



RURALIZATION

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The opening of rural areas to renew rural generations, jobs and farms

D5.1 Report on analysis on rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successor in farming



"The project RURALIZATION has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement N° 817642."

Version history

Ver.	Date	Comments/Changes	Author/Reviewer
0.1	23-12-2019	Discussion about the basic terms and main statistics available from the national teams	UNICAL, UNIDEB, TEAGASC/ Consortium & SAB
0.2	10-02-2020	T 5.1 Input paper (first version)	UNIDEB, UNICAL, TEAGASC
0.3	20-02-2020	T 5.1 Input paper (final version)	UNIDEB, UNICAL, TEAGASC
0.4	30-03-2020	Long list of promising practices	Consortium
0.5	31-03-2020	Selection of promising practices	UNICAL, UNIDEB
0.6	15-04-2020	T 5.1 Country reports	Consortium
0.7	14-07-2020	First draft working document	UNICAL, UNIDEB, TEAGASC
0.8	21-07-2020	Minor revisions made based on feedback	UNICAL, UNIDEB, TEAGASC/ Consortium & SAB
0.9	31-07-2020	Significant revisions made based on feedback	UNICAL, UNIDEB, TEAGASC
1.0	31-07-2020	Final version	UNICAL, UNIDEB, TEAGASC/ Consortium & SAB

D5.1 REPORT ON ANALYSIS ON RURAL NEWCOMERS, NEW ENTRANTS INTO FARMING AND SUCCESSOR IN FARMING

Project Acronym	RURALIZATION
Project Title	The opening of rural areas to renew rural generations, jobs and farms
Project Number	817642
Instrument	Research and Innovation Action (RIA)
Topic	RUR-01-2018-2019 Building modern rural policies on long-term visions and societal engagement
Project Start Date	01/05/2019
Project Duration	48 months
Work Package	WP5 Rural newcomers and new entrants into farming
Task	T5.2 Case studies on promising practices of rural newcomers, new entrants and successors
Deliverable	D5.1 Report on analysis on rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successor in farming
Due Date	30 June 2020
Submission Date	30 July 2020
Dissemination Level¹	PU
Deliverable Responsible	UNICAL/UNIDEB/Teagasc
Version	V1.0
Status	Final
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¹ PU=Public, CO=Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services), CL=Classified, as referred to in Commission Decision 2001/844/EC

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

EU	European Union
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CSA	Community Supported Agriculture
FADN	Farm Accountancy Data Network
HNV	High Nature Value (farmland)
LFA	Less-favoured areas
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
NUTS	Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics
NE	New entrants into farming
YF	Young Farmer
IT	Italy
PL	Poland
HU	Hungary
FR	France
IR	Ireland
NL	Netherland
DE	Germany
B	Belgium
ES	Spain

Introduction

About Ruralization and T5.1

The RURALIZATION project aims to contribute to the development of a new rural frontier. The empirical focus is to develop, assess and disseminate novel instruments, strategies and policies for rural regeneration and generation renewal. The work package (WP) 5 - Rural newcomers and new entrants into farming aims to promote rural innovation by research and development of tools to facilitate rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successors.

This objective will be reached through the following sub-objectives:

- Improvement of the understanding of the current situation (including human, social and professional characteristics, gender issues and their role in generational renewal, innovation and rural development) of rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successors, which includes the definition of specific circumstances and drivers that make some rural areas perform better than other areas in generational renewal (including overcoming traditional gender roles), innovation and rural development.
- Analysis of innovative and promising practices that facilitate rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successors in promoting generational renewal, innovation, overcoming traditional gender roles and rural development.
- Engage actors (such as farmers, local authorities, local action groups, rural youth, civil society organisations, artisans) to critically review and develop the innovative instruments and strategies defined to allow for adaption to wider rural context.

The WP5 is articulated in four Task: T5.1 – Analysis of rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successors; T5.2– Case studies on promising practices of rural newcomers, new entrants and successors; T5.3 – Confrontation of outcomes of case studies with 20 areas which are comparable but do not show promising results; T5.4. Comparative analysis of case studies.

Task 5.1 – Analysis of rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successors aim is to get a general picture of the issue, based on different types of rural contexts and to find areas in which the data show promising developments, also relating to the specific context they occur, that are worthy of further qualitative examination.

An analysis of rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and farm successors has been realised, based on data (including EUROSTAT and the Farm Accountancy Data Network) and published analysis. A long list of promising developments on rural newcomers and new entrants to farming and successors has also been prepared.

Purpose of the Document

This document presents the comparative analysis of the ten countries (Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, The Netherlands, Poland, Spain) Country Reports prepared by the Consortium partners based on the review of domestic literature, national data and statistics, supplemented with an analysis, at European level, of FADN Data and Eurostat Data on family farming and young farmers prepared by TEAGASC. The analysis has

taken into account the results of the literature study, focusing on international publications and reports of European projects (Murthag et al, 2020a), realised in T3.1.

This comparative report features the characteristics and summarizes the recent developments in rural newcomers, new entrants of farming and successors across the countries of the consortium. In chapter one, it analyses, firstly, the relevance and usefulness of the different data sources, and, secondly, analyses the statistical data on family farming. It is followed by chapter two, which compares the different meanings of 'rural', and the different understandings and conceptualisations of newcomers, new entrants to farming and successors in the countries compared.

Main findings

The definition of the three key categories: rural newcomers, new entrants to farming and successors has proven to be challenging.

Newcomers comprise a wide range of ages, agricultural experience, and resource access. As successors and new entrants into farming, they can enter a rural area or start carrying out rural activities at any stage in their working lives. Newcomers to rural areas are people who choose to live and work in a rural area. In several countries immigrants with different back-grounds became rural newcomers as well.

A new entrant to farming is defined as “a person that starts a professional existence in farming or that is integrated into an existing farm”. In the case of this definition for some countries an age criterion is imposed on how one is defined as a “young farmer”, either under the age of 35 years or 40 years depending on definition of “young”. For other partners the farming experience, age and access to resources are not limiting criteria in this definition with any new entrant defined as such, regardless of age etc. Others defined new entrants as those “seeking to start a farm business independent from family succession, as it occurs when we talk about “successors”.

Successors are individuals to whom the farm business has been already transferred or to whom it is intended to transfer the farm business to in a life-time gift or through inheritance, which may include buying-out siblings.

According to a recent EU report on the effects of the CAP the most common way to enter farming is perceived by respondents to be to inherit the holding from a parent, followed by partnership arrangements (Spain, Italy and Ireland, working previously on abandoned or public land (Italy, Spain), renting part of a farm to young farmers (Greece, Austria), purchasing a farm at below the full market value (Finland); finally special arrangements to assist farmers who do not have successors (Slovenia). *The labour on family farms was the equivalent of four fifths of all labour on all farms in the EU. Focusing on this at member state level, this proportion was lowest in Czechia (27.4 %), Slovakia (28.3 %) and Estonia (42.9 %).*

The definition of the term rural is a subject of discussion in the international literature that has accompanied the history of rural sciences since the turn of the '70s and' 80s. The beginning of the conceptual debate was related to the change of approach in the rural sciences. Prior to the change, rural sociology focused primarily on the issues of intensive agricultural modernization following World War II and tended to attribute everything that did not fit the model of modernization to the imperfect implementation of development and not as a possible alternative to rural development (Marsden 2006).

There is an overlap between the concepts of village and the countryside, but there is a great deal of uncertainty in the interpretation of “rural” in both international and domestic literature, such as in the Hungarian literature (Csatári 2007; Kovách 2012, Kulcsár 2017). *A new study considers both people living in villages and small towns to be rural.*

Regeneration of the countryside is indeed unlikely to change from the agricultural structure and facilitating ruralization, access to land for newcomers and new generations can lead to a renewal of rural development.

One of the basic questions is *what are the social sources of rural renewal?* In this respect, there are already greater differences between countries. In Italy, despite concentrated production, small-scale farming seems to be able to provide the social basis for rural renewal, with successful start-ups on successful organic farms, active participants in multifunctional farming, agritourism, younger farmer generations with good educational capital.

For centuries, the main direction of migration was from rural areas to urban areas. This trend changed in the last decades in several countries as the reports show.

The main problems faced by new entrants into farming (NE) are related to the access to land; the openness and integration into rural communities, the compatibility with the existing farmers, the absence of policies addressed specifically to them, and the access to training.

To grasp the phenomenon of succession and its perspectives, two indicators are generally considered. Firstly, the percentage of private person owning the farm. Secondly, the share of family labour engaged in family farms' activities.

According to the latest Eurostat data for 2016, *family farms account for the majority of farms in the EU.* These family farms dominate the structure of EU agriculture both in terms of their numbers and their contribution to agricultural employment, across the EU, nineteen out of every 20 farms are family farms. There are no statistics that clearly distinguish between newcomers, new entrants, and successors; the only data available relate to young farmers.

There were 9.9 million family farms in the EU-28. Of these one third (or 3.4 million) are located in Romania. With a further 1.4 million located in Poland and 1.1 million in Italy. Looking at some of the other countries, for example in Ireland 98.5% of the 138,000 farms in Ireland are family farms, in Slovenia, 98.5 % are family farms while in the United Kingdom 91% of the 184,000 farms are family farms.

1 Definitions and Data on rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successors (by Anne Kinsella)

Focusing on both national and international publications and reports of European projects, an analysis has been made of rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and farm successors. A summary review of current FADN data available and its application to this project follows in addition to other applicable research and data. Following a review of the Country Reports provided from partners in relation to Work Package 5, task 5.1 there are a number of observations with regard to the interpretation and application of rural newcomer, new entrant and successor terminology and various definitions that apply to these terms.

1.1 Farm Accountancy Data Network (FADN) Dataset – applicability and relevance to WP5 Task 5.1 analysis

Initially, review of the aggregate data EU FADN highlights that *sufficient data does not exist within this dataset to determine or provide insight into rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and successors*. Following this initial analysis individual FADN co-ordinating institutes has been contacted to ascertain if there are countries that collect additional relevant variables with the sampling framework, but which are not yet contained within the official EU FADN database. However, even if such data exists in some countries it would mean that such data analysis would be limited to just those particular countries and hence many countries would be excluded from the analysis.

Recently OECD also completed some desk-based research on incentives in relation to farm decisions, to include tax incentives so a review of this material and other research in this arena will also be conducted. This analysis for WP5.1 should not be exclusively FADN so that it is important to explore other more relevant data also. Although FADN is the most suitable database for the analysis at the European level to compare economic performance of farms, there is not enough in-depth data of a demographic nature available to fully explore new entrants, newcomers and successors as defined above.

From previous analysis of FADN undertaken and familiarity with the dataset, *no data on rural newcomers is contained within this database*. The database mainly consists of the financial and technical performance of farms with limited details on demographic variables, which includes labour. The only means to derive “new entrants” would be via reference to change of owner/manager information in the dataset in the countries where this may be available. Indeed such baseline analysis may miss inform the project as many assumptions would be made in such analysis with no back up data to confirm if “younger” labour on the farm are “successors” or “new entrants” or just someone that is assisting with tasks on the farm with no intention of farming into the future.

With regard to new entrants on the FADN sampling farm, entering the FADN dataset for the first time, we would not know from the data if it were a new entrant into farming or a new entrant on the particular farm – so a new entrant on one farm may have been an experienced farmer or farm manager on another farm.

1.2 Evaluation of the impact of the CAP on generational renewal, local development and jobs in rural areas

In the report Evaluation of the impact of the CAP on generational renewal, local development and jobs in rural areas, Janet Dywer et al (2019), additional, focused quantitative analyses was undertaken. The design of the sample and the process used for analysis is most applicable to this project. Counterfactual analysis of FADN panel data in France and Italy to assess the impact of Young Farmer (YF) aids upon farm performance; and Computable General Equilibrium modelling to examine the impact of GR expenditure upon rural employment, based in Poland but considering its wider EU relevance was undertaken. Quantitative analysis of farm- and regional-level CAP impacts comprised of a matched farm-based estimation of YF measures' impact on farm business performance and structural change, using FADN panel data in a longitudinal counterfactual analysis, in 2 Member States which have sufficiently large-scale and long-established use of these measures – Italy and France. However, the limiting factor here is that this analysis was only conducted in two EU countries, as a direct result of the lack of availability of appropriate data. As part of this analysis, Generational Renewal in the FADN sample farm is seen to occur when there is a change in the age structure of regular unpaid labour from 2013 to 2015. This change concerns the arrival of YF (<41 years old) as holder manager (HM), or as holder not manager (HNM) which in France is specific to the form of partnership between older and younger farmers: Groupement Agricole d'Exploitation en Commun (GAEC). Changes in age structure during the period 2015-2016 were not taken into account because this effect wouldn't be recorded in the accounting data of 2016. Farms where a generational change occurred were then divided into 2 groups: Group 1 – Farms supported by aid to YF; Group 2 – Farms not supported by aid to YF. Comparison between similar farms in the different groups would measure change net of the counterfactual – i.e. showing what difference the YF aid makes to changes in farm performance over the period.

In the introduction section of the report EU level survey of Member State administrations it reports on the findings of a short online survey designed to seek information and views from across the whole EU, concerning key factors influencing GR in rural areas (within and beyond agriculture). This survey was circulated to ENRD contacts in each Member State administration that are identified as leads for the National Rural Networks (NRN). As well as these individuals, contact persons in each Member States circulated the survey more widely. This resulted in multiple responses from several Member States.

Survey respondents covered all from the local to the international level and represented a mix of public, private and voluntary sectors (including retired people).

Some of the findings of interest include:

- Across the EU, the most common way to enter farming is perceived by respondents to be to inherit the holding from a parent; leasing land from private landlord is the second most common entry route.
- Partnership arrangements were mentioned as important in Spain, Italy and Ireland.
- Working previously abandoned or public land was identified as a key route in Italy and Spain.
- Renting part of a farm to YF was identified as common in Greece and Austria, while purchasing a farm at below the full market value was cited as relevant in Finland.
- Special arrangements to assist farmers who do not have successors was mentioned in Slovenia.

In conclusion this analysis of both French and Italian farms provides clear evidence that, net of a counterfactual, CAP YF aids, in assisting younger farmers to take on a holding from the older generation (most often, their own parents) have a significant and positive impact upon farm performance and farm employment (Dywer et al 2019, p.85). *„This can be seen as evidence to counter the widely expressed assumption that if CAP YF aids mostly support the handover of farms between generations in the same family, they are of low additionality”*.

The FADN analysis has shown that in both Italy and France, there is good evidence to suggest that YF aids under the CAP (both pillars) promote better performance and resilience among young farmer beneficiaries than is found among similar farms in similar conditions that have not received the YF aids, measured over a time period of 3-6 years. This is evidence of the additionality of funding in respect of its impact upon farm performance, which can be seen as an indicator favouring GR, although on its own it does not demonstrate GR.

1.2.1 Lead FADN Data analysis to inform New Entrants and Successors²

1.2.1.1 Farm Accountancy data Network (FADN) – EU Commission

The Farm Accountancy Data Network (FADN) is an instrument for evaluating and monitoring the income of agricultural holdings and business activities. It is also a most important informative source for understanding the impacts of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the impact of the measures undertaken as part of same.

FADN, collated as part of national surveys, is the only source of microeconomic data based on harmonised bookkeeping principles. It covers only EU agricultural holdings and only those EU farm holdings that, due to their size, can be considered commercial (based on standard output SO). The methodology applied aims to provide representative data according to three categories: region, economic size, and type of farming.

² Variables sourced from Rica database and variables requested specifically for work of the project from the European Commission was used to inform this task as comprehensively as possible. It should be noted that FADN does not specifically contain variables in relation to new entrants and successors, but data was sourced, adapted and analysed so as to best inform this task while also referencing other applicable and relevant reports. No relevant FADN data is available to analyse rural newcomers so that this is beyond the scope of FADN data analysis.

Data sourced from the EU Commission, Agriculture and Rural Development FADN (<https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rica>) is based on the FADN standard results. These are a set of statistics, computed from the farm returns of each EU country, periodically produced and published by the Commission. Data available in the Rica database, in considerable detail, describes the economic situation of farmers by different groups throughout the European Union.

As financial data is the primary objective, therefore data of a non-financial nature and data on the farm demographics and household are secondary in their collection and analysis and are therefore not contained in the database to the extent that would be required for in-depth analysis. Therefore, data from other EU databases and sources, to include FADN data that is not contained on the results database, are also analysed and interrogated to inform this task further in addition to the FADN standard results, which are also analysed and summarised in the following sections.

The FADN Standard Results Database is accessed and interrogated through a set of dynamic reports organized in a set of data files, which are based on themes. FADN information is aggregated for the following dimensions: Time (Year), Geographic (Country, Region), Typology (Type of Farming, TF8/TF14 and Economic Size SIZ6).

In the methodology chapter on the FADN/RICA database, the calculation of the weighting system is further described.

1.2.2 Data – Definitions, Standard Groupings and Expression³

The Commission has defined each variable in the Standard Results, attempting to ensure a close correspondence between the definitions of its own variables and those of other organisations producing agricultural statistics. For further details and information on the definition of variables please refer to separate publication (RI/CC 882 before accounting year 2014 and RI/CC 1750 from accounting year 2014).

In the FADN Database, variables defined in the standard results represent averages. These figures are calculated for each year, per Member State, Type of Farming and Economic Size class. Further details can be accessed on FADN database.

All results are given in EUR (€) thus enabling the results for individual Member States to be aggregated to the level of the European Union and the results of two or more Member States to be compared. A conversion rate (national currency/EUR) is calculated for each Member State for each accounting year.

³https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/rica/diffusion_en.cfm#top

1.2.3 Family farming and Labour – Unpaid family labour the cornerstone of farming in the EU

The most relevant variable for determining the level of family farming and the contribution of family labour to overall labour on the farm is by assessing the unpaid family labour component as a proportion of overall labour on the farm.

This in turn will provide some sort of an indication of the level of “possible successors” that may potentially be already contributing to labour on the farm as there exists no other variable to identify or determine if a successor is already present on the farm or if a new entrant is waiting on the wings. However, analysing the labour variable component may somewhat inform the story and the likelihood of unpaid family farm labour becoming farm holders and farmers of the future.

The following labour variables on the FADN database were analysed for each country and each region in conjunction with other relevant data for the most recent year, so as to determine the importance of family labour input and family farming. The variables include Total Labour input (SE010), Labour input (SE011), Unpaid Labour (SE015), Unpaid Labour (SE016), Paid Labour input (SE020) and Paid Labour input (SE021). Further details of the variables and the analysis are available in Appendix A of the report.

At the country level, the country with the highest proportion of unpaid labour for 2017 is Slovenia, with unpaid as a proportion of total labour bring 97%. The next highest ranking countries on this list, following Slovenia closely, are Ireland, Austria, Romania and Poland.

Country	Total labour input (SE010)	Unpaid labour input (SE015)	Paid labour input (SE020)	Unpaid Labour as a prop of Total labour
SVN	1.18	1.15	0.03	97%
IRE	1.14	1.06	0.08	93%
OST	1.68	1.55	0.13	92%
ROU	1.10	1.00	0.10	91%
POL	1.60	1.42	0.18	89%

1. Table: Total Labour, Unpaid & Paid Labour – Top 5 EU Countries with highest proportion of Unpaid Labour, 2017

Within these five countries in particular, family farming is most important with family members contributing the vast proportion of labour, that is up to and above 90% unpaid labour to total labour on the farm. However, this is only reflective of average labour input at the national level and one must caution at over inferring from such data. Also, it may not be reflective of farms at regional level (and indeed at the individual farm level).

	Region	Total labour input (SE010)	Unpaid labour input (SE015)	Paid labour input (SE020)	Unpaid Labour as a prop of Total labour
ROU	(0843) Sud-Vest-Oltenia	1.04	1.03	0.01	99%
ROU	(0840) Nord-Est	1.02	0.96	0.05	94%
ESP	(0500) Galicia	1.26	1.18	0.09	94%
ESP	(0510) Cantabria	1.4	1.3	0.09	93%
POL	(0795) Mazowsze i Podlasie	1.6	1.48	0.13	93%

2. Table: Total Labour, Unpaid & Paid Labour – Top 5 EU Regions with highest proportion of Unpaid Labour, 2017

Referring to the same labour variables, as discussed above, but now at the regional level, NUTS2 level, the 5 regions with the highest level of unpaid (family) labour are listed for 2017 year in Table 2. Please note that for some countries, for example Ireland and Austria the country total equates to the regional level presented, so that in the case of these two countries they are only shown once as per Table 1 above and are therefore not also included in the regional analysis as per detailed in Table 2. As per Table 2, within these five regions, family farming is most important with family members contributing the vast proportion of labour, that is above 90% unpaid labour to total labour on the farm. *Although this data provides us with some indication of the importance of family labour it provides no direct information on the incidence of on farm succession or new entrants that may work off farm.*

1.2.4 FADN – Supplementary variables and analysis to reflect age trends nationally and regionally

Owing to the non-availability of access to the demographic variables on the FADN standard results database, a special request for a summary of such demographic and household data was submitted by the author to the FADN team at the EU Commission outlining the requirements for additional data and in the application and use for same.

Based on this specific request staff from the EU commission provided the project with summary data files to inform some aspects of the new entrants and succession aspects of the requirements of WP5.1. Further correspondence and discussion in relation to the supplementary variables resulted in some refinement of the specifics required for the data analysis.

These additional data, provided at the national and regional level, were collated and analysed to supplement the FADN variables as retrieved directly in the FADN results database. In this instance, these supplementary data provide another layer of data on which to infer additional outcomes.

1.2.5 Age groupings

The FADN information presented for the age groupings, as selected, is divided by Country, Year and Type of farming (8 levels). Data is collated for the ten-year period, years 2008 to 2017 inclusive. Based on the latest literature and knowledge to best inform the requirements of this Ruralization Task under Work package 5.1., the analysis was refined so as to concentrate on the most applicable age categories from a new entrant, successor and retiring farmer perspective.

Three age groups are selected, namely 35 years and less to take account of the “young” farmers who maybe recent successors or new entrants. The next group selected for analysis are farmers under 65 years of age, below the retirement threshold age for self-employed business people in general and whom make up the largest proportion of the farming population. Finally, the third grouping selected for analysis are those farmers older than 65 years and are at the stage in their lives when they should be considering retirement or at least stepping back from the business.

The age selection of the farm return ‘Holder/Manager’ is based on a weighted average of the code C_UR_10_B, for which several people can be encoded. Sometimes this relates to only one, sometimes up to four, for example. Using this approach it gives a good indication of the overall age of owners and managers on the farm and not just the owner of the business, who may indeed have stepped back in order to allow successors/others to carry forward the farm business and to eventually, take control of the business “reins”.

Referring to just one (or the main) ‘Holder/Manager’ for each farm could lead to most misleading results as all other ‘Holder/Manager’ in partnership, co-owners or otherwise would be discounted from the analysis. Including all such incidences on a farm by farm basis is more encompassing and inclusive and hence compares each farm on a like for like basis based on “all”.

As a follow on to this analysis, the percentage of the Annual Work Unit (AWU) per holder is calculated by dividing the first 4 options of that code, by the ‘Total labour input’ of the holding (SE010 variable). It should be noted that since the calculation is based only on category Holder/manager (code 10) but not on all others (20 – 70), the sum of the percentage does NOT have to compulsory account for 100%. Since all other codes also account for the total Annual Work Unit AWU: SE010.

All information as presented is a weighted average, except SYS02, which is the farming population that is represented by the sample farms. In any instance where there are blank spaces, that is where the number of farms in the sample (per each category) is very small, these have been deleted and hence have been excluded for confidentiality reasons.

Firstly, looking at the earliest year of the analysis for this purpose, that is year 2008, and calculating the proportion of farmers less than 35 years “Group 1” expressed as a proportion of the farm population within each country the “farmer youth demographic viability” can be determined.

There are a number of country codes on which this relative calculation is not possible, as the older and/or younger farm population are too small to be included or else the statistics are not collected in the particular country. The country code to which this exclusion applies in this particular year of analysis are Belgium (BEL), Netherlands (NED), Austria (OST), Finland (SUO) and Slovakia (SVK).

Country	Proportion of less than 35 years as proportion of older than 65 years
Poland (POL)	98%
France (FRA)	92%
Bulgaria (BGR)	86%
Lithuania (LTU)	76%
Czech Rep.(CZE)	71%
Germany (DEU)	63%
Greece (ELL)	61%

3. Table: Proportion of younger versus older farmers, FADN Supplementary data analysis, 2008

Omitting the countries (as stated above) and then ranking based on the proportion of young to older farmers, Poland, France and Bulgaria has the highest proportion of younger farmers at circa 90%. Further details are presented in Table 3 above.

An older farmer cohort are more evident in the UK, Ireland and Slovenia where the percentages are 12%, 16% and 17% respectively of the farming population. Refer to Table 4 for additional details on proportions within other countries.

Country	Proportion of less than 35 years as proportion of greater than 65 years
United Kingdom (UKI)	12%
Ireland (IRE)	16%
Sweden (SVE)	17%
Italy (ITA)	20%
Latvia (LVA)	28%
Spain (ESP)	30%
Romania (ROU)	31%

4. Table: Countries with older farmers as proportion, FADN Supplementary data analysis, 2008

In order to track if farms have become more viable, from an age perspective, over the 10 years in question, the analysis now focuses on the most recent year for which data is available, that is 2017. Collating comparable data from the datasets in the intervening survey data years and applying the same methodology as described above trends of an aging farm population are noted.

Similar to analysis for 2008 there are a number of country codes on which calculation is not possible, as either the older or younger farm population is too small to be included or else the

statistics have not been collated in that particular country. The country code to which this applies are Belgium (BEL), Netherlands (NED), Austria (OST), Malta (MLT) and Ireland (IRE).

For 2017 year, ranking countries based on the proportion of young to older farmers, Slovenia, Poland, Germany, Lithuania, and Luxembourg have the highest proportion of younger farmers at circa 93% to 67% (Table 5). The oldest cohort of farmers relative to younger farmers are more evident in Denmark and in the UK, where the percentages are 2% and 3% respectively of the farming population. Refer to Table 6 for additional details.

Country (3 digits FADN acronym)	Proportion of less than 35 years as proportion of greater than 65 years
Slovenia (SVN)	93%
Poland (POL)	86%
Lithuania(LTU)	80%
Germany (DEU)	72%
Luxembourg (LUX)	67%
Bulgaria (BGR)	61%
France (FRA)	60%

5. Table: Proportion of younger versus older farmers, FADN Supplementary data analysis, 2017

Looking at the converse situation, that is countries in which older farmers are more evident, this is especially true in Denmark, the UK, Sweden, Estonia, and Cyprus with the relative percentage ranging from 2% to 11%. Please refer to Table 6 below for further details.

Many of the same countries appear on the relatively older rankings as did in 2008 but as with younger cohort on the other end of scale the proportion of farmers less than 35 in these particular countries has been reducing over the decade resulting in an ever-aging population.

Since 2008, the situation had therefore deteriorated in countries across the EU with regard to proportion of younger versus older farmers. This is even more concerning from a succession perspective in that FADN survey covers farms with higher SO thresholds, that is commercial farms within each country, so that smaller farms are excluded from the sampling frame within each EU country.

This indicates that the population of Group 1 farmers is aging relative to the older cohort, Group 3 and effectively therefore indicates that in general the cohort of new entrants are aging over the period. Looking over the total population of farms in 2008 with just over 729,220 farmers contained in this older age category "Group 3" while a population of just over 533,00 farmers were contained within "Group 1", those less than 35 years.

Country	Proportion of less than 35 years as proportion of greater than 65 years
Denmark (DAN)	2%
United Kingdom (UK)	3%
Sweden (SVE)	4%
Estonia (EST)	11%
Cyprus (CYP)	11%
Portugal (POR)	14%
Spain (ESP)	15%

6. Table: Countries with older farmers as proportion, FADN Supplementary data analysis, 2008

By 2017, the situation and ratio had worsened with an increase to 750,290 represented in “Group 3”, farmers over 65 years with 453,330 in “Group 1”. Overall, *this indicates that the proportion of young to old farmers within these categories was 73% in 2008 but had declined to 60% in 2017.* It should be noted that as FADN analysis is based on sample data the results will of course change year on year as the sample of farms are renewed and rolled over. However, as FADN is representative of farming (by farming size and system) it will be reflective of what is occurring in the general farming population within each country. Hence, such a deterioration of the age structure is reflective of changes at the farm level and an indication of succession issues.

