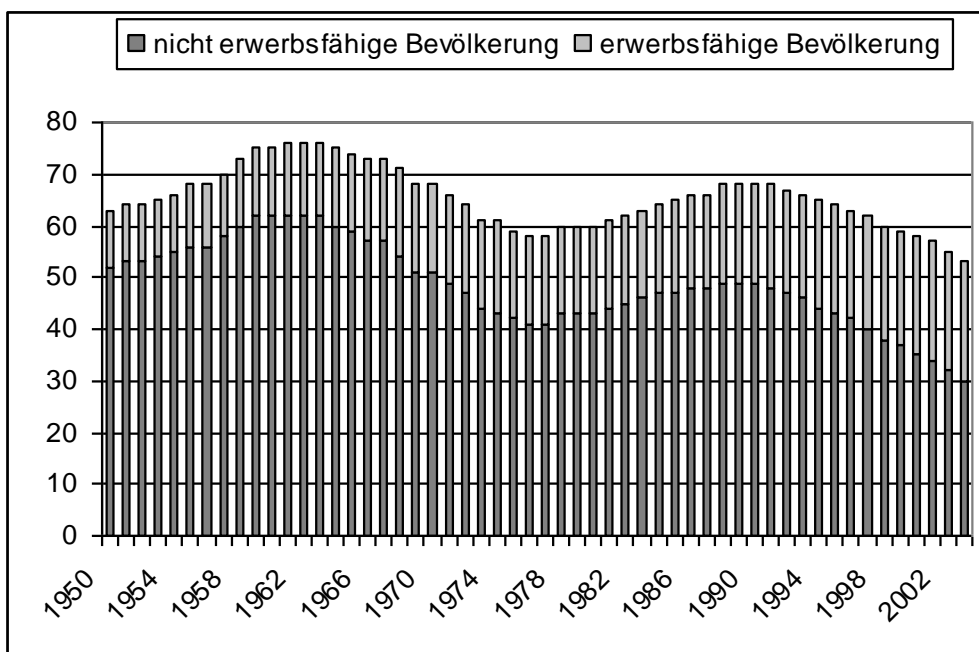


Abbildung 10: Anzahl der Kinder, Jugendlichen und Rentner in Polen, die auf 100 Personen im Alter zwischen 18 und 60 (Frauen) oder 65 (Männer) Jahren entfielen – in der Stadt, in den Jahren 1950-2003. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa.

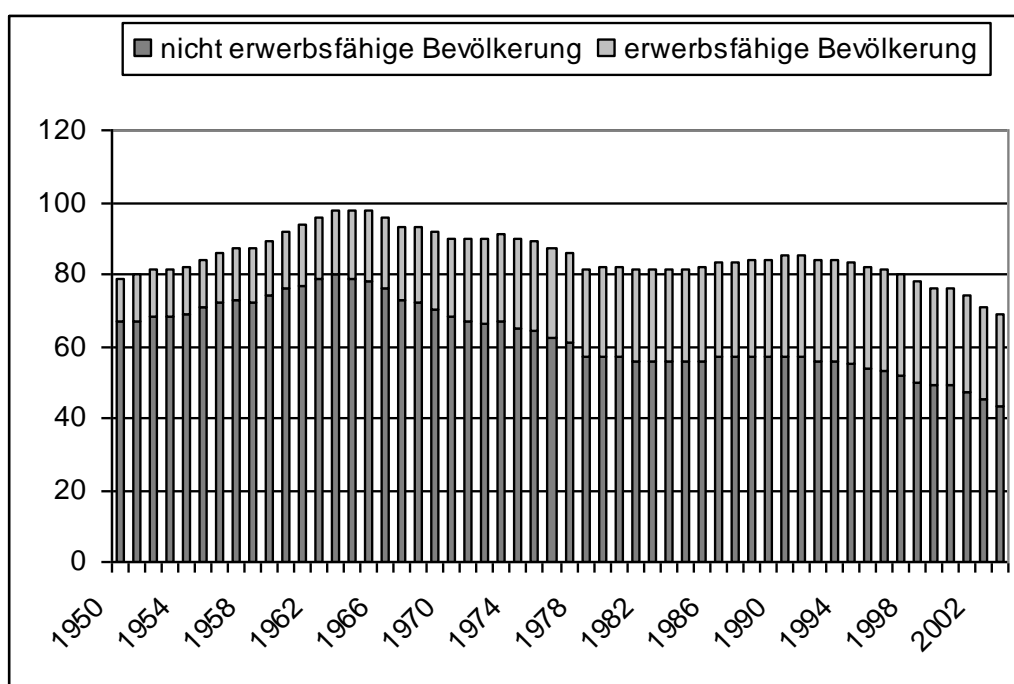


Abbildung 11. Anzahl der Kinder, Jugendlichen und Rentner in Polen, die auf 100 Personen im Alter zwischen 18 und 60 (Frauen) oder 65 (Männer) Jahren entfielen – auf dem Lande, in den Jahren 1950-2003. Quelle: eigene Bearbeitung aufgrund der Daten des Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa.

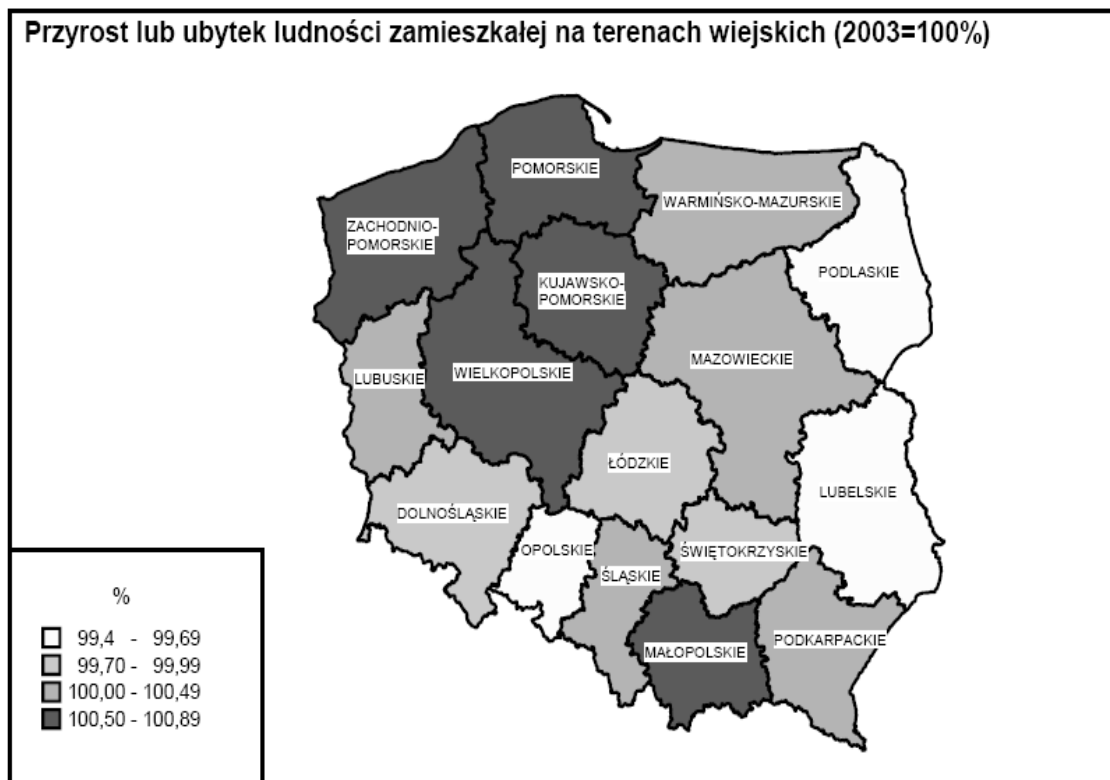


Abbildung 12. Wachstum oder Rückgang der Bevölkerung in ländlichen Gebieten einzelner Woiwodschaften im Jahre 2004 im Verhältnis zum Jahr 2003 (in Prozenten). Quelle: Powierzchnia i ludność w przekroju terytorialnym w 2005 r. Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa, 2005 (S. 9).

