

Case study report (Code HU10C)

Newcomer artisans

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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-Megyesi 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 the latter, calculated at average prices in 2018, was nearly 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 sole, 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).

Newcomers in Hungary

In the period of the turn of the millennium, significant structural changes are taking place in Hungarian settlements, the significance of which resembles that of the intensive stages of urbanization. Migration to cities has not stopped, migration from villages to cities is also continuous, but migration from cities to smaller settlements is of the greatest importance. One of its destinations is the urban agglomeration, but larger social groups (especially the less wealthy) are also moving to small settlements further away from city centres. Data on changes of permanent residence show that population movement is intensive in both directions between towns and villages. Migration between the capital and 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 villages. The migration of the population in between townships was slightly higher than the settlement of villagers in 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).

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.

Reasons for moving to the city /countryside

The purpose of rural people moving to the city has not changed much since the beginning of the larger urbanization cycles. Those seeking better living conditions, jobs, better education and entertainment, and escaping from rural poverty aimed to settle in cities.

However, the reasons and motivations for moving to the countryside are much more diverse:

- 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 (Internet-7):

- From an allergological point of view, it is far from clear whether good air refers 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.

- If one wants culture, entertainment, nightlife, only the metropolitan environment will be able to satisfy this need.
- Big cities offer a much wider range of healthy eating and medicine supply. If we happen to need vitamins, proteins, food supplements, some 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.

In Hungary, moving to villages takes place primarily in the forms described below.

Moving to agglomerations

The countryside around the city consists of villages with a few thousand inhabitants located close to the city within a few tens of kilometres, with a high proportion of green space and a predominance of single-family homes, and to where the middle class moves out from the city. 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. Agglomeration-specific effects may be observed in about 6–700 settlements (approx. one-fifth of settlements). However, together with the population of the city centres, at least half of the population of the country lives in settlements belonging to an agglomeration.

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

Research locations: Socio-economic characteristics of Hajdú-Bihar County and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg 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.
- The migration balance is negative in both counties for all types of settlements (table 2). It is not possible to clearly identify from migration statistics the rate of immigration to villages and small towns. According to national data, the majority of the villages in the two counties fall into the category of depopulation. Immigration may also be present in declining villages, but their proportion cannot be extracted from official migration statistics.

Category	Measurement unit	Hajdú-Bihar County	Szabolcs Szatmár County	Hungary	Share of the two counties of national data
Territory	km ²	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/km ²	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	

D5.2 30 CASE STUDIES ON RURAL NEW COMERS, NEW ENTRANTS TO FARMING AND SUCCESSORS

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	
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)

		balance of migration (person)		
location	age of migrants	total balance	permanent	temporary
Hajdú-Bihar County	total	-1923	-1340	-583
	0-4	-145	-54	-91
	5-9	-33	-27	-6
	10-14	-28	-48	20
	15-19	-30	-42	12
	20-24	-165	-83	-82
	25-29	-235	-163	-72
	30-34	-397	-258	-139
	35-39	-217	-146	-71
	40-59	-432	-347	-85
	60-X	-241	-172	-69
	Unknown			
Hajdú-Bihar County City	total	-898	-833	-65
	0-4	-106	-135	29
	5-9	-61	-28	-33
	10-14	37	-28	65
	15-19	145	-2	147
	20-24	57	7	50
	25-29	-4	-26	22
	30-34	-203	-95	-108
	35-39	-142	-81	-61
	40-59	-312	-257	-55
	60-X	-309	-188	-121

