Lithuanian local action groups: spatial initiatives or mobilized potential for rural development?

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Abstract. The new paradigm of innovative, sustainable and inclusive rural development calls for the search of new forms and approaches that might be applicable to explain the on-going transformations in the knowledge age. New rural policy stresses the focus on bottom-up approach, self-organization and cooperation between territorial government and local community. This highlights the need to align innovative approaches with available policy instruments to accelerate rural development. Currently rural development initiators might vitalize their innovative ideas and mobilize followers by accessing the EU support scheme using LEADER programme through local action groups (LAGs). However, the geographical distribution and activeness of Lithuanian LAGs vary from region to region in terms of activeness and absorption of EU support and there are reasons behind. This study aims to explain the role of local action groups in innovative bottom-up rural development from a new social movement theory approach. It is argued in the study that LAGs hold a potential to drive innovative rural development in a form of a new social movement, which might specifically emerge in particular field due to the idea proposed by particular local community actors and their ability to mobilize resources. Finally, this study proposes insights for scientific discussion regarding the possibility to explain the reasons of LAGs disparities in the absorption of EU support from a new social movement approach.

Key words: rural development, new social movements, innovative initiatives, „bottom-up“ approach, local action groups (LAGs).

Reikšminiai žodžiai: kaimo vystymas, naujieji socialiniai judėjimai, inovatyvių iniciatyvų, „iš apačios į viršų“, vietos veiklos grupės (VVG).
Introduction

The paradigm of innovative, sustainable and inclusive rural development starts changing post-industrial rural regions worldwide. Ongoing transformations in rural societies imply both scientific community and politicians to look for new qualitative dimensions that could explain relevant changes and be applicable when proposing directions and tools for appropriate political decisions in the field. Therefore, the new rural development paradigm becomes a broad field of scientific discussions (Little, 2001; Ife, 2013; Yang et al., 2015; Buller and Hoggart, 2017; Székely, 2018; Hoffmann and Hoffmann, 2018). Especially researchers stress the focus on political decisions using ‘bottom-up’ approach, emphasizing the importance of self-organization and government co-operation with the local rural population (Mohan and Stokke, 2000; Osborne, 2010). The ongoing discussions prompt to investigate the modern economic and social development of rural regions in accordance with active groups of actors, i.e. relevant stakeholders (Freeman, 2010). In rural regions these actors include economic entities (i.e., farmers, agricultural companies, food processing companies, farmers’ cooperatives) or local action groups (LAGs), rural communities and other non-governmental organizations. In this case a LAG is considered a “bottom-up” rural vitalization scheme of an innovative idea, having a potential to become a driving force for particular rural region in a form of new social movement (NSM).

The new model of the development of rural areas highlighted the necessity of using external resources to meet local needs and support potential of local initiators (Ray, 2001). Current rural policy in the European Union (EU) is oriented to support spatial innovative rural development ideas using “place-based” and “bottom-up” approaches of EU Rural Development Programme, using “LEADER” (abbreviation from French: Liaisons Entre Actions de Development de l’Economie Rurale) method. This development initiative is implemented through LAGs, community-led local development initiatives established under the public-private partnerships model. Community-led local development approach, which is used in EU LEADER programme, turns traditional “top-down” development policy on its head (Guidance on Community-Led Local Development for Local Actors, 2014, 9 p.). „Top-down“ development means that local people take the initiative and form a local partnership that designs and implements an integrated development strategy to enhance communities’ social, environmental and economic strengths than simply compensate for its problems. This long-term funding is providing for community opportunities to decide itself how it is spent. Thus, communities are acting as LAGs.

