

T5.2 Case study report (Code HU10A)

Dávid Deilinger – New entrants in farming

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Characteristics of Hungary regarding ruralization

General tendencies in rural communities

According to the EU NUTS classification, Hungary has three NUTS I regions, seven NUTS II regions and 19 NUTS III regions (including Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Hajdú-Bihar counties) and Budapest. Between 2000 and 2016, 152 villages were promoted to town status, more than in the previous decade (Kovách-Megyési 2018, Balogh-Kovách 2021), but the number of villages increased by approximately the same proportion, so the loss of rural population can be considered a consequence of out-migration and natural decline. The population of villages with unchanged administrative classification is 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. About 80 percent of villages with less than 500 people are among the villages with declining population, and more than 50 percent of them have losses exceeding 20 percent. The larger the population of a village, the smaller the tendency of population decline, which shows that changes in the population of villages also result in a rearrangement of population processes between smaller and larger villages. A significant proportion of the inhabitants of small villages do not migrate to cities but to larger villages.

Agriculture

In 2018, the size of agricultural area in production was 5.3 million hectares, including 4.3 million hectares of arable land, the value of latter, calculated at average prices in 2018, was near 65,000 billion HUF. The economic (and at the same time social) significance of the value of arable land is increased by the fact that in the majority of 2089 villages, land is the most significant, sometimes single, economic resource. In 2016, 42 percent of the utilized agricultural and forestry land was cultivated on a lease basis. The proportion of leased land in arable land is higher: 55 percent (HCSO, 2017). 42 percent of farms use leased land, which can account for half to three-quarters of all cultivated land on farms larger than 100 hectares and even more so on farms larger than 500 hectares (Csurgó et al., 2016). In fact,

the degree of land use concentration has not decreased, and in most cases the largest farms have been split into smaller units due to a change in the distribution scheme of the EU's area-based subsidies. In agriculture, however, we can expect a maximum of 200,000 people to work actively, which shows a significant and rapid decline. As a result of specialization and mechanization, less and less labour is needed in the agricultural sector. However, there is also a shortage of skilled labour. The primary consequence of land concentration is the almost complete displacement of more than one million people from agriculture, which is one of the root causes of large-scale rural poverty.

The majority of farmers belong to the older age group, which may also mean further continuation of specialization. Younger producers farm on a larger area and have completely abandoned traditional forms of production. There is a significant correlation between the educational level of family farmers and the size of the land used (Kováč, 2016).

Succession in farming

The topicality of the generational change of Hungarian farms is given by the fact that Hungarian enterprises were mostly established in the early 1990s (with the change of regime) and today the founders are around retirement age. Most of these farmers are currently deciding whether they can pass on the business to the next generation. According to statistics, 66% of Hungarian farmers have reached the age of 50, a quarter have already reached the age of 65 and only 6% are under the age of 35. The larger the size category, the higher the proportion of younger ones (Székely, 2009). In Hungary, the number of students in agricultural higher education is growing, about 1200-1300 people graduate every year. According to experience, students already have a high degree of career awareness in agricultural vocational education, with 2,600-2,700 students graduating every year. Statistics show that students whose families are engaged in farming on their own farm or where their parents have an agricultural degree are more likely to remain in the sector. Csákné (2012) lists three reasons that encourage families 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.

One of the basic conflicts of the family business stems from the different values of two opposing systems - the family and the business. The business is productive, profit- and customer-oriented, characterized by organizational hierarchy and culture and it is based on contractual relationships. At the same time, the family is consumption-oriented, its main value is kinship love, the hierarchy is determined by the order of birth, and relationships are based on trust. Conflicts often include father-son/daughter conflict and sibling rivalry.

In the life of family businesses, succession is perhaps one of the most conflict-laden processes. The expressed and unspoken expectations, the competition between the predecessor and the successor, and between potential successors, the atmosphere permeated by the uncertainty caused by the change all fuel the oppositions that are already an essential feature of the family business.

Young people today no longer follow the old logic: they understand the command of digitalization, they would adapt to market requirements, modify and develop their profile. At the same time, seniors would usually keep the position they have achieved.

There can be a number of conflicts in the handover process. The conflict between the different values and goals of the founder and the successor can be observed. The source of conflict may be the rivalry of siblings to run a family business. A typical solution is for the siblings to manage different areas of the business.

The entry of a new generation into the management of the business will bring a number of changes that will increase the competitive advantage of the family business. These include: addressing the challenges posed by digital change, the role of language skills in entering foreign markets, incorporating one's own expertise as a new business, market, product and process innovation.

According to Bárány (2016), a person is professionally and personally prepared for the serious, responsible tasks of succession around the age of 30-32 in Hungary. A university degree plus 5 years of internship, during which a young man or a young woman becomes professionally suitable for higher-level leadership and management tasks. There is a need for farm managers to be able to give meaningful tasks to young people who have just graduated

from the university so that “we don’t have to start by having to explain them the basics”. This is the task of education and practical training (Internet-2).

In terms of succession in farming, Hungarian law is “lagging behind” the most in comparison with Western European countries. In Hungary, there is currently no guarantee rules that would effectively help to keep the farm together. 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 Act CXXII of 2013 on the Transactions in Agricultural and Forestry Land 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. 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 (Hornyák 2016). In Hungary, wills are not very common, according to a 2018 survey, they affected only 4 percent of probate proceedings, and a further 7 percent took place on the basis of an inheritance contract. Examining the regulations of other European states, the experts concluded that special inheritance rules would be needed in connection with the legal inheritance of agricultural land. The principle that “the land should be owned by those able to cultivate it” legally appears in agricultural land circulation.

Description of the two examined counties

The combined area of Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties covers 10-15% of Hungary's territory, population and settlements, as well as its agricultural and arable land (Table 1). However, there are also important differences between the two counties:

- Hajdú-Bihar County is slightly larger, while Szabolcs-Szatmár County has a higher population. In the latter, the average population density is also higher, yet still falls short of the national average. The average income in both counties is significantly lower than the national average.
- The decisive form of agricultural production in both counties is the family farm. The role of agricultural enterprises in providing employment and income significantly exceeds national indicators. In Hajdú-Bihar, the proportion of the number of joint ventures (2%) is close to the national average (3%), but in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, only 1% of agricultural enterprises are joint ventures.
- The rent of arable land in the two counties is almost the same as the national average (56-59 thousand HUF/ha), but there are significant differences in land prices. In Hajdú-Bihar County, land prices are exceptionally high, while land prices are approximately a third lower in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, due to e.g. the quality of the land, the resulting different sowing structure, income-generating capacity, the different development levels of the processing industry and infrastructural differences.
- The settlement structure is markedly different in the two counties:
 - Most of the area of Hajdú-Bihar County is occupied by settlements with an agricultural town past, and most still boast city status. The majority of the population lives in settlements numbering 1,000-10,000 inhabitants. The threshold for urbanization is high, around 10,000 inhabitants. A large number of settlements with more or less urban functions results in the fragmentation of urban functions. The majority of the village population of the county lives in a more populous environment. The primary needs of these residents is provided locally, their local society is structured, and a significant number of people with higher education degrees also live in these settlements.