3.2 Land- und Landwirtschaftssoziologie und Probleme der nachhaltigen Entwicklung

In der Soziologie wird angenommen, dass der Gegenstand der Landsoziologie weit gefasste gesellschaftliche Beziehungen zwischen den Menschen sind, die in einem Dorf oder in einem anderen ländlichen Milieu leben. Der besondere Charakter der Land- und Landwirtschaftssoziologie wird bestimmt durch solche Faktoren wie: Einfluss der Naturumgebung auf das soziale Leben, Dominanz der Landwirtschaft, Familienbauernhöfe als Organisationsform sowie sozioökonomische Prozesse, die vom Landleben und von der Landwirtschaft geprägt sind. Weiterhin gilt in den Agrar- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften die traditionelle Auffassung (Kośmicki 2005), dass die Probleme der Landwirtschaft und der ländlichen Gebiete nur unter dem Gesichtspunkt des quantitativen

Anstiegs von der Lebensmittelproduktion betrachtet werden, ohne außerökonomische Aspekte, wie ökologische, kulturelle oder gesellschaftliche Dimensionen mit einzubeziehen, die in ökonomischen Kategorien schwieriger erfassbar sind.

Diese Betrachtungsweise hängt eng mit dem Industrialisierungsprozess der Landwirtschaft und der ländlichen Räume zusammen, der für stark urbanisierte Gegenden charakteristisch ist. Allerdings erfüllen ländliche Gebiete zahlreiche Funktionen nicht nur im Produktionsbereich, sondern auch im Erholungs-, Natur- sowie im Sozial- und Kultursektor. Diese Funktionen beginnen auf dem Lande zu dominieren, was mit eingeschränkten Möglichkeiten der Stadt in diesem Bereich zusammenhängt. Zu den außerlandwirtschaftlichen Funktionen ländlicher Gebiete zählen gewöhnlich: die Erhaltung und Pflege der Kulturlandschaft, die Erhaltung der natürlichen Lebensgrundlagen und die Pflege von Traditionen, die die Gesellschaft der Region integrieren. Hierzu gehören auch andere Funktionen, die sich besser in ökonomischen Kategorien erfassen lassen: die mit Erholung und Tourismus verbundenen oder diejenigen, die in der Schaffung besserer Bedingungen für die weniger leistungsfähige, aber als sozio-ökologische Alternative für die industrielle Agrarwirtschaft bedeutende Biolandwirtschaft bestehen. Mehr noch: Der viel größere Anteil der Kinder und Jugendlichen an der Landbevölkerung hat nicht nur eine gesellschaftliche, sondern auch eine ökonomische Bedeutung. Die ländlichen Gebiete sind somit die Hauptquelle des im Kontext der Wirtschaftsentwicklung sehr wichtigen Humankapitals.

Das Hauptziel der nachhaltigen Entwicklung eines Landes ist zum einen das Gleichgewicht zwischen der Produktion von wirtschaftlichem Kapital, das in stark urbanisierten Gebieten überwiegt, und zum anderen das sozio-ökologische sowie das kulturelle Kapital, die ihre Hauptquellen in ländlichen Räumen haben. Die Betrachtung ländlicher Räume ausschließlich unter dem Gesichtspunkt der die städtische Industrialisierung begleitenden Prozesse führt dazu, dass der bisherige Weg der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung auf dem Lande fortgesetzt wird; das Ergebnis davon können die ungünstigen demografischen, sozialen und

ökologischen Veränderungen sein, die es schon einmal in der Städteentwicklung gegeben hat. Die heutzutage in Polen üblichen Migrationen in ländliche Räume beweisen die Attraktivität dieser Gebiete angesichts ihrer außerlandwirtschaftlichen, darin auch außerökonomischen Funktionen. Zugleich hängt das mit dem Prozess der gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Urbanisierung dieser Territorien zusammen, wo die dortigen Gemeinschaften unter dem Einfluss der Lebensweise und -kultur der "Emigranten aus der Stadt" Veränderungen erfahren. C. Bywalec nennt unter den gegenwärtigen Tendenzen im Konsumbereich das Phänomen der Detraditionalisierung des Konsums (Buwalec 2001). Es kommt zum Ausdruck in der verminderten Rolle lokaler, beruflicher oder familiärer Traditionen und Bräuche in Konsumverhaltensweisen (die sog. Wegreinigung der Tradition), was durch den Schwund von Folklore und Ritualen und durch den sich in dörflichen Gemeinschaften verbreitenden städtischen Lebensstil verursacht ist (Urbanisierung des Konsums). Mit dem Attraktivitätszuwachs ländlicher Räume wird der Prozess der gesellschaftlich-kulturellen Urbanisierung deutliche Beschleunigung erfahren, zumal die Migration aufs Land mit der ursprünglichen Funktion dieser Gebiete, d.h. mit der Landwirtschaft, nicht direkt verbunden ist.

Daraus, dass in Polen die Strategie der nachhaltigen Entwicklung verabschiedet worden ist, ergibt sich vor allem eine gleichmäßige Entwicklung aller Ebenen des sozioökonomischen und ökologischen Lebens im Lande. Die sozioökonomische Aktivierung der ländlichen Bevölkerung sollte in Richtung der nachhaltigen Nutzung sozio-ökologischen und kulturellen Kapitals dieser Gebiete gehen. Die Erhaltung dieses Kapitals hat eine enorme Bedeutung für die soziale, aber auch für die ökonomische Entwicklung. Diese Gebiete verfügen über ein Kapital, dessen ökonomische Nutzung mit Prozessen der Aufrechterhaltung ihres sozio-ökologischen Kapitals verbunden sein kann. In den heutigen Wirtschaften dominiert der - für weniger umweltbelastend als der Industriesektor gehaltene Dienstleistungssektor. Einen wichtigen Zweig dieses Sektors stellen Tourismus und Erholung dar, die in großem Maße auf dem Konsum ökologischen und kulturellen Kapitals beruhen. Die Inanspruchnahme

der Erholungs- und Rekreationsfunktion ländlicher Räume, den gegenwärtigen Tendenzen in diesem Bereich entsprechend, ist eine enorme Chance für Aktivierung der Landbevölkerung, die wegen der schwächeren ökonomischen Nutzung der ländlichen Gebiete auf dem Arbeitsmarkt im Nachteil ist. Dieser Prozess sollte nicht auf der Industrialisierung, sondern auf der Servisierung der ländlichen Räume beruhen, und zwar im Bereich der Dienstleistungen, die in höherem Grade zur Erhaltung sozio-ökologischen und kulturellen Kapitals dieser Gebiete beitragen.

Auch die polnische Landwirtschaft hat günstige Bedingungen dafür, sich in Richtung Bewahrung sozio-ländlicher Gebiete zu entwickeln, um diese aufrechterhalten. Eine solche Möglichkeit gibt die Biolandwirtschaft, die sich allerdings durch geringere Produktivität und größere Inanspruchnahme des Arbeitskapitals auszeichnet, dafür aber in viel höherem Grade zu der Erhaltung der sozio-ökologischen Grundlagen ländlicher Gegenden beiträgt. Sie ist dabei auch völlig effektiv hinsichtlich des Lebensmittelbedarfs; wohingegen die industrialisierte Landwirtschaft, stark finanziell unterstützt, Überproduktionen liefert, die keinerlei Marktbegründung hat.