Support schemes for the (re)development of rural areas using innovative approaches and projects were launched in 1990. Funding received from the European Commission for innovative rural development initiatives through LAGs using LEADER method is rewarded by 5 percent of overall EU rural development programme expenditure (the European Commission, 2018).
It should be stated here that support for LAGs gradually increased from the very beginning of LEADER. At the experimental phase LEADER I (1991-1993) supported 217 LAGS with EU funding of 1.2 billion euro total public budget. The following LEADER period 1994-2006 was organized as Stand-alone LEADER programmes. LEADER II (1994-1999) focused on disadvantaged rural areas and supported 906 LAGs in 2017 regions by 5.4 billion euros total public budget. LEADER+ (2000-2006) initiatives covered all types of rural areas and supported 1 153 LAGs with EU funding of 5.1 billion euros total public budget. In later period LEADER was mainstreamed as an integral part of EU’s rural development policy and supported 2 416 LAGs with funding of 8.9 billion euro total public budget (LEADER 2007-2013 implementation update, 2015). In the period of 2014-2020 LEADER was extended into a broader Community-Led Local Development (CLLD) conception and added three more funds to utilise for bottom-up initiatives: the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund, the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund (the European Commission, 2018). The ongoing programming period had entered its midway and collected data start giving evidence for on-going innovative bottom-up transformations of rural regions. However, recent scientific discussions stress that amounts of absorbed EU support for starting various bottom-up initiatives, devoted to accelerate rural development, vary among different LAG actors in any EU country, and there are specific reasons behind (e.g. Hoffmann and Hoffmann, 2018; Székely, 2018, etc.).

The overall aim of this paper is to explain the role of LAGs in innovative bottom-up rural development from the new social movement (NSM) theory approach. Presumably NSM might specifically emerge in particular field due to the bottom-up idea proposed by particular local community actors and their ability to mobilize resources and interest from the locals. It is argued in the study that all LAGs have the same conditions to access financial resources to drive innovative rural development in a form of NSM using EU support instruments. However, potential for using this instrument is mobilized with evident disparities among LAGs.

This study takes into account the 2014-2020 programming period of EU Rural Development Programme and explores LAGs’ disparities in Lithuania. Finally, this study gives insights for scientific discussion regarding the possibility to explain LAGs disparities in activeness and absorption of EU support using one of NSM cornerstones – resource mobilization theory.

The background for this study arrives from positivist methodology approach. Scientific literature review and modelling methods suggested employing quantitative empirical study to be performed in finding actual evidence for solutions of defined scientific problem. Analysis of scientific literature and documents, secondary analysis of data, collected by the National Paying Agency under the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Lithuania, and descriptive statistics was done using publicly available databases of LEADER method implementation in Lithuania in 2014-2020 programming period.
New social movements and the changing rural development paradigm

The new rural development paradigm had been affected by numerous changes which happen in modern world. Particular attention in scientific discussions is devoted to the new social movements (NSMs) and its vibrant power in quickly mobilizing power and resources to make social change (Roggeband and Klandermans, 2017; Waddock, 2017, etc.). NSM roots arrive from so-called old or classical social movements in a form of protests from the 18th century (Crozet et al., 1997; Laraña et al., 2009; Tilly and Wood, 2013; Castells, 2015; Lofland, 2017). At the very beginning social movements were understood as a collective action of similarly minded people against existing arrangements of power and institutions as well as institutional actors in particular issue (Crozet et al., 1997; Tilly and Wood, 2013).

Classical social movements in general held five basic features (Lofland, 2017). First, it was rushed by independently and newly founded or rejuvenated protests or violent organizations. Second, it should be held by a rapid rise of participants as well as numbers of planned and unplanned protests and violent actions. Third, it should necessarily be encouraged by mass opinion in particular issue. Fourth, represented mass opinion should be addressed by the agents of central institutions. Finally, it should respond to emerging changes in either macrostructure or central institutions. In other words, social protests were grounded in class conflict and confrontation for the justice and social human being issues in labour, political decisions, gender, equality of rights, regionalism, etc. (e.g. Laraña et al., 2009; Tilly and Wood, 2013). Later on, in advanced industrialized economies social movements gained more institutionalized forms of representation (Crozet et al., 1997).

New social movements emerged in Western Europe in the late 1960s. In contrast to the class conflict-based old social movements, NSMs appeared with new power by stressing reconciliation of interests of different groups of society aiming to obtain the maximum positive synergistic effect in particular issue. The main distinctive feature of NSMs was a shift from a conflict character between society and particular institutions to promotive role of particular prospective value-based belief to become an organized acting structure, moreover – driving philosophy of a particular values-based community. NSMs at first emerged as organized bottom-up reflection to objective societal problems such as environment degradation and safety, women exploitation, healthy food, etc. (Inglehart, 1990). Normally, it does not strive for political participation in institutions. On the other hand, the power gathered through circulation of particular ideas through networks does mobilize public opinion and, therefore, effect political decisions due to relevant issue. And, as stated by Inglehart (1990), “people do not act unless they want to attain some goal: the existence of problems and organizations would have no effect unless some value system or ideology motivated people to act.” (p. 88).