- The south-western part of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County is characterised by the same endowments as those of Hajdú-Bihar county. The other half of the county, however, includes a much smaller population but a much larger number of small settlements. Here the network of institutions is poor. In the small villages, basic services are inadequate and property values have fallen, i.e. development (housing, infrastructure) is scarce. Unemployment is well above average and commuting is difficult due to poor public transport. There is significant out-migration from the region, especially among the educated and physically active people. For these reasons, the demographic and social structure of the tiny and small villages is extremely distorted.

Category	Measurement unit	Hajdú-Bihar County	Szabolcs Szatmár County	Hungary	Share of the two counties of national data
Territory	km2	6210	5936	93023	13
Number of settlements	no.	82	229	3155	10
Village	no.	61	201	2809	9
City	no.	21	28	346	14
Population	thousand persons	528	553	9773	11
Population density	persons/km2	85	93	105	
Average population of townships	thousand persons	1,7	1,3	1,0	
Average population of cities	thousand persons	20	11	20	
Urban population rate	%	80	54	71	
Average monthly earned income	thousand HUF/month/person	283	240	347	
Number of farms	no.	44377	72768	471930	25
of which joint ventures	no.	803	736	13002	12
Agricultural area	thousand	450	327	5309	15
of which arable land	thousand	325	251	4318	13
Land rent (arable land)	thousand HUF/ha	59	59	56	

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Land price (arable land)	thousand HUF/ha	2083	1321	1487	
Total agricultural emissions	billion HUF	589*		2693	22
Gross agricultural value added	billion HUF	272*		1104	25
Net agricultural entrepreneurial income	billion HUF	195*		712	27

*Data for the Northern Great Plain region, which includes Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, in addition to the two counties under study.

Table 1. Data of the two counties and Hungary (2018)

Source: HCSO (2021)

Methodology

We conducted 20 in-depth interviews with young farmers (under 40 years of age) from Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties who had inherited property that they currently use to carry out agricultural activities. The interviewees (see annex 1) were reached using the snowball sampling method. Interviews were conducted online and by telephone due to the epidemic situation. Informed consent statements were provided by all interviewees. Interviews were 1-1.5 hours long and followed the question structure recommended in the input paper of WP5.2.

Interviews on inheritance

Background

Personal motivation

The vast majority of the heirs interviewed have agricultural educational degrees, ranging from vocational secondary school to PhD. Their ages range from 22 to 37 years, and they have typically been professionally engaged in farming for 6 to 8 years. However, this activity is now split between full-time and part-time jobs, with some of the latter even including university lecturers. The family farm background emerged during the period of the political restructuring in Hungary (mostly between 1995-2004), thanks to land privatisation and the very low land prices prior to EU accession.

Supportive family background (material, financial resources and knowledge transfer) played a major role in their commitment to agriculture.

"...80% of my professional knowledge I got from my grandfather, my father and from experience. Because you also learn at university, but what you experience at home is the real value."

Participation in farming was motivated by the desire to set up an own farm, but in many cases also by the uncertainty of job opportunities. There were emergency decisions - *"There were two options, one was to sell everything and the other was to continue"* -, but the most typical scenario was that the family division of labour gradually moved over several years from administrative tasks to independent decision-making.

"...I used to work for my father, then with my father, then later my father worked for me."

The integration of heirs was particularly effective when they started farming during their (university) studies.

"It was really interesting to learn and understand a lot of what we do at home and even contribute to it."

The perception of agricultural educational level or the beginning of farming was sometimes burdened by negative stereotypes held by urban residents, but in agricultural towns and villages where farming has a tradition, being a good farmer has a considerable prestige. In

none of these cases was the choice of farming forced by the family, it was the heirs' own choice and typically arose from childhood desires and experiences.

"Since I was a kid, animals have been everything to me, so I've been moving around among them ever since I could walk."

Another dominant motif is working outdoors and a love of nature.

"...confinement is not my thing, I like to be outdoors, to be active outside, to work outside..."

The region of farming, emotional issues

Natural conditions (soil quality, rivers) vary considerably from one region to another, which limits the range of crops that can be grown, the intensity of crop production and the characteristics of livestock farming. Local or nearby processing plants and storage capacities, as well as related industrial and transport activities, largely determine the security of supply, the cost of transport and, through this, the profitability of farming.

Most of the interviewees run small farms. This is a local characteristic in less favoured areas:

"once you have 30-40 hectares, you are a big farmer here."

Poorer land quality and livelihood problems often force small farmers to abandon the farming they have started. With little cooperation between them, they only help each other in emergencies. In areas with good land quality, the capital needed for intensive crops requiring special equipment and irrigation, as well as competition from large farms, limit the competitiveness of small farmers.

The favourable economic geography of small and medium-sized towns with an agricultural town past results in a variety of competitive situations that make it difficult to start or expand farming.

"...there is a lot of competition for land, but at the same time the advantage is what makes agricultural business possible, for example the associated services, that the biggest machinery dealers have their service centres nearby. Whatever colour tractor you choose, the mechanic doesn't come from 50 or 80 kilometres away. I have friends who farm in a rural area and it's very difficult for them to have the only dryer 30 kilometres away. And they charge unbelievably high prices, because the farmers have nowhere else to go but their place..."

The differences in the settlement structure between the small villages of north-eastern Szabolcs County and the rest of the region are clearly perceived by respondents. The small villages are characterised by youth emigration for two main reasons: (1) high unemployment, which can be beneficial for farmers to carry out seasonal work, especially in fruit growing, and (2) a high and growing proportion of poor, mainly Roma, population.

"it is not the gypsy who will be Magyarised, but the other way round. So the Hungarian will be gypsyized, so to say, and as parents we obviously don't want that, because we would like to give the child a better future, so we are forced to take him away."

