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The Role of the Rural Economy in Sustainable Development

I. Theoretical background

I. 1. Unsustainable Economic Growth

The concepts of agriculture and countryside have always been interrelated, and today this tie is becoming closer than ever because of our sustainable development goals. The view of environmental economists of agriculture has been known for more than forty years now, yet there is hardly any sign of the idea of sustainability in the mainstream economy or in rural development. *"The subsistence of the countryside can not be based on a space solely devoted to production, a sustainable rural economy and society can only exist in a countryside that provides for the appropriate biological conditions of life, and ensures the appropriate supply and the safety of food"* (Ángyán, 2003, p. 625).

The countryside needs to provide a living and to create economic value for its inhabitants. From an environmental economist's point of view however, economic value is very important, though still insufficient. It is becoming more and more typical for high-income individuals in developed countries to concentrate too much on economic factors and hence to misinterpret the concept of value. They actually ask themselves the question how much money or material goods they could make in the time they devote to non-economic activities like socializing with their neighbours, raising their kids or doing housework. Their time has become far too valuable in economic terms. Giving up the income they could make in one hour appears to be too much of a sacrifice compared to what they are able to gain from the "other side". The extent to which we devote our physical energy to obtaining material goals is proportional to the extent to which our sensitivity to other kinds of benefits diminishes. Our interest in friendships, arts, natural beauty, religion and philosophy is fading away. *"If someone's time is becoming more valuable, it will be less and less rational for them to spend their time on anything but earning money or spending money in a conspicuous way"* (Stephen Lindner, 1970, p. 72). This is why many think that more must probably be better, as well. Yet life is hardly linear. What is benefi-

cial in small quantities often becomes harmful in large doses. *"People are happy not because of what they do, but because of how they do it"* (Csíkszentmihályi, 1990, p. 45) cited by Sándor Kerekes (Kerekes, 2011). Prosperity comes from frugality and not from exaggeration. The values of frugality and economy are important to the members of a sustainable society. Frugality above all – said the Greeks. *"Without frugality, there is no law, no order, no morale and no knowledge"* (Hamvas, 1996, p. 5). In a phylosophical sense, *"values are not directly identical with the immanent internal characteristics of things (objects, persons, relationships, activities etc.), they are intellectual objectivations expressing the qualities people have recognized in things or attributed to them"* (Váriné Szilágyi, 1987, p. 19).

It is clearly recognised in the draft of the new National Sustainable Development Strategy, which – quite surprisingly, given the political nature of the document – formulates the sense of a "meaningful life" as being the following: *"Key factors to success are endurance, resourcefulness, innovation skills and empathy towards those to whom our economic activities are addressed – and not tax evasion, corruption or free-riding. Savings, adding to one's wealth are more important than consumption; enjoying what you already have is more important than acquiring something new"* (NFFS, 2011, p. 4).

I. 2. Basic Characteristics of Country Life

According to a German piece of research (Duenckmann, 2010) rural inhabitants can be divided into three groups based on, what they think about the countryside. The first group has an "idyllic view" of the countryside. This is where "green" city leaders and politicians belong. After the day's work, most of them return to their small, beautiful, quiet villages, to the suburban towns which we nowadays call sleeping towns. The second group ("reform-oriented view") features those open to new initiatives and reforms, to organic farming. Those in the third group ("anti-conservationist view"), however, believe intensive agriculture to be the one and only hope for the countryside.

All over Europe, the proportion of elderly people is higher and that of the youth is lower in the countryside. Newcomers to rural areas do not usually come from the same region. An interesting fact about employment is that the proportion of self-employed people (private entrepreneurs) is much higher in true rural areas and significantly lower in urban areas.

A large number of urban employees work in the financial and business services sectors, while these professions can hardly be found outside urban regions. It seems strange, however, that the proportion of managers and senior officials is above the statistical average that one would predict to be living in the countryside. Some of the senior managers can afford to work in a big city but live in a village. Which, in turn, leads to a contradiction: income is not generated in the countryside and it is not spent there, either. They live in the countryside but that is not where they make a living, which also means that their taxes go somewhere else. A major share of the income of rural regions comes from external sources.

Concerning development strategies, an exciting question is why a given township might become a tourist destination. It might not be the best choice, for instance, to locate the hotel in the city – even though that is what the majority of cities want. In a holistic approach, a countryside town, maybe a village, that has some tourist appeal might count as a more suitable location. This could be an important consideration in evaluating development alternatives. It is a strange paradox that food products (vegetables, fruits etc.) are often brought back to the countryside from "outside" – either because they are not produced locally or the supply chain does not allow for the local sale of locally produced food items.

As we all know, a transport project may change the situation of rural areas dramatically. Transport developments do not necessarily improve employment locally, as it might very well happen that people convert to working (and maybe even shopping) somewhere else. Infrastructural developments could eventually lead to the abandonment of villages. A radical increase in the prices of public utilities may also have a similar effect (Kerekes, 2003).

By now, the processes of urban-based globalization have made villages extremely vulnerable to these very same processes. The links of country people – even those living relatively far away from the city – to the cities are getting stronger and more numerous, thus they live an increasingly urban way of life, and demand a matching standard of living. Through the development of the local economy, we need to create opportunities for country people to live a more comfortable life, not to be citizens of "second order" (Kajner, 2010).

It is a common experience that, even though rural development is focused on villages, it is exactly abandoned villages which they try to develop through various tenders – with not much of a success. City and village should be thought of as one region. They should be treated holistically, for that is the way of think-

ing that could bring us closer to meeting the conditions of sustainability. Sustainability is characterized by an integrative approach. There shall be no individual, special development strategy for the countryside but it should rather be developed holistically, along with the nearby city.

Newly-announced government plans aim at re-establishing districts ("járás"), which is indeed an effort to strengthen holistic logic. Up to this point, the intermediate link, formerly represented by the districts, was missing. On a district level, everything is within 30 kilometres, which is, in the automobile age, exactly the distance that anyone can put up with. Development initiatives, the main point of which is the "boosting" of one village at the expense of strangling another, must not be supported. Development is to be executed in an integrated manner, such that each settlement can gain from it, for this is the way how common benefit can be maximized.

I. 3. Sustainable Regionalism

Both international and Hungarian scientists agree that the preconditions for achieving sustainability are: local production and consumption needs to be promoted; ecological farming practices must be followed; renewable energy sources are to be utilized; economization is a must in all fields; as many people as possible must convert to vegetarianism. These measures pave the way for sustainability (Kun, 2009). As Sándor Kerekes put it: *"Anyone could limit their consumption without their quality of life deteriorating, if we lived a life like that of our grandparents, ate less meat and used our muscles for work, as well. Thereby, a significant amount of energy could be saved, and we would also be healthier. People who dig up their backyard in the springtime, and produce vegetables or raise animals spend their spare time in a more sensible way than those who just glare at the TV screen to get to know that Tesco is the cheapest. For those unable to 'sell' their free time it is needless to consider whether they are better off producing their own vegetables in the garden or buying them at Tesco"* (Kerekes, 2008, p. 33).

"Research into the growth of agricultural farms may be important not only for agricultural economists but for decision makers, too, as the sector's decreasing contribution to GDP, the growing pressure for concentration, and the need to increase turnover all act to force small-scale individual farmers to increase their scales of production, maybe to supplement their income from out-

side the agricultural sector or, in an extreme scenario, to give up their activities altogether" (Bakucs & Fertő, 2008, p. 26).

According to the Nobel Prize winner scientist, Amartya Sen, new alternative models could emerge – instead of the idea of endless growth – that would be based on wise self-restriction, that would try to harmonize corporate and individual interests, as today's society is governed by self-interest to a far too great extent. As aptly formulated by the academic György Enyedi: *"Self-sacrifice is only a trait of mothers – not economic competitors"* (Bod, 2007).

The main priorities of the EU for the planning and budget period 2007-2013 include improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging the diversification of the rural economy. The research of Bálint Csatári highlights the problem of the Hungarian countryside – which is that it did not methodically go through the "development stages" (1. common agricultural policy, heavily subsidized towards the interests of the rural areas; 2. conscious development of rural agriculture, improving accessibility; 3. the revaluation of the natural-ecological-scenic values of the countryside; 4. sustainable rural development, rehabilitation of communities, improving rural-urban relationships) that could have led to the new European rural development visions being realized in their full scope and extent (Csatári, 2006). Rural development in Hungary must, even if at an "increased pace", go through these stages. To the question what the new Hungarian rural development policy should look like, Bálint Csatári provides a rather concise answer: *"integrated, built upon successful inter-ministerial cooperation; sustainable and ensure the preservation of natural, ecological resources; provide delicious and safe food, pursuing both modern, marketable agriculture and eco-social farming; built upon regional partnership, ensuring good accessibility and employment on a micro-regional level through urban-rural relationships; human-centred, gentle, friendly, just like the countryside is in reality, and just like the countryside that the residents and the visitors desire"* (Csatári, 2006, p. 3).

This is easier said than done, obviously, yet one must agree that however difficult it might be to comply with Csatári's principles in practice, compliance should still be set as an objective at least.

I. 4. Sustainability Innovations Aimed at the Preservation of the "Countryside"

The majority of sustainable development experts agree that, even though eco-efficiency usually positively correlates with economies of scale, globalization tends to have a negative effect on the state of the environment, as opposed to the positive impact of the appearance of self-sufficient micro-regions. From amongst all types of micro-regions, rural areas are of special significance. The expression "rural area" stands for a stretch of inland (in a broad sense) or coastal countryside where the agricultural and non-agricultural parts – including small towns and villages – form a whole both in economic and social terms, where the concentration of population and that of the economic, social and cultural structures is significantly lower than in urban areas and where the main part of the area is used for agriculture, forestry, natural reserves and recreation purposes (European Charter for Rural Areas, 1996).

The "countryside" fulfils a number of environmental functions without which the healthy existence of human societies would hardly be possible. The preservation of cultural heritage is not the only reason why the existence of the countryside is crucial. The "countryside" also creates economic and social patterns which might facilitate the recognition, and potentially, the healing of anomalies in the development of the global economy. The analogy might seem a bit far-fetched, but still, the "countryside" can be envisioned as being like the stem-cells of the human body, which not only preserve the individual's genetic information in its immaculate form but they are also able to regenerate "defective" cells that were produced using damaged code. Of course, in order to fulfil its above-mentioned functions, the countryside must remain "viable" and intact – as is the case with stem-cells. Thousands of years of European history evince European societies' ability to renew and, maybe, we can also state that, although countries' capital change over time, rural areas often contributed decisively to the new beginning by becoming the initiators of development through some kind of "innovation".

Studies into sustainable development devote special attention to rural lifestyles and the development of the countryside. International literature includes a large number of case studies that report rural development experiences which, either intentionally or as a favourable side-effect, also foster the realization of sustainable development objectives.

Below follows a literature-based review of a couple of such cases, the lessons from which could be of practical use in Hungary, as well. According to the literature, social support and the existence of a clear "guiding vision" have a crucial role in the success of rural development strategies. Lately, renewable energies have started to become such a vision in a number of regions. Philipp Späth and Harald Rohracher (Späth and Rohracher, 2010) demonstrate the necessity of such a "vision" in successful development programs in the example of Murau, among others; and earlier, the current author also reported favourable experiences in Hungary, using Szedres as an example (Luda, 2009).

I. 5. Interpreting the Concepts 'Rural' and 'Urban'

The context of sustainable development provides for a new interpretation of the urban / rural categorization. Partly because people in rural areas do not necessarily have to make a living out of agriculture anymore and the service sector has also grown in importance in rural areas. Concerning the population, two trends exist. There are people who live in the countryside and strive to move into a city (urbanization) and there are some who want to leave the city for the outskirts, or for some suburban town. The last couple of decades have witnessed an interesting phenomenon: a significant outflow of people from the big cities to smaller rural areas has started, which has brought about radical changes in rural life and caused various conflicts. According to research conducted in the German city of Panten, located 40 kilometres from Hamburg (Duenckmann, 2010), those who "flee" the cities and settle in villages – so-called newcomers – significantly alter the traditional village structure through their differing cultural and social values. Klára Hajnal (2006) has suggested that *"spatial reorganization and concentration, and the related changes in occupation and lifestyles are taking place so rapidly that seemingly unmanageable conflicts appear between the emptying and structurally distorted rural areas and the overcrowded urban areas"* (Hajnal, 2006, p. 13).