Alongside, some value- or system-motivated people should dispose appropriate resources to empower their motivation into real streamed actions. Appropriate explanation for this research was found in one of NSM cornerstones - resource mobilization theory (Jenkins, 1983; Buechler, 1993). According to the theory, resources might be
different. However, the theory lists the urgent critical resources for the emergence and development of NSM:

- time;
- money;
- organizational skills;
- social and political opportunities.

Major success factors for collective action in NSM are defined as accessibility to particular resources and ability of actors to utilize them. In contrast to previously proposed theories of collective action, resource mobilization theory states the importance of external factors next to above mentioned internal ones that are critical when hindering individuals from participation in mass mobilization. These external factors basically include: repression, censorship, threats and potential costs (Johnson, 2000).

NSMs received great attention from scientific community and were well documented from different perspectives (e.g., Touraine, 1971; Melucci, 1980; Inglehart, 1990; Buechler, 1995; Wieviorka, 2005, etc.). At the beginning of 21st century several scientific studies placed NSMs next to the ongoing modern transformations in rural regions. Some rural development researchers stressed that the emergence of NSMs greatly affected the new reconstruction in rural development paradigm (Woods, 2003; Deere & Royce, 2009; Rosset & Martínez-Torres, 2012, etc.).

Increasingly evolving rural initiatives in a form NSMs often utilize variety of resources found in rural areas and place them into different levels in the value chain of particular idea development. Appropriate stages of NSM development might be used to explore the particular prospects of innovative rural development idea (see Picture 1).

![Picture 1. Bottom-up initiatives of local action groups in the stages of emerging new rural social movement](source: elaborated by authors, using Inglehart, 1990; Buechler, 1993; Crozat et al, 1997; Tilly & Wood, 2015.)
From various sources of literature the overall process of NSM consists of several common stages (Inglehart, 1990; Crozat et al, 1997; Laraña et al., 2009; Tilly and Wood, 2013; Castells, 2015; Lofland, 2017). Any NSM starts with an idea, which might be recognized as bottom-up initiative of particular leader or community. When the idea had emerged, it is necessary to find support for it. Thus, coalesce stage begins. Normally coalesce stage attracts different groups of stakeholders, using a variety of tools and techniques. Previously, various media channels used to be recognized as the quickest way to mobilize necessary resources for NSM (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). Currently, networked society holds explosive social network power which serves as a quickest way to spread any news in a second throughout the world (Hanspeter et al., 2015). Bureaucratization phase is mainly concerned with resources and its allocation, organizational structure and roles, identity and settlements, areas of intervention and intervention channels, and other relevant bureaucratization issues. The originality and excellence achieved throughout the process of emergence and coalesce, mature in bureaucratization phase and determines further development of NSM. Further scenario might be diverse. NSM might be rewarded by success or failure, co-optation or repression, or become mainstream, but only for particular period of time. Various sources of literature (e.g. Tilly and Wood, 2013; Castells, 2015; Lofland, 2017, etc.) stress that any NSM comes to the decline phase regardless the output from bureaucratization phase, and only the duration of NSM in time vary.

The idea which emerged from a local community leader or an overall local community might become a start for a NSM (see Picture 1). Since resources are necessary to transform the idea of a new value into a real wave, a local community in the EU has an opportunity to utilize EU support under the above described LEADER programme. In case of using LEADER method, mobilization phase come into action in line with coalesce and bureaucratization phases. It starts with necessity to organize formal local action group (LAG) from local community, territorial government representatives and local businessman. Thus, rural community might take part in both coalesce and bureaucratization phases of the NSM. LAG this case serve as an institutionalized structure to maintain resources and transform the innovative idea into real actions empowered by an NSM wave. Thus, activeness of LAGs might demonstrate the potential of local community to utilize accessible resources for transforming their desired values in innovative ideas into widespread NSMs which might help improve their quality of life in its broadest sense, starting with participation in networks, self-employment and overall development of the area of residence.