1.2.6 Regional Mean Age – Holder

The mean age of the holder is not a variable that is available publicly within the standard FADN database. Hence these variable and additional variables were requested so as to provide an additional overview of farm holders within the EU and also to get an indication of how the average age of farmers differs regionally.

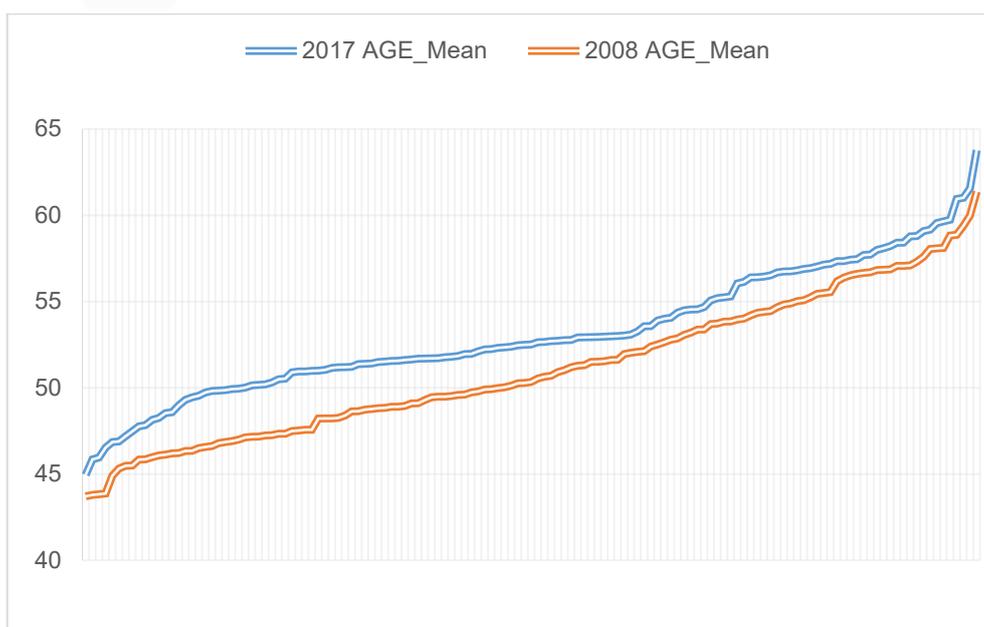
To obtain the mean age, a formula was created to directly obtain that average age from all the individual holdings, and for variable C_UR_10_B. It needs to be borne in mind that in reality on each of these farms they may have up to 10 entries for this category, that is C_UR_10_B_(1), C_UR_10_B_(2), up to entry C_UR_10_B_(10). The formula takes into account the relative weight of each farm in the sample. It is therefore a weighted average and not a simple arithmetic average of the sample.

Referring to the mean age of holder across the last decade, from 2008 to 2017, the youngest mean age for any year was 42 years of age occurring in regions in Italy and Spain that is Lazio (ITA 291) and Cantabria (ESP 510), for years 2014 and 2011 respectively. For mean age of 43 years only two entries are found in the dataset, both for year 2015 for region La Réunion (FRA 207) in France and region Bucuresti-Ilfov(ROU 847) in Romania. All other entries are for holders aged 44 years and above.

Interestingly, the oldest cohort of farmers over the decade are also recorded in Italian and Spanish regions, notably Madrid (ESP550) and Calabria (ITA303) who record a mean age of 64 years in years 2017 and 2009 respectively. Notably, over the years 2008 to 2017 Italian and

Spanish regions have the highest mean ages across all years in question, with UK region of Northern Ireland(UK441) holding third highest mean average age of 61 years for 2017. While the only other three countries breaking the dominance of Italian and Spanish regions in this older category, with average age of 60 years are Portugal region Ribatejo e Oeste (POR 630) in 2017, Ireland (IRE 380) in 2016 and in 2017, and Cyprus (CYP 740) in 2014.

Across all regions, when 2017 year as a whole is compared to 2008 year with average age ranked from youngest to oldest, it is noted, as per Figure 1, that on average farmers are aging across the EU over time period in question. The average mean age across all farms is 51 years in 2008 and this has risen to 53 years in 2017, while median age has risen from 50 years to 53 years over the same period.



1. Figure: FADN All Regions– 2017 versus 2008 Mean Age

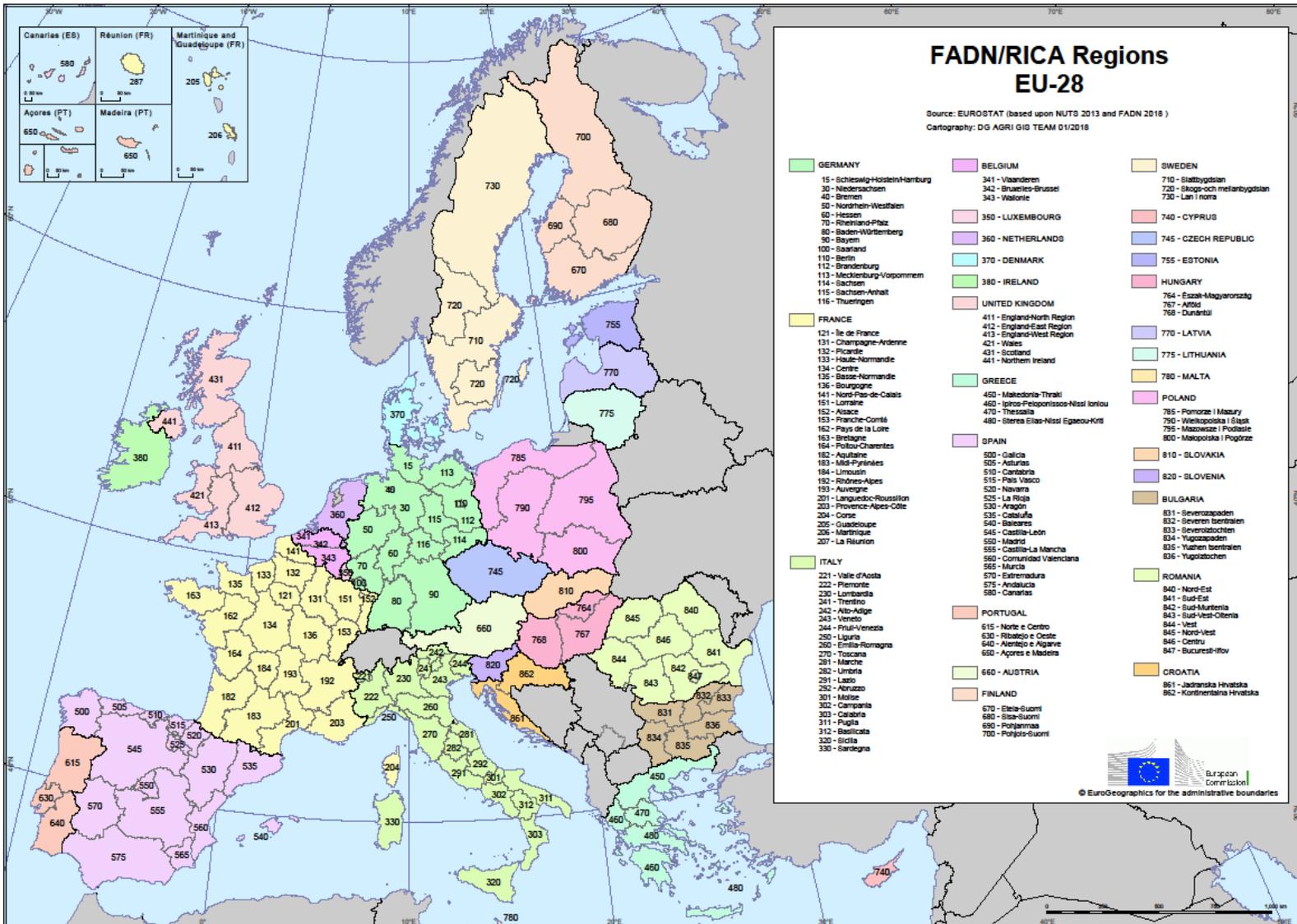
Referring to the latest year for which the data is available 2017, the regions are noted where the oldest and youngest mean ages of farmers occur. It should also be noted, that owing to small sample sizes or non-inclusion of some regional statistics, some regions maybe excluded from the analysis.

The NUTS2 statistical Region Central Greece (EL64) is the region in which the highest average mean age of farm holders occurs (when focus on group of farmers over 65 years, that is Group 3). The mean age is just over 84 years of age. Interestingly also in this particular region of Greece, the vast proportion, that is 75 % of such holders are female. This certainly contrasts with the other country regions that appear in the Top 5 regional rankings, listed in accordance to the oldest holders. The next oldest grouping of farmers (Group 3 over 65 years) occurs in Marche Region (IT13) in Italy and Algarve Region (PT15) in Portugal at 75 years on average. For further details refer to Table 7.

Country	NUTS2	Age_group	AGE_Mean	SYS02	SYS02	M_Sum	F_Sum	F/M%
ELL	EL64	3	84.25758272	3719	18	916.9861222	2802.245887	75%
ITA	ITI3	3	75.3756937	5032	152	3961.637608	1070.225687	21%
POR	PT15	3	75.06554055	3350	60	2793.072507	557.0365385	17%
UKI	UKN0	3	74.74994415	1356	34	1263.957384	92.49206349	7%
ITA	ITG1	3	74.7001431	15991	134	11970.69355	4020.711587	25%

7. Table: Mean Age Farm Holder – Regional analysis based on Oldest Holders, 2017

The next oldest cohort of farmers occurs in a further 6 Regions in Italy, namely Emilia Romagna (ITH5), Friuli Venezia Giulia (ITH4), Calabria (ITF6), Umbria (ITI2), Lazio (ITI4) and Tuscany (ITI1) where the average age ranges from 74.6 years to 73.5 years. In Greece region Attica (EL30), Portugal Alentejo (PT18), Slovenia Western Slovenia (SI04) and Poland Mazowiecki regions (PL92) farmers' average age is 73 years.



2. Figure: FADN/RICA Regions EU-28 – landscape map

In contrast to ten years earlier, focusing on 2008 FADN data, the highest average age (Group 3: over 65 years) occurred in Italian region of Lazio (ITE4), averaging just over 75 years of age. However, in comparing 2017 year to 2008 it should be noted that methodological and other changes occurred so that contrasting on a like for like basis is not possible and indeed farm system difference between and within regions results in differing mean age. A number of other regions, namely Apulia (ITF4), Tuscany (ITE1-Italy) and Alentejo (PT18-Portugal) and Liguria (ITC3-Italy) all had farm holders with an average age just below 75 years. For additional details please refer to Table 8.

Canary Island Region (ES70) in Spain has next oldest farmers (in this Group 3) at just below 74 years. Similar to 2017 year Italian regions then feature strongly on the list with Calabria (ITF6), Marche (ITE3), Sardinia (ITG2), Umbria (ITE2), Veneto (ITD3), Friuli Venezia Giulia (ITD4) and Piedmont (ITC1) appearing in slots 7 to 12 on oldest farmer listing, with age ranges from 73.9 years to just over 73 (73.2) years. The relative male and female proportions are not available in the dataset for 2008 year and earlier years.

Country	NUTS2	Age_group	AGE_Mean	SYS02	SYS02
ITA	ITE4	3	75.43926009	15026	118
ITA	ITF4	3	74.8644665	30481	127
ITA	ITE1	3	74.68920956	19225	232
POR	PT18	3	74.64685561	5460	81
ITA	ITC3	3	74.08940691	3419	101

8. Table: Mean age Holder – Regional analysis based on Oldest Holders, 2008

Focusing on the Regions on the other end of the spectrum, that is those regions with youngest farmers on average (Group 1, less than 35 years), the five regions are listed in Table 9. The focus is firstly on the most recent data available, the 2017 year.

In the Sostinės regionas (LT01) region of Lithuania, for “Group 1” of farmers in 35 years and less category, the average mean age of farmers is 26.6 years with over one third of these being female. The next youngest are in Italian region of Molise (ITF2) at 27 years where 12% are female.

In 2 Hungarian regions, that is Region Central Transdanubia (HU21) and Southern Transdanubia (HU23), and in Greek region of EL65 the average mean age is 65 years also. Over one third of the young farmers are female in the Hungarian region Southern Transdanubia (HU23) (Table 9).

In Bulgarian region of Severozapaden (BG31), Romanian region Nord-est (RO21) and Greek region of Epirus (EL54) the average age of farmers ranges from 28.3 years to 28.7 years. In Bulgaria over half of these young farmers are female (50.15%) while in Romania 42.3% of young farmers are female.

The next youngest are in two Polish regions of Pomorskie (PL63) and Podlaskie (PL84), both just under 29 years of age. In both regions, 15% of these younger cohorts are female.

Country	NUTS2	Age_group	AGE_Mean	SYS02	SYS02	M_Sum	F_Sum	F/M%
LTU	LT01	1	26.61114	2501	32	1559.435	941.7038	0.37651
ITA	ITF2	1	27.05709	388	25	340.3749	47.69048	0.122893
HUN	HU21	1	28.00788	1118	17	983.738	134.2916	0.120115
ELL	EL65	1	28.23961	8094	68	7538.325	555.6188	0.068646
HUN	HU23	1	28.26579	503	17	312.7626	189.8024	0.377667

9. Table: Mean age Holder – Regional analysis based on Youngest Holders, 2017

In contrast to ten years earlier, focusing on 2008 FADN data, the lowest average age for “Group 1” (that is less than 35 years) occurred in Bulgaria region of Yugozapaden (BG41), at 27 years of age (Table 10).

The average age in the Romanian region of Sud-est (RO22) was just short of 29 years, averaging 28.8 years. The average age was 29 years in Bulgarian region of Severoiztochen (BG33), Dolnośląskie (PL51) in Poland, Italian region of Marche (ITE3), German region of Mittelfranken (DE25) and Śląskie (PL22) region in Poland. However, in comparing 2017 year to 2008 year it should be noted that methodological and other changes occurred in the intervening years, so that contrasting 2017 to 2008 on a like for like basis not possible.

Country	NUTS2	Age_group	AGE_Mean	SYS02	SYS02
BGR	BG41	1	27.03381	944	28
ROU	RO22	1	28.81066	14837	26
BGR	BG33	1	29.10675	2838	30
POL	PL51	1	29.15357	4631	119
ITA	ITE3	1	29.23918	971	26

10. Table: Mean age Holder – Regional analysis based on Youngest Holders, 2008

As 2017 being the latest year that FADN data is available hence analysis is completed up to and including 2017. Additional FADN data and analysis is contained in the various data spreadsheets for the years 2008 to 2017 inclusive. All variables which were deemed relevant to this task were included in the summary analysis as per above.

1.3 Data analysis about New Entrants into farming and Successors

1.3.1 Structural profile of EU family farms

According to the latest Eurostat data for 2016, family farms account for the vast majority of farms in the EU. These family farms dominate the structure of EU agriculture both in terms of their numbers and their contribution to agricultural employment. Across the EU, nineteen out of every 20 farms are family farms.

To put this in context, of the 10.5 million farms in the EU, over 95% (Table 11) are classified as family farms. The majority of EU farms (93%) are farms with only family workers. Across all

the farms in the EU-28, family farms used over four fifths of the regular agricultural labour force, measured in annual work units.

However, on average, these family farms were consistently smaller than non-family farms in terms of the utilised agricultural area. In 18 EU countries, family farms accounted for more than 90% of the total number of farms.

Farms by type of farm labour, 2016

(thousands except for standard output (million))

	Total farms	Family farms	Farms with only family workers	Farms where family workers make up 50% or more (not 100)	Non-family farms	Farms where family workers make up less than 50% (not 0)	Farms with no family labour force
(thousands)							
Number of holdings	10 465	9 956	9 728	228	509	176	333
Utilised agricultural area (hectares)	173 453	107 959	92 402	15 558	65 494	18 231	47 263
Livestock (livestock units)	126 240	78 936	62 278	16 658	47 304	17 961	29 343
Regular labour force (annual work units)	8 259	6 727	6 272	455	1 532	583	949
Standard output (million euro)	352 189	209 722	169 132	40 590	142 466	51 070	91 396
(% of total)							
Number of holdings	100	95.2	93.0	2.2	4.9	1.7	3.2
Utilised agricultural area (hectares)	100	62.3	53.3	9.0	37.7	10.5	27.2
Livestock (livestock units)	100	62.5	49.3	13.2	37.4	14.2	23.2
Regular labour force (annual work units)	100	81.4	75.9	5.5	18.6	7.1	11.5
Standard output (million euro)	100	59.5	48.0	11.5	40.5	14.5	26.0

Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

eurostat 

11. Table: Farms by type of farm labour, 2016 * thousands ('000) except for standard output (million)

1.3.2 Family farming – the benefits and the challenges in relation to succession and inheritance

According to FAO family farming preserves “the sustainable use of natural resources” and the “world’s agro-biodiversity”, while at the same time **family farming represents “an opportunity to boost local economies, especially when combined with specific policies aimed at the social protection and well-being of communities”**. In this instance the farming community and the benefits they bring to rural communities are not only economic in nature but also infer social and environmental benefits alike.

The main challenges facing family farms also reflect issues that are common to other types of small business, in particular family business. These include access to resources (some of which are limited!) and access to markets. The bargaining power of such family farms (which are often small) in the food chain is another issue of concern.

The aging demographics of farm owners and farm managers provide a social challenge for family farms. Intergenerational succession issues as well as may impact upon the sustainability of the family farming but on the wider agricultural sector. Differing legislation over succession and inheritance in some of the EU Member States also proves a challenge and often further complicates an already complex issue.

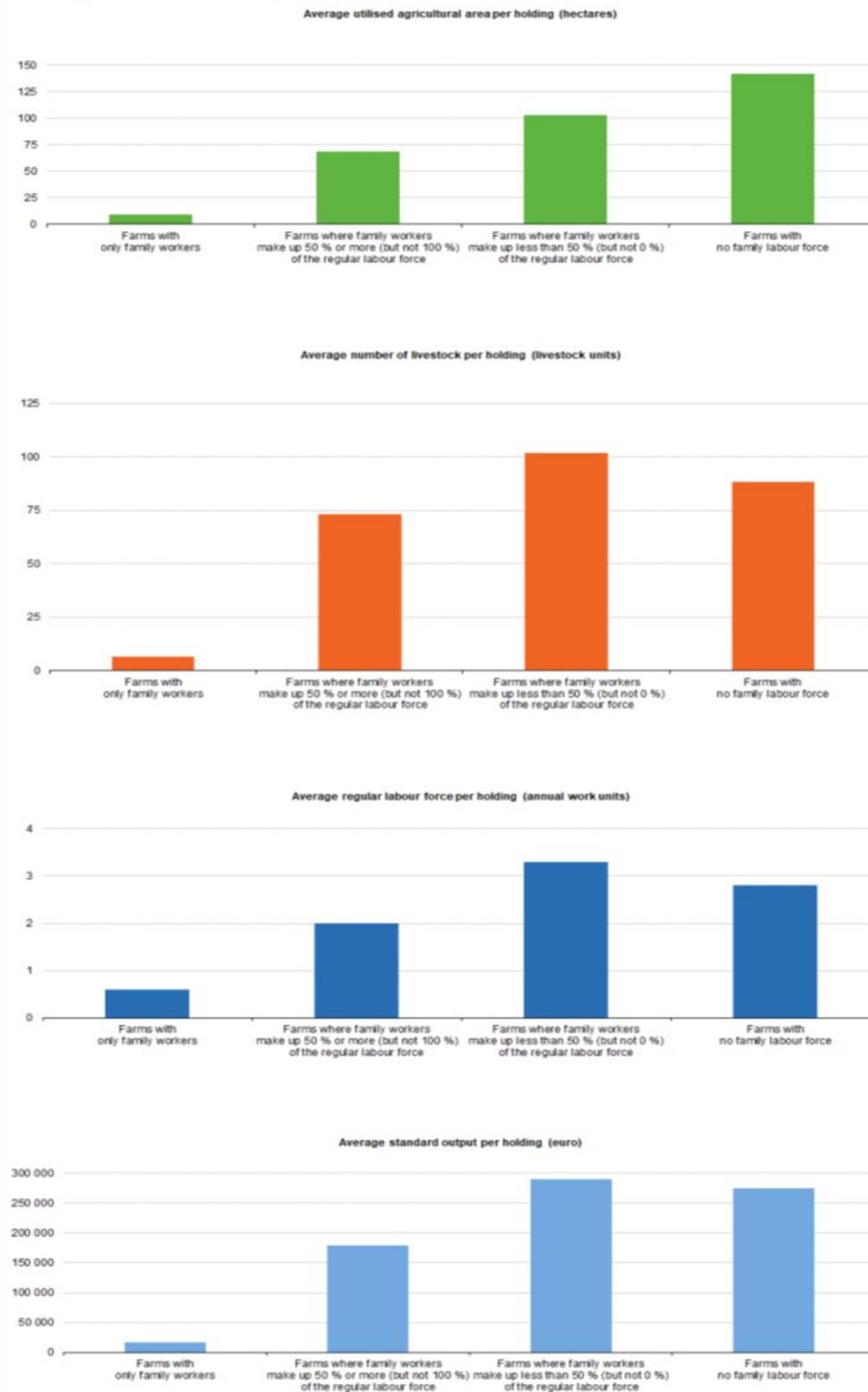
1.3.3 Structural profile of EU Non-family farms

There were about 509.000 farms in the EU that were not classified as family farms, representing less than 5% of the EU total number of farms in 2016. Within this cohort, 333.000 were farms that had no family labour force at all whereas on 176.000 of farms family workers made up less than 50 % of the regular labour force.

Non-family farms within the EU, accounting for less than 5 % of the total number of farms but cultivated a substantial proportion (37.7 %) of the utilised agricultural area. Farms with no family labour cultivated an average area that was almost 8 times larger than the average area cultivated by farms with only family workers (Figure 3).

The farms with no family labour force had the largest average area. In terms of average economic size, average number of workers and average number of livestock units family farms are consistently smaller than non-family farms.

Average size of farms by type of farm labour, 2016



Note: different scales are used on the y-axis for each part of the figure.
Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

eurostat 

3. Figure: Average size of farms by type of farm labour, 2016

1.3.4 Analysis by EU Member State - Structural profile of farms and the prevalence of family farming

As referred to in Table 12, there were 9.9 million family farms in the EU-28. Of these one third (or 3.4 million) are located in Romania. With a further 1.4 million located in Poland and 1.1 million in Italy. Looking at some of the other countries, for example in Ireland 98.5% of the 138,000 farms are family farms, in Slovenia, 98.5% are family farms while in the United Kingdom 91% of the 184,000 farms are family farms.

Number of farms by type of farm labour, 2016

(thousands)

	Total farms	Family farms	Farms with only family workers	Farms where family workers make up 50% or more (not 100)	Non-family farms	Farms where family workers make up less than 50% (not 0)	Farms with no family labour force
EU-28	10 465	9 956	9 728	228	509	176	333
Belgium	37	31	29	2	6	0	6
Bulgaria	201	190	187	3	11	3	8
Czechia	27	23	22	1	4	1	3
Denmark	35	30	27	3	5	3	2
Germany	276	251	223	28	25	20	5
Estonia	17	13	13	0	3	0	3
Ireland	138	136	124	12	2	2	0
Greece	685	676	664	12	9	8	1
Spain	945	823	787	36	121	34	87
France	457	312	277	35	144	27	117
Croatia	134	130	129	1	4	0	4
Italy	1 146	1 100	1 069	31	45	29	16
Cyprus	35	34	34	0	2	1	1
Latvia	70	67	64	3	2	2	0
Lithuania	150	147	145	2	4	3	1
Luxembourg	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
Hungary	430	418	415	3	12	3	9
Malta	9	9	9	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	56	50	43	7	6	2	4
Austria	133	124	119	5	8	4	4
Poland	1 411	1 393	1 383	10	17	13	4
Portugal	259	241	235	6	18	5	13
Romania	3 422	3 395	3 395	0	26	0	26
Slovenia	70	69	69	0	0	0	0
Slovakia	26	22	22	0	3	0	3
Finland	50	44	42	2	6	5	1
Sweden	63	57	53	4	6	1	5
United Kingdom	184	167	147	20	17	10	7

Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

12. Table: Number of farms by type of farm labour, 2016 (thousands)

1.3.4.1 Family farms – Utilised Agricultural Area (UAA)

Of the 173.4 million hectares of land utilised for agricultural production by all farms in 2016 (Table 13), family farms used 108.0 million hectares (or 62.2%). Family farms in Spain used the highest proportion, i.e. 13.1% of the EU total (14.1 million hectares), followed closely by France 12.4 million hectares (11.5% of the EU total). Polish family farms also accounted for 11.5%, i.e. 12.3 million hectares.

The lowest UAA utilised by family farms occurred in Malta, Cyprus and Luxembourg but so also these countries have the lowest UAA across all farms.

Utilised agricultural area by type of farm labour, 2016
(thousands)

	Total farms	Family farms	Farms with only family workers	Farms where family workers make up 50% or more (not 100)	Non-family farms	Farms where family workers make up less than 50% (not 0)	Farms with no family labour force
EU-28	173 454	107 960	92 402	15 558	65 494	18 231	47 263
Belgium	1 354	1 103	1 013	90	251	14	237
Bulgaria	4 492	999	818	181	3 492	714	2 778
Czechia	3 455	756	624	132	2 700	284	2 416
Denmark	2 615	1 561	1 082	479	1 054	789	265
Germany	16 715	10 719	8 170	2 549	5 996	3 105	2 891
Estonia	995	304	270	34	691	45	646
Ireland	4 884	4 756	4 182	574	128	90	38
Greece	4 554	3 035	2 843	192	1 518	103	1 415
Spain	23 230	14 126	12 715	1 411	9 104	1 551	7 553
France	27 814	12 426	8 863	3 563	15 387	4 091	11 296
Croatia	1 563	988	913	75	574	15	559
Italy	12 598	10 467	9 443	1 024	2 131	1 122	1 009
Cyprus	112	85	80	5	27	10	17
Latvia	1 931	1 254	1 007	247	677	657	20
Lithuania	2 925	1 914	1 698	216	1 012	617	395
Luxembourg	131	110	86	24	21	20	1
Hungary	4 671	2 307	2 024	283	2 363	416	1 947
Malta	11	10	10	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	1 796	1 609	1 284	325	188	72	116
Austria	2 670	2 275	2 133	142	395	123	272
Poland	14 406	12 337	11 910	427	2 068	829	1 239
Portugal	3 642	1 865	1 658	207	1 778	410	1 368
Romania	12 503	6 861	6 848	13	5 641	65	5 576
Slovenia	488	460	454	6	29	3	26
Slovakia	1 890	307	271	36	1 583	67	1 516
Finland	2 233	1 837	1 680	157	396	300	96
Sweden	3 013	2 135	1 733	402	878	162	716
United Kingdom	16 764	11 351	8 589	2 762	5 413	2 558	2 855

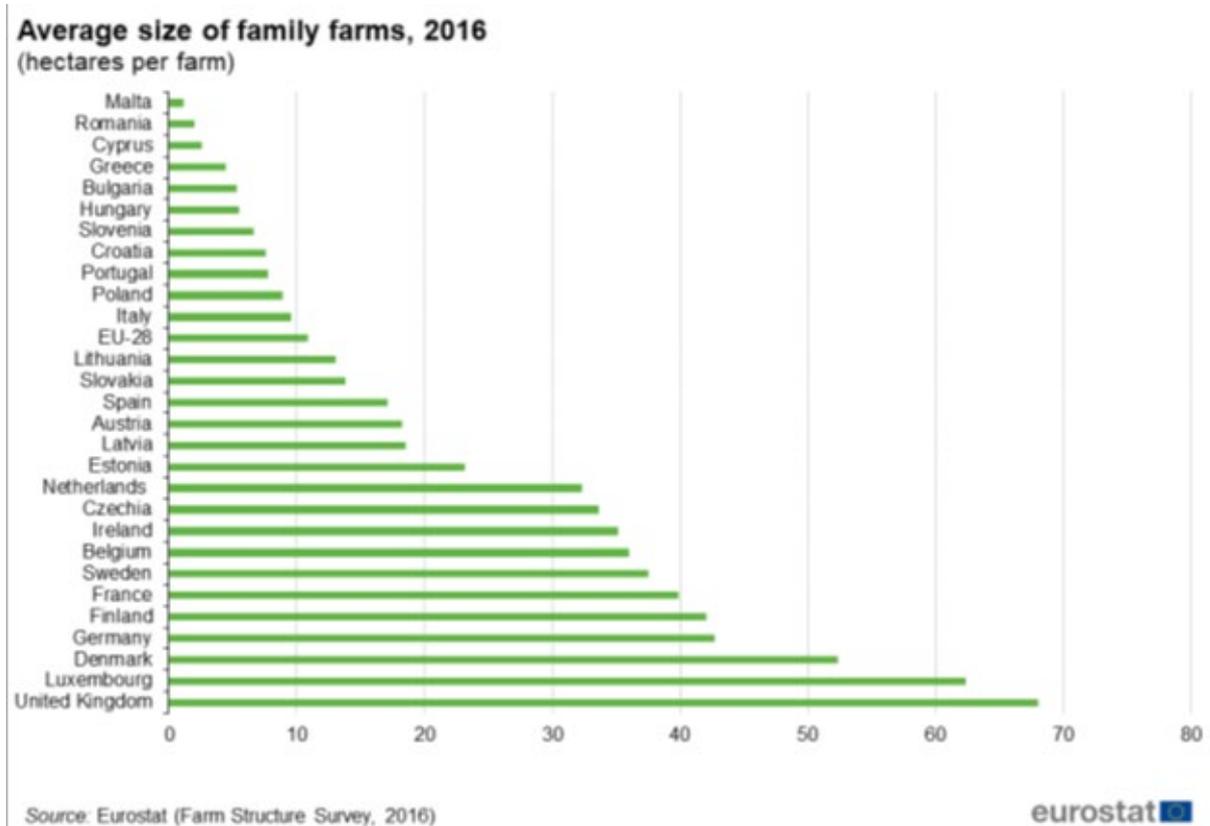
Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

eurostat 

13. Table: Utilised agricultural area by type of farm labour, 2016 (thousands)

1.3.4.2 Average size of family farms in EU Member States

Across the EU, the average size of family farms varies considerably with the largest farm size in the United Kingdom while the smallest farms were in Malta.



