

Marginalised groups of rural population

Marginalizované skupiny poľnohospodárskej populácie

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Abstract: The paper deals with the analysis of the typology of unemployed people in agriculture. Approximately 35–40% of people from this unemployment group have already no more chance to be reintegrated into the labour market. The analysis points to out the regional occurrence of this type of unemployment (less urbanised sub-mountain areas, stagnating and backward regions facing various processes of de-industrialisation, etc) and evaluates its wider socio-economic impacts. After 2000, the fragmentation of employment contracts in the corporative types of farms (agricultural co-operatives and companies) begins to appear in the agricultural sector. The category of seasonal agricultural workers with decreased labour and social protection begins to emerge as well. As a result of the strategy to cope with the situation, a certain self-supplying (subsistence farming) subculture was established in the Slovak rural areas to mitigate the difficult economic conditions of the rural households endangered by income deprivation, including the decreased purchasing power of rural population.

Key words: social marginalisation, exclusion, agricultural population, labour market, agrarian unemployment, seasonal employment, self-supplying (subsistence farms)

Abstrakt: Príspevok sa zaoberá typologickou analýzou nezamestnaných osôb z pôdohospodárstva. Približne 35–40 % z tejto skupiny nezamestnaných už nemá žiadnu šancu reintegrovať sa do trhu práce. Poukazuje na regionálne výskyt tejto nezamestnanosti (málo urbanizované podhorské oblasti, stagnujúce regióny, v ktorých dochádza k selektívnym procesom deindustrializácie, apod.) a hodnotí širšie sociálno-ekonomické dopady. Po roku 2000 sa v poľnohospodárstve začína vo zvýšenej miere prejavovať rozdrobovanie (fragmentácia) zamestnaneckých pomerov v korporatívnych organizáciách (poľnohospodárske družstvá a obchodné spoločnosti). Vynára sa kategória sezónnych poľnohospodárskych pracovníkov so zníženou pracovnou a sociálnou ochrannou. V sťažených ekonomických podmienkach vidieckych domácností ohrozených príjmovou depriváciou a pri zníženej kúpyschopnosti vidieckej populácie sa na slovenskom vidieku konštituovala určitá subkultúra samozásobiteľstva.

Kľúčové slova: sociálna marginalizácia, exklúzia, poľnohospodárska populácia, trh práce a agrárna nezamestnanosť, sezónna zamestnanosť, samozásobiteľstvo

For the Slovak Republic, the biggest economic and social problem is the high and persisting unemployment. The unemployment rate in the past few years oscillated around the level of 11% (in accordance with the ILO methodology, i.e. based on the sampling surveys on labour force) and it is one of the highest in the EU. The insufficient use of labour force decreases the potential for growth of the country and the long periods of unemployment erode human resources. With regard to the slow job creation rate, a substantial part of the unemployed population relies on extensive social security schemes and social benefits.

In rural areas, unemployment concentrates in the specific social categories (agricultural population is one of them), which are marginalised in the labour market or are excluded from the labour market at an increased rate.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As stated also by the reports of international organisations (World Bank 2002), Slovakia is characterised by very big regional differences in economic and

social development. These differences are identified as one of the critical points in the future development of the country. The inflow of foreign capital is not eliminating these regional disparities so far because it is allocated to the more economically and structurally developed regions in the first phases. The study continues to address some problems of rural areas which have been already pointed out by Blaas (1999), Blaas, Buchta (1995), Buchta (2000, 2003a, 2003b), Vavrejnova, Lupsik (2007), Moravčiková et al. (2007) and to some extent they were also presented in the special national and international conceptual and strategic documents (World Bank 2002; OECD 2002, 2004; ILO 2003).

According to Pašiak (Faltan et al. 1995), the issue of social marginality and social marginalisation is the best comprehensible in connection with social stratification and social deviation. Social marginalisation is related to social groups or social processes that are getting people at the margin of the society or social development. As such, these people become less important, less significant, and marginal. In this context, Pašiak identifies also socio-spatial marginality that is related to social issues of the territorial, regional, residential, and local marginality. These types of marginality are linked mostly to the spatial concept of social sphere and the spatial interpretation of social policy. The spatial aspect reflects the fact that the whole social space gets at the margin of social development and becomes marginal in the social development. Sometimes, sociology uses also the term "periphery" to name some of the similar social phenomena. The term "periphery" is very close to the term "social marginality". The spatial aspects of social marginalisation and exclusion (mostly in relation to the assessment of poverty in the regions of the Slovak Republic) were worked out by Michálek (2004).