Recently, people have begun, once again, to realize the significance of the country-city relationship – both in Europe and in North America. Even Michael Porter (2004), the world-renowned professor at Harvard Business School, underlined in his article that rural areas now play a greater role in the competitiveness of countries. The performance of rural regions is lagging behind, and the gap between the performance of the cities and the countryside seems to be widening as well. This has triggered a serious response from the US government

which has set aside billions of dollars in its budget for the revival of rural areas (Porter, 2004).

The distinction between rural and urban areas has for long been subject to significant debate in the literature, even though the two concepts, city and countryside, can only be interpreted in context of their relation to each other. Defining and distinguishing between them is problematic everywhere. There is a debate going on in the United Kingdom, as well (just like anywhere else in the world), as to where the boundaries between city and countryside should be placed (Midgley, Ward & Atterton, 2005). One has to ask: is there such a thing as a purely urban life at all? Or a purely rural existence? The reason why the theoretical dispute over the city/countryside dilemma is of interest to us is that it has an influence on the roles and the system of relations between the regions, and their interdependence.

Laura Szabó (1999) mentions several problems related to the "urbanization" of villages: *"(1) The concepts of village and city represent two differing qualities, out of which one, the village in its traditional sense, seems to be disappearing with the appearance of typically urban lifestyle elements. Villages get distorted during their urban-based and urban-direction modernization, as they lose a significant portion of their traditional functions and values, which, however, does not necessarily mean they achieve the city-quality. (2) Because of the differing quality, it is the negative aspects of the urban elements and the distortion-related drawbacks that prevail primarily, while the benefits of urban life hardly ever appear or do so in a distorted form. (3) Following the regime change, villages on the periphery became the targets of the underprivileged population 'fleeing' the cities. The aged, disintegrating communities are often helpless against the subculture of the newcomers, therefore the previously typically urban process of ghettoization is starting to conquer the villages, as well. A fundamental problem of today's villages is the disintegration and erosion of the once active local communities, historically linked to the village as a quality; which is a key issue among others because communities are the most important resource, the capital of villages, one of the main guarantees for their viability"* (Szabó, 1999, p. 170). Researchers in the UK have for long been working on a new method for the categorization of regions based on their functionality; that is the purpose they serve. Jane Midgley, Neil Ward and Jane Atterton (2005) distinguish between three types of geographical areas. The first group includes regions that have a definite purpose, so-called 'functional urban regions'. The second consists of 'daily urban' systems, while the third comprises 'local labour market areas' (Midgley, Ward & Atterton, 2005, p. 2).

The "city-region" theory has become widely known during the last five years and it is very popular among officials and politicians dealing with the development of cities and regions. The practicability of the "city-region" concept has been confirmed by experience from the northern territories of the UK, where it was adopted as the basis of their growth strategy.

I. 6. The Basic Types of Rural-Urban Relationship

Midgley, Ward & Atterton (2005, p. 3) found three types of rural-urban relationship that have a role in the growth strategy of Northern England.

"Separable Rural Periphery", the first type, is a relatively large rural periphery at a relatively large distance from the cities. Consequently, these areas might as well have their own separate rural development strategy. In the vicinity of the "Separable Rural Periphery", there is no city that could influence the development of the "countryside". Such areas can be found in Northern England, and obviously, there must be some in Hungary, as well. In Hungary, it is mainly in the northeast and on the Great Plain where we can find areas without any significant city nearby, which could affect the rural area.

The second type, the "Interdependent Rural Periphery", is characterized by having a couple of large cities scattered throughout the rural areas, yet lacking a clear indication of which city's catchment area the region belongs to. Influence, in this case, lies with more than one city, thus relationships and dependencies are far stronger and more complex. It is the proximity of large cities that determines the environment and also the lives of rural inhabitants. The authors cited two British city regions as examples: Tyne & Wear and Tees Valley.

The third type to be found in the UK is the "Urban-Rural Mosaic", characteristic of the southern parts of the Yorkshire and Humber region. Rural areas are situated so close to urban centres that they practically overlap, thus any one of the rural areas is part of several cities' labour markets. Urban and rural regions tend to overlap and blend in a mosaic pattern.

These three categories could be distinguished in the more or less organically developing North of England, yet none of them exists in Hungary in such a pure form. This categorization, however, can still contribute to our line of thought insofar as we can examine how and why the situation in Hungary is different. Here, it is the rural territories in the catchment areas of Nyíregyháza, Miskolc,

and Debrecen that might qualify as Interdependent Rural Peripheries. These neighbouring urban centres have been traditionally competing with each other for a multitude of reasons due to historical tradition (for instance Nyíregyháza was located close to the sometime Soviet markets, Miskolc was what you could call "A Socialist City" and Debrecen was inhabited by relatively conservative voters). Similar examples are the Transdanubian cities Pécs, Kaposvár and Komló, and Kőszeg and Szombathely. These cities are each other's competitors regarding both adjustment opportunities and the distribution of EU funding sources.

The Urban-Rural Mosaic type of region is quite rare in today's Hungary, even though it was very typical for the pre-Trianon structure of the country. For example, Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, and Szeged might have been such areas in that time, yet later they became separated by a historical border. Now that national borders have practically disappeared within the EU, an interesting question is whether a transition (in an economic sense – labour market, movement of goods and services) will start in the format that the British researchers have described, or whether the political and language boundaries will prevent the evolution of such an organic structure (Kovács, 1989). The Danube separates one Komárom from the other, and Győr and Pozsony might also belong to the third category. Two decades after the regime change, it is already nothing unusual that people from Komárno (Slovakia) have a job in Komárom (Hungary), and some Slovaks even move to live in Hungary. Slovaks often buy plots of land in Hungary because the catchment area of Bratislava extends well over the border and land prices are lower there.

The reason why the British example is interesting from a scientific point of view is that the organic development of the regions was not disturbed by history, that there was no artificial separation. After the Schengen Agreement eliminated the artificial separation (where political boundaries were drawn up to artificially divide what had once been an organic entity), the movement the authors discussed based on UK experience has recommended.

The so-called city regions and rural areas altogether might be developed in two ways. Rural areas within a given region might be developed through separate programs and initiatives aimed at reducing the differences between urban and rural areas. If we strengthen the isolation of rural areas and fail to develop urban-rural relationships through well-focused programs, then the development of these rural areas will have no link to the cities and thus might even lead to an increased degree of separation. Obviously, the other alternative is to regard rural

areas as the subject of an integrated and far more comprehensive and holistic form of regional development, which focuses on the bonds between rural and urban areas. In that case, one has to find those development opportunities which maximize common benefits for both (rural and urban) areas. The city and the countryside need to be treated as a whole, in an integrated, holistic way. They need development projects where both the city and the countryside can perform at their maximum. Instead of creating separate rural development programs, they accept existing links and implement integrated development strategies.

Naturally enough, the various ideas are in competition with each other in Hungary as well. Environmentalists love to talk about the importance of the population-retaining ability of the countryside and of the preservation of rural lifestyles. Consequently, many would prefer that each service (school, nursery school, post office, hairdresser etc.) remain available in all townships. Others, on the contrary, suggest that a country child may only have a fair chance if they attend a school that is good enough to make them competitive in the education 'market' and, later on, in the labour market. Accordingly, rural development should focus on smaller units, so-called districts ("járás" in Hungarian), characterized by analogy in terms of size or function, where both the countryside and the city have their own specific roles ("niches"). One might also establish a good education system by locating a school of appropriate qualities in one of the larger villages (whichever the communities can most easily access), while another township hosts the health care centre and a third one provides some other service. If it has, for instance, favourable natural endowments (spectacular scenery, is well-suited for excursions etc.) then it will be home to restaurants and entertainment facilities. The main point is not trying to establish everything everywhere, as that will most probably use up all the resources.

The rethinking of rural development is inevitable, as if all projects focus on cities because of economies of scale, this will lead to villages being abandoned and slowly dying away.

One of the mistakes present in the majority of Hungarian ecological experiments was that all of them preferred the first model ("Separate Rural Periphery") and did not want the countryside to change. They wanted it to remain as it used to be long ago. People should, as far as possible, live, work, earn a living, become self-sufficient and self-supporting in the very same place as where they were born. Such initiatives, however, only represent an alternative to those fed up with today's busy lifestyles (city people, that is), while they are totally unac-

ceptable to many of the youth who live in the countryside, who would very much like to have a taste of what is meant by teeming city life.

In his comprehensive summary, András Szabó (2006) points out the most significant problems and paints a justifiably pessimistic picture of the future: *"Globalization-based modernization represents a cruel trap for villages, as they are being forced to compete – and fight a battle in a field that is uneven anyway – while losing their most important strength at the very same time. By now, the once – maybe out of necessity, but still – primarily self-sufficient, self-helping, self-organized and efficiency-driven communities have been replaced by groups of disillusioned, desperate, demoralized and (sometimes extremely) mistrustful individuals, who remain untouched by and sceptical of any potential opportunities that might present themselves. The disintegration of communities inherently means individualization and an increased degree of individual freedom, yet it causes a loss of identity, as well. Today, even the problems of the atomized, underprivileged village communities are being discussed on the level of the individual, on the level of human resources, even though trying to manage this moral and social crisis at the individual level is as good as hopeless, as it is nothing else but the community that can create morale and social conditions"* (A. Szabó, 2006, p. 62).

Each and every idea born with sustainability in one's mind is worth of respect. Yet those formulating such sustainability theories usually live in big cities and imagine countryside life as being an idyllic form of human existence.

Cloke et al. set out to understand what the power of people's idyllic picture of the countryside derives from. Is this idyllic vision universal or are there differences between different people's idyllic pictures? What would a realistic picture of rural life look like? Are we able to find in the depths of the countryside idyll the universal needs of the human race, like the need for attachment to a piece of land, to nature and to a community (Cloke, 2003, p. 15)?

In most of the cases, there is an emotional motive in the background, a kind of nostalgia, which acts to suppress reality: a harsh rural way of life intentionally left behind during the era of industrialization.

I. 7. Regional Innovation Systems and Sustainability

Back in the 80's, theories which addressed the revival of the countryside usually centred on technology. They all started out from the issue that the most significant problem of rural areas is a lack of appropriate economic foundations and the resulting lack of appropriate experts. In the beginning of the nineties, after the Brundtland definition of Sustainable Development came out (Brundtland Report, 1987), everything that businesses had believed about innovation changed in the countryside. Consequently, they started to integrate all social and individual knowledge that seemed to be potentially useful in the region. This was also acknowledged in the various EU programs which set social, economic and ecological targets in rural development projects instead of taking a technology-centred approach. While innovation, earlier, had been narrowed down to technical content, they then started to realize that the innovativity of rural areas could only be achieved through integrated thinking and that focusing on a single element only (e.g. the economy or technology) would not yield the desired results. As Géza Molnár reasoned in their 2010 piece of research on Erkecse Ltd, "the country and its natural systems become visible only if we have an understanding of how the system works, and of the essence and the direction of its processes. Approaching a natural system or a country from the individual perspective or from its elements constitutes a very serious methodological mistake. That perspective, namely, will not help us understand either the individual's behaviour or the operation of the system" (Molnár G., 2010, p. 6). It is a fact that the countryside is both less attractive and less of a 'performer' in economic terms. Because of weak regional economies, there are no jobs for highly qualified employees, the mobility of the workforce is low and, consequently, the region's attractivity is less which again leads to a lack of qualification opportunities. This results in a hard-to-break vicious circle. By analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of a region, one can discover the opportunities that may facilitate the development of the area (Gerstlberger, 2004, p. 749).