4. Figure: Average size of family farms, 2016 (hectares per farm)

The largest family farms, at 68 hectares per average holding, were in the United Kingdom. The next largest holdings were in Luxembourg at 62 hectares. Denmark, Germany, Finland and France were the next largest respectively.

In contrast, the smallest family farms, with an average size of between 1 and 2.5 hectares were in Malta, Romania and Cyprus. For a full graphical representation, see Figure 4.

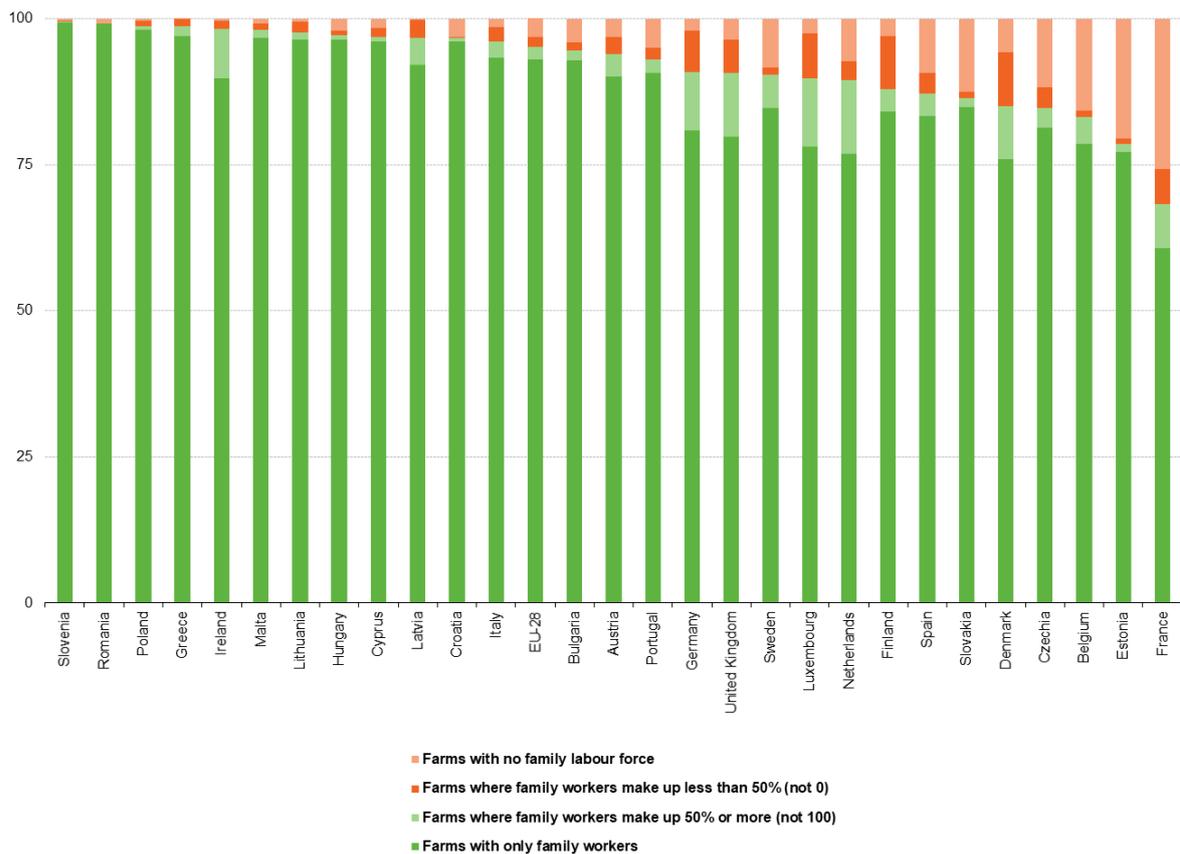
1.3.5 Family and Non-family farms in EU Member States – the relative importance of each

The following figures (i.e. Figure 5 to 9), show the relative importance of family and non-family farms in Member States. Data for “family farms” are presented in dark and light green, while the “non-family farms” are presented in dark and light orange.

In 18 of the Member States, family farms accounted for at least 90 % of all farms. In all the remaining countries, with exception of Estonia and France, the share of family farms of all farms was higher than 80% (Figure 5).

For Estonia and France, the share of family farms of all farms was 78.6% and 68.3%, respectively. Therefore, France has the highest proportion of non-family farms, 31.7% of all farms in total. Focusing only on the dark green bar, farms with “only family workers”, the highest proportion of these farms were in Slovenia, Romania and Poland. Taking this dark green bar into consideration in conjunction with the light green bar i.e. “farms where family workers make up 50% or more”, then Greece, Ireland and Malta join the group although Slovenia, Romania and Poland still remain highest when the two categories (“only family workers” and “farms where family workers make up 50% or more”) are taken together.

Distribution of farms by type of farm labour, 2016
(% of farms)



Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

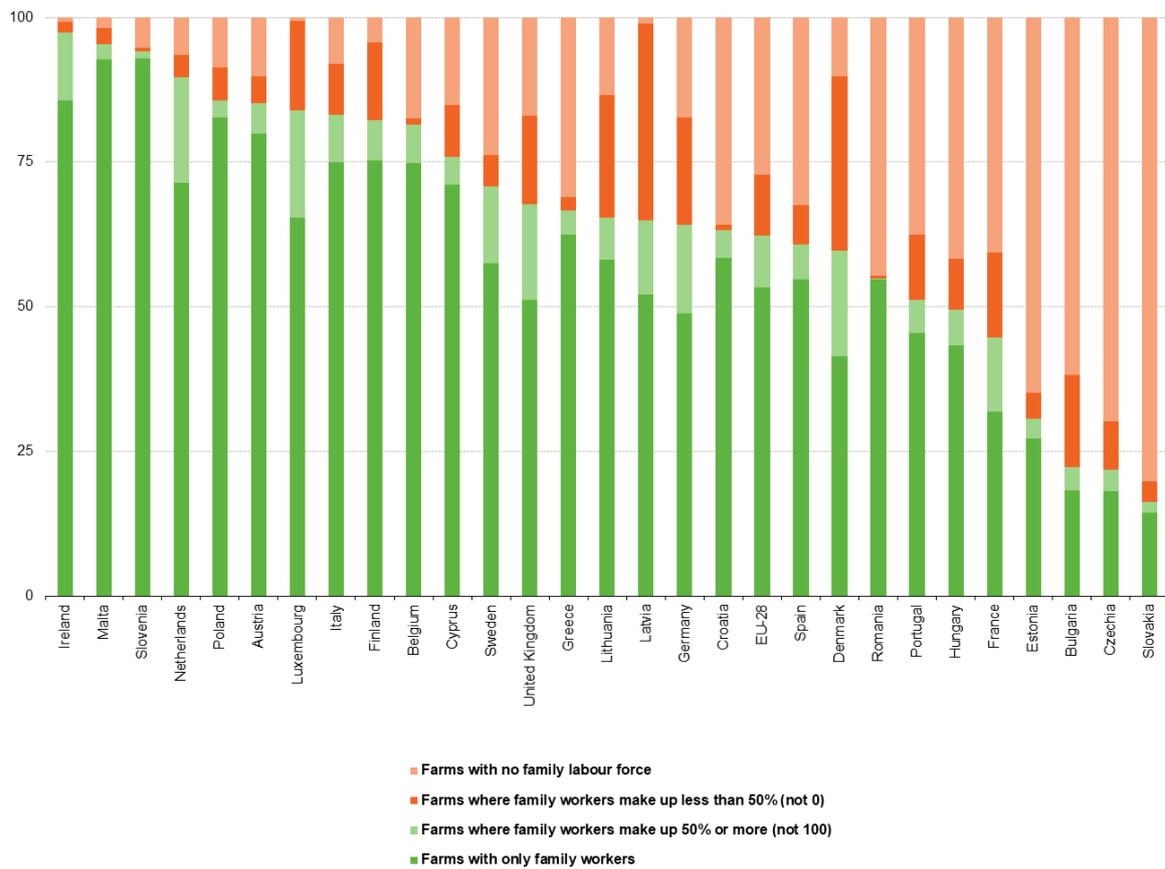
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5. Figure: Distribution of farms by type of farm labour, 2016 (% of farms)

Family farms covered more than 50% of the UAA (utilised agricultural area) in 22 of the Member States (see Figure 6). The average for the EU-28 was 62.3% of UAA covered by family farms.

The highest shares of UAA at over 90 % were in Ireland, Malta and Slovenia while the lowest shares were in Slovakia (16.3%), Czechia (21.9%) and Bulgaria (22.2%).

Distribution of the utilised agricultural area by type of farm labour, 2016
(% of utilised agricultural area)



Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

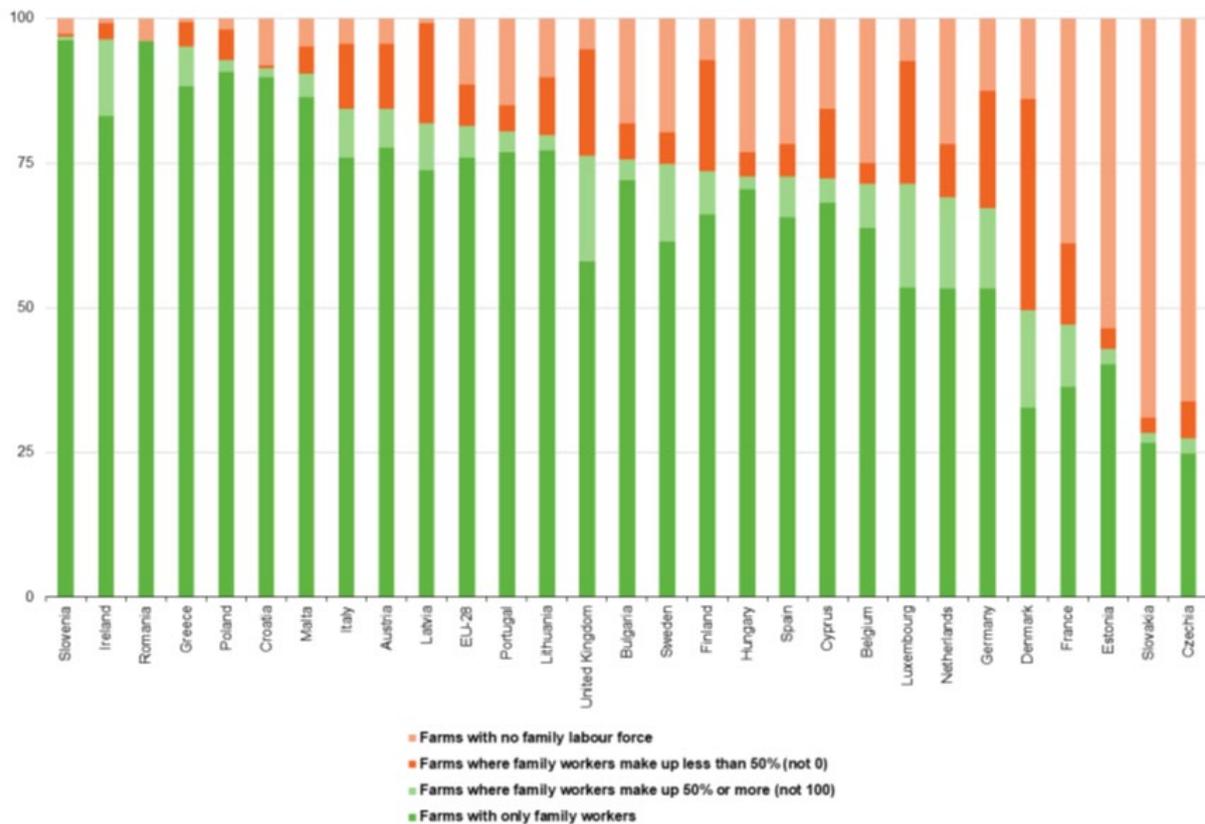
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6. Figure: Distribution of the utilised agricultural area by type of farm labour, 2016 (% of UAA)

1.3.6 Labour on family farms

The labour on family farms (Figure 7) was the equivalent of four fifths of all labour on all farms in the EU. Focusing on this at member state level, this proportion was lowest in Czechia (27.4%), Slovakia (28.3%) and Estonia (42.9%).

Distribution of the regular labour force by type of farm labour, 2016
(% of regular farm labour force)



Note: based on annual work units (AWUs). The figure is ranked on the share of family farms (in other words farms with only family workers and farms where family workers make up 50 % or more (but not 100 %) of the regular labour force).
Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

eurostat

*7. Figure: Distribution of the regular labour force by type of farm labour, 2016
(% of regular farm labour force)*

1.3.7 Value of agricultural output on Family farms

Family farms also accounted for the vast majority of the value of agricultural output produced by the sector in many Member States. The EU average for the value of agricultural output produced on family farms was 59.5 %. This was highest in particular for Ireland, with 92.8% of the value of agricultural output produced on family farms, followed by Slovenia (89.1%) and Greece (88.4%).

This differed significantly from the family farms in Slovakia, Czechia and Estonia, that accounted for about or below 20 % of the monetary value of agricultural output produced by the sector.

1.3.8 Aging Farm managers – a crucial issue on family farms

For the EU-28, almost one third of farm managers are aged 65 years or over so that the ageing of farm managers is a crucial issue on family farms. This has been cited as the most persistent and serious risk to the sustainable development of family farming. Farm managers are responsible for the daily financial, production and management tasks and routines of running a farm on a daily basis. Often the farm manager is also the owner (also known as the 'holder') of the farm but this however is not always the case, especially when the farm has a legal form.

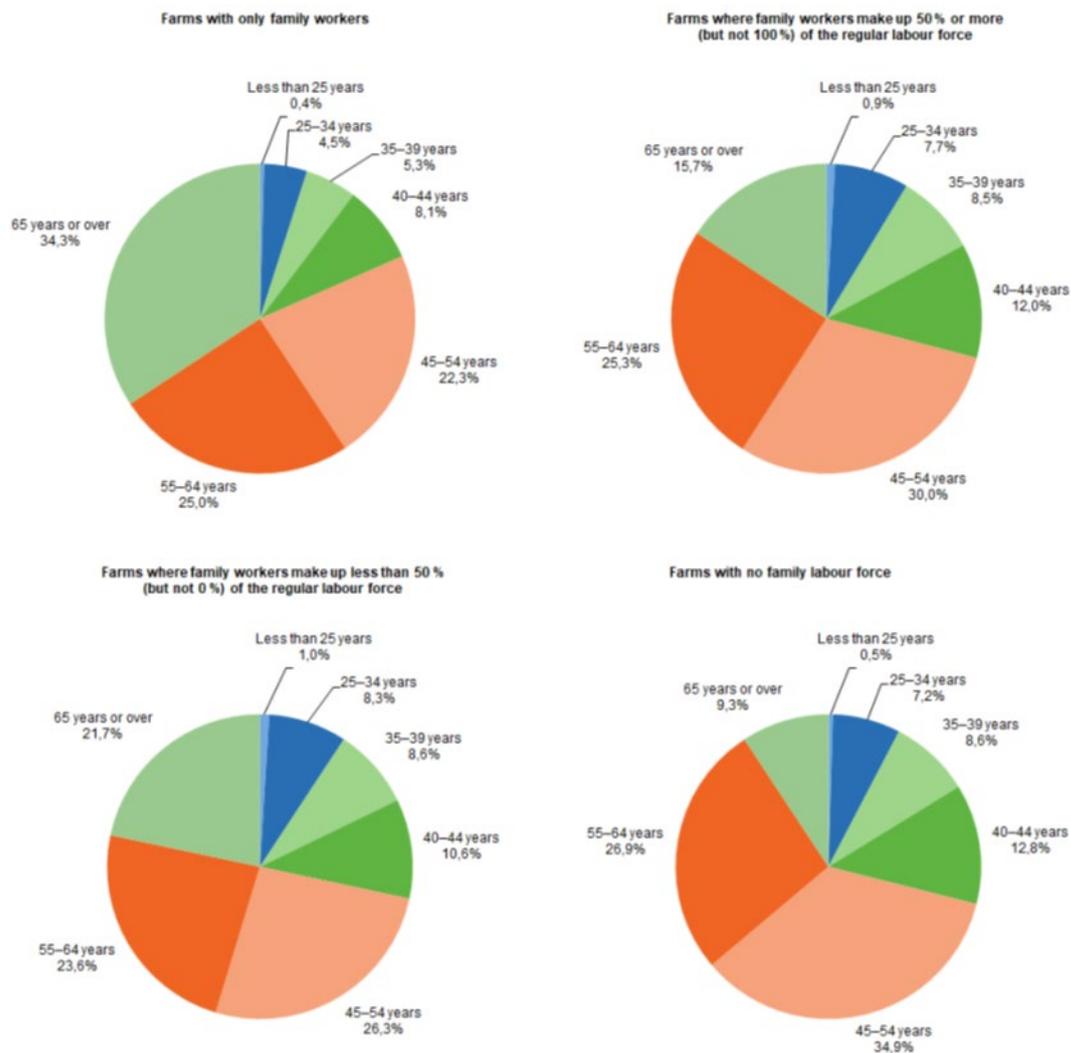
Across all member states in 2016, there were 3.3 million farm managers of family farms that were aged 65 or over, equating to greater than one third of the total (Figure 8).

If this proportion is broken down for farms with “only family workers”, the share of managers aged 65 (or over) is actually much higher, at 34.3%. On farms without any family labour, the relevant percentage is much lower at 9.3% (light green on pie chart). From these figures, the lower share of farm managers over the age of 65 years suggest that farm managers working on these non-family labour farms were much more likely to have stopped managing farms by the age of 65.

However, it is also important to focus on the age category just below this “retirement” age of 65. It is this grouping that holds the retiring farm managers of the future. The percentage of managers aged between 55 and 64 accounted for around one quarter of the total managers in all types of farm. So, to put this in perspective, almost 60% of all farm managers on farms with “only farm workers” were over 55 years of age.

If we look at the age cohorts below 55 years of age, these farms account for only 40% of the total. There were relatively few young farm managers in the EU-28 in 2016, with managers younger than 40 years of age accounting for circa 10% of all managers on farms with only family workers. However, if we look at the comparable category on the non-family farms this share rises to 17%.

Distribution of managers by age class and type of farm labour, 2016 (% of total number of managers for the specified extent of the family labour force)



Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

eurostat

8. Figure: Distribution of managers by age class and type of farm labour, 2016 (% of total number of managers for the specified extent of the family labour force)

“Young”⁴ farm managers of family farms were most common in Luxembourg (where 26.0% of farm managers fell into this category, but it must be noted that we are dealing with very small numbers here). In Austria 21.7% were in this “young” category while in Poland it was 20.0%.

Only 11% of farm managers in the EU were younger than 40 years old, in contrast to one third (32%) who were 65 years of age or older. For Ireland 13% were less than 40 years of age, while the vast majority were in older age categories. Almost 58% were aged between 40 and 64 years, while the remaining 30% are aged 65 or older.

⁴Defined here as aged under 40 years of age.

Cyprus and Portugal were the two countries with older than average family farm managers. Consequently, in these two countries, family farm managers aged 65 or over were relatively common (43.7% and 50.1% respectively).

Farm managers by age class and type of farm labour, 2016
(thousands)

	All managers on farms	Managers on family farms of any type				Managers on non-family farms of any type			
		Of all ages	Less than 40	40 - 64	65 years or over	Of all ages	Less than 40	40 - 64	65 years or over
EU-28	10 306	9 823	1 022	5 474	3 325	483	81	336	66
Belgium	37	31	3	21	7	6	1	4	1
Bulgaria	202	191	26	93	72	11	3	7	1
Czechia	28	23	2	14	7	5	1	3	1
Denmark	33	30	2	20	8	3	0	3	0
Germany	277	251	36	194	21	26	5	19	2
Estonia	15	12	1	7	4	3	1	2	0
Ireland	137	135	17	78	40	2	0	1	1
Greece	685	677	56	394	227	8	1	5	2
Spain	942	824	66	489	269	118	15	78	25
France	455	312	43	208	61	143	28	108	7
Croatia	134	130	13	73	44	4	1	3	0
Italy	1 146	1 101	86	556	459	45	5	30	10
Cyprus	35	34	1	18	15	1	0	1	0
Latvia	70	68	6	41	21	2	0	2	0
Lithuania	150	147	18	83	46	3	1	2	0
Luxembourg	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Hungary	430	418	52	236	130	12	2	8	2
Malta	10	10	1	6	3	0	0	0	0
Netherlands	57	50	4	36	10	7	1	5	1
Austria	130	124	28	87	9	6	1	4	1
Poland	1 410	1 393	282	948	163	17	4	12	1
Portugal	259	242	9	103	130	17	2	10	5
Romania	3 420	3 396	250	1 632	1 514	24	5	17	2
Slovenia	69	69	6	43	20	0	0	0	0
Slovakia	25	22	4	13	5	3	1	2	0
Finland	14	12	1	10	1	2	0	2	0
Sweden	23	18	2	11	5	5	1	3	1
United Kingdom	112	102	6	61	35	10	1	7	2

Source: Eurostat (Farm Structure Survey, 2016)

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14. Table: Farm managers by age class and type of farm labour, 2016 (thousands)

The European Commission estimated that in 2017 only 5.6% of all European farms were run by farmers under the age of 35. Almost one third of all farmers were older than 65 years of age, i.e. above the “normal” retirement age.

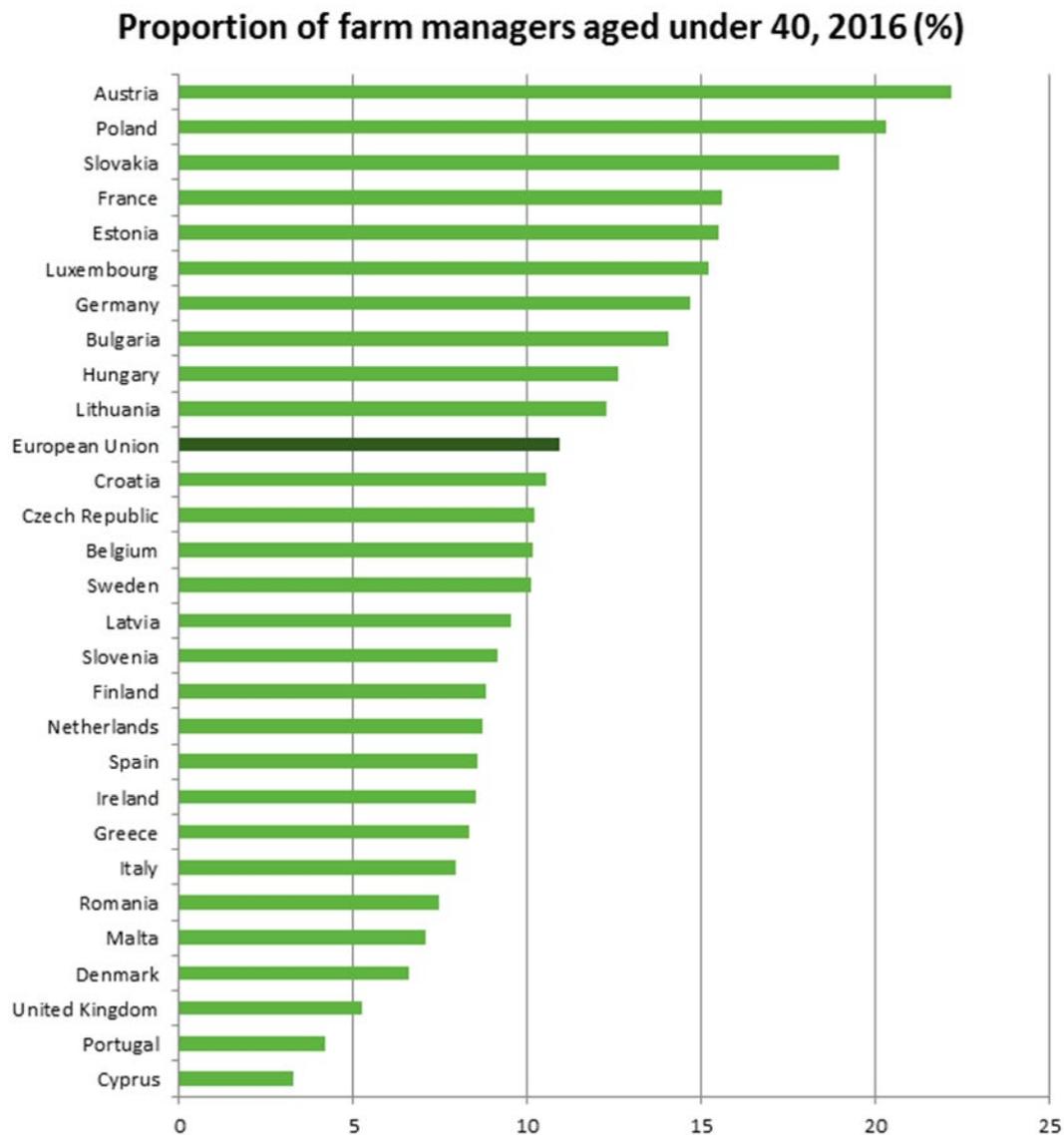
For every young farmer, there are about 9 elderly farmers. Such data raises concerns about the future competitiveness and sustainability of European agriculture over the coming decades.