This paper will consider marginalisation from the point of view of the position of persons in the labour market. Marginalisation in this sense means that people have a poor or even no access to the mainstream services and infrastructure, and they are left to the informal or occasional ways of production and exchange, outside the officially defined labour force and officially performed economic activities (Sirovátka 1997, 2004). Therefore, marginalisation on the labour market is most frequently and most reliably characterised as a long-term unemployment, repeated unemployment, as well as unsure and inadequately paid jobs. It concerns the absence or limitation of the participation of persons in the market competition in jobs.

The process of marginalisation in the labour market is regarded as adopting a marginal position that is

the consequence of the structure of opportunities in the labour market and its segmentation. It is also the consequence of selective processes in the labour market and the consequence of marginalisation due to certain discrimination. Marginalisation includes all persons that are excluded from the mainstream production and reproduction activities and due to the lack of resources or individual capacity; they will be pushed out to the margin or the periphery of the social system.

By the lack of jobs, by the financially disadvantaged jobs and the absence of better perspectives, the lowered aspiration level results in the resignation to implement labour activities. On the other hand, however, it could mean accepting even low paid jobs or activities in shadow economy. These persons can involve themselves in the society as a cheap and easy tasks performing labour force. By the so-called organised marginality, a tolerant cultural background is being created which is characteristic by the resignation to be involved in paid job and to achieve a higher social status. These persons seek life balance in performing activities that are characterised by simple manual work. This material form of existence of such people is more often related to urban areas while more significant opportunities for its expansion exist in rural areas.

The consequence of marginalisation for the persons who are influenced by this phenomenon is that they find themselves in the situation of general uncertainty. They feel the restricted access to the services and infrastructure of the society. They are more related to informal, non-standard or occasional short-term employment contracts. It is difficult to change this status for many marginalised persons with regard to their limited human capital and because of many such people operating in the labour force. It is difficult to change their social status also because the social networks of these people are formed by people with a similar life situation and the marginalisation is spread in their nuclear and wider family circles (Mareš 2002).

The most endangered group of people by marginalisation are the persons and social categories with a low human capital (mostly low level of education, insufficient or no qualification, but also with inadequate working habits, unable to meet the required flexibility, etc). Such understanding coincides, to some extent, with the concept of exclusion from the labour market, which is closely connected with social exclusion. The term social exclusion denotes a break-up or absence of social relations and the insufficient social participation (Sirovátka 2004).

The concept of exclusion is often criticized as being too vague and being overshadowed by numerous economic, social, political, and cultural contexts. It means the basic feature of the term social exclusion is that it is interpretatively unclear. Room (Room et al. 1991) draws an attention to the fact that the concept of social exclusion is not completely new and it copies in many ways the concept of poverty. There is a close connection between the concepts of poverty and social exclusion. On the other side, it is not possible to merge these two concepts. Kotýnková (2000) differentiates social exclusion from poverty. She links poverty to the exclusion of persons or groups of population from material sources, and social exclusion to the exclusion from social life with the possibility that there can be or need not be a mutual relation between them. The authors mostly point out that social exclusion cannot be reduced to poverty, because poverty is not often the only indication of social exclusion in spite of the fact that there is a certain connection between both phenomena. Therefore, social exclusion is a more complex phenomenon. One of the characteristics and conditions of social exclusion can also be poverty.

Generally speaking, exclusion is the opposite term to the term social solidarity and integration. Marginalisation in the labour market is the main form of the process of economic exclusion. It is a case when the social group is systematically disadvantaged in the labour market with a high probability of the culture of dependence on social benefits and social security schemes.

At present, some new trends and problems are emerging regarding social exclusion which are not sufficiently documented in the scientific literature so far (at least not in the Czech or Slovak Republic as Lošťák and Hudečková /2008/ show in the case of the Leader approach to social exclusion). The trends are for example (Buchta 2003):

- The number of seasonal workers and various forms of short-term employment contracts in agriculture increases. A substantial part of these persons combines contracts of the accomplishment of work carried out in addition to their employment contracts with various forms of social benefits, mostly with unemployment benefits.
- The marginalised social group of agrarian population emerges in Slovakia in the rural areas, mainly in the segment of unqualified seasonal agricultural workers or those qualified at a low level. This marginalisation has also its spatial dimensions and can

be found mainly in the economically disadvantaged and peripheral areas. It creates unequal chances and opportunities for rural population and in some of its segments it brings the danger of falling into the permanent social dependency on social benefits. In rural areas, there is a process of concentration of unemployment in certain social categories (agrarian population is one of them). They are marginalised in the labour market or are being excluded from it at a higher rate.

