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Rural Development and Migration

Effects of Rural Development Projects on Internal Migration and Migration Aspirations of Rural Dwellers in Hungary

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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2. INTRODUCTION

Hindering rural depopulation has long been a determined mission of territorial development policies, often explicitly motivated by the obviation of social conflicts that rural-urban migration might supposedly induce. Among Central-Eastern European countries, and particularly in Hungary this intent is peculiar, which can be explained by a relatively high share of non-urban dwellers and the high socio-economic gap between urban and rural population. Rooted in the belatedness of industrialisation and an intermitted, unfulfilled process of urbanisation, the relative difference between rural and urban population of Hungary, with regard to their chances of being poor is one of the highest in the EU. While Northern and Southern European countries show a well-balanced picture on rural-urban differences considering dwellers' level of exposure to poverty and social exclusion, this gap is remarkably high among Central-Eastern European member states. It has to be noted, that among several Western member states, those living in rural areas are generally even less likely to be poor than the urban population. Consequently, Central-Eastern European ruralities are afflicted by social issues greatly beyond problems of agriculture, food security or sustainability.

In general, European rural development policies do not specifically aim to address rural depopulation. Nevertheless, Hungarian development documents show a different picture. Hungary, as the EU member with one of the highest social gap between rural-urban population as well as one of the highest ratio of non-urban dwellers, has in its rural development policies the central objective of reinforcing 'population retaining capacities' of the countryside, which these documents aim to achieve through rural development initiatives. However, the scientific literature is sceptical about development of migrant-sending areas resulting in lower ratios of outwards mobility (de Haas 2007, Gamso and Yuldashev 2018, Rhoda 1983). Provided this argument, the case of Hungary ensures an exceptional opportunity to evaluate the social effects of rural development actions, in particular their effects on emigration. This thesis aims to comprehensively demonstrate how different forms of development programmes contribute to outwards mobility, and more generally, how changes in the local socio-economic settings, facilitated partially by these programmes are embedded in general migration strategies. The current dissertation tries to provide a convincing answer to the following question:

In what extent and how were rural development programmes able to influence outward mobility patterns and aspirations within the rural areas of Hungary?

By addressing this question, the thesis aims to contribute to both migration researches and development policy analyses. It will also add to the continuum of researches within the field of (Central-Eastern European, and in particular, Hungarian) rural sociology by both embedding development-migration analyses into an intra-national context and a particular focus on rural development policies.

Defining the rural has in previous decades induced debates within sociology and related disciplines, between those trying to approach the question with the employment of geographic-economic or demographic measures and those understanding rurality as a socio-cultural construct. The debates are influenced by the fact that as agrarian production became extremely automatized, providing the former sorts of definitions gradually became more challenging, the urban-rural division less maintainable and the rural countryside differentiated (Kovách 2012, Lowe et al. 1993, Marsden 1998, Murdoch et al. 2003, Murdoch and Pratt 1993). Emerging field of researches both internationally and in Hungary have been dealing with for instance the cultural meanings of rural (Csurgó and Megyesi 2016, Halfacree 2002, Halfacree and Boyle 1993), counter-urbanisation (Csanádi and Csizmady 2002, Csurgó 2013, Herslund 2012, Šimon 2014, Spencer 1997, Weekley 1988), regionalisation (Bertrand 1952, Holden 1990, Quadrado, Heijman, and Folmer 2001, Böcher 2008), local identities (Findlay and Li 1997, Halfacree 2012, Jones 2001, Váradi 2013) and the post-industrialisation of the countryside (Boje and Furaker 2003, Mincyte 2011, Murdoch and Pratt 1993, Philo 1993), moreover, sustainability issues as food security and rural entrepreneurship (Bosworth and Farrell 2011, Herslund 2012, Mitchell 1998). Nevertheless, researches on poverty in peripherical rural contexts remained an often addressed issue, especially in Central-Eastern Europe (Kovács 2013a, Kovács 2008, Váradi 2015, Virág 2010). Rural-urban migration is a similarly often analysed problem, but almost entirely among (rapidly) developing countries, such as China or India (Bramall 2008, Shen and Liu 2016), where the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation cause radical demographic changes. In contrast, researches on this topic is a scarce among developed countries, where these decisive movements have seemingly ended.

This dissertation aims to reissue the social problem of rural-urban mobility without trying to provide a comprehensive definition of the term ‘rural’. Instead, the thesis will engage in analysing outwards mobility on the settlement-level, among those villages of Hungary, which are not located in agglomeration or suburban zones of cities.

Development-migration interaction is a question which may rise in intra-national as well as international contexts. The political argument that by subsidizing at the place 'where it is needed' (Caselli 2019) would reduce outwards mobility, is challenged by Rhoda (1983) in an intra-national, rural-urban context. Nevertheless, parallels exist with international subsidizing and migration. Building on ideas of Sen (2001) about the nature of development and that of Carling (2002) on migration, de Haas (2007, 2010) claims that migration is an intrinsic part of development, and therefore, migration, viewed as the 'capability for one to choose where to live' is inseparably embedded in development, which is viewed as an action for boosting these capabilities ('freedoms'). Since 'choices' are personal-subjective, whereas freedoms are external objective factors, both influencing migration, the author provides a theoretic framework of aspirations and capabilities for migration researches, thus connecting the two topics of development and (im)mobility (de Haas 2014). The current thesis employs this framework to improve our understanding with reliable empirical data on how migration aspirations are embedded in the context of socio-economic changes.

Comprehensiveness is a crucial aspect of this research. Given that development methods, aims and targets are wide in nature and may combine several aspects of the socio-economic continuum, their examination would require multiple approaches. Therefore, both statistical and qualitative tools will be employed during the research. On the theoretical grounds provided of Rhoda (1983), linear regression-based path models will be developed to assess the general contribution of EU-funded rural development subsidies spent during the 2007-2013 budget period to specific labour-market tendencies and outwards mobility. Furthermore, qualitative data gathered from a series of fieldwork will help to contextualise these findings and to receive extended insights on the ways migration is embedded in the socio-economic change-context. To ensure comprehensiveness, this latter part of research will not focus on specific 'best practices' of individual rural development projects, but instead, it aims to generally understand personal (im)mobilities in relation to respondents' understanding of their socio-economic environment.

As a conclusion, this thesis will argue that rural development programmes generally fail to contribute to a decrease in outwards mobility, partially due to their general ineffectiveness to induce socio-economic changes, and in particular, because personal migration aspiration patterns are not organised by factors that these programmes do contribute to. Instead, in several aspects, unsatisfactory socio-economic outcomes are

being reached. However, as the thesis will argue, under specific circumstances, rural development subsidies were able to induce changes, especially in less developed regions, and concerning their ability to promote entrepreneurship. Nevertheless, the durability of these actions is questionable. Furthermore, the thesis will claim that those are not only people without opportunities to move, who stay. Instead, there are indeed immobile people living in rural areas, whose choice to stay can be understood as their free will rather than necessity. The research will suggest that voluntary immobility is facilitated by positive changes in local career opportunities, a sense of freedom that the countryside provides and strong personal connections.

Though these other factors might be useful to increase welfare, understanding that people strive to enhance their freedoms instead of 'unfreedoms' is a key to understand mobility in general, as well as reasons why development policies fail. Thus, this dissertation will hopefully contribute to a re-evaluation of our common development goals and systems, and in general, the way we think about the elimination of the different forms of 'unfreedoms' within our societies.

The thesis is structured as follows: the next section will provide a general theoretical approach for analysing development-migration interactions, by shedding light on how questions of (intranational) migration appear in rural sociology, by analysing the rural development context and the ways development programmes' effects are analysed. Finally, the theoretical section will present in details individual theories as well as researches trying to grasp the interaction between development and migration. The following chapter will introduce the case of rural Hungary and will argue about the adequacy of this case in addressing the question in focus. Chapter 5 then will present final research ideas, questions and take methodological steps to address them. The analyses will consist of two empirical parts (statistical data analysis and results from an extensive series of qualitative fieldwork), presented in Chapter 6 and 7, respectively, for which field background statistics will be available in the Appendix. The joint assessment of results originating from the two empirical parts will take place in the concluding Chapter 8.

3. STATE OF THE ART

As the theoretical background chapter, this section of the thesis presents the most elementary findings of sociological researches done earlier in the field of intranational migration and development-migration interactions. While the first subchapter assesses questions of migration, and the second: issues and studies of development in general, the third chapter will serve as a direct theoretical ground (context) for the empirical research.

3.1. Migration issues in rural sociology

3.1.1. Internal migration – a background

Interregional, intra-national or 'internal' migration describes the sort of permanent residence-changing mobility that does not cross national borders (Greenwood 1997). Distance of internal migration thus has a ceiling, however, researchers tend to define a minimum length as well, that varies between studies and can either be city district or settlement borders (Dövényi 2009, Lucas 2004, Morrison 1993), regional borders (Hatton and Tani 2005, Partridge et al. 2012), or – especially in international comparison – a minimum geographical distance travelled (Bell and Charles-Edwards 2013, Bell et al. 2015) Studies consider residence changing activities below that defined line as staying. As in this research no international comparability issues may rise, mobilities targeting another settlement within the country will be considered as internal migration activities. Besides its distance, migration is characterized by its persistence as well: we can differentiate between short-term (1) temporary residence change (Greenwood 1997) 2) leisure/holiday/business mobility 3) commuting (Brown et al. 2015) and 4) long-term mobilities.

Ernst G. Ravenstein is considered to be the first dealing with (internal) migration. In his work, he analysed birthplace and residence location data from UK censuses of 1871 and 1881 (Ravenstein 1885). He summarized his findings in 7 'laws' of migration, with which he grasped basic patterns of urbanisation. He showed that instead of being random, migration processes are described by macroeconomic surroundings. He concluded that some social groups are more likely to migrate (rural dwellers, women), that distance of migration is usually short, migration flows are directed towards large cities (the larger the city the larger its catchment area), and smaller settlements gain population from even smaller ones, consequently, migration gradually progresses towards cities. According to

an often-cited conclusion of Ravenstein, each migration flow has its counterpart: for each 100 person moving to London, 50 people leave the capital. Among them, "*relatively strong are the counter-currents which set towards the manufacturing districts, [...][which] proves once more that the movements of migrants are governed in most instances by business considerations*" (Ravenstein 1885, 188.)

A basic finding of Ravenstein was the 'business' – that is, employment-related attribute of migration that seems to be based on individuals' cost-benefit calculations. This idea was revisited 90 years later by Harris and Todaro (1970). In their model they presumed a sort of division of labour between urban and rural areas, where "*rural-urban migration will continue so long as the expected urban real income at the margin exceeds real agricultural product*" (Harris and Todaro 1970, 127). Considering an imperfect market instead of full employment was a major innovation of their model, along with the model providing explanation for urban in-migration rates exceeding urban labour force demands and as a result, generating urban unemployment (Etzo 2008).

In his theoretical model, Lee (1966) provides a scheme for individuals' migration decision making process. According to the model, individuals' decisions regarding moving or staying (in intra- and international context as well) are based on their cost-benefit calculations considering more or less known factors of the sending and the target areas (push and pull factors). According to the model, migration is influenced by various intervening obstacles (legal, infrastructure, physical) and the social background of the individual. Moving a step further from classical economic cost-benefit models, the author argues that migration decision making "*is never completely rational, and for some persons the rational component is much less than the irrational*" (Lee 1966, 51).

In his works summarizing previous investigations of internal migration, Etzo (2008) defines 3 groups based on their topics: 1) ones dealing with micro and macro models 2) ones describing factors determining migration 3) ones describing socio-economic effects of migration. This sort of categorisation has its predecessor in the work of Rhoda (1983), who differentiated between three types of economic models (human resources; expected income; intersectoral linkage) and three types of empirical research topics: 1) motivations of migrants 2) characteristics of migrants 3) characteristics of sending regions. Greenwood (1997) names 5 topics which most often interests researchers of internal migration within developed countries: 1) who migrates, 2) why, 3) from which place to which other place 4) when and 5) what are the consequences. Bell et al. (2002) describe

four areas of researching internal migration using quantitative techniques. Among these we can also find the geographic aspects of migration (through two topics: 1) distance travelled by individuals 2) interconnectedness of regions), moreover, the 3) socio-economic effects of migration. As a fourth, macro element, the authors name 4) indexes measuring the intensity of migration (share of the population affected). Bijak (2006) emphasizes four possible disciplinary approach of international migration literature. He differentiates between 1) sociological, 2) micro-and macroeconomic, 3) geographical and 4) unifying theories, which latter has yet only a developing literature. Based on above cited authors, the two main areas of research considers 1) reasons (causes) and 2) effects of migration, which usually are analysed separately (de Haas 2010).

Researches dealing with reasons (causes) of migration usually come from disciplines of social geography, economics and sociology. Three main questions of such researches are 1) macro tendencies of migration between geographical areas 2) push and pull factors influencing individuals' migration decision making 3) social factors enabling migration.

Geographical macro tendencies are often analysed by researchers of the social geographical discipline; these models, emphasizing their interest in analysing flows between geographical locations (that is, population exchange between regions) are named 'gravity models'. The analysis of migration flows between regions with different economic background comes useful in forecasting population of regions as its main component besides reproduction is migration (Greenwood 1997). Individual motivations of migration, push and pull factors influencing moving or staying are usually in focus of sociological and economic researches (Harris and Todaro 1970). Besides factors describing labour market and income, sociological works take into consideration social relations and cultural factors as well, that foster and discourage migration (family, local communities, identity, migrant networks, institutionalisation) (Massey et al. 1993). Similarly, mostly sociological researches deal with socio-demographic variables related to a higher or lower likelihood of moving. Selection effect of migration means that even in case of ideal circumstances, only a low proportion of the population choose to move, which in most cases can be explained with such background variables (Manner 2003).

Consequences of migration may be analysed having individuals/groups or sending/receiving regions in focus. Individual consequences are often discussed in parallel with motivations in the literature (Greenwood 1997). Studies focusing on regional consequences of migration are mainly interested in economic and demographic matters

as well as potential conflicts due to cultural differences. In his work, de Haas (2010) categorizes consequence-focused literature of internal and international migration into two groups based on their subjective valuing approach (optimistic/pessimistic), that alternate one another from time to time. Neoclassical theories of the 1950s can be described by optimistic attitudes towards effects of migration, that believe migration to have positive economic consequences on sending regions as well due to return migration. Related researches of the 1970s were pessimistically arguing about the phenomenon of 'brain drain' and integration difficulties of immigrants which even led to a questioning of the positive economic effects of migration in not only the sending, but also the receiving countries. By new economics of migration in the 1990s, migration was discussed with a 'pluralistic' approach, that considered migration decision making processes being embedded in wide and complex social contexts. These investigations are transnational in their perspective: migrants' situations were not considered as being geographically determined (living either here or there), and besides return migration, established transnational remittance networks were recognised, that are believed to trail significant economic advantages for sending countries. This optimistic approach characterizes researches from the early 2000s (de Haas 2010). This optimistic 'new paradigm' is called outdated by Gamlen (2014) who summarizes ideas of representatives of a yet newer 'new pessimistic' paradigm. Though he stresses, that this division between optimism-pessimism is a rude simplification of the theories, he thinks that the previous optimistic approach was influenced by political-economic interests. New studies of the critical approach focus on infrastructural obstacles detaining remittance flows, and the social problems that second generation of immigrants are facing (Gamlen 2014).

Scientific investigations interested in migration – just as the work of Ravenstein (1885) suggests – were inspired by urbanisation, the moving of agrarian workers of rural countryside towards major cities. On the macro level, four stages of urbanisation is differentiated by the literature, which stages follow one another in developed countries, but often overlap in developing regions of the world. The stages of urbanisation are grasped by population shifts caused by migration: 1) concentration 2) suburbanisation 3) des-urbanisation 4) re-urbanisation (Németh 2011, Szelényi 2008). Though caused by different reasons, and with local characteristics, moreover, with different speed and under different circumstances, the two early stages of urbanisation could already be witnessed all over – or at least around – the Earth (Enyedi 2011). According to Enyedi (2011), suburbanisation means a relative deconcentration, a diffusion of urbanisation 'in depth'

within the settlement structure. This tendency peaks at the stage of desurbanisation, which is followed by the 'urbanisation of the global world', meaning the accelerated growth of global metropolises. This latter – in contrast with the previous stages of urbanisation – does not have a geographical diffusion pattern, on the contrary, emergence of global cities may happen in parallel at different geographical locations (Enyedi 2011, 17).

Though internal migration in its volumes exceeds international migration as proportion of migrants is the inverse of the distance between two geographical points (Ravenstein 1885), both science and policies deal less with the former (Otoiu 2014). This is especially true for researches and policies dealing with developed countries, where the first stage of urbanisation have come to an end at least 50 years ago. However, this statement is gaining relevance considering developing countries as well, where urban population will surpass rural population in their shares in the following years (China's urban population share reached 50% in 2010, India's will need 30 more years for this). World population has become rather urban than rural dweller in the early 21th Century, and according to demographic forecasts, by the year 2050, a 70% will live in cities (UN ESA 2014).

Using results of Internal Migration Around the Globe (IMAGE) research project conducted in 2010, project leaders Bell et al. (2015) conclude that in international comparison, annual intensity of internal migration (ratio of population changing permanent residence in a year, regardless of settlement borders) are between 1-15% in the World. Hungary – together with Austria, Germany and Japan – is a mediately mobile country, exceeding values of Central, Eastern and South European countries (1-6%) and exceeded by Scandinavian countries and the U.S. (12-15%). Authors find that variables of country size, level of urbanisation, national GDP and HDI is in a positive correlation with internal migration intensity (Bell et al. 2015).

3.1.2. Internal migration in micro perspective; migration aspirations

Analyses of decision-making in migration studies appeared with a delay, compared to macro models on migration flows, and this shift towards a more personal understanding of migration is often associated with the works of Harris and Todaro (1970) and colleagues. A reason for the new approach was – as can be understood based on the earlier paper of Wolpert (1965), too – that former models generally failed to provide viable and good predictions for internal migration flows. In parallel, internal migration flows themselves also became more complex and so manifold, that even the construction of

gravity models would exceed computational capacities. Furthermore, factors that macro models and approaches could not include in analyses (such as individual demographics) became transparently a better explanation for migration than what former models, based on purely settlement sizes and distances, proposed when describing the processes of early-20th century urbanisation. (Wolpert 1965). The new individual-based models, such as that of Harris and Todaro (1970) included personal push and pull factors for estimating the probability for individuals to change their place of residence, and the early models were quickly further and further developed by additional factors. By the realisation and understanding, that besides job opportunities (or even expected job opportunities), other factors may be crucial to be included for the better understanding of actual (internal) migration flows, and thus, more complex models emerged.

However, as Halfacree and Boyle (1993) points out, these approaches of migration decision making regard the individual as a rationally calculating decisionmaker, which standpoint is often overwritten by actual demographic tendencies. The authors mention two important factors for the necessary change of the way researchers approach migration decision making (not disclaiming the importance of various macro-level approaches). First, they emphasize the importance of developing more integrated models that can grasp a wider range of reality. Second, and more importantly, they argue that a new theoretic understanding of migration, which raise the urgency to exceed the behaviourist approach is urging to answer questions of contemporary social sciences. According to the authors, behaviourist researches "*assume that a relatively sudden change in circumstances takes place and provokes migration. Emphasis on the stresses - the »pushes« and »pulls« of the origin and destination (...) caused by the environment neglects the way in which the individual formulates and deals with these stresses, through giving primacy to the environment rather than to the individual*." (Halfacree and Boyle 1993, 335).

The proposal of Halfacree and Boyle (1993) consists of regarding migration decisions as being embedded in the whole life stories, or *biographies* of respondents and in parallel, to broaden the scope with which these decisions are analysed. Since according to the authors decisions are usually not discrete events, nor can they be related directly and purely to the individual itself, they propose that migration be regarded as a non-discrete action happening in time and thus being strongly connected to both the respondent's past

as well as their projected future[1]. Furthermore, the authors argue that purely rational choices of actions are seldomly found in narratives. *Practical consciousness* is used by the authors as a form of bounded rationality, describing via a few examples that when making decisions about migration, respondents' conceptions on outcomes are contrasting the well-measurable facts. Consequently, one might argue based on Halfacree and Boyle (1993), that decision making models constructed by exterior calculable measures would fail to predict real migration flows simply as a product of these extrarational factors – let alone others.

Halfacree and Boyle (1993) mention examples of previous researches on migration decision-making in which immigrant respondents were asked to name the most important reason leading for their decision to move. As the authors argue, researches of this kind fail to understand that decision-making is neither built on single reasons, nor are they linear processes. Referring to Rossi (1980), they claim that potential migrant people seldomly formulate *both* the desires to move out *and* their desired target, and therefore, researchers should not distinguish between push and pull factors within a narrative in order to evaluate the balance, and should regard the multiple reasons in general instead. Finally, Halfacree and Boyle (1993), invocating Habermas' concept of habitus, argue, that migration should be regarded as a social construct, and migration decision making is much more than a simple result (with two possible outcomes) of a rational cost-benefit calculation. Instead, migration is a statement of the self about their vision of the world.

The proposal of the authors was later followed by several researchers on the field, but in advance of assessing the findings of such researches, it is important to clarify some of the core concepts that are used by various approaches dealing with migration decision making. As de Haas (2014) points out, the fact that the topic of migration is under-theorised in the social sciences is partially due to the postmodern turn in migration analysis (see for example the biography approach) which provides an often complicated picture on migration behaviour thus disabling common theories to emerge. On the other hand, de Haas (2007) stresses the crucial and non-replaceable quality of such researches, by underlining the limited ecological validity of both functionalist and historical-structural models of migration. What he proposes (as will be introduced in more details

[1] Here, the *past* should not be narrowed down to previous actions of migration. In contrast, the past (as well as the present and the projected future) include all aspects of personal life that affect the individual's thoughts on migrating (or non-migrating). As these are continuously shifting, present-day ideas on migration should not be regarded deterministically (as if they concerned the soon-to-be experienced future) but as narratives describing cross-sectional social phenomena, as a *process in progress*.

in a later chapter), is a contextual theory of migration, which 'contexts' refer to different opportunity and aspiration structures of the individuals[2].

Even if we regard migration as a non-discrete event (Halfacree and Boyle 1993), a certain decision is in the centre of observation of researches – either considering the reasons of migration in the macro or the motives of mobility (understanding social actions in the Weberian sense) on the micro level, including also the more frequent decision not to move. As "*»determinants« at the macrolevel correspond roughly to »motivations« at the subjective level*" (de Jong and Fawcett 1981, 13), it should be stressed that macro researches on reasons of migration analyse very similar questions of decision-making, even if these are interested in general demographic patterns. But even though the aim to understand decisions is common, the terminology applied by various analyses is rather eclectic and often undefined.

With regard to migration-related decision making, the concepts can be divided into two categories, namely, those used by scholars trying to estimate future ratios of emigrants from a given population, and those interested in explaining migration decision-making processes on the micro level. Examples for the former category include the concepts of *migration potential* (without exception used by international migration analyses and almost entirely by researches on East-West migration within Europe) (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999, Berencsi 1995, Csata and Kiss 2003, Fassmann and Hintermann 1997, Gödri and Kiss 2009, Honvári 2012, Kupiszewski 2002, Sik and Örkény 2003, Siskáné Szilasi, Halász, and Gál-Szabó 2017) and *migration propensity* (Gödri and Feleky 2013), whereas for the latter, mentionable examples might be the concepts of *migration intentions* (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006, Findlay and Li 1997, Morais, Binotto, and Borges 2017, Thissen et al. 2010), *migration aspirations* (Carling 2002, Carling and Schewel 2018, Crivello 2015, de Haas 2014, Durst and Nyírő 2018, Van Mol 2016, Váradi et al. 2017), *migration plans* (Czibere and Rácz 2016, Gödri and Kiss 2009), *migration expectations* (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006) or *moving desires* (Coulter and Scott 2015). In addition to the variety of the concepts used by scholars analysing migration decision-making, the terminology is applied rather in an *ad hoc* way, i.e.

[2] Aspirations, as crucial elements (besides capabilities) of migration are to be separated to a) general life aspirations and b) perceived spatial opportunity structures, and thus, based on this argument, opportunities not only influence but (in a subjective form) also constitute personal aspirations. The author argues that the under-theorised quality of migration researches are a result of an eclecticism in both the applied methods and the employed concepts (de Haas 2007).

defined by the concrete employed measures and methods themselves – as pointed out on the example of migration potential by Kupiszewski (2002).

In general, these concepts of migration, just as de Haas (2014) points out, deal with either (or both) of the two relevant elements of migration: its structural constraints or the aspects of individual choices (referred to as agency). Several researches aim to analyse the interrelation of these two elements, mostly investigating how structural characteristics influence personal agency. Some of these researches will be discussed in following paragraphs. An often cited concept to be mentioned in relation here is the argument of Appadurai (2004) on 'the capacity to aspire'. On a mostly anthropological theoretical basis, building on ideas claiming that cultural structures are far from being consensual or stabile, the author argues that even the most individual aspects of agency is influenced by structural circumstances. Using poverty in India as example, it is shown that aspirations (not necessary mobility-related aspirations) are determined as results of unstable consensus-producing local rituals, providing that even aspirations are often rather collective than individual. As an example, individuals might aspire for a better life, but concepts of a good life are defined by collective institutions (such as religions). As argued by the author, poor people usually have ambivalent relations with these dominant cultural norms, however, they "*are neither simple dupes nor secret revolutionaries. They are survivors. And what they often seek strategically (…) is to optimize the terms of trade between recognition and redistribution in their immediate, local lives*" (Appadurai 2004, 65). This concept of the capacity to aspire is applied by de Haas (2014) to migration studies, demonstrating that the argument that personal aspirations in migration decision-making is a purely individual matter, should be regarded critically. As Appadurai (2004, 68) puts it: *"[Aspiration] is not evenly distributed in any society. It is a sort of metacapacity, and the relatively rich and powerful invariably have a more fully developed capacity to aspire. What does this mean? It means that the better off you are (in terms of power, dignity, and material resources), the more likely you are to be conscious of the links between the more and less immediate objects of aspiration"*.

Yet another concept connecting to migration decision making on the individual level is often referred to as 'place attachment'. The term is used to describe a phenomenon consisting of several (various) factors that act contrary to 'push' and 'pull' effects of migration. The idea is often connected to the consideration of geographical mobility as a statement of the self on its own identity rather than a result of rational cost-benefit calculations as some neoclassical economic models would suppose (Findlay and Li 1997,

Halfacree and Boyle 1993). It is important to emphasize that even though studies on place attachment often include measurable factors of individual social status (such as cultural and social forms of capital and personal relations), place attachment mostly appear in the literature in the form of attitudes and psychological concerns. However, different approaches include not only qualitative but also quantitative tools. For instance, Heleniak (2009) analyse an industrial region of post-socialist Russia by employing statistical data analysis and survey methodology to find a relatively great level of attachment to the region contrary to the economic decline due to the collapse of the regional manufacturing industry. Survey methodology was employed by Barcus and Brunn (2009) and Raymond, Brown, and Weber (2010) for a U.S. (Kentucky) and Australian social environment, respectively. The surveys consisted of both questions regarding general attitudes about the given areas and very direct questions and statements about place attachment (e.g. 'I am very attached to...'). It is important to note that the general attitude questions were mostly directed to geographical areas rather than communities, people or any other factors of the surroundings. This is especially important for studies on human-nature connection. Questions of human-nature relationship are especially crucial for (interview-based) researches of a specific field discussing, how farmers' (often really high-level) attachment to the land influence local stewardship (Baldwin, Smith, and Jacobson 2017, Lokocz, Ryan, and Sadler 2011). Further qualitative researches in the rural context emphasize the independence of place attachment from the actual geographical location of the individual. Wiborg (2004) conducts an interview-based research with secondary school students with rural origins and finds a great variety of environmental, social and cultural elements used by them when discussing their relationship with their respective rural localities. Similarly, Morse and Mudgett (2017) analyse the phenomenon of 'homesickness' of those Vermonters living in other parts of the U.S. Employing an online survey and a historical analysis, too, they detect strong emotions of the group towards the natural environment of Vermont, which the authors refer to as 'landscape attachment'. Other scholars emphasize the role of social connections and social capital in attachment to place. Milbourne and Kitchen (2014), employing community study methods, investigate rural mobilities and the question of attachment (or as they also refer to it: 'fixity') within. In the case of a Welsh community, they recognise rural places as being influenced by various forms of migration and people in rural places as being more (or at least as) dependent on geographical mobility than those living in urban areas. These forms of mobility in relation to the countryside include youth outmigration, working-class tourists incoming, middle-class holiday-makers, and permanent middle-class immigrants as the result of

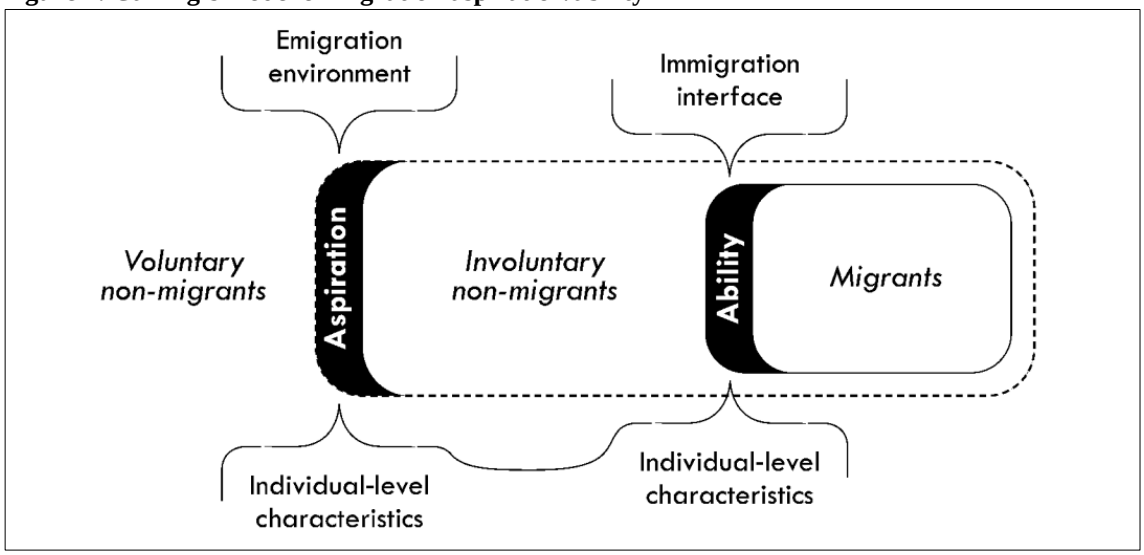
desurbanisation processes. In general, the authors point out that rural places are in a continuous state of flux and are always being remade. They argue that 'fixity', attachment should always be analysed in parallel, in connection with these flows. However, in general, as Lewicka (2011) points out, the patterns of staying are much less issued in analyses of either internal or international migration, resulting also in an undertheorised field of research and ad-hoc sets of employed methodological tools. As an addition, even though place attachment is considered as a force keeping people from moving, some authors point out the appearance of place attachment as a psychical connection to a geographical area in narratives of those already living or staying at a distance (Morse and Mudgett 2017, Timár and Velkey 2016). As it does not explain nor result in actual geographical mobility patterns, questions of place attachment are not exclusively issued by studies specifically interested in migration (Low and Altman 1992).

Returning to general analyses on migration aspirations, it is important to emphasize once again that in contrast with migration potential researches, these are interested in the process of migration-related decision making rather than forecasting actual volumes of migration. Previous researchers with the latter intention, though finding a certain level of correlation between these numbers of 'potential' and concrete migration tendencies in a few years (for the Central European case, see for example the longitudinal, follow-up research of Gödri and Feleky (2013)), had to find a 'selection' effect of migration. Selection effect means that as a general rule, only a very small portion of those, who models expect moving will actually migrate. Researchers often have problems in explaining this purely based on macro data.

The concept of migration aspiration provides a possible solution for these problems, as it regards individual actors as active agents in their migration (or non-migration) behaviour rather than passive objects of structural stimuli. According to Halfacree and Boyle (1993), even micro-level models of migration (such as the push-pull models inspired by Harris and Todaro (1970)), even implying personal decisions in mobility, regard migration and non-migration deterministically, as if agents being exposed to certain sets of external stimuli would have no other choice but to 'decide' to act accordingly. In contrast, the question can be raised of why only a small share of those expected to go by these models do in fact. The starting question of Carling (2002) is exactly this: having this era defined as the 'age of mobility' (Castles and Miller 1993), why are there no more migration than there is actually. Carling (2002) argues that reasons of immobility is rarely assessed and even when they are, reasons lying in the scarcity of opportunities are mixed with reasons

of a lack of personal will. Nevertheless, a large share of people is immobile not because push-pull effects are at a low level, but despite of it being high. The author refers to them as the involuntarily immobile. Based on personal research experiences in Cape Verde, it is suggested that ability and aspiration be assessed parallelly by migration studies.

Figure 1: Carling's model of migration aspiration/ability



Source: Carling (2002, 12)

Migration aspiration is defined by Carling and Schewel (2018, 946) "*as a conviction that migration is preferable to non-migration*". The proposal is to embed the group of actual migrants (who are supposedly both aspiring to migrate and being able to) in the group of all those aspiring to migrate (irrespectively of ability). Thus, we receive an analytical context to address questions of immobility. In addition, there is the group of people who are neither able, nor aspiring to move. This latter group can be put in comparison with the Appadurai (2004) concept of the capacity to aspire. Provided, that the ability to move is supposed by this model to be only the 'privilege' of a few, some might even argue that according to this model, all voluntary non-migrants are stayers only because their lack of capacity to aspire. To put this another way, the model does not pay attention to a fourth subgroup, namely, those being able to move but decide not to (de Haas 2014).

Nevertheless, the idea of Carling (2002) to differentiate aspirations and abilities in connection with migration results in a progressive theory, proven by the large variety of further researches it later inspired. Variety concerns methodology, too. The difference between migration potential and migration aspiration researches lies not so much in their applied methods, but in the formers' goal to predict instead of to explain migration tendencies. Therefore, migration potential researches engage in directly targeting the question whether respondents already made actual plans of mobility. Some of the findings

of such researches will be introduced in Chapter 4.3. There are indeed migration aspiration researches employing quantitative survey methods. In a rural-urban context, Garasky (2002) analyses the mobility behaviour and spatial choices of adolescents. Realising that non-economic factors explain mobility patterns in a great extent, the researcher find that the college-educated rural youth are more likely to leave the state than urban college educated ones and that the rural youth leave their parents earlier than their urban counterparts, even if they tend to stay within the county more likely. The question of outwards mobility of rural youth appear in several other quantitative researches. For instance, Bjarnason and Thorlindsson (2006) find that being raised in a community, high level of parental control, being engaged in farming and having a strong local and national identity decreases adolescents' outwards mobility from the Icelandic countryside. Just as Thissen et al. (2010) in the case of the Netherlands, and Van Mol (2016) conducting a statistical analysis based on Eurobarometer data, they reinforce the crucial importance of perceived job opportunities and relative welfare (economic situation) in explaining youth rural-urban migration aspirations, even if differences often have to be large (Hodge 1985).