Based on the latest Eurostat Farm structures survey data for 2016 year, only one in ten EU farm managers (11 %) were under the age of 40 years old. The average age of farmers is very much at the older end of the age spectrum. For 2016, of the 10.3 million people working as farm managers in the EU, one third of farm managers were 65 years of age or more. While agriculture remains an important employer within the EU, with 9.7 million people engaged in agriculture in 2016.

Most particularly in Cyprus, young farmers accounted for only 3.3% of all farm managers, with the proportion 4.2% in Portugal and 5.3% the United Kingdom. On the other end of the spectrum, young farmers were more common in Austria at 22.2%, Poland 20.3% and Slovakia

at 19.0%. These younger farm managers tended to have bigger farms in terms of area, livestock and standard output than the oldest ones (over 65 years of age).

Farming continues to remain a male dominated profession very much, with only about three in ten (29%) EU farm managers being women. The proportion of young farm managers who were women was lower still (23%).



ec.europa.eu/eurostat 

9. Figure: Proportion of Farm managers by Age



10. Figure: Regions with highest and lowest share of older farm managers

Source: EUROSTAT, Ref: RYB-Infographics-CH12_RYB19

Focusing on the regional data, with reference to those regions with the highest share of older farm managers (that is those aged over 65 years) are all in regions within Portugal, these regions are namely, the Algarve, Centro and Area Metropolitana de Lisboa. The lowest share is in Austrian and German regions, namely Salzburg, Mittelfranken and Oberpfalz. Further details on the proportions are available on Figure 10 and on the Eurostat website.

The challenges for EU agriculture continue to include not only environmental and economic but also the social dimensions and territorial cohesion. One of the underlying priorities of the future CAP is in prioritising not only small and medium-sized farms but also to encourage young farmers to join the profession and supporting young farmers in setting-up their business.

As previously mentioned, slow generational renewal and a high average age for farmers is a widespread issue in the EU's farming sector. In 2016, greater than half of all farm managers in the EU-28 in 2016 were aged 55 years or over. A report from the European Parliament (in 2016) looked at both existing and potential new policies to support young farmers. This report included the inclusion of such potential policies as providing incentives for older farmers to retire and addressing barriers to entry. Increasing the business skills among young farmers is also another important consideration.

If just focus on farm managers, rather than on farm holders, managers and others working on the farm and if there is only one farm manager per farm, this means that the number of managers and farms is the same, that is 10.5 million farm managers across the EU-28 in 2016.

Among these farm managers, just under 11% (10.6%) or 1.1 million were aged less than 40 years. This cohort of young farmers are considered "as young farm managers" for policy

purposes. For the majority of EU regions, the share of young farmers was less than one fifth (20.0%) in 2016.

These “younger” farm managers were principally located in eight regions of Poland and Austria (six regions). This includes Salzburg region with the highest share in the EU, at 27.6%.

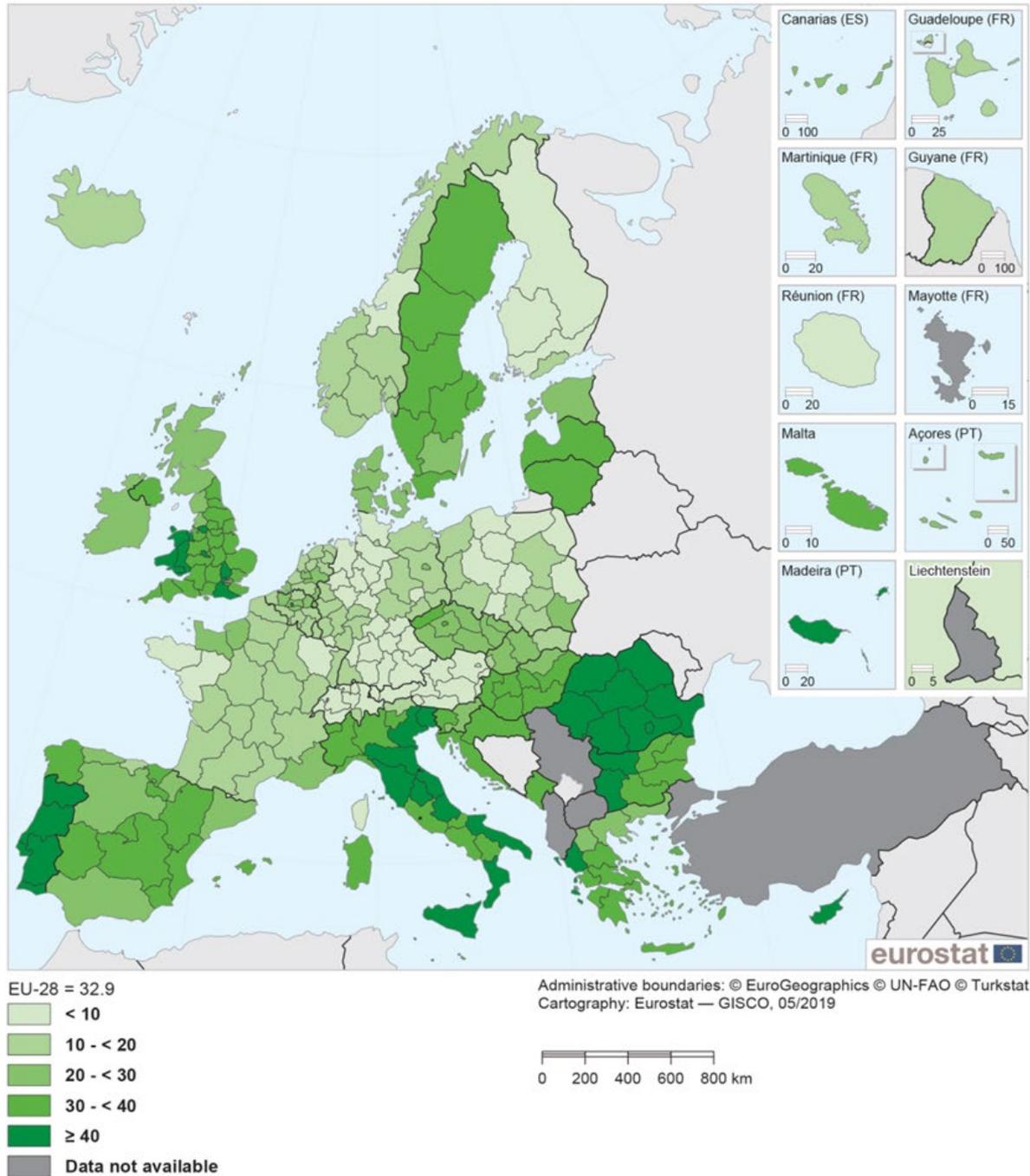
For all the EU’s farm managers, 57.9% were aged 55 years or over, and nearly one third (32.9%) were aged 65 years or over. The map as detailed in Figure 11 below focuses on this oldest age group, showing the share of farm managers in each NUTS level 2 region who were aged 65 years or over.

Elderly farm managers were particularly common in Portuguese regions: in Algarve, almost two thirds (63.1%) of farm managers in 2016 were aged 65 years or more. Apart from Portugal, at least 40.0% of farm managers were aged 65 years or over in 31 other regions, principally located in: Italy (10 regions, including Umbria which had the highest share (48.9%) outside of Portugal); Romania (all eight regions); and the United Kingdom (seven regions).

These older age structures underline the policy interest in farm succession and inheritance and the need to encourage a new generation of farmers and new entrants into the sector. From the data, it is noted that the older farm managers tend to work predominantly on the smallest farms (measured in economic terms) which are characterised by low levels of agricultural income.

“Less than 10% of farm managers were aged 65 years or over in 2016 in 46 of the EU’s regions, with Salzburg recording the lowest share at 4.0%. These regions, where less than 1 in 10 farm managers were elderly, were principally located in: Germany (21 regions, of which only one was in eastern Germany); Austria (all nine regions); and Poland (eight regions).”

Older farm managers, 2016
 (% share of farm managers aged ≥ 65 years, by NUTS 2 regions)



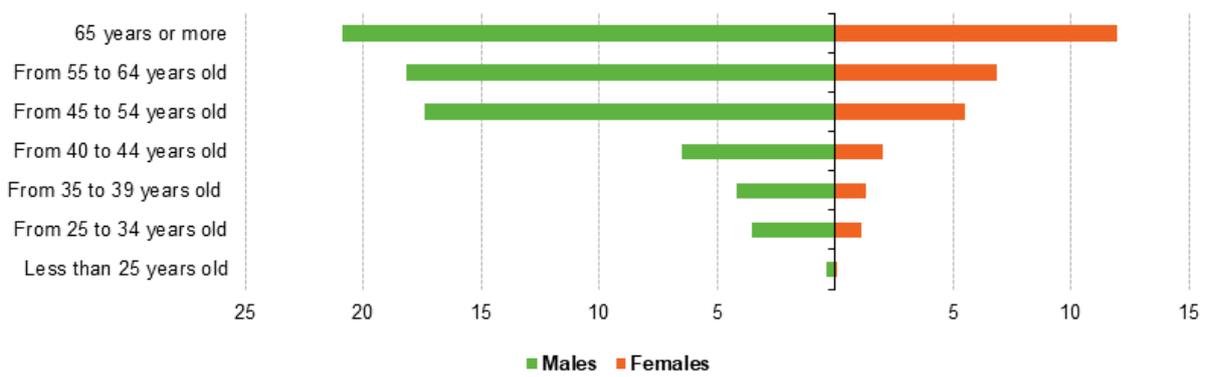
Note: Közép-Magyarország (HU1), Makroregion Województwo Mazowieckie (PL9) and Scotland (UKM): NUTS level 1. Ireland and Lithuania, national data. Norway: 2013. Iceland, Switzerland and Montenegro: 2010. Ireland and Italy: provisional.
 Source: Eurostat (online data code: ef_m_farmang)

11. Figure: Share of farm managers aged 65 years or older, by NUTS 2 Region, 2016, Source: Eurostat (ef_m_farmang)

As is evident from the graph as detailed in Figure 12, for the latest year data available 2016, the vast proportion of the 10.3 million people working as farm managers are in the “65 years or more” category with the proportion of farmers in each group declining as we enter the younger age categories. This is true in relation to both the Male and Female farm manager categories, but as expected the proportion of female farm managers are less than male proportions but also increase in proportion over time as age increases.

The farming profession is dominated by men, with only about three in ten (29%) EU farm managers being women. The proportion of young farm managers who were women was lower still (23%).

Age classes of farm managers, by gender, EU-28, 2016
(% of all farm managers)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: ef_m_farmang)

eurostat 

12. Figure: Farm managers by Age class and gender

This provides an important graphical story reflecting the very low proportion of farmers in the under 34 years category, which is less than 5% of the total and that is when we combine the male and females together. This reflects the low numbers of farm managers in these age categories who can potentially “succeed” the older cohort of farmers.

Further details on this younger age category and on other age categories, including categorisation for farm managers aged 65 years and older are available on Table 15.

Countries	Less than 40 years old	Between 40-54 years old	Between 55-64 years old	65 years and older
EU*	10.9	31.9	25.1	31.9
Belgium	10.2	37.8	28.5	20.3
Bulgaria	14.0	25.6	23.9	36.4
Czech Republic	10.2	31.0	32.0	26.8
Denmark	6.6	34.0	29.2	24.9
Germany	14.6	45.8	31.4	8.2
Estonia	15.5	34.6	22.3	27.5
Ireland	8.5	37.3	25.1	29.1
Greece	8.3	30.8	27.4	33.5
Spain	8.6	34.5	25.4	31.2
France	15.6	39.9	29.2	15.0
Croatia	10.5	28.9	27.8	32.7
Italy**	:	:	:	:
Cyprus	3.3	20.4	31.8	44.6
Latvia	9.5	33.6	26.7	30.2
Lithuania	12.3	33.1	23.8	30.8
Luxembourg	15.2	38.6	30.5	15.7
Hungary	12.6	29.3	27.4	30.6
Malta	7.1	27.2	34.0	31.8
Netherlands	8.7	43.6	29.0	18.7
Austria	22.2	46.8	21.8	7.3
Poland	20.3	41.3	26.7	11.7
Portugal	4.2	19.6	24.1	51.9
Romania	7.6	25.7	22.3	44.3
Slovenia	9.1	33.5	28.8	28.5
Slovakia	19.0	34.3	26.3	20.3
Finland	8.8	57.8	23.7	9.7
Sweden	10.1	29.6	27.6	32.7
United Kingdom	5.3	32.6	28.0	34.1

Source: EUROSTAT

*15. Table: Farm managers in the EU, Age categorisation, 2016 (%), *EU excludes Italy, for which data are unavailable. **Italy: data unavailable*

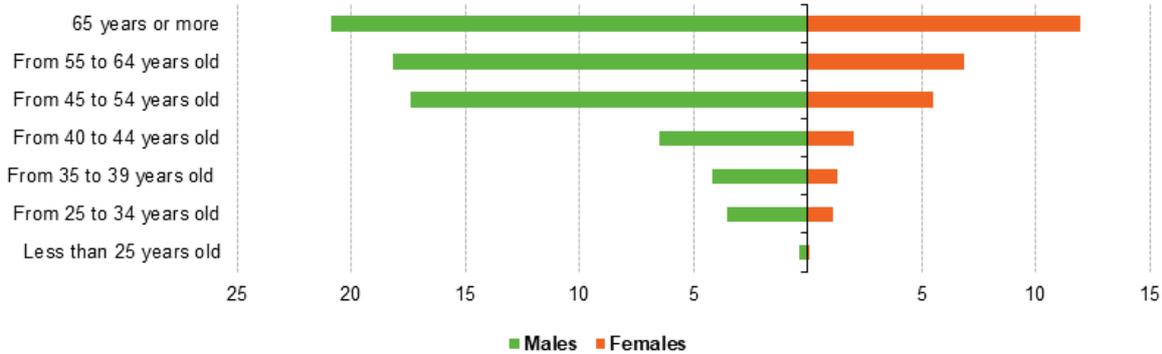
1.3.9 Farm managers – Age classes by gender

As is evident from the graph as detailed in Figure 13, for the latest year data available 2016, the vast proportion of the 10.3 million people working as farm managers are in the “65 years or more” category with the proportion of farmers in each group declining as we enter the younger age categories. This is true in relation to both the Male and Female farm manager categories, but as expected the proportion of female farm managers are less than male proportions but also increase in proportion over time as age increases.

The farming profession is dominated by men, with only about three in ten (29%) EU farm managers being women. The proportion of young farm managers who were women was lower still (23%).

Age classes of farm managers, by gender, EU-28, 2016

(% of all farm managers)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: ef_m_farmang)

eurostat 

13. Figure: Farm managers by Age class and gender

This provides an important graphical story reflecting the very low proportion of farmers in the under 34 years category, which is less than 5% of the total and that is when we combine the males and females together. This reflects the low numbers of farm managers in these age categories who can potentially “succeed” the older cohort of farmers.

Further details on this younger age category and on other age categories, including categorisation for farm managers aged 65 years and older are available on Table 15.

1.3.10 The agricultural labour force

As already noted, many farms are family-run with family members providing help on the farm at different times of the year with seasonal peaks in labour throughout the year. As many farmers and farm workers pursue agriculture as a part-time activity this therefore causes issues in knowing how many people are employed in agriculture. Therefore, this exercise is not as straightforward as it for other sectors of the economy.

In Eurostat analysis in order to overcome these issues, four distinctions are made as follows: (i) agricultural employment (ii) the regular agricultural labour force (iii) the volume of agricultural work carried out and (iv) farm managers.

Each of these categories gives us a different aspect of those working in agriculture. This is indeed most important for not only policy purposes but in better understanding the complexity of the provision of labour and work within the industry. Hence such additional complexities with regard to agriculture and farming mean that informing the succession and intergenerational renewal debate on farms is even more complex.

The labour input of many part-time farmers and help from family members is often excluded from employment data which covers employees and self-employed persons. This is a measure that allows comparisons to be made across different sectors of the economy but owing to some of deficiencies in collection of these details on farms, owing to the family nature of many, can cause issues with comparisons.

The amount of labour actually provided can be converted into full-time labour equivalents (called Annual Work Units - AWU) so as to gain insight into the volume of work carried out in agricultural activities. According to Eurostat, farm managers can be thought of as decision-making farmers. "The regular agricultural labour force is the broadest category that includes even those that work part-time and provide free labour, which is common for many family members of the farmer."

1.3.11 EU Structure of agriculture - Land area and Farm Size

About 40% of the EU's total land area was used for agricultural production in 2016, a little over 171 million hectares of land. This land area supported about 10.3 million farms and farm managers.

Most of the EU's farms are small with two thirds of the 10.3 million farms in the EU are less than 5 hectares. In contrast, the 3% of EU farms of 100 ha or more in size worked over half of the EU's utilised agricultural area. However, the 7% of farms that were of 50 ha or more in size worked a little over two-thirds (68%) of the EU's utilised agricultural area (UAA). So, although the mean size of an agricultural holding in the EU was 16.6 ha in 2016, the median was under 5 ha.

One third of the EU's farms were located in Romania in 2016 (33%) and another 15% being found in Poland. Romania has one third of the EU's farms, but they tend to be small in size. The next highest shares were recorded in Italy (10.9% of the farms in the EU-28), Spain (9.0 %) and Greece (6.5%).

Among Member States, the distribution of farms was most contrasting in Romania where nine in every ten farms (92% or 3.1 million farms) were smaller than 5 ha, but the 0.5% of farms of 50 ha or more in size farmed half (51%) of all the UAA in the country.

On the contrary, larger farms (that is of 50 hectares or more) were much more common in Luxembourg where over half (52% of farms) were greater than 50 hectares. In France, 41% were over 50 hectares while the corresponding proportion in the United Kingdom and Denmark respectively was 39% and 35%. In most Member States, a majority of UAA was concentrated on the largest farms (50 ha or more in size).

In 2016, two thirds of all EU farms were either very small (defined here as those farms with a standard output of less than EUR 2 000 per year) or small (with output in the range of EUR 2 000 to EUR 8 000 per year). Very small and small farms (as measured by standard output) are commonly located across eastern and southern parts of the EU. Consequently, the largest average size of farms in the EU were most commonly found in western regions.

2 Analysis of rural newcomers, new entrants and successors in the study countries

(by Imre Kovách, Boldizsár Megyesi,
Silvia Sivini, Annamaria Vitale)

2.1 The rural in the project countries

The Conceptual Guidelines of the RURALIZATION project acknowledges that 'rural' can be defined in many ways. The project interprets the rural as a highly diverse space, research into rural regeneration must take into account the diversity of the countryside.

The definition of the term rural is a subject of discussion in the international literature that has accompanied the history of rural sciences since the turn of the '70s and '80s. The beginning of the conceptual debate was related to the change of approach in the rural sciences. Prior to the change, rural sociology focused primarily on the issues of intensive agricultural modernization following World War II and tended to attribute everything that did not fit the model of modernization to the imperfect implementation of development and not to discover in it a possible alternative to rural development (Marsden 2006).

In the 1970s and 1980s, as in other social sciences, there was a period of crisis in rural sociology: in research, the urban-rural continuum, the relatively autonomous and idyllic countryside, was replaced by the conflicting countryside (Shanin 1976, Benvenuti et al. 1975, Benvenuti 1985). Research into the consequences of agricultural modernization, class conflicts between agricultural entrepreneurs and wage earners, and the mass exodus of urban dwellers has diverted attention from the renewal of the concept of the countryside. A conceptual vacuum (Newby 1980) emerged regarding the subject of rural sociology and the definition of the countryside. The "countryside" was taken as a social and spatial place of modernization rather than a conceptually and scientifically distinguished unique and specific field. The conceptual gap was not changed by the turn of rural research in the '80s. The "new political economy" responded to the complex changes of the '80s by introducing a wide range of research areas. The problems of the countryside have been attributed to international food production systems reorganizing as a result of the reshaping of the capitalist system and to the social and economic reconstructing of rural areas (Lowe et al. 1990), which did not help the scientific definition of the countryside. The response of rural research to conceptual difficulties has led to a wide range of results. The new political economy focused on the development of a theory and rural concept that underpins the relationship between economic (agricultural) and complex rural development systems.

In other approaches to rural sciences, the concept of the countryside is not objectively defined (and can be defined), but the actors continuously reconstruct it according to their interests, desires and consumption orientations. The notion of 'rural' is created in public and political discourses. Rural images often replace the concept of the countryside in policy documents and have an impact on research. Rural image is an effective element of the discursive competition that arises in rural development systems. It is a cultural product removing the

rural concept used in everyday life and official documents from objective determinants. The theory of culture economy considers culturally shaped traits and identities in rural development practice to be an economic factor and a driving force.

To encourage Howard Newby's critical writings, a generation of British social scientists (Marsden 1989, Murdoch-Marsden 1994, Whatmore 1990, Cloke 1997) from the mid-1980s identified joint research on the restructuring of agricultural production and rural restructuring as the goal of the new political economy. Agricultural modernization as a research subject and normative category has been declared an overly narrow interpretation framework for rural change. Instead of reorganizing agriculture as a development paradigm, rural development with more complex goals was proposed.

With the introduction of the research principle of rural restructuring, a multidimensional rural concept was used (Marsden 1989, Whatmore 1990). Rural change was perceived as a multidimensional phenomenon, and the shifts that took place in each dimension were assumed to have no hierarchical relationship between them. A critical volume (Mingay 1989) on the consumption-oriented idyllic countryside of agrarians and urban middle classes has been published. The new research paradigm accurately detected a change in the function of the countryside. A series of researches have been launched on urban migration (counter-urbanization) and the change in the rural function, the consumer or service countryside (Marsden 1999), the social problems of the countryside, and rural poverty.

The political economy of production has been replaced by the political economy of consumption. Instead of, and in addition to, research on the integration of agriculture, farmers, rural class conflicts, agricultural wage workers and their advocacy organizations, the new political economy analyses the displacement of urban dwellers and the resulting new conflicts, consumption, locality, service social groups and consumer middle classes. The economy of rural areas is shifting from production to service, local society is facing new conflicts, urban consumption and emigration are in many ways determining the organization of rural society. The relatively closed and class-based unity of local communities is disintegrating and replaced by competing and contested, culturally and consumer-influenced rurality. Through the service / consumer countryside, the competing (contested) countryside, the post-productionist rural concepts, the new political economy is also trying to create a new rural model and rural concept. The ideal types of four post-productionist counties published by Flynn and Lowe (1994) and then Marsden (1998/1) are, for example, preserved countryside with environmental and nature protection aspects, rural areas using internal resources, client type in need of external support and large landowner dominated paternalistic type.

French literature argues for the use of a much more complex concept of countryside, in which micro differences between territories and material and social specificities are associated with social construction of the rural (Rieutort 2012, Mathieu 2017).

With the decline in agricultural land use and the social and cultural rise of farmers, traditional local culture has eroded. Increasingly, previously freely used areas have been declared national parks. The booming urban tourism, conservation activists and scientists have become increasingly important in public discourses about the countryside. In the new rural

representation, the protected nature, the forest, the field, the grove and the stream bank that can be used for recreational purposes have become the dominant elements. The mass tourism has also come into conflict with the values of environmentalists, the agricultural production of local farmers and the rural image of the middle classes moving out of cities. Each group uses a concept of the countryside in accordance with its own interests, in the construction of which consumption values and production interests are mixed with the cultural panels of the representation of the countryside. According to the constructivist trend, the concept of the countryside is a social product with a cultural definition, so the objective definition of the countryside is an illusion. Objectivity itself is a construct of experts and political interest groups.

Social science analyses discourses because, as Cloke (1997) points out, the segregation of the rural space has ceased, and the rural is only the socially created and maintained discursive category. The countryside can only be identified by abstract cultural signs. Cultural features that were previously associated with a specific rural location have become socialized and their geographical identifiable has disappeared, so post-structuralist rural sociology that analyses discourses approaches cultural sciences. According to Cloke, the landscape, the view of the villages, the events of the local society became a commodity, and the representation, myths, symbols and images of the countryside moved away from the specific geographical spaces into a kind of hyperreality. The rural representation of hyperreality is suitable for the participants to shape the elements of the discourse about the countryside without hindrance. For example, the middle classes obscure the elements that disturb them from their landscape (Cloke 1997).

Jones distinguishes four types of rural discourses: the lay discourse of the everyday communication of ordinary people, the popular discourse generated by the products of mass culture, the professional discourse of experts and decision-makers, and the scientific discourse (Jones 1995). The result of rural discourse research is that, in addition to the specific content of discourses, it is also important to analyse who has the power to determine the status of an area and the consequences of exercising the power of definition (Jones 1995). DuPuis analyses how experts create rural images according to their own visions, omitting elements (such as poverty, environmental damage) that do not match their rural image (Dupuis 2006). According to Halfacree (2006), there are two main approaches to rural definitions in the literature. One considers the research of social representation to be the primary one, while the other gives priority to the analysis of the characteristics of place and locality. The definition of the countryside can be done using the geographical specifics considered objective, but even in this case the perceptions of the countryside are formed according to the preliminary visions and visions of the space. Accordingly, the geographical definition of the countryside leads to the definition of a wide variety of places, such as countryside, wilderness, periphery, remote abandoned countryside, village, farm, peasant society, garden area, bucolic, pastoral area, marginalized, non-social area, open space. Frouws (1998) analysed how discourses define rural concepts. Guided by their different situations, social relations and interests, different actors take part in the discourses leading to rural definitions. In social policy texts, he used a discourse analysis to present agrarian, utilitarian, emphasizing economic competitiveness and development opportunities, and consumer / hedonistic images of cultural values and the beauty of the countryside. Referring to the European summary of Goverde and de Haan (2002) Hoggart, Buller and Black (1995), he draws attention to the fact that rural discourses always

appear in a specific national context. Rural is a key concept in the culture and discourses of the Scandinavian and British Isles, while it is not widely used in the Mediterranean regions. The central element of the English-language discourse is the rural idyll, the French the terroir and paysan, the German the Bauerntum and the Heimat.

As a result of the introduction of the development system and globalization, users try to localize the control of rural development (Ray 1998) and create a new cultural identity for their settlement and region. Christopher Ray (1998) culture-economy theory argues that the appreciation of discursive strategies in rural development stems from three sources: (1.) the altered quality of post-industrial, postmodern consumer societies; (2.) the nature of the European Union's rural development system; (3.) from the European and global revival of regionalism. According to Tovey (1998), one of the most important features of the post-productive era is that in the implementation of development, the role of the rhetorical, discursive level increased significantly and became equivalent to the material. Part of this process is the reassessment of nature and rurality, traditions, consumer and gastronomic culture and the creation of new local values that can also be used as capital in the development system (Tovey 1998, Mormont 1990, Murdoch-Marsden 1994, Kloppenburg 1991, Ward 1993, Buller 1992).

Our task in following sections is to present and summarize the statistically descriptive differences and similarities of rural in the countries of the Ruralization project. The three parts of the chapter are the urban and rural settlement structure, the characteristics of agriculture and farmers, and the rural society in the concluding part.

2.1.1 Settlement structure. Urban and rural

In some countries it is used for the statistical description of rural data according to the European predominantly urban (less than 20% of the population lives in rural grid cells, i.e., areas outside clusters of urban densities), intermediate (between 20 and 50 % of the populations is rural) and predominantly rural (more than 50% of the population is rural) categorization of regions.

In Italy the distribution of geographical territories is predominantly urban: 47.9% lives in urban region; 42.5 lives in intermediate regions and only 9.5% lives in rural region. From the Italian 302.000 square kilometres, predominantly rural regions cover 24 % of the Italian territory, intermediate regions another 54 %, and predominantly urban regions are 22 of the country total territory. The differences between the administrative regions (provinces) according to the urban-rural distribution are significant: for Bolzano and Molise are total rural while in the other segment Liguria, Puglia and Sicilia are more than half urban.

In Germany 95 districts are predominantly urban regions with more than 80% of the population living in urban places, 196 districts correspond to the type of intermediate regions with more than 50% and up to 80% of the population living in urban area, 95 districts are predominantly rural regions, where at least 50% of the population live in rural territory (Eurostat, 2019).