Researchers (Danielzyk et al. (1998) in Gerstlberger, 2004, p. 750) who have recently been studying regional innovation in relation to sustainable development usually take it for granted that so-called regional innovation systems, being focused on sustainability, indeed open up new opportunities for regional development and do actually differ from what has been experienced so far. It is very interesting that, as far as sustainable development is concerned, knowledge transfer is the rare exception and not the rule throughout the entire European Union. The success stories described in relevant case studies, however, feature an incredibly high number of rare and favourable coincidences. It is coincidence

rather than efforts that decide whether a project turns out to be successful. What represents a new direction in rural policy is the recognition that, in the future, learning opportunities related to sustainable development will need to be implemented in regional innovation systems, the focal elements of which are planning and the transfer of knowledge related to the enterprise.

I. 8. Central Elements of Regional Innovation Systems

The four central elements of regional innovation systems are: "concrete public components", "concrete private components", "concrete public-private components", and the "various individual policies as abstract components". The balanced presence of these four central groups of elements in addition to the social, ecological, and economic aspects of sustainable development – to be taken into account as equivalents – changes the picture considerably, and even "normal", average regions can create international success stories. Previously, success always originated from some special capacity and the favourable coincidence of special circumstances. The couple of success stories resulting from such favourable constellations of random factors were then considered exemplary with regard to regional development and the adjustment of depressed regions; – that is, rural policy makers became blinded by illusions (Majer, 1997; Braczyk et al., 1998; Fritsch, 1999, in: Gerstlberger, 2004, p. 750).

In this new approach, regions and projects can be evaluated along the following four dimensions. First, the operation and the value creation of the region are characterized by the material flows which, in a so-called normal region, join the RIS (regional innovation systems) components: the social, ecological and economic aspects of sustainable development. The balance of employment (second dimension) is directly related to innovation, while the balanced development of infrastructure (third factor) is in indirect relation with it. The latter factor includes considerations like existing infrastructure deficiencies (including communication and financial infrastructure) or the extent to which various social institutions (schools, preschools, nurseries, health centres, theatres etc.) are present. The fourth aspect is the quality of regional knowledge transfer as perceived by consumers. What do enterprises, as customers, think about the quality of the transfer of economic, ecological and social knowledge (education, training opportunities)? In which ways can people acquire knowledge?

According to Holzinger (1999), and Hübner and Nill (2001), the idea of sustainable development, to be applied in the creation of sustainable regional inno-

vation systems, can be backed by a number of different theoretical concepts. The five main types are: philosophy-driven theories (St. Gallen approach), the ones driven by discussion (Munich approach), the ones driven by the "promoter" (micropolitical approach), exchange-driven concepts (network approach) and information-driven development theories (Karlsruhe approach) (Holzinger, 1999; Hübner and Nill, 2001; Hübner, 2002) in (Gerstlberger, 2004, p. 751).

It is the combination of these five types of theories that may make an innovation process, a regional innovation system successful. The St. Gallen approach consists of the normative models of business management. The Munich approach is centred on the basic paradigms. The organizational and content-tracking activities of the promoter are the determinants of the micropolitical approach. The Karlsruhe approach is dominated by internal and external information exchange, while the network approach is built upon internal and external organizational cooperation. The presence of success factors, just as well as central success criteria, should be evaluated from the point of view of regional innovation systems. Both success criteria and success factors (factors explaining the outcome) can be considered as being related to any of the five theories mentioned above. Which is exactly the analysis, Gerstlberger (2004) performed and summarized in Table 2.

Table 1 Individual hypotheses for sustainable RIS design

Central success criteria *(What can be assessed as SD success in RIS?)* / **Success factors** *(Whereby can SD success in RIS be explained?)*	(1) Importance of regional material cycles for operational economy and regional value creation	(2) Balanced employment situation	(3) Balanced development of infrastructure areas with indirect relation to innovation	(4) Quality of regional knowledge transfer from the customers' (enterprises) point of view
Binding effect of explicit normative vision	Positive correlation between the binding effect of the vision and sustainable RIS design *(Individual hypothesis 1)*			
Density of RIS discourses	Positive correlation between density of institutionalized fora and sustainable RIS design *(Individual hypothesis 2)*			
Enlistment of RIS promoters	Positive correlation between intensity of promoter activity and sustainable RIS design *(Individual hypothesis 3)*			
Intensity of RIS exchange of information	Positive correlation between intensity of "classic" technology transfer and sustainable RIS design *(Individual hypothesis 4)*			
Intensity of inter-organizational cooperation	Positive correlation between intensity of inter-organizational cooperation networks and sustainable RIS design *(Individual hypothesis 5)*			
Cumulative effect (individual hypotheses 1 to 5)	The success factors for sustainable RIS design, visions, discourses, promoters, exchange of information and networking are mutually strengthening each other in a positive sense *(Individual hypothesis 6)*			

Source: Gerstlberger (2004).

I. 9. Community Supported Agriculture

I. 9.1. The Role of Social Enterprises

In his article, Christos Zografos (Zografos, 2007) explains the important role social enterprises have in the revitalization of the countryside. A social enterprise is a business enterprise that does not primarily aim at maximizing shareholder revenue, but rather at reinvesting income to achieve societal objectives

that facilitate the revitalization of rural communities. Social enterprises improve employment and by paying taxes; they also contribute to the income of communities. The development trusts mentioned in the article are good examples for this kind of business. Rural development is, in its state-of-the-art interpretation, *"a process that strengthens local human and community resources, local government, entrepreneurial culture, innovation or simply the ability of people to purposefully and efficiently cooperate with each other"* (Jenkins, 2000, in Bodorkós, 2010).

In the developed West (for example in Scotland), efforts aimed at the strengthening, the improving of rural life are very numerous. Still, rural communities have to cope with the low number of new enterprises, low incomes, an aging population and the vulnerability of the natural environment (Edwards, 2005).

In the United Kingdom, social enterprises have a very special role in everyday practice. These social enterprises are basically different from the type of employment we are trying to promote in the rural areas of Hungary. They do not represent a form of public service – they are companies, which are profitable, earn an income and pay taxes on their income. Instead of the highest possible shareholder dividend, their primary goal is of a rather public nature: revitalizing the countryside.

A low number of new enterprises, low incomes, an aging population and a vulnerable natural environment are all characteristic of Hungary, as well. And there is one more condition putting a heavy burden on this very country: a significant part of the population has been forced out of the labour market. Sometimes there is a lack of work even for those who could otherwise be employed. In Hungary, a number of rural settlements have resorted to public service programs in an effort to bring back to the labour market those living on the peripheries of society and economy, also thereby increasing employment prospects.

Social employment and social enterprise are two different matters, yet a move from the former towards the latter (that is, the birth of enterprises which serve local goals and interests, yet are governed by business principles) might represent a potential development path for Hungary. Even though subsidies once labelled 'social allowances' are now distributed as wages (the wages of those in social employment), the assumption is that these enterprises earn their own incomes does not necessarily hold – as for the most part, what they do is provide public services (e.g. cleaning and building canals and ditches, draining

inland inundations etc.). Enterprises of this type are organized by the state or local municipalities.

In Scotland, such projects most frequently aim at making some use of abandoned military bases or other infrastructural objects in one way or another. They have a multitude of renewable energy projects. They are planting community woodlands. They are cleaning up the areas that provide the natural environment for the community. They are creating public green spaces that the community can benefit from. The community-level benefits of social enterprises are indisputable.

According to the so-called reformist view, social enterprises simply constitute an extension of a pre-existing system, the main point of which is that the government withdraws from certain areas where it would like civil initiatives to take over. They want to privatize public tasks. The government simply expands their system of institutions, withdraws from some of its traditional areas of public tasks (like looking after the green spaces in a village, planting public forests, school maintenance, etc.).

However, there is a far more radical interpretation to social enterprise, too, which reckons that institutions are an alternative vision to the desirable way of operating the economy and taking care of local matters. It suggests that the economy should be operated according to an entirely different logic – one serving the welfare of the community. A new foundation needs to be created for the entire economy. The new principles are centred around cooperation. Cooperative economic relationships ensure both the operation of local institutions and the fulfilment of sustainable development goals. Social enterprises are the means by which this can be achieved. Both in academic circles and within the organizations (the development trusts) themselves, debate continues about their role, about the expectations of the various stakeholders.

The diversity of rural life has been discussed by a number of different researchers. Relevant literature (Frouws, 1998) differentiates between three basic groups: agri-ruralists (those farming the land), utilitarianists and hedonists. For some, the countryside means agriculture; for others, it represents something that has utility (because they actually benefit from it), and there are the hedonists, as well, who just want to enjoy the slow rural way of life.

I. 9.2. Food Production Based on Social Participation

The delivery of agricultural product from the farms to the consumer has a very well developed scientific and infrastructural background. In today's globalized world, logistics networks and retail systems have been specialized to perform this very function. Growing competition was first seen in the retail sector, and the response was the heavy concentration of capital and the formation of large-unit (super- and hypermarkets) international retail chains. As a consequence, some 60 to 80 percent of total food sales in the developed parts of the world are controlled by a handful of huge retail organizations (Buday-Sántha, 2004).

During the last couple of decades, Hungarian agriculture has suffered a loss of diversity with the disappearance of small family farms, and their replacement by large-scale agricultural operations, by industrial monocultures. *"Until 1961, when the organization of cooperatives was concluded, the larger part of our total agricultural output had come from small-scale producers (crofts, auxiliary and individual farms). Afterwards, large-scale farming operations became dominant; state-owned and cooperative farms had the double of the one third share of small producers in gross production value"* (Molnár, 2000). In his doctoral thesis, Mihály Ivitz argued for small plot farms, which, even though their efficiency has been questioned by many (*"sounding the death knell for small plot farms"*), still constitute the majority of farms in a number of countries around the world. According to him, *"small plot farms offer the opportunity for a type of farming that is efficient and productive, and even environmentally friendly, which fact needs to be declared to the public by all possible means"* (Ivitz, 2004).

Each element of the agrarian sector – agriculture, food industry, food retail, consumption – is a separate field in itself, even though there is a greater need for a new approach, for the comprehensive treatment of problems. It is not only the direction and the speed that have to be adjusted – our fundamental ideas need to be changed. Considering the development levels of environmentalism (Shnitzer, 1999), we have certainly reached the point where the re-construction of all the processes is inevitable, where radical changes are a must. Finally, we have begun to question whether we really need the lifestyles and the economy we are living in now, whether we could not live in another way (Csutora & Kerekes, 2004).

To make a distinction between industrialized agriculture and local production-based agriculture, US literature originally denoted the latter one using the

term ‘New Agriculture’. Almost simultaneously, however, they also started to use the very same term for GMO-based agriculture. Therefore Thomas A. Lyson introduced a new concept: “Civic Agriculture”. Civic, socially-based agriculture and food production offer an alternative solution to the need for change (Lyson, 2004). Modern agricultural activities are very closely related to the social and economic development of communities. We are witnesses to a new and innovative tendency in production and processing that will rejuvenate local agriculture and food production. It constitutes a socially, economically and environmentally sustainable alternative to the destructive practices that have become a feature of conventional agriculture. This not only has a significant role in satisfying consumer demand (fresh, safe and locally produced foodstuffs), but also creates jobs, strengthens the entrepreneurial spirit and solidifies the identity of the community. It is a real alternative to agribusiness-ruled consumer markets.

The origins of the idea date back far into the past. Having examined three American cities, Wright Mills and Melville Ulmer concluded that people living in cities, relying on local ownership and small enterprises, have a better life than the residents of cities with large corporations but without local owners. The findings of this survey – concluded right after World War II – were presented in an article entitled “Small Business and Civic Welfare” (Lyson, 2004, p. 64). Interestingly enough, their conclusions seem to have remained valid all these years, even for Hungary, especially if welfare is interpreted in a broad sense.