Qualitative investigations of migration aspirations also witness a large influence of education on outmigration attitudes of the youth, this however concerns not only the level of education, but – as both Corbett (2005), Corbett (2013) and Dabasi-Halász, Lipták, and Horváth (2017) point out – also the institutions themselves. Rural outwards mobility can be regarded as a source and also answer to Beck's understanding of risk, which is demonstrated clearly in an East-West German context by Schäfer (2010). Furthermore, as it unfolds from the narratives presented by Corbett (2013), in traditional rural communities, the cultural norm of progress and education and locality, family and other traditional norms are present in parallel, often causing conflicts for young people in migration decision making. If understood as a statement of the self on its own identity, as Fielding (1992) proposes, migration decision making unfolds in rural dwellers' narratives as being in a strong connection with not only vertical mobility, but also the general cultural value of progress in life. Thus, in rural mobility-narratives, 'leaving' is a strong synonym for 'moving forward' rather than 'moving away', and the opportunity of *physical* returning never cease to be an option (Findlay and Li 1997, Ni Laoire 2000, Nugin 2014). This invokes once again the difference between attachment and actual geographical location where attachment can be reinforced by the idea of the rural idyll, even though in several cases migration seems to be influenced by *ad-hoc* life events (Stockdale 2014)

3.2. Consequences and impacts of development programmes

3.2.1. Contextualising development

Development is connected to the European understanding of progressing change. The term itself has two meanings, which should be differentiated: in a sense, it describes a spontaneously unfolding social process, but the phrase may also refer to an institutionalised, conscious intervention (McMichael 2016). The general theory, according to McMichael (2016) is embedded in or originating from the Smithian-Polanyian notion of the free market, which, being built on the individual maximalisation of self-gain, advances towards a more and more efficient allocation of resources. However, this considers development in its former sense. An equipment, or tool for this, I would argue is innovation in the sense Schumpeter (1980) referred to it. In his work, Schumpeter names change and development as the bases of economics, to which two main elements: 1) the creation of money by banks on the basis of trust, and 2) innovation are necessary. In the creation of the latter, entrepreneurs play the major role. Following the author's definition, entrepreneurs are actors, who specialize in making subjective decisions about coordinating scarce resources: they rearrange the already pre-given sources in a way new setting (thus creating innovation, and therefore, they can be regarded as entrepreneurs only as long as this action of rearrangement happens)[3].

McMichael (2016) originates development from the era of colonialism, when colonies' level of economic progress did not meet the standards of European colonizers, and empires invested funds for various political and economic reforms. Nevertheless, development can understand in an intra-national context as much in an international setting. One might argue, that (at least some) reforms of the 18th century enlightened absolutists can be understood as distinctive development projects (directed to economics

[3] As much as innovation can be regarded as the tool for development in the former ('spontaneously unfolding') sense, as a tool for 'institutionalised development', intervention can be named. Besides being a tool for it, innovation and interventions can be understood as elements (i.e. the constituting actions) of development in its respective senses. Provided, that these differences in 'tools' or 'elements' describe different concepts which we refer to with the same phrase, it is recommended the two forms of development be consistently distinguished. Furthermore, the terms 'development' and 'innovation' should never be confused, as we might observe in case of various policy documents. Some policy conceptions refer to development interventions as innovations, even though these two, with respect to how they *direct* change (bottom-up versus top-down) are complete opposites. They differ from one another just as much as the market system differs from redistribution. A resulting difference between the two is that while spontaneous development is instrument-oriented, interventionalist development is directed towards a well-defined objective. As this thesis is concerned with development policies, unless otherwise noted, the term 'development' will be used in its interventionalist, policy-sense.

or society). According to Hungarian historian Szűcs (1981), who analyses historical differences in political-economic and societal progress of Eastern, Western and in-between societies (such as the Hungarian), these systems were interested (among other goals) in the an early modernisation of societies and a general convergence. Staying at the case of Central-Eastern Europe, in his 1948 paper, Hungarian political philosopher Bibó (2001) argued, that the progressive reforms facilitated by the Hungarian nobility in the mid-19th century followed Western examples and aimed to connect to the otherwise endogenous political and social movements of those societies. These intra-national forms of development share similarity with the international forms, and similarity is provided by their explicit struggle for reaching political, economic, social, or even, cultural equalisation or convergence. It is important to emphasise that this concerns only manifest aims, whereas, as for instance world system theories would suggest, their latent consequence might be the exact opposite – even becoming the tools for colonisation and exploitation (Wallerstein 1974)[4].

When discussing development, the emphasis on economy is important, as most approaches even today tend to focus on the economic system only when addressing questions of development. For instance, Pike, Rodríguez-Pose, and Tomaney (2016) collect various contemporary definitions of (regional and local) development, phrased by multinational organisations. The result shows a general overemphasis on economic progress, whereas social goals are either not present or only secondarily. Just as previously cited Hungarian authors, Myrdal (1956) claims that considering graduality and endogeneity, while progressing national integration (by also the controlling of the market, for the good purpose of achieving equal opportunities for citizens), social change went differently in advanced and underdeveloped countries. As he argues, *"(...)an important common trait in all (...) advanced countries (...) has been the gradual elimination of inherited obstacles to the individuals' social mobility"* (Myrdal 1956, 21). He moves further by arguing that *"the class structure and other social rigidities have gradually been dissolved into looser and more flexible social forms, the avenues of social and economic advancement have been (...) made accessible to ever deeper social strata. (...) But this particular set of social changes can hardly be said to have been the operative cause of progress. (...) They were usually (...) rather the outcome of a manifold*

[4] I would argue, that this stress on equalisation or convergence (including the improvement of competitiveness) is what differentiates the concept of development from other sorts of top-down (state) interventions throughout the human history.

development" (Myrdal 1956, 21-22). As a consequence, the author supports a materialist, practical and technocratic way of development – that is, economic development focusing on advancement in purely the economic production of underdeveloped regions, even – if reluctance is seen – against citizens' will. As he phrases this: *"(...) there is no choice open between wanting a slower or faster rate of economic development. Every government will have to do its utmost to push on as fast as possible. (...)"*. He admits, that *"cultural and social effects of economic change may be disastrous. (...) the cultural and social changes have to be planned and controlled; to a certain extent they have even to be induced"* (Myrdal 1956, 174).

Other scholars think differently about the relationship and connection of economic and socio-cultural development, as well as the interrelation of development and the level of democratic achievements. In his book, written in the years of World War II, Hayek (1972), who in 1974 even received a shared Noble Prize with the above cited Gunnar Myrdal, claimed that central planning is contra-productive for socio-economic progress on at least the long term. Standing in opposition with both fascism and Stalinism, the author claims that central planning can easily lead to totalitarianism, and, in a sense, it ipso facto *is*. As he progresses with his argument, he supports the statement that "(…) *the holder of coercive power should confine himself in general to creating conditions under which the knowledge and initiative of individuals are given the best scope that* they *can plan most successfully*" (Hayek 1972, 35). The author stresses, that what he supports is not a laissez-faire attitude in planning, but in contrast, a setting-up of a carefully thought-out legal framework is necessary for the handling of our common problems.

Neither Myrdal, nor Hayek provides a systematic scientific analysis or even empirically grounded arguments for their respective ideas on the questions of development and planning. Even though they received a joint Noble Prize for a common economical work of theirs, they never engaged in a debate about their ideas on development. In his book, Easterly (2014) aims to provide a compensation for this deficit. The book entitled '*The tyranny of experts*' is a systematic evaluation of the contrasting arguments of Myrdal and Hayek, and its explicit aim is to generate a discourse; however, he underlines his very distinct opinion about Hayek's right in this debate. The author starts by stating that in both intranational and international development, a technocratic approach gained dominance long before Myrdal and Hayek even published their papers, and this approach was never seriously questioned. He understands this form of technocracy as authoritarianism in the field of development, where, just as is the case with

authoritarianism at other (such as the political) fields, poor people have absolutely no political and economic rights, have no right to influence decisions. Easterly (2014) argues, that the concept of development can be understood as the opposite of poverty, which he defines as the unchecked power of the state against poor people without economic and political rights[5]. Providing an organisational sociologist argument, Easterly (2014) claims that developmentalist agents, or 'experts' are worse than entrepreneurs in producing progress as they neither gain much if they're correct, nor do they suffer economically if they're not.

Whereas in his 1944 work, Hayek considers central planning as being strongly connected to the lack of long-term progress and a lack of freedom, Sen (2001) describes development more as a synonym for freedom, by arguing that freedom is not just a prerequisite of development, but rather, the pure essence of it. Freedom (meaning the availability of choices) in the understanding of the author is in parallel the goal and the tool of development. This might be a somewhat confusing argument (as freedom thus would become the reason for its existence and growth), but Sen (2001) resolves this contradiction by regarding general freedom as being constituted by separate subtypes of freedom, interacting with and reinforcing one another.

Thus, a specific form of freedom becomes an instrument for strengthening other forms of freedom. The author rejects the usual measurement of development as changes in constructed measures of pure economic growth (such as the GNP) and claims that economic profit is rather a possible tool for development rather the overall goal itself. This lies in the very essence of profit, namely, that it is by definition an instrument; the question in relation to development is the way profit is distributed: "*The basic point is that the impact of economic growth depends much on how the* fruits *of economic growth are used*" (Sen 2001, 44). Development is thus constituted by "*the removal of various*

[5] According to the author, the debate between Hayek and Myrdal is constituted by three sub-debates, namely, 1) whether general solutions are to be provided or development should be embedded into local culture, 2) whether development should target the wellbeing of the nation or the wellbeing of the individual 3) whether development should be centrally design or be based on spontaneous solutions. Easterly (2014) presents examples proving that development has only positive outcomes when it comes in parallel with (more) freedom: for instance, the often-cited success of autocratic East-Asian economies gained growth not because they are autocratic, but exactly because their level of autocracy decreased. Furthermore, he argues, that autocratic development 'success stories', in contrast with long-lasting success of Western countries without exception lasted for only short periods of time before collapsing once again, and could not provide the achievements of development, save for a small circle. He also shows that progress (including technological progress) is a product of the number of people provided the liberty and ability for continuous experimentation and thus, world population growth is rather an opportunity than a catastrophe. However, Easterly (2014), referring to Hayek's argument underlines the importance of the setting-up of legal frames, claiming that not even Adam Smith believed that market solves everything.

types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency" (Sen 2001, xii).[6]

A crucial aspect of Sen's work to be evaluated is the question that both Myrdal and Hayek raised, namely, whether people could be 'developed' against their will, or, as Sen puts it, against local tradition and culture. In this matter, the author takes an in-between standpoint claiming that the intervention should be directed to setting up the framework for discussion. Though he supports the slogan "*it is better to be rich and happy than to be impoverished and traditional*" (Sen 2001, 31), but stresses that his "*freedom-oriented perspective the liberty of all to participate in deciding what traditions to observe cannot be ruled out by the national or local »guardians«-neither by the ayatollahs (or other religious authorities), nor by political rulers (or governmental dictators), nor by cultural »experts« (domestic or foreign). The pointer to any real conflict between the preservation of tradition and the advantages of modernity calls for a participatory resolution, not for a unilateral rejection of modernity in favour of tradition by political rulers, or religious authorities, or anthropological admirers of the legacy of the past.*" (Sen 2001, 32)

3.2.2. Rural development

We see that both the terms 'rural' and 'development' raise serious concerns and debates of conceptualisation, and thus, it should not be surprising, that – as for instance van der Ploeg et al. (2000) point out, we might find no comprehensive definition of the term 'rural development' either. As they put it, "*the concept of rural development is above all a heuristic device. It represents a search for new futures and reflects the drive of the rural population. It goes beyond modernization theory where the problems of agriculture and the countryside were considered resolved*" (van der Ploeg et al. 2000, 396). What scholars seem to agree on is that rural development concerns the development of rural areas, but this statement can hardly serve as a satisfactory definition. Whereas a few decades ago, the phrase was applied almost solely to policies targeting agricultural production, with rural restructuring, the defining became more difficult. In a 'postmodernist' approach,

[6] An interesting thought experiment presented by the author is a case in which an autocrat organises the economy exactly in the way as it is now, formulated by the free market: every person has their respective jobs, earn the same, engage in same transactions at the same price. This provides – so the author argues – but a very different setting, since people are well aware that their free choice was taken away. Furthermore, he differentiates five types of freedom (political freedoms; economic and social opportunities; transparency guarantees and protective security) serve people in capitalizing their capacities, as what individuals can achieve is influenced by their economic, political opportunities, social forces, their level of health and education as well as the external encouragement of activities.

rural areas are regarded not primarily as definite geographical spaces of the urban-rural continuum, but as a place-independent 'effect', or a cultural meaning, as an object for cultural consumption, as for example Murdoch and Pratt (1993) argue when proposing the term 'post-rural' for scholars to use. This 'postmodern turn' is identifiable not solely in researches, but also in a shift in policies' approaches, especially considering EU rural development policies. The postmodern, or post-productivist (Lowe et al. 1993) turn is strongly connected to empirically measurable economic and social changes in the relationship between rural and urban areas. The changes themselves are commonly stated to be constituted by the appearance and dynamic disperse of non-first sector production, new conventions in production, a rise of the importance of consumption and the regulatory background. These urged changes in how we address the related social problems both as scholars and as policy makers (Marsden et al. 1993).

Thus, consequently, rural development policies began to gain an extended meaning and extended scope, too, which now was not restricted to the field of agricultural production. As on the example of Great Britain, Marsden et al. (1993, 106) state, "*while inner city and metropolitan areas have experienced a reduction in locally accountable planning functions, the countryside has seen a general extension of the local planning system*". Following the argument of these authors, the extension of planning contributed to differentiation: the authors name four different types of rural areas, primarily based on what and how social forces formulate their interests. This is especially important in the sense that it results in differentiated future paths for the differentiated countryside (Lowe et al. 1993). However, and somewhat contradicting previous arguments about new approaches and the rise in local forces in rural development policies, Ray (2006) points out, the 'productivist regime' in rural development policies remained significant, meaning an overemphasis on the volumes of agricultural production. He adds, that in this sense, EU-accession of European nation states did not bring relevant difference.

The differentiation of rural areas in relation to development occur not only in a substantial, but also in a structural sense. We can speak with a territorial scope about local and regional development, as well as rural development, with either territorial or sectoral scope. It is crucial to realise, that contrary to shifts to a more complex, socio-cultural understanding of rural areas, not only the agricultural bias stayed significantly, but also how rural development is notably being related to urban, rather than rural social problems. An example of this is provided by Green and Zinda (2014), who in their opening sentences of their chapter on rural development theories, name four major problems that

dissatisfactory social status in rural areas can cause, and thus, what rural development is expected to address: the threat to national food supplies; the destruction of national resources; urban social problems caused by high rural-urban migration; and finally, social unrest caused by perceived economic status differences between rural and urban population. It should thus be unsurprising that, as will be presented later, rural development policies often name similar threats when discussing general goals.

Rural-urban migration along with the depopulation of the countryside is one of the major concerns of both national and international rural development policies (Golding and Curtis 2014, Gray 2009, Perpar and Udvoč 2012). However, the concrete aims of rural development policies vary depending on the scope as well as geographical location, and applied policy actions are even more diverse. As Baldock et al. (2001, IX) summarized this: "*the preoccupations of different institutions range from the traditional, such as the need to increase employment, reduce rural poverty and improve infrastructure, to a newer agenda which includes building social capital, tackling gender imbalance, seeding local enterprise, supporting organic agriculture and improving monitoring and evaluation*".

3.2.3. Impact evaluation of rural development programmes

Rural development programmes might change various aspects of rural life, might contribute to economic restructuring and social changes, as well as a rearrangement in regional and local power structures and national politics. For instance, Csurgó, Kovách, and Megyesi (2019, 92) point out that the "*(...) Europeanisation of development policy has meant that national governments have gradually lost control over development policy. National governments have had to build reliable institutions which ensure the proper spending of EU-taxpayers' money, while subnational levels (...) have become active stakeholders in planning and project management*." This subchapter deals with impact evaluations in its narrower sense: it concerns the level and way development programmes are assessed in the literature and introduce some previous investigations on how EU rural development programmes might contributed to socio-economic change.

The monitoring and evaluation of policies' impacts are – as Guba and Lincoln (1981) point out – not a new phenomenon, nevertheless, the way it is empirically practiced is rather a recent development of social studies. According to Bartus et al. (2005), policy evaluations are strongly connected to the third phase of the history of American

sociology, that started around the year 1960 and could be described by a shift from individual and local forms of responsibility to a more general, national scheme (Coleman 1980). As Bartus et al. (2005) argue, the new emerging problems were only to be addressed by the state or national policies, which induced the necessity to assess their results[7].

As the part of 'evidence-based policy making' (Gertler et al. 2016), it is now a routine that international policy interventions are being evaluated, yet the scientific quality of such evaluations are usually at least questionable. There are several reasons for this. With regard to only rural development policies, the target is incredibly complex (and sometimes poorly defined) to be measured (Monsalve, Zafrilla, and Cadarso 2016), especially given that results should be easily interpreted (Bakucs et al. 2018). Moreover, the lack of relevant data makes it hard to prepare well-grounded analyses and thus, quality evaluations are scarce (Andersson, Höjgård, and Rabinowicz 2017). Besides empirical factors, the relative lack of development policy evaluation analyses and the low-quality of several of those successfully prepared can be explained by political reasons, too. In a recent study, Slade et al. (2020) claim that plausible estimates on effects of development policies investments are scarce. Examples include the potential contrast between of explicit and implicit aims, and the interest of policymakers not to receive potential negative results from such policy impact analyses (Juntti, Russel, and Turnpenny 2009, Prager et al. 2015). Consequently, a large share of 'impact evaluations' of for instance rural development policies are really nothing more than a basic enumeration of programme outputs and interventions are often not evaluated with even minimal quality requirements. (Adedokun, Childress, and Burgess 2011, Vidueira et al. 2015, Yang et al. 2015). Such concrete cases are provided for instance by the European Commission's rural development directorate (EC 2020b, EC 2020a), which instead of assessing the impact of policies tend to highlight only the number of people or the area covered by rural development policies.

A further problem is that as most evaluations are based on case studies, general conclusions are not viable to be drawn (Nijkamp and Blaas 1995). Therefore, evaluations of policies from the political sector tend to argue that investigations based on common

[7] It can be added, that in comparison with activities of market actors (such as companies), the target of national development projects was wide in their scope (i.e. not being narrowed down to simple economic profit) and furthermore, as taxpayer money is involved, simple experimentations with innovations is not an option: money has to be spent in a transparent and responsible way – evaluations can prove that it indeed is.

directions are in several cases misinterpreted and this results in incomparable conclusions. Such studies urge decision makers to develop common and more detailed policy frames. (Blandford, Boisvert, and Hill 2010, Bradley, Dwyer, and Hill 2010)

With the study of documents of the European Commission reporting evaluation results of rural development programmes, only positive results are to be found (i.e. results according to the original plan), these however evaluate changes in values of the direct outputs, or in some cases, values of different socio-economic variables, employing descriptive tools, and without the inclusion of explanatory factors, usually on the national or NUTS-2 level. Such documents were prepared in the case of Hungary by ÁSZ (2012), KPMG (2017) and VÁTI (2004). As Andersson, Höjgård, and Rabinowicz (2017) point out, such researches, due to these methodological reasons do not provide highly valid results on causational relationship and therefore cannot be considered during further planning actions.

Nevertheless, several previous scientific works provide valid information on how rural development programmes contributed to socio-economic change. Estimations on the effects of several specific and innovative programmes were also prepared. For instance, the effectiveness of the agricultural development of geographical indications was addressed by Cei, Defrancesco, and Stefani (2018). They applied regression analysis to find out whether geographical indications contributed to general agricultural value added in Italy and reached a positive result. On the other hand, Parasecoli and Tasaki (2011) provide a theoretical investigation on the question and argue that geographical indications could quantifiably serve as a community development tool, too. In their paper Terluin and Roza (2010) collect various methodological approaches applied by authors in the field of rural development policy assessment. The five major categories they differentiate are the 1) CMEF approach (indicators), the 2) Tally approach (evaluation of whether a pre-defined objective has been met) 3) Econometric approach (regression modelling, propensity score matching) for which two examples are presented 4) Modelling approach (matrices) 5) Case studies (employing mixed methods)

The LEADER programme, often named an experimental initiative even though it has a history of almost three decades, is yet another, often analysed development policy within the European Union besides agricultural developments and sustainability (Yang 2014, Vrebos et al. 2017). Though the programme name is not used anymore, in an extended way (CLLD), it still takes a mentionable part of EU development policies. As it aims to

foster and build local communities, the LEADER can be regarded neo-endogenous, bottom-up form of development (Bosworth et al. 2020). Though the evaluations are often very ad-hoc in nature (Midmore 1998), early analyses suggest that this 'grassroot' quality of the programme is often corrupted (Barke and Newton 1997). But even though neither the long-term policy goal of economic development is met, nor can community forming be seen in several cases on the long run, the programme had a role in raising awareness about disadvantageous rural areas (Esparcia Perez 2000). Papadopoulou, Hasanagas, and Harvey (2011) evaluate the working of LEADER in Greece with the use of social network analysis. They find that LEADER network structures are less hierarchical than other development structures, equal perception of effectiveness and lower trust are two basic characteristics of members of the programme. Other researchers dealing with policy evaluation issues develop complex theoretic frameworks serving as a basis for common perspectives in rural policy evaluation (Prager et al. 2015, Schouten et al. 2012). Network analysis is a common tool for investigating the LEADER programme. Besides the mentioned Spanish and Greek authors, such a tool was employed by Bosworth et al. (2016) and (Böcher 2008), who, besides positive effects, find a great influence of top-down connections in this otherwise supposedly bottom-up initiative. The LEADER project was extensively investigated in the Hungarian case, too (Balogh 2016, Blága 2015, Czúni 2018, Finta 2012, Sárosi-Blága 2016, Vinkóczi 2017). Both Balogh (2016) and, in his thesis, Megyesi (2014), though employing different methods and with different geographical scopes, find a great diversity between LEADER network structures at the different geographical locations.

In general, analyses of the EU's Cohesion Policy, Regional and Common Agricultural Policy employ both qualitative and quantitative tools which indeed show a great variety of approaches. In an international context, Gray (2009) find that those countries with more EAFRD funds benefit more from higher economic revenues and thus a longer-lasting effect of such subsidies are expected. In a recent study and Romania as a case, Puie (2020) presents simple descriptive statistics to analyse the impact of subsidies on entrepreneurship. By the use of spatial econometrics (Yang et al. 2015) methods, Smit et al. (2015) find that axis1 development programmes supported by EAFRD funds generally increase agricultural productivity throughout the European Union. In the case of France and the Netherlands, by the application of similar methodology Desjeux (2015) investigates the environmental initiatives of the CAP and generally finds a positive impact. Employing multinomial logistic regression modelling, Zasada et al. (2018) find a

positive impact of agrarian subsidies on improvement of natural capital (and sustainability).

Several authors employ quasi-experimental methodologies in addressing rural development programmes' effects. Gagliardi and Percoco (2017) by considering only disadvantaged European areas, use regression discontinuity design to find that European Cohesion Funds contributed positively to the economic performance of disadvantageous areas, however, a good geographical location seems crucial for these effects to be indeed positive. Research validity is often limited by the fact that the target of such projects is complex, as they aim to affect various aspects of the socio-economic and environmental life in parallel. In accord, complex measures were invented to grasp this variety. Nijkamp and Blaas (1995) wanted to propose a model for the impact assessment of complex regional development programmes, that is on the other hand accessible and applicable for a wide field. They applied this model in the case of the Netherlands, and found that the correlation between regional subsidies and private investment, though being positive, vary greatly over time. Michalek and Zarnekow (2012) developed a composite index for grasping rural areas' level of socio-economic development and applied this index in the case of Slovakia. They found positive effects of subsidies and a spill-over effect towards underdeveloped regions. This index was applied to the Hungarian case by Fertő and Varga (2015) and Bakucs et al. (2018). The former authors concluded that "*it is very difficult to identify any impacts of subsidies, because estimations are highly sensitive on the chosen parameters. The significance of identified effects is rather low and its direction can be both positive and negative. We conclude that, irrespective of estimated coefficients, the impact of regional subsidies is negligible*." (Fertő and Varga 2015, 117). In somewhat later analyses, Bakucs, Fertő, and Benedek (2019) and Bakucs et al. (2018) employ generalized propensity score matching method when analysing regional development subsidies' effects and draw similarly disappointing conclusions. Similar methodological tools were employed by Becker, Egger, and von Ehrlich (2012) with (NUTS-3) regional GDP being dependent variable in models to identify the desirable intensity of subsidies for reaching a general aggregate efficiency of subsidies and an optimal redistribution. Further attempts for development policy evaluations were made by Balás et al. (2015) and Molnár et al. (2010).

A general EU NUTS-3 level analysis is provided by Bonfiglio et al. (2016). The authors, by analysing the effects of rural development subsidies of the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (as 'the major' EU policy) and the distribution with the application of I-O

modelling claim that through intersectoral linkages, subsidies spill over and re-distributes their effects towards richer and urban regions. They understand "effects" as the actual per-capita GDP of the given regions.

Social Return on Investment (SROI) method was used by Courtney and Powell (2020) in their recent study for the investigation of EU rural development policies, in particular axes 1 and 3. The method employs a micro approach and the authors conducted personal interviews with 196 rural development subsidy beneficiaries to find that social outcomes of these subsidies to conclude that a social spillover is more likely to be expected from axis 3 subsidies. Qualitative personal interview methods were used by Meixner, Schlögl, and Pichlbauer (2020) who analysed the impacts of rural development subsidies in the Austrian case. They found positive business effects and also concluded that most entrepreneurs would refrain from innovations in the absence of subsidies.

Simple statistical correlations between EU rural development subsidies (EAFRD payments) and regional GDP as well as regional unemployment and other variables on the NUTS-2 level (considering the European Union) were computed by Lillemets and Viira (2019) who found negative correlations between subsidies and GDP.

Besides researches addressing the effects of rural development subsidies and programmes, several analyses investigate the distribution of resources. The policy aim of development is generally the closing-up of disadvantages and the reduction of inequalities (of different sorts and among different subjects), however, several authors recognise that redistribution tend to follow power structure differences thus development projects might regenerate rather than decrease inequalities[8]. Therefore, it is unfortunate both from a social justice and a methodological sense, that researches have indeed found some evidences for a corrupted development system. For instance, (Fazekas and Tóth 2017) analyse public procurement announcements under the EU Public Procurement Directive from the 2009-2014 period and on the EU-level. By comparing contracts of EU-funded tenders with those not being funded in an experimental setting, the authors find that EU-funded public procurement contracts generally entail a higher risk of corruption (e.g.

[8] The possibility of such corruption is crucial to be investigated not merely in search for social justice, but also from a methodological point of view: if redistributive systems, and in particular, if the rural development system favours the more advantageous, then a bias is present towards the general success of programmes and subsidies. In this case, more precise methodological tools are needed to opt out these biases when investigating 'true' effects.

share of single bidders) than others, though this relationship varies greatly between individual countries. In the same issue, with regard to the Polish and Hungarian case, Medve-Bálint (2017) analyse subsidies funding altogether around 164 thousand projects of the EU's 2007-2013 budget period on the settlement and regional level in relation with socio-economic variables as well as citizens' voting patterns. The constructed multilevel regression models suggest that per capita funds, with all other factors being fixed tend to flow towards regions with higher level of wealth and a larger population. An exception under this rule is the Hungarian case preceding the year 2010, when unemployment rate and subsidies were in a positive relationship. Regional models on the other hand suggest corruption in the political sense, too: voting behaviour of citizens has a role in the distribution of development funds, although patterns change. Pre-2010 left-wing, and standing-to-loose government seem to have favoured their own 'strongholds' (voting patterns favouring them), whereas post-2010 populist-conservative and self-confident government seem to have favoured those localities with greater competition between parties, to 'strengthen up' their own men. (Medve-Bálint 2017)

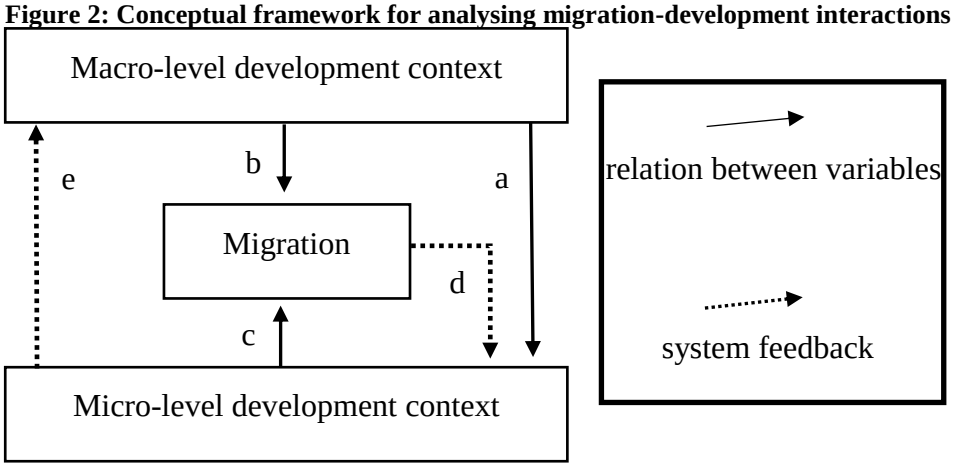
An experimental setting is employed by Balogh (2012), who, analysing EU-subsidies of the 2004-2006 period in the Hungarian, and in particular, in the case of a specific Hungarian region, find that rural development projects do not seem to match their aims and the redistribution system prefers localities with better status, therefore the system may reproduce the previously existing differences rather than diminishing them. The author reveals that especially those disadvantageous microregions that were positively discriminated by polices were in fact less likely to receive funds. However, party political influences were not present. With the use of qualitative and network analysis methodologies, Bodor-Eranus (2013) also concludes, that in contrast with the aims, local governments with better lobbying activities become absolute grantees of the development policy system by the very fact that they are the ones applying for funds in the first place. In her dissertation, the author argues that the number of handed-in tenders are influenced by system characteristics (such as the availability of economic capital for own contribution), settlement functions (e.g. central status), personal aspirations of settlement political leaders as well as their network positions (i.e. social capital).

3.3. Connecting development with migration

3.3.1. Theories

Essentially, the aim of development programmes to avoid the depopulation of underdeveloped regions as well as the overpopulation of centrums sets the field for analysing development-migration interactions. This can be aligned with aims of international subsidies to decrease international migration (Caselli 2019). Nevertheless, migration itself can contribute to or forestall the development of sending and receiving areas. Though maybe not indicated saliently in **Figure 2**, de Haas (2010) argues that migration is not a pure outcome variable and not independent from development environment, rather, the two variables are integrated and endogenous. Even though the author argues for the inclusion of general development context in analyses exploring effects of migration on development (rather than vice versa), for a study analysing effects of rural development subsidies on outwards mobility, reflecting to this circularity is a must, which may be done by either focusing on the individual interactions one by one or developing an all-inclusive empirical methodology.

Figure 2: Conceptual framework for analysing migration-development interactions

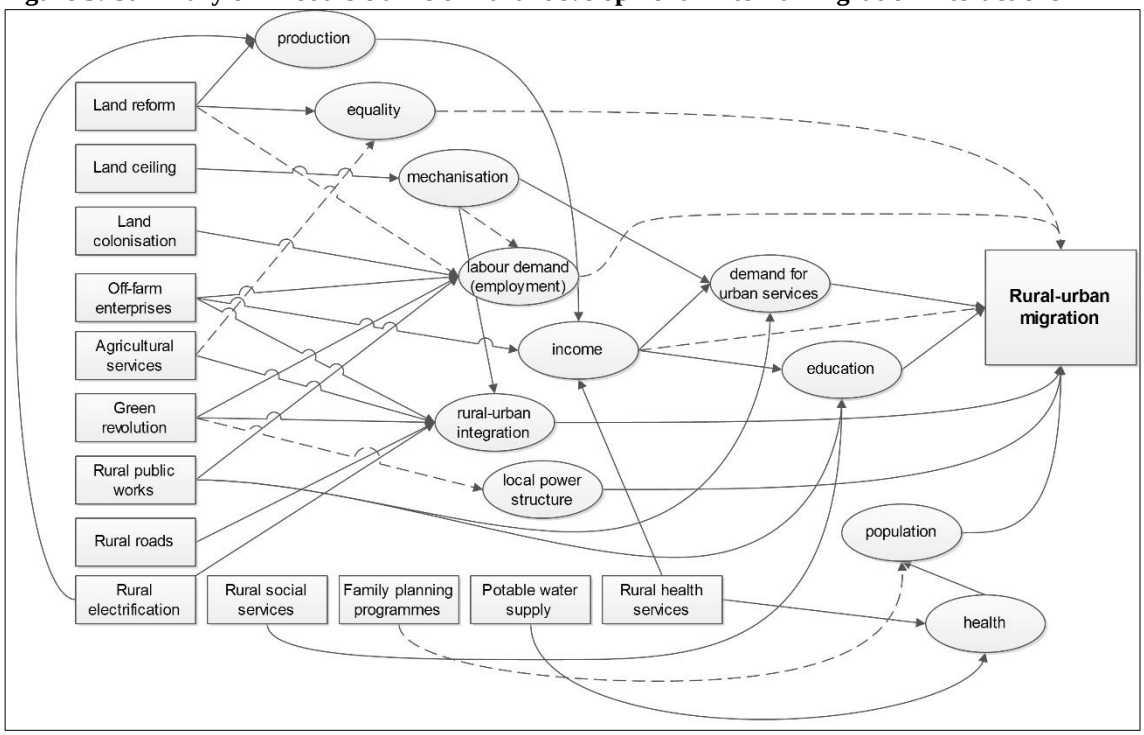


Source: own re-editing based on de Haas (2010, 254.)

In an extensive paper, (Rhoda 1983) summarized findings of previous researches on development-migration interactions in order to evaluate, whether rural development projects could indeed reduce rural-urban migration, as is expected by policies. He starts his paper by summarizing different conceptual theories (those addressing the 4 factors of migration: the origin; the destination; intervening and, finally, personal factors) and economic models of migration (human capital model; expected income model; intersectoral linkage model). Afterwards, the author presents previous researches on the direct relationship between various forms of development and internal migration.

Explanatory fields of development are categorised into three groups: 1) agricultural development interventions (such as land reforms and the so-called 'green revolution', automatization and agricultural services); 2) non-agricultural economic development interventions (such as public utilities and non-farm enterprises) and finally, 3) social service developments (such as education, family planning programmes and rural health services)[9]. Based on results of previous researches, the author argues that the general claim on rural development interventions reduce rural-urban migration does not seem justified. Even though no clear-cut answers may be provided, the assumption that the development of underdeveloped regions result in a decreased level of internal migration should be rejected. The basic assumption is that, as previous researches suggest, development programmes (or, to be more precise, the development of some services in rural areas) indeed do have effect on various factors, and through them, on rural-urban migration. Nevertheless, besides factors which trail no effect, there are several negative ties, too. Thus, effects might suppress one another, too.

Figure 3: Summary of Rhoda's claims on rural development - internal migration interactions



Source: Own editing based on claims of Rhoda (1983). Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0
Note: Solid lines indicate positive interaction; dashed lines indicate negative interaction

A reconstruction of Rhoda's arguments is presented in **Figure 3**. As can be seen, all factors that bonds urban and rural areas together (such as rural market demands for urban

[9] It is important to note that examples originate mostly from underdeveloped ('third world') countries rather than Western Europe or the U.S.

services, rural-urban integration due to infrastructure developments) or raises local cultural capital, furthermore, population growth and changes in local power structure is argued to be influencing rural-urban migration positively. Conversely, interventions which raise local labour demands, incomes and equality might act negatively.

Realising the under-theorised nature of migration researches, de Haas (2014) develops a possible general theory that might be useful in addressing several forms of migration phenomena under various circumstances. The argument is, that while quantitative researches, applying functionalist, data driven and causality-oriented approaches which ignore inequality and individual factors and regard people as passive subjects rather than actors of migration, qualitative researches, focusing on personal motivations and perceptions, completely reject, or at least ignore migration theories. In parallel – so the author goes on – functionalist and historical-structuralist theories (referred to by quantitative researches) fail to entirely grasp migration phenomena. Former theories presuppose that subjects act to reach a general equilibrium, and besides, are insensitive to social institutions influencing migration. On the other hand, latter theories overemphasize this influence and leave no space for personal agency.