D5.2 30 CASE STUDIES ON RURAL NEW COMERS, NEW ENTRANTS TO FARMING AND SUCCESSORS

Hajdú-Bihar County Town	total	-488	-206	-282
	0-4	32	31	1
	5-9	-3	-15	12
	10-14	-28	-24	-4
	15-19	-64	-13	-51
	20-24	-142	0	-142
	25-29	-126	-64	-62
	30-34	-88	-68	-20
	35-39	-11	-34	23
	40-59	-55	-55	0
	60-X	-3	36	-39
Hajdú-Bihar County village	total	-537	-301	-236
	0-4	-71	50	-121
	5-9	31	16	15
	10-14	-37	4	-41
	15-19	-111	-27	-84
	20-24	-80	-90	10
	25-29	-105	-73	-32
	30-34	-106	-95	-11
	35-39	-64	-31	-33
	40-59	-65	-35	-30
	60-X	71	-20	91
Szabolcs- Szatmár-Bereg County	total	-5192	-3210	-1982
	0-4	-424	-208	-216
	5-9	-227	-172	-55
	10-14	-194	-95	-99
	15-19	-374	-114	-260
	20-24	-729	-269	-460
	25-29	-925	-628	-297
	30-34	-640	-604	-36
	35-39	-416	-326	-90
	40-59	-978	-567	-411
	60-X	-285	-227	-58
Szabolcs- Szatmár-Bereg County city	total	1	151	-150
	0-4	192	83	109
	5-9	24	31	-7
	10-14	44	22	22
	15-19	-90	-26	-64
	20-24	-186	-57	-129
	25-29	-116	-55	-61
	30-34	9	25	-16
	35-39	20	24	-4
	40-59	-6	-8	2
	60-X	110	112	-2

D5.2 30 CASE STUDIES ON RURAL NEW COMERS, NEW ENTRANTS TO FARMING AND SUCCESSORS

Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County town	total	-1929	-1403	-526
	0-4	-170	-122	-48
	5-9	-120	-57	-63
	10-14	-45	-14	-31
	15-19	-48	-36	-12
	20-24	-199	-79	-120
	25-29	-333	-232	-101
	30-34	-275	-280	5
	35-39	-174	-154	-20
	40-59	-380	-257	-123
	60-X	-185	-172	-13
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County village	total	-3264	-1958	-1306
	0-4	-446	-169	-277
	5-9	-131	-146	15
	10-14	-193	-103	-90
	15-19	-236	-52	-184
	20-24	-344	-133	-211
	25-29	-476	-341	-135
	30-34	-374	-349	-25
	35-39	-262	-196	-66
	40-59	-592	-302	-290
	60-X	-210	-167	-43

Table 2. Migration balance of settlements in Hajdu-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár counties (2019)

Source: Central Statistical Office, 2019

Research methodology

20 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 respondents and 3 experts on the topic of people moving to villages. The research was carried out from summer 2020 to spring 2021 in two counties of the Northern Great Plain region, Hajdú-Bihar and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg. The sample consisted of young people under 40 years of age who had moved to a small settlement (village or small town) in the region, worked locally and were primarily engaged in crafts in the broad sense. In all cases, the sample was taken by referral. Interviews with eligible interviewees were conducted online due to the epidemic situation (See Annex 1- Table 3). In all cases, interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

The interview survey was based on three research dimensions. Firstly, the circumstances of the decision to move to a village were investigated, including motivations, reasons for choosing to settle, characteristics of the area and the reception, integration and reactions of the local people. Secondly, we looked at the process of settling down and the characteristics of their activities in the area. In particular, we were interested to see what impact interviewees had on their area by moving in and starting their activities. In this context, we asked about the importance of innovation and, closely related to this, how interviewees make their own activities known, what information technology and marketing tools they use to make themselves visible and accessible while living in a small town. In this topic, we asked interviewees about their contacts, their local networking, networking characteristics, areas of interest, opportunities for advocacy, and their relations (positive and negative relations and reasons for lack of contact) with local organisations and key stakeholders. Thirdly, the impact of their activities was examined, in particular through the context of rural “recovery”.

Results

Reasons and motivations for moving to villages

In most cases, the decision to move to villages was influenced by previous family ties that in some way linked the young out-migrants to the village or small rural town. It was mainly the rural property and land owned by their parents that attracted the respondents to the villages, but there was also a desire to experience rural life. One group of respondents, in addition to working locally or in a different place, have taken up community development activities among the local population, while another group has moved to a village to start a business.

One of those involved ***in community development and advocacy activities*** is a craftsman who, following his failed entrepreneurial attempts in the city, moved to the village and started to organise regular craft sessions for children attending the local village Greek Catholic Church group, this time free of charge. In this environment, his primary aim is to enable children from a village with a significant Greek Catholic community, who, due to the poverty of the village, go to schools in 3-4 different villages, to meet each other locally and form a local children's community.

"...but here, there is nothing for these children and these families. And now, with the crafts, every two weeks or every month, depending on how we can provide the place and how I have free time, I give the children a craft session. We are open mainly to those attending religious education, and not only to Greek Catholics, but to anyone. And so I don't hope to make a profit from it, as the aim is not to make a profit in the first place, but rather just to give a little boost to their community life. So that a small community among these children can develop here, which can move this municipality forward " (HU10C/Int. 3).