Such positive examples are the practical implementations of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA); in Europe and in Japan, experience dates back as far as the sixties. Japanese women joined forces in order to be able to buy fresh and healthy food products directly from the producers. They were in direct contact with nearby farmers. This system, known as “teiken” (or “food with the face of the producer”) resulted in contact that was beneficial for both parties and reduced the distance between agricultural production and food consumption to a minimum. The theory and the approach of CSA are based on cooperation, for it is a framework where – in contrast to traditional economic ideas – the buyer and the seller are not adversaries (Milánkovics & Matthew, 2002). CSA is an alternative to competition-oriented agriculture (Zsolnai & Podmaniczky, 2010). In North America, the foundations of the CSA movement were laid by the Swiss Jan Vander Tuin in the middle of the 1980s. Among the CSA pioneers were the farm of Robyn Van En (Indian Lane) in Massachusetts and the Temple-Wilton community farm of Trauger Groh in New Hampshire. They established harvest shares. A lady from New York reported with enthusiasm that for her and for her

starving twin-sibling, their CSA work meant an opportunity to become part of a community with a direct relationship with the Earth (Adam, 2006).

According to the definition of the United States Department of Agriculture, CSA is a community of people who are committed to supporting, both legally and spiritually, food production on the community farm. Share-holding members cover (in advance) the costs of the farm's operation, and they receive additional shares in return. Producers and consumers mutually support each other, and share both the risks (including any poor harvests caused by bad weather or pests) and the benefits (sense of satisfaction, feeling of safety through attachment to the land) of food production (DeMuth, 1993).

In a United States survey (Lass, Bevis, Stevenson, Hendrickson, & Ruhf, 2001), 94.1% of responding farmers reported one of their personal goals to be actively sharing their knowledge with others in order to nourish the CSA movement. In contrast to traditional agricultural entrepreneurs, CSA members tend to be characterized by higher qualifications and a younger age, on average. The mode of their ages was 44 years. They have at least 10 years of experience in farming on average, at least 5 of which they have devoted to CSA. Some 51 percent are younger than 45, and only 12.5 percent are above the age of 55. The share of this latter age group is 48.4 percent for traditional farmers. The majority of CSA farms (96%) pursue organic and biodynamic production practices. Typically, farmers only devote a portion of their land to CSA farming. From amongst the various agricultural operations, some 27% use 10% of their land for such purposes, while 36% use this system to cultivate 90% of their plots.

For the most part, the owners and their families also participate in the work. CSA members represent a significant workforce. It has been reported that members work as much as 3.000 hours annually. They employ additional forms of compensation, provide accommodation and offer learning opportunities. They organize dinners, visitors' trips, educational events for the community and local schools. They have many innovative events to foster closer ties between the farms and the communities. Some 56 percent of all farms offer cheap investments for low-income people. Some of their produce is given away each year, and they offer scholarships, as well. Barter markets and food-for-work opportunities are the most popular programs.

In light of the achievements in North America, establishing a direct link between the farmer and the consumer seemed to be the appropriate solution, and thus the CSA approach once again started to conquer Northern Europe. In Eng-

land, young adults left the cities in large numbers in order to revitalize the farms of New England, where they were greeted by the sight of a dying agriculture. Food and dairy products, vegetables, and fruits have practically disappeared from local markets (Adam, 2006). While revitalizing the agricultural areas, these youth have also integrated into the local rural communities.

In Hungary, Community Supported Agriculture is still in its early stages. It was the associates of Nyitott Kert Alapítvány ("Open Garden Foundation"), with support from the Institute of Environmental Management at Szent István University, who took the first steps in Hungary in 1998. By 2002, the group already consisted of 150 families. In their garden (measuring 1.5 ha), they primarily produce vegetables and some fruit for the members of the community, using a biodynamic farming system. Their produce is delivered to consumers in crates, on a weekly basis (Milánkovics & Matthew, 2002). Their goal is to establish a display garden (Babatvölgyi Biokertészet Tanüzem - roughly "Educational Biofarm of Babatvölgy" in English) and to develop a local organic food production and consumption system.

As the Association of Conscious Consumers (Tudatos Vásárlók Egyesülete) puts it, *Community Supported Agriculture "is an opportunity for farmers and consumers to form permanent groups, and operate, co-operate in collegial communities. Their interests do not act against, but rather strengthen each other. Farmers are interested in a stable living, consumers desire healthy food. And the preservation of the biological productivity, beauty and health of their environment is their common interest. This requires, of course, commitment from both sides, which results in consumers getting chemical free, fresh and tasty vegetables, and farmers having a fixed market for their produce. Another advantage of this system is the formation of small, but open communities that are ideal for building human and community relationships"* (Polyák, 2004).

In February 2012, the Research Institute for Organic Agriculture, Tudatos Vásárlók Egyesülete ("Association of Conscious Customers") and the Environmental Social Science Research Group (ESSRG) at Szent István University organized a one-day event in order to gather together all parties who operate a CSA (or a similar system) in Hungary today. The following groups and organizations were found to "nurse" such community initiatives: the owners of Háromkaptár BioKert ("Three Hives Organic Garden" – Tahitótfalu), Évkerék Ökotanya ("Wheel of the Year Eco-Ranch" – Kistelek), Biokert ("Organic garden" – Szigetmonostor) and Gódor Bio Kertészet ("Gódor Organic Nursery" – Galgahévíz), the participants of "Kecskeméti Kosárkör" ("Basket Club Kecs-

kemét") and the members of Magyar Ökotársulás Kulturális Nonprofit Kft. ("Hungarian Eco-Partnership Cultural Nonprofit LLC", hereinafter "Ökotársulás" – Herencsény); this last one is discussed in detail as part of the empirical research.

The event provided the time and place for the exchange of experiences, for thinking together in order to find ways to create a model in our local farming and consumer communities that can serve as an example and that may actually gain ground in Hungary with time.

These bottom-up, small-group initiatives in Hungary were, for the most part, set in motion without the majority of the members ever having heard anything about the proud history of community farming in the US or in Switzerland. Local Food Systems (LFS) achieve food self-sufficiency through direct links between local food producers and consumers. The program in Herencsény might also be considered an Alternative Agri-Food Network (AAFN), for it is an example of a new type of solidarity-driven relational dynamics between producers and consumers that represents an alternative to the impersonality of globalized supply chains (Balázs, 2011). Moreover, the birth of Ökotársulás may be regarded as a special form of community organization, knowing that the land is owned by the community and that production is managed by the members of the community, as well.

Ökotársulás, however, does not completely coincide with what you would expect theoretically – as its owners do not live in Herencsény. The idea of making a profit is, in contrast to CSA farms, absent (at least in the form of shares, that is). In return for their investment and support, members who live in the capital receive a weekly supply of biodynamically grown crops from the community; besides, their "virtual account" is also credited with additional benefits like the feeling of being part of a community or of being a part of boosting employment in the countryside. It would be interesting, of course, to create similar, but locally owned enterprises. Naturally enough, a couple of examples for that do exist in Hungary, yet as for now, it is more typical for initiators of Community Supported Enterprises not to come from the local communities.

II. The Empirical Research

Agricultural enterprises do not only provide a living (create economic value and create profits) for people, but they can also extend beyond the scope of the economy, and also create value in the nature and in our society. A beautiful, cultivated agrarian landscape that harmonically complements its natural environment and the enjoyment from one's work are values that need to realized and recognized whenever rural development is concerned. Development projects tend to ignore the community focus. Underdeveloped regions are prioritized in the majority of rural development initiatives. They use various indicators to define what exactly qualifies as an underdeveloped region. Those most frequently used are per capita income in the region, access to infrastructure, penetration of certain consumer durables, unemployment rate, life expectancy at birth and similar indicators. Those who examine the countryside using statistical data and generally accepted categories (underdeveloped regions) usually fall victim to the pitfall of focusing on the economic aspects of the problem alone, ignoring everything else.

If we accept that diversity is very important to both nature and society, then we can hardly accept that the natural-social units (characterized by differences both in terms of space and time) we refer to as the "countryside" be evaluated using general statistics and various standardized indicators. A region's unique characteristics, resulting from diversity (e.g. how far a rural settlement is from a city or from cultural centres, the (socio-) geographic situation etc.) need to be taken into account.

This is exactly why I decided to survey entrepreneurs from different regions. In my hometown, Jászfényszaru, people still maintain traditions of Jazygian ("jász" in Hungarian) origins, which is why their attachment to the village, to the area also represents an attachment to a sort of minority. This attachment does, most probably, have an influence on how good the inhabitants feel and why their ways of thinking differ from those of others, who, for example, live in an area where none of the ethnicities are present in large numbers (Budapest). I explored the similarities that connect and the differences that distinguish various entrepreneurs. Concerning their success, Hungarian settlements are extremely heterogeneous. An attachment to one of the ethnic groups (in villages of Jazygian or Palóc roots, for example), as mentioned earlier, might be among the reasons, for it might constitute a cohesive force of remarkable strength.

I analyzed what and why the agricultural entrepreneurs living in this settlement do, what system of values they hold and what special combinations of these factors they are characterized by. It is emotional intelligence, most probably, that should be more intensely developed in rural communities, as if we do not succeed in encouraging this, then even the countryside's ability to support our lives becomes questionable. A new sewage system and gas pipe line will all be in vain; youth will move away from the village because of the lack of the cohesion that will be present, even without a sewage system if they do not have an "I feel good in this community"-feeling.

Any research project is bound to be constrained by time and budget limits. These were rather tight in my case, thus I could not commission any third party interviewers. Even though it proved out to be useful that I administered the survey myself, it did obviously impose certain limitations on research methodology.

The resulting selection of sampling areas was intended to allow for the inter-regional differences in history, culture and economic development to be reflected in the results, along with the differences between the individuals themselves. My tight budget was a decisive factor in selecting the concrete sampling area: I had to choose area that were within a reasonable distance, and where I could hope for some sort of assistance. This method of selection does unquestionably influence the generalizability of the results – I believe, however, that the bias will not render my findings invalid. One of these areas was my hometown, Jászfényszaru, where people still maintain traditions of Jazygian ("jász" in Hungarian) origin, which is why their attachment to the village, to the area also represents an attachment to a sort of minority. This attachment does, most probably, have an influence on how well the inhabitants feel and why their ways of thinking differ from those of others, who, for example, live in an area where none of the ethnicities is present in large numbers. Jászfényszaru is, however, not a typical agricultural settlement. Industrial companies have located to the immediate vicinity, and part of the labour force is employed in nearby cities or in the capital, and thus Jászfényszaru has become an expressly open town.

The area to be surveyed first was Jászfényszaru. Owing to my pre-existing contacts, the individuals to be interviewed were relatively easy to select. Jászfényszaru is a relatively small settlement where people know each other and they can also tell you who is an agricultural entrepreneur. My mother works as a kindergarten teacher, so she could easily arrange the interviews for me through her contacts. All but a few agreed to participate in the survey.

The empirical survey consisted of two main stages. For each respondent, a short structured interview was administered first, followed by Q-Methodology. There were 20 respondents in the sample establishing their preferences using the Q-tables. Unstructured in-depth interviews (profile interviews) were also administered to a few subjects from each sample.

II. 1. Narrative Life Profiles, Narrative Autobiographies

One of my own internal motivations – and one of the purposes of my research, as well – was to support my hypothesis that the reason why many are turning away from city life nowadays, and moving to a village or looking for some sort of rural attachment is that their positive childhood memories of the countryside have resurfaced as a result of their dissatisfaction with their present busy lives. Furthermore, I also wanted to illustrate that the childhood experiences of getting in touch with nature, with "completeness" are significantly related to one's attachment to the countryside, to agriculture. For many, these experiences are the only memories they can recall: their grandparents, the life in the rural, plants, animals, flavours, scents etc.