What de Haas (2014) proposes is not a general, rather, a contextual theory for migration, or a 'conceptual eclecticism', which serves the connection of particular research results to more general phenomena. Migration, according to the author should be regarded as an intrinsic part of social change (rather than a phenomenon affecting or being affected by it). The proposal builds on the development idea of Sen (2001) and the concept of involuntary mobility of Carling (2002). As much as Sen equates development with freedom, de Haas, as mentioned, regards migration with freedom (and thus, social change: development). Migration is regarded as a function of capabilities and aspirations which intervene with one another, too. Here, capabilities stand for negative and positive liberties as understood by Berlin (1969), whereas aspirations are constituted by general life aspirations and perceived spatial opportunity structures (i.e. migration aspirations in its narrower sense). de Haas (2014) argues, that Sen (2001) does not feature migration on connection with the concept of freedom and development[10]. Nevertheless, by equating migration with development and regarding migration as a function of aspirations and

[10] It should be noted, that strictly speaking, this is not necessarily true, as Sen regards general development as a process defined by the "*replacement of bonded labor and forced work (...) with a system of free labor contract and unrestrained physical movement*" (Sen 2001, 28). Still, it is true that migration does not play a major role in the general idea.

capabilities, the scope of migration theories can be widened to describe several previous, particular migration studies[11]. Consequently, arguments on whether the general norm is to stay or to move should be surpassed, and instead, what should be measured besides actual mobility patterns is the general opportunities for movement.

Figure 4: Positive and negative liberty and categories of migration

		Positive liberty (capabilities)	
		Low	High
Negative liberty (external constraints)	Low	**'Precarious migration'** internal and international, by relatively poor or impoverished people vulnerable to exploitation, such as irregular labour migrants, failed asylum seekers, IDPs, trafficking,) (eg Historical structural theories, segmented labour market theory)	**'Distress migration'** eg refugees, fleeing from adverse and/or potentially life-threatening conditions possessing the resources to move abroad legally
	High	**'Improvement migration'** internal and international, often through networks, recruitment or pooling of family resources (eg New Economics of Labour Migration theory; Network theories; Cumulative causation)	**'Free migration'** relatively unconstrained movement in and between wealthy countries or by wealthy people, skilled workers, 'lifestyle' migrants (eg neo-classical theory)

Source: de Haas (2014, 31)

Figure 5: Aspirations-capabilities derived individual mobility types

		Migration capabilities	
		Low	***High***
Migration aspirations (intrinsic and/or instrumental)	***High***	**Involuntary immobility** (Carling 2002) (feeling 'trapped')	**Voluntary mobility** (most forms of migration)
	Low	**Acquiescent immobility** (Schewel 2015)	**Voluntary immobility** *and* **Involuntary mobility** (eg refugees, 'soft deportation')[13]

Source: de Haas (2014, 32)

Distinguishing between negative and positive liberties in relation to migration provides an opportunity to categorise migration under various circumstances. Therefore, connections could be set between particular research fields and results. On the other hand, the aspiration-capabilities framework is useful to categorise the different forms of migration (and non-migration). This brings together research dimensions and may create a common ground for analyses of different forms of geographical mobility, with the inclusion of those findings that deal with intrinsic forms of migration, as well as both involuntary and 'acquiescent' (Schewel 2015) forms of immobility.

[11] For instance, de Haas warns researchers not to regard migration as a simple 'means-to-an-end' equipment for the guarantee of a better life for the individual. Rather, just as Sen considers forms of liberty as being well-being enhancing on their own right (i.e. whether or not somebody takes the opportunity), de Haas regards migration opportunity as a general wellbeing-enhancing factor without respect of one deciding to move or stay.

3.3.2. Research directions

For economic models focusing on the interaction of the two variables, a usual basis is the classical model of Harris and Todaro (1970). The authors conclude that in parallel with urban and rural wages reaching an equilibrium, internal migration also do, and thus, rural-urban mobility ceases. This model was further developed by several authors, including new variables (such as human capital accumulation plans of potential migrants), explaining the never entirely diminishing urban-rural wage differences (Lucas 2004). Another way in which this model was reconsidered was by the inclusion of regional factors. According to Arcalean, Glomm, and Schiopu (2012) infrastructure developments reduce rural emigration, however, decreasing migration has different effects in relatively 'rich' and 'poor' regions, having more desirable economic outcomes in the latter. Economic models thus don't agree on the economic effects of internal migration, but they seem to have a common standpoint expecting that by the reduction of economic and labour-market differences, intensity of migration reduces too.

An archetype of statistics-based internal migration research is the census data based work of Ravenstein (1885). Besides census data, later investigations use residence databases as well. One of the most extensive research in internal migration topic so far was the IMAGE (Internal Migration Around the Globe) project between 2011-2015, which was based on national data of residence changes (1 or 3 years' cycles). Research leaders Bell et al. (2015) employed simple correlation analyses to identify factors influencing the intensity of internal migration on the macro level, in international context. They found, that the higher developed a country's economy (GDP; added value of agriculture), human resources (HDI), infrastructure (road network), moreover, the higher the growth level of population and the share of young cohorts are, the higher the intensity of internal migration. During a former international research, Minh (2002) finds, that internal migration is not influenced by the level of rural poverty. These macro statistics cannot deal with intra-national regional differences and settlement structures, and we see, that authors discussing the relationship between overall development level of a country and migration is are in contradiction.

Surveys provide a great opportunity for a micro-level analysis of the phenomenon, especially for analysing factors affecting migration aspirations and migration decision making on the individual (rather than national) level. Literature of international migration – especially considering Europe – is rich in surveys, however, this is not true for the topic

of internal migration. Besides representative researches focusing on a specific region or country, in its survey, Gallup has also measured migration aspirations international research. Most papers using these data deal with international migration however (particularly in the context of South-America-USA and East-West Europe migration flows). Dustmann and Okatenko (2014) also used this database to measure the impact of income on migration aspirations. By the analysis of micro-level income differences, the authors found support for the hypotheses, that people with medium income are the ones most likely to move. According to the explanation, people with less income are financially not able to migrate, whereas wealthy people don't have to. Authors argue that factors such as public security and quality of public services are important factors of migration aspiration and are in a negative relationship (better services – less emigrant). Other surveys of similar kinds do not find such a connection (Tikász 2007), or considering specific services (information) find opposite results (Vilhelmson and Thulin 2013).

Unlike survey investigations, researches based on qualitative document analyses, biography-analyses, and interviews can analyse migration decision making as being embedded in a complex socio-cultural context. Interviews may discover the cultural meaning of migration beyond labour market matters from the perspective of the individual (Halfacree 2004). According to the standpoint of these researches, leaving (home)village is a symbolic action that has its meaning beyond the outcomes of pure cost-benefit calculations of labour market and economic matters. Migration decision making can be understood as a moral statement of the individual about herself, that is shaped by the social meaning of 'rural' and 'urban', 'village' and 'city', 'here' and 'there' (Ni Laoire 2000). The meaning of rural is connected to the past, being stuck, traditions, whereas urban implies concepts of future, progress, adventure, modernity. Therefore, the decision making act of moving can be understood as a commitment to the latter principles (Crivello 2015)[12].

[12] Qualitative researches of rural-urban migration often focus on disadvantageous rural areas, therefore, factors of economic differences always appear. However, we might only have hypotheses about the effects of economic change on these 'meanings' of urban-rural division. In case we hypothesize that economic development has no effect on the meaning of urban and rural, therefore, no effect on the meaning of emigration, then we can expect – having all other factors unchanged – a constant level of migration as economic development progresses. If we hypothesize the contrary, a negative change in the intensity of rural-urban emigration might be expected on the long term.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

After describing the theories related to development-migration interactions, this chapter will provide an basis for the analysis by showing its concrete societal context, both by introducing socio-economic patterns of contemporary Hungary, and introducing primary statistics as well as former empirical works done by researchers in the matters of rural development and internal migration. This will be done with the purpose of providing a basis for the investigation as well as for providing a description in order to ensure scientific validity of following the empirical steps.

4.1. Rural Hungary

4.1.1. Historical outline

Agricultural production was traditionally a decisive sector of the Hungarian economy, both with regard to the share of products among other economic goods and with regard to employment: the share people engaged in agricultural production. The relatively high share of agrarian population only started to decline in the last decades of the 19th century as the industrial revolution belatedly started to unfold. However, the share of agriculture in total labour force decreased from three quarters to only half of all employed people from 1870 by the end of World War II, which shows the partial characteristic of industrialisation (Kopsidis 2008).

To foster economic change, state socialist systems in the 1950s and 1960s aimed to forcefully industrialise the Hungarian economy. By the late 1960s, due to these policies and reaching a climax in agrarian collectivisation (deprivatisation of lands) too, the productiveness of the Hungarian first sector was one of the highest within state socialist systems (Harcsa, Kovách, and Szelényi 1998). By this time, due to the shift towards a labour efficient agrarian production, a high proportion of former rural dwellers found jobs in the manufacturing industry. Though a distinctive portion of the new worker class moved to cities, a large share of them remained in villages and rather commuted: the pace of urbanisation was not able to keep up with industrialisation (Konrád and Szelényi 1971).

By the end of the state socialist era, governmental tolerance towards the private sector has rose, and entrepreneurship appeared in the countryside (Herslund 2012, Letenyei 2001, Mitchell 1998) A rising share of family businesses led to the unfolding and

continuous evolving of the so called ‘second economy’ which meant alternative sources of income. Those were rural dwellers, who, by having smaller gardens, could economically benefit the most and could reduce their relative socio-economic disadvantages (Harcsa, Kovách, and Szelényi 1998). The Hungarian transition process in the beginning of the 1990s has had various rural-specific effects, from which the most considerable is the cutback of collective farming and a radical shift towards a new, fragmented structure of land ownership (Meurs 2001). As an outcome, stabile land properties were ceased to exist (Juhász 2006) and this at the end halved the number of farm-labourers in only 4 years (Kolosi and Róbert 2004). The process of transition in Hungary may be viewed as an important step in post-industrialisation, despite this was only because of the collapse of agrarian manufacturing industry (Meurs 2001).

4.1.2. Economic status and demographic changes

The current economic situation of the Hungarian countryside can be understood considering three major tendencies: first, the historical belatedness of the industrialisation, which resulted in a relatively high ratio of non-urban dwellers and a lower level of urbanisation (Enyedi 2011). Second, the automatization in agriculture in parallel with the regress of manufacturing industry. And third, the changes in financial redistribution sources.

Authors describe the post-socialist period as an era with a further shrinking of agriculture, for which a reason was, that even though several co-operatives have survived the system change, privatisation of the lands was happening more rapidly than privatisation in any other economic sectors (Csite and Kovách 2002). Juhász (2006) describes the political action of land privatisation and compensation as an action of taking lands from those making their livings by agrarian production and giving them to those unable to engage in farming. The author argues that the best describing factor of a village’s economic opportunities lie in their geographical distance from cities with economic opportunities. Nevertheless, during the transition period, opportunities in the urban manufacturing industry declined rapidly, which is even more due to those rural dwellers having lower-level skills. “(…)*the occupation capacities of the so-called large-scale industry was not only weakened by the crisis, but also by an alteration in technologies and labour division, consequently, people unable to adapt to quality technologies or to the new cooperation culture became unemployable*” (Juhász 2006, 582, own translation) The author’s diagnosis on agricultural privatisation is echoed by Kovách (2016), who states that as

soon as by 1996, the 94 percent of all lands were sold and consequently, around 15 percent of the population became land owners, resulting in a land structure stipulated by small holdings. On the other hand, it is stated, too, that a two-third of all lands were not used by owners and were rented out instead.

In a recent work, Csatári, Farkas, and Lennert (2019) provide a systematic summary on the agriculture-related changes of the economy of the Hungarian countryside. The authors agree with Kovách (2016) when describing the latest few decades as the history of continuous concentration and the automatization of Hungarian farm holdings, which is on the other hand regarded as the only profitable form of agricultural production. As they argue, the contemporary agriculture is influenced very much by EU development goals and subsidies, which is so to say the only source for development in the agriculture. The analysis of the authors moves beyond agrarian production and take into consideration the rural population in general. As they wholesomely summarize, "*The disappearance of peasantry, the lack of professionals, ownership concentration, limited career (or subsistence) paths, unemployment and a lack of employees are often strike the same municipalities at once, and are coupled with depopulation, aging and the impoverishment of at least one-third of the rural society*" (Csatári, Farkas, and Lennert 2019, 51).

The latest idea in the previous quotation refer to the argument of several authors, namely, that the countryside became very differentiated in previous decades and in several aspects and should not be regarded as one (Csite and Kovách 2002, Csurgó 2013, Kovách 2012, 2016, Valuch 2015, Váradi 2013, Virág 2010). Understanding these differences and variability, several authors have tried to provide category systems for Hungarian villages. The just quoted Csatári, Farkas, and Lennert (2019) differentiate villages based on their position in the settlement system. This is described better in one of the previous essays of the first author, in which he says: "*In essence, rural spaces in Hungary became threefold. The future of suburban areas of cities (…) seems to be assured. Villages (…) of rural areas, which are relatively accessible, connected to urban centres and having well-developed agriculture or high-quality holiday functions (…) are hopefully sustainable. However, rural spaces of the interior and exterior peripheries (with about a quarter of the rural population and territory) are in a deep crisis*" (Csatári 2017, 11).

In a former systematic categorisation of Hungarian villages, Beluszky (1965) developed a multilevel classification based on purely the economic 'functions' of the different rural settlements. Altogether five major types were differentiated (using the author's original

English-language labels): 1) agricultural villages 2) industrial villages 3) special villages (which are villages being highly frequented by tourists) 4) residential villages and finally, 5) villages with mixed functions. The author then assigns all villages to one category. The settlement-level map reveals, that in the year of the analysis, most villages belonged to the first category, whereas we find some industrial villages in mining areas and residential villages close to major cities. Though the author admits that his category system is a deductively developed theoretical construct, he tests this system based on (underdefined) statistical data on workers of a Hungarian county.

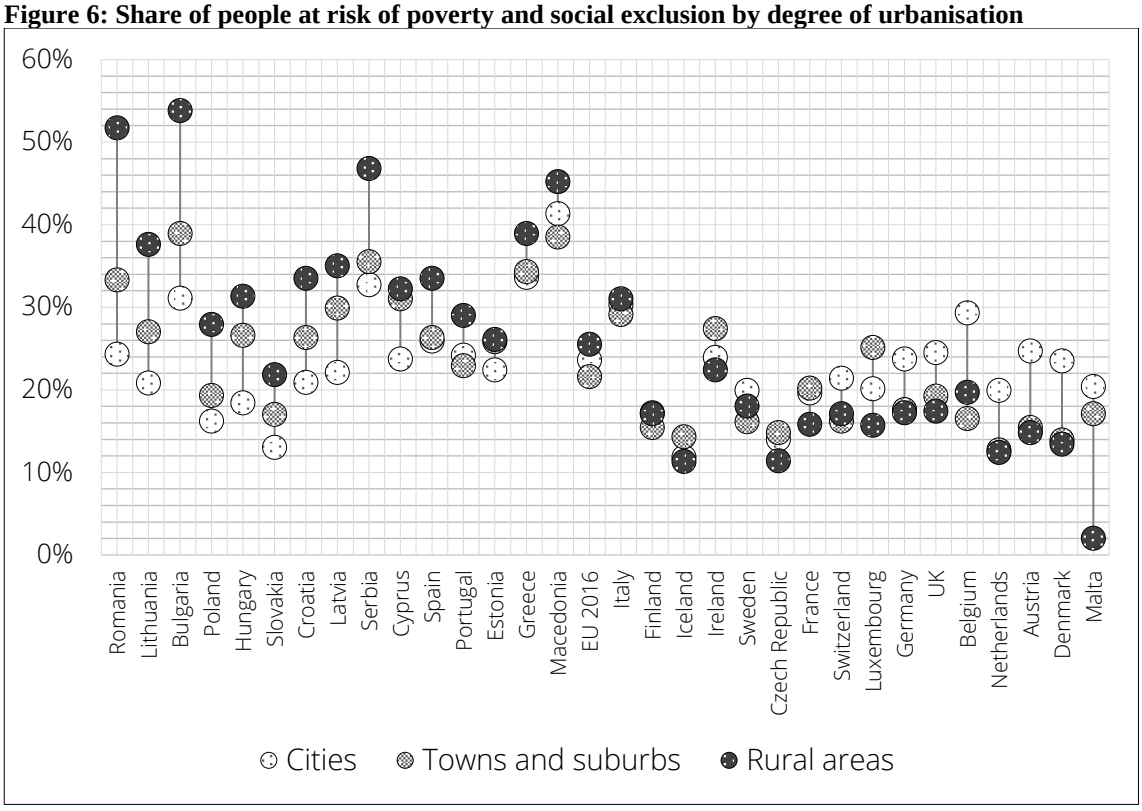
This model was further developed by Beluszky and Sikos (1981) who applied factor analysis and cluster analysis on the subsample of villages of an investigated Hungarian region. Altogether 10 factors were made with the use of 8 indicators, with which the authors aimed to grasp different aspects of rural life (agricultural environment; settlement network position; economic function; services; development programmes; transportation; public utilities; general level of development). Decades later, a similar analysis was done by the same authors on the full sample of Hungarian villages, now employing 8 factors altogether and cluster analysis with the use of these factors (Beluszky and Sikos 2007). The cluster analysis revealed 5 major types of settlements: suburban; residential; touristic; traditional (with a relatively higher portion, 6 percent of agrarian workers) and micro villages. The first and last categories were further divided into 3 and 2 types, respectively.

Based on partially the works of these authors, Csite and Kovách (2002) identified 6 types of Hungarian villages, which followed the previous works in the sense that their starting point were differences in settlement structure positions and economic character between settlements. However, they emphasized the strong relationship between economic and social factors, therefore, the categories reflect the high-level differentiation between villages after the transition period and consequently, new tendencies in separation, too. The six categories were as follows: suburban villages; civic villages (with a distinct middle class), holiday villages, stagnating, declining villages and finally, alternative villages (with a community sharing a specific political or religious ideology ‘occupying’ the settlement). This category system, as we can see, completely moves beyond questions of agrarian production, indicating a radical decrease in its importance in employment throughout the decades and villages’ growing dependence on urban-rural connections.

4.1.3. Social patterns

The socio-economic differentiation between villages might be explained based on the growing importance of urban-rural connections. Those rural areas being strongly connected (mostly in an infrastructural and economic sense) to larger urban centres are described as being developed, whereas those are mostly smaller villages on the peripheries in which social problems heighten. According to Eurostat (**Figure 6**), in general, the share of rural dwellers of Hungary, who are at the risk of poverty and social exclusion are the double than those living in urban areas. In this sense, Hungary is very similar to other Eastern-European countries, whereas in the West, the contrary is to be seen.

Figure 6: Share of people at risk of poverty and social exclusion by degree of urbanisation



EU-countries ranked by proportionate rural/urban gap. (Source: own construction. Data: Eurostat 2016)

The two ‘extremes’ of rural social problems deriving from the growth of importance of urban-rural connections are suburbanisation and the depravation of specific areas of the Hungarian countryside. Several researchers have formerly investigated both ‘extremes’. According to Enyedi (2011), Hungarian (and East-European) suburbanisation can be understood as penetration of the urban lifestyle into rural areas and also a symptom of the formulating civic middle-class, which was interrupted by the state socialist system. Csanádi and Csizmady (2002), by regarding suburban rural areas as a functional part of the given cities analyse reasons of urban-suburban migration employing both census and

survey data. Generally, the authors perceive an exodus from the capital city, which is directed towards either the agglomeration or beyond. They argue that urban-suburban movers are mostly higher-educated, medium-status people, thus, members of the middle-class, whose decision was motivated by either necessity (almost a third of responses) or by a pursue for a better lifestyle (more than half of responses). The peak of the suburbanisation process was around the time the authors' paper was published and urban-suburban migration reached an equilibrium a few years afterwards (Dövényi 2009).

Social consequences of these trends are presented in the most detailed way and most currently by Csurgó (2013) who employed a constructivist approach in understanding how rural spaces are shaped by those moving out from cities, their consumer needs and concepts about 'rural'. Based on an extensive series of qualitative fieldwork, the author differentiates three groups of movers, which are defined by their motivations and what they want to achieve by moving to the rural suburbs: 1) status representation 2) safety, steadiness, peace and wealth 3) community, nature and traditions. A great value of the paper is the discovery of the ideological conflict between these urban-origin modernist and post-modern values, the discovery of practical conflicts between native dwellers and newcomers and showing how the suburban rural is consumed by urban social groups.

Besides suburbs, the other 'extreme' of rural areas based on their connections to cities are constituted by those settlements being 'far away' and which are habited by the third of the rural population (Csatári, Farkas, and Lennert 2019) or with another approach, 4 percent (Beluszky and Sikos 2007), 6 percent (Kovács 2005) or 15 percent of the whole population, depending of course on the definition (Virág 2010). In his book, Kovách (2012) describes four major reasons for the appearance of the impoverished countryside in the post-socialist era. 1) The economic shift which is described previously and which is constituted by two elements: land concentration with automatization in the agrarian sector, and the downsizing of the socialist manufacturing industry. These sudden shocks were followed by a boost in unemployment and poverty. 2) As another cause, the interlocking of poverty with ethnical conflicts and segregation, as a large proportion of the Roma population was exposed to the mentioned socio-economic shock. 3) The shift to a capitalist system would have required a reform of the economic redistribution system to favour rural employment – the lack of such policy interventions might be considered as the third reason, along with another political one, namely, 4) the restructuring and "rationalisation" of the education system. This have led to the closing down of several

public schools and thus raising difficulties for the rural youth and unemployed in receiving quality education and cutting off paths for upwards mobility. (Kovách 2012)

Virág (2010) labels these depressed rural regions as ghettos. As the author argues, a consequence of Hungary staying a 'rural country' (with a high proportion of the population living in non-urban areas and urban areas lacking in several regions) was the focalisation of several social problems within the countryside. The lack of urban areas in various Hungarian regions is not only indicating problems of the settlement structure but also more generally, a lag in socio-economic changes (such as embourgeoisement or industrialisation). Spatial and social differentiation come parallelly, and saliently can be witnessed in ghettos constituting the low-end segment of the Hungarian settlement structure (embodying social problems such as poverty, unemployment, exclusion from social services, ethnical conflicts, exploitation). Based on the example of a Hungarian microregion and especially, a village within the region, the author argues, that the two option for dwellers is either to (following local traditions and cultural history), engage in temporal or permanent migration, or to stay and obtain underpaid casual labour opportunity and social aids which rather conserve than relieve poverty and exclusion. In addition, channels of vertical mobility incredibly tightened in the post-socialist era, depriving the population of these regions of even the hope of a better life (Virág 2010).

On the macro level, peripheral micro villages of Hungary after the transition are characterised by a decreasing level of population supporting capacity in the terms of labour opportunities, but depending on their positions in the settlement structure, this general attribute leads to various results and a variation among even the smallest of settlements – can be unfolded based on the argument of Kovács (2008). Based on the author, villages might be marked on a scale leading from those having immobile, segregated but growing population towards those realigning, integrated villages suffering great population loss during the first decades of the post-socialist period.

On the micro level, these disadvantages might be unfolded through narratives of personal life strategies. Based on a series of interview-based field researches, Váradi (2015) examines strategies of the most up-staged population (partially belonging to the Roma ethnic minority). The author considers poverty as a multielement status including factors of not only the economic and labour market status, but also (and mostly originating from economic status) elements of social ties and physical as well as psychological wellbeing. By analysing personal life strategies, the author argues that vertical mobility is not only

inviable but also unnecessary for members of underprivileged social groups, as in several cases, labour of individuals is very much needed within the closer social context (e.g. family), and therefore it is exactly the local social capital which narrows down personal career opportunities, especially among the Roma population.

Villages of the Hungarian periphery suffered two great shocks in the post-socialist era. The first one was the depopulation of the countryside, which was followed by immigration of underclass people unable to maintain their lifestyles in other settlements of the country, often increasing ethnical conflicts, too. Forming the above statement, Feischmidt (2013) differentiates various mobility-related life (and identity) strategies among Roma population of peripheral micro settlements of the Hungarian countryside. Among the four differentiated groups, only one is constituted by those being mobile, and one further group hoping for vertical mobility and most hopelessly live day-to-day.

The Hungarian countryside is characterised by a great and growing variability, even among rural areas marked by a similar spatial-geographic pattern, such as agglomeration (Kovách, Kristóf, and Megyesi 2006) or peripheral (Kovács 2008) regions. As the rural countryside is populated by up to 70 percent of the Hungarian population depending on the definition of rural (or non-urban) (Kovách 2012), a the social context of rural research is incredibly diverse in the Hungarian case.

4.2. Rural development

Rural restructuring in Hungary in its narrower sense was facilitated by national and, from the beginning of Hungary's EU accession negotiations, international subsidies, resulting in unprecedented land concentration, automatization and a decrease in human labour needs within agriculture in the post-socialist era (Csatári, Farkas, and Lennert 2019, Kovách 2016). In his reports, the former MP and under-secretary Ángyán (2014) provides a detailed description of the interaction between rural development subsidies and land concentration, often being strongly connected with systematic government corruption, leading to a politically highly channelled agriculture. The negative social consequences of rural restructuring in this sense (such as unemployment, poverty, social exclusion), especially in depressed and peripheral regions are well-documented by several researchers (Csatári 2017, Feischmidt 2013, Kovács 2008, Váradi 2015, Virág 2010).

Another possible view of this issue is to regard land concentration not as shockingly new phenomenon, rather, as a century-long trend, which only unfolds somewhat more rapidly

in the decades following the system change in around 1990, due to land policy changes and privatisation, and, especially after the EU-accession, partially due to various subsidies (Juhász 2006, Kolosi and Róbert 2004, Kovách 2016). According to this approach, the slow restructuring of the Hungarian agriculture can be regarded as an advancement and closing-up to the Western economies. This is best described by Bell, Lloyd, and Vatovec (2010), who summarize the material approach to rural (labelled as 'the first rural') as follows: "*industrial agriculture has made the rural landscape of the rich countries into a vast open-air assembly line little different from what goes on in cities aside from the lack of a roof. And now industrial agriculture is making widespread inroads in the poorer countries too*" (Bell, Lloyd, and Vatovec 2010, 208).

As a result of shifts in the Hungarian agriculture, the level of technological modernisation in the Hungarian agricultural production is undoubtedly, relatively high. On the other hand, and in contrast with Western European trends, as discussed in the previous subchapter, a large proportion of the population remained in rural areas, therefore, the Hungarian countryside is argued to be overpopulated (Kovách 2016). Rural areas in several aspects are in crisis: agriculture, as the core profile of European villages disappear and does not seem to be self-sustaining in this part of the world, it became a core issue of policies across Europe to react to economic, social and ecological issues that these questions imply (Horváth 1998).

EAFRD subsidies with concern to the countryside were targeting two areas in parallel: first, agricultural modernisation and second, the improvement of quality of life of the rural population. These two target areas, as seen, might even come with opposing results. By describing related changes in the Central-European context, Bański (2019) argues that after the EU accession of the Central-Eastern European countries, EU subsidies were of a great influence on the latter aspect, namely, overcoming spatial differences, too. These differences are argued to have been caused by the shift to the market economic system. Four major sources of development subsidies might be separated: "*The Structural Funds and Investment Funds deployed in this way were i.a. designated for regional development (via the European Regional Development Fund), for the development of agriculture and rural regions (the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development), and most importantly for economic convergence between more- and less-developed regions (via the Cohesion Fund)*" (Bański 2019, 4)

After the EU accession of Hungary in 2004, more than € 58 billion was spent for development purposes in the country, from which € 27 billion was acquired by Hungary in the 2007-2013 planning period. Compared to Hungary's GNI for year 2007, this is a 28 percent contribution[13]. EU funds played the leading role in all national developments since the accession, whereas national development expenditures decreased significantly (Szabó et al. 2016). EU subsidies were also complemented by national sources, however, these too remained at the minimum level. Based on calculations of the State Audit Office of Hungary, EU's single farm payments and EAFRD funds reached up to € 10,000 in the budget period of 2007-2013 alone (ÁSZ 2015). The data show the incredible reliance of Hungary's countryside on EU subsidies.

EU policy documents usually mention 3 main aims, for which reason they see it important financing development on these fields: first – and this is especially due to countries in Central Europe – the territorial differences within nation states are of a high volume, taking either the different regional or sub-regional territories, or the urban-rural distinction into account. This become serious considering income and wealth distribution, cultural and social differences, that might cause social conflicts on the long run. Second, agricultural production is not sustainable on its own in the global market, and on the other hand, only provide working opportunities to insufficient number of people. Third, rural environment in Europe is highly dependent on human activities. Therefore policy actions target serious social, economic and environmental issues. (Kovács 2013b)

For the planning period of 2007-2013, rural development policies, sponsored by EAFRD funds had 3 major, economic, environmental and territorial objectives, which are, as phrased by EU rural development policy documents:

> *"(1) improving the competitiveness of agriculture and forestry;*
>
> *(2) improving the environment and the countryside; and*
>
> *(3) improving the quality of life in rural areas and encouraging diversification of economic activity.*
>
> *Each of these objectives forms one of the three thematic axes which, together with the cross-cutting Leader approach, make up the structure of rural development policy 2007-2013"*
>
> (EC 2013b, 11)

[13] Data source: https://ec.europa.eu/budget/graphs/revenue_expediture.html. Downloaded: 13/09/2019

In parallel with the 3 general objectives thus, rural development was divided into four (three plus one) different development topics or themes, which were referred to as the four 'axes' of rural development. Out of these four axes, 1) the first one received more than 80 percent of the funds, and targeted agricultural production volumes and aimed to force investing in new equipment as well as to provide financial funds for agriculture production in order to make European farmers to be competitive on the global market. 2) The second axis targets similar goals with the special sensibility towards green issues – a sustainable land management and environment-friendly, diverse agriculture. 3) We might take the third axis as rural development in the narrower sense (fostering economic diversification and improving quality life in rural areas), whereas 4) the fourth axis (LEADER programme) targeted local communities and bottom-up development ideas ('neo-endogenous development') to empower them in planning their own future and coming up with development ideas (EC 2013a, Kovács 2013b, Szabó et al. 2016).

Since the EU-accession, Hungary has had two rural development programmes worked out by the government, both of which corresponds to the appropriate EU budget period and the general rural development policies of these periods, respectively. The first strategy document was entitled *New Hungary Rural Development Programme* (VM 2007) and was planning for the 2007-2013 period, whereas the second one, tailored for the 2014-2020 budget period was given the title of *National Rural Strategy* (VM 2012).

Both documents echo the European conceptions but, especially with regard to general goals, additional policy ideas also are presented. All core chapters of first programme is structured in accord with the 4 target areas (axes) of rural development. This statement stands for the general aims pronounced by the programme, too. As it is argued, competitiveness-focusing agricultural investments "*give preference to innovation, developments, high quality production, energy and cost saving, protection of the environment and to establishing the conditions for animal welfare*" (VM 2007, 77). Second axis-related goals of the programme are "*to current state of environment in rural areas needs to be further improved by the increased protection of territories with high natural values, by concerted actions for the mitigation wind and water erosion and by the dissemination of environment-friendly farming practices to sustain the favourable environmental conditions, the low level of environmental load*" (VM 2007, 81). Social and general economic goals appear under the paragraphs supposedly aiming to suit the 3rd axis: "*The improvement of low-level of employment, economic and entrepreneurial activity and the amelioration of the income conditions can be attained through economic*

restructuring conducive to a greater number of ventures with higher competitiveness, more jobs and better profitability. This requires development programmes focusing on incentives for entrepreneurship, the improvement of situation of the micro-enterprises, economic diversification leading the way out of agricultural production and enlargement of operations" (VM 2007, 84). This is extended in the section by the necessity of investing in human capital, preserving cultural and natural heritage as well as building local partnerships (the latter supposedly as part of 4th axis investments).

The National Rural Strategy (available only in Hungarian language) (VM 2012) was accepted by the government in 2012, and includes quite detailed description of overall policy ideas for the future. The major goals can be aligned with the previous policy document as well as EU rural development goals (the preservation of the natural values and capital of the landscape; diverse and viable agricultural production; food safety; assuring the viability of rural economy and increasing rural employment; strengthening local communities and improving rural life quality). However, the strategy defines a general aim, too, which has to do with rural depopulation, and is phrased as "*To increase population retaining and population supporting capacities of our rural areas*" (VM 2012, 57, own translation).

The phrase *population retaining capacity* refers to the ability of rural regions to decrease depopulation, whereas *population supporting capacity* means to provide jobs and services for those living in rural regions. According to Csatári (1986) the former phrase first appeared in the Sixth Five-year Plan under the state socialist system in 1980, and the goal of increasing villages' ability to keep their population was adapted by several county programmes, without having the term defined and the necessary practical steps determined. This phrase is the one thus reappearing as the central goal of rural development in Hungary from 2012 onwards, and this goal permanently reappear in government communication and policy goals, such as in the development policy document of the Prime Minister's Office, entitled Rural Development Programme, published in 2015 (Miniszterelnökség 2015).

The Hungarian term for the phrase is translated differently into English by the different authors. It is used by Csatári (1986) as *community-keeper quality*, whereas Tikász (2007) refers to it as *population retaining ability* and following this author, the term retention ability appears in the paper of Székely and Krajcsovicz (2017). Following the latter authors, I will refer to the term by *retainment*, however, as I believe *capacity* more clearly

describes that what the policies refer to is a sort of power of the settlements, or even, capital. Generally Tikász (2007), interested in making the term measurable by identifying various variables states that population retaining capacity refers to stopping people from moving: "*Migration phenomena (and foremost, emigration tendencies) are the reasons to analyse population retaining capacities of villages and rural settlements and to reveal the influencing factors. Thus enhancing population retaining capacity which is to avoid and stop dwellers from moving and swing these tendencies to a positive direction*" (Tikász 2007, 51, own translation)

It should be added, that though EU policy documents do not feature the depopulation of the countryside as the core problem, the term appears in Regulation 1305/2013 of the EP and the Council on "Support for rural development (…)", paragraph 19: "*the development of services and infrastructure leading to social inclusion and reversing trends of social and economic decline and depopulation of rural areas should be encouraged*". Furthermore, the general 2013 report of the EC on EU rural development features depopulation once by stating that regions with higher level of depopulation should be targeted with high priority by Axis 3 funds: "*A central objective of Axis 3 is to have a 'living countryside' and to help maintain and improve the social and economic fabric, particularly in more remote rural areas facing depopulation*" (EC 2013b, 296)

4.3. Internal migration, migration aspirations

Migration patterns between settlement types in Hungary is characterized by intermitted urbanisation: the proportion of population moving to cities during the classical industrialisation period in the 19th century were much lower than in Western European countries, and though it continued during forced industrialisation in the state socialist period (Szelényi 2008), it did not reach a climax. Proportion of people living in mostly urban areas is one of the lowest in Europe (exceeding values of only Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria) (EC 2014). Dövényi (2009) differentiates 3 stages of rural-urban migration between settlement types after 1960 in Hungary. These are: 1) interregional mobility (moving from villages to the capital), from circa. 1960 to 1970, 2) intra-regional mobility (moving from villages to nearby towns and cities 1970s-1980s) 3) mobility between cities and their agglomeration, in the 1990s-early 2000s. The latter stage can be witnessed after the fall of state socialist system in 1989 and describes suburbanisation of Budapest and some other major cities. Migration tendencies and the phenomenon of suburbanisation can be grasped by data on the population change due to migration for the various

settlement sizes. According to the author, these processes of suburbanisation seem to come to an end by the 2010s, and migration balance of different settlement types seems to equalize. (Dövényi 2009)

Even though differences are to be found between Central-Eastern European countries in volumes of internal migration (Bell and Charles-Edwards 2013, Bell et al. 2015), these countries share overall tendencies. This is argued by Lennert (2019), who analyses internal migration patterns of the Visegrad Group countries ('V4s': Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia), and finds that suburbanisation patterns were quite similar in these countries after the fall of the state socialist systems. This, as the author argues can be both attributed to their delays in socio-economic development (Enyedi 2011) and to explicit political aims of the state socialist systems to control movements. Besides these similarities, differences also appear which makes it challenging to develop a common model of migration. As the author argues: "*After the transition, suburbanisation emerged around almost every larger urban centre in the four countries, and induced the radical transformation of a limited portion of the commutable rural areas. Some differences are observable between the countries: for example, the effect of different tiers of urban centres depends on whether the country is mono- or polycentric. However, in a large part of the (mostly remote) rural areas, rural outmigration continued after the transition. [Whereas] There are only a few signs of counterurbanisation […]*" (Lennert 2019, 133)

Internal mobility in Hungary is a relatively well-documented topic, partially because of the register-based data available on citizens, as movers are legally obliged to announce their new place of their legal place residence (of which every citizen should have one and one only) within 3 workdays after moving. Besides register data on these addresses, censuses also focus on changes in residence during the life courses of respondents. Based on these data, Hungarian Central Statistical Office as an institution as well as individual authors periodically publish new tendencies of internal migration in Hungary (Bálint and Gödri 2015, Bálint and Obádovics 2018, Faragó 2014, Gödri and Spéder 2009, KSH 2012). Internal migration altogether is analysed in parallel with various spatial-demographic variables, such as age, gender, marital status and region of living.