The Netherlands and Belgium belongs to most urbanised project countries. The EUROSTAT region categories in the two countries are most often predominantly urban, some intermediate, and less often predominantly rural (Vandermeer & Halleux, 2017). In the Netherlands, the only predominantly rural region is Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen in the peripheral South-West. In Belgium, the thirteen predominantly rural regions are mostly in the East of Wallonia and only two located in the Southwest of Flanders (Eurostat, 2013). In the Netherlands more than half of the population lives in cities and in Belgium over half of the population lives in smaller towns and suburbs. The peculiarity of the urban-rural divide of the Belgian population, the high number of workers commuting from villages to cities, is the result of a political decision that sought to protect workers from bad urban influences and keep them under the control of the church (De Decker, 2011). Later, development policy allowed for suburban expansion along the main roads between settlements and therefore differed from the preserved landscape in the Netherlands and the suburban rural in Belgium, nevertheless, there is a significant number of rural local authorities in both countries. In the Netherlands, after 2011, due to the consolidation authorities, number of smaller rural local authorities are merged to city or towns. The 116 rural areas with over 2.4 million inhabitants in 2011, decreased by 2019 to 80 rural authorities and 1,764 thousand inhabitants. Despite the urbanisation level the rural issues play important role in both countries in policy (rural success of populism) and society (lack of urban space, the migration of educated, rural youth to cities, business relocation to rural).

The population of predominantly rural NUTS3 regions, comparing to the country total, is the smallest in Spain amongst the project countries. 62.5% of the Spanish population lives in urban, 34.3% in intermediate only 3.3 % in predominantly rural regions. The urban regions increased more than 1 % annually between 1999–2019, in intermediate regions by 0.6% and in rural regions, it fell by an average of 0.4% in every year. The data by the size of the settlements show the significant depopulation of the smaller Spanish rural settlements, where total decrease in the population is -7.2% in last decade.

The Finnish rural municipalities have lost their population during the 2000s. The Finnish seasonal rural population somewhat offsets the population loss. In 2016, about 1.6 million people (24% of the total population) lived summertime in the rural areas in over 500.000 free-time residences (summer cottages and holiday houses) increased by 85% the number of population of the urban-adjacent rural places, by 57% rural heartland and by 236% remote areas (Voutilainen al. 2019). The summer presence of seasonal population contributes greatly to the survival of local services.

In Ireland, 37.4% of the total population lives in rural areas, increased by 1.7% between 2011 and 2016 (which was lower than 4.8% in cities), but there was a smaller decrease (-0,7%) only in remote areas (CSO, 2019).

Despite their decrease in number, around one third of the Hungarian population lives in villages, which is not uncommon in Central and Eastern Europe, but is among the highest compared to the average of the European Union before 2004 (Csatári 2004; Kovách 2012). There is an overlap between the concepts of village and the countryside, but there is a great deal of uncertainty in the interpretation of “rural” in both international and Hungarian

literature (Csatári 2007; Kovách 2012, Kulcsár 2017). A new study considers both people living in villages and small towns to be rural and finds their proportion to be 54 percent within the Hungarian society (Balogh et al 2019). The population of villages decreased to 2,894,854 by 2016, due to high rates of emigration, natural reduction and the promotion of villages to town status. During this period, the number of villages decreased from 2,931 to 2,809 due to administrative changes, and although 152 villages were promoted to town status in 21 years, new villages were also formed due to the separation of settlements. The natural decline of the rural population is continuous, which has meant a loss of 10-15 thousand people per year since 1995. The positive migration balance became negative from 2006 onwards. Moving from villages was the biggest loss in 2008 and 2010. The number of people living in settlements that were declared cities between 1995 in 846,044 and 938,670, in 2006, i.e., this administrative change is the primary reason for the decline in the rural population. The population of villages with unchanged administrative classification is more stable, 2,972,667 people lived in these villages in 1995 and 2,894,854 people in 2016, which means a decrease of only about 78,000 people. In addition, more people lived in these villages between 2000 and 2008 than in 1995.

In Poland, around 40% of total population lives in 43,000 villages. The density of urban areas in Poland decrease from west to east and from south to north. The number and proportion of the Polish rural population has been relatively stable for decades, but due to industrialization, urbanization, and natural decline, depopulation trends have reached most villages and rural towns, however, the proportion of the Polish rural population within the total population is the highest in the project countries.

The French rural sciences use the most sophisticated definitions of the rural concept. The official statistics has three definitions. The first defines rural space mainly through urbanity concept with building continuity and less than 2000 inhabitants. The second separated nine categories of settlements but rural still was defined as an opposite category to urban space. The third (Aliaga et al, 2015) classified four categories based on density and population calculations: densely populated municipalities, municipalities of intermediate density, sparsely populated municipalities, very sparse municipalities. Three-quarters of the municipalities (considered isolated) belonged to very sparse areas. Through statistics, researchers have shown that from seventies not only urban places are centres of development, but also economic and demographic growth has started in sparsely populated areas due to rural renewal and counter urbanization. (Bontron et al, 1973; Mathieu, 1974; Kayser, 1990). The latest Census in 2017 confirmed that densely populated rural is experiencing considerable growth: smaller municipalities contributed to 41% of French demographic growth (which 30% for dense municipalities Rieutort, 2017). The peri-urban rural places have migratory attractiveness and remote areas are more places of depopulation however often affected by specific territorial dynamics.

According to EU living area concept three quarters of the French living areas are rural, which concentrate more than two thirds of municipalities, 31% of total country population. Living environment concept complements the living area perception with housing and neighbourhood of inhabitants. The inhabitancy mode concept (Mathieu 2007) is for the better understanding of evolving relationships between places and environments on the one side, and individuals and "people" on the other.

The geographer Pistre (2013) published a new categorization of French countryside which uses total municipal population growth and the natural and migratory balances at living area scale. His model combines variations of four natural and migratory shifts as crisis, emigration, recovery and revitalization period and distinguishes three type of rural spaces: suburban, productive and residential countryside.

2.1.2 Agriculture, farm and land property structure

Agricultural structures in most project countries have changed in a definite direction in recent years.

In Italy from 2005 a concentration process is going on: the agricultural land has declined to a limited extent and the number of farms decreased by almost a third till 2013 since when the trend has slowed and there have been signs of change. In 2016 1.145.710 farms worked with an average farm size of 11 ha., 61 percent of them have less than 5 ha only 4.1% have more than 50 ha. One third of farms in Italy have less than EUR 4.000 standard output per year and 50 percent have between 4000 and 50 000 EUR and 84 percent of Italian farms have less than 50.000 EUR of standard output per year. The farms average size is the smallest in Liguria, Calabria and Campania Lombardia, while in Sardegna, Lombardia and Valle d'Aosta average farm size is the biggest in Italy. Emilia Romagna, Veneto and Piedmont provinces where there are more productive farms with highest average standard output and land use is also more concentrated here. About 2 million people work in agriculture. Puglia, Sicilia, Calabria, Campania and Veneto employ more than half of the agricultural population. The dominant type of agricultural holding is the family farm. The 88% of total regular farm labour force is family labour. In 98,6% of the cases the owner was a natural person in 2016. The concentration of land use within the framework of family farms and the recent increasing specialization and intensification are characteristics of Italian agriculture.

The decline in the number of farms and farmers is a long-term structural change in German agriculture. The surviving farms are becoming more extensive in terms of land use and higher in standard output and productivity but despite of increasing farm size the majority of German agricultural units are family farms (BMEL, 2019). 276,120 agricultural holdings utilize 16.7 million hectares. Between 2010 and 2016, 23,000 ceased to exist annually and, the number of holdings in Germany decreased by 7.69% – from 299,130 to 276,120. The less than 100 hectares farms decreased and larger than 100 ha increased from 33,620 up to 36,680. The decline in the number of farms has slowed in recent years but remains the most important structural change, making German agriculture one of the highest UUA users in the EU. The average land was around 61 hectares per farms in 2016. The number of natural person holders decreased, and the number of legal persons and group holders increased by 4,960 between 2010 and 2016 which is clear tendency of land use concentration. The intensively growing production of commercial bioenergy (biogas) has attracted supra-regional and non-agricultural investors to the land market, who in some places have acquired 15-30 per cent of the right to use the land.

In France between 2000 and 2010 number of farms decreased because of concentration of production and land use and fewer workers are employed on the bigger farms. In 2015

490,000 farms worked in France comparing to 1.1 million in 1985, or to 680.000 in 1997 and average size of the farms is much larger (around 55 hectares) than decades ago. In 2016, the agricultural workforce showed 710,000 full-time equivalents comparing to 957,383 in 2000. The contraction in the number of workers' and work volumes' number has continued to be on average -1.0% per year since 2010, slightly slower than between 2000 and 2010 (-2.4%) (Forget et al., 2019). In 2016, family labour (670,000 people) provided two thirds of AWUs on farms and the share of permanent employees was 18% and 16% for temporary workers. The number of farm owners and co-owners has shrunk by half in the last 40 years, the decline in the number and proportion of helping family members was even more radical (from 36% of total agricultural work in 1970 to 6% in 2016).

The structure of land use has already shown signs of strong concentration by 2004, the time of Hungary's EU accession. As a sign of concentration, the number of farming organizations was steadily increasing, and land use of larger family farms has also increased significantly. The number of smaller family farms has declined rapidly. 1,395,800 family farms were operating in Hungary in 1992, which decreased to 958,500 by 2000 and 446,000 by 2013 (HCSO, 2014). The number of the smallest family farms that are less than 1 hectare in size fell sharply, for example by 90,000 yearly between 2013 and 2016. In 2016 4.3 % of farms, 16,039 production units use three-quarters of the agricultural area, and 8762 farms (2.3 % of all farms) cultivated almost two-thirds of the arable land. The 1,302 farms of more than five hundred hectares (0.3 percent of all farms) own 1,458,240 hectares, 31.2 % of all agricultural land.

Since the early 1990s, there have also been two major (organizational, production-related and technological) structural, still ongoing, shifts in the structure of Polish agriculture as a result of the post-communist transition, and accession to the European Union. The land ownership structure is extensively fragmented with high spatial disparities between regions. The average size of a farm is 10.9 ha in 2019. Half of the farms use less than 5 ha, while more than 20% of total farmland belong of just 1% of largest farms, which clearly shows the beginning concentration of land use however the percentage of the largest farms over 50 ha was only 2.4% in 2018. Negative effect is the decline of the revenue and agricultural income by 15% that can accelerate the decay in number of smaller farms and the concentration of land use. The subsidies on production decreased by 6%, family farm income decreased 10 percent from 2018 to 2019.

The total number of farmers was 1.079.420 in Spain (2015), which decreased to 2016 by 12,8% (941.660 farmers). 49,7% of the farms utilised less than 5 hectares in 2016 which proportion is a bit lower than that in 2005 (51,9%), due to the decrease in the number of smaller farms (-19,4% for those below 2 hectares, -12,8% between 2 and 5 hectares category). As in other Ruralization project partner country, the number of farms under 50 hectares decreased and farms larger than 50 hectares increased, especially intensively above 100 hectares (4.8%). Total labour force directly employed in agriculture has declined from 992.000 AWUs in 2005 to 813.550 AWUs in 2013. Family labour force in the agricultural sector decreasing by one third, the regular non-family grew 15,9% (2005) to 21,5% (2013) and non-family- non-regular labour force stagnated.

In Finland 46,000 farms worked in 2019 (Luke). 85.9% were owned by private persons. 35 % of the farmland was rented. The number of farms below 5 hectares fell by 80% between 2000 and 2019. Number of small farms comparing to country total has declined from 8.6 % in 2000 to 2.8% in 2019. The small farms serve in (summer) residence purposes, in berry production, horse and other animal husbandry, as a source of home-grown food and they remarkably contribute to environmental management, more than to food production. Southern and western parts of the country with favourable natural conditions is the area of land use concentration and segmentation, large farms and part-time farming. Central, eastern and northern territories (with less favourable natural conditions) in the agricultural structure small farms and full-time farming dominate.

The structure of Irish agriculture is highly stable compared to other project partner countries. Irish agriculture is primarily a grass-based industry. 84 % of the agricultural lands is devoted to grass production. The 139,860 farms in 2010 minimally decreased to 137,500 to 2016 and the size of the utilized land (4,886,600 hectares) also changed minimally. The average size of farms and other agricultural holdings is 43,1 hectares in 2018 (Teagasc National Farm Survey 2018). The biggest change is expected in the area of agricultural human resources as the average age of holder is 58 years. The proportion of farmers over 65 years represents 93,000 farmers. The highest proportion, 37%, of aged farmers over 65 years, is in sheep farming. It is even more critical that 60% of farmers are over the age 55 years (in tillage, cattle rearing and cattle other system categories the more than 55 years cohort is over 60% of all farmers Teagasc National Farm Survey 2018, Data and Analysis).

The structure of agriculture is also stable in Belgium and the Netherlands. The size of farms, especially in the Netherlands, is twice the European average. 90 percent of the agricultural workforce works on productive and efficient large and extra-large farms. All this does not show that larger agricultural structural shifts are expected in these two project countries. The concentration of land use has taken place before. The vast majority of farm owners are private individuals. High land prices relative to the European average, as well as guaranteed profitability, are hampering radical structural change. The farmland mobility in both countries is relatively low, which makes it hard to access land and ownership change. Land goes mostly to farmer family successors (Rheinfeld 2017; Beukema 2017). According to critical analyses, the other side of the phenomenon is that renewal and innovation in the agricultural sector are less likely (Roels, 2018; Korthals Altes and Van Rij, 2005). In Flanders, the 70 per cent of agricultural land is leased and the land lease law highly complicate to access to land lease for farming which also contributes to keeping the recent agro-stability.

In the project countries in most of the multifunctional agriculture, organic production has increased significantly, and within agriculture these are perhaps the most important alternative forms of renewal. *The high average age of farmers in most agriculture may lead to more radical structural changes in the near future, which cannot be changed by the slowly increasing number of female farm owners and the migrant workforce. An increasing proportion of young educated, skilled workforce, due to increasing land use concentration and barriers to accessing land are migrating from small settlements.*

2.1.3 Concluding remarks

In previous chapters, we have reviewed some of the characteristics of the rural structures and agricultural systems of the countries involved in the project. The summary points out *the common development trends of the project countries and in some respects also highlights the peculiarities that are present in one or only a few countries*, but still need to be taken into account at analysing the Ruralization problematics.

Most of the similar trends are reflected in the restructuring of agriculture over the last decade. Ireland, the Netherlands and Belgium have a stable agricultural structure, with only minor changes in farm size and number of farmers in recent years. In the Netherlands and Belgium, land use concentration may have taken place decades earlier. The average size of farms is twice the EU average, and access to land is highly limited. Regeneration of the countryside is indeed unlikely to change from the agricultural structure and facilitating ruralization, access to land for newcomers and new generations can lead to a renewal of rural development.

A key issue for Irish agriculture and the countryside is the higher average age of farmers than the European average, which could trigger larger population movements in the countryside in the near future and easily lead to land use concentration, so effective land allocation for new rural or external actors, successors is strategically important.

In other project countries, the concentration of farming is taking place, albeit to varying degrees and at different speeds, which is also a consequence and cause of slower or breakthrough depopulation of the countryside and, especially in the new EU Member States, rural overpopulation.

One of the basic questions is what the social source of rural renewal can be. In this respect, there are already greater differences between countries. In Italy, despite concentrated production, small-scale farming seems to be able to provide the social basis for rural renewal, with successful start-ups on successful organic farms, active participants in multifunctional farming, agritourism, younger farmer generations with good educational capital.

In France, Germany and Spain, in addition to the younger generations of farmers, newcomers from outside may play a greater role, contributing to rural renewal due to their higher education, wider networks and innovation capital.

In Finland, the high seasonal rural population, who are actually urban residents, use urban incomes, networks and knowledge capital with traditional efficiency in rural Finland renewal. In Poland and Hungary, due to the large rural population, the social base of rural renewal may be more complex, with farmers, urban in-migrant newcomers, second home and holiday home owners and a large number of rural commuters making significant contributions, but rural regeneration is unthinkable without tackling mass poverty in villages.

Rural development throughout Europe is highly dependent on access to external resources allocated in the form of projects, so the input of the expert, manager, project department with intellectual capital and the analysis of power relations should be an integral part of rural renewal research.

The focus of the project's research strategy is on newcomers, new entrants into agriculture and farm successors. The diversity of conceptions of the rural concept and the statistically descriptive differences outlined warn that during the interviews for the case studies, the research should remain open to the analysis of other actors, structures, networks, power relations and cultural, community issues.

2.2 Rural newcomers

In the following chapter we analyse the definitions and role of newcomers in rural areas in Europe. First, we show the different understanding of rural newcomers across the countries participating in the project, and analyse the differences and similarities of the definitions. The second sub-chapter focuses on the processes and dynamic changes in the number of newcomers in the last decades in the different countries. We explore the motivations for moving to the countryside and aim at describing the different types. Finally, we attempt to draw some conclusions relevant for the eight countries involved in our analysis. We could base our work on results from the following countries: Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland and Spain.

2.2.1 Definition

The sub-chapter presents the numerous working definitions of the concept: rural newcomers; even the approach of the different country report is different. Some of them aims at giving some kind of definition, but most of them declares that there are no such definitions.

“Rural newcomers is not a term defined in Irish policy. Research identifies a number of groups that would fall under the broad concept of newcomer such as national/international migrants, asylum seekers, newcomer entrepreneurs and second-home owners.” – as the Irish report says. The Finnish report states the same, and aims at describing the phenomenon, as there is no specific definition for rural newcomers. In these cases, the main focus is on the migration flows and patterns between different types of municipalities. The Finnish report presents and discusses the socio-demographic characteristics of the different types of rural newcomers. The German report defines newcomers, as new farmers.

In Spain new residents are classified by Camarero according to two criteria (being born in a rural area or not, and their socioeconomic position and sphere of economic activity), generating four types of new residents: autochthonous residents (born in the town or village and with an inferior economic position to that of new residents), «immigrants» (foreigners who come as low-skilled labour), children of the town (individuals born in rural towns and villages but that have lived away and have returned to retire there), and new residents (a heterogeneous group which gathers together retirees that were not born in rural towns and villages and in some cases coming from north or central Europe, and other new residents who

are at economically active ages). Indeed, upon this perspective, Camarero (2009) builds a residency index, based on both the time living in a specific municipality and the residential history of the individual, leading to four categories of rural residents, ranging between the lifelong resident and the new resident.

The results of the analysis by Camarero (1997) show that the great majority (two thirds) of rural residents are lifelong (31.1 percent) or long-term (34.1 percent), in other words, they have maintained long ties to their towns from birth, having grown and lived in them and having had limited experiences in urban living. One third, however, can be characterized by the characteristics of residential mobility or having lived in urban areas, making them new residents (17.0 percent) or relatively new residents (17.8 percent).

In addition to the “new residents” conceptualization and analysis by Camarero, the word “neorrurales” or “new rurals” has been as well used to refer to the newcomers to rural areas in Spain. From a theoretical point of view, it was first explained by Rodríguez and Trabada (1991). **The “new rurals” here are referred to as young population, usually with a radical and countercultural ideology, showing rejection to urban society and consumption, which have been settling in rural depopulated and isolated areas, to work either in agrarian or other economic activities. This group has somehow promoted a symbolic rehabilitation of the rural space and environment according to the authors (Entrena Duran 2012, Kuhmonen et al. 2016)**

Referring to the new rural population (other than that permanently established in the area), Romita and Nunez (2009) recognize three categories: rural users, subjects who temporarily move to rural areas (e.g. tourists using accommodation facilities or second homes, and commuters); transhumants, essentially foreign subjects who move to mountain or rural areas in relation to the possibility of carrying out a job, essentially in the agricultural sector, for a limited period of time (seasonal work); new inhabitants or neo-rurals, subjects who choose to live permanently in a rural area looking for a better quality of life: these are young people or families who want to develop entrepreneurial projects related to rural life, and retirees.

2.2.2 Types of newcomers

Several studies aimed at analysing the factors influencing migration and making typologies of this group. Nivalainen (2002) found that elderly people, female gender, low level of income, lack of owned apartment, own car, poky apartment, “a spouse that was not employed and had low level of education, residence in rural areas and moving within the same province” are good predictors of moving to the countryside.

Kytö et al. (2006) found eight types of rural in-migrants. “People having animals as a hobby and people spending summertime on the countryside and wintertime in the city were the largest groups. People having shopping as a hobby, people in need of services and people actively participating in local activities were also large groups among the in-migrants. Smaller groups consisted of local food enthusiasts, people having health-enhancing physical activity as a hobby and family-oriented people. Each of these groups had a specific pattern in the origin and/or destination of migration and socio-economic status. Overall, about 90 % of the people who had recently moved into a rural area were satisfied with the decision to move and only 10 % were dissatisfied. The dissatisfied people were in most cases summer residents of

rural areas and young city people who had moved into rural heartland areas and were missing urban services.” (Finnish Report)

The Irish report finds the following groups: organic farmers, creative practitioners, and entrepreneurs. The origins of organic farming in Ireland has been linked with ‘newcomers’ to rural areas in the 1970s and 1980s (Tovey, 1997; 1999). Creative practitioners are another group. In county Leitrim there is clear evidence of the impact of artists and craftworkers as newcomers. They have formed a cluster of activity and have been supported by the [Leitrim Design House](#) in marketing their art and crafts. An equally important centre in county Leitrim is the [Sculpture Centre](#) that facilitates sculpture to develop their art and to live and work in the locality. **Creative practitioners can choose to move to rural areas due to cheaper accommodation, and the possibility of securing large enough space to have a studio/workshop or even small gallery to show their work. The impact of practitioners part of the wider creative sector has been shown to have wide social and economic impact in the western region signalling their importance in rural regeneration contexts (Collins et al. 2018).** Also other sub-groups of newcomer entrepreneurs may be important in rural areas such as those in the craft brewing and distilling industry (e.g. [Western Herd Brewing](#), [The Shed Distillery](#)).

The Italian report presents a special group. Several studies in Italy on newcomers have identified new profiles of these inhabitants especially in relation to mountain areas (Barbera et al 2019a): **“new mountaineers”, “new highlanders” or “highlanders by choice” are people who voluntarily choose to settle in a mountain area (Dematteis 2011), moving from urban areas (Corrado F. et al, 2014); foreign peoples that invest economic and human resources in implementing entrepreneurial activities in the Alpine and Apennine areas (MembrettiA., Kofler I., Viazzo 2017); “return mountaineers” that come back to their places of origin (Dematteis 2011) and “highlander per force” in relation to refugee and asylum seekers that have been displaced by the Italian government in this localities.**

In Italy five typologies of new rurals⁵ have been described: the needy, that is those who choose a specific rural area on the basis of logistical or economic choices; the inhabitants, who have chosen the place on the basis of an environmental or purely ecological need (living in nature); the producers that, to the characteristics of previous typology, add a rooting in the territory given by a work associated with rural productivity; finally as transversal categories, the innovators, who experiment with new ways of experiencing the mountains beyond the traditional visions, and the integrated who participate in the life of the local community (Dematteis 2011; Corrado et al. 2014).

Polish academic literature on rural newcomers seems to be highlighting two distinct types of newcomers: (1) new residents of villages located in functional urban areas and (2) new residents of more remote rural areas. The need for this distinction is a result of intense suburbanization processes that have been taking place in Poland since the early 1990s. The pace and specificity of this process led several authors to study the process and implications of suburbanization, including the dynamics of (new) communal life in suburban areas.

⁵DeMatteis and Corrado use the words new rural, as in Spain, they can be considered as new comers.

The Finnish and Irish report differentiates two further groups: the genuine 'newcomers' and 'returning people'. According to Kattilakoski (2011), about 58 % of the migrants who moved into the rural areas of the province of Central Ostrobothnia were genuine newcomers, whereas 42 % of these people moved back to the region where they had been born. Especially old people (>60 years) moved back to their old home region.

Ní Laoire (2007) highlights that seeing newcomer in-migrants and once-local return migrants in a dualistic way is too simplistic. Ní Laoire (2007, p.343) finds return migrants occupy an "ambiguous place in rural society, adopting both insider and outsider roles, thereby blurring the lines between the two...they complicate the dualistic categories of migrant and local as they move from one perspective to the other and position themselves somewhere in that in-between space". Return migrants bring benefits to rural areas similar to those who are complete newcomers. For example, Farrell et al. (2012) argue return migrants can also occupy a key place in rural development and rural society, particularly in the areas of small business development and enterprise.

The German report found that some of the newcomers have agricultural education: an increase of students in agriculture from 2005 already shows that almost half of the respondents do not come from an agricultural holding. More than 80% of those students want to establish their own agricultural existence (Thomas, 2006). These results are still confirmed by experts today. Overall, it can be assumed that an average of around 3,500 young successors or new entrants will be needed annually over the next 15 years. Between 2000 and 2014, about 4,000 students graduated annually in the agricultural sector (Cramon-Taubnadel & Holst, 2018). As the report emphasizes it is difficult for newcomers to get access to land and the land concentration processes in the agricultural ownership structure in general. Newcomers in agriculture are mainly engaged in niche markets (organic farming, different forms of community supported agriculture).

Another type of migration related to agriculture is the low-skilled workers. In the Irish context for example Fahey et al. (2019) also identify migrant populations with poor-English proficiency show a different trend and concentrations in rural areas, more specifically in rural towns. This is linked to particular local industries that have tended to employ low-skill workers (e.g. Monaghan mushroom industry), while other towns see a number of factors come together (e.g. Ballyhaunis meat packing industry and direct provision centre opening in 2016). Census data also illustrates this trend. **Woods (2018) links this trend to the idea of 'rural cosmopolitanism' where new communities bring cultural diversity, which can be embraced by the local community. But also in a rural context this can meet challenges due to the small size of new communities, limited support networks, presence of some hostility and broader uncertainty (e.g. around jobs, residency status). Overall, Woods (2018) highlights the importance of such 'cosmopolitanism' to be recognised as part of rural communities, as well as supported and managed.**

There are also hybrid forms of moving to rural areas. A 'halfway' version of moving to rural areas is multilocality, which has several manifestations. A significant part of the population spends part of the time outside the residence location. The reasons being multilocal in the rural areas are most often leisure time and seasonal work, whereas reasons for being multilocal in the urban areas are related to work, studies, family reasons and family issues.

The amount of seasonal population is significant in many rural regions; for example, in the summertime there are 294,000 people living in the province of Southern Savo around great Saimaa Lake where the number of permanent residents is 145,000 inhabitants (Alasalmi et al. 2020).

Also, remote work or teleworking is intimately related to multilocality and rural newcomers. About 46 % of the teleworkers having a commuting distance more than 50 km identify cutting the commuting to be the single most important reason for adopting this working mode (Alasalmi et al. 2020). Remote work is in steady increase in Finland, and as this is most common among high income, middle management staff, this will upgrade the traditional structure of rural in-migration. In 2018, about 3 % of the salaried workers did remote work on a daily basis, 11 % on a weekly basis, 7 % on a monthly basis and 14 % occasionally (Lyly-Yrjänäinen, 2019).

Although only a significant trend since the mid-1990s and aligned with the Celtic-Tiger era of economic boom (Norris and Winston, 2009; Norris and Winston, 2010; Paris, 2019), the phenomenon of second homes is important to discuss in relation to rural newcomers in Ireland. In relation to this group of more transitory newcomers and there is debate around their regeneration and generational renewal effects. Some research in the Irish context looking at three demand-side drivers suggests a key driver of second home ownership (in initial years of emergence) was wealth and to a lesser extent escapism/compensation for what is missing elsewhere and lifecycle/future retirement plans. The research links high incomes most strongly with second-home ownership, also noting that this reflects the context where there are comparatively low rates of urbanisation in Ireland (Norris and Winston, 2010).

Also, the Spanish literature emphasizes the phenomena of dual residency, flexible working hours or the care of the elderly, influencing the statistics on the population of rural areas. Thus, there is indeed a huge variety of situations related to an officially rural residency, which has to be necessarily analysed with an additional qualitative perspective providing information on the actual ties which the population either in rural or urban areas has with the former.