- Differentiated types of subsistence farms of unregistered natural persons operate in some remote rural areas. These activities of rural population can be considered as a certain “substitution and compensation” effect since they balance the decreased purchasing power of this population. Although there is no significant financial income from these activities (they increase their subsistence income), they help, at least partially, to minimize the income deprivation of the rural population. Thus, they create, to some extent, the “socially softening effect” which moderates social impacts of economic reforms.
- A considerable part of employees in agriculture and forestry (e.g. in 2007 the Labour Offices recorded 12.7 thousand persons from agricultural sector which represents cca 10% from the whole number of unemployed persons in Slovakia) coped with their social situation by combining employment and social benefits.

EMPIRICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PAPER

This paper is based on:

- Analysis of the marginalised social groups of agrarian population which is based on the quantified regionally aggregated data from the databases of the Centre of Labour, Social Affairs and Family, statistics of the Ministry of Agriculture, analytical documents, controlled interviews with local experts and stakeholders (management of local enterprises, etc),
- Analysis of statistical data, socio-economic indicators (on the NUTS IV level) cross-tabulated at regional level and their interpretation. The basic data source were regionally aggregated statistical data from the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic,
- Utilisation of some qualitative methods (controlled interviews, secondary analysis of the respective relevant documents, etc).

¹RUP – registered unemployed persons, registered at the Labour Office

LABOUR MARKET AND UNEMPLOYED AGRARIAN POPULATION

Number of the registered unemployed persons (further on RUP¹) in agriculture did not show an increase up to 1999 (situation at the end of the year). Starting from this year, it continually decreased with the exception of 2003 in which the number of these persons increased by more than 1 000 persons on a year-to-year basis. The same trend was displayed also in their share in the whole number of unemployed persons. The share of the long-term unemployed persons (they are in the records of the unemployed persons for more than one year) was 60.7% in 2006 and it was the second highest share (after public administration).

The unemployed population from this sector is divided into three groups

1. The core group of long-term unemployed persons (mainly the category of auxiliary and unqualified workers with a low re-qualification flexibility) the re-integration of which into the labour market decreased very much and who are, in fact, unemployable in the labour market even if the labour demand is high. According to the qualified analyses, 35–45% of unemployed persons from the average yearly number of the RUP are from the group of agricultural workers.
2. The group of cyclically rotating workers who circulate between the short-term seasonal employment in agriculture and forestry (or in the auxiliary and unqualified jobs in the services sector, in the community service) and repeated registrations at the Labour Office. This segment is estimated to achieve approximately 40–45% of the average yearly number of RUP in agriculture.
3. The part of the RUP that is being relatively successfully re-integrated in the labour market and having the real chance to get an appropriate long-term employment, possibly re-qualification trainings for certain types of jobs and leaves the registrations at the Labour Office in the long run. It represents only 10–25% from the average yearly number of RUP in agriculture.

From the point of view of the development of defined proportions of this social group of the unemployed persons (up to 2010), we assume a gradual decrease and shrinkage of the group of people employable with difficulties and of the successfully reintegrating persons and, on the other side, an increase of the number of persons cyclically circulating between seasonal jobs and unemployment. In the long term, the highest absolute numbers of RUP in agriculture

appear in the agriculturally productive districts of Southern and South-Eastern Slovakia.

If looking into the spatially aggregated districts in which a significant role plays the group of RUP in agriculture, the districts can be divided into three regional types (they are almost identical with the highest territorial concentration of farms of the unregistered physical persons /subsistence farms/ which indicates an increased outflow of these persons to these activities):

- Traditionally agrarian, less urbanised districts without the developed economic infrastructure and with long term agricultural activities of the rural population, typical for the mountain and sub-mountain areas
- Districts typical by a rapid post-war industrialisation and currently facing the economic structural adjustment with the strong tradition of private agriculture and characterised by the so-called secluded settlements in the form of weekned houses. It is a case of the underdeveloped, problematic and stagnating regions with the evident decay of old industrial branches in which there are present various processes of de-industrialisation,
- Districts of Southern and South-Eastern Slovakia, which are productive in the terms of agriculture.