Thus rural NSMs arrived with the new understanding of the role and value of rural residues and attitudes towards their activity in modern society. Researchers state that the emergence and settlement of new values is a very important, but not the solely factor for ongoing transformations in rural countryside (Deere & Royce, 2009; Rosset & Martínez-Torres, 2012). The knowledge age accelerated gradually raising awareness of broad society towards its role in overall development. The rising level of education and skills for utilizing modern communication technologies as well as better access
to them in distanced regions opened up new possibilities for innovative rural development initiators to bring the ‘bottom-up’ approach into action using new opportunities, proposed by institutional support schemes from the EU under LEADER programme. Further empirical study aims to explore the potential of Lithuanian local action groups to use EU support under LEADER programme taking into account the disparities among regions.

Research methodology

The background for this study arrives from positivist methodology approach. The main goal of this empirical research is to identify Lithuanian LAGs activeness and disparities in absorbing EU support via LEADER initiative from a new social movement approach. Sources of research data include data of The Lithuanian Department of Statistics and data of National Paying Agency under the Ministry of Agriculture of the Republic of Lithuania. Used data collection method was document analysis. Data analysis methods include secondary data analysis using descriptive statistics. Period covered is EU 2014-2020 programming period.

Legal document analysis reveals that there are three kinds of conditions for establishment of LAG in Lithuania. These conditions are the following: 1) the activity should be based on the partnership between civil society, business and government entities; 2) LAG area should be a geographically, economically and socially coherent rural territory with a population between 6 000 and 150 000, including villages, towns, cities and other residential areas with a population not exceeding 6,000, also not belong to the territory of any other LAG; 3) the LAG should also establish a collegial management body.

The number of LAGs in the period of 2014-2020 and their distribution in ten Lithuanian administrative units – counties – is further analysed in this article.

Research results and discussion

Basic information of Lithuanian LAGs. In the 2014-2020 programming period 51 LAGs have been registered in Lithuania. Usually each municipality has one corresponding LAG. But there is one exception because Zarasai municipality and Visaginas municipality in 2015 decided to merge their LAGs and to establish the new one single LAG. Only those municipalities which are considered to be urban do not have LAGs. Those are Alytus, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Neringa, Palanga, Panevėžys, Šiauliai, Vilnius municipalities. The distribution of LAGs in the counties of Lithuania are presented in Figure 1. The amount of LAGs in different counties varies from 7 to 4 and it mainly corresponds the amount of municipalities in each county.
Absorption of LEADER funds. The assistance of the European Union’s LEADER programme is crucially important to the survival of LAGs. Furthermore, the initiative of LEADER+ was the main catalyst for establishing the first LAGs after Lithuania entered the EU in 2004. In the period of 2004-2006 there were 27 LAGs established. So further in this article the absorption of EU support via LEADER initiative in 2014-2020 programming period is analysed. In the 2014-2020 Rural Development Programme for Lithuania one of the tasks is to foster local development of rural areas and the creation of businesses and jobs and these tasks are carried out using LEADER funding (Factsheet on 2014-2020 Rural Development Programme for Lithuania, 2017). The absorption of funds of the measure “LEADER“ field of action „Support for implementation of local projects via local development strategies“ of the Rural Development Programme for Lithuania (2014-2020) is further analysed. It is hoped that implementation of local development strategies will induce business start-ups and non-agricultural business development and it will create 960 jobs (Factsheet on 2014-2020 Rural Development Programme for Lithuania, 2017). The total amount of LEADER funds dedicated to implementations implementation of local projects via local development strategies is 11 382 million Euros. The absorption of LEADER funds by the Lithuanian municipalities is shown in Figure 2.
Figure 2. Absorption of LEADER funds in the municipalities of Lithuania

The biggest amounts of funds were absorbed by municipalities of Vilnius district and Kaunas district – more than 5 million and more than 4.5 million Euros respectively. Municipalities of Pagėgiai, Druskininkai and Kalvarija were those which absorbed the smallest amounts of LEADER funds, i.e. slightly a bit than 1 million Euros. It is also important to mentions that there are two municipalities – those of Rietavas and Birštonas – which did not manage to absorb any LEADER funds in the 2014-2020 period. What reasons lie behind this a separate research could reveal. Disparities among different municipalities in absorption of LEADER funds are large enough and reach 5 times when comparing municipalities of Vilnius and Pagėgiai. If we include those municipalities which received no funds at all these disparities would become even larger.