One of the specific areas of community development activity is the involvement of local representatives. The activity and local involvement of young graduates who settle in a village quickly earns them the recognition and trust of the local people, even in the role of decision-makers and representatives. In this case, the motivation for moving to the village and choosing to live in a village was the need to be close to the family and to experience family ties and bonds on a daily basis. However, the primary motivation was not the use of family assets or the seizing of opportunities offered by the family. The decision to move to the

village was motivated by the aim of building an independent career path, and the desire to find a job within the respondent's own field (social worker). His degree in social work led him to a middle management position in the social field, which accelerated his visibility and networking in the village.

"So even then my parents helped me a lot, they were a great help to me, but I didn't really feel comfortable in this situation, that I was in Budapest, but I couldn't really support myself, and that frustrated me, and that's why I thought that it might be better to move home, because then I could save a little more here in the future. So that was one of my motivations to move home. The other reason was that I consider myself to be quite family-centric, so when I lived in Budapest, I visited my parents and grandparents almost weekly, and my brothers and sisters live in the municipality, so nobody else moved away except me, and I didn't want to move very, very far away from the family, because it's a very important thing in my life, and that's why I decided to move home, or to move a little closer" (HU10C/Int. 8).

Also part of the wider community building activities is the NGO activity, which, based on the village's characteristics, undertook nature conservation and species protection activities, as well as environmental sensitisation of the population, combined with a livestock breeding programme, in the framework of a public NGO foundation. The dedicated organisation of the work of this public NGO required moving to a nearby village.

"They are a bridge between city people, rural people and their activities. They're getting people interested in how an 8-900 kg animal can be as friendly and handsy as a dog. This makes them listen to us and all senses are affected when they come out here, they can touch, see, smell, and hear everything. Also, I can tell them information about our daily activities that is very well incorporated in the knowledge of either the children or adults, because when they are asked questions at the end about our activities to see if they were listening, it shows that they are being taken out of institutional education and given an education outside of the institution, like some sort of an experience-rich training" (HU10C/Int. 1).

On of the models within the range of motivations to **farm and start a business**, is about the determination to gain experience abroad. An artisanal chocolate maker started her small manufactory after getting to know an artisanal manufactory in Australia and decided to start a similar one in Hungary. To do this, she had to obtain another professional qualification (pastry chef) in addition to her degree in foreign trade and moved to a small village.

"I was originally a foreign trade student at the Budapest College and when I met my husband, we moved together and he did a double degree course in the Netherlands in cooperation with the University of Debrecen. And from there we got out to Australia through his external supervisor. And I was introduced to this artisan chocolate making there in a small factory like mine. And that's where I fell in love with it. Then when we moved back home from Australia at the end of 2012, and that's when I decided that I wanted to do it here at home" (HU10C/Int. 4).

Family motivation and the opportunities offered by parents and grandparents living in the village also play an important role in the decision to move to villages. Young people who have moved away from the village during their school years and career building gradually re-integrate into village life when opportunities arise (mainly family support, family assets or family opportunities), especially in the hope of starting a small business. For example, in the family where the primary objective was to take over the vegetable growing and processing business, a small herd of mangalitsa was planned as an additional activity, managed by the family's child from Budapest. Plans for livestock production did not allow him to be away from the farm for several days, so he moved to the village. However, as a consequence of the mangalitsa breeding, the family has given up vegetable farming and grows only organic fodder crops for their mangalitsa. After moving back home, the young settler started meat processing. They do not sell live animals, but their own processed (artisanal) meat products. His family supports this activity by performing related work.

"I was still coming home from Budapest on weekends and then I decided that I couldn't go on like this, but I would start my own little business and whatever would happen would happen. It was very difficult at the beginning, obviously it's not like from the next day I already know all ins and outs of breeding, animal husbandry, pigs, especially mangalitsa... but the basics were there, thank God. The farm location and the feed. It is very important that we feed the animals organically produced feed" (HU10C/Int. 5).

The small artisanal meat processing farm was set up as a family farm, in which the husband's butchery experience was the main skill, and the wife worked as an event organiser for a metropolitan municipality. Following the birth of their child, they decided to build a farm on the outskirts of a village, where they keep animals and a small processing plant where they

produce and sell their own pork products to shops and local residents. Their products are preservative-free, artificial colouring-free and very popular.