According to Mareš (2002), the marginalisation of long-term or permanently unemployed persons, including persons with periods of unemployment and periods of low-paid employment and routine work in non-standard working conditions (connected with what is euphemistically called flexible labour force), is a threat to the society not only because casting doubt on the work ethics, social tensions, an undesirable deprivation of some segments of population but also because of the social costs for the state which could deepen its financial crisis. The marginalised agrarian population is getting into this situation and it is endangered by the potential push into the excluded social positions. Consequently, such population becomes more dependent on the redistribution of funds that is not sufficient to achieve the usual living standard.

Pressure on the flexibility of employment relations and the cost-effective type of employment in agriculture

The high potential of agrarian employment has been already run out to some extent (although the process of decreasing employment will be going on, but by a lower rate) in the regions with high unemployment in agricultural sector. The utilisation of possibilities

for short-term employment contracts for seasonal work will be more frequently used. In some cases, the change of employment status to a status of self-employment, using which the employer will ensure time limited contractual labour force in accordance with his/her needs. On the contrary, certain reserves in the decreasing number of employees (solved by leaving the employees to the records of the Labour Offices) will be shown mainly in agricultural co-operatives, which behave “quite socially” in this respect. In the past, they were typical by the decreased number of their employees using the method of natural leaving (retiring, self-imposed leaving) together with hiring no new young employees².

Thus, the cost effective type of employment of agricultural workers (repeatedly using the already tested labour force reservoir) is coming forth due to the fragmentation of employment through short-term employment contracts (mostly implemented by the means of the so-called agreements on work accomplishment³) without social protection of the given workers having a negative impact on the level of their retirement pensions.

Based on the analytical surveys, it is evident that the employment patterns are changing, the scale and variety of employment contracts is widening. New forms of jobs are bringing opportunities as well as risks connected primarily with the danger of a lower social and employment protection of the dependent employees. The missing protection results predominantly in negative consequences for seasonal agricultural workers and their families. At the same time, the absence of the rights of the workers or of

some sort of guarantees can be negative even for the interests of the enterprise itself and it can adversely influence macroeconomic indicators in general (e.g. the economic and social impacts – the decrease of social security payments, taxes, increased demand for social transfers, increased risks for social marginalisation and exclusion, etc).

Along with the traditional full-time employees, the employers are inclined more and more to hire employees in the ways enabling them to utilise the services that are “the most rational and the most effective” from their point of view. Many businesses in agricultural sector organise their working activities in such a way as to use their employees in a more diversified and selective way, including various types of contracts, decentralisation of activities down to subcontractors or self-employed workers. A widespread form consists in the pressure of agricultural employers on a part of their permanent employees to change their full-time status to the status of a self-employed person. A sort of “conversion” from full-time employment to self-employment can be observed. These persons are formally self-employed but economically they are dependent (regarding their income) on one person or organisation they work for as subcontracted self-employed businesspersons. In fact, they work for the same employer as before but they have no more any employment contract. The nature of providing this kind of work or services becomes ambiguous and its social acceptance is disputable.

The new “dictate of flexibility” requires the businesses to develop less long-term employment contracts, diminishing the number of the key employees

²In spite of the fact that the decrease of labour force in agriculture of the Slovak Republic was the second highest among the V4 countries (the group of four Central European countries – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia – founded for the purposes of cooperation and furthering their European integration) after Poland in the period of 1989–1998 (OECD 2002, 2004), there is still a significant potential of a further decrease of unemployment. Generally, such an opinion prevails that a more dynamic creation of work positions in the service sector is needed to absorb workers from the agricultural sector. However, there is also the criticism and rejection of the “employer salvage” of the service sector pointing out to the enormous heterogeneity of professions in services and to the fact that the new technologies are integrated into the contemporary branches and replace it only to the minimum extent. Some authors (Loudin 2000) assume that the application of new technologies and the emergence of new professions in the service sector could, on the contrary, lead to a further decrease of the qualification of workers (de-skilling) and could create a “new type of non-qualification” from the side of these persons resulting in getting shallow, indolent and narrowing views on the complicate social problems. The qualification and professional structure of this part of the unemployed persons is defined by the basic education and vocational education. Together with the language barriers (typical for the older agrarian population of the Southern and Eastern regions of the country), the decisive part of this group of the unemployed persons is disqualified from finding jobs in the domestic labour market because of the demanded professions and labour force requirements. On the other hand, it is evident that work motivation related to this type of the marginalised agrarian population is weak and its requalification flexibility is low, not only in the services “demanding interactions”, but also in the subcontractor work activities demanding a simple but precise work in the assembly lines production (the syndrome of “stiff hands”).