Disparities in absorption is seen more precisely when we compare how equally funds are distributed in different counties of Lithuania. Figure 3 shows that in Utena County LEADER funds were distributed in the most equal way because the funding of municipality which absorbed the biggest amount of money and which absorbed the smallest amount of money differ only 1.3 times. In the case of municipalities of Vilnius County, the difference reaches nearly 4 times. It also should be mentioned that if we include into analysis municipalities of Rietavas and Birštonas, which absorbed no funds at all, Kaunas County will be in the first place and Telšiai County in the third place.

![Figure 3. Disparities in absorption of LEADER funds in the counties of Lithuania (counted in times when comparing municipalities)*](image)


*Rietavas and Birštonas municipalities excluded.

Coherence between population size and unemployment rate with absorption of LEADER funds. There can be a lot of factors influencing development of LAGs and thus on how equally LEADER funds are absorbed in different counties – for example
population, territorial size and geographical locations of LAGs (Székely, 2018), capacities of community leaders (Šumylė et al., 2018) or different socioeconomic indicators. In further analysis we decided to look is there any coherence between the population size and unemployment rate in absorbing LEADER funds in different counties. Analysis of aggregated data of absorption of funds on county level is supposed to be a good decision because usually different regions have quite a similar socioeconomic situation (in our case we use indicator of unemployment). The population size undoubtedly refers to bigger amounts of funds needed.

Figure 4 shows the populations size of the counties of Lithuania and the corresponding place in the absorption of LEADER funds ranking. Data shows that there is coherence between the two biggest counties in population size and the amounts of funds those counties managed to absorb. The weakest coherence between population size and absorption of EU funds is in the case of Klaipėda County. This county is the third with the biggest population but it falls into 7th place in absorption of LEADER funds ranking. Similar, but contrary, situation is with Utena County – it absorbed much more funds than it was expected bearing in mind its population size. In the rest of counties, the coherence between the population size and the absorption of LEADER funds are quite high.

![Figure 4. Population size in the counties of Lithuania according to absorption of LEADER funds*](source)

*The place in the ranking of the absorption of LEADER funds is indicated in brackets.

One of the most important indicators of a socioeconomic situation in the region is unemployment rate. When comparing unemployment rate in the counties of Lithuania
and the amounts of LEADER funds they absorbed striking disproportions arise. The highest rate of unemployment in 2017 was observed in Utena County – 14.9 %. But in the ranking of the absorption of LEADER funds this county was only in the 6th place (see Figure 5). Quite similar situation was in Alytus and Telšiai Counties – though the unemployment rate was not as high as in the case of Utena County, the LEADER funds absorbed was not as big as could be expected. Kaunas and Vilnius Counties are in the opposite situation – unemployment rate in these counties was the lowest but they managed to absorb the biggest LEADER funds. In Lithuania LEADER initiative is used not only to strengthen the rural communities but also to boost a socioeconomic situation in rural areas so these disproportions of funds absorbed and unemployment rates are quite striking ant that is why these disparities should be analysed in depth in further researches. The highest coherence between unemployment rate and LEADER funds absorbed was observed in the cases of Šiauliai, Panevėžys and Marijampolė Counties.

![Figure 5. Unemployment rate in 2017 (%) in the counties of Lithuania according to absorption of LEADER funds](https://www.nma.lt/uploads/files/dir1064/dir53/dir2/0_0.php)


*The place in the ranking of the absorption of LEADER funds is indicated in brackets.