"Actually, my husband has been a plant manager and a product manager for years. And we had this idea of starting out at the time of COVID. Well, people will always want to eat. So we were sure that they would really like our products, the taste of it. It's very important in today's world that all our products are without preservatives, we don't use any colourings, as we were sure that this is the future. Everyone, I think, is now looking more and more at what they eat" (HU10C/Int. 6).

Young people who were planning a new career on their parents' farms in the countryside after a longer period of urban life were also taking advantage of family opportunities. They planned to start farming on small parcels of land that their parents had not yet used (rented out), i.e. they wanted to set up a small farm in an area where their parents did not farm but still had the necessary assets.

"I come from a family whose ancestors were traditional farmers, but that was interrupted on my grandparents' side and my family lived a small-town life. (...) My husband and I both thought that if we were going to start a family, a rural or even village lifestyle was more suitable than a metropolitan lifestyle. On the other hand, there was also the fact that his family had small, really very small plots of land, so we saw an opportunity to go home and do something and really turn these assets into a farm, so to speak" (HU10C/Int. 10).

Asset conversion is also a form of family motivation. In this situation, the young person living in the city, out of necessity, takes over the agricultural business from his father, who had a one-third share in it, only to save the property. Family reasons included the father's severe alcoholism and constant stay abroad. In this situation, the young man sold the farm and started a successful metalworking business in the village, which has eventually tied his life to the settlement.

"So it looked like he didn't want to deal with it anymore, he likes to travel, and, to put it nicely, well, there's no nice way to put it. His life was ruined by drinking, so he's not really into that sort of thing anymore. I had to realise that either I'd take it over and try to make the most of it, or it would be lost forever. And then it becomes nothing, so I sort of undertook this duty" (HU10C/Int. 16).

We also asked each interviewee about who and how they were helped by in the process of settling down. In general, the interviewed young people who moved from cities to villages relied on their own resources or family support to move to the villages. They did not ask for, seek or receive any support or assistance at institutional level (state, municipal). It is a general characteristic that none of the villages where the interviewed farmers moved has a strategy to attract young people, nor do they have support to facilitate moving, or at least young people are not aware of such programmes. The only source of support for young people to move was their families (in addition, of course, to their own assets).

"There was no such thing, I didn't ask for it. So it was really just my family members, for example, my mother-in-law looked after the kids while, say, I was doing handicrafts. Or my husband, for example, bought me website space. So there were things like that, but in the end I didn't really ask for them. I didn't really look into how I could actually take advantage of that" (HU10C/Int. 3).

"I'm lucky in that respect, and I'd like to point that out, because obviously on my father's side of the family, the feed and the agricultural background were a given. And on my mother's side, my mother deals with writing applications, and helping with applications and grants was an obvious thing"(HU10C/Int. 5)

"No, we only had our own resources - the little money we had saved - and also with help from parents. So we had maximum support from parents on both sides." (HU10C/Int. 6).

"As for me, I was lucky enough to have a place to move back home to my parents. So I was lucky that my grandparents are still alive, my grandmother also lives in the village, so I had the opportunity to move home. But otherwise there was nothing, or very little, there are no such initiatives either from any organisation or from the municipality to support young people to settle there, or stay there as professionals" (HU10C/Int. 8).

We also wanted to know whether the young people moving into the villages motivated other young people, whether it created an open environment that encouraged others to settle in the village. The unanimous response was that none of the young people interviewed felt that either their craft, their community development work, their business or simply the fact of moving had been an example or a model for other young people to follow. All of them felt that their decision was unique in this sense and that its impact on the future plans of others was not significant.

"Well, if you're not motivated in the first place, I don't think you're easily convinced. And I don't want to convince anybody. Anyone who has the inclination or, I don't know, the desire, will certainly take it up on their own, of course, if they have the stamina and the courage. Courage, above all, but I'm not trying to convince anyone" (HU10C/Int. 17).

Barriers, conflicts, conflicts of interest, reception when moving to the village

One type of local conflict or difficulty mentioned by young people is personal resentment and consequent defiant non-cooperation due to previous local grievances between key people in the municipality. Young people generally have no contact with the leaders of the municipalities and no conflicts between them were mentioned at all. Nevertheless, negative relations between village leaders make it difficult for them to integrate and cooperate with the indigenous villagers. The role of the mayor is the most prominent, with young people perceiving his role as the most damaging to community organisation and the existence of local initiatives.