> *"I'm of peasant origin from my mother's side. The most characteristic, dear memories of my childhood are all linked to the countryside. During the summer vacations, I spent a lot of time in nature, at my relatives' place in Heves county. The aroma of the fresh tomatoes, peppers and spring onions we had for breakfast was a decisive experience for me." (Sümi)*

In order to prove the above statement, I employed the methods of narrative life profiles (samples from Jászfényszaru). *"The narrative form is the one that 'explores the experiences, observations, desires, emotions etc. of someone, from a subjective point of view, the way they themselves see their own life, and the events that happened to them, and the way they want others to see them"* (Pászka, 2007, in Löffler, 2009, p. 145).

"An autobiography is when the author withdraws to submerge deep in their memories, and to write down whatever events and experiences they consider the most important. Mostly what they can recall from the perspective of the present" (Pászka, 2010).

The "extracts" from the life profiles of the agricultural entrepreneurs from Jászfényszaru were recorded by myself at the same time the survey was administered. I asked the question "What is it that comes first to your mind (childhood memory) when the countryside is mentioned? Has your life been influenced by an acquaintance, relative or family member who lives in a rural area?" I made sure respondents did not have time to think – it was really the memory they would recall first that I was interested in. And we might ask ourselves the very same question, as well. Do not forget: the very first thought! This is important to the evaluation, when trying to answer the question whether childhood experiences and charismatic relatives as role models have a role in one's attachment to agriculture.

The agricultural entrepreneurs of Jászfényszaru reminisced about the following:

Katóka:

> *"My parents and grandparents, as well, were doing farming along with their jobs, and it seemed like the most natural thing to me, too. I inherited my grandparents' house, where all the conditions required to go on with farming were in place. In our family, even small children worked together with the adults in roles that suited their ages. The everyday task of rotating the eggs in the chicken incubator, for example, was assigned to us. It had to be done in the evenings, and it really was an experience to see the first chicks hatching. During harvest time, we were assigned some minor tasks, and always got some treats from the market in return. Sweets, fruits (oranges, bananas)."*

Ördögné:

> *"Fear. I was the late-born, only child of my parents. I lived with them and my grandparents in a family house. I was afraid of the dark, and of the dog by the gate of the backyard, yet I still had to feed it every evening. Since we moved to the farm, I am afraid neither of the dark, nor of being alone any more. It was my husband who had the greatest influence. We've been together since I was 17. He is a more close-to-nature person than I am."*

N. Sándor:

> *"In Sándorfalva, where I was born, the water always flooded the meadows. Inland excess waters were high. We used a huge trough as a boat. It was early springtime. We tipped over, naturally. The water was very cold.*

In the wintertime, we used to skate there. I didn't have any relatives who could've influenced my relationship to agriculture, it was later that I developed this kind of attachment."

Izabell:

"We used to pick the potato beetles from the plants in the large garden. There was no spray. Climbing the fruit trees, cooking a "lecsó" together, eating raw artichokes."

S. Andi:

"My parents and grandparents. Picking cucumbers, digging potatoes, and when we used to go into the forcing house with my grandma, where they grew those small peppers. Going hunting with grandpa, chasing the rabbits. Cutting the "piksis". Turf blocks."

Gitta:

"Playing by Lake Boros. Skating there. Falling into the lake. All six siblings are licensed small-scale producers. My parents worked at the cooperative, and they also rented some land. They used to go to the Bosnyák market."

N. Gergő:

"Sitting in the combine harvester, since I was five. Grandpa kept animals and he also planted two rows of corn. I don't want to make a living out of agriculture, for the time being. You can only keep animals if you also cultivate a piece of land. Fodder would be too expensive to buy."

K. Ernő:

"Riding a horse and cart with my grandfather, here in the village. I must have been 2 or 3 years old. Force feeding the geese. There were animals. Living together."

K. Béla:

"I have no such memories. Greenhouse farming was introduced in 1966. My mother already had one by 1967. She also had 40 pigs. Meat was 26 forints a kilogram, but not like now, with all the unpredictable fluctuations. The price was 26 forints in the spring, and it was 26 forints in the fall, too. She always tried to observe others, to figure out what other sort of work she could do. For me, it was the same with beekeeping – I saw others do it. We didn't have any in the family. I was quite fond of honey, so I decided to "catch" a bee colony. That's how they started reproducing."

Rajmund:

> *"It is the nursery and the red pepper field of my grandfather what comes to my mind first. He used to push his small cart laden with the vegetables and carrots he grew on the Kozma-bank to the grocer's early in the morning each day. My grandfather was a stubborn, resolute man, always tense as a consequence of four years as a prisoner of war – yet his life has been exemplary to me."*

These life profiles told us that the parents or grandparents of our respondents were, without exception, somehow related to the countryside and they were all running agricultural enterprises. Values like diligent work, humility and fighting for yourself were all conveyed by their parents and grandparents. It is questionable, however, whether our respondents will be able to convey all this – love of work, importance of looking after the animals, maintaining traditions etc. – to their own children and grandchildren. Unfortunately, the number of those who at least have a chance to pass on the positive patterns in rural life has dropped dramatically. Yet all is not lost yet, the generation who keep a memory of their grandparents' industrious hands and love is still alive. It is maybe the account of Erzsi Sz. where the advantage of the countryside over the city is the most apparent. She has experienced both, she is credible. She felt her soul was dying in the city. She can compare the two, so she can value the countryside. Her nostalgia for rural life is built upon actual experience, unlike the feelings of those who have never lived in the countryside, but just long for it. The present National Rural Strategy, entitled the Darányi Ignác Plan, has formulated the objective of "food safety and food security", and the need for "sustainable food production that relies on Hungarian and local resources and that strives for quality and diversity" (NVS, 2012). According to the plan, financial security is an important aspect, as well. If rural families have animals and/or some produce in their own garden, those could be sold and thus used to bridge a period of financial distress. Gyula M. regards goat farming to be an opportunity, a source of income in addition to their pensions. Especially that the "bushy mountain meadows" are at hand. Animal husbandry requires a daily routine of care and attention. As a pensioner, he has enough "spare time" to afford to look after animals.

II. 2. Q-Methodology for Determining the Types of Agricultural Entrepreneurs

Most analyses struggle to overcome the problem of trying to characterize certain social categories, groups of people or their opinions in terms of statistical figures (relative frequencies for the most part). All questionnaire methods tend to work along socio-demographic categories, yielding statistics by age group, by profession, by gender or by education. Q-Methodology abandons that approach in order for the subject, the individual to become the object of analysis.

A more or less inherent deficiency of questionnaire methods is that usually, the questions already include the assumptions of the interviewer; that is, what the interviewer would like to prove. To such questions, respondents typically provide the answers they are expected to provide, and thus the majority of questionnaire surveys are plagued by the respondents' will to meet the interviewer's expectations or to appear in a more favourable light. The interviewer, being inevitably driven towards asking questions that tend to confirm their assumptions and hypotheses, and the majority of methods commit the mistake of trying to interpret differences of a mere few percent, whereas the relevant non-sampling error might easily be in the two-digit range. We are trying to interpret differences the extent of which is smaller than the bias caused by respondents' willingness to meet our expectations. Differences of the few-percent range can most probably not be considered significant.

Q-Methodology can eliminate some of the typical deficiencies of questionnaire surveys. The reason why this method is considered special is that respondents have no opportunity to express their willingness to comply with the interviewer's expectations, for it is an integral part of the system that however they distribute the scores (as far as they adhere to the rules), their answers will always follow a standard normal distribution. We do not know the number of respondents who agreed with our statements, nor the extent to which they did so; our sample sizes would have been too small for that, anyway. There will be no percentage statistics, either. We will "only" learn which statements our respondents were in agreement about, and which ones they were significantly divided about.

Q-Methodology is a sort of bridge between qualitative and quantitative analyses. It is based on the mathematical procedure of factor analysis, even though it represents an interpretive and constructivist approach. The qualitative nature of the method comes from the lack of sample size and representativity

requirements (unlike quantitative analyses) (Zsóka, 2005). The "soft side" of the method formulates statements, which are later processed by the "hard side" using mathematical statistical methods. Here, it is not the figures that one should focus on, but rather the statements on which people agreed or disagreed. That is, we are not interested in how many respondents there are in each group, but rather in why they belong to that specific group.

The aspect in which Q-Methodology differs most from the questionnaire methods examining the distribution of individual opinions in a given population is that instead of generating a percentage distribution, it aims at furthering our understanding of the structure, of the frame of reference of people's opinions on the matter (Duenckmann, 2010). It is not an overstatement to say that Q-Methodology is designed to analyze structures themselves rather than the individuals that make up those structures (Stainton, 1995). Q-Methodology is based on a model of subjectivity that is open to communication and is holistic in nature. The building blocks used by Q-Methodology to build up the factors are individual opinions that can be expressed in terms of respondents' opinions.

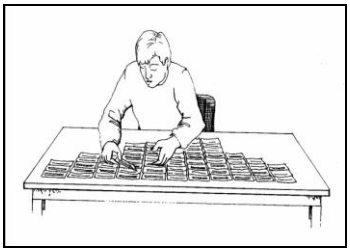
Many of us are inclined to treat statements like "farmers think that" or "well-to-do people think that" as stereotypes – even though these stereotypes do frequently have a real message, a real background. Various studies have confirmed, though not very clearly, that these stereotypes do actually have some deeper roots. Any type of human activity is governed by subjective assumptions or by ideas, mental pictures of something. And it is this very subjectivity that social sciences try to focus on in scientific research projects (Stainton, 1995). Which then, again means that Q-Methodology constitutes a new, fresh opportunity as far as studies of the countryside are concerned.

Q-Methodology was developed by a psychologist and physicist named Stephenson (Stephenson, 1953); its roots date back to the fifties, yet it has only become popular with social scientists during the last couple of decades. In 2003, Müller et al. found some 2800 publications related to the application of Q-Methodology (Müller & Kals, 2004).

II. 3. Q-Sort Technique

The researcher administering the survey presents the statements to respondents in the form of randomly numbered cards. Subjects then have to rank the cards on a predefined scale, relative to each other, according to the extent to which

they agree with each statement. Participants first have to sort each card into one of three groups, according to whether they agree with the statement, disagree with it or it is indifferent to them. Afterwards, they start ranking the statements according to the categories of the evaluation scale, relative to each other, carefully thinking over their decisions one-by-one (Figure 1). The evaluation scale used in the research described consisted of 9 categories (-4…+4), representing the extent to which the respondent agrees with each statement.



Source: (Stenner, 2008)

18. MÖK – JUDIT

4	3	2	1					
4	7				6			1
	5		0	6	2	7	2	9
		8	8	8	5	3		1
				3			5	
			2	6				
				0	4	0		
					1			

19. MÖK - ISTVÁN

4	3	2	1					
2		0	5	5	9	0	9	
9	8	9	2		3			0
	6	7	3	4	6	2	5	
			7		1	1		
			3		6	4		
				4	7	1		
					8			

Figure 1 The Q-Sorting process and the resulting tables;
two entrepreneurs filling in the tables

Based on the similarities and differences, the method allows for the classification of the individuals evaluating our statements into factors, and for the identification of the reasons why they got classified into the very factor they are in. The evaluation of the statements yields an individual ranking for each individual respondent; these are the so-called Q-Sorts. "The method processes respondents' preference rankings (that is: the Q-sorts) by comparing them pairwise, and determining the relevant correlations. This results in a so-called intercorrelation matrix, which can be used, by employing the principal component or the

centroid method, to extract the factors, that is, those typical Q-Sorts that represent the "common denominator" of the individual opinions" (Zsóka, 2005; Marjainé Szerényi et al., 2011). Each resulting factor contains respondents with very similar views.

