Conceptualizing Post-Socialist Change In Croatian Countryside And Its Role In Discussing Possible Rural Futures

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P ≈ 4.28 million
A ≈ 56 000 sq km
D ≈ 78 inh./ sq km
Zagreb ≈ 690 000 inh.
ADRIATIC – LITTORAL CROATIA
ADRIATIC – LITTORAL CROATIA
ADRIATIC – LITTORAL CROATIA
LIKA - MOUNTAINOUS CROATIA
PLITVICE LAKES – MOUNTAINOUS CROATIA
SLAVONIA – EASTERN (PANONIAN) CROATIA
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The main anticipated result of the CRORURIS study

- A set of alternative future scenarios for Croatian rural areas
  - not “a crystal ball”
  - to encourage informed and evidence-based public debate on rural futures.
  - within the European context
The objectives of the CRORURIS scenario study

• to develop a **conceptual framework**
  – for understanding recent changes in rural Croatia by identifying current processes, main drivers of change and local responses;

• to develop **methodological framework**
  – for identifying predominant trends and key uncertainties, differentiating them geographically and projecting them forward using statistical modeling and Delphi method;

• to construct **alternative future scenarios**
  – and relate them to the context of rural Europe;

• to encourage and support **discussion**
  – about future of rural areas in academic, decision-making and public discourse.
Examples of well-known and influential future scenarios at the global scale

- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change – IPCC scenarios
- UNEP’s Global Environmental Outlook scenarios
- OECD Environmental Outlook
- ESPON spatial scenarios exploring trends and key mechanisms in relation to alternative territorial futures
Scenario studies specifically targeting rural areas in Europe

- **EURURALIS project (1.0, 2.0, and 3.0)**
  - aims at developing a discussion-oriented tool to support policy makers and stakeholders in discussions about the future of rural areas in the European Union

- **SCENAR 2020 and Scenar 2020-II**
  - Two sets of ‘drivers’ – assumed to influence the evolution of agriculture up to 2020.
  - Exogenous drivers – not expected to change substantially due to EU policy decisions
    - population growth, macro-economic growth, consumer preferences, agro-technology, environmental conditions, and world markets
  - Endogenous, or policy-related drivers,
    - EU agricultural policy, enlargement decisions and implementation, World Trade Organisation (WTO) and selected EU bilateral agreements, renewable energy policy, and environmental policy.
Alternative futures for rural England – a social geographic perspective (Lowe and Ward, 2009)

• Identifying predominant contemporary trends affecting rural areas and projected them forward by means of formal modeling.
• A set of three 20-year scenarios for the English countryside
• Started by constructing a rural typology
  – four dimensions: demography, economy, interactions between residential location and wider economy/society, and signs of rural symbolism.
Thinking about the future starts with understanding past and contemporary change

• Three periods in restructuring rural Croatia
  – Socialist – 1945-1990
  – Post-socialist transition – 1991-2013
  – Recent-after joining EU-2013-
Socialist period (1945-1991)

• Urban and industrial-based development of agriculture and rural areas
  – agricultural and industrial *kombinati*
  – discouraging family farming (laws, economy of scale)
• Strong demographic polarization
  – Urban (industry and later tourism) vs. Rural (agriculture)
• Depopulation and demographic ageing
• Nevertheless: agricultural self-sufficiency
  – capable of covering most of the foodstuff needs of the country, thanks to well-developed industrial and service sector
Strong deagrarization: transforming peasant to socialist society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Socio-economic structure of population</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953.</td>
<td>67,2</td>
<td>13,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991.</td>
<td>15,5</td>
<td>33,6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of farmers</th>
<th>Number of farmers – change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953.</td>
<td>2.219.716</td>
<td>- 1.810.069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991.</td>
<td>409.647</td>
<td>- 81,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Depopulation
(settlements)
Mountainous
Croatia 94.6%
Eastern
Croatia 81.7%
South
Croatian
Littoral 79.1%
North Croatian
Littoral 75.4%
Central
Croatia 82.3%
TOTAL 81.8%

Demographic change
1961-2001
(rural and periurban areas)

Index

0-50
50-100
100-150
150-250
250-500
500-

Depopulation
(settlements)

Mountainous
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Settlement Hierarchy

- Capital
- Macropregional C.
- Stronger Regional C.
- Weaker Regional C.
- Subregional C. (stronger, weaker)
- Area C.
- Local C.
Post-socialist transition – 1991-2013: exogenous and endogenous influences

- Change from planned to market economy
  - Privatization of national properties
- Liberalization and internationalization of agricultural market and economy
- National agricultural policy – polarization of agriculture
- Homeland War (1991-1995), mostly affecting rural areas
- Economic stagnation and deindustrialization
- Recession (2008-)