Andererseits muss man mit einer weiteren Urbanisierung ländlicher Gebiete rechnen; die sich im Kontext der Integration von dörflichen und denjenigen städtischen Gemeinschaften vollziehen wird, die sich wegen spezifischer sozio-ökologischer Voraussetzungen zum Umzug aufs Land entschlossen haben. Eine der Aufgaben der Landsoziologie ist die Analyse dieses sozio-kulturellen Integrationsprozesses und die Schaffung von Bedingungen, die der Erhaltung von sozio-ökologischem Kapital ländlicher Gebiete sowie der Aktivierung der Landbevölkerung gemäß den Prinzipien der nachhaltigen Entwicklung dienen würden.

3.3 Zusammenfassung – die Landsoziologie angesichts der Urbanisierungsprozesse in ländlichen Gebieten

Die gegenwärtigen sozioökonomischen Entwicklungsbedingungen ländlicher Räume können schon in nächster Zukunft über das Gleichgewicht von Polens sozio-ökologischer, also in Konsequenz auch ökonomischer Situation entscheiden. Einerseits sind für die Entwicklung der ländlichen Gebiete ihre landwirtschaftlichen Funktionen und die Aufgaben im Bereich der Lebensmittelproduktion von grundlegender Bedeutung. Andererseits muss man unbedingt die spezifischen sozio-ökologischen Faktoren berücksichtigen, die zwar die sozial ungünstigen, mit dem schnellen Wirtschaftsentwicklungstempo verbundenen Tendenzen in den Städten kompensieren, zugleich aber oft viel niedrigeres Wohlstandsniveau und schwierige Arbeitsmarktsituation auf dem Lande bedeuten. Die Arbeitslosenquote ist dort sogar viermal so hoch wie in den Städten. Die Schaffung entsprechender Bedingungen für die Aktivierung junger Leute, deren prozentualer Anteil in den ländlichen Gebieten größer als in den städtischen ist, um die Landräume multifunktionell und in einem breiteren, auch nichtagraren Sektor zu nutzen, scheint eine alternative Strategie des Gleichgewichts auf dem Arbeitsmarkt und der Ausnutzung des Kapitals zu sein, das immer stärker die weitere Wirtschaftsentwicklung und die Lebensqualität in den Städten limitiert. Die ländlichen Territorien in Polen spielen offenbar, während der Anteil der Lebensmittelproduktion sinkt, eine wichtige sozio-ökologische Rolle, die mit der Migration der städtischen Bevölkerung aufs Land verbunden ist. Die gegenwärtigen diesbezüglichen Veränderungen, die in dem im Jahr 2000 zum ersten Mal im Nachkriegspolen registrierten positivem Migrationssaldo auf dem Lande zum Ausdruck kommen, weisen auf eine erhebliche Attraktivität ländlicher Gebiete hin, hauptsächlich in Bezug auf ihre außerlandwirtschaftlichen Funktionen. Dieser Prozess wird auch eine Beschleunigung von der sozio-kulturellen Urbanisierung ländlicher Räume bedeuten.

Die Landsoziologie muss es sich zur Aufgabe machen, die Integrationsprozesse von städtischer und ländlicher Gemeinschaft zu analysieren, mit dem Ziel, eine

Aktivierung der Landbevölkerung zu erreichen, unter Beachtung des sozio-ökologischen und kulturellen Charakters dieser Gebiete. Ein grundlegender Fehler wäre die Industrialisierung der Landwirtschaft und der ländlichen Räume, die zum Konsum sozial-ökologischen und kulturellen Kapitals nach dem städtischen Modell führen würde.

Die Städte sind in hohem Maße den Anforderungen der Industrieentwicklung und der hauptsächlich an ökonomischen Werten orientierten Strategie der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung unterstellt. Das Dorf bildet in diesem Zusammenhang eine Alternative für die nachhaltige Entwicklung Polens, unter Ausnutzung des sozial-ökologischen und des ökonomischen Potentials ländlicher Gebiete im Sinne der Nachhaltigkeitsstrategie. Die Landsoziologie muss einerseits den sozio-kulturellen Integrationsprozess der auf dem Lande wohnenden Bevölkerung untersuchen. Andererseits hat sie entsprechende Anforderungen der Entwicklungsstrategie in diesen Gebieten festzulegen, und zwar unter Beachtung ihres sozial-ökologischen und kulturellen Kapitals; das erwarten von ihr die Wirtschaftswissenschaftler, die sich mit den Aktivierungsprozessen der bis jetzt hauptsächlich in der Landwirtschaft tätigen Bevölkerung beschäftigen. Die Landsoziologie sollte also Bedingungen für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung der ländlichen Räume ermitteln.

Übersetzung: Aus dem Polnischen übersetzt von Maria Adamiak

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4 The utilization of evaluation results in the design of EAFRD – a study of practices of European agricultural policy making

Lutz Laschewski, Cornelia Schmidt

4.1 Introduction

The second pillar of the European Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) has become increasingly important during this recent decade. It includes a set of measures directed to farm investment, agri-environmental issues and rural development. The second pillar not only targets but expands partly in more diversified matter the new policy objectives. Moreover, it represents a new style of policy making for the agricultural sector. It is based on rural development plans formulated by the (Community) Member States and/or their regions and it requires rather complex processes of program evaluation. Within recent years, in particular since the Agenda 2000 when program evaluation has become a formal requirement for all policy measures, a certain evaluation practice evolved. While research on agricultural policy has clearly focused its attention on the evaluation of policy outcomes (Buller, Wilson, Höll 2000), the question how evaluation research impacts the policy system is rarely addressed.

Here, the utilization of evaluation is seen as an access point for the analysis of the policy formulation processes itself. Furthermore, we are interested in the way the political administration, here the European Commission, constructs and uses information to formulate or alter policies. The European Commission, in particular the General Directorate Agriculture, takes a central role in the Common Agricultural Decision making process. Due to its monopolistic right of initiatives, which empowers and requires the European Commission to make proposals on the issues of the European Union, and despite the fact that the

Commission does not have the right to vote in the European Council, its influence on the decisions taken by European Council is considered to be greater than the influence of any individual (Community) Member States (Henning 2004). On the other side, policy implementation is fully in the hand of the Member States.

Our empirical point of entry is this question; how do the program evaluations of the former rural development regulations effect the design of the new rural development regulation COUNCIL REGULATION (EC) No 1698/2005 of 20 September 2005 for the support on rural development by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)? Beginning with a conceptual perspective deriving from organizational theories, which we develop in section 2, we observe the management of knowledge as a crucial precondition of political administrative systems. In section 3, we describe the emergence of the process known as the second pillar of the CAP as well as its increasing role of evaluation. Then, we briefly describe its proposal. In section 4 we describe the results of an explorative study of the decision making process. In the conclusion the results are discussed, and we argue that the evaluation is an institutional structure still in the making and that this evaluation has only little direct impact on decision-making. Evaluation utilization is constrained to a large extent by the structure of the decision-making process inside the Commission, and shaped by the interpretative schemes that are framing the problem perceptions and practices. Here, the Commission's understanding of the needs of individual Member States is clearly of importance.