II. 4. Some Facts about Jászfényszaru

The ancestors of the population living in the Jászság (a region in Hungary, approx.: "Jazygian area") belong to the separate ethnic group of the Jazygian people. Their forefathers did not arrive with the first Hungarians, but in several waves before and after the Tartarian invasion. Jazygian people are of Eastern origin, and they have preserved a wide range of traditions (Pethő, 1999). Geographically, Jászság is made up of 18 settlements between Jászladány and Jászfényszaru. Jászfényszaru started to flourish in 1745, the year when they ended their decades of being "sold", when they managed to pay the appropriate redemption for their privileges to Maria Theresa. Jazygian people have always been especially conscious of their privileges. During the redemption, several rich serfs of non-Jazygian origin paid to redeem plots of land around Jászfényszaru. After 1745, land was owned by the community, and it was distributed for use in proportion of the redemption paid by each family. The freedom of the peasantry induced spectacular economic growth in the Jászság (Farkas, 2007). In 1831, Jászfényszaru received the title of borough (a type of small rural city, "mezőváros" in Hungarian). Jászfényszaru is a small city of nearly six thousand inhabitants in the Jazygian micro-region, located in the north-western part of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county, in the northern part of the Great Plain region. The town is situated on the border of three regions, near the confluence of the Zagyva and Galga rivers.

According to the National Spatial Development Concept, Jászfényszaru is located in a semi-rural region with urbanized areas. Its residential area is 398 ha, while non-residential area amounts to 7235 ha. Its most important natural endowments are the fertile soil and (as yet untapped) thermal water sources.

The area is a moderately warm, dry flatland that was filled up by rivers. The dominant soil type is meadow soil; besides tillage (primarily cereals), forestry is significant, as well. The traditions of commercial vegetable production date back to the previous century, for the fast warming-up of the soil is ideal for intensive gardening activities. Commercial vegetable production (both in unheated greenhouses and on plough lands) is significant, too. Large-scale animal

breeding disappeared along with the termination of the sometime agricultural cooperative. Considering local small-scale producers (this is an official category of agricultural entrepreneur, "őstermelő" in Hungarian, which could approximately be interpreted as a "licensed traditional small-scale producer") the level of animal husbandry is just as low as the country average, and no significant improvement in the count of animals is expected, either (Dankó, 2011).

Owing to the transformation of the agricultural sector, and to depressed producer prices, the profitability of greenhouse cultivation has dropped significantly. "Anyone in the village could tell you stories from the Bosnyák market about how defenseless you can become as a producer bringing their produce to the market. It has happened several times, for example, that a car-load of sweet peppers came that long way in vain, because it could not be sold in the end" (Pethő, 1999, p. 128).

The number of vegetable producers has been stagnant since 2004 (VitalPro, 2010). Those working in agriculture cannot make a living solely out of "the land" anymore; agriculture can only serve as a source of additional income. Only 10 percent of all functioning enterprises belong to the agrarian sector. Industrial enterprises boast a share of 31 percent. Employment in the construction sector (as wage labourers) became dominant after the formation of the agricultural cooperatives. By now, the development of the city's industrial park has created a significant number of industrial jobs. Today, the city can already be considered a transformed agricultural town.

In 1989, the South Korean company Samsung acquired the Orion television factory located in Jászfényszaru. Today, it is the largest Samsung plant in Europe. The Integrated City Development Strategy of Jászfényszaru states that due to the favourable geographical location of Jászfényszaru, and to the role the industrial park and Samsung have in the region, "buses transporting commuting workers arrive each day from as far away as Tiszafüred, which is a 100 km ride" (VitalPro, 2010).

II. 5. Characterization of the Agricultural Entrepreneurs from Jászfényszaru

In Jászfényszaru, twenty individuals filled out the survey. Most of them pursue agricultural entrepreneurship as their main source of living, yet some of them only try to make some additional income in agriculture. The area of the land

they cultivate varies in a very broad range: from a few to around 300 hectares. Some of them pursue intensive or greenhouse farming techniques. Their greenhouse areas range from 150 to 7000 sqms. The majority of these entrepreneurs are professional agricultural engineers, some of them, however, are qualified nursemaids, kindergarten teachers or carpenters/scaffold builders. Some basic facts about the participating entrepreneurs are shown in Table 2.

According to the procedure detailed in the methodological chapter, the respondents filled in the data sheets. I am only going to include a few of the result tables in this paper. One of them is a Correlation Matrix Between Sorts (see Table 3), which shows the similarities between the opinions of our respondents. The matrix alone already indicates that the views of Katóka, Ernő N., Vencel, Jani Ö., Ördögné and Sándor N. are similar. Accordingly, we expect them to be classified into the same factor during the factor analysis. It is exactly these relatively high pairwise correlations that make it possible to "concentrate" the entire body of information about the twenty respondents ("variables") into a set of a mere 4-5 factors, which is far easier to handle.

Table 2 Some statistical facts about the entrepreneurs from Jászfényszaru

Nr.	*Name*	*Age*	*Education*	*Profession*	*Present job*	*Livestock*	*Farming area*	*Primary product*
1.	Katóka	41-50	College	Kindergarten teacher	Just given up greenhouse farming	2 swine, 4 donkeys, 2 sheep, 20 chickens	It was 4pcs of 40m x 12m greenhouses múlté	English cucumbers, sweet peppers
2.	Ördögné	51-60	College	Organic-farmer	Licensed small-scale producer	47 cattle, 3 horses, 9 sheep, 5 swine	57.6 ha	Beef
3.	P.Árpád	51-60	College	Pest control engineer	Agricultural entrepreneur	Swine, horses	300 ha	Pickled cabbage
4.	T.Imre	51-60	College	Horticultural engineer	Licensed small-scale producer	-	7000 m^2	Sweet pepper (white)
5.	János	41-50	Skilled worker	Carpenter/scaffold builder	Licensed small-scale producer	Horses, dogs	-	Processing and sale of pork
6.	P.Vencel	> 60	Skilled worker	Joiner, qualified farmer	In a family farm	-	130 ha	wheat, corn, sunflower
7.	N.Sándor	51-60	University	Agricultural mechanical eng., machine repair spec. eng.	Technical director	1000 cattle	650 ha owned 850 ha rented	milk, sunflower, wheat, corn, rape
8.	Izabell	41-50	Skilled worker	n/a	Nursemaid, greenhouse farming as an extra	Dog only	Sweet pepper in 150m2 greenhouse	Sweet pepper
9.	S.Andi	31-40	College	Kindergarten teacher	Kindergarten teacher, prod. chili peppers as an extra	Poultry, swine	Chili pepper in 10x20m greenhouse	Chili pepper

Nr.	*Name*	*Age*	*Education*	*Profession*	*Present job*	*Livestock*	*Farming area*	*Primary product*
10.	P.Gyula	31-40	Skilled worker	n/a	Licensed small-scale producer	-	5000 m^2, vegetab./fruit, flowers	Sw. pepper, chrysanthemum
11.	Gitta	51-60	Skilled worker	n/a	Licensed small-scale producer	-	2000m^2 greenh.	Sweet pepper, cucumber, sorrel, spinach
12.	N.Gergő	31-40	High school grad.	n/a	Finance manager, farmer	29 swine, 2cattle, 9 sheep, 3goats, 9 mallards	Fish farm, 6 quintals fish brought in, 4,5 ha terület 100fa vegyes gyü-mölcsös	Fish
13.	László	> 60	College	Agricultural engineer, swine breeding spec. engineer	Pensioner	swine (100 annually)	50 ha, forestry	Logging
14.	K.Ernő	18-30	University	Agricultural engineer - economist	Agricultural entrepreneur	15 sheep	325 ha	Ploughland farm-ing, corn, wheat
15.	É.Vencel	41-50	College	machinist, export salesperson	Licensed small-scale producer	3 horses, 2 cattle, 15 sheep, 8 swine, 3 geese	45 ha rented out, 5 ha manor	Nothing at present
16.	Ö.Jani	18-30	College	Agricultural engineer	Site manager	47 cattle, 3 horses, 9 sheep, 5 swine	57,6 ha	Beef

Nr.	*Name*	*Age*	*Education*	*Profession*	*Present job*	*Livestock*	*Farming area*	*Primary product*
17.	É.István	51-60	University	Agricultural mechanical engineer	Agricultural entrepreneur	60 sheep	300 ha	Ploughland produce, sweet pepper, tomato
18.	K.Béla	51-60	Skilled worker	Structural metal worker	Licensed small-scale producer	1 pig	1ha, 100 bee families	Honey, cabbage
19.	Rajmi	31-40	University	Lic. agricultural engineer	Agricultural entrepreneur	nincs	5ha + fólia	paprika
20.	N.Ernő	51-60	University	Lic. agricultural engineer	Manages family farm	15 sheep	300 ha	Wheat, corn

Table 3 Correlation matrix between sorts – Jászfényszaru

	Katóka	Ördögné	Árpád	Imre	János	Vencel	Sándor	Izabel	Andi	Gyula	Gitta	Gergő	László	Ernő	É. Vencel	Ö. Jani	István	Béla	Rajmund	N. Ernő
Katóka	100	40	38	54	49	**61**	36	22	41	7	14	52	25	**58**	38	**62**	39	51	53	**64**
Ördögné		100	48	40	25	47	**74**	22	39	19	19	51	44	54	35	41	42	41	49	43
Árpád			100	36	25	45	46	48	32	22	28	58	24	26	48	36	27	29	56	24
Imre				100	31	50	52	5	16	3	0	48	30	72	49	32	41	55	50	55
János					100	36	10	17	8	27	-4	34	-2	38	11	42	22	8	36	45
Vencel						100	59	34	50	4	28	56	18	65	28	58	48	48	48	51
Sándor							100	25	32	26	30	52	32	51	56	37	51	52	49	44
Izabel								100	32	31	40	33	15	13	28	28	2	38	35	21
Andi									100	-15	42	21	13	32	28	48	14	51	20	24
Gyula										100	1	26	0	-1	16	19	29	-9	41	25
Gitta											100	21	12	13	4	16	-26	24	21	25
Gergő												100	41	51	36	60	51	20	58	47
László													100	22	28	9	15	36	40	31
K. Ernő														100	32	57	55	44	49	**68**
É. Vencel															100	21	41	49	44	22
Jani																100	46	31	39	54
István																	100	20	40	37
Béla																		100	32	37
Rajmund																			100	**65**
N. Ernő																				100

The software (PQMethod) allows us to determine the number of factors to identify. In our case, the Unrotated Factor Matrix identified eight factors. The theoretical maximum is the number of respondents, which is now twenty. This is actually why the method is called "inverse" (or transposed) factor analysis; it does not use *variables* to create latent variables, but rather classifies respondents into factors – so-called opinion groups – based on the similarities and differences in their views. (That is, the matrix gets transposed – rows become columns and vice versa – as compared to "normal" factor analysis.)

Table 4 Eigenvalues and variance percentages of the unrotated factor matrix for the first 8 factors, Jászfényszaru

FACTOR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Eigenvalue	7.9242	1.9342	1.6015	1.5253	1.0659	0.9643	0.8073	0.6862
Variance %	40	10	8	8	5	5	4	3

The eigenvalue of the first factor is 7.9242, which means that the first factor explains the opinion of almost 8 out of the total of 20 agricultural entrepreneurs.

The data in the row below express variance in a percentage form. Thus in our case, the first factor explains 40 percent of the total variance of the twenty variables. The second factor explains 10 percent, the third and the fourth factors explain 8 percent each, and so on. As it is apparent from the above, if we do not even go any further than the first four factors, we have already explained 66 percent of the total variance.

After the rotation, the values where the factor loading exceeds 0.55 are denoted with an "X" in the printout of the Factor Matrix (see Table 5). The higher the factor loading, the more characteristic the individual's opinion concerning the factor in question. Of course, there are lower, yet still relatively high (above 0.4) factor loadings, as well. In these cases, the individual's assignment to any one of the factors is questionable, yet other information might help us do the identification. These relatively high factor loadings were denoted with an asterisk (*****). Thereby, we managed to cover all 20 respondents with these four factors, and thus, considering ease of use, it would not be worth to use any additional factors in our case. The explained variance figures below 5% tell us the same.