"People are very resentful around here. And they're so stuck in this resentment, which I think is selfish and egotistical because they're not serving the cause. So if you are serving a cause and you are fighting for something, and it is not about you, but something else, then there is no room for even short-term resentment, but definitely not long-term resentment. So I think that if the mayor was really looking after the interests of the village, he would not play the offended person in each and every move of his... I think that it's just such a stuck-up thing not to cooperate with anyone, not to see the opportunity, not to look for the possibilities. However, I have had no conflict with him, I don't know him very well, but I know who he is, I know what he looks like, but the main point is that I still don't think it's a good thing. And it does put a stigma on the village that it has had such a leader for decades" (HU10C/Int.1).

The other type of conflict is local resentment and conflicts of interest with young people who are moving in. Interestingly, conflicts of interest do not arise between those active in the market segment, but primarily between people in the local authorities and newcomer young people active in community development or the local public life. The main reason for this is that residents get to know the young people - most with higher education degree -

who are present at all events very quickly, as they take the initiative, and take on organisational and coordinating tasks, and do not isolate themselves from the community. Although the village leaders and representatives initially welcome the arrival of young people with more than one higher education degree, but their entry sooner or later results in a serious conflict of interest with the local political leadership.

"At first there was no conflict of interest, then I was asked to chair the local heritage committee, because they saw that I had a bit of ambition in that direction. I accepted. And then, at various events, I tried to play an active role, I introduced myself, I stopped to talk to everyone, so I always had a good word to say to everyone. The mayor at the time, or the current mayor, or the representative at the time, noticed this. At first I didn't think it was such a big or bad thing that I was talking to people and people were happy to see me, and I was getting on well with them. But then they thought that I was a kind of an opponent, even though at the time I didn't have any such thoughts about being a member of parliament or a mayor or whatever" (HU10C/Int. 8).

Among the conflicts and perceived local difficulties, young people also mentioned "land hunger" as a major problem, i.e. the fact that the development of their businesses is significantly limited by the lack of land in their area. Some older large landowners hold a large part of the land around villages, which limits young people's access to land and thus the realisation of their further ideas. In order to ensure their continued development and the expected standard of living, they would need to purchase additional land, which is not available to them. From an economic point of view, this is a strong constraint, but it also affects their ability to develop their technology.

"There are a number of older, larger farmers in the area who are holding on to their farms, and we used to say that there is a very big hunger for land. So a lot of times, even if you had the financial resources, you can't expand your land because there's just no land for sale. Everybody holds on to what they have and they don't sell it, and this makes it difficult for a farmer not only to start but also to reach further milestones... and in order to maintain a normal standard of living, one needs to be able to develop continuously, which is not possible without access to land" (HU10C/Int.10).

Another major problem mentioned by young people moving to the village is the separation from their friends and acquaintances in the city. They find it difficult to organise get-

together with friends, and these events only tend to show how much they cannot understand each other, to an increasing extent, over time. It seems that for some young people starting businesses in villages, it is a major problem that different interests create a communication gap between them.

"The difficulty of everyday life is that we who are farmers are busy with our own little worlds, our little farms with our little daily things, and we find it difficult to meet each other because everybody is trying to sort out their own farms, and we just find it difficult to meet. And the people we do meet, they're not necessarily young people with the same interests as we have." (HU10C/Int.10).

Another problem of everyday life is the difficulty of organising the common leisure activities that used to be regular. For young people moving to villages, the time structure and rhythm of life often changes to such extent that they are unable to join the leisure activities of friends still living in the cities (i.e. weekend trips, Saturday night entertainment, holidays, etc.), so that sooner or later that group of friends is left behind and they are left on their own in the village.

"It doesn't necessarily work for us to go on a weekend trip with them, or go out with them on a Saturday night, or just go fishing. So we don't always get to participate in those events, and then, from then on we fall out of that group and very quickly you're on your own. (...) Or, they go on holiday in the summer and let's say they invite us to join them, but then it's impossible for us to join them, as we want to go on holiday in February... which they don't understand." (HU10C/Int.10).

Of the various difficulties (or, rather, threats), the possibility of a competitive situation was also highlighted. Competition was mentioned mainly by young entrepreneurs/farmers, and not by those engaged in community activities, in the context that it is not very damaging to the interests of local farmers engaged in classical arable farming if a small entrepreneur enters and starts to grow classical crops (wheat, maize, etc.) on a few tens of hectares. However, this is not the case for artisanal producers, i.e. food producers. In their opinion, a small village cannot support, for example, two small cheese factories. For this reason, even if more young people want to do the same or join the same activity, it is not a viable option for them. Interestingly, the idea of alliances and cooperation did not even occur to the

newcomers in this area, however, they cannot come across any cooperating businesses or local actors in their environment.