4.2 Knowledge and Governance

The basic assumption of this paper is that the management of knowledge and information, as in other organisations, is a fundamental problem to be solved in any political administration (Weik 1995). Political administrative systems, as the Common Agricultural Policy, exist from the ability to attract basic resources such as financial and personnel resources or legitimacy as well as public acceptance in exchange for the provision of public services (Scott 1992).

Knowledge may be understood as patterns of experiences stored by the organization. Organizational learning and knowledge formation are the generation of institutional routines and regulations to collect, process and document personal knowledge. While knowledge describes ways of how to use information, information itself has to be distinguished from data. By interpretation, data becomes information (Willke 1998). As a result, organized systems have to develop observatory instruments to gather data, create observatory rules and evaluative criteria to generate usable information from the data, and to produce knowledge through institutionalization (Willke 2001). Such a knowledge perspective implies that communication is the fundamental level of analysis (Weik 1995). Communication includes not only the exchange of information, but also the exchange of interpretative schemes.

From this view, program evaluation as addressed in this paper is one element of the knowledge infrastructure of the political administrative system. In an ideal type of policy cycle evaluation constitutes an element of reflexivity in the policy process. Evaluation forms a link among the implementation of policies, the agenda setting and the policy (re-)formulation. Thus, this can be a core element of policy learning. The utilization of evaluation results may be seen as a specific case for organizational learning. Its analysis entails several different aspects, which are interrelated, but may also be separated analytically.

First, knowledge management consists of a set of structural processes, which have to be taken into consideration. Any action situation generates outcomes and for its ability to persist it is important to develop an understanding of the linkages among actions and outcomes (theories) and information (Ostrom 2005). Information has to be collected, transformed, and condensed into usable knowledge. A key problem for organizations' management, such as the European Commission with regard to knowledge, is to deal with organizational complexity that derives from division of labour, spatial diversity, and hierarchies. The most obvious problem for the European Commission is to manage the filtering of an incredibly large amount of information.

Any filtering step means a reduction of information. Therefore, evidence based policy that intends to use evaluation results, is crucially dependent on the existence of adequate theories and their possible intervention effects, methods and information technologies to collect and process data, the availability of skilled evaluators at all levels of the policy field, and facilitating structural conditions (financial resources and time). Such ideal evaluation conditions rarely exist. Commonly debated problems are the following:

- Time constraints: The policy cycle revolves more quickly than the research cycle. Therefore ‘real time’ evaluations often have little influence on policy making (Pawson 2002). Effects of a policy may occur slowly. The evaluation process itself needs some time.
- Financial constraints: In many cases, the financial resources are not sufficient either in order to carry out the evaluation in a scientific correct way, which consists of conducting deep literature research and using a method mix of quantitative and qualitative analysis. Thus, evaluations are conducted using the method most practicable (Forstner, Grajewski, Mehl 2002).
- Evaluators: The implicit assumption of the availability of qualified evaluators is not realistic. Indeed, the lack of professionalization of the evaluation community has been regularly addressed in evaluation utilization research (Wottawa, Thierau 1998).

Second, cognitive schemes and interpretations of the reality may vary widely among the communities, which are targeted by the policy, the evaluator’s community and inside the European Commission itself. Usually, there is more than one theory about the study object. Evaluators and policy makers may refer to different theoretical backgrounds and therefore define relevant information in different ways. For instance, in recent decades new theoretical paradigms about

regional development evolved, which stress the importance of institutional, cultural and social conditions. The data required for this kind of research and the methods to be applied are different from classical approaches that focus on structural conditions (Ray 2000). The evaluation research in recent years has also been shaped by a paradigmatic debate between positivist and constructivist approaches. Both views are not only different in their definition of political problems, but they also suggest different ways of evaluation utilization. While an instrumental usage of evaluation is related to a positivist approach, constructivists suggest a conceptual and argumentative usage of evaluation results (Sanderson 2002).

A well-documented issue in the evaluation literature is that evaluator's own expectations may differ from the client's perspective. A potential conflict is the interpretation of the function of the evaluation. Evaluators may interpret their role differently from the client (Eser, Nussmüller 2006). In the European context it has been criticised that the formative function of evaluation and organisation learning is often neglected (Batterbury 2006). In many cases, evaluators have problems to accept existing bureaucratic procedures defined by the applicant (Wottawa, Thierau 1998). Academics in particular tend to move towards theory driven research and an academic style which often does not meet user requirements (Beck 1991). However, different understandings of relevant issues and information do not only occur in the evaluator and client relationship. The political administration itself communicates with different interest communities, which again have diverse relevance structures. For instance, although the research community increasingly advocates certain types of qualitative information, the bureaucratic and political environment of the European Commission formulates a strong demand for quantification (Diez 2002).

Third, administrative organizations form an environment of rather independent power games (Crozier, Friedberg 1979). Following our assumption that policy learning and innovation imply institutional changes, it is evident that innovation processes are structurally linked to micro political conflicts between routine practices and innovation processes. While the rationality of routines is oriented

to maintain control over everyday activities, the rationality of innovation is oriented to get control and to redistribute power (Reiners 2003). The utilization of information provided by evaluation research will become a subject of micro-political games on the operational level, as well as on the constitutional level. The decision to maintain, alter or skip a specific element as part of a policy program is generally connected among the redistribution of financial resources, personnel resources and power between different departments inside the administration. Such decisions will be based on available legitimate information. The selection and filtering rules of this information are also an issue of micro politics. The uneven distribution of information even allows for strategic usage of evaluation results (e.g. holding back information, keeping secrets, and using informal information channels to access information). The bureaucracy therefore plays a double role as a driving force as well as a victim of political reforms.

Finally, the sector specific organizational environment also shapes the relevance structures of the administration. Common Agricultural Policy is traditionally characterized by a strong influence of farmers' lobbies. Reasons for this are seen in the capability of the farming sector to solve the problem of collective action, but also in a continuous general public support for farm subsidies (Hagedorn 1996). Hence securing the agricultural sector's income is a key objective of the CAP (Rome Treaty) and the main struggle is about the likely effects of any political measures on the agricultural sector's income.

The European policy also defines a peculiar context, in which the policy field is highly fragmented in national arenas (Greer 2005). On the Member State level European policies are formed into specific national policy discourses, which are quite independent from overall European discourse (Lowe, Just, Flynn 2000). Thus, within the farmers' community and even the wider farming network divergence about policy instruments is likely (Heinze, Voelzkow 1993). In addition, the institutional structure of the Common Agricultural Policy process has been identified as a major reason for the continuation rather than a change of policies (Daugbjerg 1999). Hence, agricultural policy change was regularly

enforced by external pressure, including budget constraints or international conflicts, if these were supported by public pressure.

4.3 European Rural Development Policies and Evaluation

Traditionally, the European Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) concentrated on market and price policy due to the historic context of lack of agricultural production in the 1950's. The European Rural Development Policies, known as the Second Pillar of the CAP, comprises a set of rather divers policy instruments, such as socio-structural measures for the farming sector (e.g. investment support, professional training, pre-pension schemes and aid to young farmers), agri-environmental, land management, and territorial measures, of which LEADER is the most commonly used one. It has evolved over a period of almost three decades in response to changing conditions and policy priorities, the enlargement of the EU, and the emergence of new policy issues, such as the environment and food safety policies (Tracy 2000).