Describing internal migration tendencies after 1990, Gödri and Spéder (2009) point out, that overall volumes of internal migrants have declined after the transition period, stabilised at around 4-5 percent of the population, and afterwards, started to increase around the year 2006, which they argue to be a short-term phenomenon. On the other

hand, when differentiating between 'temporary' and 'permanent' migration (that is, change in dwellers' 'temporary' or 'permanent' places of residence) and differentiating between within- and between-settlement forms of migration, this fluctuation is argued to be a result of legal modifications. When analysing only permanent, between-settlement address changes, a much straighter trendline is received[14]. As a general rule, the authors state that the purpose of temporary migration is often studying, which generally does not come with changes in people's permanent addresses. This assumption is supported by data on monthly migration patterns showing a great peak in temporary address changes around the start of a new school year (August-September) (KSH 2012). On the other hand, those are people between 30 and 39, among whom the share of movers rose significantly in the decades preceding the year 2009. In a regional setting, the results confirm the processes of suburbanisation (migration balance decrease in Budapest and major cities and a rise in proportion of immigrants within villages. In addition, a considerable East-West mobility direction is found, with Central Hungary (including the capital) and the North-Western regions being those favoured. (Gödri and Spéder 2009)

Regional differences with regard to internal migration is unfolded by Faragó (2014), who, in order to be fit to develop a multistate life table model on the 2010 population, summarize the expected years spent by new-borns of a given NUTS-3 region in all NUTS-3 regions during their lifetimes. The table show values between 30-45 in the main diagonal, whereas the remaining 25-40 years is expected to be spent in regions different from the place of birth, underlining even the East-West patterns of migration as well as population movements between the capital and its narrower vicinity (Faragó 2014, 74).

Bálint and Gödri (2015) and Bálint and Obádovics (2018) provide even more recent information on Hungarian internal migration patterns. The authors, agreeing with previous researchers affirm the importance of the post-socialist suburbanisation processes in understanding internal migration patterns in Hungary after 1990, and stress East-West migration as a noticeable trend[15]. Bálint and Obádovics (2018) stress that neither the gender nor the age composition of movers have changed during the period: those are

[14] Analysing migration demography data of the two decades from 1990, the authors find no relevant gender differences, even though in the year 2007, somewhat more women than men engaged in temporary migration, especially among age groups with the highest ratio of moving, (people with 25-29 and 30-39 years of age). People above 40 are expected to be less likely to move. As for temporary migrants, a younger age group is more active, namely, those being between 15-24.

[15] However, they disprove the hypothesis of Gödri and Spéder (2009) by pointing out that the overall volumes of internal migrants have surprisingly raised after a short decrease in the years of the financial crisis (2009-2013).

young people between 25 and 39 most likely to move. However, what they also argue to be an interesting change since the 2015 data is that differences in moving distances between age groups disappeared: it is not anymore seen that younger generation would be more likely to move greater distances[16]. (Bálint and Obádovics 2018).

Hungarian studies of migration aspirations (or 'migration potential') often focus on international mobilities. As can be seen in the starting chapter of the book on Hungarian outwards mobility by Sik (2003), even the term 'migration potential' is defined with the exclusion of within-country movements: "*Migration potential is the intention of someone to enter into employment abroad or to emigrate abroad*" (Sik 2003, 15, own translation). The various phrases applied to describe a similar phenomenon (namely, the will of people to move), such as 'migration intentions' (Thissen et al. 2010), 'migration aspirations' (Crivello 2015, Durst and Nyírő 2018, Van Mol 2016) 'migration expectations' (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006), 'migration propensity' (Czibere and Rácz 2016, Gödri and Kiss 2009, Sik and Szeitl 2016) or 'migration potential' (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006, Csata and Kiss 2003, Honvári 2012, Nyírő 2013, Sik and Örkény 2003) result in a quite manifold and often inconveniently diverse group of ideas. They are on the other hand similar in their goal to predict future mobility patterns.

The term 'migration potential' is very commonly used by survey researches in Central-Eastern Europe, and as the quoted Endre Sik argues in a 2010 interview (Rejšková 2010), these researches were facilitated mostly by the EU-accession of post-socialist countries when scientific as well as political curiosity rose regarding the possible volumes of East-European immigrants in Western Europe. As calculable fall of borders are very peculiar for this case, migration potential researches are argued to be less common elsewhere (Rejšková 2010). Another argument phrased in this interview considers rural population. The Hungarian scholar argues that during migration potential surveys, a proportion of the rural population (e.g. those living in the smallest settlements) are *ab ovo* excluded during sampling: "*I realized that there are certain segments of society which have zero migration potential – people who are old, uneducated, living in small villages – but in a representative sample they are present. So I devised an entirely new sampling method which samples the relevant population. This means that I used the previous migration*

[16] The authors claim between-settlement mobility being three times higher in proportion than between-region mobility, whereas the ratio of between-county mobility is half of the ratio of those migrants not crossing county borders. It is important to recognise that these ratios are stabile throughout the past three decades, even though their concrete value change over time along with general mobility changes.

potential survey techniques but identified those segments of society with zero migration potential and left them out. This solution increased the reliability of prediction." (Rejšková 2010, paragraph 3). This thesis will prove that although they might indeed not be expected to move under current circumstances, migration aspirations of these people are in most cases quite far from zero.

Migration aspirations, or migration intentions can be viewed as proxies of migration potential (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006): while migration potential is mostly explained at the macro level as forecasts (Bijak 2006), the terms *migration aspirations* and *migration intentions* refer to a more individual aspect of the phenomenon. Such studies are typically interested in outwards mobility from the micro environment (e.g. the settlement) and therefore measure intentions for regional as well as international mobility. With regard to the Hungarian case, a widely discussed phenomenon is that contrary to political expectations, levels of outwards mobility remained low (or at least medium-level) after the EU-accession, which is explained by both the relatively fair conditions of the Hungarian labour market and welfare system, as well as the slowness of opening Western European markets (Hárs 2016, Sik and Szeitl 2016, Váradi et al. 2017). Survey-based researches revealed that migration potential consistently rose from the millennium until around 2012 and stabilised at around 7% of the population planning to emigrate and 11% planning to enter into long-term employment abroad (Sik and Szeitl 2016). Among the youth, higher level of migration potential can be measured (Czibere and Rácz 2016).

Examples of qualitative migration aspiration studies in the Hungarian countryside's context help understanding migration as a decision-making process instead of an automatic flow determined by structural socio-economic factors. Following these arguments, international migration from small settlements cannot be purely viewed as 'forced' or 'involuntary' migration, rather than – as, following an interviewee's phrasing, Durst and Nyírő (2018) put it – a *constrained choice*. This term is quite adequate in grasping the fact that migration experiences are being constituted by both internal aspirations and external circumstances (opportunities, capabilities). Based on fieldwork in three Hungarian settlements, Váradi et al. (2017) find that even though serious differences occur in outwards mobility considering its individual and field-specific characteristics related to mobility directions and networks, migration decisions can be described by similar structures of *constrains* (income-based poverty, indebtedness, fear from impoverishment and backsliding) and *capabilities* (cultural capital, openness, risk taking, social capital and migration networks). As the authors conclude, during previous

years, the culture of migration unfolded and migration became a normal and desired strategy for getting ahead among various age groups of rural dwellers. (Váradi et al. 2017)

To participate in the labour market, besides local employment and migration, to commute is the third alternative. The understanding of patterns of commuting is crucial in describing rural employment in Hungary, as a high proportion of workers live in a distinct settlement. The reasons are manifold, and can be categorised into two groups: the belatedness of industrialisation, during which the pace of urbanisation was much lower, and several groups of the society have 'stuck' in villages, even though they worked in cities (Enyedi 2011, Kovács, Egedy, and Szabó 2015, Szelényi 1990, Szelényi 2008). Suburbanisation processes at major cities have led to a rise in the number of those daily leaving their place of living for getting to their workplaces (Csanádi and Csizmady 2002, Csurgó 2013). As a result, and based on the latest, 2011 census data, a third of all labourers commute daily. And even though the half of all these commuters are living in villages (their number exceeds 650,000 daily commuters from villages), the proportion of those living in villages, and commuting to Budapest or major cities does not reach 20 percent altogether (KSH 2016). This suggests that rural commuting in Hungary is far from being a pure suburbanisation issue.

Rural commuting raise various questions in the Hungarian case. Köllő (1997) modelled commuting from villages and tried to understand mass transportation connections, costs and economic (labour market) benefits of mobility. The author points out that contrary to the relatively short distances between settlements, just a very few cities are reachable efficiently via mass transportation. Therefore, mass transportation connections have a major role in explaining local unemployment in villages, and mobility costs are often so high, that it is almost impossible to finance it from a minimum wage (Kertesi 2000, Köllő 1997). Adler and Petz (2010) find that in socially disadvantageous areas, the lack of opportunities for commuting comes in parallel with anti-commuting cultural attitudes.

Besides the continuously growing importance of commutes within agglomeration zones of cities, a large share of commutes happen between villages and smaller towns and barely cross county borders – international commutes are even more scarce. Even though they find that lower-skilled employees are more likely to commute, several researches point out that social inequalities are presented by much lower volumes of outwards commutes in disadvantageous areas, where on the other hand, unemployment is higher (Forray and Híves 2009, Kovács, Egedy, and Szabó 2015, Köllő 1997).

5. ADDRESSING THE ISSUE

After introducing theoretical concepts, previous researches in the topic of development-migration interactions as well as describing the Hungarian context and showing its adequacy for analysing these matters, this chapter will now summarize previous arguments and provide an empirical context for further investigations. The empirical context, or the measurement strategy, which will be introduced here consists of providing a definition of the concepts applied during the investigations as well as the concrete measurement tools for the empirical steps.

5.1. Synthesis and research questions

Rural development policies in Hungary articulate explicitly their engagement in slowing down, decreasing or reversing the depopulation tendencies in rural areas. The term *population retaining capacity* is in the core of both the current National Rural Strategy of Hungary (VM 2012) and particular government initiatives, and it focuses especially on avoiding people moving out. The Hungarian case is not unique in this sense; however, even though the phrase appears in them, common EU policy documents currently do not feature rural depopulation as the ultimate social problem of the countryside.

Nevertheless, based on the literature, serious doubts might be phrased regarding the eligibility of such notions on the interaction of development and migration. In his work, Rhoda (1983) summarizes potential effects of various forms of development programmes on rural-urban migration through interceding socio-economic factors. As the result, it is phrased that the general assumption that rural development projects reduce rural-urban migration should be rejected in general, even though certain elements of development under certain circumstances might indeed act accordingly. Though the author mostly deals with internal migration in underdeveloped countries, de Haas (2007), supporting this argument, implies it might be extended to inter- and intranational migration and developed as well as underdeveloped localities.

Furthermore, migration is a complex phenomenon, which can hardly be simplified to a discrete event in time-space, motivated simply by employment-related personal constrains as policies would suppose. As Halfacree and Boyle (1993) summarize, migration should be regarded as a cultural construct. This trail that distinct mobility actions, by being embedded in everyday life are characterised by non-linear decision-

making processes, and motivated be multiple reasons, where ‘push’ and ‘pull’ effect can’t be separated completely. Furthermore, and more importantly, migration-relation decision-making is very much connected to an individual’s past, present and projected future, and therefore, it should be regarded as being situated in the entire biographies rather than distinctively.

Likewise, development programmes show a complexity, too. They are constituted by various actions, target areas, goals and by an intent to affect multiple aspects of economic, ecological, social and cultural life at once. Reason for having so few analyses on the effects of such initiatives is partially because of this complexity: to address the related questions, complex measures should be developed, multiple methodological tools to be used which tightens both the validity of such researches and the way these can be interpreted and backchannelled to further policies (Adedokun, Childress, and Burgess 2011, Bakucs et al. 2018, Fertő and Varga 2015, Monsalve, Zafrilla, and Cadarso 2016, Vidueira et al. 2015). Besides these methodological concerns, policy makers and development experts themselves are counter-interested in high-quality scientific analyses of effects of development programmes, as argued for instance by Juntti, Russel, and Turnpenny (2009) or Prager et al. (2015).

The theoretical concept of de Haas (2014) provides an opportunity to combine different approaches on migration, let them focus on internal or international migration, migration from and to higher and lower economic status areas as well as to understand migration decision making in their entire complexity. By the understanding of migration as people’s capability (therefore, freedom) to choose where to live, and understanding development as freedom (Sen 2001), an adequate theoretical context is provided for the research on development-migration interactions and a precise analysis of migration (or staying) decisions.

In general, the above arguments constitute a both scientifically and politically relevant context for the investigation of development-migration interactions. Based on the theoretic and methodological concerns, the following research questions might be phrased for further investigation:

Q01 Are rural development subsidies generally successful in reducing rural-urban migration in Hungary?

This question is in align with the National Rural Strategy of Hungary (VM 2012), expecting to increase 'population retaining capacity' of rural areas by the initiation of rural development programmes.

Q02 Does the effect of rural development subsidies on migration show a variety between regions with different socio-economic background and geographical location?

Both in an international and intra-national context, several authors argued that increases in welfare do not trail similar migration consequences at different stages of welfare and having different position in the centre-periphery continuum (Arcalean, Glomm, and Schiopu 2012, Dustmann and Okatenko 2014, Kupiszewski, Durham, and Rees 1998, Rhoda 1983)

Q03 Do rural development interventions, targeting different aspects of socio-economic life, trail different effects on outwards mobility?

This question is based on researches summarized and integrated by Rhoda (1983), showing that while improvements in some aspects might indeed contribute to the reduction on outwards mobility (such as increasing incomes), others may act contrary (e.g. agricultural automatization, cultural capital improvements).

Q04 Do the outputs of development programmes, by fostering changes in opportunity structures, affect migration aspirations in the respective localities?

As de Haas (2014) argues, migration is a function of opportunities and aspirations, which, though being theoretically separable, interact with one another. By a detailed analysis of opportunity and aspiration structures, a clearer and scientifically more valid understanding might be elaborated on how migration decisions formulate in relation with perceived socio-economic change. Addressing this question would invoke the analysis of perceived changes as well as cultural meanings of mobility.

5.2. Conceptualisation

As this thesis is concerned with the evaluation of the role of development in migration in rural context, and the literature argues that both the terms 'rural', 'development', and 'migration', is under-theorised and raise definitional debates, it is foremost important to define what the individual concepts will refer to in the following analyses.

Rural: From a structuralist point of view, the term 'rural' is used to describe geographical areas with a higher proportion of agricultural labour (Hoffer 1926, Sanderson 1927, Taylor 1927, Wilson 1929), whereas more complex definitions might include the density of population and/or a relative scarcity of social services (Newby 1983). According to the common postmodern understanding, the term 'rural' refers to a state of mind, thus becoming a geography-independent cultural category in the literature (Cloke 1997, Halfacree 2002). The approach of the current thesis is three-fold. First, as long as Hungarian rural development is concerned, the 'rural' will be understood as geographical areas where rural development programmes were initiated.

Unfortunately, neither the previous nor the current rural development strategies of Hungary bother with providing a definition for the term – except from the 2012 document referring once to rural areas as those having less than 120 person/km^2 population density. Moreover, according to the previous period's policy document, "the »New Hungary Rural Development Programme 2007-2013« (...) applies to the *entire territory* of the country" (VM 2007). Secondly, and based on the previous argument, as rural development spending is documented on the settlement level, it is more adequate to describe target areas based on their final place of usage rather than on the political intentions. Nevertheless, even though greater cities have not received rural development subsidies between 2007-2013, smaller ones (towns) have – as later it will be presented, consult **Figure 38** on **Page 162** for instance.

Finally, the current Hungarian rural development policy document, though not describing rural places in general, makes differentiations between towns and their rural surroundings, which are identified as the collections of villages. While describing the general goals, the document says: "*Let rural life become a lifestyle worth considering, without financial constraints and barriers being the sources for keeping people in villages and homesteads, but instead, let the attainable welfare and job security be the basis of rural life*" (VM 2012, 58, own translation). Based on the above reasons, this thesis will

consider those settlements not having the legal status of a town (i.e. which are villages or 'large villages') as its subject[17].

Development and perceived change: Development is understood as a part of social change. When analysing narratives, what concerns the current thesis is, first, how changes in the given localities are perceived. This gives an opportunity for applying a broad scope when trying to address the perception and role of given development programmes themselves within the narratives. During the fieldworks, respondents were asked to evaluate what changed within the given locality since they live there. Narratives received for this question will be considered as the basis for analyses. On the other hand, rural development has a narrower meaning, as it is understood as a set of rural development projects financed by the EAFRD fund of the European Union during the 2007-2013 budget period. The appearance of such projects within the narratives will be evaluated, and these will also serve as a basis for quantitative analyses. A differentiation between development subsidies, programmes and projects is as follows: subsidies are constituted by the exact amount of EAFRD funds spent for rural development in the settlements. The term 'programme' will be used to describe general aims sponsored by such subsidies, whereas 'projects' are individual actions accomplished in the various localities.

Migration: In the analyses, (prospective) outwards mobility patterns will be assessed from the settlements' perspective. Therefore, only movements (or the presence or absence of aspirations regarding such movements) will be taken into account, which on the one hand crosses the settlement borders, and which on the other hand are 'permanent' in the sense that they lead to the change of the individuals' place of residence.

5.3. Operationalisation and measurement

The purpose of this thesis is not to provide a comprehensive analysis of migration behaviour, rather, to evaluate the connection between socio-economic changes and geographical mobility and migration aspirations. Nevertheless, to address this question, migration behaviour should be contextualised. To address migration behaviour, both

[17] Administratively, settlements of Hungary are categorised into 5 groups: villages; large villages; towns; cities with county rights; capital city. These are differentiated based on their function (local, regional, etc.) within the settlement structure. Large villages are only differentiated from villages by their size (at least 5000 of population). Villages are self-governed, but neighbouring villages (not more than 7) may establish a joint local government if their aggregated population is not more than 2000. More than half of all towns gained their ranks of a town after 1990. (Source: http://www.terport.hu/telepulesek/telepulestipusok Last downloaded: 01-03-2017)

quantitative and qualitative methodological tools will be employed in order to increase both the validity and reliability of the research results and to receive a comprehensive picture on development-migration interactions as well as possible explanations for the patterns to be identified during the statistical analyses. The arguments of Rhoda (1983) as well as the claims of the Hungarian rural development policy documents (VM 2007, 2012) will serve as basis for revealing correspondence between development and migration patterns.

Though the purpose of the research is to measure the role of rural development programmes in rural emigration, a policy analysis in experimental setting might not be applicable for several reasons (various forms of treatment, not a binary separation of groups, lack of untreated ones – especially in potential subgroups). It would also be reasonable to analyse the effects and consider them in a wider socio-economic context, together with their interaction with other variables. This might decrease internal validity of the research (considering the pure effect of treatment) but helps to understand the importance of funding in relation with other factors. For these reasons, linear regression-based path analyses will be applied of the relevant variables.

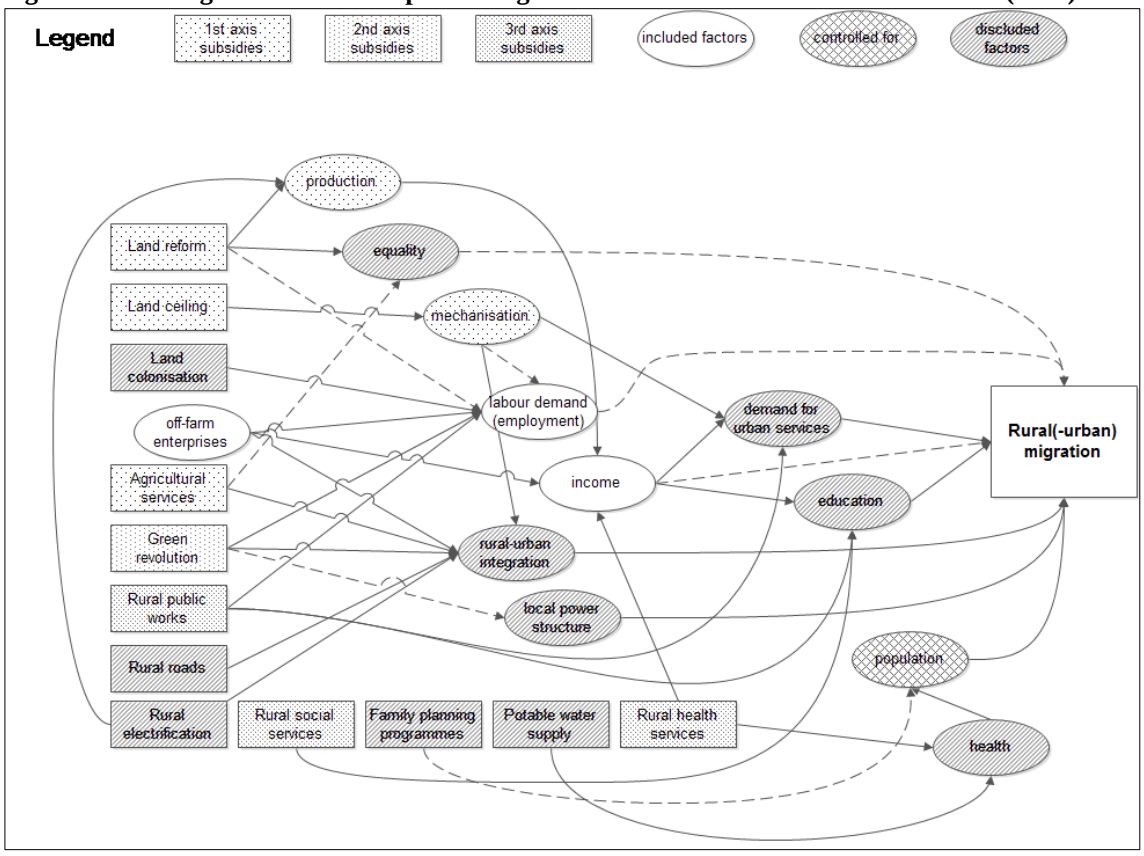
The conceptual framework of the path analysis is originated from the results of Rhoda (1983) who summarized findings of various previous investigations dealing with rural development – migration interactions. A summary of the author's claims was presented in **Figure 3** on **Page 37**. However, because of the following reason, modifications are made.

- The database does not provide reliable data considering the exact type of development. Besides, several programmes that Rhoda (1983) mentions are irrelevant in the Hungarian case (electricity and potable water), and several ones cannot be measured quantitatively. Therefore, only the amount of funds (received per capita during 2007-2013) will be considered as the starting variable.
- The author summarizes previous investigations, that are mostly case studies. Several factors therefore cannot validly be quantified (equality, local power structure, demand for urban services)
- As the effect of health and level of education is stated to have effect only on the long run (e.g. next generation), these will be left out from the model.
- Labour demand will be grasped by two variables (share of employed people; number of enterprises – with regard of their sizes). This way, both local and regional labour demand can be analysed.

- As tendencies may be different in settlements of different status (de Haas 2010, Dustmann and Okatenko 2014, Rhoda 1983), a separate path analysis will also be applied to different sub-samples of villages.

As a result, the previous reconstruction of Rhoda's claims are modified significantly. Individual development programmes are equated with 3+1 axes of rural development in the 2007-2013 period and certain variables are opted out. The procedure of accomplishing these modifications are presented in **Figure 7**. Besides rearranging development programmes, factors on local enterprises, employment and income were kept[18].

Figure 7: Reconfiguration of development-migration interaction claims based on Rhoda (1983)



Linear regression-based path analyses are fit to provide a detailed understanding of interactions as well as their internal correlations, giving an opportunity to reveal latent relationship structures (Astbury and Leeuw 2010). As mentioned earlier, there are some limitations of evaluating rural or regional development programmes' effects.

[18] In general, the model will not be able to grasp the interrelationship of development and migration in its entire complexity but may provide us some crucial information considering effects of development programmes on the short run through labour market changes. These results will further be improved by the qualitative investigations. The models on the other hand will be able to grasp a crucial aspect of development programmes' effects, namely, their impact on local labour market. These arguably trail effects on the short run either, and as employment is a crucial aspect of rural development programmes (VM 2007, 2012), an analysis of these factors would grasp exactly that aspect of development-migration interactions, which is said to be the most crucial for the increasing of 'population retaining capacity' of rural areas.

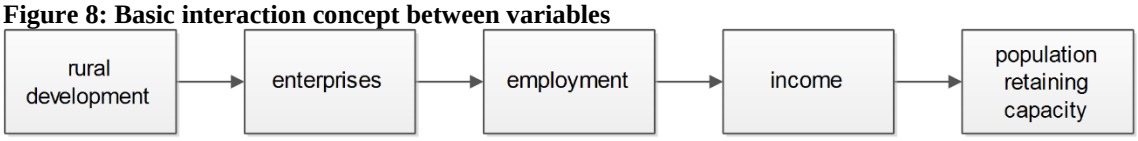
- First, for a proper experimental setting, an adequate control group would be necessary, which is incredibly hard to circumscribe (as was done in the Hungarian case, by Fertő and Varga (2015)) or non-existent: As even on the settlement level, almost all subjects received rural development subsidies, a dichotomous variable for the differentiation of experimental or control groups is not provided.
- Secondly, the various programmes are very diverse and have multiple aims. As the treatment is not the same, the investigation of effects on the project level is not viable in a quantitative experimental setting.

A possible solution would be the employment of generalized propensity score matching, that was first used by Bakucs, Fertő, and Benedek (2019) in the Hungarian case. The method tries to apply matching method for cases where a continuous (scale) treatment is provided. Nevertheless, path analyses provide another methodological approach for the investigation of such programmes. An advantage of this method lies in its ability to give answers to not only the existence of a correlation between explanatory and dependent variables, but also to how this relationship is structured (Adedokun, Childress, and Burgess 2011, Astbury and Leeuw 2010). However, this advantage comes at a price: as between-variable relationship can be drawn in multiple setting, a main task of the researcher is to provide a valid theoretical structure for the model (Smith 1990). As this thesis deals with the evaluation of development programmes with existing theoretical concepts on how variables interact, this structure is pre-given: Besides the claims of Rhoda (1983), the validity of the model structure is increased through the derivation of suggested variable relationships based on policy documents.

As the development programme for budget period 2007-2013 sets it, "*The most important needs of rural territories are the development of rural micro-enterprises and encouragement of diversification in order to create jobs, the improvement of skills and education and providing a wider access to basic services (…)*" (VM 2007, 84) At another place, describing Axis III aims, it argues that "*the measures under Axis III are aimed at improving the income-producing possibilities and quality of life of residents of rural areas, primarily through the promotion of income-producing investment projects – being the focus-point of the axis – that results in creating and keeping jobs*" (VM 2007, 95) As the current programme claims: „*Our aim is to strengthen and reorganise the economic foundations of rural areas and settlements, especially villages and homesteads, moreover, to provide diversified grounds for rural economy. With all these, the aim is to*

guarantee rural livelihood, to retain job opportunities and improve employment." (VM 2012). Based on these aims and arguments, as well as Rhoda's concept, the following model can be drawn:

Figure 8: Basic interaction concept between variables



This model could serve as a ground for both the path model and the interview analysis. However, for a more detailed assessment of the role of social change and development in migration-related decision making, a more comprehensive approach on migration aspirations and opportunities will be necessary. Similarly, for a more valid path model, further improvements are needed. These concerns will be presented in the respective subsections. An important addition for the models will be the differentiation between different development programmes (i.e. subsidies devoted to the development of different aspects of socio-economic life, see

Figure 37 on **Page 161** for example). In his paper, (Rhoda 1983) identified various development programmes, however, the inclusion of these are not viable, for three reasons – thus, projects will be aggregated to the axis level:

1) One reason for this is the great differentiation between the funds for the various projects and programmes, which would not result in reliable outcomes, especially having settlement-level scope.
2) Differentiation between the individual development programmes would result in incomprehensibly complex models.
3) Rhoda's concepts included development programmes that are not financed from EAFRD subsidies, from the simple reason that those services are already provided. Thus, the inclusion of individual programmes would not reflect Rhoda's concept any more than their joint analysis will.

For a better understanding of the effects of development subsidies on outwards mobility under various socio-economic circumstances, subsamples will be differentiated. In his paper on the Hungarian countryside, Csatári (2017) names three major categories of villages: those located in agglomeration zones of cities, those lagging behind, and the rest. Subsamples will be told apart accordingly, with more attention paid to the latter two categories. In quantitative analyses, rural development subsidies spent in the EU budget period 2007-2013 will be examined, as it is the first (and so far, last) fully completed planning period since Hungary's 2004 EU accession.

As for the measurement of migration, outwards mobility and outwards mobility aspirations/opportunities will be assessed. There are multiple reasons for this. From a theoretical aspect, Rhoda (1983) focusing similarly on outwards mobility claims that net migration values would mask underlying volumes of migration: as will be presented later, outwards and inwards migration correlate positively. Similarly, policies too seem more obsessed with outwards mobility a problem rather than with negative migration balance (as the term 'population retaining capacity' refers to this, too).

Research questions suggest a mixed methodological approach to be employed. The point is to describe outwards mobility patterns in relation with social change and development on both the macro and micro levels. As micro-level quantitative data is not reachable on this topic, the investigation of this aspect of the problem will be based on interview analyses collected during multiple fieldwork. This approach will not only be relevant on

its own accord, but also by their help in explaining macro-level results. In interviews, narratives regarding the perception of social change, the appearance of respective local development projects and narratives on attitudes about migration will be analysed. Hungary could serve as one of the most suitable case for investigating the issue for the following reasons[19]:

- Share of EU Cohesion Policy funds within government capital investment in Hungary (57%) is the highest in EU (EU28 average: 6.5%), therefore, intervening other development factors are minimized.
- Per capita EU funding paid (2007-2013 period) is one of the highest in Europe (€ 1477), therefore, the evaluation of impact is relevant.
- Share of people living in predominantly rural regions (46.7%) is one of the highest in the EU, more than double than EU average (22.3%).
- Differences of social status (risk of poverty or social exclusion) between rural and urban areas in Hungary is one of the highest among all European countries.
- A reliable settlement-level data on annual internal migration is available, therefore, an adequate tool for investigating migration patterns is provided.

[19] Data available at:
http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/evaluation/pdf/expost2013/wp1_synthesis_factsheet_en.pdf
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Rural_development_statistics_by_urban-rural_typology
http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/publications/regional-focus/2011/the-financial-execution-of-structural-funds
https://cohesiondata.ec.europa.eu/dataset/2007-2013-Funds-Absoption-Rate/kk86-ceun/data#column-menu

6. IMPACT EVALUATION – PATH MODELS

This thesis consists of two major empirical parts, of which the current one engages in statistical data analysis. Based on the previous measurement considerations, this chapter develops a path model in order to provide a setting for a relatively high-validity assessment of impacts. The chapter introduces the database tailored in accordance with the mentioned research aims and describes the developed models which will be used to address the issues of development-migration interactions under various circumstances (various types of funds in different subchapters, various types of villages within these subchapters). The final subchapter will provide a short summary of most considerable findings before the analysis would move to results gathered via qualitative investigations.

6.1. Data and methods

For the further estimations and the evaluation of rural development funds' effects, a settlement-level database was developed, that consists of all settlements of Hungary as cases (n=3671, which includes all settlements existing after 1989, even those later ceasing, splitting or merging with others). Various variables on each settlement were then included from different data sources regarding the geographical location, administrative status of each village, town, city and the capital, as well as several measures grasping different aspects of their economic, social and infrastructure status. The database also includes a multitude of computed variables based on these register and census data. The final database thus consists of 1168 variables on the individual settlements and thus more than 4 million data points providing a rich basis for detailed investigation of the questions in focus. Variables used during the individual computations will comprehensively be described at the given sections of the dissertation.

Various sources of data were introduced to the database, which include register and census data and with which it is possible to investigate both the narrower issue in focus and migration as well as development in their wider socio-economic context. The database consists mostly of longitudinal data on the post-socialist era and in particular, the era of the first thorough EU budget period after Hungary's EU-accession (that is, data from 2007 to 2013 and a few years preceding and following this period of time). The employment of longitudinal data was necessary in order to measure change rather than a cross-sectional situation of the socio-economic environment. On the other hand, measures

of development were included in the database as non-longitudinal variables. Though detailed settlement-level data is available on required, attained and spent funds regarding each individual years, as during the calculations, 2007-2013 budget period was regarded as one unit of time (and thus, one unit of 'treatment') and the possible effects of this given period was the only evaluated in the models, annual data from the budget period were computed into one.

Raw data from different sources could be reached through TeIR system (Hungarian abbreviation for *Hungarian Information System for Regional Planning and Development*). For the various dimensions of development and socio-economic background the following data sources were used.

6.1.1. European development funds

Individual handed-in tenders together with subsidies devoted to (accepted tenders) and spent on them (financed tenders) as well as the location (settlement) they took place are well documented by the freely accessible databases of agriculture and rural development department of Hungarian State Treasury (previously: Agricultural and Rural Development Agency). This individual-level database is aggregated on territorial basis (settlements, micro-regions, etc.) by TeIR. European subsidy data in TeIR system is available for 1) amount of required funds 2) amount of attained funds 3) amount of spent funds paid. Among these three categories, the amount of required funds naturally is always higher than those attained and this is always higher than those spent. In calculations, only the latter category was used as the point of interest was to evaluate effects of development projects that were successfully accomplished in practice. In addition, data on rural development (EAFRD) funds is provided for each 33 programmes, on the settlement level, which were computed into both the four 'axes' of the EU's 2007-2013 rural development policy and also in one unit (total sum). The level of such detail of the data provided opportunity to differentiate between the effects of development policies focusing on the various aspects of rural life. The reasons for analysing only EAFRD data comes from the policy goals to be evaluated: these are the funds especially targeted to decreasing emigration from villages in the Hungarian case.

6.1.2. Migration data

Assessing questions in relation to regional mobility is often limited by the types of data available. Especially in an international context, it is challenging to compare mobility as

residence registers differ greatly between countries and census data are available only periodically, mostly inquiring about current and childhood place of living ('place of birth'). In their international research on internal migration, Bell and Charles-Edwards (2013) and Bell et al. (2015) faced and tried to overcome this problem of incomparability. They differentiated three form of data, the 1) first one being a measurement of a fixed transition (mostly collected by censuses and surveys, measuring number of migrants rather than moves), the second 2), data on the last move and thirdly, 3) often collected by registers, events of migration over a certain period of time (measuring number of moves). The latter category in practice either considers one or five-year period of time, depending on the country. From Asia and Africa, as well as Latin-America, mostly fixed-transition census data, whereas in North-America and Europe, mostly event-based register databases are provided (Bell and Charles-Edwards 2013). Out of the 44 European countries included in the authors' researches, in 32 cases, register data were provided and in 14 cases, the observation period of these data was one year, which means that annual data points are given. Hungary is one of these countries. (Bell and Charles-Edwards 2013)

Whereas in most Western European countries, resident registration system is more flexible, in Hungary, citizens are obliged by law to have a legal place of residence which they should terminate within only a few days after moving. Though this legal practice, from a personal right point of view might be questionable, results in detailed and highly reliable annual data on citizens' residence (Wojciech (2006), reviewed by Somlai (2008)). In Hungary, resident registration system is centralized, citizens changing their place of residence or 'permanent address' (of which they should have one and one only) are obliged to announce their new place of living to state bureau within not more than 3 workdays after moving[20]. This procedure is free of charge. The same act regulates that in case of permanently moving abroad (for more than 3 months), citizens should announce this fact which automatically terminates their address of residence.