The data analysed in this article show that LAGs are successful in absorbing LEADER funds, which cover mainly all the LAGs (with the exception of two cases). So, it can be stated that LEADER development approach stimulate the “bottom-up” principle of organization of communities, emphasizing the importance of self-organization and government co-operation with the local rural population how it is perceived from a new social movement theory standpoint.
Conclusions

1. Challenges faced by the knowledge and information-based modern society become increasingly sensitive towards particular social issues, relevant to specific group of people with common values, views and interests. Previously, social dissatisfaction of particular societal groups was grounded on class-conflict and confrontation and appeared in a form of social movement. In modern society new social movements (NSMs) arrive for the reconciliation of interests of various value- or system-driven groups of society aiming to obtain the maximum positive synergistic effect in particular issue they are focused on. In both cases resource mobilization is found as a cornerstone to empower these organized bottom-up initiatives. Time, money, organizational skills as well as social and political opportunities are listed among the critical resources for NSMs to emerge, whereas crucial success factors include accessibility to particular resources and ability of actors to utilize them.

2. The emergence of NSMs caused important changes in rural development paradigm, especially in the EU when taking into account a way of life and understanding a way of life in a countryside. Regional development policy accelerated various bottom-up community demanded initiatives in a form of LEADER programme. It assured particular amount of financial resources to be mobilized for various bottom-up initiatives of local leaders in rural countryside. Therefore, local initiatives became provided with financial resources from the EU funds, which might be utilized in a form of registered local action groups (LAGs). However, there exist disparities of established LAGs in terms of utilizing public funds for various initiatives in the EU at the national level, including Lithuania. Thus, it is proved that accessibility to financial resources itself does not create sufficient background for new social movement to emerge; it should be necessarily aligned together with the motivation and skills of actors to utilize those resources creatively when moving rural development ideas forward, to become an organized bottom-up movement.

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37. The Lithuanian Department of Statistics; authors’ calculations.
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**Vietos veiklos grupės Lietuvoje: pavienės iniciatyvos ar mobilizuotas potencialas kaimo vystymui?**

**Anotacija**

Naujoji novatoriško, tvaraus ir įtraukaus kaimo vystymo paradigma, kaip viena iš viešosios politikos sričių, reikalauja ieškoti naujų formų ir metodų, kurie galėtų būti taikomi paaškinant vykstančias permainas žinių amžiuje. Šiulei kaimo politika pabrėžia, kad dėmesys turi būti sutelktas „iš apačios į viršų“ metodui, savivaldai ir teritorinės valdžios bei vietos bendruomenės bendradarbiavimui. Tai pabrėžia poreikį suderinti metodus ir turimas politikos priemones inovatyviai kaimo plėtrai paspartinti. Šiuolaikinė kaimo politika pabrėžia, kad dėmesys turi būti sutelktas „iš apačios į viršų“ metodui, savivaldai ir teritorinės valdžios bei vietos bendruomenės bendradarbiavimui. Tai pabrėžia poreikį suderinti metodus ir turimas politikos priemones inovatyviai kaimo plėtrai paspartinti. Šiuolaikinė kaimo politika pabrėžia, kad dėmesys turi būti sutelktas „iš apačios į viršų“ metodui, savivaldai ir teritorinės valdžios bei vietos bendruomenės bendradarbiavimui. Tačiau Lietuvos vietos veiklos grupių aktyvumas panaudojant ES lėšas įvairioms iniciatyvoms varijo tarp regionų ir tai sąlygoja tam tikros priežastys.

Šio tyrimo tikslas - paaškinti vietos veiklos grupių vaidmenį inovatyvioje “iš apačios į viršų” kaimo plėtroje, remiantis naujojo socialinio judėjimo teorijos požiūriu.

Tyrime daroma prielaida, kad vietos veiklos grupės turi potencialo skatinti novatorišką šiuolaikinio kaimo plėtrą kaip naujasis socialinis judėjimas, galintis atsirasti tam tikroje srityje dėl konkrečių vietos bendruomenės veikėjų pasiūlytos idėjos, tačiau jų galimybės ir gebėjimai mobilizuoti išteklius yra kritiniai sėkmės veiksniai. Galiausiai, šiame tyrime pateikiamos mokslinės įžvalgos dėl galimybų paaškinti vietos veiklos grupių aktyvumo įsitikinimą ES lėšas per LEADER programą netolygumus remiantis naujųjų socialinių judėjimų teorija.

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