Although some measures are added on to conventional agricultural market support, in political and also academic debates the development of the Second Pillar also stands for a general policy shift towards a new 'multifunctional' agricultural policy paradigm (Josling 2002) or new rural development paradigm (OECD 2006). In 1996 the Commission organized the European Conference on Rural Development in Cork. The declaration of this conference emphasized the need for an integrated, multi-sectoral, bottom-up approach and for the diversification in the agricultural sector. Further objectives of rural development were simplification, sustainability, the strengthening of partnership as well as program planning, and subsidiarity (European Commission 2004). Hence, the declaration of Cork set the course for the future development of the European rural policy. The fact that it developed very slowly and that the agricultural Council regularly downsized moves by the EU Commission towards a strengthening of the second pillar, both indicate the strength of the established agricultural policy network (Lowe, Baldock 2000).

Unlike Agricultural market policies since the 1988's reform of European structural funds, Rural Development measures follow the principles of partnership between the Commission and all relevant authorities at national and/or regional level (Tracy 1997, Malek 2002). The Agenda 2000, which was launched in 1999, integrated the rural development into single stand-alone part of the CAP, as known as the Second Pillar. All measures, which have been developed during the last decades, were integrated into one policy package, the regulation 1257/99 (Ahner 2002). Rural development also represents a different style of policy making for the agricultural sector. One consequence of the partnership approach is that Rural Development measures are co-financed. They also require rather complex processes of program planning as well as monitoring and evaluation. Member States and regions are responsible for developing and implementing rural development plans. Evaluations serve as a means to control program planning as well as implementation, but also as an information tool for the further Policy Development.

In order to understand evaluation utilization inside the Commission it is helpful to look at the origins of evaluation. The European Structural Funds (and hence the rural development measures financed by the EAGGF Guidance) have played an important role in developing and enhancing the evaluation practices in European policies. Evaluation was introduced into European policies based on the background of expanded competences and an increased budget of the EU during the 1980's and 1990's and at the same time emerging 'questions concerning democratic accountability and value for money of European level programs ... in the member states' and by the European Parliament as well as the Court of Auditors (Bauer 2006).

'... in regard to evaluation matters, the Commission itself is perhaps being pushed more than it is pushing. In respect to implementation results, one only has to remember information requests from the Council, the European Parliament, the Court of Auditors and the interested public' (Bauer 2006).

Hence, evaluation projects started within the Structural Funds in the framework of the Integrated Mediterranean Programs. These pilot projects ‘served as a basis for developing a much wider activity of joint EU-national evaluations’ (Leeuw 2004). As a result, the reform of the Structural Funds 1988 regulated that all measures financed by the three Structural Funds had to be evaluated ex-ante and ex-post. During the 1990’s evaluation was expanded to all policy fields. In 1995 a reform of the Commission named ‘Sound and Efficient Financial Management 2000’ aimed at improving the financial regulation of the Commission and at integrating evaluation into all policies and programs (Willams, De Laat, Stern 2004). As a result, evaluation has also been expanded to all rural development measures within the framework of the Agenda 2000; from 2000 on all measures of the 2nd pillar had to be evaluated (Office for Official Publications 1999).

The EU Commission’s proposal presented in July 2004 represents a continuation yet also a formalization of the former trajectories in many ways. While rural development measures before were financed through European Structural and Agricultural Guarantee Funds, the proposal suggested the creation of a single European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and thereby also formally defining the rural development as an autonomous policy package. A second element of the formalization of rural development policies is the strategic approach, which demands the formulation of rural development strategies on the European as well as on the Member State and regional level.

Regarding the suggested measures the novelty is limited. Some new measures were suggested, from which the integration of environmental schemes for the forestry may be the most noteworthy, while existing measures are continued and only slightly modified in some cases. A formally more substantial suggestion was the definition of four axes: ‘(agricultural) competitiveness’, ‘improving the environment and the countryside’, ‘diversification and quality of life’ and ‘Leader’. The former three axes evolved out of a terminology that has been used for the comparative analysis of rural development schemes in earlier funding periods. Accordingly, the main intention of the axis definition is the balancing of financial resources between the different objectives, since the Member States

used the rural development money in various ways. The fourth horizontal axis represents the idea of mainstreaming the LEADER community initiative. LEADER is a European integrated rural development program. It focuses less on particular measures, but intends to facilitate local public-private partnerships to develop and implement area-based local development strategies.

Because of the relative planning autonomy of Member States and regions, the uptake of policy measures has been rather diverse (Buller, Wilson, Höll 2000). This only partly reflects diverse structural conditions and regional problems. In particular, agri-environmental measures have not been sufficiently implemented in many regions. That is why the Commission suggested a minimum coverage of 15 percent for the axis 'competition' and 'diversification and quality of life' and of 25 percent for the axis 'improving the environment and the countryside'.

The new rural development regulation also emphasizes permanent monitoring and evaluation procedures. This includes the definition of indicators for rural development plans and the further development of the evaluation system towards an ongoing evaluation process. Besides annual progress reports, already existing ex-ante, mid-term and ex-post evaluations have been upgraded in their relevance. Furthermore, for the first time the Commission itself articulates to provide training and information for evaluators as well as establishing the evaluation network.

In the Council the Commission's proposal was amended only slightly. The major change regarded the minimum coverage of the axes. There were strong discussions about this issue which led to a reduction to 10% for axis 1 and 3 while the minimum coverage for axis 2 remained at 25%.

4.4 Making of EAFRD

This explorative study has been undertaken in August and September 2004 shortly after the proposal of the Commission has been published during an internship at an office of a German Federal State in Brussels. The research is

part of a wider research about the institutionalisation and evaluation practices in European rural policies.

It is primarily based on the analysis of policy documents, a text analysis of a set of 13 in depth interviews, that have been recorded and transcribed, and further interviews with various actors taking part in the process at different levels, from which minutes were written from memory. Interviews were considered to be the most efficient way to learn about the internal practices of DG Agriculture with regard to evaluation utilization. Furthermore, the analysis of in-depth interview transcripts allows connecting these practices to the guiding interpretative schemes of officials.

Most of the in-depth interviews were held with officials of the Directorate-General for Agriculture (4) and other General Directorates (4), whom either have been involved in the decision-making process or deal with evaluation. Also representatives of important interest groups (COPA-COGECA, WWF, EURONATUR) have been interviewed about their involvement into the process and their assessment of the proposal. Additionally, a representative of a consultancy, which has been working for the DG Agriculture and also as a contractor, and a representative of a Member State, has been interviewed to get some additional outsider perspectives. At the time of the interviews the final decision about the proposal was not known, and even public statements of interest groups, Member States and academics had not been published.

The selection of interviewees inside the Commission has partly been purposeful, and partly been influenced by the individual access to the research field. The selection was oriented to the internal organisation of DG Agriculture, and the nature of the decision making process, which will be outlined below. At the time of the research, three ‘directions’ (departments) of DG Agriculture have been primarily involved in the administration of the second pillar measures. There are two types of officials primarily dealing with evaluations. The ‘country desks’, as they are called, in Direction E manage the administration of the rural development programs (RDPs) of Member States or the regions. Since some

Member States have more than one, e.g. Germany alone has 14 RDPs due to its federal structure, officials manage two or three RDPs. Evaluation is an important, yet still uses a substantial amount of time, which can be attributed to a small activity in the administration of the RDPs. Direction F is functionally organised and oriented towards “horizontal aspects of rural development”, which includes organic farming or environment concerns. The sub-units are also dealing with evaluations in so far their policy field is concerned. However, the rural development measures are only a part of the activities in those areas. The design of evaluation measures is the task of a small unit in Direction G, which at the time of the study comprised of two officials, that deals with many other issues. This unit also serves in the internal language as “help desk” for the “country desks”, but also program administrations of Member States and regions. The interviewed officials from DG work in the departments/units mentioned before.