A very common and typical problem is the distance between the place of residence and the farm, so it is not uncommon to live in two dwellings. The family often has to choose between living in a small village, which is the place of farming, but the spouse has to commute daily to work and school for the children, or in a larger village in the area, where the farmer has to commute daily and manage the protection of the farm and the crops. It is mainly those with tertiary education who choose to live in two dwellings for the convenience of the family.

"...actually, it's a very natural, very idyllic little town, so I really like being out there, I just don't want to stay for the night. It's very pleasant to relax here, and to get away from the big city, but unfortunately the predominant part of the population (Roma people) makes it impossible to live a normal life or even to produce certain crops."

Sometimes, it is the location of the land for sale why the farm is far away from the place of residence, and sometimes it is the farmer's subjective perception of life that causes him to live in two dwellings.

"There's a duality in me, because I like the relatively big city, if you can call Debrecen that, so I like the urban lifestyle, with the advantages of having more opportunities to spend time after work, but I like to be out in nature when I work."

A special type of living in two dwellings (especially when the distance between farm and home is big), where the farmer lives out on the farm during the year and usually only moves home in winter when the seasonal work is finished.

"Wherever I am between the two places, I call the other one home, too."

Part-time farmers have different income expectations and see this part-time job as a kind of "safety margin".

"...since I work, I don't see it as a full-time job. Overall I don't look at costs as someone who needs to cover their costs from this... but I'll leave it as an alternative that I'd like to do full time later on, if I can develop it enough until then."

Young people started the activity with optimism, but some of them became less enthusiastic after a while. By planning to farm for a longer period of time, they are also taking on the difficulties that come with it.

"I'm outdoors, in nature, I don't think I need a better office."

"I think it's one of the most beautiful things to work with, whether it's a plant or an animal."

"You always have to be positive, if not, you have to stop, and you have to pass it on to someone else. Working as an expert, I met a farmer who had a thousand hectares and he complained about not being able to make a living out of it... well, then there are some big problems, both from the professional and other aspects."

Detailed description of the activity

The farm and its establishment

In almost all cases, farming started from land privatisation after the political restructuring in Hungary, with the previous generation (parents, grandparents) acquiring property, which constitutes the basis of, or sometimes the whole holding. There were three motives for land privatisation: (1) attachment to farming as a way of life, mostly due to previous employment in a co-operative and acquired skills, (2) investment purposes, complemented by further land purchases, (3) in the absence of other employment opportunities, it was a secure self-employment option in the high unemployment conditions of the time. There were also cases where young people who were otherwise committed to agriculture did not accept the offered farm, but felt the need to gain the necessary experience and professional contacts as employees in larger enterprises first.

"I, for example, have always been of the opinion that I should go to work somewhere else first. To see how it's done in other places, how it's done on a bigger farm. You have to gather information, you have to get to know people, to broaden your horizons, and so you can take that knowledge back home, the things you have to do and the way you have to do them... so you wouldn't need to learn them at your own expense."

The state is providing significant support (12.5 million HUF) to start farming through the "Young Farmer" grant. The disadvantage of this opportunity is that it only helps young people who are self-employed full-time farmers, it only partially helps with a large investment and has limited access (through tenders).

"of course it's still support, but it's not enough to bring about change."

"I've also been thinking a lot about the Young Farmer grant, but exactly because I'd have to do it full-time, the funding is very small."

"I applied in 2010, but I wasn't successful. Then there were ten times more applications over the quota. There was this weird calculation in the new conditions scheme that beef cattle were worth very little and grass was worth a lot, and actually if I had won the grass bid I wouldn't have been able to meet the livestock commitment rate. "

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It should be noted that in the case of area-based payments, young farmers are entitled to an additional 20,000 HUF per hectare. The main characteristics of the farms of the heirs in the case study are presented in Table 2.

farmer	Area property rights	form of farming	number of employees	farming method	does it provide services, too?	RES
No.	ha s/b		number of people permanent/ seasonal	organic/ traditional cp/lp/or	y/n	y/n/pl
1	30	fam. f.	0+1	tr, cp	y	y
2	3+4	primary producer	0	org, cp	n	pl
3	40+100	fam. f.	6	tr, cp, lp	n	y
4	60	fam. f. (p)	5+5	tr, cp, or	n	pl
5	600+600	Ltd	16	tr, cp	y	pl
6	400+40	fam. f.	2	tr, cp	n	n
7	140	fam. f.	5	tr, lp	n	y
8	3+6	primary producer (p)	0+20	tr, or	n	n
9	0,5+4	primary producer (p)	0	tr, cp, lp	n	y
10	400+300	Ltd	10+5	tr, cp	y	pl
11	15	Ltd	4+10	tr, cp, or	y	pl
12	8+2	primary producer	0+15	tr, cp	n	n
13	200+50	fam. f.	3	tr, cp	y	n
14	90	fam. f.	0	tr, cp, or	y	n
15	170+130	fam. f.	n.a.	tr, cp	y	n
16	60	fam. f. (p)	0	tr, cp, or	n	n
17	150+150	fam. f.	2	tr, cp, lp	n	n
18	6+77	fam. f.	0+2	tr, cp	n	pl
19	80+25	Ltd	6	org, cp, lp, or	y	y
20	300	Ltd	8	tr, cp	y	n

Legend: o: own, r: rented, cp: arable crop production, lp: livestock production, or: orchard, y: yes, n: no, pl: planned, RES: renewable energy source, fam. f. family farmer, Ltd: limited liability company, (p): part-time

Table 2. Brief description of the heirs' farms in the case studies

Based on Table 2, it can be assumed that the sample is representative of the young farmers who inherited their farms. While there are some large farms of several hundred hectares in the form of limited liability companies, the majority are family farms of a few to ten hectares

and small farms of a few hectares. There are also farms with a service provider profile and orchards, where the smaller size of the farm can still support a family. The latter is a particularly common activity in Szabolcs-Szatmár County. Organic farming accounts for 10%, which is also close to the Hungarian average.

Instead of the mixed profile typical of large enterprises, a significant proportion of small enterprises are involved only in crop production and are trying to develop their own machinery. The use of renewable energy sources (almost exclusively solar panels) is higher than the average Hungarian indicators, which may be linked to the fact that this age group is more receptive to innovative solutions. However, its structure is one-sided. Based on employment indicators, it can be seen that one permanent employee is enough for up to 100-200 ha in addition to family labour in the case of exclusively industrial crops with well mechanised production. Livestock farming has a greater labour demand beyond a certain number of animals, as does machinery services (because of the additional tasks). Fruit pruning and harvesting has the highest labour demand, but this is only temporary employment. Crop production (including fruit production) of less than 100 ha can be managed without permanent labour.