"I think it depends on the activity. If we're talking about classic arable farming, or large-scale farming, then I think there's no problem, but with these small-scale, family-scale artisanal products, there's a problem with that. So a municipality, a small municipality like this is not going to support two small cheese factories" (HU10C/Int.10).

In addition, the differences in thinking between the different generations were also mentioned as a problem and a difficulty by the young people who moved in. These problems mainly stem from differences of opinion on the introduction of innovations. The need to use technology in enterprises run by older farmers, mostly family members (parents, grandparents), differs very significantly between older and younger generations. Young people are keen to apply what they have learnt at the university to their farms, but face strong resistance from older family members (e.g. precision farming).

"Often they see the future in continuing to do things the same way they have been doing for 50 years, and we imagine a future where we can use what we learnt at the university and the several decades of research in precision farming. We could do it differently and maybe that's what so often comes into conflict" (HU10C/Int.10).

It is an important characteristic of the initiatives observed among young newcomers is that they tend to be different from the mass, and do not carry out activities/produce products that are familiar locally, but seek to be different, new, to find niches in the market or to connect with areas of specialisation that match their interests. This also means that they have a preference for high-value and/or special things on which they are happy to base a local start-up business.

"What makes it interesting is that we don't deal with meat sheep, like general sheep farmers, so to speak, but we have breeding animals and we work with very specific breeds. We sell very few animals a year, but they are very high value animals, so once the farm is up and running we would like to change that a little bit. We would like to keep sheep in the same way, but in larger numbers. (...) Also, what is interesting about our poultry is that we also produce breeding stock, a very special breed of ornamental poultry, which are ringed birds, it's a very interesting breed. So as long as we can't increase the volume, we wanted to produce something small scale but of high value and special" (HU10C/Int.10).

Innovations

In terms of innovation, two groups of young newcomers can be strongly distinguished. The first group includes those who do not use innovative technologies, but who are aware of them, know about them or would like to work with them. The other group consists of those who consider themselves innovative. Among those who do not use innovations due to a lack of opportunities, technological innovations, especially precision technologies, are widely known. This is considered important not only to increase productivity but also to ensure a "stimulating" working environment. They believe that they can attract young people to the jobs they offer if their needs and interests can be met.

"Well, in terms of engaging young people, I still see an opportunity in the use of gadgets. You have drones, precision farming, tractors that have computers. Young people are interested in these things. That is an important aspect. And it's really important to create a working environment that is stimulating, because I think it's stimulating even without the gadgets, but they already demand these things" (HU10C/Int.1).

However, there is also a conflict between the different age groups concerning the innovations in technological applications. As one respondent reported, *"anytime there was a new machine, it has always been used by people who have been working there for a long time, and this is still alive in the minds of older tractor drivers, so when a new machine comes along, and it has a computer, and then it has to be him, not the young one, but him, who can't operate it, because he has no idea how to do it, and he can't even use 60-70% of the machine."*

People active in artisanal activities also said that there are innovative skills in craft activities that they would like to apply but do not have the opportunity to do so.

"So there are things that are known and I've seen abroad, but I just couldn't take advantage of them, I couldn't build a business on what somebody else has done. Or for example, shrink film with printable surface... That is still not available in Hungary. But I feel that I am too small to start dealing with this, to import it. I don't see a big enough opportunity to build a business in this area, because the cost of acquisition is too high. But you can't get it here in Hungary, and when I needed it, I just didn't want to pay an astronomical price to have it shipped to me – I mean, shipping from the US is not free -, but I just couldn't find a distributor that had it" (HU10C/Int.3).

A strong motivation for those who are constantly innovating is that they have an established customer base that they want to keep, while they also need new customers. To achieve this, they have their own innovations and novelties, which are mainly processed foods. In addition, the national and international reputation (awards, recognition, press articles) also encourages producers to maintain an innovative attitude. In other words, the more successful the artisanal activity, the more open the artisan entrepreneur is to innovation and innovative solutions.