³Agreement on work accomplishment is a contract between an employer and a person who is paid after he/she finishes the work agreed upon.

of the company and increasing the number of the external occasional contracts. In such a way, the employers gain more power over the employees in the labour market. For instance, they have a pure pragmatic reason to limit the life long learning (e.g. the future development of skills through training) supported by them only for the key employees. The employees with a low or inadequate qualification are gradually pushed out to the secondary labour market. The group of agricultural employees which belonged to the “winners” back in 1990 (the average salary in agricultural sector in that year exceeded the average salary in the national economy by 11.2% and the number of employees highly exceeded 300 thousand persons) are now in the group of the “losers” after the transformation of the society (in 2003 their number decreased to 59.1 thousands persons and their average salary was lower by 28.2% than the average in the national economy of the Slovak Republic).

The deepening social differentiation can also result in the increasing trends of the majority of the population to refuse solidarity with the marginalised agrarian population (the perception of the marginalised persons as a result of their own characteristics, e.g. such features as the unwillingness to make sacrifices or to invest into their own human capital, the decreased disposition to adopt the new conditions and the insufficiently active approach to own personal development, etc). On the other hand, such situation of the marginalised population can lead to refusing the norms and values of the majority society. Some smaller companies consist only of the management while the production activities are carried out by subcontractors, independent workers (tradesmen) and seasonal workers whose employment is based on the contracts of accomplishment of work, possibly also of the illegally employed persons for goods or services in-kind. These forms will reflect the increasing pressure on productivity and competitiveness of agricultural producers, too.

Companies with the prevailing employment contracts, which are established for an undefined contracting period, find themselves at a competitiveness disadvantage compared to those farms that behave cost-effectively and insure their activities by the means of subcontractors and short-term employment contracts without social security payments.

Under the circumstances of the state budget deficit as well as the shortage of the resources in the social security funds (predominantly in retirement fund); such employers' behaviour is socially risky. Such an approach is also in contradiction with the long-term interests of the employee himself/herself. In a situa-

tion of intensifying competitive environment, mainly agricultural corporative businesses will be utilising the indicated forms of decreasing costs with a negative social impact on the agrarian population in an increased extent. The rapidly evolving conditions in the labour market require, to some extent, an increase of flexibility, the number of short-term employment contracts and non-standard employment contracts. The authors consider it important that this process leads to the creation of a socially accepted consensus (between employers and employees, etc).

Economic and social consequences of the missing employment and inadequate social protection

Economic consequences

- The decrease of the volumes of social payments to the respective funds, and thus also the shortage of these funds (e.g. social and health care funds)
- Cost-effective employment of workers in agricultural results in the increased cyclical unemployment, the decrease of paid taxes and the increase of state expenses for social benefits and transfers (unemployment benefits, social benefits, etc)
- The increase of financial and personal costs of the group of seasonally unemployed persons
- The decrease of purchasing power and the drop of consumer demand with the obvious outcomes when this deprived social group starts to search for income in shadow economy, etc

Social consequences

- The increase of the number of households at the risk of income and material deprivation (possibly threatened by income insufficiency) and thus also by the requirements for social transfers
- The drop of the standard of living and deterioration of social situation, preservation of the permanent, fatal culture of dependence on social benefits
- Negative impact on the level of old age pensions because the period of unemployment (although an unemployed person receives unemployment benefits) is not included in the total number of years of employment needed for the calculation of the pension – the state pays only health care insurance during the unemployment period
- The increase of the risk of social marginalisation and exclusion, a low social participation, inadequate social interactions, the absence of social protection
- The decreased disposition to adapt to new conditions, limiting personal development as the principal activation and developmental factor

- A lower chance of the access to social institutions disposing of the possibility to change their living conditions and social situation

Social effect of self-supplying (subsistence) farms

Under the conditions of high unemployment, a relatively high number of economically inactive population (mainly in rural areas), mostly living in small rural settlements with the fragmented land ownership, with the decreased purchasing power of rural population and increased costs of living, the development of subsistence farms comes as a meaningful and logical reaction of the rural population.