Other DGs, such as the DGs Fisheries and Maritime Affairs, Economics and Financial Affairs, and Regional Policy, have also been involved in the decision making process, since their activities or interests are affected by the rural development measures. Three in-depth interviews were held with officials from DG Budget, and an interview with one representative of DG Economy and Finances, since it is responsible for the coordination and implementation of evaluation activities inside the Commission.

The number of in-depth interviews may be considered as small. This is partly due to the fact that the relevant units themselves and thus the relevant sample is very small. Given the problem of access to the research field additional information was gathered by less formal interviews with additional actors including officials at the country desks and/or from outside of the DG Agriculture (DGs, Parliament, Governmental Offices). Both added information, in particular, to the experiences of the implementation of evaluation in different countries and the external view on rural policies.

It is not impossible, but difficult to make in-depth interviews with officials in the Commission. Time constraints of the officials, who have to deal with many requests from the outside, are important. However, also recording is a very sensitive issue. It is normal that officials' personal opinions may differ from official statements of the directorate, but this may cause confusion in public. Many personal judgements therefore have been made "off the record" or "not for citation". Such interviews require a basic level of trust. Personal contacts of course help. We found that the EU officials, as well as other experts and lobbyists in Brussels are often engaged in national networks, which are important for information exchange in the very complex institutional setting of European politics, but also to manage private life. On a professional level those networks are also important to integrate inflow and outflow of experts and officials, which come to Brussels as national or regional representatives for a period of time or just in the context of single meetings or events. Those networks are retained through a stream of meetings, seminars and official receptions (see for a more detailed account Stevens and Stevens 2001, pp. 130 (Stevens, Stevens 2001)). In our case the access point was a regulars' table of German "agriculturalist", an open network, where German EU, national and regional officials, and others join to make contacts, since most officials interviewed were German. This reflects to certain extent the fragmentation inside of the Commission following nationalities, and may induce a bias to our findings with regard to administrative culture.

There is only little evidence about the culture of the European Commission itself. It has been argued that the European Commission does not represent a cohesive culture, but a plethora of competing cultures constructed around nationality and language, but also around departmental identities (Cini 2001). With regard to administrative practices the European policy-making is described as a rather peculiar system of networking and bargaining (Bach 1999, Christiansen 2001, Stevens and Stevens 2001). Thus, our findings may be valuable with regard to departmental identities and decision-making inside of the administration. To assess the impact of national identities further research is

required. Contrary to most of the research dealing with the Commission, we are not concerned with the top levels of the hierarchy, but the working levels ‘on the ground’. In the following we, first, take a look at the structural and conceptual framing of the decision making process. Second, we focus on the EU Commission and Member State relationship with each other as the core governance problem, in which program evaluations constitute a central element.

4.4.1 Framing the process

The process of the formulation of EAFRD took place in a period of about 7 months starting in December 2003 and finally ending on 14 July 2004. In December 2003 the Commission decided to use the mid-term review for the reformulation of main policies for the period 2007 until 2013. The timing of process was seen as a ‘surprise’ for many of the interviewed officials. And there was some speculation ‘not for citation’ about the motives, why the previous commission wanted to go through all the reforms, before the election of the new commission in 2005. A practical consequence of this decision was an enormous time pressure on the decision making process. Some interviewees also suggested that officials in DG Agri seemed to be uncertain about the way to proceed.

‘Our impression was that at the beginning the DG Agri did not know the way to go’
(DG ECFIN).

For the rural development policy a new tool called ‘Extended Impact Assessment’ was implemented, which was launched in 2002 by the Commission to improve the quality and coherence of the policy development process (European Commission 2004). The Extended Impact Assessment defines procedural rules for the ‘Inter Service consultations’ of the leading General Directorate, in this case the DG Agri (agriculture), with other Directorates, whose policies are affected by the policy area under review. For instance the DG’s Budget, Economics and Finance, Regional Development, Environment and Fisheries have been involved in consultations. The main idea of this tool is to define and compare the alternative policy options (European Commission 2004) (European Commission 2004a). In addition to the consultation inside of

the Commission, external consultations with the stakeholders of rural development were also foreseen. In order to cope with the procedural requirements the DG Agri has internally created seven working groups, which prepared working papers for internal and external consultations. A final summarizing working paper formed the basis for the final extended impact assessment report as well as for the formulation of the new rural development regulation. The application of the Extended Impact Assessment tool in a comparatively short period of time put some pressure on the decision making process. Since it not only demanded to assess policy options, but also to develop a new policy framework at the same time.

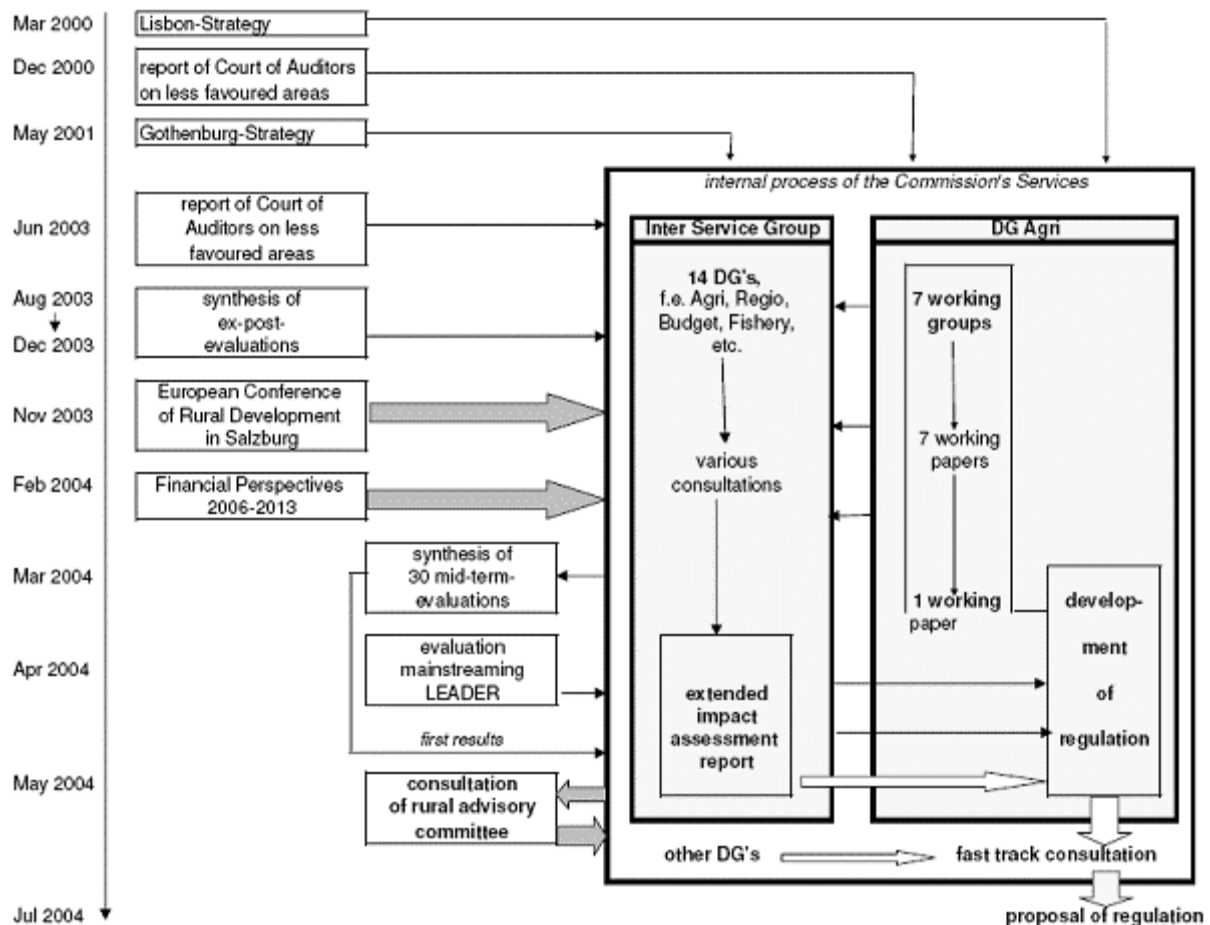


figure 1: process frame

The whole process is illustrated in figure 1. The timeline is from top to the bottom (grey boxes), and it illustrates which evaluation and main reports have been fed into the process and at what stage of the process. In the beginning the