In Hungary, several free welfare services (such as healthcare, education) are residence-based, therefore, moving citizens are not only obliged, but in most cases also interested in announcing new addresses in a short term. This system provides reliable information of citizens' place of living – at least considering the settlement level, from which annual outward (number of those terminating their place of residence in a given settlement) and

[20] 1992/LXVI Act of the Hungarian Parliament on *Registration of Citizens Personal and Residential Information* §26

inward mobility (number of those establishing new one) data is computed and provided by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office.

Though thus, compared with other countries of the world, the Hungarian system provides one of the best-quality data on annual mobility on at least the settlement level, even in this case, reliability may have several limitations, on which no previous researches seems to have specifically focused in the Hungarian case. Though these register data can be verified by national censuses (previous ones were initiated in 2011, 2001 and 1990 for example), which can differentiate between 'permanent population' (those having their legal permanent address in a given settlement), resident population (those having their legal permanent or temporary address in the settlement and not having temporary addresses elsewhere) as well as 'present population' (those living there in practice, both from inland and abroad), this may only result in just some growth in reliability as the existence of several, previously moved respondents, not terminating their original addresses can result in an overlap between these data. This can be the case in situations in which former movers have relatives in their former place of residence (e.g. students, divorcees, labour migrants). Unfortunately, the number of 'present population' is not collected or reported since 1970. However, serious differences between 'permanent' and 'resident' population do occur, implying a difference between numbers of long term and temporary dwellers. As mentioned, no previous researches on issues regarding personal practices in residence changing announcements is known. As comparison studies between actual and legal dwellers are scarce and numbers of 'present' population is not anymore reported, only hypotheses might be framed regarding residence change announcement practices and thus the validity of register data.

It could be argued that besides those following residence law, there can be 1) international permanent migrants who do not terminate their Hungarian addresses; 2) citizens, who, for a better healthcare or education services, legally move to another settlement while staying at the same place, 3) and then there might be some who are not informed about this duty of theirs, who forget or do not feel the necessity of or benefits from the annunciation of their new addresses. The observation of this law is very hard to be controlled by police authorities and all of these cases limit the reliability of mobility data. The database suggests that numbers of 'resident' population are higher than of 'permanent' population in the capital (102%), whereas among smaller towns and villages, ratios are the contrary (97% and 94%, respectively). The difference is generated from ratios of 'habitation residences', also known as 'temporary addresses'. Based on these

data, it can be argued that in villages, on the average, 6 percent fewer people do live in practice than what the registers on permanent addresses show us. The 6 percent difference may be large but arguments could be phrased regarding how annual register data on permanent population, despite these limitation might be reliable for further calculations.

1. First, aiming to analyse only villages (and in particular, non-suburban villages) we can argue that true outwards mobility is underestimated by register data. When analysing development-emigration interactions however, an underestimation is more valid than overestimation would be (as is the case among cities).
2. It can be hypothesized that between-settlement type differences regarding 'resident' and 'permanent' population are due to the higher original proportion of actual movers from villages towards towns and from towns to cities. Though there is no data to verify this, it can be argued that among movers, those moving *from* villages are more interested in changing addresses than within-city and city-to-village movers. Supports for this argument are related to better city services (healthcare, education, traffic infrastructure services). Therefore, data on village--city movements are more valid than on other types of migration. Unfortunately, annual migration reports does not differentiate the exact target area or settlement type of movers, only the volume (number) of annual moves are provided.
3. As there is no data on actual, 'present' population of settlements, and annual settlement-level migration data are computed based on permanent population, this is the best information we might have regarding migration, even compared to other worldwide data (Bell and Charles-Edwards 2013, Bell et al. 2015).

6.1.3. Socio-economic background data

Migration patterns within settlements can expected to be affected by several variables besides development funds. Data for interaction variables on various social, economic attributes of settlements are provided by Hungarian Central Statistical Office (demographic and labour market data), and National Tax and Customs Administration (annual incomes; data on taxpayers). All data is provided annually and on the settlement level through TeIR system.

6.2. Regression models

6.2.1. Model description, subsamples and variables

During analyses of causal relationship in non-experimental settings, the high validity of results should be maximised by the researcher himself (instead of by random separation and controlled environment) by building theory-based valid models and trying to dispose of alternative explanations. The validity of results hinges on how precisely the researcher managed to act accordingly. The problem with regression modelling is that unlike in true experimental settings, where disturbing external factors are disposed and thus only the effect of the crucial treatment is measured, the co-variance of a pair of variables does not necessarily indicate either direct or indirect influence (causal relation). Although by linear regression-based path models, causal relations between variables are harder to catch, a theory-based model with valid arrangement of variables will increase the level of validity of the results, and thus lead to a better understanding of the often quite complex problem in focus.

The intention of the analysis is not very much to determine the possible socio-economic causes of rural outmigration, rather, to assess the importance of rural development subsidies within these causes. The structure of the model is based primarily on Hungarian rural development documents and the theoretical concept of Rhoda (1983) on the causal mechanisms and development-related socio-economic factors of rural-urban migration. Thus, the models would serve as tests for both the scientific and the policy ideas. However, as previously mentioned, the final structure of the models had to be simplified to fit measurement purposes and theoretical concepts had to be operationalised by the use of matching variables.

Though in previous steps, labour market tendencies over the past decades in Hungary were analysed (see the Appendix, **Chapter 9.1**), especially with regard to incomes, employment and the number of micro enterprises, to grasp change, in the models, no cross-sectional variables will be used. Instead, the variables are computed as follows:

- To overcome annual variations, instead of using a years' data, socio-economic variables were computed as the average of a 3 years' term (for both the time period preceding and following 2007-2013 EU budget period). An exception from this rule is the variable measuring micro enterprises, in which case no data after 2015

were provided at the time of analysis. Here, only a two years' term was taken into account.

- All variables used in the model (amount of subsidies; number of micro enterprises; number of fulltime taxpayers – employees; incomes; number of emigrants) are calculated proportionately, considering the population in the given years. This means that having already the 2-3 years average for the term preceding and following the budget period, these averages were divided by the number of all dwellers (divided by 1000) of the years 2004 and 2014, respectively.
- As the final step, the data received for the term preceding the period was subtracted from the data on the post-budget period term. This way, socio-economic variables grasp a proportionate change.
- An exception from these rules are the variables measuring subsidies (generally or from the different sources), where the amount of funds were divided by the number of dwellers (those having their 'permanent' address in the village) of the given settlement in the year 2007, but understandably, data don't grasp a change.

Variables for village 'v' are calculated as follows:

$$\text{emigrants}_v = (((O_{2014v} + O_{2015v} + O_{2016v}) / 3) / (P_{2014v}/1000)) - (((O_{2004v} + O_{2005v} + O_{2006v}) / 3) / (P_{2004v}/1000))$$

$$\text{fulltime taxpayers}_v = (((E_{2014v} + E_{2015v} + E_{2016v}) / 3) / (P_{2014v}/1000)) - (((E_{2004v} + E_{2005v} + E_{2006v}) / 3) / (P_{2004v}/1000))$$

$$\text{income (interior)}_v = (((I_{2014v} + I_{2015v} + I_{2016v}) / 3) / P_{2014v}) - (((I_{2004v} + I_{2005v} + I_{2006v}) /3) / P_{2014v})$$

$$\text{micro enterprises}_v = (((M_{2014v} + M_{2015v}) / 2) / (P_{2014v}/1000) - (((M_{2004v} + M_{2005v} + M_{2006v}) / 3) / (P_{2004v}/1000)))$$

$$\text{subsidies}_v = S_v / P_{2007v}$$

Where:

- O = Outwards mobility: Number of local dwellers terminating their place of residence ('permanent address') in the settlement (for another address outside the settlement) in a given year according to Hungarian Central Statistical Office.

- P = Population: Number of those having their place of residence (‘permanent address’) in the settlement in a given year according to Hungarian Central Statistical Office. Note, that according to Hungarian laws, citizens living in Hungary are obliged to have one place of residence and one only at any time. As previously noted, citizens are obliged to announce their place of residence within 3 workdays after moving.
- E = Employment: Number of those who declared their personal income taxes as fulltime workers, according to Hungarian Tax and Customs Administration.
- I = Income: All interior income of those declaring their personal income taxes in a given year within a given settlement according to Hungarian Tax and Customs Administration.
- M = Micro enterprises: Number of all operating joint venture companies employing not more than 9 people according to Hungarian Central Statistical Office.
- S = Subsidies. Amount of EAFRD subsidies spent throughout the EU’s 2007-2013 budget period according to Hungarian State Treasury. Note, that in some cases, subsidies from this source were allocated as late as in the year 2014. Subsidies are regarded in general and in particular, as subsidies of the 4 ‘axes’ of rural development, too.

Table 1 gives an overall look on these variables, regarding their mean, standard deviation and median values generally, moreover, with regard to only the Hungarian villages and their 3 subsamples separately. Some previously recognised findings on subsidies received per capita are echoed by the table: when projected on population size, acquired EAFRD funds are higher in disadvantaged villages, lower in agglomeration villages and are somewhere in the middle within other villages. Lowest are these numbers if taken all Hungarian settlements into the equation.

The four socio-economic variable measure proportionate change, as previously described, and the data is projected to 1000 local dwellers. Compared to the years preceding the 2007-2013 EU budget period, all averages are higher in the post-term, therefore, numbers stay positive. The change in the share of emigrants are higher in agglomeration and disadvantaged villages than elsewhere, even with regard to all the settlements of Hungary, including cities.

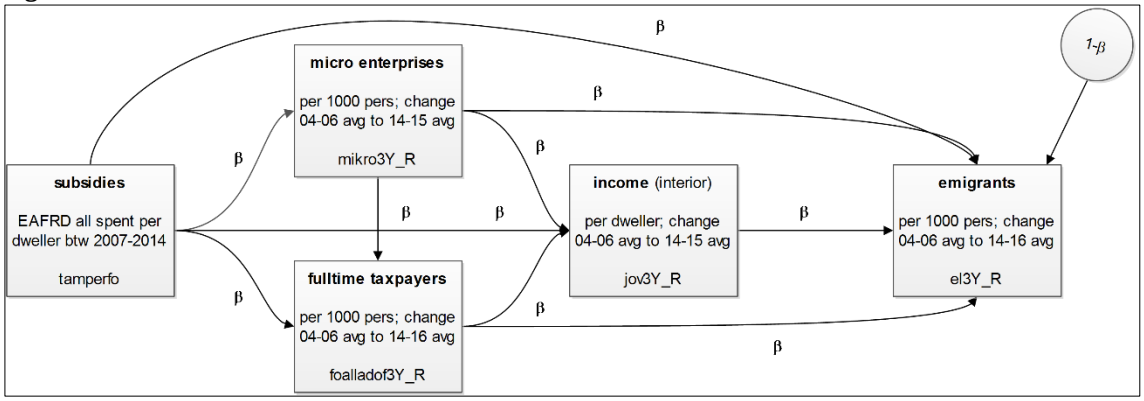
Table 1: Descriptive statistics on variables used in the models (definitions above)

	N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation	N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation
	all settlements				**all villages**			
subsidies EAFRD	3132	**224 572**	115 986	395 891	2786	**235 703**	120 076	413 379
subsidies 1st axis	3132	**87 058**	25 318	235 418	2786	**88 946**	24 185	245 065
subsidies 2nd axis	3135	**70 456**	13 666	203 130	2789	**73 781**	12 316	213 858
subsidies 3rd axis	3132	**53 202**	29 251	89 209	2786	**58 543**	33 625	93 082
subsidies 4th axis	3134	**13 781**	4 338	34 377	2788	**14 344**	4 383	36 059
emigrants	3135	**0.84**	0.46	15.18	2789	**0.93**	0.55	16.04
fulltime taxpayers	3135	**110.80**	101.91	63.28	2789	**115.06**	105.37	64.11
income (interior)	3110	**362 166**	352 150	117 951	2766	**360 214**	348 053	122 012
micro enterprises	3135	**6.96**	3.77	31.72	2789	**7.21**	3.63	33.60
	agglomeration villages				**non-agglomeration, non-disadvantaged villages**			
subsidies EAFRD	460	**165 865**	88 157	322 832	1666	**234 075**	120 932	414 569
subsidies 1st axis	460	**70 923**	16 625	164 850	1666	**92 613**	24 147	269 363
subsidies 2nd axis	461	**40 773**	4 328	196 640	1667	**69 193**	12 316	183 025
subsidies 3rd axis	460	**42 519**	28 070	52 668	1666	**57 221**	34 504	87 629
subsidies 4th axis	460	**11 562**	5 579	20 820	1667	**14 997**	4 747	35 824
emigrants	458	**1.67**	1.73	8.87	1671	**0.70**	0.22	15.30
fulltime taxpayers	458	**81.49**	78.71	42.83	1671	**102.08**	97.91	56.84
income (interior)	455	**442 547**	439 362	121 130	1655	**356 629**	347 214	118 460
micro enterprises	458	**7.94**	5.71	14.47	1671	**7.30**	3.49	40.38
	disadvantaged villages							
subsidies EAFRD	660	**288 487**	160 997	457 318				
subsidies 1st axis	660	**92 249**	31 077	226 471				
subsidies 2nd axis	661	**108 372**	28 146	282 271				
subsidies 3rd axis	660	**73 046**	38 005	122 019				
subsidies 4th axis	661	**14 633**	2 007	44 080				
emigrants	660	**0.98**	0.25	20.99				
fulltime taxpayers	660	**171.21**	164.70	59.69				
income (interior)	656	**312 152**	306 118	100 911				
micro enterprises	660	**6.46**	2.68	22.33				

The average growth of employees was around 11%, compared to the whole population (there were 111 more employees among every 1000 people generally after the budget period than before), and this growth was much higher within disadvantaged villages (171), whereas it stayed under around only 82 within agglomeration villages. On the other hand, annual nominal incomes (with inflation) of personal income taxpayers have advanced during the decade by around HUF 360,000 per dweller, however, this rise was higher within agglomeration villages (HUF 443,000 per dweller) and much lower among disadvantaged villages (HUF 312,000 per dweller). The number of microenterprises per capita has also been growing throughout the decade, their average number per 1000 dweller went up by 7 on the average. Among agglomeration villages, this number almost reached 8, whereas in parallel, stayed below 6.5 among disadvantaged villages.

By employing the above described variables, and based on the model concept, the final model can be constructed as can be seen in **Figure 9**. Beta values grasping the interaction between pairs of variables will be presented given a p-value less than 0.05, even though no statistical sampling was done and instead, full sample of the given groups of settlements were regarded. Path modelling was repeated 10 times, on 2 subsamples of Hungarian villages (disadvantageous and non-disadvantageous villages) and considering 5 types of subsidies (all EAFRD funds; 1st axis; 2nd axis; 3rd and 4th axis EAFRD funds). These 10 models were further expanded with 4 additional ones assessing the for axes within the subsample of agglomeration villages. Thus, finally 14 models were built involving 154 separate linear regression estimations between pairs and sets of variables (of which several overlap). In the figures, the title of variables are presented, followed by their short description (detailed descriptions in present subchapter), and the original variable name within the database, for better identification. For a detailed and separate description of the individual regression equations, consult the Appendix, **Chapter 9.2**.

Figure 9: Model structure with final variables

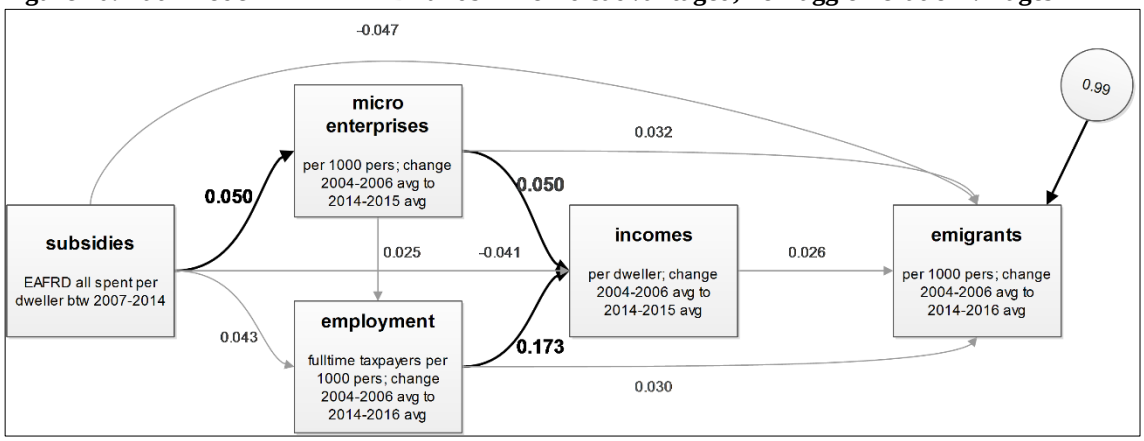


(Source: own construction. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

6.2.2. All EAFRD funds

In general, EAFRD subsidies during the 2007-2013 budget period were focused both on the development of agricultural production and the rural socio-economic system as a whole. Though these two purposes can be differentiated quite well having different budgets allocated to them, it is reasonable to analyse the possible effects of these subsidies in general, too. When considering the subsample of those Hungarian villages, which do not belong either to the group of agglomeration or disadvantaged villages, we find no influence of the set of variables on the proportion change of emigrants.

Figure 10: Path model - All EAFRD funds in non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of 'non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration' villages (n=1666). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details regarding the equations, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

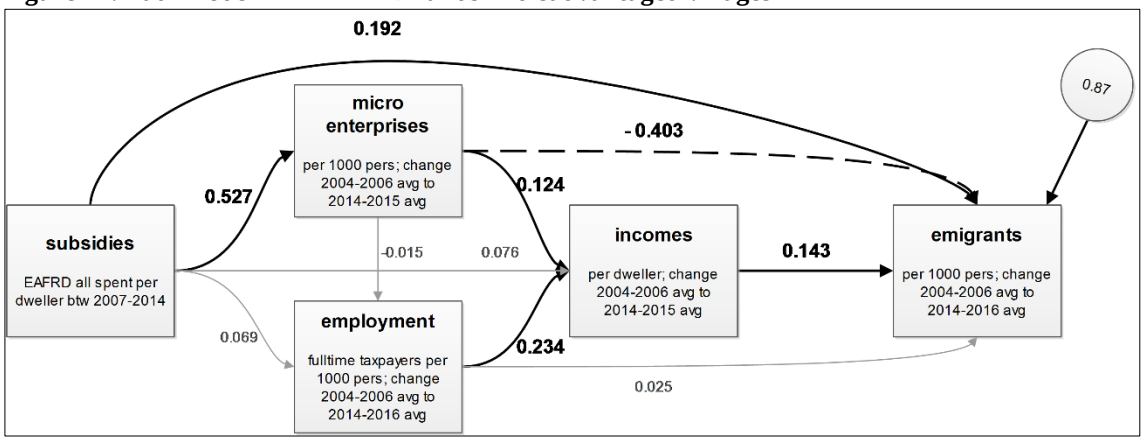
The overall explanatory power of this set of variables is almost zero, meaning that those are entirely different mechanisms explaining growth or decrease in migration patterns among most of the villages, in which EAFRD subsidies did not play a role, or at least not directly and not via the constructed paths. Even though it is often more challenging to disprove the existence of an interaction than to prove it, this result would suggest that it would be really hard to find alternative ways of influence, as it is these, labour market variables that most policies refer to as keys of affecting migration. Notwithstanding these results, we find mentionable interactions within the path model. Even though most linear regression estimations had Beta values with higher-than 5% p-values, subsidies do seem to influence incomes in a positive way indirectly, via increasing the disperse of micro enterprises. This interaction however is on a very low level.

Regarding this path model, two crucial findings need explanation in addition. First, we find no direct interaction between the share of micro enterprises and employment, and subsidies seem to influence only one of these two factors. This refers to a failure of micro

enterprises in generating additional jobs, even though only operating joint venture companies were taken into account here. As we will see later on, correlation between these two variables is not to be found in any subsamples. There might be various explanations to this phenomenon. One might argue that it is not local companies that influence employment, rather, companies in nearby towns or cities do and a real fortune for an individual lies more likely in commuting rather than being employed in the individual's place of living. Furthermore, it could be argued that besides the government and public sectors, those are bigger companies providing real job opportunities for locals, whereas micro enterprises are more selective in who to employ.

Even though it could often be hard to prove the nonexistence of a between-variable interaction, the fact that in contrast with the subsample of non-agglomeration, non-disadvantaged villages, robust values are received when assessing disadvantaged villages, refers to the relevance and goodness of the model – in some cases. As shown in **Figure 11**, the overall explanatory power of the model goes up to 13 percent, meaning that only by this set of variables, we could explain one seventh of the variation of the dependent variable, it was possible to grasp one seventh of the causes of emigration within these settlements.

Figure 11: Path model - All EAFRD funds in disadvantaged villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of disadvantaged villages (n=660). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

There are two major lessons to be remembered from this model – others will be discussed later on.

1. First, though direct effect of subsidies on emigration can also be seen, the path analysis reveal existing indirect impacts as well. Funds could influence greatly the establishment of new micro enterprises: the higher were subsidies per capita in

disadvantaged villages, the more positive was the change in per capita number of local micro enterprises.

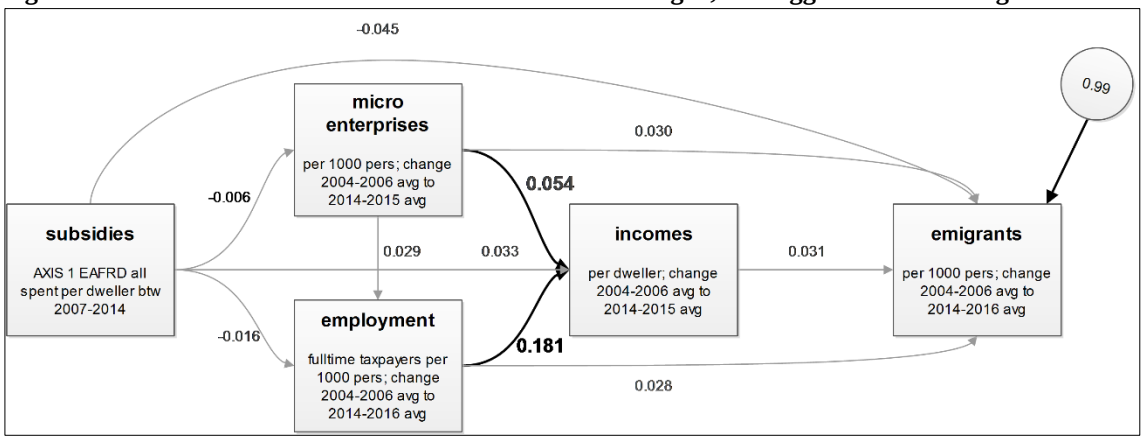
2. Second, variables of incomes and enterprises are in correlation with the change in the share of outwards mobile people. However, one of these variables has positive impact, suggesting an empowering effect: with incomes growing, the share of emigrants grow more rapidly. As the subsidies seem to have failed influencing employment both directly and indirectly, rural development projects in general have raised emigration through positively influencing incomes, whilst decreasing emigration through positively influencing the spread of micro enterprises.

Adding up path strengths, an overall $0.192 + (0.527\times -0.267) + (0.527\times 0.124\times 0.143) = +\mathbf{0.060}$, very weak positive effect of general EAFRD subsidies is received among disadvantaged villages. This reflects that in villages of underdeveloped microregions, 2007-2013 rural development policies contribute to a slight increase in emigration. although, positive and negative mechanisms overrode the effects of one another. Negative (thus, politically expected) effects of subsidies took place mostly by the contribution of EAFRD funds to an increase in the number of local micro enterprises.

6.2.3. 1st axis funds

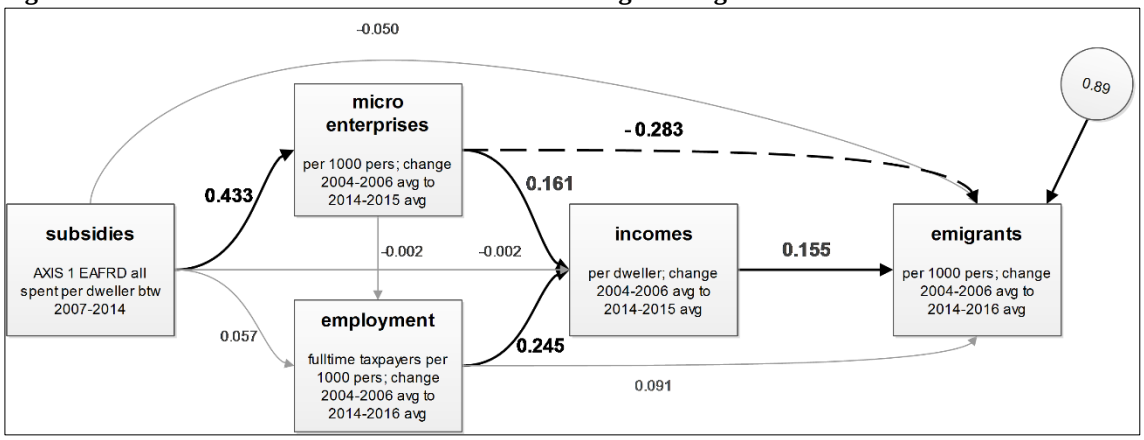
First axis funds were spent with the purpose of increasing agricultural production and developing production equipment. Therefore, these subsidies can very much be understood as a traditional tool for economic development. As several authors argued (Baldwin, Smith, and Jacobson 2017, Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006, de Haas 2007, Milbourne and Kitchen 2014, Rhoda 1983), all changes through which more people are connected to agricultural production in the rural countryside, by increasing employment, contribute to more people willing to stay. However, as we have already witnessed, employment changes among most of the villages does not seem to be in relation with the change in the share of emigrants. The results therefore do not support the hypotheses of having more employed people would increase the number of stayers. Albeit, when discussing employment, the data provides information not about local jobs, rather, the share of locals dwellers being employed. Employment in this sense does not necessarily have to take place within the village of residence, and as mentioned before, most of the jobs are really not on the spot, as on the average, around 60 percent of employed people are commuters. Therefore, local job opportunities are only partially measured, and this could be a reason for employment-migration interaction being weak or non-existent.

Figure 12: Path model – First axis funds in non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of 'non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration' villages (n=1666). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

Figure 13: Path model – First axis funds in disadvantaged villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of disadvantaged villages (n=660). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

A 1st axis-specific finding based on the path analysis is that agrarian subsidies did not have any direct effects on any of the labour market (and emigration): even globally existing interactions disappear when focusing on agricultural development. This finding should not be surprising as the very purpose of this fund was not to make difference in rural employment, rather, to develop agrarian production. On the other hand, as development include actions on automatization, it is at least notable that subsidies did not decrease employment, as it could be hypothesized. A reason for this could be the already low-level of agrarian employment in most regions. Even in case of these subsidies having a negative effect, the impact would be masked by general employment. First axis funds act differently in the subsample of disadvantaged villages. The overall explanatory power of the model is 11 percent, and indirect paths appear between subsidies and migration. Furthermore, just as in the case of EAFRD subsidies in general, first axis subsidies influence micro enterprises directly.

Agriculture development funds have negative impact on outwards mobility in an indirect way, which provides an overall negative impact of these subsidies on emigration. This suggests that in align with previous researches' findings, agrarian funds may contribute to 'population retaining capacity' of underdeveloped villages. This could also mean that agrarian development, even if it does not contribute to the establishment of new jobs, may endorse farmers otherwise thinking of moving on, to stay.

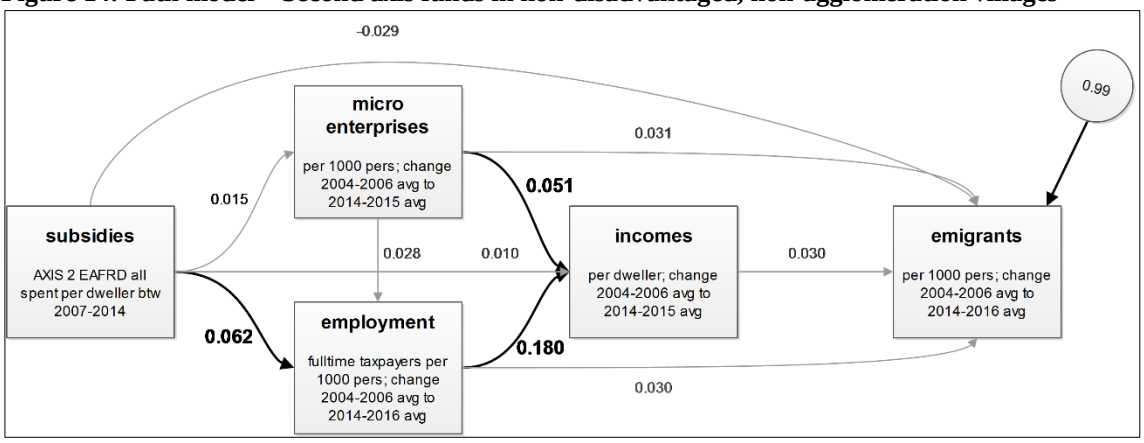
When assessing 1st axis EAFRD funds, an overall negative effect of subsidies on emigration could thus be found. Summing up Beta values in this path model results in a $(0.433 \times -0.283) + (0.433 \times 0.161 \times 0.155) =$ **–0.112** value. This generally affirms the ability of farm-related development projects to decrease rural outwards mobility, at least in underdeveloped regions.

6.2.4. 2nd axis funds

The second 'axis' of EU rural development policies in the 2007-2013 budget period also targeted agricultural production, but the emphasis was on sustainability rather than on production volumes. From this budget, diversification, ley management, a shift to organic farming and other similar actions were sponsored. As among non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration villages, no direct effect appeared between subsidies and emigration (as there were no interaction between labour market variables and mobility, this could be the only other way in the model for subsidies having an impact on migration), the overall explanatory power of the path model remained around zero percent. Though a very weak interaction could be found between subsidies and employment, this remain at a very low level, and a result in a weak rise in average local incomes.

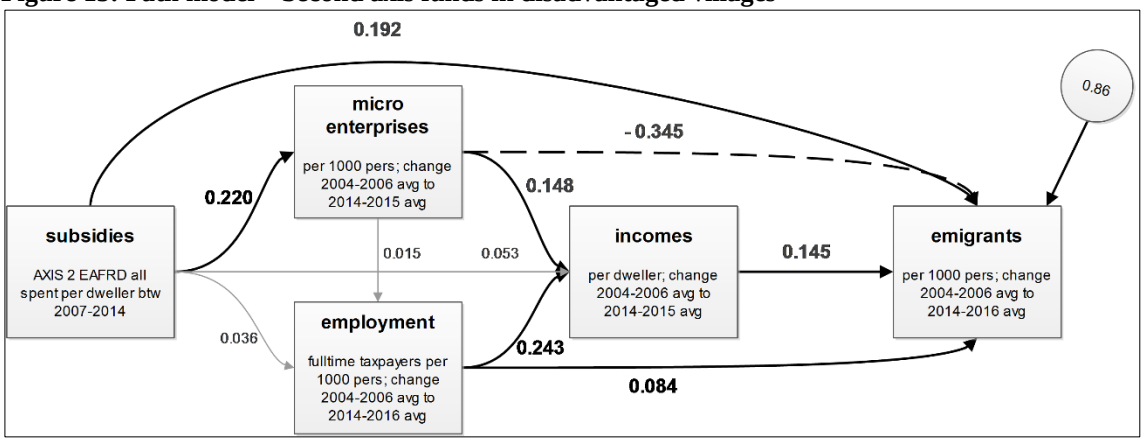
Once again, linear regression estimations on the same set of variables produce a higher explanatory power model (14 percent) in the subsample of disadvantageous villages. Beta values are very similar to the ones received in the previous model of 1st axis funds: subsidies influence the spread of micro enterprises positively; but they have no apparent effect on local proportion of employed people. There is but one major value that has changed, namely, the direct effect of subsidies on emigration turned positive. This direct positive effect is very much in contrast with what is expected by most theorists and researchers (Baldwin, Smith, and Jacobson 2017, Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006, de Haas 2007, Milbourne and Kitchen 2014, Rhoda 1983) who deal with the effect of a 'green' or 'eco-friendly' shift and diversification in agricultural production.

Figure 14: Path model – Second axis funds in non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of 'non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration' villages (n=1666). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

Figure 15: Path model – Second axis funds in disadvantaged villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of disadvantaged villages (n=660). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

An explanation might lie in the composition of this axis of rural development. As previously shown, most funds of this axis were devoted to 'agri-environmental payments'. Within this subcategory, more than 60 percent of all requests were supported by altogether more than € 150 million as non-refundable area payments which were used mostly production diversification (integrated crop production) and a downsizing of production, whereas more labour intensive forms of production had a notably lower share (VM 2015). These two directions may have opposite effects on local employment. Downsizing and ley-management (but afforestation, too, which also belong to this group of subsidies) can only be initiated in already existing farms (unlike other agricultural activities). Agricultural downsizing may contribute to a reduction in farm-related tasks, therefore, the job bonding family members and workers to the local environment. Meanwhile, diversification and a shift to eco-friendly farming, which took a smaller share among all 2nd axis funds (VM 2015) often requires more labour.

Previously, when addressing the effects of 1st axis funds, I argued that agricultural subsidies may contribute to a higher will to stay among farmers. An underlying preconception for this was the idea that without a change in overall employment, it is only the farmers whose migration aspirations had to be influenced by farm subsidies. Following this argument, a lower will to stay might be induced by downsizing, that would lead farmers (or their family members or illegal workers) to, without having duties on the fields lose interest or lose the necessity to stay. As it is arguable, that among disadvantaged villages, illegal labour in farms is more widespread, these changes would not occur in an explicit way and would not appear in employment data. By this argument, two ideas are framed: first, that agricultural jobs decrease emigration, and second, that 2nd axis funds did contribute to less labour intensive changes in local agriculture.

There is yet another, opposing argument for this positive subsidy-emigration interaction, which is derived from the positive impact of general employment and of incomes on emigration among disadvantaged villages. It is argued by several researchers (Bell and Osti 2010, Castles 2004, Rhoda 1983) that being employed for a distinct period of time enables and empowers people to move. Perhaps this is what we see: though 2nd axis subsidies do not seem to influence legal employment locally, it by pushing farmers to more labour intensive works might have an impact on illegal labour and thus would empower people to leave. Based on the available statistical data, it would be immensely challenging to decide which of these two opposing arguments is closer to reality.

The overall effect of 2nd axis subsidies on emigration can be calculated as follows: 0.192 + (0.220 × –0.345) + (0.220 × 0.148 × 0.145) = **+0.121**, altogether thus, 2nd axis subsidies seem to have a weak, though positive impact on the rise of emigration in the subsample of disadvantaged villages.

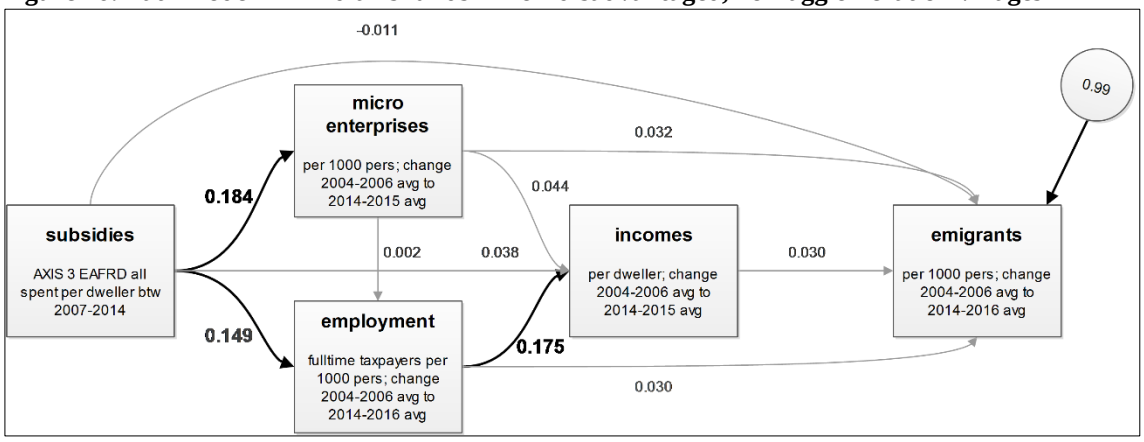
6.2.5. 3rd axis funds

Rural development in narrower sense implies the development of rural life in general. 3rd axis funds aimed to contribute to development of rural economies and societies, both from which agriculture and related services take just a minor fraction. As the rural development policy document for the 2007-2013 period has put it when introducing 3rd axis goals: "*The most important needs of rural territories are the development of rural micro-enterprises and encouragement of diversification in order to create jobs, the improvement of skills and education and providing a wider access to basic services of high level and the*

improvement of the quality of living through the renewal of the villages, the protection of the heritage and the development of the local communities" (VM 2007, 84).