If looking from the regional point of view, the highest concentration of these farms was affected by the following facts:

- Continuous development based on the tradition passed from generation to generation that is in the long-term sustained in the areas where these activities survived during socialism and contributed to the rise of the standard of living of rural population. This type of the subsistence farms is typical predominantly for some mountain and foothill areas of Slovakia and for the productive areas of Southern Slovakia.
- In those regions in which employment was based on a dominant employer (usually big industrial companies affected by industrial conversion), an increased occurrence of subsistence farms begins to come up after the bankruptcy of these regionally important businesses. It is a form of the “strategy of retreat”, possibly the “rescue version” reacting to the lack of paid work or the unemployment stigma and it is permanently connected also with the population in the economically active age.
- The third type of subsistence farms cannot be univocally regionally definable. This form is represented in many rural regions in various scopes. It can be characterised by individual personal characteristics of physical persons operating a farm (for example subsistence farms of the rural population of the retirement age, single pensioners with the help of their family members, various types of combinations of the relatively stable employment status of one of the members of the household connected with the self-supplying activities, a part-time farmer who works in the factory during the day and in the evenings and weekends he/she operates his/her own fields or backyard, etc).
- A specific type of self-supplying is linked to the so-called secondary housing. The development after

the World War II. resulted in certain Slovak (and also Czech) specificity, i.e. a significant part of the population owns a cottage or a weekend house in rural areas. In the course of generations, an emotional tie is being created and a certain part of the urban population finds here their life realisation and partly also the possibilities of self-supplying (predominantly by crop commodities or fruits and vegetables).

Generalisation of the analytical data and information suggest that a phenomenon of subsistence farms creates in rural areas the following phenomena:

- A social bumper, possibly softening the system, mainly in the case of households endangered by income deprivation often multiplied by the risk of unemployment or an increased socio-economic threat of the population of economically active age
- It responds to a lowered standard of living of the rural population, mainly the retirement age group of the population or other groups at social risk
- It takes part in the creation of a sort of retreat strategy of seeking alternative means of living not only in the case of directly endangered social groups, but it also helps to create certain subjective defence mechanisms which understand these activities as a sort of an alternative or equivalent employment (e.g. in the case of a housewife, etc)

In Slovak rural areas, a certain subculture of self-supplying was constituted (subsistence farms) in the last two decades of the 20th century. It is typical by relatively closed local social networks with residues of various strong rural atavisms in the sense of the memory of generations. Rural population (with regard to the decreased purchasing power) that is differentially linked to self-supplying activities helps itself to maintain a certain standard of living by the means of producing some commodities for its own consumption. It meets the needs of certain members of the wider family network. In some cases, they sell the rest of the commodities out of the family. In such a way, the income of the rural households is being partly moderated or neutralised. The available empirical data indicate that the extent of the subsistence farms was stabilised at a certain level after the previous moderate growth. Nowadays, certain structural and proportional development changes come into being and are heading towards the corresponding extensive development of these activities. Certain saturation is emerging and their future development will not be characterised by their further mass spreading.

CONCLUSION

Agrarian population was pushed to the secondary market by the market economy.⁴ For some social groups, it resulted in social stigma and they experienced an anomaly in their downward mobility as for their status (mainly in the social group of agrarian population that already, at the end of the 1990-ties, had used all the previously accumulated capital from the combined income in their legal employment and the individual /family/ farming). With regard to the increased unemployment of this population and the absence of additional income possibilities in the area in which they worked during their whole lives (and were professionally competent), the contemporary development does not enable them to improve their financial situation. An increased decline of vertical mobility is obvious in the proportions potentially endangering social solidarity. Their new status in the society is much more dependent on the status of an individual in the labour market and their human capital. The processes of social marginalisation and the potential threats of income and generation poverty are emerging among certain groups of agrarian population that gradually get in the secondary labour market. It can potentially result in the latent and apparent resistance against the majority of the society, its values and norms. "Among the marginalised members and persons from other social groups (ethnic groups) being excluded, there are tensions that could emerge as a result of competition for the limited state sources" (Potůček 2002). A certain part of the agrarian population that was pushed out to the long-term unemployment already in the past (predominantly the rural population in Southern and Eastern Slovakia) is, at the same time, characterised also by the growth of the social and ethnic exclusion. A significant social differentiation in the physical (housing segregation) and social (different way of the lifestyle characteristic by the culture of dependency on social benefits) space is emerging.

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⁴The theory of labour market segmentation distinguishes the primary market that is characterised by well paid and stable work positions with diversified types of work and career possibilities and the secondary labour market with low wages and salaries, unemployment risk, fragmented career and routine work without career possibilities. The barrier between the secondary and the primary labour market is very hard to overcome for most people (Mareš 1999).

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