Another phenomenon that has been analysed is **amenity migration** that represents a shift in preference of residential location from the urban space to remote, but attractive rural regions. Loffler et al (2015, p.387) highlight that this can be considered “the driving force behind the present settlement expansion and the current population growth in numerous Italian Alpine communities”. **Many small municipalities in the south of Italy are also trying to attract this type of migration. The positive aspects of amenity migration indicated are the revitalization of local economies in terms of new activities connected to the renewal and renovation of old houses, to local supply and service structures that are able to continue to exist and can also mitigate the ageing process that affects many rural areas. Negative effects can be an increase in real estate prices, rural sprawl, excessive land use, and environmental damage (Loffler et al 2015).**

Related to amenity migration are also second homers that make up a significant part of the new inhabitants that have been defined multi-local residents. Scholars identify a continuum on one side people who are considered tourists and on the other side people that are already part of the village (that are considered amenity migrants/multi local residents).

2.2.3 Areas with a positive migration balance

As the Finnish, Hungarian, Italian, Irish, Spanish and Polish reports show there are typical rural areas which attract more newcomers: agglomeration of bigger cities are typical migration destinations for several social groups.

As the Finnish report states: The rate of incoming migration has been highest in urban and urban-adjacent rural municipalities: 5–6 % of the population base each year. The rate of incoming migration in rural heartland and sparsely populated municipalities has been much lower, about 4 %. In 2000–2018, the trend has been most positive in sparsely populated municipalities (increase of 0.8 percentage points).

Also, the Finnish report states that incoming migration is differentiated between areas of scattered settlement and built-up areas within each municipality. It seems that in the rural municipalities, the areas of scattered settlement outside village or city centres have been more attractive targets for incoming migration than the built-up areas.

In urban municipalities, the setting is vice versa: built-up areas have been more attractive targets for incoming migration than the areas of scattered settlement. Different types of regions indicate different profiles of attraction: ‘the rural’ attracts in the rural areas and ‘the urban’ in the urban areas. This distinction has tended to grow stronger over time, since among the areas of scattered settlement the rate of incoming migration has increased most in sparsely populated and rural heartland municipalities (increase of 0.8 percentage points in 2000–2018) and among the built-up areas the rate of incoming migration has increased most in urban municipalities (increase of 0.6 percentage points), as the Finnish report states.

If one takes a look at the highest performing municipalities in the relative incoming migration, there are some agglomerations in all countries. First, in the vicinity of large provincial capital cities (Budapest, Helsinki, Turku, Oulu, Tampere) there are municipalities that attract relatively many people. The rural space around the city provides security, healthy living, proximity to nature and the tranquillity of family life for those who live where traditions still live and an active community life can be created.

The forced relocation of the poorer citizens tends to be directed to more remote areas, while the middle class builds a new social status by moving to the countryside.

Second, there are rural municipalities for example in the Åland Islands (Fi), or around the Lake Balaton (Hu) that attract relatively many people. Many studies have analysed the Alpine area where the population has slowly grown especially in peri-urban municipalities and in the main touristic villages (Corrado et al. 2014; Löffler et al. 2014). Dematteis (2010) underlines that among the main reasons for the in-migration, also by foreigners, to the Alps are employment opportunities (which may be present on-site or in nearby areas): as family cares or caregivers; laborers in the building or industry sectors; employees or self-employed in teleworking; operators in tourism-related activities, artists, writers; etc. In addition, the availability of affordable housing or real estate, the lower cost of living and the chance to escape the chaos and risks of the metropolis by living in rural settings are also important.

There is also a third group of municipalities, where the incoming migration is relatively high, like in north (Lapland) that attracts relatively many people according to the Finnish report

(page 34-35). A special form of these areas are the eco-villages. Newcomers have been also associated to specific forms of settlement: ecovillages mainly promoted since the '80s-'90s, as intentional small communities, organized according to principles of sustainability (Guidotti, 2013). By the recovery and valorization of abandoned places (farms and lands, historic villages or hamlets), people collectively organize different and mixed forms of co-housing, co-living and co-working, in a permanent way or even temporarily, and the promotion of different activities (education, agriculture, hospitality, art workshops, environmental restoration) (Dal Borgo, Gambazza, 2017). Ecovillages also provide an opportunity for those who are not well off financially. They exist in several forms in Hungary, Italy, France; some form small communities according to the old farm rules, maintain an organic garden, others sleep in yurts, there are ecovillages where the guiding principle is energy self-sufficiency (Nagypáli, Gyűrűfű), and even where separation has a religious background (Somogyvámos, the "Krishna Valley" and the Catholic Visnyeszéplak). Today, there are 12 eco-settlements operating in the country based on similar principles, which are brought together by the Hungarian Living Village Network (Farkas 2018).

2.2.4 Motivations for rural in migration

In the following chapter we review the *different motivations for moving to rural areas*. The work by Camarero (2009) provides some information as well on the reasons why some decide to establish in rural areas, in which reasons related to *family ties, working conditions, housing costs or quality of life are mainly mentioned. The analysis reveals as well that very few new residents develop an agricultural job; indeed, new residents concentrate in the service sector, and their participation in the labour market is usually extra-local, with no much direct involvement in the communities of their places of residence. Thus, despite they contribute to the neutralization of territorial demographic imbalances, one could say that their contribution in terms of social development in rural areas is not always sufficient or significant. As we can assume the reasons and motivations for moving to the countryside are diverse.* The Hungarian report listed the following motivations:

- the attractiveness of the rural idyll, the promise of ensuring living conditions (Földi 2000),
- the compulsion to change living conditions (e.g. housing, safety, pollution) (Koós 2007),
- changes in the occupational structure, an increase in the proportion of occupations in services and performing work that does not require being at a fixed location,
- accelerating spatial mobility and mass accessibility,
- technical development of communication, which makes it possible to bridge longer distances,
- changes in the value system (Kovách, 2012),
- tourism and the consequent new use of rural land (new business trend)
- some emigrants choose rural settlement as the location for their retirement years (Dagevos, et al, 2004).

However, disadvantages can also be listed against moving to the countryside:

- Clear weather and good air refer to air outside the city. The pollen concentration of ragweed, for example, is quite tolerable in the high season in Budapest, in contrast to some rural areas.
- Peace and quiet can be appealing to an overworked, stressed body for two to three days. Over time, however, the stimulus-poor environment is not relaxing, but rather bleak.
- Big cities offer a much wider range of healthy eating and medicine supply. If we happen to need vitamins, proteins, food supplements, some of the villages will not be able to maintain even a simple herbal shop or pharmacy.
- According to a 2016 survey by the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, it is not the city that is the terrain of alienation, but the feeling of exclusion in the villages. Competition and hostility are also much more common in the countryside. It is presumably true that people in a village pay more attention to each other, but in most cases this attention is more of a burden than a help.
- According to HCSO data, life expectancy is by far the highest in Budapest in the whole country, for both men and women.

Newcomers into suburban areas form a specific group of newcomers because they usually retain strong links with their former place of residence—which is usually the core city of the functional urban area. They often work in the city, use its cultural or recreational offer, go there to meet their friends or family, or drive their kids to a school or kindergarten there. As Kajdanek (2014) shows, the main motivation for moving outside of the city is the availability of cheaper and comfortable housing. New residents often come from large housing estates, whose standard they had been perceiving is inadequate to their needs. In fact, they are rarely guided by an idyllic vision of the traditional, communal lifestyle of the countryside; they rather see the suburbs as a place in which they can withdraw from unwanted social contacts and stay within the comfortable, private space of their house (and a large garden). As a consequence, new residents in the suburban areas generally do not engage in the communal life (except some basic reciprocities such as looking after the neighbour's house during vacations). An occasional crisis, such as joining a protest against an infrastructural development, can bring about some cooperation; but this is rather an exception than a norm. With time, new residents are to some extent meshing into the community, but their different lifestyle—such as higher priority given to privacy—leads to a conscious self-isolation “by choice” (Radowska-Lisak 2008). Moreover, the newcomers do not expect or even wish this situation to change in the future; this would be difficult anyway given the amount of time spent outside of the community.

The situation is slightly different in rural areas located further from the cities. In this case, the majority of one's activities are led in the new place of residence. Also, the decision to move to such areas comes about for other reasons, and consequently, newcomers in more remote areas have a different approach to the local community. In her study of three villages in central Poland, Wrona (2015) differentiates this type of newcomers from “typical” suburbanites on the basis of their approach to local culture; in contrast to suburbanites, these newcomers tend to place more value on local cultural context and they more often try to integrate with the community. Often the newcomers have an “alternative” background of the

back-to-the-land character and engage in artistic and social activities; they organize performances or workshops, establish NGOs or informal organizations, promote local heritage, etc. In doing so, they follow the values which they associate with rural living. However, as Laskowska-Otwinowska (2008) notes, these associations tend to be based on an idealistic vision of the countryside that does not reflect the reality of rural communities. Moreover, despite honest intentions, the values that such newcomers want to promote in the community do not reflect the needs of other residents who would prefer to develop some practical skills rather than participate in an art performance. *Adding to this, the lifestyles brought by the newcomers often come as a shock to the more conservative villagers and thus generate reluctance. Furthermore, even if the newcomers do get accepted, they can never become prominent figures in the community, since in the view of many villagers such a person has also to be “practical”—i.e. run a farm—and the newcomers rarely treat agriculture as their priority.* Sometimes the newcomers are able to overcome these barriers and successfully mesh into the community; in the majority of cases, however, there is a certain mismatch between these two groups, and thus they live close to each other, but to some extent in parallel worlds. Some authors call such mixed communities “multicultural” (Kwiatkowska, 2006; Wrona, 2015) **but conclude that the mismatch does not mean that there are no benefits for both cultures as they do exchange their values and, albeit slowly, inspire themselves in many ways.**

2.2.5 Processes influencing rural in migration

Over centuries the main direction of migration was from rural areas to urban areas. This trend changed in the last decades in several countries as the reports show.

According to Camarero (1993), in Spain starting in the 1980s we began to see the neutralisation of the rural exodus (which had been initiated during the 50s, 60s and 70s), and the beginning of more varied movements of population, which included the arrival of new residents to rural zones.

Several processes formed rural in migration. For example, in Hungary, rapid agglomeration started in the 1950s and mainly affected the capital and its surroundings, partly due to the increasing demand for labour in Budapest and the industrial development of the agglomeration zone (Szilágyi, 2014).

In the 2000’s migration from cities to smaller settlements continued; it had three main forms: moving into the urban agglomeration, mainly by wealthy people, moving from the developing city centres to settlements about 50-100 km from the capital, mainly by poor people (gentrification), the third form is a migration from the Eastern parts of the country to the Western parts, because there are more free jobs and it is easier to commute to Austria.

Data on changes of permanent residence show that population movement is intensive in both directions between towns and villages. Migration between the capital and the villages was essentially similar in both directions, while the migration from villages to other towns was significantly stronger than the migration from the same settlement categories to the villages. The migration of the population in between townships was slightly higher than the settlement of the villagers in the cities. Distinguishing between rural / urban areas is a particularly difficult task for agglomerations, because there are not too many differences between the living

conditions of the population of townships in the administrative sense of the word and that of small agglomerations (Kováč, 2012).

Gkartzios and Scott (2010) examine rural residential mobility in Ireland using case studies and also argue it presents a complex picture – it can take the form of moving short or long distances, or between different types of rural areas. While this paper is a decade old, some interesting observations emerge. Local or lateral movements between rural areas were significant. They also identify counterurbanisation in all case studies and suggest in more peripheral rural areas its presence may conceal wider population decline. Also, rather than counterurbanisation being an urban driven phenomenon, these migrants were mostly a return rural population. A key driver of rural mobility was lower cost housing and migrants valued the social benefits of rural life (sense of community), but this also varied between areas. Other factors also came into play too, such as quality of the rural environment. Gkartzios and Scott (2012) also argue that ‘gentrification’ is not a dominant feature of rural in-migration because groups that migrate can be return migrants, but also ‘blue collar’ workers (e.g. more manual roles such as construction, manufacturing). Also because of good rural housing supply, competition for housing between locals and in-migrants has not been a major issue. Albeit this study reflects a pre-housing crisis situation (that Ireland is currently experiencing), so most recent trends may show differences in some areas, particularly those close to Dublin. Due to unfavourable demographic trends, the number of permanent residents of villages in Hungary is still declining year by year. At the same time, there are tendencies that may help to slow down or possibly reverse this process in the future.

In Hungary, residential parks (Csizmady 2008) and the special renovation of farmhouses (Tamáska 2006) are the visual signs of the appearance of people coming from cities. The relationship between the emigrants and the locals is controversial. The housing estate population is a separate, spatially segregated group in local society that has no real connection with others. Among the immigrants, there are emigrants who have no contact with the locals, use the rural space as a sleeping village function, as well as urban emigrants who become local patriots and participate in the preservation of traditions together with the locals and whose settling down also took place in a spatially separated fashion (Kiss R. 2007).

The appearance of the urban population is transforming the structure of the local society, the age composition of which is shifting towards the younger generations (Molnárné 2008). Typically, the proportion of the more educated and the more employed increases (Csapák 2007). New local conflicts arise between locals and immigrants due to different values, and different attitudes towards local values (Szarvas 2007). The biggest source of conflict is the definition of development goals, because movers would prefer to keep the place calm and invest in infrastructure, while those who used to live in the given place would often prefer job creation. Local governments are key players in development, and immigrants, who are often more proficient in enforcing their interests, may take over control of local government over time.

It may be important for emigrants to separate residential parks from other parts of the settlement (Csizmady, 2008), where they can live in high-status, special-style residential buildings, which is accompanied by an increase in living space and a decrease in green space.

The different lifestyle and consumption habits of this group change the previous social practices of the villages.

The characteristic elements of the transformation of space are the increase of living space, the change of the function of land use and the transformation of the landscape. The increase in residential space is the result of an increasing rate of urban consumption, of which two different types can be observed. One is the spontaneous population of the periphery, mainly a resort area, and the other is the construction of organized residential parks. In connection with the growth of the residential area, the use of land will also change, agriculture and the productive function of land use will be replaced by the residential and service function. Agglomerations are basically open to serving new needs, to changing functions, because they need new sources of livelihood due to the change of basic forms of production and the loss of space in agricultural production.

Signals of a process of re-population in the Italian mountains areas are related to: new post-materialistic values (environmental sustainability, ecology, circular economy); use of environmental resources in an entrepreneurial way; new life styles environmental friendly; improvement of accessibility; new possibilities offered by broadband and smart working (De Rossi 2018, Barbera et al 2019b). The stereotyped and conservative imagine of mountains areas is changing. These areas are no longer considered only as place of consumption or areas with an ecological destiny but are becoming places where innovations are produced by entrepreneurs operating in a sustainable way. The relationship cities-mountains area is also changing: commuters and city users are increasing; and a potential convergence of interests between the city and the mountain is therefore outlined (Barbera et al 2019b). The relationships and connections between mountains and urban areas have been studied by Dematteis (2018) introducing the definition of metro-mountain (or metropolitan mountain) and metro-mountaineers. He focused on Turin Alpine metro-mountain analysed as a relational space whose economic, social and cultural characteristics derive mainly from interactions with the metropolitan forefront. He identifies three zones: 1) the low mountain partly industrialized, with the valley floors occupied by a peri-urban settlement without particular mountain features, 2) the large ski areas, 3) the remaining rural territory, demographically and economically “weak”. In the first two areas urban-metropolitan lifestyles prevail. In the third zone, some traditional rural characters are preserved, especially in the landscape. Innovative practices (Corrado 2016) have been implemented in these areas, attracting new inhabitants by the lower cost of housing or by environmental amenities similar to those offered by the foothills. They are places where the new mountaineers try to combine new urban ways of life with the radical diversity of the mountain environment. In them, the commercialization of the landscape and the environment typical of Alpine gentrification (Perlik, 2011) plays a secondary role. Barbera et al. (2019b, p.10) underline that almost all Italian metropolitan cities are made up on of 50% of municipalities defined as mountain or partially mountain; about 90 provincial capitals or municipalities with more than 50,000 inhabitants are less than 15 km from a mountain area, configuring a potential metro-mountain system.

Finally, other studies point that private-public partnerships can contribute to promote forms of social innovation to address local needs and support local development, attracting or involving newcomers (De Rubertis et al. 2018). In this direction many activities are realized

under the pilot projects of the National Strategy for Inner Areas (in Italian SNAI) This National Strategy gives a new collective and political visibility to rural areas and promotes a cultural change – of values, imagination, existential representations - that is reflected in a new ecologism, neo-ruralism and neo-comunitarism, or in the patrimonialization of inner areas (De Rossi 2018). The SNAI, together with local/regional initiatives or policies, has supported forms of social innovation and entrepreneurship (by newcomers), in connection to community building, inclusive governance, individual and collective empowerment, by the creation and distribution of economic value with a social impact (Carrosio 2019). An example is the Project AttivAree in Piedmont (Barbera et al. 2019a).

As the German report states funding a new agricultural holding for a complete newcomer, beside of the difficulties to access land, it would also require a lot of capital. Between 1991 and 2012, the number of farms declined from about 540,000 to less than 300,000 (only farms with a size of 5 hectare are considered); a trend that continues unabatedly. As a consequence, 11.7% of the holdings in 2013 had at least 100 hectares and own about 56% of the agricultural land in Germany (Deutscher Bauernverband e.V. [DBV], 2013).

The Jabl (young working group rural agriculture) state in a position paper that newcomers who do not own a holding almost have no access to land, because existing farmers have the right of first refusal and communities have a right of veto, in case anyone wants to buy land. In this regard, the land concentration processes in agriculture, which in any case benefits from the common agricultural policy (CAP), is even more accelerated in Germany. The report presents some good examples as well but warns that newcomers could establish successfully new farms if rural and agricultural policies change in Germany.

The migration of foreigners is more dominant in Ireland's urban areas, but also exists in rural areas and it is typical to rural areas in some Mediterranean and Eastern-European countries according to the reports. Foreign investors and pensioners living abroad, as well as people with Hungarian roots are playing an increasingly important role in the population buying a house in the countryside.

Morgenroth (2018) also observes the immigrant population tends to be a high skill population meaning employment opportunities is a driver of where they locate in Ireland. Generally, Fahey et al. (2019) also note the importance of a supply of rented accommodation in areas where migrant populations are more concentrated. However interestingly in relation to return migrants, Morgenroth (2018) finds a different pattern with cities less dominant e.g. Dublin received 44% of international migrants in 2011 but 33% of return migrants. Further to this, another interesting observation among international migrants to Ireland is that while cities can be the initial destination, they can also move to other areas. Important to this pattern is employment opportunities, appropriate amenities and information availability to support their move (Morgenroth, 2018).

International migration also tends to be more readily associated with, and is concentrated in, urban areas. However, evidence shows while much less prevalent rural phenomenon does have a presence. Analysis by Fahey et al. (2019) for example shows in rural areas of Ireland, coastal areas of Connacht and Munster had highest concentrations of a foreign-born population. Census data also shows non-Irish nationals generally at higher levels in urban

areas, while rural counties with lower numbers. There are exceptions, such as 14.7% non-Irish nationals in Longford in 2016 (Dublin city was 17.1%) (CSO, 2017).

Fahey et al. (2019) also note that that national policy on refugees and asylum seekers can lead to higher levels of non-national populations (although total numbers are small) in some areas that are locations for the Refugee Protection Programme or the location of a direct provision centre. For example, figures towards the end of 2018 identify 39 direct provision centres in 17 counties with a capacity of just over 6,000. Centres are located in counties where Ireland's main cities are located (Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford) but also in rural counties, albeit mostly within/near to towns in these locations (Reception and Integration Agency, 2018).

International in migration process since the '80s, and especially in the last decade, has increased in Italian rural areas (Balbo 2015; Osti, Ventura 2012). **The arrival of foreign immigrants has permitted to maintain essential services, but also to address labour demand in forestry, agriculture, pastoralism, tourism, and elderly care. This significant demographic turn caused cultural transformation (Viazzo, 2012); new entrepreneurial activities in cultural and economic fields were promoted also by a "negotiation process" with local inhabitants (Membretti, Viazzo 2019).** Problems of social inclusion, access to housing, social and health services, for migrant workers (seasonal or not) have also been highlighted, especially in areas of intensive agriculture production (Membretti, Lucchini 2018).

Several studies on newcomers include in this figure also asylum seekers and refugees. Scholars have analysed the practices implemented under the Italian National Protection System for Asylum seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) that has been financed by the Italian Ministry for the Interior since 2002 and re-named in 2018 in SOPRIMI. Local municipalities involved in the SPRAR, in partnership with no-profit organizations, set up and operate reception projects. Scholars highlight that this project can be an opportunity to avoid demographic and economic desertification and revitalize the local economy. Therefore, immigration can be seen as a resource for development instead of a threat. Refugees and asylum seekers relocated by the national government in mountain areas have been defined "forced highlanders" and they can become, being involved in local economic activities, "highlanders by choice" or new mountaineers (Membretti, Viazzo 2017). This significant demographic turn caused cultural transformation (Viazzo, 2012); new entrepreneurial activities in cultural and economic fields were promoted also by a "negotiation process" with local inhabitants (Membretti, Viazzo 2019). The dimension of social innovation brought by this phenomenon is a specific object of analysis (Cutello, Membretti 2019; Gretter et al. 2017; Membretti, 2015). Reception projects by both valorizing local resources, regenerating small villages and addressing community needs were promoted. New cooperatives and community enterprises were created, involving refugee, asylum seekers and local inhabitants. Innovative social inclusion strategies were experimented in the tourism sector, in the revitalization of mountain agriculture and handcraft traditions, in the promotion of voluntary and cultural activities (Corrado, D'Agostino 2019; Membretti 2016; Membretti, Galera 2017), in community welfare, agriculture and social farming activities (Cutello, Membretti, 2019).

2.3 New entrants into farming

2.3.1 New entrants into farming: a complex multi-faceted concept

The active population in agriculture is continuously ageing and declining in all the European countries analysed (Eurostat 2011). To face this ongoing process, new entrants into farming have been identified as actors of generational renewal. They may have an important role in regenerating rural spaces.

New entrants into farming (NE) is a complex multi-faceted concept defined frequently in opposition to the term successors, although the EIP-AGRI (2016, p.7) Focus Group on New Entrants into farming identified “a substantial grey area between the extremes of ex novo new entrants and direct successors to farming businesses”. The Report states that “ ‘new entrants’ are difficult to define, (...) that a definition should be adopted which is ‘fit for purpose’ (i.e. suited to the use for which it is intended)” and identified six typologies among ex novo entrants. These are: diversified new entrants, innovative new entrants, full-time new entrants, part-time new entrants, hobby farmers and hybrid new entrants. The Ruralization project “acknowledges this issue and will use the typology defined by this focus group to categorise practice” (Murtagh et al 2020b, p.35).

Mainly five different elements can be identified in the definitions of NE formulated by scholars and policies. These are related to: the farm succession process, the NE background, the establishment of a new farm, the age of a farmer and the innovations introduced into the farm.

In a group of countries, the focus of the definition is mostly on the farm succession process. In Germany, NE are successors that come from outside the family of the previous holder. In this country there is not a clear differentiation among NE and newcomers, as an enquiry of the Green Party in 2018 to the Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture showed. In France, the debate on NE is also focused on people starting the activities outside their family farm; they are called “Hors cadre familial (HCF)”. This is now a well-recognised category. The Ministry of Agriculture and other institutions have developed a definition of HCF as: “someone entering farming who has no family relationship with the farm transferor or a relationship going beyond the third degree of family relationship”. Compared to other countries, in France there is a great attention on this category. HCF are distinguished on the basis of their agricultural background into two subgroups: 1. those coming from a farming family or have agricultural background who decide to establish or enter in a new/different farm 2. those not from a farming family, called Non issus du milieu agricole (NIMA). Robert-Boeuf et al (2020, p.55) suggest a more articulated definition considering also the organization process and the style of farming adopted, pointing out that: “according to French sociological studies, Terre de Liens’ field expertise,⁶ and analysis and in relation to the Ruralization project, we can define new entrants into farming by their non-agricultural background (they have no farmers parents); sometimes by their attachment to “traditional peasantry”; and more often by their

⁶ Terre de Liens (or TDL) in France works along other agricultural development organisations to favour the establishment of a new generation of peasant agro-ecological farmers. One of tools developed by Terre de Liens is land acquisition through citizen investment. The farms thus acquired are rented to farmers with ecologically and socially sound farming projects.

farming practices which uphold a sustainable relation to nature and agro-ecological principles, sometimes associated to a cooperative or collective farming organisation” (French country report). Monllor (2011), also underling their background, defined as “newcomers: those who enter farming without any previous connection to agriculture”.

In Finland, the focus is on the different farming experience that NE have, compared to that of direct successors. They are defined as “persons who start a farm business independent from family succession; (...) also a person or group of people who are actively farming and be either establishing a new agricultural holding or returning to a family owned farm after a minimum of some, e.g. ten years of off-farm employment or education” (Kuhmonen, Ruuska 2020, p. 39).

In relation to the agricultural and rural policies, in Hungary NE are mainly identified with young farmers considered as: “Individuals starting new farms who had no previous agricultural experience” (Sutherland et al. 2015). Nevertheless Kőszegi (2018) underlines that young farmers are not really new entrants, since almost all of them are connected to agriculture through their families. In Italy, Carbone and Corsi (2013) pointed out that the differentiation between intergenerational succession and new entrance is especially relevant to evaluate the reforms related to the Common Agricultural Policy (PAC) but the ambiguities of the definition unable to distinguish between the first settlement of young farmers and the generational succession. Focusing on the access to policy measures the Ireland Department of Agriculture Food and the Marine (DAFM 2020), has defined NE as: “S/he is participating in the Basic Payment Scheme in the year s/he submits an application; S/he must have commenced the present agricultural activity in the 2018 calendar year or any later year; S/he did not have any agricultural activity in his/her own name and at his/her own risk in the five years preceding the start of the present agricultural activity”. Focusing on the establishment of a new farm business NE are defined in the Irish scientific debate as “any person who starts a farm-based enterprise in their own right or through a collective arrangement with relative or other farmer”(Murtagh et al, 2020b, p.40). In Poland, NE are mostly framed in relation to “private initiative of individuals or couples who decide to purchase a farm and establish a business based on the combination of farming with other activities (tourism, education, art, etc.)” although other two categories are also considered: “individual farmers who after entering into farming (very often as successors) undertake various actions in order to improve their prospects as farmers” (Dołzbłasz et al 2020, p.11- 12) and new companies operating in the agricultural sector. The debate in Poland on NE does not focus on the farm succession process but is rather linked to their capacity to introduce innovation into farming.

The different interpretation of NE arised in the Country Reports confirm the difficulties to clearly define them, as have been pointed out by EIP-AGRI (2016).

2.3.2 New entrants into farming: profiles

Several NE profiles, in terms of background, origins, projects and expectations, are reported in the literature. The following characteristics have been identified on the basis of the D3.3 Review Report on previous European projects (Murthag 2020b) and of the Country reports analysis:

A new entrant may or may not be a ‘young farmer’. For example, in France and in Italy researches shows that an important part of NE is older than 30-40 years. While in Hungary NE are identified with young farmers.

A greater likelihood to be female (EIP-AGRI, 2016). Monllor (2011) underpins that NE are more likely to be a woman. In France, where the share of women “permanent agricultural workers” has increased from 8% to 31% in forty years, about a third of NE are women. However, in Ireland, McDonald et al. (2016), in a research on 230 NE engaged in the dairy industry during the RDP (2007-2014), found that 97% were male. This research, it has to be underline, do not consider NE farming on a smaller or diversified scale.

High level of education (EIP-AGRI, 2016) is confirmed by researches in France (Pibou 2016); a medium –high level of education has been highlighted in Italian researches. While in Ireland McDonald et al. (2016) found that there was a wide variation in the education levels with some new entrants in dairy having third level agricultural education, while others having an Advanced Agricultural Certificate. The research, that is limited to the dairy sector, do not consider NE farming on a smaller or diversified scale. In Hungary, generally, the educational level of agricultural workers, although it has improved over the last decade and a half, is still low compared to other sectors of the national economy.