process was conceptually evidently framed in at least two ways. First, the Rural Development Policies had to be related to general EU policy strategy papers and agreements. As a result, the Extended Impact Assessment and the interviewees inside of the EU Commission continuously referred to the Lisbon strategy that is outlining a perspective of a competitive Europe and the Gothenburg Strategy, which is stressing the idea of sustainable development. An explicit formulation of the objectives for rural development can already be found in a consultation document which covers the financial perspectives published in February 2004 (European Commission 2005). According to the governance guidelines, the integration of all measures into a single fund is also explicitly mentioned. The European Conference on Rural Development, which was held in November 2003, was also used as an important conceptual frame in at least two respects. The idea for the mainstreaming of LEADER approach was explicitly presented as an outcome of the Salzburg conference. As a response to that DG Agri commissioned an external expertise concerning practical implications, expertise was finalized in April 2004 suggesting that the mainstreaming of LEADER is applicable and feasible for rural development issues (Tödtling-Schönhofer, Lukesch 2004). In addition, the Salzburg conference stressed the ‘buzz word of simplification’ (DG Agri 1). ‘A significant simplification of EU rural development policy is both necessary and urgent’ (European Commission 2004). Finally, an important source, which DG Agri also focused attention to, is the European Court of Auditors, which in a number of publications critically examined the subsidies for less favoured areas (Court of Auditors 2003) or the agri-environmental schemes (Court of Auditors 2000). It criticized, in line with the European Parliament, the lack of information regarding measures and program impacts. This had strong influence on the development of a continuous monitoring and evaluation process.

A complication resulted from the fact that the synthesis of the national mid-term evaluation reports of the recent rural development program was not available in time, although it was supposed to be a central document for assessment process. At the end of 2003 the Member States had to finalize their national mid-term

evaluation reports and to send it to the Commission, which then should invite tenders for the synthesis. This process, according to the interview statements, takes at least six months. As it was obvious that the results of the synthesis could not have been used for the Extended Impact Assessment a preliminary synthesis of 30 evaluation reports was commissioned by the DG Agri in March 2004. First results of this synthesis were provided by the evaluators in May 2004 which could then be integrated into the process (EPEC 2004). Thus, these evaluations, which have been formally recognized in the process, consist of existing evaluations of earlier program periods (i.e. of regulations 950/97 and 951/97) and some other internal documentations and studies. Although some interviewees argued that individuals inside of DG Agri also had access to the Member States mid-term evaluations, still the mid-term evaluations were primarily based on information of the first two program years, and could hardly showed any program effects.

The stakeholder consultation as the last step of the Extended Impact Assessment took place in May 2004, after the new regulation was formulated. Again the Commission's regulations require consultations among the affected DGs. Given the time pressure, the formal presentation of the rural development regulation could only be achieved by applying a procedure known as 'fast track' procedure, in which consultations are timely limited.

Time constraints clearly shaped the decision making process. It put the emphasis on the use of information that has been already available. Actual program evaluations could hardly feed into the decision making process. However, the Extended Impact Assessment Working paper refers to evaluations explicitly in two ways. 'One of the messages coming out of the mid-term review evaluations of the current generation of RD programs tends to be that many programs lack focus and a clear strategy and tend to be a collection of (too many) measures without much coherence between the measures' (European Commission 2004a). The strategic approach is presented as a more or less direct conclusion out of this. Later in the document a number of 'key messages of rural development evaluations' is listed without any reference. The messages are referred to only

very generally (European Commission 2004a). The impact assessment itself is focussing mainly on alternative allocations of funds to the different main axes, program management and monitoring. There is no discussion concerning exclusion or inclusion or modification of single measures. Even the inclusion of forestry measures, which became part of the proposal, is not mentioned at all.

The time and the presented conceptual frames of the process seemed to us to be very tight and limiting at first sight. Indeed, the interviewees inside the DG Agri presented these 'facts' in a coherent way. However, other interviewees, of course, in particular those, who were critical regarding the final proposal, raised some doubt about this perception. Regarding the time frame and in particular the requirements of a 'fast track' procedure in the final stage, it was pointed out that other DGs managed their decision making problems in time. This may be due to 'bad organization'. Occasionally, it was also suggested that the DG Agri originally assumed that more time would be available. Although some interviewees hinted that DG Agri occasionally deliberately delayed the proceedings.

'I have seen it once or twice within DG Agri. When they know exactly it could raise difficulties; they set on the time factor. But they are not the only one. Others do the same thing.' (DG Budget 1)

Another indication that the strict framing of the process appeared to be particularly useful is the debate about the policy options included into the Extended Impact Assessment, which originally only included two policy options. Some DGs demanded a third, more radical alternative policy option, including a non-agricultural rural policy approach (Option Nr. 1).

'They never got into Option Number 1, although the other DGs wanted it. DG Budget wanted it, because money would have used more effectively in the non-agricultural sector. DG Information Society wanted it, for they wanted to create more IT – projects, and we supported it, because the funds would be used more efficiently. We formulated a document of 40 pages to support this position.' (DG ECFIN).

DG Agri initially refused this. Only at a later stage a third option 'a more territorial approach' was included and assessed on less than a page. Here, the problem perceptions inside the Commission are split. While inside DG Agri the perception dominated that DG Regio and others 'do not understand rural areas', some other DG's strongly pressed to 'overcome' the agrarian focus of rural development.

While evaluations may have played a role inside of DG Agri they clearly have not been communicated to any other actors involved.

'When I said that the proposal appeared from nowhere with a two days term, it does not mean that the Agri suddenly invented it. There was preparation. We only haven't seen anything from it' (DG Budget 2).

The DG Budget functions role in the decision making process should have been to check that the new regulation refers to evaluations and impact studies. Time constraints also influenced this function.

'... when a proposal arrives and the services have to comment on a proposal of 80 to 90 pages within three days, it is evident that they focus on relevant issues and they definitely can not dig deeper, in how far evaluation results have had any effect on the proposal' (DG Budget 1).

In sum, time pressure was considerable, however, there was also the impression that DG Agri attempted to keep as much control over the decision making process as possible. One argument for this might have been a kind of anticipatory obedience by DG Agri, knowing that an extremely radical approach would not have been of political approval by the Council. In some interviews, it was suggested that DG Agri was at the beginning also uncertain about the way to proceed and therefore avoided determination. However, a more competitive view among other DGs' officials was that DG Agri in face of the budget constraints and competition inside of the European Commission also followed a different, hidden agenda to keep the money in the agricultural sector.

4.4.2 Steering or control?

By its origin, evaluation in the EU is more a control instrument than a tool for policy learning and empowerment (Batterbury 2006). It reflects distrust among European Member States as well as a particular structural problem of a central governmental body in relation to the Member States. The EU Commission finds itself in a double bind situation. On the one hand, evaluation is important to legitimize the European budget and European policies in front of Member States in a multi-lateral relationship that is reluctant to pay. On the other hand, it is a bi-lateral relationships tool to monitor the same Member States, which decide on the budget, in order to enforce implementation improvements.