"this thirty hectares, and not only thirty, but even three hundred hectares, if the right machinery is available, can be done by one man without any further effort."

The preference for urban living and better job opportunities among young people often results in migration to the city, creating a shortage of quality agricultural labour and increasing competition.

"Now you have to fish for young people and you'd better not be picky, so to say."

Even in the case of traditional farming, the advice so often given in vocational training about the intensity of production is the priority of profitability over the scale of production.

The typical smallholder perception of processing for commodity production is as follows:

"...when we slaughtered pigs, they always bought everything on the same day. But it was just so much work that it wasn't worth it, it just wasn't economical to do it all. On the one hand, meat prices have fallen, and on the other hand, the market simply won't pay for the quality that a family farm can offer."

In all cases, the areas under cultivation are fragmented, with little scope for improving concentration. But this is not only a disadvantage, according to farmers.

"dispersion is also an advantage because if there is some weather condition that affects one of the fields, there will certainly be others that are not affected."

Accessibility and the spatial planning of sowing structure can also significantly reduce the problems of fragmentation.

"we have built everything around our lands which are close to Highway 35."

As a matter of course, traditional crops (wheat, maize, rape, grass) produced on large areas represent the main crop production activity, but energy crops are also being grown on small farms to reduce the risks of production and selling the crop, sometimes combined with basket weaving.

"In four or five years, the crop of at least one or two years will surely be donated to the Tisza river, and there is no insurance, the water will take everything. No such problem with the grass, the energy grass... so we have started doing that, too, for basket weaving, we grow it on the floodplain."

"Well, melons can be more profitable, if the weather is like that, but it's much easier to plan with acacia, it has a fixed price and I know that it will be the same next year... plus, it's less exposed to weather conditions."

For large farms, however, the use of agri-environmental subsidies and the already identified market niches may justify the cultivation of rare arable crops (e.g. poppy, lacy phacelia or oil radish seeds.)

Environmental aspects, work processes

The perception of the importance of environmental considerations can be divided into many substantially different groups.

- (1) Organic farming is all about a chemical-free approach, and the development and co-ordination of links between sectors is also important.

"In addition to growing crops, I'd like to get involved in livestock production as well, because I pretty much think the two are necessary side by side. It has a very good effect on soil life, on the cultivability, and on the soil structure."

- (2) For young farmers who are committed to the environment, have a degree in environmental economics, or have been brought up in a nature-loving family and have

graduated from university, protecting the environment is not a question of money, but a fundamental rule.

"Because we live from nature, we try to live in harmony with it as much as possible. Our goal has always been to protect and preserve the nature around us, because we live in it every day."

- (3) There are also young heirs - with no higher than secondary education - who interpret environmental protection in a much narrower sense, and not in association with farming, but rather with everyday life.

"...I really hate it when people come to our place to throw away the plastic bottles, I always have to collect them in a container or go with a container... I have to collect them each autumn."

- (4) Finally, the largest group approaches environmental protection and biodiversity from the perspective of income-generating capacity, i.e. they comply with the relevant standards, but only in order to receive additional support.

"Well, basically, as in any for-profit sector, they made me do it with subsidies. After all, there is the agri-environmental subsidy, according to which we undertook to divide up our areas. So we divided the six hectares into two three-hectare areas. Of if we need to green our farm, we will do what we are asked to do in return for the subsidy."

Workforce, organising work

Attitudes towards the organisation of work are much more uniform. On large farms, where a significant number of permanent workers are employed, it is similar to an enterprise run by an older farmer or an enterprise in a different field.

"It's basically like having a briefing at seven in the morning. So all the colleagues working that day are in the office at that time. Then we basically write down what happened the day before. So we basically keep a log of who has done what the day before. In the light of this, we give out the work to do that day to each individual employee."

In large farms, there is often a consciously planned labour policy, which prepares high school or university students who spend their summer internships there for their future employment.

Nevertheless, despite high unemployment, and taking into account the potential of public employment, the lack of reliable, skilled agricultural labour makes long-term labour policies mostly impossible.

"... I am now working with people who would not have been allowed through the gates eight years ago, in terms of skills. But the fact is, there's no one to choose from."

On small farms, it is the work of the family that is significant. Typically, administrative tasks are carried out by the heir's mother, strategic decisions are made by the heir's father, while operational, tender and IT work is usually done by the heir. Of course, after a while, as the father grows older, the situation changes and strategic decisions are increasingly taken by the heir.

On some farms, contract labour is only used for harvesting, which poses specific problems of labour organisation. Part of the uncertainty lies in the timing of the contract work and part in providing the necessary equipment.

"Well, we agree on the time when he can harvest, he goes out, I also go with my machine, he is harvesting, and I carry the yield. I'm totally dependent on someone else at that time."

This is the case for fruit farmers and organic farming. Harvest (possibly pruning) is a critical time for work organisation. As fruit growing is a dominant activity in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, the work organisation part is presented in more detail. The first step is to organise the fruit-picking brigade. It is usually a futile attempt to find local and Hungarian labour.

"...I placed an ad on Facebook to be as popular as possible. 150 people wrote and not one of them was Hungarian."

The typical process of work organisation and its psychology is illustrated by the testimony of one of the heirs who described a day at work perfectly:

"...it usually starts the night before with who's coming to work tomorrow or who's promising to come tomorrow. And then in the morning we usually start by outlining what the plan is for today. I think it's very important for people to know how we're planning the day. We always start with a 7 a.m. in the summer, then we usually work for an hour, then we have a morning break, which is a quarter of an hour. It is actually a morning refreshment and then we don't

stop until noon, although we usually have a cigarette break at around 10 a.m. Obviously, smoking is allowed for these people, so you always have to allow enough time for them to have a cigarette, but then at noon there's a lunch break. And they know very well that at lunchtime, while they are having lunch, I check to see how far we have achieved what we set ourselves as our goal for the end of the day and how we see the afternoon, and then we always plan the afternoon in the light of that. But I never insist on working hours, so that if the goal is achieved earlier, we go home earlier as a reward."

Farmers are not against the employment of women, but their physical abilities limit their employment possibilities (administration, cleaning, egg picking).