General path analysis of the villages not belonging to either agglomeration zones or underdeveloped microregions reveals, the ideas about developing policies being adequate in fostering the establishment of new micro enterprises and jobs can be justified. It is only in the case of 3rd axis funds, where a considerable positive impact of subsidies on employment is to be found. Nevertheless, without having direct connection between local enterprises and employment, the interactions between subsidies and enterprises as well as subsidies and employment are bifold. Even though having positive influence on incomes, its effects on emigration remain unproven, and the overall explanatory power of the path model assessing the effects of 3rd axis subsidies on mobility does not deviate notably from 0 percent.

Figure 16: Path model – Third axis funds in non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration villages

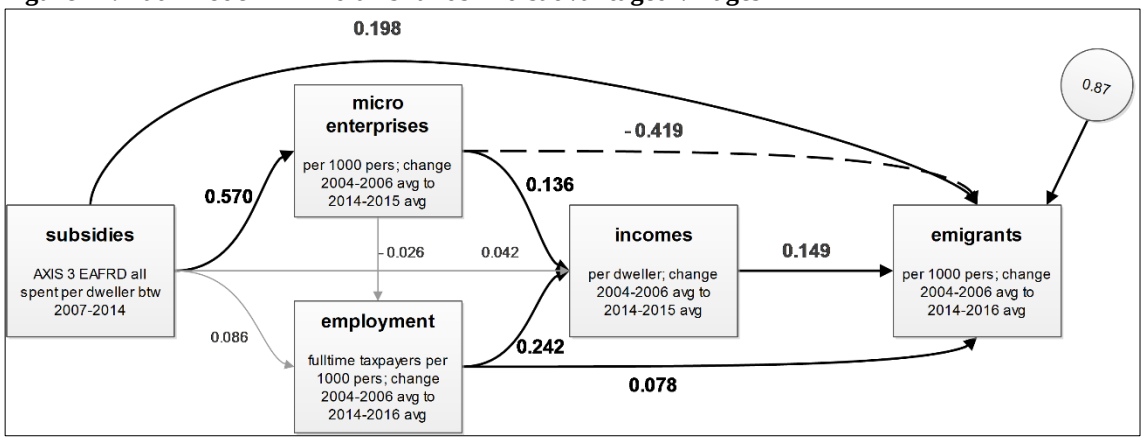


Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of 'non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration' villages (n=1666). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

With regard to the subsample of disadvantaged villages however, we find the strongest interaction (Beta-values) among all path models presented in this analysis. Though we receive a similar picture to the path model of all EAFRD funds within the same subsamples, it can be argued that the those were 3rd axis funds having the strongest effect on the appearance of new micro enterprises. These on the other hand, as emphasized earlier, does not have relevant effect on the local share of employed people (measured by the change in the per capita share of those paying personal income taxes locally and as fulltime workers). Here, besides previous arguments, the difference between more and less developed localities may lie in the fact that skilled labour is a scarce in the latter, and

consequently, the realisation of development programmes might have relied mostly to imported labour.

Figure 17: Path model – Third axis funds in disadvantaged villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of disadvantaged villages (n=660). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

In parallel with through micro enterprises, 3rd axis funds having robust negative (therefore, 'desirable') effect on emigration, these funds influence outwards mobility directly as well (which means, through factors not presented in this model), just as was the case regarding 2nd axis subsidies. This might refer to development programmes' cultural or infrastructural impact, which ties rural and urban places together, influencing dwellers' aspirations to migrate regardless of positively changing labour market circumstances. In general, in the subsample of disadvantaged villages, through their enterprise establishment effect, funds seem to contribute to villages' 'population retaining capacities', whereas they motivate outwards mobility through having a positive impact on average incomes of employed local dwellers, and directly. The overall explanatory power of the model is 13 percent, meaning that 13 percent of the variation of the variable measuring emigration could be grasped by this set of explanatory variables.

Adding up path strengths results in a $0.198 + (0.570 \times -0.419) + (0.570 \times 0.136 \times 0.149)$ = **–0.029** value, reflecting a very weak negative overall impact of 3rd axis subsidies on emigration in the subsample of disadvantaged villages, which is due to the various effects of development subsidies balancing out one another.

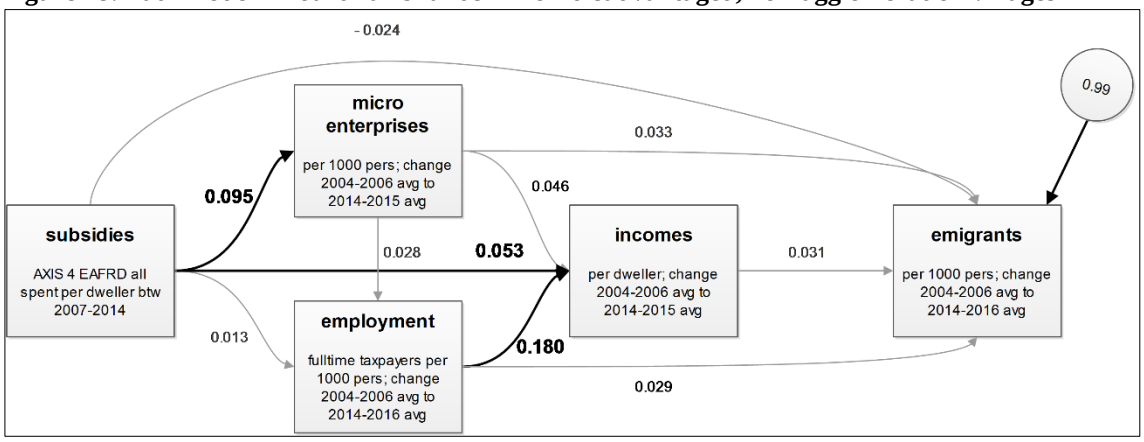
6.2.6. 4th axis funds (LEADER)

The fourth axis of rural development in the 2007-2013 period was a relatively low-budget fund for local community development. These funds were relatively well-balanced between the three types of villages, with regard to per capita values. As this axis of

EAFRD subsidies were primarily initiated with the purpose of experimenting with bottom-up type development within the European Union, several later sociological researches were engaged in evaluating its impacts on local societies and economy.

The settlement-level path analysis of these funds in the Hungarian case reveal no direct or indirect impacts of 4th axis funds on outwards mobility in the 'regular' subsample of villages and once again, the overall explanatory power of the model doesn't considerably deviate from 0 percent. In an extent, 4th axis subsidies contributed positively to more micro enterprises and directly influenced the average incomes of those living in the settlement. However, these connections are barely substantial.

Figure 18: Path model – Fourth axis funds in non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration villages



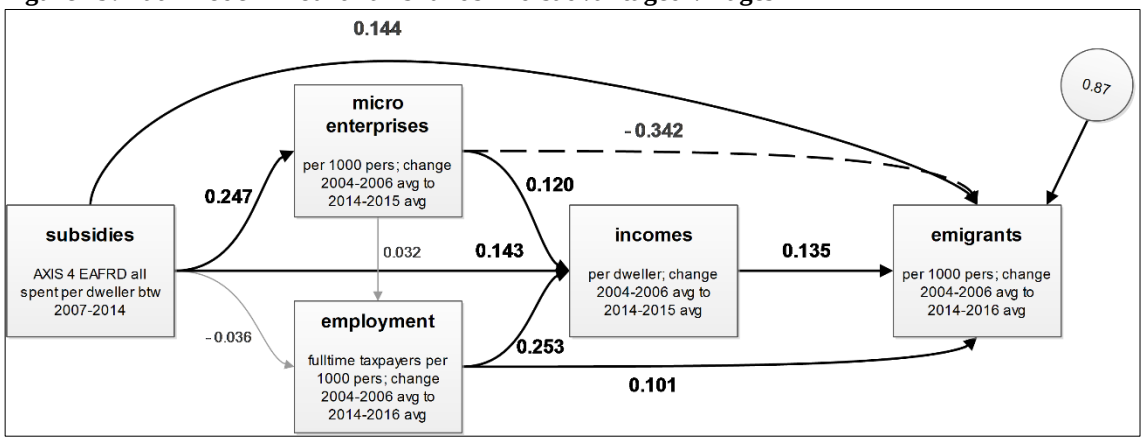
Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of 'non-disadvantaged, non-agglomeration' villages (n=1666). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

When conducting the linear regression analyses on the subsample of disadvantaged villages, we receive a picture very similar to the case of 2nd axis funds. The overall explanatory power of the model is 13 percent and a direct effect between subsidies and emigration appears. Through contributing to new enterprises, 4th axis funds seem to influence emigration both in a positive and negative way (positively through enterprises' positive influence on average incomes, while negatively in a direct way). These subsidies also seem to have contributed to a higher share of outwards mobile people directly in disadvantaged villages. The direct effect of subsidies on income suggests that incomes are influenced by subsidies not only through their 'incubator' effect, but instead, by their very existence. This would mean that this positive effect of EADRD funds on income lasts only as long as the subsidies are granted and the supported projects undergo.

Based on the linear regression path analysis, on the subsample of disadvantaged villages, the overall effect of subsidies on emigration is to be calculated as $0.144 + (0.247\times -0.342)$

+ (0.247 × 0.120 × 0.135) + (0.143 × 0.135) = +**0.083**. Thus, we receive an overall positive effect as the direct effect positive connection is only alleviated yet not completely abolished by the indirect negative influence 4th axis subsidies on the change in the share of outwards mobile people.

Figure 19: Path model – Fourth axis funds in disadvantaged villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of disadvantaged villages (n=660). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. (Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0)

The purpose of this low-budget fund was to strengthen local communities, between-settlement connections and to support local development ideas. However, even the Ministry's 2015 policy report on rural development (VM 2015) admits that the execution of the programme was overly bureaucratic, went hardly and needed renewal, which was initiated by the ending years of the budget period. The document also highlights, that though the 118 new local action groups were formed and their programmes affected 4.5 million people (which number is the simple sum of the population of settlements in which LAGs were formed), "*LEADER programme was by no doubt successful as the results of developments initiated by LEADER projects are enjoyed by almost half of the population, however, there still is a fallback in the number of created new jobs*" (VM 2015, 152, own translation). This fallback might be seen in the figure, as no significant impact is present of the variable measuring 4th axis subsidies on employment. As mentioned several times previously, the variable measuring employment within the path model cannot grasp the spread of local job opportunities, rather, the spread of job opportunities for locals.

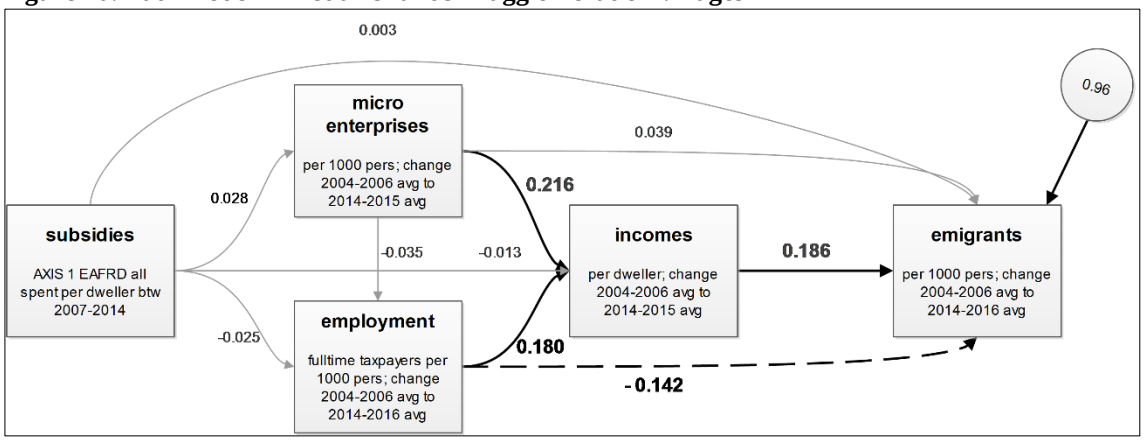
Even having these two arguments on local jobs kept in mind, it could hardly be argued that 4th axis funds contributed to a fall in total local job opportunities. When discussing 2nd axis funds, two alternative explanations were phrased on the positive relationship between subsidies and emigration, one of which was a decline in total (legal or illegal) local jobs due to downsizing. As an argument of this kind would now be less supportable,

the explanation of the positive relationship between subsidies and emigration would be the one about empowerment. What we might see here is not so much a labour-market related effect of subsidies, rather, the growing impact of social connections and between-settlement ties on emigration. As Rhoda (1983) argues, the development of infrastructural, social or cultural connections between settlements might empower people to move and result in a growing share of outwards mobility. This especially holds for relatively poor, disadvantageous societies. As we don't have reliable statistical data on between-settlement social or cultural ties, this argument should so far only be regarded as a hypothesis.

6.2.7. Agglomeration villages

Settlements located in agglomeration (suburban) zones of larger cities are special in the sense that functionally they belong to cities. According to latest census data, and based on own calculations, in 2011 the proportion of commuters among local employees in these agglomeration zones was higher than 75 percent. In addition, these settlements were much less targeted by EAFRD subsidies: at almost all measurements of rural development funds (see **Table 1** on **Page 79**), these villages acquired by far less money for development purposes – this is a reason for why these settlements are handled differently in this thesis. Particularly high was these villages drawback concerning measurements with the highest budgets. Therefore, a relatively weak impact could be expected. On the other hand, suburban villages might have more in common than non-suburban, non-disadvantaged villages, which would trail more clear-cut results.

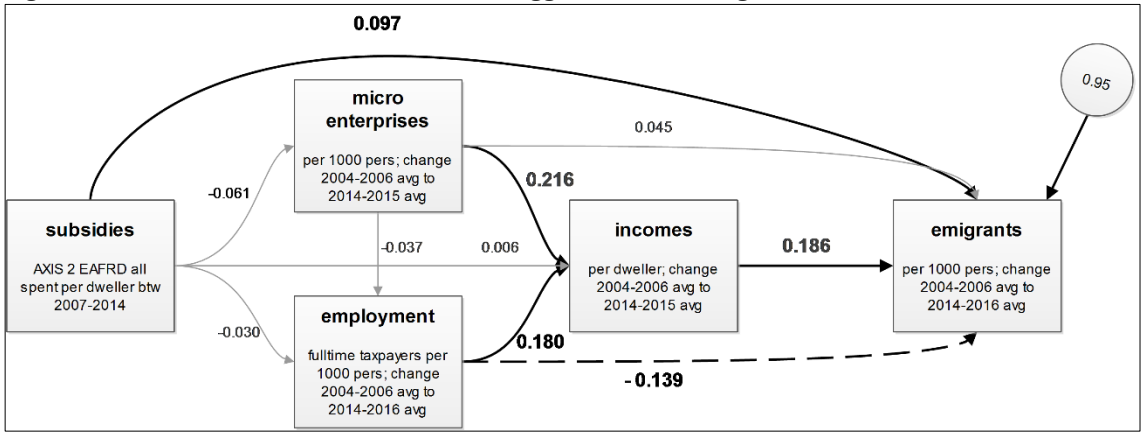
Figure 20: Path model - First axis funds in agglomeration villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of agglomeration villages (n=460). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0

As can be seen on the first path model, agglomeration villages are very similar to their counterparts in other microregions in the sense that both the share of microenterprises and employees within the population influence incomes positively. This means that regardless of a villag having best or worst positions within the settlement structure, higher incomes motivate people to move. And both in disadvantaged and agglomeration villages, by the growth of incomes, a more positive change in the share of emigrants can be expected. On the other hand, villages of the three inspected categories differ greatly in how employment affect migration. The less fortunate a settlement is concerning its location, the more positive is the impact of the change in the share of employees (measured by the number of people paying personal income taxes as fulltime employees) on the proportionate change of outwards mobile people. More precisely, this interaction between employment and emigrants is positive in disadvantaged villages, negative in agglomeration villages and neutral (insignificant) among other ones.

Figure 21: Path model - Second axis funds in agglomeration villages



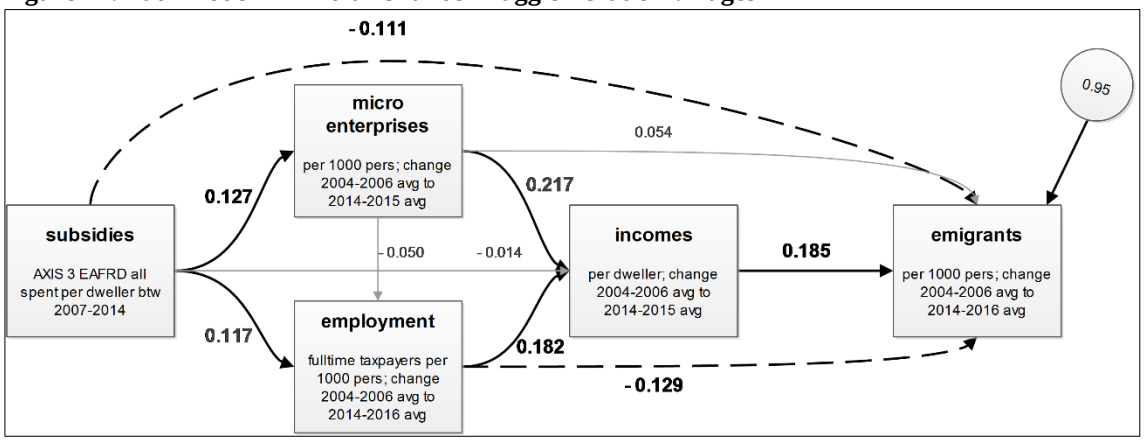
Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of agglomeration villages (n=460). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0

This difference can be understood by taking into account the phenomenon of commuting and infrastructural connections. The argument is that the better the infrastructural connections are towards the city, the less are the troubles that commuting trails. The variable measuring employment grasps nearby job opportunities besides local ones in a great extent (more than 50 percent) and therefore, the model reflects that new jobs in nearby cities pull migration from villages having bad regional connections and allows employees to stay and commute in villages with the best regional connections.

Among agglomeration villages, just as in the case of all non-disadvantaged villages, we see no direct influence of agricultural subsidies on either of the labour market variables. Nor do these funds seem to have interaction with emigration. However, as regression

coefficients, despite being insignificant, show that pairs of variables are deviating from an entire independency, while in parallel, there are variables influencing migration. This altogether raise the models' overall explanatory power to 4-5 percent with regard to all four axes of EAFRD funds. While neither agriculture-focused budget (1st and 2nd axes) influence enterprises and employment or even income, 2nd axis funds have a direct, weak and positive impact on emigration, which thus provide a similar picture to disadvantaged villages, where a direct positive impact was to be seen, too. The explanation could be mostly similar: even though no data is provided, the downsizing of agricultural production may result in such outcomes.

Figure 22: Path model - Third axis funds in agglomeration villages



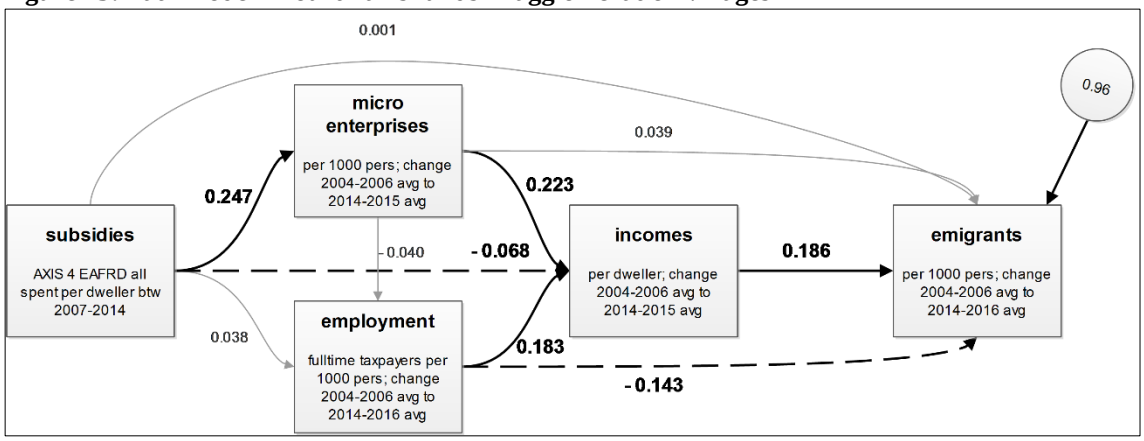
Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of agglomeration villages (n=460). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0

Another dimension of similarity between the 4 axes of funds among non-agglomeration villages is the subsidies' lack of direct impact on incomes. Instead of having strong direct effects, 3rd and 4th axis funds could contribute to improving incomes through more enterprises and jobs (or in an extent, in case of 4th axis funds, directly as well), which effects can hypothesized to outlive the few-year period of project implementations. Local micro enterprises on the other hand do not have an impact on the share of local employees, just as was the case in the previous two types of villages. This result should be the least surprising with regard to this subsample of suburban villages: as over 3 quarter of employees commute to other settlements for work, it is these villages, where local jobs play the least important role in local employment.

In agglomeration villages, 3rd axis funds behave very similarly to what could be seen among non-disadvantaged villages in the sense that they directly influence local employment positively. Those were only the disadvantaged villages, where we did not see this interaction. An explanation for this may lie in the lack of local workforce capable

of participating in programme realisations, and underdeveloped regions may be in the need for employment import. However, this statement should yet only be regarded as a hypothesis. The direct negative influence of 3rd axis subsidies on emigration needs further explanations. By changing and improving services and quality of life in suburban villages, dwellers might be convinced to stay. This might be the only case in which the improvement of general circumstances is really accountable for a rise in 'population retaining capacities' of villages.

Figure 23: Path model - Fourth axis funds in agglomeration villages



Linear regression interactions (β-coefficients) between variables on the subsample of agglomeration villages (n=460). Significant estimates ($p<0.05$) indicated by bold characters. For details, consult the appendix. Source: own construction. Analytical software: IBM SPSS 23.0. Graphics: EDraw Max 6.0

6.3. Short summary

In this section, a general description was provided on the distribution and allocation of rural development subsidies, augmented with internal migration tendencies in Hungary. As can be seen (consult the Appendix, **Chapter 9.1**) employment patterns and the Hungarian labour market in the 2007-2013 period was characterised by drop-back and a slow regeneration due to the 2008-2009 financial crisis, which affected villages more. It can also be seen from statistical background data, that independently from the crisis, employment (i.e. the number of those taxpayers being full-time employed) rose continuously in villages, and this growth was faster in the disadvantageous microregions. In the meantime, outwards mobility has accelerated especially from villages, leading to a more rapid depopulation of some of the localities. However, a great territorial differentiation could be seen suggesting the existence of multiple latent causal mechanisms. Territorial differences can be grasped with regard to the distribution of rural development subsidies as well. As could be seen, settlements show a great variety regarding EAFRD incomes during the analysed period, and it seems that considering

funds proportionately, disadvantaged villages benefited slightly more from these subsidies.

The main purpose was in this section to provide a thorough investigation of the effects of EAFRD subsidies on outwards mobility through some of those variables that are 1) based on previous theories expected to matter in this process 2) that are expected to trail well-measurable short-term effects 3) fit to be analysed with the application of quantitative tools, as reliable data is provided.

General results of the linear regression-based path analyses suggest that though no direct correlation is present between development and migration, through intermediate labour market effects, EAFRD subsidies seem to influence outwards mobility positively among disadvantageous villages. Meanwhile, such (or a more 'desirable', negative) effect cannot be presented with regard to those villages that are neither disadvantageous, nor being located in agglomeration zones of cities. Nevertheless, based on previous theories, it is hypothesized that developing different aspects of local socio-economic lives trail different outcomes on migration. The differentiation between the four 'axes' of rural development subsidies provided a great opportunity to investigate these outcomes in a development-target distinction. In addition, disadvantageous villages were differentiated from those located in agglomeration zones of cities and the rest.

In the analyses, instead of the cross-sectional values of the variables, their proportionate (per capita) change were introduced: the average value of the two or three years following the 2007-2013 period was compared with the average value of the three years preceding it. Therefore, relative changes could be grasped. The analyses revealed that general patterns indeed do mask territorial and more importantly, development target area-differences. Nevertheless, similarities are present, too: it can generally be seen, regardless of what geographical area is concerned, that:

1. Both the proportionate increase in the number of enterprises and employees seem to increase incomes.
2. The change in the share of micro enterprises results in no significant change in employee ratios.

Outwards mobility is in interaction with both entrepreneurship, employment and incomes. However, differences are seen between settlements of different status:

3. Employment and incomes are both in positive relationship with migration: the higher their value, the higher is the share of those leaving the settlement. This statement is true to disadvantageous villages and, considering incomes, to agglomeration villages. In agglomeration villages, however, employment seem to decrease emigration.
4. In contrast with employment and incomes, entrepreneurship in disadvantageous villages seem to decrease emigration, but has no relevant effects elsewhere.

Subsidies in some cases have direct effects on outwards mobility:

5. Investments into agricultural competitiveness (axis 1) negatively, whereas investments into agricultural sustainability (axis 2) positively influence emigration from disadvantageous and (considering axis 2 subsidies), agglomeration villages.
6. Rural development in its narrower sense (axis 3) has a negative (thus, 'desirable') effect on emigration in disadvantageous and agglomeration villages, and community development (axis 4) trail a positive (thus, 'undesirable') effect on emigration in disadvantageous villages.

Besides the often weak and non-existent direct effects of subsidies on migration, some significant and in all cases positive correlations could be found between subsidies and labour market variables.

7. Regardless of geographical and socio-economic status, axis 3 and axis 4 developments (i.e., non-agrarian rural development subsidies), contributed greatly to the appearance of new micro-enterprises. Besides this, entrepreneurship was positively influenced in disadvantageous villages by agricultural investments, too.
8. Those were axis 3 investments, that had a positive effect on employment: the more rural development subsidies were spent per capita from this budget, the more positive was the growth in the share of 'fulltime taxpayers'. Sadly, this statement is not true to disadvantageous villages.

With regard to general policy aims (namely, the decreasing of outwards mobility from villages), the fact that in disadvantageous villages, employment is not influenced by subsidies is a so-called 'positive' outcome. Whereas entrepreneurship generally facilitates staying, employment seem to facilitate outwards mobility in disadvantageous villages. Thus, by having here no connection between subsidies and employment, subsidies can

have an overall negative, ‘restraining’ effect on emigration. This would suggest an entrepreneurship-fostering policy – given no change in general policy aims.

Nevertheless, the ecological validity of the above results is limited. In the models, only a few factors related to labour markets were investigated and in parallel, only a very short-term effect of subsidies could be assessed. Furthermore, the explanations of the correlations are based primarily on previous theories, often focusing on developing economies and international migration. For a more detailed picture on the sociological problem in focus, it is inevitable to address migration (and development-migration interactions) in its entire complexity rather to reduce it to employment-related matters. Therefore, in the next section of the current thesis, migration-related decision-making will be analysed in parallel with perceptions of development and social change, based on qualitative data gathered during several fieldwork in Hungarian villages.

7. SOCIAL CHANGE AND MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS

This section of the dissertation engages in qualitative responses gathered from a series of fieldwork in order to be able to grasp development-migration interactions on the micro level. Based on previous theories, this chapter develops an analytical framework to address this matter and afterwards provides a systematic, inductive analysis of interview narratives regarding development (and local changes), in accord with the analytical framework consisting of a typology of migration aspirations and capabilities.

7.1. Introduction of fields, respondents and analytical procedure

In the time period of 2014-2019, fieldwork in altogether 8 Hungarian, non-agglomeration villages were conducted with the definite aim to try to address questions of socio-economic change in rural areas as well as questions of rural-urban linkages and mobility. These fieldwork were led by myself, whereas research group members were mostly graduate students of social sciences.

Regardless of having a concrete scientific research aim, the directions of the individual fieldwork were influenced by personal interests of all contributing researchers. As the fieldwork were in most cases not sponsored from external sources (and researchers' labour were never financially compensated), personal scientific interests and enthusiasm played a major role all along. During the fieldworks, the core method was the conducting of semi-structured interviews with local dwellers. However, as questions on the perception of social change as well as perceptions of rural-urban linkages and mobility were a core field of interest during all the years and in all research programmes, an opportunity is given for a detailed investigation of the sociological problem in focus.

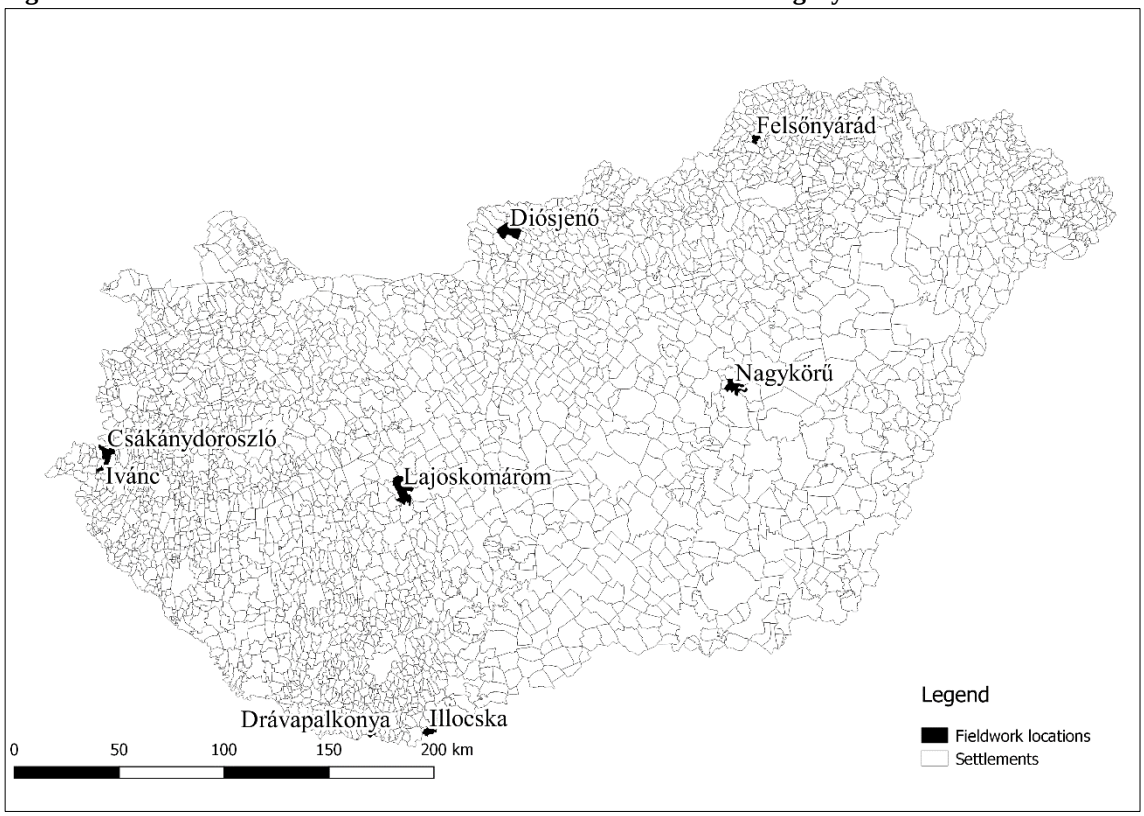
Fieldwork took the time of around a week each, during which either one or two villages were investigated and with one exception took place during the summer. Altogether, 163 semi-structured interviews were voice-recorded of 78 minutes of length on the average, and naturally with a great, 43-minute standard deviation. This provides an around 211-hour length audio source that were after the fieldwork the subject of verbatim transcription. Field variety concerns the villages' EAFRD support, migration tendencies and labour market as well. As shown by **Table 6** in the Appendix on **Page 170** , four villages belong to those third of all Hungarian agglomeration villages receiving the highest per-capita amount of rural development funds, whereas there are three of all eight villages

receiving below-average funds, thus belonging to the least assisted third. According to the EAFRD database, there were altogether 34 non-agglomeration villages in Hungary, that were not provided such development fund during the 2007-2013 budget period, of which one served as a fieldwork location in 2014. The settlements also show a variety considering migration patterns as shown by official statistics. As for immigration (those relocating into the given settlement from another part of Hungary or abroad, establishing a new 'permanent' address), we find one settlement having the lowest ratio, four in the middle and three belonging to the top third of all non-agglomeration villages. Emigration ratio on the other hand is low in five of the eight settlements, medium in two and especially high in one. It is particularly important to note that regarding immigration and emigration patterns, a diversity is provided: in some cases, outwards mobility exceeds immigration, whereas in others, the contrary is the case. Considering annual incomes (which is computed by dividing full-time employees' income with the number of all dwellers), 2 villages may be considered as particularly disadvantageous and one having values close to average, whereas 5 villages belong to that third of non-agglomeration villages having the highest values.

The fieldwork were conducted in both villages located nearby Budapest (1-1.5-hour travel time), and those being further. As data on reachability of the capital is provided for the year 2008 in both distance and time, it can be seen, that the third of non-agglomeration villages are closer than 120 minutes to Budapest, a third of them are further than 166 minutes, and the remaining third are in-between. Among fieldwork-settlements, four are located 'far away', two closer than 2 hours of travel, and two in-between. It neither was an aim of the fieldworks, nor is it of this thesis to identify specific development projects and evaluate potential changes *they* generate locally[21].

[21] The problem with the employment of such an approach would be the tightness of generalizability, which is against the intentions of the current thesis. As argued by researchers, the variety of rural development programmes and target areas trail a necessity for a wide scope. Along with the quantitative part of research providing an opportunity for the investigation of general, short-term and labour market-related effects of development subsidies, qualitative empirical tools will provide explanations for the correlation. Nevertheless, this part of the thesis also tries to move beyond these factors and reveal interactions what would have been impossible to find with the employment of statistical data analysis. Even migration in its narrower sense, understood as a distinct action within time-space (which it is not, or not only, see Halfacree and Boyle (1993) for example) is influenced by a complexity of reasons, and migration-related decision-making, regarding its motivation factors moves way beyond issues of the labour market. Consequently, drawing direct connections between distinct development projects and migration would result in either a decrease of the scope of the research (picking one or two projects) or a radical drop in its validity – in an extreme case, providing outright unscientific results. The latter scenario would develop if the research narrow-mindedly would try to identify exact projects within the narratives of respondents and focus on explicitly reported effects on respondents' migration behaviour.

Figure 24: Fieldwork locations within the settlement structure of Hungary



(Source: own construction. Software: QGIS)

Instead, to assess both the general impact of development programmes of migration-related decision making while both maximising the scope (thus, the generalizability) and the validity of the research, another approach might be beneficial. Such a solution would be a parallel analysis of the perception of change and migration aspirations within the narratives of respondents. The price to be paid with the employment of this approach is the strength of connection between the two. In particular, this approach offers a detailed understanding of the role of the perception of social change within migration narratives, however, the contribution of the concrete development projects in these perceptions will rather be evaluated heuristically. Furthermore, this approach would allow to test general development concepts rather than concrete programmes. Nevertheless, the aim is exactly this: dealing with migration narratives, and perceptions of change within allows the assessment of potential effects of development in general instead of particular, whilst enabling the analysis of migration decision-making in its entire complexity.