NE have a diversified background. For example, in France a significant part of NE are not coming from the agricultural world (Sallustio, 2018). For instance, according to Pibou’s sociological study (2016) of 63 farmers working on Terre de Liens’ farms, 72% were new entrants with no agricultural background, many had changed career, and a third of the farmers had parents in “intermediary professions” (e.g. teachers, nurses) while the rest had heterogenous backgrounds (Pibou 2016). In Poland often come from urban areas (or from other countries). Orria and Luise (2017) in a research on NE, in a southern Italian region, underpin the urban background of NE (neorurals) that transform and overcome the urban-rural dynamics.

NE establishments are mostly the result of professional retraining. These projects are interpreted more as lifestyle projects (finding a job with meaning, reconnecting with nature, more autonomy, etc.) than as professional projects. Being a NE is a choice of life. In the context of Terre de Liens farms in France, Pibou (2016) has underlined that being a peasant is no longer necessarily a profession for life (notion of “transit peasant”, or peasant in “transit”). Farming has thus become a vocation, a choice, which NE without farming backgrounds do not operate in continuity with the past, which allows some redefinition of farming models. For instance, being a farmer must be reconciled more easily with family life, holidays and shorter work weeks, thereby questioning the agricultural world and its relationship to work. Arrangements are devised to reduce and to share the workload or to improve the value of agricultural assets and limit investments. Increased freedom from the codes of the agricultural world results in innovation. Similar results are underline by the Italian researches (Sivini et al, 2020).

NE are mostly involved in alternative farming practices (e.g. value-added, local food chains,organics) (EIP-AGRI, 2016). This is confirmed by research in France (Pibou 2016, Morel & Léger 2016), Italy (Vitale, Sivini, 2017; Ventura and Milone 2019), Spain (Escribano et al.

2020) and in the Netherlands (Van Rhee, 9th November, 2019; Vogels, 13th August, 2019; Stoop, 8th February, 2020). In Poland most of NE, coming from urban area, establish a multifunctional farm but a relatively limited number of cooperative entrants adopts alternative models of agricultural activity.

They follow agrosocial principles (Monllor and Fuller, 2016; Vitale 2013,) and a peasant style (Escribano et al. 2020) as it has been conceptualized by Van der Ploeg (2008). There is evidence of this in France, Italy and Spain. For example, they claim to be called “peasant” or “neo-peasant”, and not “farmers” to underline their difference in terms of production models and philosophy, which for some is even a political claim (Allens & Leclair, 2016; Sallustio, 2018). Similarly, in Italy they call themselves “contadini” and in Spain “campesino” for the same reason. Most “neo-peasant” pursue a locally-oriented ecological model of agriculture (Robert-Boeuf et al, 2020). They adopt environmentally-friendly, low-input agriculture practices, producing food sold on-farm or through short supply chains and maintain strong links with the territory and local consumers. Such projects, in the terms employed by Terre de Liens, have “high added coherence” (TDL 2016). Diversification and on-farm processing are also components of them, developing non-agricultural activities (like crafts, educational farms, agri-tourism and cultural initiatives) in order to ensure complementarity of income sources (Robert-Boeuf et al 2020). In Italy there is also evidence that they establish strong links with other farmer who share the same approach operating in other realities of the country. They pay attention to biodiversity and to the maintenance of landscape where they operate. Farms are run paying attention to social, environmental, and labour equity conditions (Vitale, 2013). Collectively they are forming a new group in rural society that has strong environmental and social ethics (Monllor and Fuller 2016, Vitale Sivini 2017). They are willing to promote not only a new way of farming but a new way of life and a new society (Sivini et al, 2020), changing the urban-rural traditional dynamics.

New entrants are not always individuals or families but take different forms such as collectives or businesses (EIP-AGRI, 2016). Establishing as farming collectives is a particularly promising avenue for the takeover of large farms. Recent research in France shows that collective projects between small groups of farmers have multiplied over the past ten years (Lejaille, s. d.; Morel, 2018). Morel (2018) identified four general characteristics of these neo-peasant’s collective farms: they are led by groups of at least three people mostly establishing outside of a family farm (HCF); they implement high added value activities; they aspire to a life project where the collective dimension occupies a core place; they are distinct from previous French waves of back-to-the-land peasant collectives in that they have a strong desire for professionalism and economic pragmatism. Therefore, in France, alternative rural development organisations develop tools and methods to better support the formation and establishment of NE farming collectives. For instance, the multi-partner ABIOSOL association, in the Ile-de-France region, facilitates the creation of collectives through organising “speed-dating” encounters between NE. In Italy, Ventura and Milone (2019) pointed out that NE adopt a creative and often collaborative approach to developing a farm business. Researchers show that through collective action NE build new infrastructures that take place in the form of networks (not only local). These are established either with other farmers that share the same farming approach and with consumers that choose to buy their products. Their agency is moved not merely by profit but is related to a specific life style (Sivini et al 2020). In Finland,

according to Kallio (2018), are operating more than hundred food collectives or other similar groups. They comprise of thousands of household members and hundreds of farmers. While Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) is a relatively new phenomena in Finland as the first one was established in 2011 and now there are about ten of them (CSA-Herttoniemi 2020). In Poland one of the forms taken by NE are new companies in the agricultural sector. These companies operate in various areas, and they introduce a number of innovative practices, operating mainly in predominantly urban areas. Although Dołzbłasz et al (2020) point out that the status of Polish agricultural (except dairy) cooperatives is relatively low. CSA scheme is slowly growing, but it is still marginal. In 2016 there were only 8 community-supported agriculture active with an estimated 700-800 regular supporters.

NE introduce innovation in rural areas. In France, they are considered potentially creators of innovation for the agro-ecological transition (Morel & Léger, 2016). Their projects are broadly in line with the new expectations expressed by part of society. In Italy, Bertell (2017) underline that they are able to bring different cultures of innovation: moving from ethical choices, they change the approach to economy and market. Brunori et al. (2011) in a research on Alternative Food Networks in an Italian region underline the role of “neo peasants” in innovation dynamics, for example in developing environmentally friendly practices as well as in promoting local food networks.

2.3.3 Data on new entrants to farming

The number of NE operating in Europe is not available as stats, in most of the European countries, do not consider this category. They are identified as young farmers regardless if there are successors or not. Eurostat (2011) shows a lack of young farmers nevertheless the problem may considerably differ per countries (Zagata & Sutherland, 2015).

In Belgium and in the Netherlands if there is shortage of young farmers it is not really clear. They may not appear in the number as they are not the owner of the farm, even if they work in it. In Germany, Thomas (2006) underline that, even if it seems to be a shortage of new young farmers, there is not a problem of younger people interested in farming. An increase in the students of agriculture since 2005 have been registered; half of them do not come from an agricultural holding; 80% of them want to create an own agricultural existence. In the Italian public debate a growing interest in agriculture by young people is also underlined. Tarangioli and Zanetti (2018) in a recent research pointed out that the number of farms managed by young farmers with less than 35 years have increased in the period 2013–2017.

While in the Netherland the virtue of entrepreneurship, including the idea of independent decision making, is a source of pride for Dutch farmers, in Hungary, due to the low prestige of the farmer profession, only 6% of students in higher education have studied agriculture in the recent period (e.g. 2014/15 academic year). Privóczki (2019) highlights that the process of emigration of young Hungarian from less-favoured areas, considered as extremely important for agricultural production, has particularly adverse consequences. To face this issue the Hungarian Association of Young Farmers (AGRYA) has promoted a program called the Second Wave. The aim is to strengthen the participants' belief that it is worthwhile to work in agriculture, as well as to seek prosperity in rural areas.

In metropolitan France, in 2018, data on Young Farmers Grants (DJA in French) register 13,925 new farmer establishments, more than a third of them are HCF. In Spain, data on young farmers that have been granted by the National Reserve show that, during the period 2015–18, 13,014 NE have been supported, in front of 5,469 young farmers that inherited a right during the same period (these could be considered as successors) (Spanish Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food Affairs, 2019). In Ireland, the Young Farmers Scheme was allocated to fund young farmers until 2019. Over 8,000 young farmers were qualified for the scheme in 2015 and will continue to receive payments for a five-year period (Farrell, 2019). In 2018, over 9,000 young farmers and new entrants were engaged in the National Reserve Scheme (DAFM, 2019; Farrell, 2019).

In Finland, the issue of NE is not high on the agenda. A farmer that do not have a successor in his own family usually sell or lease out his land to the neighbouring farmers. Only recently the attention on them is appearing in the news and some measures have been established to support NE. Considering data related to the start-up aid for young farmers 128 supports have been approved in 2019; that is about 4 % of all young farmers' farms.

Most of the data on young farmers supported by policies do not make a clear distinction among successors and NE. Furthermore, they catch only a part of the total share of NE in farmer establishments. Some of them either are not eligible for the public support (for example for their age), or simply do not ask for the grants. The real numbers of NE in European Countries are therefore not available.

2.3.4 Main problems faced by new entrants into agriculture and possible solutions

The main problems faced by NE are related to the access to land; the openness and integration into rural communities, the compatibility with the existing farmers, the absence of policies addressed specifically to them, and the access to training.

A process of land concentration is going on favoured by political decisions, as some measure of the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) and by economic process related to the more capital intensive farming model. The land concentration process affects the access to land for NE. There are not much comparative studies on the accessibility of agricultural land throughout Europe but some insights can be detected by the Country Reports analysed. In Germany, in 2013, 11,7% of the holdings had at least 100 hectares, owning about 56% of the national agricultural land (DBV, 2013); and as Herre (2013, p. 62) pointed out “overall, (...) is undergoing an intense process of agricultural transformation towards a capital-intensive model”. Establishing a new farm requires a lot of capital; only NE that have a large financial backing, which is extremely rare, could have access to the land (Herre, 2013) underpin. The price of agricultural land has skyrocketed and a significant increase in lease prices can be observed since 2007. This trend is the result of: 1. the renewable energy law that increase the commercial production of bio-energy (mainly bio-gas); 2. The entrance in the land market of financial and supra-regional investors (including ‘new investors’ from non-agricultural sectors). As Forstner (2011) underpin in some regions it is estimated that these new investors have purchased between 15% and 30% of the land available on the market. In the Netherland, there is hardly land available on the open market as there is the habit to transfer land beneath

the actual market value to a family member. Even if land comes available, often it goes to landowners that are enlarging their farms, as they often can pay a higher price compared to the one that can be afforded by who is starting a new farm. Current farms are very expensive to take-over (Roels, 2018; Korthals Altes & Van Rij, 2005). According to Eurostat, the agricultural land price in 2018 was 70.320 euro per hectare; an increase of 38%, between 2011 and 2018, has been registered. For smaller farmers and NE this is problematic and the issue of access to land is being seen as an issue of access to capital (Koreman & Korthals Altes 2020). In Flanders, where 70% of agricultural land is leased, the availability of land is very limited. The formulation of the current law on land lease means to protect farmers against landowners. This protection is so large that the latter are increasingly preferring to lease their land not to former (VILT, 8th September 2018). However, the recently formed Flemish government intends to alter it, in order to improve the access to land for Flemish farmers (Vlaamse Regering, 2019).

In Finland, small-scale farming is continuously decreasing; between 2000–2019 the number of farms with less than 5 hectares has been cut by 80 %. Their share in farm numbers has declined from 8.6 % in 2000 to 2.8 % in 2019. Farm leases had a significant increase after EU accessions but in the last ten years remained stable. In 1990 the share was only 14 %, now it reaches 35% of the farmland (Kuhmonen, Ruuska 2020). According to Eurostat, the agricultural land price in 2018 was 8.845 euro per hectare; an increase of less than 2%, between 2011 and 2018, has been registered. Nevertheless, entering farming ‘from the outside’ is very rare in Finland. A national survey 2014–2016 data shows that only 2% of the new farmers had bought the farm in the open market. All the others had bought, inherited or received the farm as a gift from their parents or relatives and thus they can be considered successors (Vuori & Yrjölä 2017). In Ireland, according to Eurostat, the agricultural land price in 2018 was 27.475 euro per hectare, an increase of 4% has been registered between 2013 and 2018. In Hungary, where there are clear signs of a strong concentration process, in 2016, 42 percent of the utilized agricultural and forestry land was cultivated on a lease basis (Csurgó et al., 2016). The price of arable land increased 2.5 times, and the cost of lease doubled between 2008 and 2016. According to Eurostat, the agricultural land price in 2018 was 4.632 euro per hectare, an increase of 121%, between 2011 and 2018, has been registered. Polish agriculture remains very differentiated in structural terms although a concentration process is also undergoing. More than half of all farms cover less than 5 ha, while more than 20% of all farmland is in the hands of just 1% of largest farms (Charakterystyka gospodarstw rolnych w 2016 r., 2017) In Poland, farmers who want to make the primary production their main source of income are competing on markets which lock them in a constant race towards more productivity and profitability. This, especially in the larger holdings, produce a conflict between economic prospects and social and environmental dimensions of sustainability. According to Eurostat, the agricultural land price in 2018 was 10.318 euro per hectare; an increase of more than 112%, between 2011 and 2018, has been registered. The consequence is that young farmers mainly starts through inheritance or takeover of resources of a family farm.

In Italy, between 2013-2016 there has been an increase in the average farm dimension (from 8,4 hectare in 2013 to 11 hectare in 2016) and a decrease in the number of holdings (–28% compared to 2013); 61% of the farm holdings have less than 5 hectares. The price of agricultural land is very high. In 2018, according to Eurostat data, the average price was 42.569 euro per hectare; an increase of 5% between 2011 and 2018 has been registered. Therefore,

the issue of access to the land has been raised by many scholars (Pandolfi 2014, Cersosimo 2012) and practitioners as one of the main barriers for NE. In the public debate, more than an issue of access to capital (also relevant) as in the Netherlands, the issue is more linked to the access to public and abandoned land.

In France, the lack of access to land remains one of the main obstacles for NE. Land searches can take several years and may lead to farmers' renunciation. French land price, though among the lowest in Europe, is in 2018 on average 6000 euro per hectare, which represents an increase of 50% in twenty years. The development of very large farms is the subject of important debates on "land grabbing". This phenomenon is defined, in the French context, as "an extension (by rental or purchase of land or acquisition of shares in companies) greatly exceeding the practices observed in the territory concerned" (Forget et al., 2019).

In Spain, almost half (49,7%) of the farm holdings have less than 5 hectares however this proportion is lowering. There has been a decrease in the number of farms during the period 2005–16 (–19,4% for those below 2 hectares, –12,8 % for those between 2 and 5 hectares), while those above 50 hectares increased, and particularly those above 100 hectares (4,8%). According to Eurostat, the agricultural land price in 2018 was 13.023 euro per hectare, an increase of more than 8%, between 2012 and 2018, has been registered.

The dimension of farms is growing, the farmland mobility is very low and either the prices of land and of land lease are increasing. All these factors impact to the possibilities of entering into agriculture.

Non-economic factors that hamper the access to land can be also distinguished. Even when there is land available on the open market (which is very limited especially in some countries as we have seen), there can be regulations that obstacle the access to land for NE. For example, in Germany the Young working group on rural agriculture (JABL), in a position paper, pointed out that NE almost have no access to land due to the regulations that give to existing farmers the right of first refusal and to the communities a right of veto in case anyone wants to buy land.

The lack of access to information on land sales and rentals is another problem highlighted in many countries. In Ireland Macra na Feirme's (Ireland's rural youth farming organisation) provides a 'match-making' service to facilitate new collaborative arrangements between farmers such as farm partnerships, shared farming and long-term leasing (Land Mobility Service, 2019). Recent reports suggest its continued effectiveness. The 2019 report explains its focus as: "facilitating intergenerational co-operation...The service is not overly focused on retirement but instead on collaboration. The emphasis is on sustainability and delivering an arrangement that works for all parties" (Land Mobility Service, 2019, p. 13). The scheme has resulted in 521 arrangements involving 47,000 acres from 2014–2019 (Fox, 2019). Connected to this issue is the lack of information about possible agricultural productions on a given territory (beyond the historical productions) which makes it hard for NE to imagine or anticipate the consequences of a reorientation of the farm activities (Robert-Boeuf et al 2020).

The issue of openness and integration into rural communities has been highlighted in France where the acceptance by the “traditional” agricultural community remains difficult despite the growing number of NE. Support networks to welcome and facilitate NE integration in the territories can be very useful to overcome this issue, as we see with the example of Terre de Liens’ local groups of citizen volunteers or local CIVAM “territorial ambassadors” or “welcoming referent” in some regions. In Italy this is not a problem really high in agenda.

*Another issue is related to the NE compatibility with the exiting farmer. In Germany, the farm succession process is very difficult for NE, as Hoffner (2018) underlines the main problems are related to: Preselection of potential successors, visiting the holding several times, financial and investment questions, social security obligations to the previous owner, and so on. Motteler & Maike Aselmeier (2018) highlight also that in many cases, NE had to live on the farm together with the former holders during a probationary period. Similar problems have been raised by a research on the Fresh Start Initiative in Cornwall –UK. The mis-match in expectations and motivations of NE and previous farmer can influence the long term outcome and the full-takeover of the farm by the new entrant (Ingram and Kirwan, 2011). Strictly connected to this issue is the succession planning. **The French experience provides possible solutions to overcome these issues. For example, agricultural development organisations develop work lines dedicated to accompanying retiring farmers, to sensitizing them to anticipate the transmission early-on. Some have created tools and methods to develop farm adaptation and farm transfer scenario, with the goal to improve farm transferability (i.e. farm transmission potential) (Robert-Boeuf et al 2020).** Furthermore, regional schemes have been experimented, such as the Contrat Emploi Formation Installation (CEFI) or “Work Training Farm Installation Contract” in Midi-Pyrénées department to finance three- to twelve-months long internship contracts between new entrants getting started outside a family farm and farmers looking for an associate or a successor. This allows NE to test farm installation or succession at full scale, while learning from experienced farmers and experiencing the technical, economic, social and human realities of working on a given farm (Robert-Boeuf et al 2020).*

*There is an absence of policies addressed specifically to support NE. For example, Dołzbłasz et al (2020) point that polish policies do not directly address newcomers, new entrants into farming or successors, and so it is no wonder that they are focusing on the means which are easily accessible to them, i.e. private capital. Escribano et al (2020) in their analysis on neo-peasantry farming in Catalonia underline that NE share a common feeling of vulnerability, among other reason, because of a perceived ignorance by public policy and legal structures. Even in France, where the category of NE is officially recognised, the support mechanisms remain scarce. Thus, public supports are essentially reserved to young farmers, and can be accessed either by successors or by NE. However, age criterion as well as other conditions imposed to receive the grant (e.g. minimum farm size, minimum farm training levels, etc.) may lead to the exclusion of many NE from public subsidies. **Nevertheless, to facilitate entry into the farming profession different scheme and system have been activated at national level. For example, in the Netherlands, a guarantee regulation has been developed. The instrument has the form of a 90% guarantee for subordinated loans. The idea is that the funding will add to the equity and not to the debt of young farmers (MLNV, 2019). Furthermore, funds have been allocated by the government to educate young farmers to***

improve their investment knowledge. In Italy, a National Bank of Land⁷ was established by the Government in 2016, making available on the open market about 22 thousand hectares of land. The aim is to encourage generational turnover in agriculture. Priority is given to young farmers through the possibility to access to 100% thirty-year mortgages. Regional land bank have also been organized by the Regional Government with the aim of establishing complete and updated inventories of land and farms, owned by public and private property, that can be available to third parties through leasing or concession operations (Povellato, Vanni, 2017). At local level, to facilitate the access to the land, many municipalities have made available public lands to youths/community cooperatives /associations for farming activities. A key factor for new entrants in Germany is to previously communicate with local authorities and to convince them that their farming model helps to contrast the rural decline. Particularly innovative are the incubators created in France (the French national network of farm incubators RENETA now has 63 members). The Incubator model, provides the right conditions for new farmers to try out agriculture growing, benefitting from access to the means of production (land, farm building, equipment, etc.), technical support, and provision of a legal status for their activity (temporary business hosting through the incubator). Aspiring farmers can experience real, direct management of the farm, in combination with the provision of more theoretical knowledge through training courses. In addition, the business project support contracts (CAPE contracts in French, which confer “incubated” status to the trial farmers) enable flexible support, making it possible to continue to access social assistance and/or engage in income-generating activities during the trial period. There are also a large network of organisations supporting the establishment of NE in France. For example, Terre de Liens works to favour access to land for a new generation of peasant agro-ecological farmer through a variety of tools: advisory services (assisting future farmers to find land, providing advice on legal and technical aspects, etc.), direct land management (acquiring land through raising citizen investment and renting it to farmer with socially and ecologically sound projects), information and awareness raising on land issues, land stewardship, collaborations with local authorities, etc. In Poland, there are public agricultural advisory units (at national and regional level), whose task is to support the activities of the inhabitants of the rural areas (with respect to farming and non-farming activities).

Finally, the access to training (formal, informal, and practice-based) has been indicated as an important support that NE may need. Dolci and Perrin (2018) note in relation to ‘neo-farmers’ a dissatisfaction with more formal, institutional training resulting in a moving away from this type of knowledge development and towards more informal, alternative sources. **For example, in Polonia the Ziarno NGO (Stowarzyszenie Ziarno) is promoting ecological farming in its own farm where courses and seminars related to various aspects of agroecological farming are organized. Moreover, reports and guides are published and an Ecological Folk School is held. It is the most popular place in the country for gaining skills and knowledge related to ecological farming.** In Hungary, village farmers, consultants, tender writers and interest representative organizations provide support to young farmers (Hantos 2010). The Hungarian Association of Young Farmers (AGRYA) organizes regular events, Young Farmers' Club, and Young Farmers' Conference, as well as other regional professional events, mainly focused on the CAP. Since 2006, the Young Farmers' Call Center, which provides advice on

⁷In Italy Regional land banks do not buy lands but offer public lands and also private lands in leasing or under concession.

generational support over the phone, has been set up. Professional trips abroad for its members, in order to learn good management practices, are also arranged (AGRYA 2019). In Ireland associations provide training to young farmers and NE and sensitizes farmers (and citizen) on agro-ecological farming. For example, the “Regenerative Agriculture Ireland” aims to support regenerative, innovative farming focused on closer supply chain relationships, farmer to farmer knowledge exchange and minimising ecological impacts of farming (Meikle, 2019); and Talamh Beo, aligned with the principles of the food sovereignty movement, aims to promote a sustainable food and farming system as well as bring producers and consumers together (Moore, 2019; O’Donnell, 2019). In French, “From idea to project” trainings, provided by rural development associations (ADEAR and CIVAM in particular), have been identified as good practice.

2.4 Succession and successors

According to the D3.3 Review Report and Fact Sheets based on previous European projects (Part A: Review Report), “farm succession refers to the transfer of farms, i.e. managerial control of the farm business and/or farm ownership, between generations is termed farm succession. It is a key stage in family farm development and its renewal (Lobley, 2010; Chiswell and Lobley, 2018).”

- Farm succession is a multi-faceted, heterogeneous process that can occur over a long timescale. It involves the farm transferor and farm successor where a farm enterprise is taken over by a successor (e.g. individual or group) (Handl et al., 2016).
- Farm succession can also be broken down into “succession to the farm and succession to the occupation of farming” (Lobley, 2010, p.839).
- Farm succession is often distinguished as occurring within (familial succession) or outside the family (extra-familial succession) (Handl et al., 2016; Helms et al. 2018).
- Its complexity has been categorised by researchers as a multi-stage process (e.g. moving from farming in partnership to full control) that can play out in different ways (e.g. see Handl et al., 2016; Chiswell, 2018).
- Farm transfer involves the transfer of a farm from the existing farmer (s) to the successor (s) (Handl et al. 2016). Farm transfer is just one stage in the succession process.

While the above definition refers to ‘succession’, from the Country Reports it emerges that there is not a clear definition of the figure of ‘successor’, a definition able both to grasp the phenomenon by abstracting from its empirical space-time complexity and to indicate the differences among rural newcomers, new entrants into farming and farm successors. In Finland, for example, “none of these three issues have clear or official definitions, but rather these issues are described and studied with a pragmatic approach”: the case of successors is better understood, as farmers have an obligatory pensions scheme of their own, the EU start grant for young farmers provides some ideas of the succession rates and processes and there are several studies on the farm succession. As for France, Agreste’s statistics does not separate successors (who are establishing on a family farm) from new entrants getting started outside

a family farm. The report from Netherlands and Belgium highlights that young farmers often do not appear in the numbers because they do not own the farm yet, but in reality, they are active on the farm already and will in the end succeed their parents or parents in law. Even for Spain, it is difficult to differentiate between successors and new entrants.

The need to analytically circumscribe the family farm succession more clearly to have an estimate of the order of magnitude of the phenomenon is often raised in Italian literature. To better understand the "phenomenology of the return to land" as a field of analysis, Osti (2013) proposes to differentiate 'successors' from 'neorurals', that is, people who arrive to field without having agricultural familiar ties or agricultural profession. A set of difficulties are identified for the absence of a clear definition: first, although the problem of generational succession is often mentioned, not enough has been invested in research and in the development of adequate statistics (Sotte and Carbone 2005). Second, the phenomenon of succession should be studied in its occurrence, observing over time the process of generational turn over at level of individual farms, but such data are difficult to obtain, since the succession occurs on the long run of generational intervals (Corsi A. 2005).

Completely different is the case of Hungary: since the majority of Hungarian enterprises are first-generation - mostly were established in the early 1990s (with the change of regime) - the available experience of generational change is limited.

As a result, the Country Reports closely associate the figure of successor to that of family farming as the foundation of the European model for agriculture and as principal institution for land transmission to young generation. To this is mainly attributed the cause of the scarce land mobility.

Farm succession still maintains a high social value based on continuity. In Finland, farm succession typically takes place within the family, since there is a long tradition of family farming and strong social and emotional ties to farmland; most part of succession take place in the northern and eastern part of Finland, where milk and beef production are the dominant lines of production. In the Irish context, family farms are strongly associated with family virtues, including commitment and solidarity, but most particularly, continuity (Szydlik, 2008), related to farm succession or the generational transfer of the family farm from one generation to the next: although most farm families have short-term goals, surrounding financial viability, a key objective or long-term goal is often to ensure the farm remains in the family name and is passed from one generation to the next (Errington, 2002). In France, the majority of new establishment in agricultural sector are from successor's farmers and not from new entrants (Cazella, 2001; Morel, 2018). Available reports for Netherlands and Belgium show that the land that appears to be sold goes mostly to farm successors within the family: in these cases, the successor(s) often gets some form of discount or other support which helps him, her or them to pay the high prices for farmland (Rheinfeld, 2017; Beukema, 21st November 2017). As for Hungary, Csakne (2012) lists three reasons that encourage to carry on the family business for generations: the first of these reasons is the values represented by the family business, such as a sense of responsibility for the employees, a love of the product produced and independence; the second is to preserve the family name, especially if it has significant emotional and symbolic significance; the third is to reap the benefits of a family business such as a long-term approach, versatility and a commitment to life. In Germany, many young

farmers want to be successors of their parents holding. In Poland, the majority of young farmers begin their professional activity in farming as successors (Adamowicz and Szepeluk, 2016).

To grasp the phenomenon of succession and its perspectives, two indicators are generally taken into account. Firstly, the percentage of private person owning the farm. In Italy, 98,6 per cent of owners are natural persons; in Finland, during the 2010s the mode of single-family owned farms is still very dominant: 85,9 per cent (of the about 46,000 farms in 2018) is owned by private persons, the predominance given by single-family owned farm; in 2018, 92% of Dutch farms are owned by natural persons.

Secondly, the share of family labour engaged in family farms' activities. In Italy, 88% of the regular farm labour force is family labour; a survey conducted by the Minister of Agriculture in 2011, shows that about 30 percent of the children of farmers intends to take over the family farm in the future, this has a direct correspondence with the size of the farm; young people want to continue the work of their parents, they also appreciate the fact of being able to have an independent job, contact with nature and quality of life; the EU-wide survey among young farmers carried out by CEJA and DeLaval in all Member States records that among the 70 Italian respondents, 70 percent come from a family farm, 53 percent are involved in family farm and 16 percent are recently installed on an inherit farm. Also, in Hungary economic employment weight of family businesses is still high (Konczosne-Kezai, 2018): in about 65-70% of Hungarian family businesses, the spouse and other relatives are also present among the owners and / or senior employees. In Poland, in individual farm family workforce reaches 96,6%; in Spain it is 60%.