Innovation

As a result of the innovation process, sometimes new products are produced, but it does not happen often. One of these rare examples is willow, which is not a typical end product of agriculture, but when it is produced, it is mainly used to produce heat energy. One heir with a PhD is using it (due to the collapse of local demand for thermal energy) to make baskets, with a view to creating a specialised online agricultural platform. This activity has several benefits: it is good for the local community (harvesting: job creation) and good for the entrepreneur (risk reduction by exploiting floodplains).

"For willow sales (...) the biggest marketing would be what I said, this short supply chain would be created. And let's say, we could make a platform to bring together those who want to sell and those who want to buy. And this could work in such a way that, similar to Facebook, there would be a platform where farmers could register and present their products, and there they could be evaluated and people could buy from them."

Most of the innovative solutions are technological, often driven by a lack of capital and the importance of short-term survival.

"... precision farming is a huge topic, and I think it has a very ambivalent perception in Hungary. Young people like me, of course, like digitalisation and these new technologies, but there are more important things we have to spend money on."

At the same time, the simplest steps of modern precision systems have already been adopted by many, exactly for economic reasons, in the hope of high efficiency at relatively low investment cost.

"Well, the only thing I did was that I bought a GPS for the tractor last year. It helps keep me in line so I can go straight. Because even if you sit in the machine, look straight ahead, try to go straight ahead, then if you stop and look back you'll see that you've gone all over the place."

In livestock farming, digital solutions are also becoming more widespread in intensive production technologies, and the recent virus situation has given them a special relevance.

"we use the Riste farm management software, which now has a phone version, so you can go out to the barn, type in the cow and see what's going on with it."

However, the fact that the father tends to focus on traditional solutions and often on production, to the detriment of economic considerations, cannot be neglected. In contrast, young people are success- and income-oriented and open to marketing and new technologies.

"It was very difficult for him to accept that there was the old sowing machine, so why not do it with that, it was cheaper and so on. And it didn't take long, two or three years, for him to realise that I was right, that this was the right way. Yields are increasing, profits are increasing compared to what they were before."

Finally, there are also some heirs who clearly prioritise digitisation in their future plans, even with the involvement of other owners, because they see the benefits but also the risks.

"And we were thinking about buying a drone, a spraying drone. So this spraying drone is offered with 15-20 litre tanks and then it can spray three hectares in an hour. So it's very fast, and most importantly, it's independent of the soil conditions. "

The largest locally-owned agricultural businesses are important both in the local farming community and in terms of local tax revenues and local economic development. They are usually receptive to new solutions and have the capital to implement them, which makes their innovation potential significant in many cases.

In some cities, the important role of agricultural education institutions as potential developers of local agriculture was also highlighted, as an appropriate level of local vocational training can help to address the otherwise problematic labour shortages and also in building professional networking.

Marketing

Marketing activities are primarily focused on new types of products or products with an uncertain market. Livestock farmers and farmers with tertiary education are very likely to be members of professional organisations, to attend exhibitions and competitions and to make a conscious effort to promote their products.

"Well, we have to do some marketing, because we have to be in the public eye, we have to be seen, for example, we go to shows, not only to see the different breeding animals or the reviews, but also to bring our own animals."

Small farms, especially if their manager is less skilled or older, are very much about living from one day to the next and for them early income is a cash-flow priority. For this reason, they tend to sell their goods from "under the harvester" in order to finance the costs of autumn work from the income they receive (without working capital loans).

The easiest sales situation, which does not require any marketing work, is when the goods produced (typically seeds, green peas, sweet maize) are sold under a production contract.

In the case of cereals, it is a local sale of a mass product where advertising is less necessary, but for young entrepreneurs with tertiary education and higher incomes, warehousing is seen as a possible means of increasing income.

In beef cattle marketing, membership in an association is important, but its profitability still depends on the sales risks of the foreign market.

Conflicts, cooperation

Part of the conflicts arises from the practical application of land purchase and rental laws to young farmers, which puts family farms, typically run by older farmers, and members of local land committees at an advantage over young farmers.

"Since we have this pre-emption right, it doesn't matter if the person is a neighbour, a friend or a villager, he can submit a declaration of acceptance without a word for the other one. In the last hour of the last day, just to make it his."

"I don't agree with these committees, because they are usually made up of people who have a lot of influence on who the land owner should be and they always do what's good for themselves."

While it is possible to circumvent the legislation by prior land swap, it is a lengthy and complicated procedure. The result is that young farmers' incomes can be increased by intensifying and mechanising production rather than by increasing the size of production. Access to land is of vital interest to farmers, competition is fierce and prices are rising steeply, which is why:

"Well, it's just that there are a lot of herons and not many bream. The land is there, but those who want to farm, those who want to grow are becoming more and more and everyone always wants more and more."

Local bureaucracy can sometimes be a source of conflict, especially when decisions are made on the basis of personal interests.

"Even a land consolidation request takes sixty to seventy days to be processed, but if the municipality requests some kind of correction concerning an application, we all know that it has to be done in eight to ten days... We are the only apple producers in the village, and the municipality does not buy apples from us. I'm not saying that they should, but then what are all these big local markets that are being set up? I don't know why we shouldn't support local farms when we advertise that we should."

„We've gotten to the point with local government that they are simply not willing to let people go if we have to work. We have to beg them to let them go so we can harvest. And that didn't used to be the case."

However, the majority are satisfied with their local government. Generally speaking, those who have grown up locally, who are known by the local community, have fewer conflicts and better local acceptance.

"...A new entrant always arouses resentment. Nobody likes it when someone with big ambitions starts out."

Although the municipalities are mostly seen as helpful, they sometimes lack some coordination on agricultural decisions.

"...to convene such round table discussions, to see each other's problems and how they could be remedied. We need a simple dialogue."

Generational differences sometimes arise within the company. Older people sometimes find it difficult to accept a young person taking over the managerial work, and this is even more the case if the person is a woman.

"...if I happen to be the only one on the premises, I am looked at as if I were a cleaning woman. I think that if it happened in the city, there wouldn't be so much negative discrimination towards me, but here in the countryside it's very much the case."

Local cooperation in small villages is informal, mostly consisting of a few farmers cooperating in a barter-like mutual friendship on a specific work process. In an emergency, however, people can count on each other.

"Well, cooperation tends to be expressed and in a kind of camaraderie and it doesn't even go any further than that. If any of us has a problem out there, we'll help even our worst enemy. If we see he's stuck, we'll go and get the rope, pull him out, whatever. (...) But I don't think we will ever be able to achieve the kind of cooperation that they have in any other country in the European Union, joint investment in machinery, or the construction of joint facilities, or joint production. However, it could all work out, it could be so good. But I think that our history does not allow us to join forces."