In general, the variety of both the fields and interviewees allows a multi-perspective approach when answering the research questions. The narratives provided by respondents on perceived social change and migration considerations are fit to describe a phenomenon

in its entire complexity and from different perspectives. The analysis of the transcribed 163 interviews was done with Atlas.ti software, which consisted of the following steps:

1. Identifying and labelling (coding) the parts (from a few sentences to longer paragraphs or pages) of narratives separately, in which the following topics were discussed by respondents:
    a. changes (or the lack of changes) in the local setting. Any changes were labelled, let them be social, economic, cultural, infrastructure or lifestyle changes of any kinds which resulted changes in local lives according to respondents. Altogether 607 quotations were coded.
    b. development in the local context. Any shorter-longer narratives concerning the question of development (regardless of them trailing concrete changes or referring only to general ideas about development) were coded here. Altogether 319 quotations were collected.
    c. migration. Any narratives were coded where questions of whether or not to emigrate was mentioned with possible reasons for acting alike. These narratives include questions of general depopulation as well. Altogether 367 narratives were selected.
    d. rural-urban connections. All narratives from the 163 transcribed interviews were coded at this step which explicitly referred to questions or comparisons of rural and urban life or the linkages between the two. Altogether 256 such scripts were coded.
    e. the lottery question. All narratives, discussing what respondents would or would not do, having won the national lottery, were coded at this step. Altogether 105 shorter (few sentences) or longer (several paragraphs) narratives were collected in this code.
2. Inductively collecting typical narratives. Types of „change", „migration" as well as typical „lottery" responses were identified based on narratives coded into the respective three categories.
    a. change narratives: typical narratives included narratives of "no local change", „local deterioration" (postsocialism/local community/demographic changes/local services/local governance/cultural-mental/aesthetic), „local development" (aesthetic/infrastructural/political/economic/cultural), „change in comparison (with other places)", „natural", „national-global") For a detailed descriptive introduction of these narrative, consult the Appendix, **Chapter 9.4**

b. migration narratives: typical responses included narratives of „pro-move statements" (no social life/necessity of housework/commuting/self-actualisation/incomes/lack of jobs/fear (security or social downfall)/personal ties/adventure-moving forward/cheaper city life/boredom) and „pro-stay statements" (community/family/fear from new/escaping/moving costs/rural idyll/local career/undervalued local property) For a detailed descriptive introduction of these narrative, consult the Appendix, **Chapter 9.5**

c. lottery narratives: typical narratives included „modern values" (house, vehicle, debt payback, financial deposit), „hedonistic values" (travel, party, sports car), „community values" (social, communal, local infrastructure, religion, politics, family) and „self actualisation" (career/entrepreneurship, hobby), as well as („wouldn't need"). Based on these responses, it was evaluated whether respondents explicitly or implicitly suggested that they would emigrate from the locality. For a detailed descriptive introduction of these narrative, consult the Appendix, **Chapter 9.6**

As the next step of the analysis, respondents were categorised based on their migration-narratives. To answer the research questions, typical "change-narratives" of these individual categories will be connected to respondent categories. The next section thus will provide a detailed description of this categorisation, and afterwards, the analysis of perceptions of change by these individual migration-based categories of respondents.

7.2. Migration aspirations and development – interaction analysis

7.2.1. Analytical framework

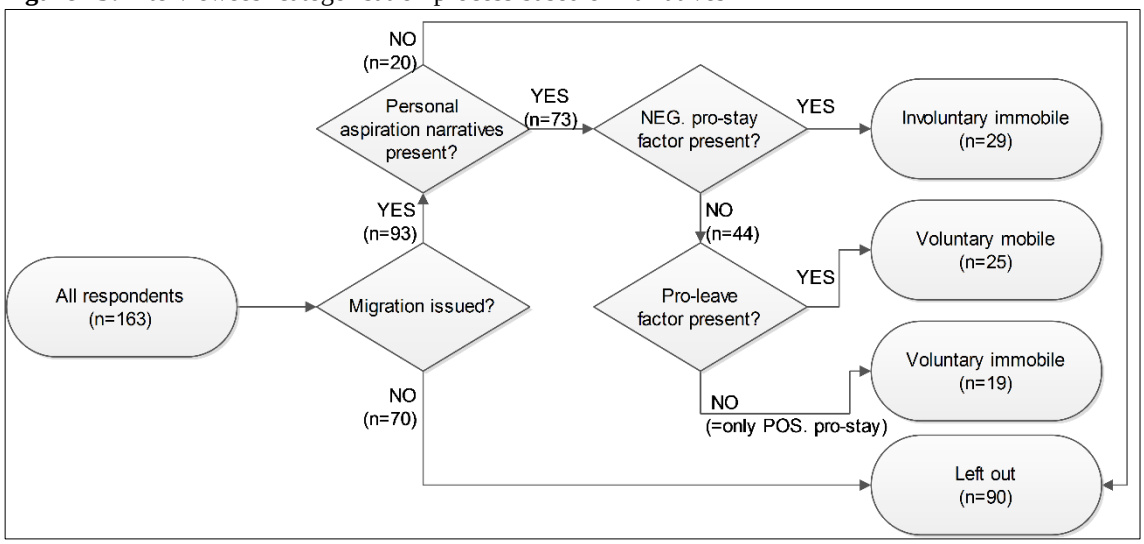
After introducing a descriptive analysis on narratives of both socio-economic change and migration (see in the Appendix, **Chapters 9.4** and **9.5**), their interaction will be analysed in the current subchapter. This will be done on the basis of de Haas' (2014) capability-aspiration framework. While the theoretical framework serves as ground for categorising respondents' narratives of migration, the interactions between development and migration will be addressed through the evaluation of the perception of change by these categories.

Questions of migration were explicitly issued in altogether 93 interviews (57% of all interviews), of which a three-fourth (n=73) contained concerned ideas regarding personal aspirations for either moving or staying, whereas 20 respondents only mentioned general local social tendencies in relation with mobility. Out of the 73 respondents, more than half (n=39) provided only pro-staying arguments, whereas the other provided mixed or pro-leaving arguments. Based on the capability-aspiration migration framework, altogether three forms of immobility, one form of mobility and yet another group, whose mobility aspiration is harder to evaluate will be assessed. Having involuntary mobility not considered here (as argued, this can only take part during disasters, furthermore, it is hard to theoretically distinguish from voluntary migration as even these cases include some agency (Carling 2002)), only one form of actual mobility will be issued. These are easy to identify: at least the ones providing pro-moving arguments belong here, who will be joined by those providing both pro-leaving and positive pro-staying arguments, while not providing negative pro-staying factors. Differentiating between the three forms of immobility is a major task for the evaluation of migration-development interactions.

Voluntarism of immobility will be estimated based on the nature of pro-staying arguments. As presented in the previous chapter, leaning-to-stay persons mentioned both negative (forestalling) and positive factors for staying – examples for the former are named as 'family attachment' and 'getting stuck'. Those respondents mentioning such negative pro-staying factors for their stay will be categorised as involuntary immobile, regardless of other pro-staying or pro-leaving reasons mentioned, whereas other pro-stayers (not mentioning pro-leaving factors either) will be grouped into the category of voluntary immobile people. The idea of naming anyone involuntary immobile, who provided negative pro-stay arguments, regardless of any further pro-stay or pro-leave

arguments is that these negative reasons, approaching them in a qualitative way, dominates all other factors for staying or moving (these exceed all the others in their effects). Categorisation process is presented in **Figure 25**, whereas the method for discerning the 'acquiescent immobile' will be introduced later, in **Chapter 7.2.5.**

Figure 25: Interviewees' categorisation process based on narratives



Source: own construction

Even though aspirations and capabilities may influence one another, as argued by de Haas (2014), they can be told apart. Development, if understood as changes in external circumstances results in capability structure changes, and thus, development narratives might build up connections between these categories of migration: in a long-enough term, involuntary immobility as well as acquiescent mobility might turn into either voluntary mobility, or, purely based on changes in capability structures, to voluntary immobility. However, the cross-sectional nature of the fieldwork does not provide an opportunity for a long-term estimation of these issues. Therefore, another approach will be applied. After assigning respondents to each of the four subgroups of the aspiration-capability cross-table, the groups' interpretations on changes will be analysed.

Table 2: Categorisation of respondents into capability - aspiration framework

		CAPABILITIES	
		–	+
ASPIRA-TIONS	+	Involuntary immobile n = 29	Voluntary mobile n = 25
	–	Acquiescent immobile n = ? (issued later)	Voluntary immobile n=19

7.2.2. Voluntary mobility

Voluntary mobile people are the ones having both the desire and opportunity to move away from the settlement. With regard to age and gender, representatives of this group within interviewees form a mixed demographic group (11 male and 14 female), and each and every fieldwork locations provides representatives for this group. However, the share of those being born local is much lower among the voluntary mobile group than within the full sample (28% vs. 57%).

One of the main questions to be asked is why they were still be found in the village during the fieldworks. The answer is two-fold: first, some respondents might have been found just before initiating practical steps towards moving – this statement is especially due to the young generations. As presented clearly in the following quotes, for young people, their future mobility it is out of question, and migration aspirations are rather intrinsic than instrumental, though the two overlap. As we can see in the response given by a high school student, emigration is so evident that he doesn't even highlight the fact he would not stay in the locality after graduation:

> *- What do you think, what's gonna be with the village?*
> *- I think, everything will stay the way it was. Even five years from now.*
> *- And after?*
> *- After, I don't know. I won't be here then [laughs]*
> (Respondent 4130, 17 years old male, secondary school student. Own translation)

Another respondent, a commuting university student stresses his desire to leave as soon as possible (when he graduates) which clearly indicates that moving abroad is not considered to be any less likely (or less solvable, let alone less desirable) than it is to move to another within-country city:

> *- Where do you imagine your future, maybe here or elsewhere?*
> *- Well I'd like to imagine my future elsewhere. I wouldn't like to be here for too long. You cannot do a breakthrough here. In this area. So well, we imagine it abroad with my girlfriend.*
> *- Really? I thought in [the city he studies].*
> *- [That city]. Maybe there, but not here anyway. This is nice and all, but that's all. (...) So I want to go, that's the goal.*
> (Respondent 4110, 22 years old male, university student. Own translation)

Second, some respondents said they did not have alternatives yet, with regard to concrete destination. Though this might also be understood as a lack of cultural (or even, social) capacity, and consequently, might be labelled as involuntary immobility, I would argue that a major difference arise between the two. This difference is provided by the fact that while involuntarily immobile people lack the physical, financial or cultural means from

moving (e.g. the lack of skills to get information about concrete target areas), these, voluntary mobile people do not. They are instead just accepting their situation temporarily, and might very well be expected to move on the medium run. For instance, a local mother of three reports not to move only for the sake of her children not leaving their temporary communities (school class). Such an attitude avoids this respondent to be member of the 'involuntary immobile' group, and the temporary aspect of staying avoids the respondent to be categorised as voluntary immobile:

> *- Have you ever considered moving away?*
> *- Very happily. But not right now, I don't want to rive them [her children] away, for the time being. But yes. [...] It is boring here. It really is. I was going to middle school to [a nearby town], so not even my friends aren't here... OK, I do got some friends, who I can go out with, and these are really very good gatherings usually... But it is a big nothing that is here.*
> (Respondent 7106, young, local-born female, mother of three. Own translation)

Within this, voluntary migrant group of respondents, positive local socio-economic change narratives and narratives of concrete development projects are – contrary what could have been expected – present, sometimes even as part of migration-considerations. However, this comes in parallel with the sense of general economic downsizing (often compared to other eras, such as state socialism or even feudalism), and those are precisely these comparisons which provide the final balance. Based on these arguments, group characteristics with regard to the relationship between narratives of changes, development and migration can be summarized as follows:

1) **Downsizing and deterioration:** Among voluntary mobile people, we might find respondents with active as well as inactive labour market status (both students, retirees and women on maternity leave). All respondents with active status have decent jobs, either locally or at a distance and neither of them are unemployed. Thus, their narratives on economic downsizing and the lack of local jobs are to be understood in the context that members of this, labour market-wise active subgroup *individually* having no problem of being employed. This is important to be pointed out as labour market status thus is not an substantive, rather, a relational factor. Indeed, questions of the current economic status is considered by these respondents in either a spatial or temporal setting (i.e. compared to the past or to other regions' opportunities), and migration aspirations in the voluntary mobile subgroup are not the question of unsatisfied physical needs, and of not being able to financially maintain their lives. The clear disgust from local deterioration is clearly connected to a strong desire to leave in the narrative provided by a public servant respondent, who otherwise have a fine career in a local social institution:

"Why stay where things are worse? Instead, I could live where it's better and better are the opportunities. All services, infrastructure... Why's that good for me that roads stagger my car? During MOT-tests, technicians say, suspension's shit. I should pay them to be repaired. Why me? Society destroyed it!" (Respondent 7114, middle-aged male, public servant, manager)

On the other hand, members of the inactive population within the group themselves are either *yet* or *anymore* not affected very much by the local economy and the decrease of local employment opportunities. Students, as it could already be seen, postpone their decision precisely for the time period of job search as disadvantageous economic surroundings are yet not a cause of trouble for them. There are indeed elderly, retired people, thinking of moving not because they don't have employment opportunities, but because – as it is argued – their relatives don't, and maintaining their relationship (and their own security) is hard considering perceived distances and bad commuting opportunities. This form of migration chain (i.e. elderly parents considering moving after their children once they themselves have troubles keeping up their everyday life) is a distinct pattern of strategies within this group. In general, the appearance of relative change of local economic opportunities within these narratives is well-recognisable.

2) **Understatement of the importance of development projects**: It could have been expected, that perceptions of development are a scarce within the narratives of voluntary mobile people. Contrary to these expectations, positive changes do appear and are often presented in the responses provided to questions of change evaluation. As can be seen in the narrative of a middle-aged woman, actual developmental progress is sometimes considered not even slightly countervailing the smashing deterioration identified as the local social (and labour market) downfall:

"I know elder people from the late ages, lots of old people and I know them, but unfortunately the village has been aged, and young people have gone. Er... this definitely has lots of reasons, but it is not because the village hasn't developed rightly. This should be put aside, this is absolutely not the point. Instead [sighs] job creation, that's what the problem is." (Respondent 8141, 59 years old female, social care worker. Own translation)

Both physical (transportation and utility) and human infrastructure developments are present, which should be supplemented by narratives of cultural and aesthetic transformations. However, these are in all cases presented with distinctive understatement and as being overshadowed by negative changes. Understatements are usually connected to the ineffectiveness of these projects to make relevant differences in important matters, or even causing damages, for

instance in the labour market. They therefore are very well aware of these development programmes (let them originate from either national or EU-sources). Some respondents, just as the following elderly man can clearly provide a detailed list of desirable actions of development in the past but even this he says not to compensate for the lack of local incomes from the market:

"[These streets] were road-metaled, small gravels were spread down and rolled, so it became a metaled road. Better than the mud. [...] Afterwards, now, it's now an asphalt road. Then, waterpipes and plumbing, gas system, so the village is developing. What really is missing, what would really make a difference are smaller manufactory plants, who'd pay their taxes locally. So not only to have incomes from the upper institutions, what they give or what tenders they call". (Respondent 3119, 79 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

As can be seen reading the interviews, the lack of local enterprises relativizes the importance of these development programmes, let them even be really comprehensive and extensive ones. The two factors and consequences of these are the lack of employment and the lack of freedom on behalf of the local community/local government. Thus, personal migration aspirations are not rising due to the perceived lack of development, but regardless of their existence. Both on the individual and the community level, these changes are reported to have failed to significantly increase opportunity structures, which opportunity structures might also be regarded collectively as personal and communal freedom.

3) **Comparison with the state socialist and feudal systems**

As mentioned, voluntary mobile people regard changes relatively, and it is the relative lack of development, what appear in personal migration aspiration narratives. These relations can be addressed either in a territorial or temporal sense. As for the latter, feudal and state-socialist nostalgia (either generally, or strictly focusing on their economic aspects) appear in the interviews. Nostalgia is either economic or cultural-related in its nature, where economic change include the downsizing of agriculture and the decrease of city industrial jobs, and cultural change reflect either attitudes regarding agrarian production or the general disassembly of local communities. In both the economic and cultural aspects, agriculture plays a distinctive role.

Such a narrative unfolds from a middle-aged man's response, who compares cultural attitudes of contemporary alien entrepreneurs with feudal lords, who are remembered as being tied to the local community in at least an extent. This results in an despise of alien entrepreneurship and a community disintegration:

"These new ownership... land property relations... There are lots of strangers. Lots of strangers; people, who have no connections with the land at all. And it's almost like... this is a new-age pillaging. I live away from here [interpretation from their points of view] and come with those terrifyingly big tractors and combines, show up on the given land, do the job and then disappear. I come again when it's spraying time, come again when whatever, come harvesting and then I'm left, so long y'all. [interpretation ends] And they have no connection to the community, to the place, to the culture. If we have a look at an earl for instance, earls lived here. They dwelt here." (Respondent 7114, middle-aged male, public servant, manager. Own translation)

Besides community disintegration, economic downfall unfolds from these narratives, too. As an elderly woman clearly states, the changing laws of agriculture makes the state socialist system more desirable for an average worker as according to this notion, nowadays earning opportunities are not lying in local agriculture (or economy), but instead, in unethical activities (or emigration):

"If it weren't for the Kádár-system, we'd be still at being [the slaves] of a few rich people. [...] It surely was a bad system for some, but it was very good for us, we could work night and day. Anyone who wanted to earn, could earn. With decency. Not by stealing. […]Everyone goes away 'cause this ain't no life for young people. Those who are supported by their parents, maybe... We also set ourselves up to... my son is an agronomist, we bought lands around [a nearby town]. At two different places. We thought he'd be happy about it. He says: »Mother, I won't be digging the soil, just to work from dawn to dusk for the same income I earn now in two hours.«,, (Respondent 3125, 86 years old female, retiree. Own translation)

The main question for us is how narratives of change and development in particular appear in the narratives of respondents categorised by their provided migration prospects. Voluntary mobile people provide narratives about not only the positive, but also the negative consequences of development, and this, too has several ties to agriculture. As can be seen in the narrative of an above-quoted middle-aged local public servant respondent, by arguing that agricultural development funds contributed to the appearance of huge land with minimum effort put to it, they refer to the loss of both the economic and cultural ground of local life. This statement is true, irrespective of whether the respondents personally be engaged with local production or not. However, people with strong attachment to the land do provide strong, for-migration arguments:

„[as a result of agricultural development], in villages, people aren't engaged in anything. They don't produce anything, they buy stuff at TESCO, here 'n there. They gave up. They were made to give up. People get everything ready and see that they could only reach that... weak performance that their gardens would provide them, with great struggles. So I always, I very much... I'm always a devotee to produce on my own, what I can. I myself produce everything that's possible in my garden". (Respondent 7114, middle-aged male, public servant, manager. Own translation)

7.2.3. Voluntary immobility

While both voluntary mobility and involuntary immobility is an often addressed question of migration studies, the forms of immobility characterised by the lack of aspiration to move is a seldomly issued topic. As Schewel (2019) argues, mobility bias in migration studies are caused by "*the dominance of sedentary and nomadic metanarratives about the nature of people and society*" (4.), which regard immobility as the unimportant, 'normal' behaviour or rather, status of people from which occasionally they are rived off by external factors (see for instance the classical gravity or push-pull models). Historical-structural models (de Haas 2014) put this into perspective by recognising power structures interfering in the otherwise ongoing phenomenon of mobility, but these approaches fail to recognise personal aspirations to stay, too.

Voluntary immobile people were identified as respondents providing only pro-staying arguments, which arguments were 'positive' in their nature, while not providing any negative (forestalling) factors for immobility. Conversely, involuntary immobile people will be those providing negative pro-staying arguments regardless of other pro-stay or pro-leave arguments. The number of those belonging to this group is the least numerous (n=19), partially due to the strict definition of the category. Similarly to voluntary mobile people, the socio-demographic composition of this group is mixed. Besides all research fields providing respondents, among those being satisfied with their current place of living and not wishing to move elsewhere, we find both males (n=8) and females (n=11), young, middle-aged and elder people either. Moreover, even the share of those being born locally (n=10, vs. n=9; 53%) is similar to the full sample data (57%).

Within migration narratives of these respondents, personal career-motives appear in around half of the cases, but reasons for stay is connected mostly to ideas of the local idyll, and partially to local personal ties. Here, the concept of personal ties should be regarded rather as a general part of the local life, as one aspect of the idyllic rural countryside in relation with cities, instead of in absolute terms. A reason for this is that in temporal relations, these respondents stress how their personal local social connections and community in general fade away. Most voluntary immobile people, while recognising actions of development in the infrastructure and local cultural life, mostly are concerned about deterioration when discussing changes in the local economy, demography, and most importantly, attitudes of local people and community in general. Characteristics of the voluntary immobile subgroup may be summarized as follows.

1) **A love of the local (rural) idyll**

Those people categorised as voluntary immobile explicitly argue their staying aspiration being influenced by the love of the local environment, together with their memories, and these narratives are often situated in a rural-urban context, too. However, these have little to do with changes. Instead, if anything, changes are to be considered as practically resulting in negative consequences to this idyll, either concerning development programmes or the general downfall in economic life and labour market opportunities. The following narrative, received from a retiree woman presents how in parallel with understanding the negative demographic changes and the narrowing opportunities of local governments, the realisation of economic hopes and a general love of the idyll appears:

"Well, my generation, many of them moved to [a nearby town]. Many of them have moved, and I stayed, I never desired... So I desired to live in such a place where I live. I loved living here in the village and I love it right now as well. So no, not even for a thought... that I move to a city. My life happened in a way, that my husband was from here, too, I had my job here, I never-ever desired. I love... and I loved back then, too. […] Anyway, the financial situation of the local governments, you must know it anyway, what situation are they in: they're dependent. From things given from the highest level. And the tender subsidies, which we apply for and then either receive or not. Back then, it wasn't like this. There is still some local money however, because there are some entrepreneurs in the village and... everything, the local taxes from which they [local government] can gain some profit, but our village is not quite a great grantee of tenders. I think, it's not because the tenders are bad or faulty, but because they [the local government] doesn't do them. (Respondent 7104, 63 years old female, retiree. Own translation)

Interestingly, rural-rural migration aspirations are not present in the interviews, consequently, all respondents reporting their desire to move wish to move to bigger settlements or abroad. However, several respondents, who have already moved (multiple times) in their lives, moved from another village to their current place of living. The fact that rural-rural migration is not considered seriously refers to the fact that while aspirations of emigration is either facilitated by the will for personal development (career), the hardship in rural life or the 'urban idyll' (cultural and social life), voluntary immobility does not only mean the attachment to the idyllic rural life in general, but instead, to the specific, concrete rural surroundings, the rural locality.

As the love of the rural countryside and the given locality appear in narratives of some of those aspiring to move, too, the voluntary immobile subgroup can be differentiated from the voluntary mobile based on the lack of personal career aspirations (and/or the ease of their everyday rural lives) which in several cases

are provided by the fact that respondents are either retirees or have found their career (or in a wider sense, life goals) locally.

2) **Sense of economic and community deterioration**

Voluntary immobile people may very well be expected to refer to positive changes in the local socio-economic environment more often than others, but the interviews show a different picture. Respondents labelled as voluntary immobile are aware of both the economic decay and the general fragmentation of local communities, however, the lack of their further career aspirations (either because they have already found their good fortune or they're retired) seem to balance this equation. Both of the following respondents are well-off entrepreneurs who identify themselves as having found their life goals and career locally. Despite of such a self-identification, they both do understand local economic changes in general as downfall which they consider as being provided by global, external factors. Nevertheless, this does not affect either the perceived general beauty of rural life or their career and wellbeing:

"I manage my businesses from here, in home office. [...] First impression about the village [...] it's beautiful, [...] and especially these charming hills. [...] [As for changes,] there's a natural population decline, which is a nation-wide phenomenon, but it's effect is boosted a lot by the emigration of young people, who for employment, better life or else, move out, in the better case within the country, but the way I see it, this phenomenon doesn't concern only the youth, but [...] my generation, too. There's no job nearby. [...] I moved here and I feel good, I wanna get old here, gardening. I just conserved 40 kilograms of my own tomatoes and this feels really very good." (Respondent 3115, 47 years old male, entrepreneur, business manager. Own translation)

"Well, in our childhood, [for] peasants, it was a shame to have even a leaf of grass within the grapes. Vineyards were so immaculate, it was beautiful. Horticulture everywhere, unbelievable. Compared to that, it's a terrifying devastation. Those generations have died out, and the children were absorbed by the industry, artificially. Being a villager is not fashionable anyway, let's move to the city then!" (Respondent 8147, middle-aged male, local entrepreneur. Own translation)

Besides all these, even with regard to tourist-frequented, economically developing villages, the sense of this growth being inefficient in repopulating the countryside (while continuously destructing the 'real' rural idyll) appear in some narratives. Similarly to the previous two respondents, the following narratives are provided by local entrepreneurs, too. Besides the tragical view on local economic deterioration, even future possible developments provided by the unique location of the settlements (lying in attracting tourists or commuting workers) are interpreted as not trailing relevant positive outcomes.

"The 'Őrség' [microregion] has quite a good feeling, but as I said, there will be only abandoned villages there. So, there will be these great renewed old-time houses, very beautifully renewed.

Then they [average house owners] come for one or two weeks a summer, first they snap down all the mice, then enjoy themselves, close up the building and return next year. So, even there, these things slowly deteriorate, and people move rather to cities like everywhere else in the world." (Respondent 6126, 40 years old male, entrepreneur. Own translation)

"Many people moved away. Many. So, if it weren't for distant-newcomers, those coming from Budapest or don't know where from and either moved here or stay only for the summer, we'd be only a few living in this village." (Respondent 8110, middle-aged female, entrepreneur)

While, as it was already highlighted, people concern community as an important element of rural life and the idyllic rural in general, yet they also witness the falling apart of these communities. A typical inclusive aspect of local community life is presented by an older woman:

"There are all nationalities here, but despite of this, it's a very quiet place, so that gypsy people greet you, too, like any other person. Our neighbours here is a gypsy family and we're in a good relation with them, just have a look at how proper milieu they live in. [...] We stick together, I might say. Well, we love living here very much." (Respondent 8127, elderly female, retiree. Own translation)

However, the sense of falling apart of communities has a very few connections with migration as a general phenomenon (i.e. occlusion of local public life in general), only as long as personal connections fade away, which is on the other hand not to be undervalued, as presented in a younger woman's narrative as well:

"I work here as a kindergarten teacher and basically I live here since I was born […] I haven't even thought of another place to live when I graduated from college in [a nearby city]. Right away... there were more retirees in that year in this kindergarten, I applied for it and got the job, so I didn't even have a few months of holiday. Started working right away, so I was lucky in this sense, that I got a job. But obviously, having no vacancies here, I'd have tried elsewhere. [...] What I think is - but this is not about only this village, but a general problem - that one - how should I put it - is biased, regardless of where one lives. Unfortunately, this is now such a world, that you cannot trust anybody. But we try to keep up good relations with everybody so that everybody may live their lives peacefully. And after all, this is a very liveable place." (Respondent 6131, 27 years old female, nursery teacher)

As turned out during the general analysis of the perceptions of change (see in the Appendix, **Chapter 9.4**), in many occasions, when respondents report about the 'dying out' of their localities, they in fact refer to the decease of some of their concrete personal acquaintances, relatives and friends. A similar observation should be made in the case of community fragmentation, which is often meant in a concrete, personal way: the loss of personal ties with acquaintances, or that of weak tie-connections with people with specific roles in local everyday life (e.g. shopkeeper, local government, postman, pharmacist). As much as the perception of economic decline doesn't seem to influence outwards mobility aspirations within this group (by being balanced by personal career), this general sense of community fragmentation doesn't seem to influence it either. What becomes

important instead is the lack of negative ties, and the 'at-least' neutrality of between-people relations – the lack of being disturbed.

3) **Recognising infrastructure and cultural development and a criticism of development programmes**

Respondents labelled as voluntary immobile recognise the importance of various development programmes within the respective localities, and the understatement of their importance is scarce (compared for instance with the voluntary mobile group). These concern two major fields: infrastructural and cultural services, which contribute to the wellbeing of local dwellers by guaranteeing, especially for the elder generations a relatively carefree life and some leisure-time programmes.

It can be seen when having a look at the lengthy narratives, respondents are well aware of these changes which are reported to trail positive consequences in their lives and is a boost (or, at least an affirmation) for their desire to stay. Respondents can enumerate in details all the infrastructural development actions that took place since they live locally – often without specifically asking.

"When I moved here, plumbing was created, which was a very important investment, and the road network was renewed as well [...] we [the village] just have won subsidies for communal lighting [...] Then the heating system and energetics improvements of the public buildings, then the [cultural centre], fully-equipped. [...] Then, the renewal of [a local park] and the cemetery. In every street, pavements will be done on both sides, with decent paving-blocks, so the development in the village is really very spectacular. Several done by the local government itself, but I don't know what's gonna happen once the EU funds run dry. […] I'm not quite a pro-government person, but the young people, so that young people were supported and given land and other subsidies, is good. And a few, three or four people here grasped this opportunity, and it's fine. The problem is rather, that land distribution was a little corrupted. Contrary to what the goal was, so that smallholders receive land, the result was that those already having large lands, received even more through stooges. (Respondent 5109, 37 years old male, cleric)

On the other hand, this subgroup criticizes development in general, too, by stating that free money might be counterproductive for progress. The criticism of development projects appear as well in narratives of the voluntary immobile people. This is a result of their usual community inclusion and embeddedness, through which they are much aware of not only the positive consequences, but also criticize the redistributive system (instead of specific outputs) in which development projects are embedded. For instance, a female retiree, who was throughout her life (informally) close to local settlement leadership provides clear statements on these matters – regardless of she specifically choosing to live locally.

"I'm maybe alone with my opinion on EU tender opportunities. The local government has organised a very good team very early and won several tenders, there was a vast amount of money in the village, a vast. [Old people were phone called]: »I have a lot of money for pharmaceutic support, give me your personal data«. This meant to me, that there are more money in the village than it should be. And the decay was felt by everybody. In the old times, when you came in, there were flowers in front of the houses till the last - now you can just count how many tended gardens there are. [...] Along with the money coming in on the one end, personal relations, friendship, connections and understanding flew out. Nowadays, if someone has money: »where is it from? He must have been stolen it«. [...] As my father used to say, »if you want to impair a child, pad him with money. Give him a flat, and a lot of money. He never gonna learn anything and will perfectly be destroyed«." (Respondent 8125, 79 years old female, retiree)

These deteriorating effects of local development do appear in the case of agricultural development as well, which – as stated by a middle-aged local entrepreneur, might even directly result in depopulation:

"There are some who buy up all the lands, with legal or less legal methods. [...] They are given 70,000 Forints subsidies - or even more, if there are supplements - per hectares and invest let's say 10,000 Forints per hectares. They wouldn't develop and put energy in producing higher quality cultures, because this way they have 60,000 Forints of profit per hectares. [...] In practice, there are 3 or 4 families owning significant territories here and all other lands drift towards them, too - like it or not - because the law enables this. And others couldn't even climb back [to agriculture] because they cannot rent or buy lands anywhere. So after all, the land and forest that nourished this village or its majority for a thousand years, now concentrates in the hands of three-four families and all others are free to go to [a nearby town] or Germany. Or become a teacher here, a communal worker, local government employee or whatever. Or [referring to himself] start a business." (Respondent 3115, 47 years old male, entrepreneur, business manager. Own translation)

7.2.4. Involuntary immobility

Among respondents, those were labelled as involuntarily immobile, who, when discussing personal migration aspirations, mentioned 'negative' pro-stay factors, regardless of also articulating pro-leave factors or 'positive' pro-stay factors in parallel, or not. As previously shown, negative factors included the sense of 'getting stuck' and family-related issues – the number of those only expressing such arguments were 7 out of the 73 (see **Figure 25** on **Page 105**), whereas 8 people articulated both positive and negative reasons for staying. The number of those mentioning both pro-leave and negative pro-stay factors is 5, and an additional 9 respondents provided arguments for all 3 factors, which 4 groups thus provide the sum number of people labelled as involuntary immobile (n=29). The idea behind such a categorisation was that negative pro-stay factors oppress all other forms of motives.

Interestingly, this group, considering their demographic data, differ greatly from the full sample of interviewees, with the female respondents, in contrast with their general 52% share having a two-third majority within this subgroup, and also the share of those being born locally (68%) is much higher than the full sample of those we have valid information

on (57%). Local-born people were represented by only 28% within the voluntary mobile and 53% within the voluntary immobile group. Their average age is somewhat lower than that of the full sample (63 vs. 57 years), though concrete year of birth data is missing in several cases. These quantified data might preliminarily suggest both a higher level of desired outwards mobility among those haven't been chosen to live in the given settlements (but instead, were born local), and it also highlights that outwards mobility opportunities has gendered elements, too. Respondents labelled as involuntary immobile are on the other hand, just as other groups, various given their generational and occupational differences. Once again, each research field location provides interviewees who could be assigned to this current group of respondents (with one exception this time, field number 7, a small West-Hungarian village).

When analysing biographies of the involuntary immobile and narratives provided by them, it becomes clear that we also find successful ones in this group as well, namely, people, who found their fortune, at least temporarily within the village (by having a decent job, own enterprise or having a partner – *husband*, who does). We also find commuting and locally employed male respondents within this group, as much as students and retirees. It should be noted, that purely focusing on those providing exclusively negative pro-stay arguments, without expressing pro-move or positive pro-stay matters, this diversity further persists. Even though voluntary mobile people aspire to move away just like this group of respondents, their perceptions on the current status of the village differ greatly, which correlates with their opportunity structures, namely, involuntary immobile people's much less opportunity to emigrate. However, as several people within this group do have jobs, and sometimes even 'appropriate' jobs, the extent of this pessimism vary greatly. It should be added, that appropriate jobs in this category are often less stable than what could be seen among members of the voluntary immobile group. Perceptions of the involuntary immobile might be organised around these following topics:

1) **Hopeless prospects and uncertainty**

   Uncertainty, and, especially among middle-aged and elderly people within the group, a sense of hopelessness is a well-circumscribable characteristics of the involuntary immobile. The lack of means (i.e. opportunities) for change, including not only the opportunities for moving, but also to change other aspects of local life is a definite and common perception. Moving out in general is an action one might only dream of, but certain circumstances keep them back. Elderly people

thus, as can be seen in the next quotation, often understand their situation as being stuck. The following respondent for instance, is highly educated and lived in Budapest for quite a while in her life. After returning to her peripheral home village to take care of her mother, she now feels to have lost her opportunity (physically as well as financially) to move forth once again:

"Yes, I have [thought of moving away]. Several times. Several times, but my mother, my darling mother kept me from that. I told her several times - silently - »my darling mother, you made me stay. Now that you all died, I'm left here alone.« All of my friends are in Budapest. [...] Budapest people are way different. Way different. There's nobody here. […] Here, the grocer comes, brings the vegetable even though this village could produce its own, there is such a good soil here. But these people now doesn't produce anymore. They go shopping instead, and the gardens are abandoned. I cannot keep mine up anymore either, gave it to the neighbour. These are very good, productive areas here. But there's nothing. Not a swine, no chicken, you won't even get an egg. For eggs, you should also go to [the microregional centre town]. It doesn't worth living in the village. One dreams of moving away, because not even the basic things are found here, what we'd need. Nothing." (Respondent 2109, 72 years old female, retiree. Own translation)

It should be emphasized, that the sense of 'being stuck' is not only the question of the financial situation (the sense of not being able for moving will be assessed in the next paragraph). Instead, hopelessness and most importantly, uncertainty might appear in relation with several other aspects of life (incapability to leave friends and family behind, job uncertainty for instance). Uncertainty is a crucial category, and this is why people with otherwise satisfactory labour market background ('living as king', as to be seen in the next quote) might be members of this group. Job insecurity creates a setting which rises people's aspirations to move, while other factors (such as family ties or the temporary job they have, besides the lack of individual funds) limit their capacity to move. Here, the level of voluntarism of (im)mobility is questionable, however, the example shows that development plays an important role not only indirectly, but also by facilitating job creation. One might argue that the temporary feature of job creation might only delay outwards mobility, transforming voluntary mobility to a special, temporary form of involuntary immobility on the very short run.