The usefulness of evaluation reports for the EU Commission suffers from a fundamental problem. On the one side, in order to reflect local diversity and to be useful on the Member State level, evaluation reports are supposed to be flexible with regard to the applied methodology and their thematic focus. On the other side, requirements to process information on the European level mean a strong move towards standardization. Inside of the Commission, this is reflected in the, as we call it, 'indicator problem'. It derives from the requirement to create a synthesis report out of national and regional evaluations. Foremost, those units, which have to generate a synthesis, demanded standardized indicators mostly for pragmatic reasons. However, among the EU Commission the views on this issue were rather diverse. Thus, evaluation is mostly seen as a programming tool for the Member States and only secondary as a mechanism in the decision making process. Secondly, within the European decision making process the use of simple quantitative measures was perceived as problematic. In this sense, less standardized synthesis maintain a scope for interpretation, which favours the expertise of DG Agriculture.

The bi-lateral relationship between the Commission and the Member States shows many aspects of a principal-agent relationship, in which the principal lacks information about relevant information concerning program activities and outcomes on the ground. Practically, the Commission is 'blind' with regard to

project implementation and therefore, is desperately seeking reliable sources of information.

Program evaluation theoretically serves to decrease this information gap. Quite unanimously, however, it is considered to be a rather weak tool that forces Member States to justify their planning and implementation practises, but it does not allow for strong sanctions.

‘In this sense evaluation reports have in a way an impact on programs. But they do not have any impact on the funding’ (DG Budget 3).

In order to fulfil the information function, the quality of evaluation reports is perceived to be crucial. Unfortunately, the DG Agri is practically incapable of assessing the quality of the reports.

‘The geographical desks have to assess the reports. In doing so the content is not thoroughly examined though. Because of time constraints this cannot take place. Formal requirements are checked, for instance completeness. In the process is impossible to determine that a report is bad, if it is written in a professional manner.’
(DG Agri 4)

However, it is unlikely that the lack of resources attributed to evaluations and missing internal competences are addressed by the officials. Instead, the selection and qualification of evaluators are perceived to be crucial. Here, two major issues were addressed: the frequently being mediocre qualification and the lack of independence of the evaluators, which are selected by the Member States. Both aspects are supposed to contribute to a lack of substantial criticism on the evaluation reports. Even further, it seems that the Commission itself is uncertain about motivations and behaviour of Member States. Here, the self-image of the Commission and its perception of the Member States are important. With regard to evaluation the interviewees unanimously presented themselves, disregarding different opinions, when seeking the most rational choices. It appeared that (Max) Weber’s ideal type organization following the principle of rational administration has been fulfilled. Consequently, there was much

frustration over the little impact of their own good policies on the Member State level. The perception of Member States with regard to evaluation varied. Often a paternal view was expressed referring to a lack of 'evaluation culture' among many Member States and suggesting that the regions eventually will understand the use of evaluations.

'I think that evaluation will eventually make sense also to those who hesitate and waver' (DG Agri 2).

Some expressed an even stronger feeling showing a type of 'banana state republic' view. This more or less openly suggesting that Member States consider evaluation as an annoying duty and preferring to waste the Commission's money without any reporting,

'The manifold asserted claim for more flexibility practically means: Give us the money and let us do our business, but don't ask, dear COM!' (DG Agri 4).

Both views reflect partially the perceived weakness of the EU Commission to effectively influence Member States decisions, but also a rather technocratic view on evaluations. At least rhetorically it did not seem as if the EU Commission would have relationships with democracies that in one way or another have institutions to control governments (parliaments, court of auditors, etc.). Consequently, the evaluation procedures of the Commission do not try to relate to existing institutions on the Member State level. This is particularly surprising given the rather poor exploitation of evaluations results in the internal decision-making process inside of the Commission as described earlier.

4.5 Conclusions

In section 2, we have argued that policy evaluation can be understood as one particular aspect of the overall issue, how the European Commission manages knowledge and information. Simple models of evaluation utilization have already been questioned in the evaluation literature. However, this criticism is generally based on methodological concerns and the evaluator to client

relationship. Our findings suggest that in order to understand evaluation utilization in the EU Commission, we have to understand its organizational characteristics. Therefore, we have differentiated four analytical layers: structural moments that shape the processing and use of information; diverse cognitive schemes of the actors involved; power relations in the institutional setting; and power relations in the organizational environment. It has been suggested that organizational learning is the generation of institutional routines and regulations to collect, process and document personal knowledge. Starting from such premises, we can draw the following conclusions.

On a structural level, time constraints and the lack of competent officials administering the evaluation have been identified to be crucial for evaluation utilization inside of the Commission. Both issues primarily refer to the lack of resources attributed to this task. At the time of the research only two officials were partly working on evaluation issues on rural development. We are not aware, what the possibilities of EU Commission are in this regard, but there seems to be a disharmony between their own internal allocation of resources to those issues and the increasing evaluation requirements addressed to the Member States.

It is apparent that the competences of their own staff have not been questioned at all by anyone inside the Commission. This may partly be due to the fact that the development of evaluation criteria and quality standards is still unresolved. On the other hand, the information gap between the Commission and the Member States is fundamental. Strengthening the individual knowledge of the staff, however, finds its limitations in particular in the regular internal rotation of officials, which is applied as part of fraud regulations and which make it difficult to build personal expertise over a longer period of time. In this regard the establishment of an evaluation network as part of EAFRD, this appears to be a sensitive step to meet these structural constraints.

More surprisingly there has not been any reflection over the evaluability of the programs and, even more important, the constraints of Member States to utilize

evaluations. At least on a structural level it can be assumed that administration of Member States may face similar constraints as the EU Commission itself. Indeed, the problem perception as well as the understanding of institutional setting of rural development policies appeared to be under-complex. The notion of an existing or missing ‘evaluation culture’ has been dominantly used as an explanation for the perceived differences in the way and how evaluations are applied and utilized in Member States. The concept itself remained a black box. Evaluation is thus treated in a rather formal and technical manner. Consequently, differentiated strategic considerations about the improvement of evaluation utilization that take into account the involvement of parliaments, civil society, experts, and the wider public in the Member States are weakly developed.

Internally, it has become evident that DG Agri is competing with other DGs over the legitimate and dominant interpretation of rural development problems and the distribution of financial resources. In the studied case this came down to clash about the definition of alternatives. The internal procedures require that evaluations have to be taken into account. Internally, the same applies as with the EU – Member States relationship. Evaluation results are used strategically. Our results may also imply that the internal relationship of the EU Commission in the process of decision making are an under-estimated issue in institutional analysis of European policies that primarily focus on the decision making rules of the European Council. The Council only moderately changed DG Agri’s proposal on the Rural Development Regulation. This may be partially due to an anticipatory obedience, but such interpretation does underrate the complexity of decision making inside the Commission.

However, the design and the scope of our exploratory research show some substantial limitations. In so far we may raise, as we see it, under researched issues, but at this stage we can only draw preliminary conclusions. Nevertheless, in relation to the importance, which at least is given rhetorically to evaluation, striking information gaps and the lacking basic technical requirements (professional standards, training for evaluators, data bases, information rules)

can be observed. This implies that evaluation as institutional structure is still in the making. Or as one stakeholder formulated it:

‘I think further investment is needed into the capacity of countries and that would be quite dedication of resources at European and national level. So I think we are far from a qualitative judgement and we are even farther from learning from them to shape policy instruments.’ (WWF official).

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