"And I have a lot of different innovations, new things, innovations that are constantly happening in the product range. Generally my basic products are based on my grandparents' recipes, sausages, pork cheese, sausages mainly, but I also have new products that I have experimented with over the years, so I am always innovating and they are there in my product range and I always bring them to the market. So I have a very well-established customer base in Budapest, but also a lot of private people and here in local markets, in local towns, from Nyíregyháza to Miskolc, Debrecen, many people come to me, but I deliver to any place in the country. I even have regular customers abroad, especially in Germany, so it's very flexible for me. (...) Also, with mangalitsa, I represent the young innovation generation change in agriculture" (HU10C/Int.5).

Conclusion

The Hungarian case study faced the same research problem as most of the research teams participating in the project. In migration statistics, very little information is available on the actual number of groups considered newcomer in the research. Finding interviewees was also difficult because newcomers are not counted by the local administration either. In fact, the concept of newcomer used in the research project is unknown to both the administration and the public. This may be the case because, according to the experience of the Hungarian study, the most important motivator for newcomers to immigrate is family ties, so the local public does not perceive the immigrant as a newcomer, but as a returnee, which had several research methodological consequences. First, this made it difficult to identify newcomers for conducting interviews. On the other hand, the most important issue from the research point of view - the spread of newcomer's creative activity as a promising practice - can be strongly influenced by newcomer's original family background and the family's previous prestige. A smaller community is less accepting or following a successful, creative example that is tied to a less prestigious local family.

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 up 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).

We found that the main motivator of rural immigration is a disadvantaged social situation, which is hoped to be solved or alleviated by emigration or relocation. In contrast, Hungarian newcomers' promising cases mainly belong to temporarily or permanently settled newcomers involved in community development and advocacy activities, as well as to newcomers with business activity.

The promising practises of newcomers involved in education, local development, administration and NGOs highlight the importance of the emphasis on knowledge capital in the ruralisation process. As knowledge capital was also a key component of the success of successors and new entrants, we see strengthening the provision and access to knowledge

of rural people as a component to be democratized that can be most encouraged by development policy instruments.

The most important impact of newcomer artisans' promising practices is the example of innovation in their business successes, and their general openness to the use of innovative techniques and procedures. In this respect, generational changes are maturing, although we found no example of collaboration between young innovative and open-minded artisan newcomers with knowledge capital and network capital in their age group and local stakeholders.

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Annex 1- The list of Interviews

Code	Gender	Education	Family status	Activity	Status
HU10C/Int.1	Male	tertiary, PhD	no data	NGO on a farm, operating as a public nature conservation foundation, species conservation programmes, environmental sensitisation	target group
HU10C/Int.2	Male	tertiary, PhD	married, 2 children	local representative, village	expert
HU10C/Int.3	Female	tertiary	married, 3 children	beadwork and other craft activities	target group
HU10C/Int.4	Female	tertiary	married, 2 children	artisan chocolate	target group
HU10C/Int.5	Female	tertiary	no data	mangalitsa - breeding, meat processing	target group
HU10C/Int.6	Female	tertiary	married, 1 child	animal husbandry, meat processing	target group
HU10C/Int.7	Female	no data	married, 2 children	goat rearing, goat cheese and other dairy products	target group
HU10C/Int.8	Male	tertiary	single	social expert, representative	target group
HU10C/Int.9	Female	graduated from high school currently attending university	no data	operation of guest houses	target group
HU10C/Int.10	Female	tertiary	married	civil activist	target group
HU10C/Int.11	Male	tertiary	no data	owner of a local farmers' market	expert
HU10C/Int.12	Female	graduation	married, 3 children	dairy cattle, setting up a family farm	target group
HU10C/Int.13	Female	no data	married	flower and gift shop, local shop, local cuisine	target group
HU10C/Int.14	Female	tertiary	married	teaching folk games and crafts	target group
HU10C/Int.15	Male	tertiary	single	establishment of a small parts manufacturing plant	target group
HU10C/Int.16	Male	tertiary, PhD	single	planning and management of infrastructure projects	expert
HU10C/Int.17	Male	secondary school	married	woodcarving craft, planting of pine saplings	target group
HU10C/Int.18	Male	tertiary	no data	sweet potato growing, flower growing, chili growing	target group

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HU10C/Int.19	Male	tertiary	no data	arable crop production	target group
HU10C/Int.20	Male	tertiary	married	production of functional foods (gluten and egg-free), frozen bakery products	target group

Table 3. Interviews