The main reason for this problem is a lack of trust.

"It's almost certain that if there were a joint investment in machinery, a joint tractor, then people wouldn't let this or that person drive it, claiming that they also invested money in it."

The legislation encourages cooperation, but it can be circumvented.

In larger settlements you can find offices of various agricultural organisations: the Hajdú Farmers' Group, the Young Farmers' Organisation of Hajdú-Bihar county, the Chamber of Agriculture, MVH (Agriculture and Rural Development Office), MAGOSZ (National Association of Hungarian Farmers' Societies and Co-operatives), all of which have many members. Those with higher education are often members of international breeding or similar professional organisations in the sector.

"I go to all exhibitions anyway because of my job. It is sort of obligatory for us to attend these livestock exhibitions (OMÉK, Farmerexpo, Hódmezővásárhely and Kaposvár) every year. And when we are there, we can have a talk with each other. And then machine dealers come over, we cook, we talk, so we get into a more human relationship, so that afterwards, if I have a problem, I can call them on the phone and they know who I am."

Advantages and disadvantages of policies

The role of the local government could be primarily to facilitate housing issues and farming, e.g. by improving dirt roads, organising public employment, feeding the employees in the local institutions by buying local farmers' produce, and ensuring the highest possible level of local provision of goods.

"...if we can't convince these young people to do it and adopt this lifestyle NOW, I'd say it's too late. So we are in the last minute, I am sure of it."

Urban and rural lifestyles often clash, especially in the larger urban areas, and especially in small towns with tourist attractions. Consistent local regulation can play a key role in resolving this situation.

"...in the summer there are conflicts between hosting guests and keeping animals. So if there is an older farmer, and he has been keeping animals on the same site for 50 years, then the person who has just built an apartment next door should not say anything. Because he knew what he was signing up for."

Among the many useful elements of the national agricultural legislation, one proposal accurately described the drawbacks and loopholes of the young farmer scheme, offering instead an option that was considered more effective:

"...I think it would be more useful if they didn't throw 12.5 million into the market many times, inventing bogus criteria. If that's the case, everyone in the good old smart Hungarian fashion somehow gets around these criteria... There was someone who took out a loan of 12.5 million Forints, built a house from it, then the MVH (Agriculture and Rural Development Office) went to check, they couldn't show any results, and then they started to pay it back as a simple loan. Or when they already had a prosperous farm, with two thousand cattle in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County. And then they bought an off-road vehicle with it, and it's actually just a matter of paperwork that he received 12.5 million Forints in pocket money... likewise, it's just a matter of paperwork that we're now transferring this many cattle into your name..."

I would prefer a small number of grants, but targeted to the right places. There should be grants for smart, wise business plans, but those grants should be in the order of fifty to a

hundred million Forints. Because that is how change can be achieved. And with a purpose of use that is no longer in traditional agriculture, but rather in the processing industry, or in livestock farming, or in those sectors that require manual or human labour, which could save the countryside at the last minute."

The use of innovative solutions also sometimes faces legal obstacles in Hungary.

"...the problem with an UAV is that it is not yet regulated for use of airspace, and I can't rent it, I can't officially go to work with it. I can go there as a friend and spray my own, and for a third or fourth friend, but if I want to do this for profit, then if I get caught, I can be fined, so this drone spraying cannot be done officially, with invoice and such."

There have also been some rather sharp and often accurate observations about bureaucracy:

"...the biggest problem in bureaucracy is that there are so many non-professionals behind the desk, and in so many cases they don't know the answer to even semi-professional questions when they should."

The EU's agricultural legislation is constantly changing, but this is perceived very differently by farmers. Some would leave it up to the market to judge the competitiveness of agricultural products and are not overly interested in rural development aspects.

"...I would cut all agricultural subsidies, because we shouldn't keep or grow something only because it's subsidised. So, if a sector is not viable in itself, then it is unnecessary to subsidise it."

Far more typical, however, is the farmers' opinion that the system is being tightened up.

"Obviously it's a bit of a conflict for every farmer in general, the way I see agricultural policy going at EU level, that there are increasing cross-compliance requirements with decreasing subsidies..."

For the banks, farmers are mostly reliable debtors, i.e. they are seen as helpful and fair. However, this is not true for all farmers.

"... primary producers are often in a difficult situation, as everyone has some small piece of land on their name, the structure is completely fragmented, and the banks have a hard time dealing with them, because of the difficult ownership transparency. Apart from this, farmers are generally seen as stable customers by banks, who say that the farmer does not run away,

does not take his farm, so it's not like a second hand shop that opens and then moves a month later..."

Future impacts, perspectives

Impact of the activity

As a matter of course, organic farmers highlighted the impact of their activity on biodiversity, soil life and a chemical-free, more liveable environment.

From a socio-economic point of view, practically everyone highlighted the payment of business tax and many highlighted local employment.

"Well, the fact that the business is really growing a little bit, and new jobs are created. When I decided to get into this farming thing, we had two employees, now we have six, so in 15 years it has increased."

Of the social impacts, several people mentioned the shaping of the image of the settlement.

"Not letting land lie fallow on the outskirts of a municipality is a benefit to a municipality, instead of letting its surroundings get into worse and worse shape. Alos, we are an agricultural economy, we use these areas in a more natural way than if an industrial estate were built on the outskirts of the settlement."

The importance of agricultural vocation and support for local events and organisations was emphasised by several people.

"It's not a tourist attraction, you have to work here. Of course, we had fruit offerings, that sort of thing. And that we have to support, say, the church. We're Christians, so we practice the religion and our parents also do. There we had to help with the renovation of the church, that's what we tried to do."

Future perspectives

Of future plans, many mentioned the importance of livestock and short supply chains for sustainable and efficient farming. Others stressed the need for a long-term view of farming and the need to support young people, especially because of the additional risks posed by weather and selling the product.

"...here, you can expect a return once a year, not every month. By taking advantage of rural development, there will be huge opportunities for young people to develop here in the future, because there are huge grants on the horizon that can be applied for."

Some emphasised cooperation with agricultural universities and the provision of correct, practical information to agricultural students as a future goal.

The social and rural development impacts of public employment are unanimously viewed negatively.