As for France, still in 2016, family labour provided two thirds of Annual Work Units on farms (468,000 AWUs, corresponding to almost 670,000 people), compared to 18% for permanent employees and 16% for temporary workers. We can notice here that the AWU does not necessarily reflect the actual hours worked, all people working full time on the farm being counted for an AWU, regardless of their hours of work. In 2018, family work represents the majority of the workforce. If the number of farm holders and co-holders has been halved in 40 years, the number of spouses and family helpers has been reduced even more (6% of the total volume of agricultural work in 2016 against 36% in 1970). Within the French agricultural workforce, a classic distinction is made between: - the so-called "family" workforce, made up of farm holders and co-holders, collaborating spouses and other family helpers; the work of active farm holders and families predominates most often.

In the Irish context, the situation is as follows. Unpaid family labour is measured in annual work units (AWU). Each unit is equivalent to 1,800 hours. On average, there was one unpaid family labour unit (or annual work unit) employed on farms in 2018. The amount of unpaid labour supplied was highest on Dairy farms at 1.36 labour units and lowest on Cattle Other farms at 0.90. Tillage farms reported a figure of just below 1 LU in 2018, with the comparative figures on Cattle Rearing and Sheep farms 0.93 and 1.06 respectively. It is important to take account of unpaid family labour on farms and to also look at this as a proportion of Total labour units employed on the farm. The proportion of unpaid family labour units was highest on Cattle Rearing farms (Teagasc National Farm Survey 2018, Data and Analysis).

However, there are clear indications that this situation is changing, as shown by the decrease in family work and the absence of a successor. In Germany, only about 30 % of holdings with the owner being 45 years or older already have a successor (Babel 2018). In Poland, Czekaj (2016) showed that for the majority of Polish counties the share of farmers who are planning to pass their farm to a successor falls in the range of 8-22%. The lack of successors seems to be particularly acute in rural areas that are located within functional urban areas (Sroka et al. 2019), and to the largest extent in cities other than regional capitals (Czekaj, 2016). In France, according to a national study (Agreste), in 2010 an important part of farmers haven't even successors. In Hungary, more than half of the surveyed agricultural companies do not have a selected successor.

The importance of strengthening the succession mechanism within the family is not only linked to the generational change, but also to the long process of specific skills acquisition. These skills are still very location- and crop-specific, due to the heterogeneity of soils and weather conditions, requiring that scientific knowledge be adapted to those specific conditions, and this explains why accumulated farm-specific, experience-based knowledge is transmitted within the succession: it raises labour productivity, so that, for an offspring who worked on the farm and gained specific knowledge, the farm is more profitable and the land is worth more than for anybody else (Corsi 2009). Successors often start from better positions than those who enter farming in other ways: they have better access to intergenerational sources of skills and knowledge, which play an important role in the preparation for the future job (Wojcik et al., 2019). Moreover, the "successful" successors are using various CAP measures more often, which indicates that they are more skillful in obtaining EU support. A similar remark as in the case of new entrants has to be made here: the innovations of successors are usually aimed at increasing the productivity and profitability of the farm. This should not surprise as successors who introduce innovations are the ones who want to make the farm the centre of their professional life, and thus they need it to provide stable and satisfactory income. This is clearly visible in farming, but to some extent also in other sectors present in rural areas in Poland.

Finally, a relevant role seems to be played by the predecessors in deciding how to retreat and hand over the baton. For the companies surveyed in Hungary, it can be seen as a number of good examples of how the founder participates in the life of the business after his retirement. Representation, preservation and strengthening of relationships, a symbolic role, or an expert role are usually observed. The predecessor did not become passive in any of the examined businesses. As observed also for Poland observed by Bereźniecka (2013), the farmers who are planning the succession invest more in their farms (in comparison to those who have no potential successors) and thus leave them in better condition when the succession takes place.

2.4.1 The following are the main problems identified in the succession process

First, the reports highlight that *for young generation starting working early in the family farm there is a point in age – different for different countries (by the age of forty as estimated for Hungary) – beyond which potential successors are no longer motivated to succeed. In other words, those who do not encounter the duty of generational change at the 'right' age will have a constantly decreasing motivation until eventually burning out:* in the Hungarian context, it is

commonly seen that if a founder does not pass the baton to his successor before the age of 70 will not ever (or does not even want to do so).

The fact that *the process of succession does not happen instantaneously but is usually extended over time is recognized in Polish literature* (Czekaj, 2016). Adamowicz and Szepeluk (2016) argue that successors in Poland are well prepared for taking over family farms. However, since farmers in Poland usually retire when they are 60-65 years old, then if they pass on the farm to a child, he or she could already be over 30 years old – so at least a few years after the moment in which people usually enter the labour market. If the older farmer does not decide to pass on the farm earlier, then there is a risk that in the meantime the potential successor will start working in a different sector. In contrast, Czekaj (2016) claims that the age of 30-35 is corresponding well with the succession, since it is in this age—already after a few years of professional experience—that people usually decide (and have appropriate competencies) to set up their own business.

Moreover, having a longer period to earn their investment back, young generation may have innovative ideas; however, they are unable to act upon their ideas as long as they are not yet in control at their farm (Van Dijk, 22nd June, 2018). It may also stimulate the ageing of the farming population and make it less attractive for young people to succeed parents on the family farm. Consequently, renewal and innovation in the agricultural sector become less likely (Roels, 2018; Korthals Altes & Van Rij, 2005).

The second problem is strictly linked to processes of land marketization, concentration and the push towards modernization. Successors in the Netherlands and Belgium tend to diversify their farm to increase the revenue per hectare and avoid a forced growth of the farm in order to stay profitable (Van Gompel, 4th March, 2019), they are also aware of the difficulties in agriculture and rethink their business model before they decide to succeed (Beukema, 21st November, 2017). However, in the context of high prices for farmlands, successors – as new entrants into farming – generally need to increase their revenue per hectare to become or stay profitable; However, if land comes available, it often goes to landowners that are enlarging their farms, as the marginal cost and benefits of enlargement allow often to pay a higher price than what can be paid to start a farm; often, farms are acquired for novel artificial land uses by who can afford to pay some extra, especially as it may be attractive to re-invest funds soon for fiscal reasons. This is problematic because it becomes harder for smaller farmers to access the required land to create an economically sustainable business, making less attractive for young people to enter farming or to succeed parents on the family farm.

Probably these factors can also explain why in Poland, on average, successors do not fare better than the rest of farmers: less than half of the farms are kept in the same economic condition after succession, one in three farms decreases their production, and 10% of successors declare that they plan to exit from farming altogether (farmers from the latter group were usually older and inherited smaller farms). Only approx. 13% of farms expanded their production after succession. In contrast, the combination by relatively high level of attained education and a good condition of the inherited farm results in promising prospects for farms, as shown by the 20% of successors declaring that they are, or are going to, invest in the farm and make it the main focus of their professional activity.

As a result, the data show that almost half of the successors have other sources of income than the inherited farm only (Dudek, 2016). The successors often do not consider farming as their main activity but treat the farm rather as a complementary source of income, a place of residence, a safety net or simply family heritage. On some occasions, the succession takes place only formally—the successor continues his or her work outside the farm, while the older farmer is receiving the pension but still running the farm (Czekaj 2016).

Also, for France the push towards modernization of farm is at the origin of the main obstacles encountered by successors. The current agricultural model promotes farm enlargement and implicitly tends towards an industrialization of agriculture which causes a high indebtedness for successors. To give an order of magnitude, if it took € 250,000 to buy and run a farm in 1988, it now takes € 376,000 (excluding inflation). Thus, in thirty years, the capital to be committed for an average farm has increased by more than 120,000 €. If all the land was counted the farm would approach on average 690,000 €. While the average capital to be committed to settle increases, the gap between invested capital and income generated widens: to generate 1 euro of income, French farms mobilized 7 euros of capital in 1993, in 2013 they mobilized 10 euros 27. The farms to be taken over are increasingly industrialized and non-transferable, and do not match with the demands of new successors (often attracted towards smaller, organic farms). Farm takeovers with heavy equipment (tractors, mechanizers, milking robots, etc.) cost often over a million euros. Often, the farm buildings become a central problem, as large buildings linked to the storage of equipment and fodder become a significant burden for the buyer, especially if the successors have a different agricultural project. In addition, housing options on the farm may be limited: because construction is not allowed or because previous farmers are still living there. This can cause a dismantling of the farms (housing separated from the land), interference from former farmers with new entrants on their farm managements, hampering transmission when for activities where living on site is absolutely essential (especially in breeding).

Moreover, the farm is most often apprehended under its patrimonial value and too little under its economic transferability value. When valuing a farm, one has to take into account the income which can be generated from the farm's activities and which makes it possible to estimate what a successor without capital could borrow, or the amount of the annuities that it is possible to reimburse each year. Therefore, though retiring farmers and professional agricultural organizations often continue to understand transmission as taking over an identical farm, there is often a need for adaptation together with farm transmission. However, there is a lack of information about possible agricultural productions on a given territory (beyond the historical productions), which makes it hard for new entrants to imagine or anticipate the consequences of a reorientation of the farm activities.

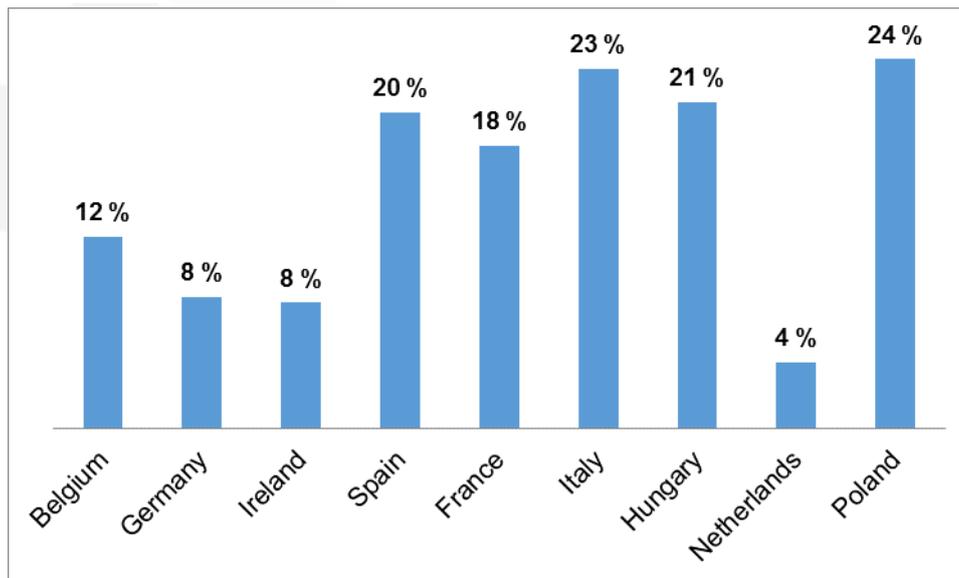
There is also a schedule issue, with the potential urgency to sell for a retiring farmer and the need for new entrants to have enough time to finalise training, raise capital, etc. Behind this is the more global question of the pension system for future retired farmers, which has repercussions on successors. The sale of the farm will be a significant or rather essential addition to the amount of the pension, with low agricultural pensions due to historical choices of the agricultural profession (limiting contributions to the retirement system throughout professional life) as well as due to low income during the professional career (the average

agricultural income was €1390 per month in 2017). It has been noticed also the lack of references about possible agricultural productions on a given territory, beyond the historical productions or the most profitable or mechanizable. This lack makes it harder to imagine a farm activities' reorientation.

The last problem, identified in the Hungarian report, refers to specific legal regulation of farm inheritance. While many western countries apply special inheritance law rules in relation to production resources, helping to keep the farm together. In Hungary, by contrast, there is not such a guarantee. There are two preconditions for the application of agricultural inheritance rules. One is to separate the set of agricultural resources (land, associated equipment, livestock) within the estate, which are subject to special rules for inheritance. On the other hand, these assets should be owned directly by the deceased, i.e. they should not be contributed to the company, as in the latter case the decision would be about inheriting a company share, rather than an agricultural farm (Internet-3). The acquisition of ownership of land under any title or manner is subject to the Act CXXII of 2013 on the Transactions in Agricultural and Forestry Land. This law determines how much agricultural land farmers and private individuals can own. According to this rule, a farmer shall not exceed the so-called land acquisition maximum, i.e. 300 hectares. At the time of land acquisition, this maximum also includes the size of the land already owned and having usufructuary rights related to, i.e. these lands should also be taken into account. In contrast, if someone acquires land as an individual (i.e. not as a farmer), they are entitled to a total of 1 hectare, in which case the area already owned must be added to the area to be acquired (Internet-4). Therefore, in the case of testamentary succession, compliance with the law, i.e. the ability to acquire, must be examined. In addition, the acquisition of property requires official approval. That is, if someone wishes to transfer agricultural land by will, they can do so only if the heir, as an individual or a farmer, does not reach the maximum land acquisition. Furthermore, an exception may be made if the person designated as the heir by the disposition of property upon death is also a legal heir. Acquisition of property by legal inheritance is not hindered by the Land Transaction Act, which means that in this way anyone can acquire any amount of arable land, there is no need to consider the one and three hundred hectare limit set out by the law (Hornyak 2016).

2.4.2 Gender in succession

As for gender issue in succession process, it was not possible to draw exact data from the reports, due to the difficulties in defining successors related to family farm. However, a first glance to 2016 Eurostat data on farm managers (excluding group holding) as indicator of women weight in agriculture shows some differences among group of countries. South and East Europe have the highest proportions of female farm managers, with Poland at the top (24%), followed by Italy. In contrast, northern and central countries do not go beyond the maximum of 18 %, with the lowest percentage of Netherland (4 %). These data appear to be counterfactual when compared to the common cultural image of the various European areas.



14. Figure: Female farm managers (% , persons)- 2016 Source: Our elaboration on Eurostat database

Further studies are needed, because in some cases these percentages are not in line with the picture of the gender condition in rural areas traced by the reports as follows.

The issue of gender roles has more clearly emerged in Irish research relating to succession. Ní Laoire (2002) identifies *gendered roles persisting within farm operations*; whereby farm management and technical operations are embedded within a highly masculinised framing while administration and care is associated with femininity. However more recently Cassidy (2019) examines female succession and highlights that female relationships with the farm possess similar factors at play that impact male successors, such as a responsibility to maintain ownership in the family, a strong emotional connection to the land, and/or an interest in farming activities. Cassidy (2019) highlights that an attachment to the land, farming skills, and historical family connections to the farm itself are not limited to male successors. Generally speaking, based on 2016 Census data, there were more men than women in rural areas.

In Germany, most women in agriculture work within a production unit of the household, and their activities usually cannot be separated from those of the household as a whole. There has been a process of outmigration of young women, due to gender-specific educational and professional ambitions. Empirical results show huge gender disparities in land holdings: women represent fewer than 10% of all agricultural holders, a share that increased slightly between 2010 (8.43%) and 2016 (9.60%).

In Finland, the successor has traditionally been one of the sons within the family. While the cultural model perhaps still favours men as successors, role models getting more liberal. In the recent 140 years, legislation in Finland has not made any obstacles for women to inherit land and legally it does not make difference if the successor is female or male (Silvasti 2010). The number on newsuccessors and/or new entrants was 1,753 persons in 2019; 35 % of them were women (MELA 2020c). In the same year, the share of women in the entrepreneurs was 30 %.

The feminization of the agricultural workforce in France is slowing down, affecting family members of individual farms, where the number of women declines slightly, remaining stable for active managers and permanent employees. There are relatively more women in small structures (32%) than in medium and large farms (25%), where the proportion of women farmers is highest in the viticulture activities or in the sheep or goat farming. Women farmers settle at all ages (men settle young): half of them establish themselves before 35 years and a quarter after 45 years, against 80% and 6% respectively for men. Women managers are in average three years older than men and work less full time on the farm: 52% compared to 65% for men. In 2016 as in 2010, 27% of farm managers, co-holders or agricultural associates are women; women managers work less full time on the farm (52% compared to 65% for men).

In Hungary, the traditional division of labor within the family - women's duty being the care of the household and children - makes significantly more difficult for them to work, especially in terms of opportunity for women living in villages: they have, on average, a larger number of children than women living in cities, but the number of institutions for children in villages is much lower compared to cities; there is a high number and proportion of unemployed, inactive earners and dependent women; the proportion of single elderly women with low or no pensions is also high, while the level of health and social care lags behind the services provided in cities. One of the few job opportunities available to women locally is offered by local social farms, social cooperatives (social enterprises). In these enterprises, women are employed on the basis of differences in feminized professions and activities called feminine. For this reason, regardless of the fact that social cooperatives can also be seen as social innovations, they do not reshape women's social roles. This situation is in strong contradiction with the fact that the level of educational attainment among rural women is higher than that of men, more women have a high school diploma and a higher education degree than men.

An important problem of rural areas in *Poland is the unbalanced gender structure, which determines the formation and course of many negative phenomena and processes at the entire population level*. In particular, it is significant in age groups with the highest fertility rate (20–34 years). While in 2017 in the entire population the feminization rate was at a level close to 100%, in the above age group a significant deficit of women can be observed - the feminization rate below 90% occurred in more than 40% of rural communes. Although rural areas are characterized by a clear deficit of married women, it should be noted that the scale of this phenomenon is not large enough to speak of permanent demographic deformation in the form of defeminization (Jakubowski, Bronisz, 2019). As a result, men have less opportunity to find a spouse, the rate of marriages decreases, likewise the number of births. All these phenomena advance population aging (Biegańska, 2013). Most of Polish farmers are men – 70% of managers of agricultural holdings. The highest share of women-managers (about 40%) was in the smallest farms—below 2 ha—(Charakterystyka gospodarstw rolnych w 2016 r., 2017). According to the official data, in 2018 over 130,000 foreigners were working in Polish agriculture – most of them were from Ukraine and worked as seasonal workers (Rolnictwo w 2018, 2019).

Italian farms managers are typically male, but data shows that the percentage of female manager on the total is increasing, although it remains around 30% of the total (2016), appearing to be in line with the one-third of female family labour force. Spain sees an increase

(3,9 %) of female farmers, representing 22,6 % of total farmers in 2016, up from a 19 % in 2005. This increase in the weight of female farmers, however, is due to the decrease (16,7 % between 2005-2016).

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4 Appendix

4.1 Appendix A

EUROSTAT Data files utilized in analysis (years 2005 to 2016)

Farm indicators by agricultural area, type of farm, standard output, sex and age of the manager and NUTS 2 regions [ef_m_farmang]

(File name: ef_m_farmang Eurostat 2016 and earlier years agricultural holdings etc2) (Excel)

Farm indicators by agricultural area, type of farm, standard output, sex and age of the manager and NUTS 2 regions [ef_m_farmang] (Age less than 25 years)

(File name: ef_m_farmang Eurostat 2016 and earlier years LT25YEARS age agricultural holdings etc national and regional 2)

Farm indicators by agricultural area, type of farm, standard output, sex and age of the manager and NUTS 2 regions [ef_m_farmang] (Age From 25 to 34 years)

(File name: ef_m_farmang Eurostat 2016 and earlier years 25to34YEARS age agricultural holdings etc national and regional 2)

Farm indicators by agricultural area, type of farm, standard output, sex and age of the manager and NUTS 2 regions [ef_m_farmang] (Age From 35 to 39 years)

(File name: ef_m_farmang Eurostat 2016 and earlier years 35to39YEARS age agricultural holdings etc national and regional 2)

Farm indicators by agricultural area, type of farm, standard output, sex and age of the manager and NUTS 2 regions [ef_m_farmang] (Age 65 years or over)

(File name: ef_m_farmang Eurostat 2016 and earlier years 65YEARS age and over agricultural holdings etc national and regional 2)

Farm indicators by agricultural area, type of farm, standard output, sex and age of the manager and NUTS 2 regions [ef_m_farmang] (Males)

(File name: ef_m_farmang Eurostat 2016 and earlier years MALES agricultural holdings etc national and regional 2)

Farm indicators by agricultural area, type of farm, standard output, sex and age of the manager and NUTS 2 regions [ef_m_farmang] (Females)

(File name: ef_m_farmang Eurostat 2016 and earlier years FEMALES agricultural holdings etc national and regional 2)

4.2 Appendix B

Farm Structures Survey: Description of Data – EU and additional country data provided

The basic Farm structure survey (FSS), and also known as Survey on the structure of agricultural holdings, is carried out every 3 or 4 years by all European Union (EU) Member States as a sample survey, and once in ten years as a census.

The FSS is conducted consistently throughout the EU with a common methodology on a regular basis and provides therefore comparable and representative statistics across countries and time, at down to regional levels.

EU Member States collect information from individual agricultural holdings covering land use, livestock numbers, rural development, management and farm labour input (including the age, gender and relationship to the holder of the agricultural holding). Data can also be broken down by size class, area status, legal status of the holding and farm type.

The farm structure surveys (FSS) surveys are organised in all countries in a harmonised way (FSS) and the survey unit is the farm, i.e the agricultural holding with the aggregated results disseminated through statistical tables available on Eurostat website.

The structure of agricultural holdings collected through FSS is presented at different geographical levels and over periods. The data on individual agricultural holdings are collected by all Member States, Iceland, Norway and Switzerland and are sent to Eurostat. Montenegro, North Macedonia, Albania, Serbia and Kosovo have also provided data for some years.

For a given survey year, countries have to conduct their surveys within the agreed time-frame and the same data are available for all countries in case of each survey. Thus all the data are as comparable as possible.

4.2.1 Farm typology

The Community typology means a uniform classification of the holdings based on their type of farming and their economic size. Both are determined on the basis of the standard output (SO) (from 2010 onward) (previously based on standard gross margin (SGM)) which is calculated for each crop and animal production. The farm type is determined by the relative contribution of the different productions to the total standard gross margin/standard output of the holding. For more information on farm typology please refer to the Standard Output glossary article for additional details in relation to same.⁸

4.2.2 Territorial classification

The regional data is broken down according to the NUTS classification with the regional data available at NUTS level 2.⁹

⁸ For the legal acts governing the typology system from 1990 onwards, please consult *List of Regulations and Decisions underlying the farm structure surveys* in the annex of item 6.1.

⁹ For the legal acts governing the NUTS classification, see item 6.1.

4.2.3 Coverage

The FSS statistics cover agricultural holdings undertaking agricultural activities.

In countries where the survey threshold is above one hectare of [utilised agricultural area \(UAA\)](#):

- until the FSS 2007, in accordance with [Regulation \(EEC\) No 571/88](#), the national surveys are representative of at least 99% of the national agricultural activity as reflected by the total [standard gross margin](#) (SGM);
- from 2010 onwards, in accordance with [Regulation \(EC\) No 1166/2008](#), the national surveys cover at least 98% of the total utilised agricultural area excluding [common land](#) and at least 98% of the total number of farm [livestock units](#) (LSU) in the country.

4.2.4 Regional Data

Data for censuses carried out every 10 years are available in a three-level geographical breakdowns of the whole country, the regions and the districts; while data for intermediate sample-based surveys are only available upon the two-levels of country and regions.

Since FSS 1999/2000, information about local farm location is collected in most countries, so the data can also be disseminated by NUTS and are robust regarding the changes in the NUTS definition.

The FSS 2009/2010 information is in line with the NUTS 2010 classification: [Commission Regulation \(EU\) No 31/2011](#) amending the NUTS classification from January 2003.

The FSS 2009/2010 and 2013 information are in line with the NUTS 2013 classification, see: [Commission Regulation \(EU\) No 1319/2013](#) and [Commission Regulation \(EU\) No 868/2014](#) amending the NUTS classification established by [Regulation \(EC\) No 1059/2003](#).

The FSS 2016 information is in line with the NUTS 2013 classification.

FSS surveys do not cover the whole territory but only the land covered by the agricultural holdings. So the land use data without link with other farm characteristics should be downloaded by the user from the relevant domain.

The main dissemination outlet is the [website of Eurostat](#). Aggregates at regional (NUTS 2), national and European level are published under node "Farm structure" (ef). The results span a considerable number of variables, broken down by groups of holdings formed according to several of the classification characteristics on which data were collected or compiled.

	1999/2000	2003	2005	2007	2009/10	2013	2016
Belgium	C	C	C	C	C	S	C
Bulgaria		C	S	S	C	S	S
Czechia		S	S	S	C	S	S
Denmark	C	S	S	S	C	S	S
Germany	C (1999)	S	S	S	C	S	S
Estonia		S	S	S	C	S	S
Ireland	C	S	S	S	C	S	S
Greece	C (1999)	S	S	S	C (2009)	S	S
Spain	C (1999)	S	S	S	C (2009)	S	S
France	C	S	S	S	C	S	S
Croatia				S	S	S	S
Italy	C	S	S	S	C	S	S
Cyprus		C	S	S	C	S	S
Latvia	C (2001)	S	S	S	C	S	S
Lithuania		C	S	S	C	S	S
Luxembourg	C (1999)	C	C	C	C	C	C
Hungary	C	S	S	S	C	S	S
Malta		S	S	S	C	S	S
Netherlands	C (1999)	C	C	C	C	C	C
Austria	C (1999)	S	S	S	C	S	S
Poland		C (2002)	S	S	C	S	S
Portugal	C (1999)	S	S	S	C (2009)	S	S
Romania		C (2002)	S	S	C	S	S
Slovenia	C	S	S	S	C	S	S
Slovakia	C (2001)	S	S	S	C	S	S
Finland	C	C	C	C	C	S	S
Sweden	C (1999)	C	C	C	C	S	S
United Kingdom	C	C	C	C	C	S	S
Iceland					C	S	S
Norway	C (1999)	C	C	C	C	S	S
Switzerland			C	C	C	S	S
Montenegro					C		S
North Macedonia						S	S
Albania					C (2012)		
Serbia					C (2012)		S (2018)
Kosovo*					C (2014)		

C-Census; S-Sample survey

*This designation is without prejudice to positions on status, and is in line with UNSCR 1244 and the ICJ Opinion on the Kosovo Declaration of Independence.

The 2000 census covered the 15 Member States at that time, plus Latvia, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia and Norway, while the 2010 census covered the 27 Member States at that time, plus Croatia, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Montenegro and Serbia.

In 2010 a special survey, the [Survey on agricultural production methods](#) (SAPM) was carried out. SAPM was carried out together with the 2010 census in some countries, whereas in other countries SAPM was carried out as a sample survey and data were linked to data of the census at the level of the individual holding to enable cross comparisons of variables collected in both SAPM and the census. Sample surveys of 2003, 2005 and 2007 covered the EU-27 Member States. In 2013 and 2016, the survey covered the EU-28 Member States. Iceland, Norway,

Switzerland, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia also send farm structure data to Eurostat.

The countries collect information from individual [agricultural holdings](#) and, observing strict rules of confidentiality, data are forwarded to [Eurostat](#). The information collected in the FSS covered [land use](#), livestock numbers, rural development, management and farm labour input (including the age, gender and relationship to the holder of the agricultural holding). The survey data can then be aggregated by different geographic levels (countries, regions, and for basic surveys also district level). The data can also be arranged by size class, area status, legal status of the holding, objective zone and farm type.

The basic unit underlying the FSS is the agricultural holding. The FSS covered all agricultural holdings which meet the minimum requirements set in the applicable legislation, see also the article on [Farm structure survey - thresholds](#).

The legal basis for the FSS was [Regulation \(EC\) No 1166/2008](#) of 19 November 2008 on farm structure surveys and the survey on agricultural production methods, which repealed [Council Regulation \(EEC\) No 571/88](#).

The [Regulation \(EC\) No 1166/2008](#) on farm structure surveys ceased to provide statistical information as of 2018. It was repealed by [Regulation \(EC\) No 2018/1091](#).