Post-socialist transition – 1991-2013

• The majority (99%) are family farms:
  – mostly small, fragmented, and semi-subsistent
• Almost 90% of the total amount of farms account for just 1/3 of agricultural land
• 1% of farms have more than 70 hectares and account for another third of agricultural land.
• Average age of family farm owner – 59,8
• Share of young family farm owners (35) – 4.5%
• Many family farms are not competitive or economically viable in either the medium or long-term perspective (UNDP, 2013 and Franić and Mikuš, 2013).
• High share of state-owned agricultural land (33%) – almost ¾ unutilized
Post-socialist period (1991-2013)

- Decrease in utilized agricultural land, increase in fallow land (more than 1 mil ha)
- Since 2001. more than 60.000 diary farms closed down
- In 2013. around 3.500 family farms closed down
- In 2013. food import – 2.7 mlrd US$, export 1.5 mlrd US$
- 2013/2014 – decrease in agricultural production around 10%
Demographic change
2001-2011
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Rural demographic patterns</th>
<th>Economic and agricultural market transformations and trends</th>
<th>Environmental and land-use change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Socialist – 1945-1990          | - Strong depopulation and ageing  
- Urban-rural and litoral-hinterland polarization                                     | - Deagarization  
- Industrialization of agriculture  
- Self-sufficiency                                                               | - Land abandonment due to deagrarization  
- Agro-technical measures for agricultural land improvement                      |
| Post-socialist transition – 1991-2013 | - Continuing emigration  
- Deepening disparities in regional and local development  
- Suburbanization reach its peak                                                  | - Polarization – family farms vs. agri-business  
- Reagerization  
- Decreasing of productivity and economic efficiency  
- Agricultural trade deficit                                                      | - Decrease in utilized agricultural land  
- Reforestation                                                                      |
| After joining EU – 2013-present | ?                                                                                         | ?                                                                                         | ?                                                                      |
Conceptualizing rural change: place-based approach in rural development

- “…it is intersection of globalization processes and regional contexts and capacities that produces particular impacts in specific regions” (DERREG, 2011)

- Rural is not a single, homogeneous entity. It takes many forms and the challenges that different areas face require intelligent, regionally targeted delivery responses.
  - (Brunori and Rossi, 2006; Halfacree, 2006; Cloke, 2006; OECD, 2006; Rienks, 2008; SCENAR 2020; Woods, 2005)
Conceptualizing rural change: place-based approach in rural development

• Rural areas do not exist in vacuum:
  – they should be viewed in their local and regional contexts, including the relationship between rural and urban areas.

• This also means bridging the gap:
  – between rural and regional development policies, as well as spatial land use and economic development plans and strategies (OECD, 2006).
Territorializing rural – typological approach

**KEY VARIABLES**

- topographic characteristics
- size, distribution, and population structure,
- demographic dynamics
- employment and commuting
- socio-economic struc.
- importance and structure of agriculture
- land use;
- functions and shape of housing
- household equipment,
- settlement centrality
- accessibility to settlements of higher centrality.
Typology of rural and urbanized settlements in Croatia

Types of rural and urbanized settlements:
- A - Dynamic, structurally stronger settlements
- B - Accessible, commuting dependent settlements
- C - Market oriented agricultural settlements
- D - Economically diversified, mainly tourist settlements
- E - Extensive agriculture and weaker demographic structure
- F - Rural periphery
- G - Other rural settlements
- Ghost settlements
- Urban

A. Lukić
Phase 1: Recognizing key drivers of change
- Rural demographic patterns
- Economic and agricultural market transformations and trends
- Environmental and land-use change.

Phase 2: Recognizing rural diversity
- Typological approach – cluster analysis
- Judgment on degree of influence of change drivers to type of rural area
- Modelling and DELPHI

Phase 3: Constructing alternative future scenarios
- Simulations of the model
- Developing scenario storylines
- Elaboration in the Croatian and EU context
- Comparison with conceptual framework and similar studies
Expected outcomes

- To encourage and support discussion about future of rural areas in academic, decision-making and public discourse
  - Creating web based GIS discussion tool “Rural Change in Croatia”
  - Preparing and publishing “The Atlas of Rural Change in Croatia”
  - Organizing workshop “What is the future of Rural Areas in Croatia?”
  - Preparing policy recommendations
Thank you for your attention!

CRORURIS 2030
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Rural Croatia

- Around 90% of the total area, 46% of the population
- **Small settlement** size and very **dispersed** structure
  - 36.6% of all settlements have less than 100 inhabitants
- **Unfavourable demographic, economic and social characteristics** of the Croatian countryside at the beginning of 21st century
  - Between 1961 and 2001, the population of more than 80% of all rural settlements was reduced, with half of them shrinking by at least 50%
  - 23.3% of people older than 60
  - Natural change rate -3.8‰
  - 54.2% of people with no or only elementary education
  - 70.2% settlements have no services (expect possibly small village shop)
  - Share of agricultural population -11% (5.5% in total population)