"...this artificial public employment programme, this really is a non-productive activity, it's not sustainable for a long time. When having to get there by eight and quietly sit through a training is seen as a burden, what do you expect from these people? They will probably not be employed. And sooner or later these villages will be ruined."

Impact of the virus situation

Overall, agriculture was less affected than most sectors. Demand for agricultural products remained stable or even increased, output prices rose significantly and orders were simplified.

"...food is needed, so this sector can't really shut down, so we haven't had to shut down, or lay off, so there hasn't been that problem."

There were disruptions to international freight services, some banking and other services. The latter were resolved online in this particular case.

"Back in the spring of 2020, the first wave of deliveries was hindered and we ordered input materials for practically the whole year at once. Because some of it was coming from abroad, and then everyone was scared as to whether it would or wouldn't get here."

"...it made life easier because you didn't have to go in and get the input material, you could place the order online and they would bring it to your house for free. As for the negative side, for example, no financing contract was signed, because it would have been necessary to do banking administration, paperwork and arrange signatures."

Discussion

In this chapter, we summarise the interviews, comparing their main results with the main findings of the research project document D1 in order to highlight the Hungarian characteristics of the promising practices of heirs.

Family influences (material, financial resources, knowledge capital, mental attachment) are the strongest motivators for young farmers, even if older generations have not directly influenced them in starting their own farming activities. Further vocational training, which is already a consequence of family practices, is an additional motivator. The difficulties of young people to find a job in the labour market, the barriers to rural income and the continuation of family farming are the most important external motivators. The finding of D1 "*Farm succession still maintains a high social value based on continuity*" (p. 82) is also clearly identifiable in the Hungarian countryside, despite the fact that agriculture was collectivised for three decades between 1960 and 1990.

The difficulties in access to land, the competitive advantage of large farms and the imbalances in the local labour market (lack of skilled workers, unreliability of unskilled labour) are considered the most important constraints to farming. The distance between the place of residence and the farm is a consequence of the difficulty of access to land, but also reflects the preference of young farmers (especially those with higher education) and their spouses for urban living and employment.

The land on promising farms is mostly a legacy from the land privatisation of the 1990s, which the parental generation has added to with additional purchases in some cases in varying degrees. The purchase of land by young farmers is constrained by high land prices and the competitive advantage of farms of hundreds or thousands of hectares. The high concentration of land use is the main barrier to new generations entering farming, which also limits the size of inherited land, because the testator cannot buy or rent separate land for the descendant. The less common practice is that the entire parental farm and its land goes to the heir. Succession tends to be gradual, first gaining experience on the farms run by the parents and in parallel acquiring a vocational secondary or higher education and very often gaining work experience and building up contacts as an employee of a large

agricultural business. The young farmer then undertakes to start his own farming activity, which may be linked for a long time to the farming activities of his parents or of his siblings, who are also heirs. The two indicators described in D.1 are thus valid for the Hungarian case (*"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. Secondly, the share of family labour engaged in family farms' activities"* D.1 83p).

The withdrawal of the young farmer leads to a reduction in the amount of land used on the farm. An example was given of an interviewee having previously worked on her spouse's parents' farm and the young couple started a new farm based on that. However, increasing farmland through marriage, which was accepted in traditional peasant practice prior to the 1960s cooperative system, was not mentioned even once. The spouses of successful young farmers usually do not take up farming full time. Even the farmer himself often does not manage his own farm on a full-time basis. He is typically employed by a larger agricultural organisation and manages his own farm part-time, even if the farm is larger (over 50 or 100 hectares). This often results in a division of farm labour, land use, machinery use and even ownership, which severely limits the spread of promising practices that can be followed. The state provides assistance to young farmers in the form of grants of up to 10 million HUF, i.e. the price of 7-10 hectares of land, which is not enough to start farming because of the constraints of the grant itself. The state does not support the purchase or lease of land in any other way. Rather, it provides real support to those who need support for their existing farming. The example of successful young farmers can only be followed by a few, due to the dominant role of family inheritance, labour market conditions and the concentration of the entire land market and production. Every year, 50,000 to 60,000 farms, mostly small sized, disappear from the Hungarian agricultural economy, and this land is largely taken over by large organisations. The privatisation of the last portion of land that can be acquired started two years ago. The regularisation and eventual privatisation of 900 000 hectares of land, which has partial ownership and is of considerable size (compared to the 4.7 million hectares under cultivation in Hungary), is required by state regulations, which, according to the interviews, favour the larger owners. In large farms of hundreds or thousands of hectares, succession has also begun, and here access to land is not a barrier to the success of the young farmer. However, this example is even less easy for many to follow.

Due to the particularities of inheritance in Hungary, the concept of inheritance D.1 can be applied with the above limitations. The statement "*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*" refers less to the fact that succession is not a one-off event that is quickly completed in time, but a complex system of changes and processes, which can be clearly seen on the basis of the Hungarian cases. The fact that farm succession is a multi-faceted, "heterogeneous process that can occur over a long timescale" is also referred to by Handl et al., (2016). The Hungarian cases belong rather to the field of extra-familial succession (Handl et al., 2016; Helms et al. 2018) and strongly support Hand et al.'s (2016) finding that a farm or land transfer is just one stage in the succession process. According to the interviews, knowledge transfer and vocational education in Hungary are almost equivalent to land transfer, thus family transfer has a strong knowledge-based character.

The heirs are typically involved in crop production, and strive to have as large and modern a fleet of machinery as possible. They see this as a way of ensuring the sustainability of the frequent dual income-earning strategy or the duality of a (small) urban flat and a farm in the countryside, but it is also their response to the ever-shrinking supply of skilled labour. Even for cultivation of fields over 100 ha, the employment of one paid employee is sufficient for a sufficiently mechanised farm, while smaller farms do not need external labour, but only family or seasonal workers during harvest.

Due to the concentrated land ownership and land use patterns, labour market supply and constraints, mainly the traditionally dominant crops are grown by farmers who inherited in the region (wheat, maize, rapeseed), occasionally supplemented by other crops (fruit, energy crops, seeds) or livestock.

In examining the situation of heirs, we reviewed how they manage the natural environment around them, their perception of the wider policy and local political environment in which they operate, the importance of innovation, marketing and collaboration in their management, and finally their perception of the future. The following section analyses these findings and compares them with European trends.

Nature and environmental protection issues could become important depending on subsidies, but there are also issues of nature protection that are important for all farmers

regardless of subsidies. Soil life is the most important of these, affecting the effectiveness of farming, and, for this reason, is a major focus for many. However, especially those who graduated as agri-environmental engineers and organic farmers perform their farming activities in a broader context of nature and the environment.