Table 5 Factor matrix of the agricultural entrepreneurs from Jászfényszaru, with the most characteristic factor loadings highlighted/denoted, X denoting the entrepreneurs belonging to each factor

QSORT		1	2	3	4
1	Katoka	**0.6274X**	0.3639	0.3176	0.2595
2	Ordogne	0.1977	0.2766	0.2553	**0.6265X**
3	P. Arpad	-0.1072	**0.4933***	0.3709	0.4758
4	T. Imre	0.5590	-0.0125	0.1898	**0.5936X**
5	Janos	0.4031	0.1864	**0.6227X**	-0.1479
6	P. Vencel	**0.5419***	0.4827	0.2426	0.3279
7	N. Sandor	0.1524	0.2630	0.2130	**0.7530X**
8	Izabell	-0.2130	**0.7181X**	0.1856	0.1775
9	S. Andi	0.3422	**0.6774X**	-0.2212	0.2036
10	P. Gyula	-0.3363	0.0320	**0.7626X**	0.0959
11	Gitta	-0.1166	**0.7926X**	-0.1252	0.0530
12	N. Gergo	0.2021	0.3158	**0.5583***	0.4359
13	Laszlo	-0.0179	0.0851	-0.0033	**0.6367X**
14	K. Erno	**0.7298X**	0.1650	0.2627	0.3924
15	E. Vencel	0.0336	0.1058	0.1256	**0.7383X**
16	O. Jani	**0.5318***	0.4482	0.4374	0.0774
17	E. Istvan	0.3777	-0.1803	**0.4916***	0.4660
18	K. Bela	0.3727	0.3929	-0.2306	**0.5917X**
19	Rajmund	0.1203	0.3017	**0.5813***	0.4877
20	N. Erno	**0.5283***	0.2858	0.4553	0.2503
% expl.Var.		15	15	15	20

Table 5 above shows that it is “K. Ernő” who has the highest factor loading (0.7298) in Factor 1, which means that the first factor contains almost every piece of information associated with him. “Katóka” (0.6274), “P. Vencel” (0.5419), “O. Jani” (0.5318) and “N. Ernő” (0.5283) also belong to the first factor, it is, however, interesting that “P. Vencel” and “O. Jani” have relatively high factor loadings (0.4827 and 0.4482) for Factor 2, as well. Their values do not only overlap with those of the respondents in Factor 1, but also with those of the entrepreneurs found to belong to Factor 2. Thus the similarities we ex-

pected in respondents' opinions based on the correlation matrix are visibly reflected in the factors we identified.

The correlation matrix of factor values (see Table 6) evinces that the correlation between Factor 1 and Factor 4 is relatively high, and the relationship between Factors 1 and 2 is not negligible, either. The opinion of those in the third factor can be relatively sharply distinguished from all the others. While identifying the factors (defining their content and meaning), we found out that Factor 3 comprises those respondents who share true entrepreneurial values. Gyula, the entrepreneur growing sweet pepper and chrysanthemum in 5000 sqms of greenhouses, Rajmund, the agricultural engineer who cultivates five hectares of land, and János, the young agricultural entrepreneur who has specialized in beef cattle. Out of all respondents, we might probably say, they are the professionals who know all the ins and outs about entrepreneurship; their system of values is primarily characterized by rational elements.

Table 6 Correlation matrix of factor values, Jászfényszaru

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Factor 1	1.0000	0.2902	0.2289	**0.6401**
Factor 2		1.0000	0.0616	0.3695
Factor 3			1.0000	0.2002
Factor 4				1.0000

In order to identify the individual factors, that is, to make apparent the "common" values shared by the respondents in any one factor, the rank statement totals with each factor (shown in Table 6) should be analyzed in detail. We are to look at the first four factors (the details can be seen in Table 7).

The statements with the highest rankings and eigenvalues in Factor 1 are:

- 4. I am ready and willing to cooperate with those pursuing similar activities, we help each other out.(2)
- 6. It is important to me to know the developments concerning my profession, to participate in professional courses. (2)
- 35. Hungary should strive for food self-sufficiency. (3)
- 16. Those employed in agriculture are characterized by systematic thinking. (4)

These are, accordingly, the statements that the "members" of Factor 1 agree with most (Katóka originally a kindergarten teacher, later a greenhouse producer, yet today only has some animals as a source of additional income; Imre,

a horticultural engineer in his fifties, grows produce in greenhouses as a licensed small-scale produces; Vencel, doing a family farm on some 130 hectares; K. Ernő and N. Ernő, father and son, both agricultural engineers, each cultivating a farm of 300 hectares).

Table 7 Rank statement totals with each of the four factors, Jászfényszaru

Statements	Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3		Factor 4	
	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank
1. The reason why success is important to me is the financial wellbeing of my family.	0.21	20	1.46	2	-0.74	30	0.64	12
2. If I could start over again, I would lead a different life.	-1.17	**36**	1.32	3	-0.21	26	-1.11	32
3. I would feel regret if country life changed, and most of us had to work for large corporations.	1.16	7	1.22	5	0.42	14	0.72	11
4. I am ready and willing to cooperate with those pursuing similar activities, we help each other out.	1.70	2	0.69	15	0.79	8	1.07	8
5. It is my work that makes up my life and I like to talk about it to the family, to friends.	1.17	5	-0.38	24	0.58	12	0.62	13
6. It is important to me to know the developments concerning my profession, to participate in professional courses.	1.70	2	-0.50	25	0.79	8	0.95	9
7. Alienation and social polarization are inherent to profit-centered societies.	0.32	19	0.19	17	0.00	20	0.28	16
8. I feel my everyday work is not in line with my true interests and values.	-1.49	**38**	-0.58	27	-0.21	26	-0.41	26
9. The money we spend in our home region contributes to the economic development of the area.	1.16	7	-0.75	30	0.21	17	0.45	14
10. It is not my job that is important but that I earn an income to suit my family's needs.	-1.17	**36**	0.82	13	-0.58	29	-0.46	27

Statements	Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3		Factor 4	
	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank
11. In today's society, many are only concerned with themselves while completely ignorant to others' well-being.	0.43	15	1.25	4	1.12	5	1.09	6
12. Home gardening and raising animals for the family are inherent to country life.	-0.53	24	0.05	19	-0.04	21	1.14	5
13. Usually, it is only those who have no hope for improvement who stay in the countryside.	-1.91	**39**	-1.17	34	-0.79	32	-1.46	**35**
14. I do not have much trust in contracts, the given word is more valuable.	-0.64	26	-1.59	**37**	0.54	13	-0.04	22
15. Nowadays, a significant part of rural inhabitants have a lifestyle very similar to that of city people.	0.32	19	-0.17	20	-1.37	36	0.36	15
16. Those employed in agriculture are characterized by systematic thinking.	1.38	4	-0.67	29	0.79	8	0.15	19
17. If you want to be an achiever, you are bound to break some rules.	-1.06	**33**	1.01	9	2.32	1	-1.52	37
18. Being excellent in one single field is enough to become successful..	-1.16	34	-1.52	**36**	-1.49	37	-0.18	23
19. There are certain jobs where it is natural that you can never have the good feeling of having done your part of the work.	-0.21	21	0.74	14	-0.42	27	1.07	7
20. The rural lifestyle remains attractive and acceptable to me even if I have to give up a number of things that have become self-evident for city people.	0.95	8	0.48	16	1.95	2	1.87	1
21. The emotional attachment to the rural way of lifeis more intensive for people who pursue some kind of agricultural activity, even if it is home gardening only, than for those who do not.	0.63	13	0.95	10	0.58	12	1.34	3

Statements	Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3		Factor 4	
	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank
22. Vegetarianism is the future. We cannot afford to slaughter animals for our own benefit.	-1.06	33	-0.95	33	-2.32	39	-1.30	34
23. Because of the negative views on the countryside, external investors tend to avoid rural areas.	-0.74	28	-0.85	32	1.16	34	-0.81	30
24. It is enough to involve in the management of local matters only those who are respected by the inhabitants of the settlement.	-0.64	26	-1.99	39	0.04	19	-1.47	36
25. Everything being cheaper in the supermarket, there is no sense in home gardening or raising animals.	-0.74	28	-0.80	31	0.25	16	-1.78	39
26. It is the villages in the vicinity of which large industrial corporations are located that can develop appropriately.	0.42	17	0.88	11	-0.21	26	0.03	20
27. An enterprise can be successful even if they do not plan in advance to whom they will sell their product or service.	-0.96	31	-0.63	28	1.12	5	-1.21	33
28. Those who like to work and are employed in agriculture tend to be balanced.	-0.32	22	-0.19	21	0.74	10	0.00	21
29. The local community is far too divided, each group would prefer some other direction.	0.64	12	0.13	18	-0.12	23	0.18	17
30. Anyone might get rich by their own efforts in Hungary.	-0.84	29	-1.72	**38**	0.12	18	-0.53	28
31. Industrial employers located in the vicinity have an unfavourable effect on the nature of the village.	-0.95	30	-0.23	22	-0.09	22	-0.60	29
32. It is typical for the newcomers in our settlement not to accept our system of values.	0.42	17	-0.27	23	-1.32	35	-0.60	29

Statements	Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3		Factor 4	
	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank	Eigen-value	Rank
33. Was it left to me, I would rather choose a job which is stable and where I can feel safe.	0.85	11	1.03	8	-0.91	33	0.17	18
34. Small enterprises have no future as opposed to large corporations.	0.85	11	1.14	6	-0.79	32	-1.59	**38**
35. Hungary should strive for food self-sufficiency.	1.59	3	1.53	1	-0.54	28	1.85	2
36. I think one's business cannot develop without taking a loan.	0.85	11	-1.35	**35**	0.25	16	-0.33	25
37. To me, entrepreneurship clearly means a family-run business, I am not fond of cooperating with strangers.	-0.42	23	1.10	7	-1.74	**38**	0.90	10
38. The organic food issue is overrated, for most of the food we eat does contain chemicals, anyways.	-1.27	**37**	0.83	12	0.74	10	-1.00	31
39. Before starting up an enterprise, we prepare a business plan and consider whether investment returns are acceptable.	0.53	14	-0.53	26	1.70	3	1.18	4

"17. If you want to be an achiever, you are bound to break some rules." Respondents in the four different factors were rather divided on statement nr. 17 (shown in Table 7). The first factor agrees with it, yet not as much as the other factors. For Factor 3, this is the statement they agree with most, while for Factor 4, this is the one they *dis*agree with most. This variance in entrepreneurs' opinions was, however, not too much of a surprise. Actually, this more or less concurs with what we expected, it is in line with our presumptions. This again confirms the strength of Q-Methodology. The similarities and differences in respondents' opinions that were detected during the structured interviews turned so-to-speak "measurable" based on the preferences respondents expressed in relation to the statements.

The statement "11. In today's society, many are only concerned with themselves while completely ignorant to others' well-being" does not really show any significant differences between the entrepreneurs. This is not the primary problem for those in the first factor, yet the score achieved by the statement

(that is, the extent to which they agreed with it) in all three remaining factors was almost identical.

One would be tempted to assume that people were uniform in their agreement with the statement "35. Hungary should strive for food self-sufficiency." This is, interestingly enough, not the case. The third factor does not agree with the statement at all, while all three remaining factors agree with it for the most part.

Concerning the statement "37. To me, entrepreneurship clearly means a family-run business, I am not fond of cooperating with strangers.", Factors 2 and 4 mostly agree with it, those in Factor 1 do agree with it, yet it is not a very important aspect to them, while for those in Factor 3, this is the statement they agree least with.

"34. Small enterprises have no future as opposed to large corporations." Factors 3 and 4 disagree, Factors 1 and 2 agree with this statement.