All respondents have an established view on the policy environment. Although a common criticism is that the system is over-bureaucratic, there is also a tendency to criticise the waste of resources by the different agencies. This, coupled with the fact that farmers are particularly distrustful of each other and of the public administration, poses a difficult dilemma for decision-makers. Farmers expect both clear, simple rules and simple administration, as well as the prevention of circumvention.

Support by local politics is also needed and often perceived by the heirs, although there are also conflicts, partly because of the wage cost push of public employment and partly because of the inflexibility of some municipal measures (a typical example is the issue of local food).

Despite this mistrust, a wide variety of formal and informal systems of cooperation between farmers, as well as between local people and farmers have developed. As it was discussed above, interdependence plays a major role in this respect. Cooperation between local governments and farmers is realised less often in the form of two equal parties, but neither party can forego cooperation with the other due to providing access to land, work opportunities or markets. The arena for formal cooperation between farmers is the professional forum organised at non-local level. Machinery circles and farmers' groups are very rare, and are often formed to achieve the benefits provided by legislation. A specific area of cooperation is cooperation with training institutions; this is the domain of successive farmers, who typically have a higher agricultural education degree.

Marketing activities are considered by farmers only if they sell their products directly to consumers, but this is not necessarily the case, and marketing is often lacking in this case too. Some livestock farmers are an exception, as they actively seek marketing partners at trade events, hoping to reach a more secure market, possibly with better prices.

Innovations are usually aimed at improving cultivation technology, less often at developing a new product. Also within the crop production technology, it is the adoption of already developed technologies rather than the development of new technologies that is typical.

The heirs are particularly open to innovative solutions, and some of them make use of the methods they have learned at university and in training courses. Innovation is often hampered not by financial constraints but by differences in attitudes within the farm and the family and, in some cases, by regulatory shortcomings (e.g. UAV use). The former phenomenon is pointed out by Van Dijk (2018).

As the overview of the different areas shows, the question of how prepared the testator is to pass on control of the farm is a key determinant of the process. During the preparation of the case study, we encountered several families where the transfer of inheritance was due to unexpected death, and others where it was gradual or was in the process of taking place. The processes are different in the two cases. In the former, the unexpected change forces the heir, the new owner, to make quick decisions, but they do not have to face the fact that either subordinates or partners do not consider them a fully competent decision-maker. In these cases we have often seen resolute technological or sectoral shifts. In contrast, a change that ensures continuity is often the result of a slow deliberate transition, as Polish authors point out (Czekaj (2016), Adamowicz and Szepeluk (2016)). In such cases, both the person who founded, built up and passed on the farm and the heir are carefully prepared for the transfer. One of the possible consequences of a long handover, often reported by our interviewees, is that they got into conflict with the relative (typically their father) who had been running the farm until then, and even with their subordinates. However, as our interviews were conducted with active farmers, it was not common that the succession itself was so long that the potential heir lost motivation and started another activity, as some examples show (Roels, 2018; Korthals Altes & Van Rij, 2005). In addition, some interviews revealed that the heir's brother had another activity and had left the farm, but we do not have more information on the background.

As it can be seen, when it comes to inheritance, heirs most often follow a strategy of renewed conservation, i.e. building on the previous farm, using more modern farming technology to try to stay afloat or move ahead. In addition, many make a complete change (e.g. replacing sheep flocks with other animals, such as cattle) or leave the development of certain new activities (e.g. tourism services, processing) until later. The scarcity of arable land (Kováč 2012, Kovács 2016) limits the possibility of expanding the area of farms. Many of the heirs reported that they had inherited considerable debts in addition to the farm; in

many cases, the economic boom of the last decade has enabled them to pay off these debts, but this has been a barrier to technological innovation and land expansion. As the relevant literature points out, the majority of farms see the future in intensification and increasing the size of the farm.

In our case study, we also found that some of the farm managers reaching a large farm size also had income other than farming. These sources of income were typically related to agricultural activity.

In line with European trends, we also found that farming remains a male-dominated field, with male heirs and women's roles encompassing administrative activities related to agriculture (Csurgó). There is a slow shift in Germany, according to some studies (Cassidy), but this does not mean that women make up even one third of farm managers. Widows have little word in the management of the farm inherited by their son.

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The list of interviews

code	gender	age	education- al level	occupation	settlement (village, suburban village, small town)	agricultural activity (e.g. goat rearing, cereal pro- duction)	non-agricultural main activity (e.g. cheese making, carv- ing)
HU10A /Int.1	m	32	PhD	family farmer	v	cp	consultant, uni- versity lecturer
HU10A /Int.2	m	n.a.	agricultural technical school	agricultural employee, primary producer	v	cp	-
HU10A /Int.3	m	35	PhD	family farmer	st	cp, lp	university lec- turer
HU10A /Int.4	m	25	MSc	family farmer	sv	cp, fr	controller
HU10A /Int.5	m	28	MSc	Ltd	st	cp, bsz	Managing Direc- tor
HU10A /Int.6	m	n.a.	agricultural vocational school	family farmer	v	cp	-
HU10A /Int.7	m	28	MSc	family farmer	st	lp	-
HU10A /Int.8	m	33	MSc	primary producer	v	fr	Head of De- partment (MVH)
HU10A /Int.9	m	28	MSc	primary producer	st	cp, lp	-
HU10A /Int.10	m	na.	MSc	Ltd	st	cp, bsz	-
HU10A /Int.11	f	24	BSc	Ltd	sv	cp, fr, bsz	-
HU10A /Int.12	m	na.	MSc	primary producer	sv	cp	village consult- ant
HU10A /Int.13	m	28	MSc	family farmer	v	cp, bsz	winery, seedling
HU10A /Int.14	m	28	MSc	family farmer	v	cp, fr, bsz	-
HU10A /Int.15	m	24	BSc	family farmer	v	cp, bsz	-

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HU10A /Int.16	m	39	na.	family farmer	st	cp, fr	-
HU10A /Int.17	m	32	MSc	family farmer	v	cp, lp	crop protection (large-scale)
HU10A /Int.18	m	22	Specialised higher education (FOSZ)	family farmer	v	cp	-
HU10A /Int.19	m	29	MSc	Ltd	v	cp, lp, fr, bsz	-
HU10A /Int.20	m	31	BSc	Ltd	v	cp, bsz	-

Table 3. Interviews