"3. I would feel regret if country life changed, and most of us had to work for large corporations." An interesting finding was that, for some reason, the first (7.) and the second (5.) factors agreed with the preceding statement, while those in the third (14.) and fourth (11.) factors were rather indifferent about is. Apparently, those who were born in the countryside and have not "seen the world yet" would not mind it if life in the villages changed. Those who came to the villages from the "outside" want the exact opposite. Responses to this statement clearly reflect the problems that have been characteristic for ecological experiments in general. Those living their everyday lives in the village would like to see some changes, because they do exactly know the numerous drawbacks of rural life. They would like to stay, to live on in the countryside, because that is where they feel good, yet they would also like their lives to change, to become easier. They do not accept that the invariability of village life be an objective on its own.

Table 8 Distance between Factors 1 and 2 by statements, Jászfényszaru

STATEMENTS	Factor 1	Factor 2	Distance between factors
6. It is important to me to know the developments concerning my profession, to participate in professional courses.	1.696	-0.499	2.196
36. I think one's business cannot develop without taking a loan.	0.848	-1.347	2.195
16. Those employed in agriculture are characterized by systematic thinking.	1.378	-0.667	2.045
2. If I could start over again, I would lead a different life.	-1.167	1.324	-2.491
38. The organic food issue is overrated, for most of the food we eat does contain chemicals, anyways.	-1.270	0.830	-2.100
17. If you want to be an achiever, you are bound to break some rules.	-1.059	1.010	-2.069

The two groups (factors) can be sharply distinguished, as there are differences in their views on some decisive issues, like the importance of being up-to-date about advancements in their profession or whether credits are a nothing-out-of-the-ordinary resource. Those in Factor 2 have doubts concerning whether those employed in agriculture actually think systematically. Their utterances implied a sort of scepticism and "apathy".

Respondents in the first factor made it crystal clear that their work is their life and vice versa, the second factor, however, expressed their dissatisfaction in this respect, as well. This was also confirmed by their responses to statement nr. 2: if they could start all over again, the second factor would typically lead a different life, while the first factor would not.

Table 9 Distance between Factors 1 and 3 by statements, Jászfényszaru

STATEMENTS	Factor 1	Factor 3	Distance between factors
35. Hungary should strive for food self-sufficiency.	1.589	-0.537	2.126
33. Was it left to me, I would rather choose a job which is stable and where I can feel safe.	0.848	-0.909	1.757
32. It is typical for the newcomers in our settlement not to accept our system of values.	0.422	-1.324	1.746
17. If you want to be an achiever, you are bound to break some rules.	-1.059	2.320	-3.379
27. An enterprise can be successful even if they do not plan in advance to whom they will sell their product or service.	-0.956	1.117	-2.072
38. The organic food issue is overrated, for most of the food we eat does contain chemicals, anyways.	-1.270	0.744	-2.015

The entrepreneurs in the third factor are, as we know by the now, the "true" entrepreneurs, who even deny that the country should strive for self-sufficiency, do not fear anything new, they are willing to take risks, and they believe in the viability of small enterprises. They are expressly fond of cooperation and new relationships. They are the ones, too, who accept that certain rules need to be broken. This is self-explanatory to them. These open-to-the-world agricultural entrepreneurs differ from traditional countryside values, they are willing to accept anything new – they are truly open.

Table 10 Distance between Factors 1 and 4 by statements, Jászfényszaru

STATEMENTS	Factor 1	Factor 4	Distance between factors
34. Small enterprises have no future as opposed to large corporations.	0.848	-1.591	2.439
16. Those employed in agriculture are characterized by systematic thinking.	1.378	0.151	1.227
36. I think one's business cannot develop without taking a loan.	0.848	-0.326	1.174
12. Home gardening and raising animals for the family are inherent to country life.	-0.530	1.136	-1.665
37. To me, entrepreneurship clearly means a family-run business, I am not fond of cooperating with strangers.	-0.422	0.898	-1.320
19.There are certain jobs where it is natural that you can never have the good feeling of having done your part of the work.	-0.211	1.075	-1.286

The fourth factor indicates an unconditional attachment to the rural way of life, an obvious acceptance towards traditional countryside values, and the avoidance of any sort of extremist views. It reflects a certain inwardness, that they do not really like to cooperate with others.

They have a less distinct and clear-cut opinion than those in Factor 1, yet their system of values is not significantly different.

Table 11 Distance between Factors 2 and 3 by statements, Jászfényszaru

STATEMENTS	Factor 2	Factor 3	Distance between factors
37. To me, entrepreneurship clearly means a family-run business, I am not fond of cooperating with strangers.	1.097	-1.740	2.837
1. The reason why success is important to me is the financial wellbeing of my family.	1.457	-0.744	2.202
35. Hungary should strive for food self-sufficiency.	1.533	-0.537	2.069
39. Before starting up an enterprise, we prepare a business plan and consider whether investment returns are acceptable.	-0.528	1.697	-2.225
14. I do not have much trust in contracts, the given word is more valuable.	-1.591	0.537	-2.127
24. It is enough to involve in the management of local matters only those who are respected by the inhabitants of the settlement.	-1.985	0.043	-2.029

It is willingness to cooperate where their views are the furthest apart. Factor 2 includes individuals who would rather work with their family, they tend to avoid conflicts, and they value financial security.

With regard to the 'contract vs. given word' issue, Factor 2 is more pessimistic, rather distrustful – contracts are more important to them. It is absolutely clear that “true” entrepreneurs (Factor 3) are definitely more optimistic about one's chances in the countryside than any other factor is.

Table 1 Distance between Factors 2 and 4 by statements, Jászfényszaru

STATEMENTS	Factor 2	Factor 4	Distance between factors
34. Small enterprises have no future as opposed to large corporations.	1.144	-1.591	2.734
17. If you want to be an achiever, you are bound to break some rules.	1.010	-1.523	2.533
2. If I could start over again, I would lead a different life.	1.324	-1.114	2.438
39. Before starting up an enterprise, we prepare a business plan and consider whether investment returns are acceptable.	-0.528	1.182	-1.711
14. I do not have much trust in contracts, the given word is more valuable.	-1.591	-0.037	-1.554
6. It is important to me to know the developments concerning my profession, to participate in professional courses.	-0.499	0.946	-1.445

Respondents in both factors (2 and 4) are basically used to the rural way of life, but while those in Factor 2 are pessimistic, Factor 4 is more optimistic and open. All of them have the roots of their values in the traditional countryside way of life, but those in Factor 2 see no opportunity to break out of their present lives – while the entrepreneurs in Factor 4 do. This latter group considers the advancements in their profession important, they are willing to draw up a business plan before starting a new venture, and they typically think that small-scale farming does indeed have a future.

Table 13 Distance between Factors 3 and 4 by statement, Jászfényszaru

STATEMENTS	Factor 3	Factor 4	Distance between factors
17. If you want to be an achiever, you are bound to break some rules.	2.320	-1.523	3.843
27. An enterprise can be successful even if they do not plan in advance to whom they will sell their product or service.	1.117	-1.213	2.330
25. Everything being cheaper in the supermarket, there is no sense in home gardening or raising animals.	0.251	-1.780	2.031
37. To me, entrepreneurship clearly means a family-run business, I am not fond of cooperating with strangers.	-1.740	0.898	-2.638
35. Hungary should strive for food self-sufficiency.	-0.537	1.850	-2.386
15. Nowadays, a significant part of rural inhabitants have a lifestyle very similar to that of city people.	-1.368	0.358	-1.726

They can be most sharply distinguished by their response to statement nr. 17. The agricultural entrepreneurs in Factor 3 are convinced, most probably as a result of their very own experience, that whoever wants to be an achiever will be forced to break certain rules. Those in Factor 4, on the contrary, either do not believe that they would be forced to break any rules or it is not acceptable to them to do so in any case. This is the item where the two factors are the furthest apart, yet the distance is significant for all statements. Factor 4, based on their healthily-conservative values, strongly believes that home gardening is worth the effort, and they are convinced that Hungary should strive for food self-sufficiency.

II. 6. Identifying the Types of Entrepreneurs in Jászfényszaru

Based on the in-depth interviews, the Q-Sorts, the ranking of the statements, the narrative life profiles, the responses to our questions about the success of enterprises, and the evaluation of statistical elements, the following four types of entrepreneurs could be outlined:

Those following a conscious choice of values (Factor 1)

A group of people satisfied with their position, open to cooperation and economic changes. Positively committed people, who have consciously committed themselves to a rural life, for whom the rural way of life, the traditional rural system of values is self-explanatory.

K. Ernő and Katóka, both identified as Factor 1 individuals, responded to our question whether they think their enterprise is successful as follows:

- "It's developing. Cost effective production meets higher profits." K. Ernő
- "My success was limited by sales difficulties, and by our extreme vulnerability to weather." Katóka

Those eager to change (Factor 2)

According to their ranking of the statements, it is not the countryside what they are talking about but rather their own desire for a change. They do not feel safe. They would rather strive for stability. Characterized by dissatisfaction, a certain kind of general mistrust.

Izabell, S. Andi and Gitta, all three identified as Factor 2 individuals, responded to our question whether they think their enterprise is successful as follows:

- "It's not, because the profit is low." Izabell
- "It's only successful to the extent that people like it, and that what we do is a bit special." S. Andi
- "The enterprise is not successful, not this year. Producer prices suffer because of the economic crisis." Gitta

Experienced entrepreneurs (Factor 3)

Experienced, conscious, rational entrepreneurs. Their views are determined by life experience instead of principles. A group of people committed to the entrepreneurial way of life, open to change and to cooperation.

Rajmund, N. Gergő and É. István, all three identified as Factor 3 individuals, responded to our question whether they think their enterprise is successful as follows:

- "Depends on the year. Last year it was successful. This year it's not. This work necessitates precision and due attention." Rajmund
- "Yes, I do something I like." N.Gergő
- "Everything is sold, fortunately. And it has also been paid for.." É.István

Followers of tradition (Factor 4)

Traditional agricultural entrepreneurs. The traditional system of values is what determines their lives. A group of people satisfied with their position, unwaveringly positive about the rural way of life. Their work is their life, and they do not want to live a different life. They believe in rural life, failures do not discourage them leading this way of life.

N. Sándor, N. Gergő and É. István, all three identified as Factor 3 individuals, responded to our question whether they think their enterprise is successful as follows:

- "Out of the 11 groups of assets, this was the only one to survive after the privatization, but we aren't successful in terms of profitability." N. Sándor
- "I wouldn't say we are successful. But maybe moderately. We're still afloat." K. Béla
- "It's successful, because I always have some work to do, and I can see the result of my work." Ördögné

III. Summary and Conclusions

My analyses revealed that there are several types of successful business leaders and entrepreneurs in the countryside who have come to identify the values common to the area and the communities they work in, and who have also realized how these values might be incorporated in a business venture. Those who can make a living in the countryside as entrepreneurs do not constitute a homogeneous group – they may differ both in terms of entrepreneurial skills and human qualities. Their attachment to the rural way of life, their roots are, however, undoubtedly common.

Jászfényszaru being a far more open settlement, even industrialized in some sense, where entrepreneurs occasionally attempted to build a career in other types of jobs, as well. What is more, even the influence of the urban agglomeration around Budapest could be detected here. When selecting the sampling regions, I was hoping that Jazygian traditions would have an influence on people's system of values. The existence of such an effect could not be unambiguously confirmed, even though the traditional Jazygian values of independence and autonomy were undoubtedly reflected in people's evaluations of the statements. An indication of this is that it was Jászfényszaru where entrepreneurs were most sharply distinguished from the other groups identified in the region.

There is no development in the countryside without local initiatives. Rural areas cannot be truly successful without local leaders who are accepted by their communities – any external support, financial investment, infrastructure development, knowledge transfer etc. would be in vain. The five value choice types identified by the research need clarification. It is without doubt, nevertheless, that there is a serious need for personality development programs that would tap into latent skills and abilities, and help countryside entrepreneurs (hampered by their isolation-caused low efficiency levels) overcome the psychological barriers that keep them from becoming the natural leaders of their communities. Getting to know rural people better is only one – and maybe the first – milestone in this process.

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