A young man, just starting his first job, sponsored mostly by EU subsidies, defines this sort of an uncertainty very clearly. Furthermore, this quote also shows that it is a clear matter of young adults as well whether or not to leave their parental home for another city or country:

"I think - and it's a cliché, isn't it - that in cities, there are much more job opportunities, and... in general, more opportunities. But it's very hard to leave off. So, whatever, I'm not happy about leaving my parents here, or leaving my friends here. So both has its advantages and disadvantages, and how interesting is it that everybody wants something they don't have. A city resident would

move to villages, and villagers rather move to cities. [...] For an entrant, I earn well here, they're very flexible with me, too, I don't have to spend money for basically anything, so financially, I live like a king, I don't have anything to brag about. But then, what's gonna happen next... I work at the association, financed from EU-money supporting entrants. Six part financed by the Union and three parts by the association, that's how it's made for me. But afterwards, then, I don't know what's gonna happen, or where I'll move to." (Respondent 5105, 23 years old male, administrative worker. Own translation)

2) **Perception of being stuck**

Besides personal, social ties and – occasionally – temporary jobs, financial incapability plays a major (arguably the most important) role in the narratives about emigration prospects. During the years of the fieldworks, estate sale as well as leasing prices rose in each and every major Hungarian cities (as well as in other European countries), resulting in an intangibly great gap between flat prices and most rural dwellers' financial capacities, which affected even the more well-off people (e.g. enterprise owners). This simple and quite clear-cut perception is phrased very well in the narrative of the following lady ("here we are"), who, as a local communal worker, does not at all have any potential chance to leave the locality to change her and her family's local being for the desired city life:

„Well, we were born here, I was raised up here. I think, I'm gonna die here. It's not for sure though. It depends. [...] Village people like to move to town. And so to say, some city people, some of them, it depends, like to come to village, 'cause it's more silent. My dream always was to rather live in the city, but then… here we are." (Respondent 2106, 39 years old female, communal worker. Own translation)

It is a well-considered factor for both local-born people as well as newcomers, that besides price being higher in cities, the value of estates are also different – value here meaning size and "services" a house can provide for its dwellers, with large gardened houses being the ones representing the highest value for some respondents. While the previous respondent referred to a general "urban idyll" as the attraction for ("village people" in general), and parallelly, the "rural idyll" which she considers a usual, general factor attracting city dwellers, this respondent, a middle-aged physical worker, based on personal experiences sheds light to the fact that it is in many cases a financial necessity to move to a rural settlement instead of a general attraction to the rural idyll:

"We ended up here after... we had a flat in Budapest, that we wanted to change for a bigger one. But we had deficits, and finally we moved closer and closer to this place and finally ended up here. My sister's family is here, too. So this was a consideration. [...] We have also thought about [closer cities], but we have finally rejected it because the estate prices were high there, too, so that we simply couldn't afford it." (Respondent 6116, middle-aged male, entrepreneur, physical worker)

3) **Perception of lack of change**

Questions of change and development provide pessimistic narratives in the involuntary immobile group. Besides regarding the local circumstances as being unsatisfactory ('nothing is here') and desperately dreaming about moving to areas with more opportunities and stimuli, besides the perception of being lagged behind, in some interviews, developmental fall-backs appear, too, which, even among the young generations, formulates a sort of nostalgia. This can be paralleled with the sense of deterioration among other groups, however, within this group, negative changes are focusing mostly to the local environment and its continuous lag, rather than more global (e.g. national) phenomena.

Some younger people, as the respondent providing the next quote clearly have nothing to show up regarding the locality's progress, especially in the sense of cultural opportunities for the younger generations. The question of a local club or communal places has appeared in most of the fieldwork locations, and thus might be a general problem. The story is always the same: while being a place for communal gatherings in the pasts, now young people aren't provided the otherwise existing club place due to a lack of trust on behalf of local political leaders. Nevertheless, as it seems, this is only a fraction of reasons for the perception of no local changes:

"This village, hare wasn't anything ever. ...Except from, if I'm right – and I am – this was something... where we are, this community centre, in the past. Actors came and stuff, there were some... a disco-like thing, here. [...] They wouldn't leave any opportunity for the young. There was for example in the backyard, a sort of club-ish place, where young people went partying, young people had a key to it, it was theirs, theirs, it was made for them. And it was furnished, and then after... somebody took the key away." (Respondent 4132, 17 years old male, student. Own translation)

The question of opportunities doesn't just concern community places, but the general level of development that these young people see. For instance, a young man, returning home to a peripheral village to start his life anew, leaves no doubt about how he concerns his life returning to a much lower level than how it used to be in a bigger city and the capital of Hungary. He describes this contrast as being enormous and any progress as just closing up to a standard that would long had been more than necessary:

"[We have internet through] that stuff that's been mounted to the church tower, the signal's not bad. Two years ago, we still only had dial-up net [laughs], you know [mimicking its sound]. That terrible sound, when you connect and finally get into a page, then go smoke, fry some eggs 'n all, you go feed or walk the dog, and only then you get to read the second half of it. We are lagging way behind in everything. No roads, there aren't! A normal road. A car comes towards you, what y'do? Either drive into the ditch or stop somewhere, 'cause that's what you can. So I don't like

this place. I hate it. In the past, it was fuckin' good, now it's shit." (Respondent 1117, 23 years old male, odd-job worker. Own translation)

4) **Understatement of the importance of development projects**

As seen in the previous comment, questions of actual local development programmes appear in this group, too, but their effect, just as it was seen among other groups, are valued as being unsatisfactory, by not generating internal sources for career opportunities. What should be emphasized is that opportunities are not considered in substantive, rather, in relative terms, compared to opportunity structures elsewhere. Besides the lastly quoted young man's argument about internet connection and roads, it can be seen in the following quote, the applied narrative strategy and phrasing ("little", "fell here", "few dimes", "here and there"), as well, how little members of this group think of development actions:

"A little development has fell here, too. You can see the boards [EU-funded projects'] Our village has received 45 million Forints for the renewal of the community centre. We got some thirty-two for the health centre, too. A few dimes here and there has been spent on the renewal of the local government building, too. But it is not only these that should be supported, rather, jobs should be created. To keep the people." (Respondent 4114, 67 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

7.2.5. Acquiescent immobility and the lottery question

The category of acquiescent immobility is introduced by Schewel (2015) in a working paper on Senegalese youths' international (im)mobility aspirations. The author refers to the term as one challenging the common standpoint of classical migration theories expecting everybody with potential gains from migration to at least aspire to emigrate. In contrast to these beliefs, the author finds persons neither having capacity nor articulating desires to move. This is defined as "*the state of preferring to stay in one's homeland even though one does not have the capability to migrate. Acquiescent non-migrants lack the choice to stay in the same way that a voluntary non-migrant, with the resources to migrate, does and yet they, nevertheless, prefer to stay*" (Schewel 2015). The author finds, that around a quarter of those lacking actual means for moving doesn't desire to move either, and reported reasons echo those ones heard from voluntary immobile respondents (such as family ties, religious connections and patriotic considerations). It is argued to be a concept to challenge classical migration theories by stating that the lack of (financial) capabilities in many cases don't result in the desire to balance out this lack by territorial mobility (or only in an extent similar to higher status people).

One might argue, that the group of acquiescent immobile people are composed of two subgroups: first, those, for whom perceived opportunity structures are irrelevant in their (lack of) aspiration to migrate, because other factors compensate this lack of capacities. This might very well be understood from a 'rational choice'-perspective, too – here, rational calculations are meant in their widest sense, i.e. including all non-economic factors as well, such as local identity and patriotism. Considering the phenomenon in its dynamism: after changes in opportunity structures, by all other 'push' and 'pull' as well as 'retaining' and 'repelling' factors further compensating this change, it would remain only an analytical problem that former acquiescent immobile people be labelled as voluntary immobile ones. This subgroup of virtually acquiescent respondents are arguably 'voluntary immobile' in essence, and their labelling as acquiescent immobile is only a methodological bias, as their lack of opportunities masks them and conceals them from the eyes of the observer, similarly to the cat in Schrödinger's box. This problem won't arise at other forms of mobility, as those are identified through verbally expressed personal perceptions of aspirations and capabilities.

Second, however, there is yet another subgroup within the acquiescent immobile category, defined by the interaction between capabilities and aspirations. This is referred to as 'adaptive preferences' by Carling and Schewel (2018) and 'post-hoc rationalisation' by Schewel (2015). The idea is that capabilities might affect aspirations through psychological courses and, "*in the face of limited migration ability, individuals could react by subconsciously subduing their migration aspirations*" (Carling and Schewel 2018, 958.). This idea is in align with what Sen (2001) argues, namely, that differences in personal freedom, or capabilities is crucial to be identified when addressing otherwise similar sociological outcomes. Also, this echoes the arguments of de Haas (2014), too, on the strong interrelations between capabilities and aspirations. These might stress that aspirations among the acquiescent immobile group cannot validly be understood without the parallel assessment of capability structure differences. After all, by analysing interactions between development and migration aspirations, essentially the effects on capability structure changes are meant to be measured (capability structures including cultural and social forms of capital, too). The problem is with the analysis of (this, 'pure' form of) acquiescent immobility is precisely that it is easy to be mistaken with voluntary immobility, as they might share the same 'Schrödinger-box'. As Carling and Schewel (2018) put this: "*Migration aspirations then become even more elusive, for both methodological and theoretical considerations. Within the capability approach, adaptive*

preferences are widely seen to undermine the value of subjective self-assessments. By extension, one could argue that asking people about migration aspirations is meaningless if they have internalised obstacles to mobility" (958.).

I argue that there are tools to be used when trying to grasp 'true' acquiescent immobility even if not its entire complexity: to peek into this Schrödinger-box, even if we cannot directly watch into, let alone to open it. The fundamental problem is the necessity of addressing a change in opportunity structures, which is quite hard in cross-sectional and non-experimentary setting. Thus, just as in the questionnaire presented by Schewel (2015) and by of course many other sociological researches, a hypothetical scenario can be formed. I argue that the 'lottery-question', that were raised during the fieldwork provides a possible solution[22]. The exact question sounded as follows:

> *"We discussed that we'd ask this from everybody as a final question: What would you do if you were to win on the lottery?"* [Own translation]

It is reasonably expected, that respondents, hearing the question would think on the most prestigious 'national-5' lottery, which also has the highest jackpot to offer, somewhere between 2 and 10 million Euros. As an important addition, this question was later modified to suggest that it is indeed the jackpot what should be considered: "*[…] What would you do if you were to win the lottery*", (without the 'on') which in the original language needs a somewhat more complicated phrasing than the original one. The question, despite of its standardised and somewhat unnatural character, seemed useful as a 'final question', too, as a tension relief and a means of transitioning the interview into an off-record, more informal talk.

The reasons for the adequacy of this question is based on the followings:

1. **Based on the responses, migration aspirations might be analysed in a general life aspiration setting**: Interviewees weren't specifically asked about their migration intents, instead, the field is provided for these ideas to inductively unfold, just as Schewel (2019) proposes: "*Research on migration aspirations*

[22] The idea of inquiring about what respondents would do in the hypothetical scenario of having won the national lottery first emerged during a fieldwork organised by the Department of Sociology, University of Pécs in a Roma segregate of a Hungarian town, in 2009. The very first respondent of mine spontaneously addressed this question, and from that point onward, I enquired about this during all my following interviews as I considered it a good tool for assessing interviewees' current scope of life goals and needs. The spontaneous mentioning of the 'lottery-scenario' appeared later, during the 2014 fieldwork, brought up altogether 3 respondents out of 35. From that fieldwork onwards, the inquiry about what interviewees would do, having won on the lottery became a stable recurring 'last-question' of the interview guides.

needs to be expanded even further to include the broader life aspirations, hopes, and motivations that contribute to the particular aspiration to migrate or stay" (28.) However, though thus no one is forced to have an opinion with regard to migration, by not inquiring specifically about moving, the share of unobserved potential migrants will be higher. On the other hand, the group of those who do express their wills to migrate create a good ground for a valid analysis of acquiescent immobility (along with the other forms of mobility)

2. **Hypothetical, but easily imaginable situation and focused treatment**: Though winning the lottery is a hypothetical and an entirely unlikely scenario, the situation is very easy to internalise by respondents and thus, valid answers are to be expected regarding one's current life aspirations, and the aspirations to migrate as well. Furthermore, winning the lottery is a narrow-scope and concrete scenario, which require no changes in other aspects of life, let alone an all-inclusive shift in one's life. (As for instance other questions would suggest, such as if interviewers were interested in what respondents would do if having 'all the opportunities' or just 'being rich'. These would be much harder to internalise)
3. **Fitness for the analysis of changes in opportunity structures**: Sen (2001) makes a distinction between five forms of freedom: political, economic, social, transparency guarantees (trust) and protective security and argues that development means the removal of the various types of freedom deficiencies ('unfreedoms') in which progress, money is only a tool and the goal is that people could live a life that is valuable for themselves. As the research aim is to analyse the effects of positive changes in opportunity structures (i.e. development), the lottery-question, hypothetically providing this tool of development, is fit to be an estimator of consequences of potential opportunity-structure changes.

Out of the 90 interviews, in which the lottery-question was issued, 39 included explicit migration aspiration narratives. Around two-third of these respondents claimed they wouldn't emigrate if they were to win the lottery (n=27) and the third explicitly claimed they would (n=12). Previously, the categories of voluntary immobile, voluntary mobile and involuntary immobile people were estimated based on the appearance and nature of pro-leave and pro-stay arguments within migration-narratives. Addressing the fourth category of migration would be achieved through making a step backward to these arguments, as based on them, it can easily be evaluated, whether imagining the lottery-scenario does align with them. As there were respondents not providing either migration-

related arguments or responses to the lottery-question, only a narrower sample can be analysed here. The group of respondents providing both answer to the lottery-question and pro-move, 'positive pro-stay' or 'negative pro-stay' arguments is 13, 22 and 20, respectively, who on the other hand serve as an adequate sample for analysing the questions of acquiescent immobility. The idea for approaching this question comes from emerging contrasts between the 'current' migration aspiration narratives and when the lottery-scenario is framed. The number of respondents is shown in **Table 3** by their provided answers, with respect to the three possible forms of migration-arguments.

Table 3: Respondents' crosstabulation by provided migration arguments and lottery-responses

		pro-move argument		**positive pro-stay argument**		**negative pro-stay argument**		Total per category
		no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	
Would move if winning lottery	no	20	7	11	16	15	12	27
	yes	6	6	6	6	4	8	12
	N/A	103	21	95	29	110	14	124
Total		129	34	112	51	129	34	163

Note: Highlighted cells represent 'unexpected' interactions / anomalies. Source: Own construction

As can be seen in the table, 'anomalies' of different kinds occur when trying to match general migration arguments with those provided for the lottery-scenario. The anomalies are constituted by three types of respondents: 1) those providing pro-move arguments, but claiming to consider staying as lottery-winners (n=7) 2) those providing negative pro-stay arguments, but claiming as well to stay in the fortunate scenario (n=12) and finally – and most interestingly 3) those providing positive pro-stay arguments, but regardless of this, claiming it likely that they would emigrate after winning the lottery (n=6).

People belonging to the **first category** are those who – either as voluntary mobile or involuntary immobile, trying to flee from the lack of economic opportunities, would be facilitated to stay once these limits are no longer decisive. For instance, a 58 years old woman, who earlier claimed to be thinking of moving (or at least wouldn't hesitate to move if having the opportunity), now, provided the lottery-scenario is thinking about starting a business as a means of self-actualisation:

> *"I'd move away, but I have no clue where... maybe not too far. But it's also possible that if there'd be a chance of winning the lottery or something, maybe I wouldn't even move, but instead build a bigger house or go and buy some things like machines, a tractor, et cetera, with which one could work. This is an agrarian village, this way one could live better. Or to renew the rooftop [of my house], change the windows or something, you know. If there'd be a tractor, one won't have to be*

> *hacking with a rototiller, I'd buy a small tractor and there'd be an opportunity to work for myself, not for others."* (Respondent 4122, 58 years old female, communal worker. Own translation)

Respondents of the **second group** are in contrast, regardless of recognising negative retaining factors in relation with migration, would not move either in the lottery-scenario. The group itself consist mostly of the two major forms of involuntary immobile: those having strong social connections to the localities and those who are incapable of moving due to financial reasons. What can be seen is that a part of those that have had 'too' strong connections (negative social capital), since then becoming older would now not move regardless of the assets, and this is a reason we find them in this category. In contrast, some of those who were unable to move due to financial reasons can be found in this group as well. The reason is that while winning the lottery would increase their opportunities to move, the very same would reduce the necessity (thus, the aspirations) of them emigrating: from involuntary immobile, they 'instantly' turn voluntary immobile. Such an argument is clearly present in the narrative of a self-employed man, who, once the lottery-scenario was set, got rid of all the doubts about his desire to stay:

> *"Well, then [if winning the lottery], it's certain [that I won't move]. One hundred percent certain, that then I'd stay. I wouldn't even think of not staying. This is certain. This is for sure. First, my heart belongs here. This is my most favourite place, I grew up here, I lived here, too, so I very much... Here's an old cemetery [...] my ancestors are here, everybody is here."* (Respondent 6122, middle-aged male, self-employed. Own translation)

The **third group** – namely those, who are 'seemingly' voluntary immobile by reporting positive reasons for their stay but who provide strong claims about willing to migrate once winning the lottery – are those that can be regarded as 'true' acquiescent immobile people. In this group, even by imagining the scenario of having the opportunity – among other activities – for migration, a shift is seen from seeing the positive aspects of staying to wishing to move away. This can signify the psychological phenomenon of 'adaptive preferences', 'post-hoc rationalisation', 'cognitive dissonance reduction', or to use a more informal term, the 'sour-grape effect', that both Schewel (2015) and Carling and Schewel (2018) refer to. It is important to note, that respondents of this group might be characterised by a lower level of reported positive place-attachment in general as well. Furthermore, respondents vary based on where they would move once having won the lottery (even smaller settlement, farms, to a town, city or abroad) and one respondent, at least in particular, claimed to think of moving precisely because of the money – so that other dwellers won't gossip about him. Nevertheless, these sudden changes of mind can be witnessed generally among the members of this group, for instance in the narrative of the following retired woman, having already a history of movements behind:

> *"I lived in [the county capital city] for 2 years, then came back here [...] just to be with the elderly ones if anything would happen with them, and then it wasn't that good and so we moved again [...] to [a farm], we received a house from the enterprise [...]then came back home once again anyway. So I [...] really have moved a few times so that it'd be for the good for me and yet we ended up here anyway [laughs]. We live peacefully here, and won't move anywhere for certain. [...] But then who knows, we might win the lottery and then fly away. In that instant, like birds [...]"* (Respondent 1104, female retiree. Own translation)

Another representation of this group's mindset-change is provided by a middle-aged odd-job worker woman, who, instead of expressing her desires to moving to a city, rather claims to be thinking about changing for an even smaller settlement as a home place, once the lottery-scenario is presented:

> "*[After moving from the county capital city back home to this village] I never wanted to move to [the neighbour village] I don't know, I liked [that one] too, but I always loved [this] better. They knew me here. Knew who my grandfather was, my mother, father – they were respected people. […] It's not good when one has too much money. That's not good either. A ten-million would be enough, so that I can attain my husband's dream, to move to a farmstead: stock-raising, a beautiful log-house, and that's it. I wouldn't even need a car, a motorbike would be enough. I don't desire such things."* (Respondent 3122, 44 years old female, odd-job worker. Own translation.)

Acquiescent immobility is characterised by narratives of general satisfaction with the otherwise less-to-offer socio-economic circumstances. Members of the group are similar to the involuntary immobile group in the sense that they don't usually report any positive changes in the external circumstances, however, they seem to make comparisons less likely, too, or, if they do make, these comparisons are rather neutral ('it's not good here, but other places wouldn't be either'). Such 'other' places might be cities in a reachable distance: for one, who is attracted generally to the countryside, and in parallel, moving to cities are not a real option due to this attraction, the real alternatives sometimes are just so beyond their capabilities, that these does not even occur as real options in life at all. Also, there is a relative satisfaction with the circumstances to be found, especially in comparison with other places, that are in sight and reachable, and in comparison also with the respondents' past living circumstances: a sense of personal development in life might lead to a reduced level of aspirations event though by migration, the circumstances could further be developed. These would suggest, that acquiescent immobility is sometimes a provincialist version of voluntary immobility: voluntary in the sense, that among the reachable options, respondents consider their place of living as the best. However, the scope of what constitutes as reachable options, might vary greatly, ranging from the next microregion located seemingly far in the personal scope of space, to exotic overseas places. The example of an elderly male respondent clearly shows these patterns: Once the lottery-scenario was presented, he in thoughts leaves the local idyll behind and claims to

be thinking of moving to more exotic places, where he might also find peace and harmony (which on the other hand would be scattered locally by the very fact of winning):

> *- I'm not very much attracted by moving. Maybe, if I were still younger, I might emigrate to Austria. But everything bonds me here, I lived my life here, I don't miss that. My partner had a flat in [the microregional centre town], but everything bonds me here. [...] Here, I can just sit on the stairs, sit in the garden, sometimes make a barbecue. Go to my garden, prune the vine in the autumn. I can entertain myself. And, as I just mentioned, I'm an animated person: I come and go a lot, do what I have to. I don't miss the city. [...]*
> *- This is our final question: What would you do if you were to win the lottery?*
> *- Well, I'd remain silent, and maybe move away where the sun shines [laughs] I mean, to somewhere I'd feel good. These things come to light anyway […] It's very likely that I won't stay.*
> (Respondent 4114, 67 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

Among the acquiescent immobile group, development programmes do not appear quite likely to those found in the voluntary immobile group (hence, those, having similarly low levels of aspirations). Instead, members of the acquiescent immobile group concern change in a similar way to the voluntary mobile: that is, with significant undervaluation of their effects and positive aspects, that on one hand might have developed personal welfare, but in parallel, failed to provide crucial life opportunities. Not surprisingly, by the lottery-question being introduced, and thus, a greater scope of opportunities was proposed the range of space opened up, too, and by comparison with further places, mobility suddenly became an option to concern seriously. A middle-aged public servant, who was already introduced earlier as somebody who likes to be local, provided the following, clear-cut answer:

> *- What would you do if you were to win the lottery?*
> *-[chuckles] [short pause] I'd go. [pause]*
> *-And where'd you go?*
> *-I don't know yet, well... not too far away. By 20 kilometres [to Austria], that's it. And that's how you get to know me, that I have an answer for this in a second. Because... 'cause... 'cause, after all... this is not perfect, living here. Not a perfect life. So that what I already told you... this country is capable only for this, but yet, no one is an enemy of himself.*
> (Respondent 7114, middle-aged male, public servant, manager)

Besides international movements, inter-regional moving desires are presented among this subgroup as well. A young mother for instance, who really do love the rural idyll according her claims, would think not to be moving towards great cities once being a lottery-winner. Instead, she claims to would move to a somewhat larger town at a more idyllic region of Hungary, maximizing the idyll and make a compromise between vivid city life and the peaceful rural:

> *Well I'd move away for certain. I'd move away from here. I'd move away. Somewhere to Transdanubia. Transdanubia. Bringing my family with me, buying a small flat for everyone and then move away […] rather to a town. Rather to a small, nice calm town. […] That's a nice area. And hilly. I like to travel there, this Plain is boring. And then there's more opportunities there, at least that's what I think.* (Respondent 8112, 32 years old female, medical worker. Own translation)

7.3. Short summary

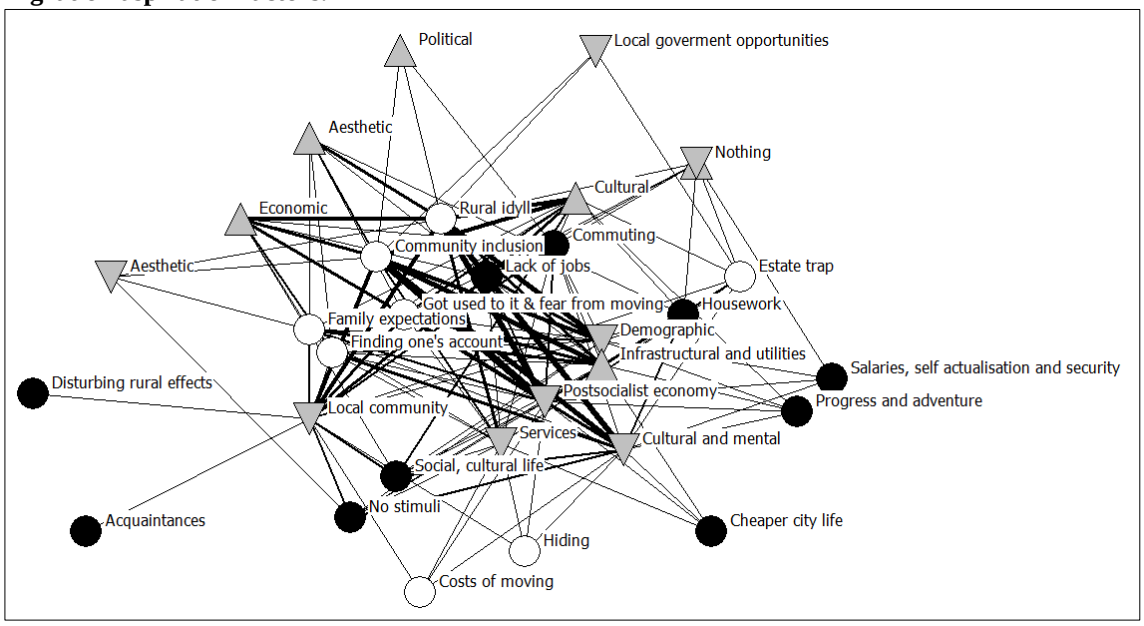
Based on results from a series of qualitative fieldwork conducted throughout the years in Hungarian non-agglomeration villages, the previous chapters have dealt with patterns of the perceptions of change and in parallel, with outwards mobility aspirations among dwellers with various socio-demographic backgrounds. The first subchapter introduced the 8 settlements and the 163 respondents, showing a variety in both geographic and socio-economic terms. The following subchapter aimed to give a descriptive summary and typology for change perception and the way migration aspirations appear in these narratives. Finally, in an analytical setting, the next subchapter tried to identify different types of respondents based on their migration capabilities and aspirations, furthermore, to provide a comprehensive examination of the appearance of change-perceptions within migration narratives of respondents classified into the individual categories.

The socio-demographic composition of the mobility-groups are heterogenous, meaning that respondents from different socio-demographic background can be found within every categories. However, the voluntary mobile group is represented mostly by respondents with an improved history of migration, whereas among the involuntary immobile group, we find respondents, who are more local-centred. This, besides proving the validity of approaching mobility by the use of pro-stay-pro-leave argument continuum, confirms previous authors claiming a division between generally mobile and less mobile people, influenced by various factors. Though there were cases, in which the concrete and direct effects of (EU-sponsored) development programmes on mobility could be seen, the aim of this analysis was instead to grasp individual narratives and subjective perceptions on changes in the local environment (and distinct programmes within this), as well as arguments on whether or not to move. Nevertheless, from an individual perspective, a bigger picture on changes is to be seen, and the margins of individual development programmes become transparent and merged.

In general, the perception of a (continuous) economic decline is present among all mobility-groups, along with the recognition of positive changes in the infrastructure and settlement services (such as utilities). Here, various EU-funded programmes explicitly play an important role. In parallel, the fragmentation of society appears in the narratives of every group and among representatives of different generations, whereas the perception of changes in the village's cultural life is rather mixed: some emphasize the relative lack of cultural opportunities – especially in relation with the state socialist

period, however, this overlaps with societal life as well – whereas yet another group recognise a positive shift in cultural opportunities during the previous one or two decades. Furthermore, it is also shown that the way changes are perceived really do seem to interact with migration narratives, and even though both migration and non-migration is influenced by the several factors of opportunity, the interaction between the evaluation of change and mobility/immobility aspirations is equally present. Nevertheless, there are great differences to be found between the change-narratives of respondents belonging to the different mobility-groups, representing different types of connections between how they evaluate these changes in everyday local life and what migration strategies they develop as a response.

Figure 26: Topic map – Interaction network of the general topics of local change and personal migration aspiration factors.



Note: The figure presents the main narratives of change (triangles: up triangles = positive change; down triangles = negative change; up&down triangle: neutral) and personal migration aspirations (circles: white circles = aspiration factor to stay; black circles = aspiration factor to move). Lines represent the co-occurrence of topics in personal narratives. Line strength equals to co-occurrence frequency of topics within personal narratives. For a detailed introduction of the various narrative categories, consult the Appendix. Network analysis and visualisation software: NetDraw 2.175

Figure 27 provides a detailed, summarizing picture of the co-occurance of various local change and personal migration aspiration narratives. As the figure suggests, positive stay-narratives (idyll, community inclusion, finding one's account & career) are rather connected to the recognition of improvement in the local context (economic, aesthetic, political and cultural) whereas the negative pro-stay narratives (costs of moving, estate price differences) along with pro-move considerations (progress, salaries, cheaper city life) are connected to narratives of decline (demographic, economic decline, cultural decline, decline of services). Furthermore, the figure presents the central ideas appearing

in narratives: the lack of rural jobs and commuting problems as pro-move personal aspiration factor appear both with narratives about decline and progress.

It turns out both based on this general picture, and by analysing narratives in details as well: although respondents seem to be quite similar in evaluating economic change from not only the post-socialist transition period onwards, rather from around the 1970s, (along with the agrarian automatization and land concentration, the lack of nearby jobs, etc), but those understanding these changes as being less comprehensive ('all who want a job, get a job') are more likely to phrase positive pro-staying arguments and consequently, are more likely to be found in the voluntary immobile group. Strong economic reasons for staying did appear, although, only is some cases among the voluntary immobile. Nevertheless, it should once again be stressed that personal career plays a crucial role in relation to labour market, but here, instead of just not being unemployed, high-status labour and real career opportunities are, that seems to matter. As one respondent, who manages an agro-commercial business phrased this very briefly:

> *"[...] This cannot be [changed] by some ten million Forints, let's forget about this, this is not... people ain't livin' in the countryside just to 'hang on'. Hear me? It is not our goal to 'do on', but to fucking thrive! So that this model changes that if you're a smart kid, then it's the university and Budapest or abroad."* (Respondent 8147, middle-aged male, local entrepreneur. Own translation)

It is important to recognise, that both among voluntary mobile and voluntary immobile people, freedom plays a crucial role in their narratives of mobility aspirations, yet the definition of freedom varies: for some, city life means personal development and career opportunities, cultural and economic opportunities (hence, freedom), whereas for others, the same in different aspects do mean 'unfreedoms': being physically deprived (living in a city flat compared to living in a birdcage), deprived from several forms of activities (craftmanship, gardening), torn away from nature, and so on.

Although specific and general development programmes were mentioned within all groups of respondents, there are great differences in how they evaluated their general aims and effects: once again, those, who have had more optimistic views of their effects are more likely to be found within the voluntary immobile group. Development is usually welcomed in the sense that respondents do not consider the various sorts of development programmes (infrastructure, culture) as being destructive to the rural idyll, at least directly. However, even though improvements are welcomed, it is rather the redistributive system, which is being criticized through various dimensions (such as equating development with stealing and corruption, the appearance of self-interest and changes in

people's mindsets, by creating personal and community-level dependence: being deprived from making individual efforts through the lack of personal decisions or the decisions of the local society). Development programmes are also criticised for not targeting the important issues or only temporarily, creating insecurity and uncertainty.

Eventually, those not recognising relevant changes (and development programmes) are more likely to be found among the voluntary mobile group, whereas those recognising both positive and negative consequences of development programmes belong mostly to the voluntary immobile subgroup. Furthermore, the rarest appreciation of rural development programmes are to be found among the involuntary immobile and the acquiescent immobile subgroup. Nevertheless, this is unsurprising: respondents who regard the local in relational terms, might very likely realise the actual changes as being absolutely unimportant in those relative terms ('this is absolutely not the point') and are likely to end up with high aspirations to move. Secondly, those with similar attitudes, but yet being financially or socially more bonded to the localities are usually regard changes in an even darker way, by claiming the general absence of any change ('there never was anything here'), these become constitutive parts the involuntary immobile group. Next, those recognising development generally or as part of their personal lives are more recognising them because being more devoted to the localities, yet their level of devotedness makes them understand the unsatisfactory aspects of the changes, too – they constitute the voluntary immobile subgroup. Finally, those recognising no relevant positive factors or changes in their local lives, yet neither anywhere else in a reachable distance, rather yield to their fates and constitute the acquiescent immobile group. A narrative of this kind of disillusion is presented densely by the following, unemployed dweller of a small, peripheral village:

> *"Well, after all, I might say, I'm fine here. It's only that I'm fed up with this all… you see, one doesn't even know what to do in this agony. No, this whole thing is doomed, I don't forecast a great future. It's a big zero."* (Respondent 2116, *middle-aged female, unemployed)*

8. CONCLUSION

8.1. Summary of empirical findings

8.1.1. Abstract

The purpose of this thesis was to provide a comprehensive examination on the interrelations between general socio-economic development context and migration outcomes. Specifically, the thesis focused on grasping the possible effects of rural development programmes on outwards mobility and mobility aspirations, using the sample of Hungarian villages as a case. The societal relevance of this topic originates in the reoccurring policy ideas claiming or presuming that by employing redistributive (top-down) development tools in sending areas, outwards mobility can be eased. In parallel, the scientific relevance is provided in particular by the divided and entangled arguments with regard to this problem, and more generally, a relative lack of reliable empirical findings about development-migration interactions.

An introduction of relevant theoretic grounds and current directions of research was provided by the chapter entitled ‘state of the art’. The chapter has dealt with the appearance of migration issues within the rural sociology subdiscipline, presenting the core approaches and models in (internal) migration research. It also highlighted the different theoretic standpoints as well as empirical results gained from development researches, and presented the contemporary conceptions on the interactions between development and migration. In a further chapter, a comprehensive demographic investigation on the Hungarian countryside was presented, supplemented by the descriptive analysis of both the developmental environment and the latest changes in internal migration patterns (presented in the Appendix, **Chapter 9.1**).

To address the question of development-migration interaction, as well as to guarantee comprehensiveness, mixed methods were employed. First, in a macro-level analysis, a series of linear regressions were run in order to evaluate the co-variance of EU-rural development subsidies and outwards mobility performance on the settlement level, focusing on the 2007-2013 EU budget period. With the use of these linear regression estimates, path models were constructed for the assessment of these variables’ direct and indirect interactions. Second, for a deeper understanding of how migration-decisions are influenced by the local development context, micro-level approach was employed, too.

Built on semi-structured interviews from a series of fieldwork conducted in altogether 8 Hungarian villages in the time period of 2014-2019, respondents were grouped by their 'typical' mobility behaviour. Their provided narratives on perceptions of changes in the local context were analysed qualitatively along these clusters of respondents.

8.1.2. Discussion

By reflecting on the arguments of Myrdal (1956) and Hayek (1972) and debating their ideas, Easterly (2014) claims that innovations, understood as by Schumpeter (1934) are the function of the size of population which is given the opportunity for free experimentations. The latter authors regard development as being a rather inductive, bottom-up process. On the other hand, the former author concerns development in a more paternalistic way, as being initiated by bureaucrats even, if necessary, against people's will, for their better. The idea of Sen (2001) is somewhere in-between: the author claims that by the (rather top-down) elimination of the various forms of 'unfreedom', a setting of freedom is created, in which people have opportunity to act freely. Moreover, as freedom itself is intertwined with development, the two concepts are virtually the same, however, and seemingly contradictorily, freedom is both the goal and tool of development. The contradiction-unfolding 'trick', and also the 'in-between' nature of Sen's concept lies in the claimed nature of freedom, namely, that it can be divided to elements, which reinforce one another: by reducing one form of 'unfreedom', an opportunity is opened to reduce another one. Thereby, development can be equated with freedom. Employing Sen's ideas to the field of migration theories, de Haas (2014) formulates the question of why development (in sending areas) might seem to foster rather than to reduce migration. The author's answer is that migration is an intrinsic part of development just the way freedom is. Thus, these two should be regarded in parallel rather than separately. Based partially on the works of Carling (2002) and Schewel (2015), the author constructs a framework for the analysis of migration as the function of (personal) aspirations and capabilities.

Given the amount of funds for rural development and the political aim to encumber the depopulation of the countryside by the help of these funds, a unique setting was provided for a detailed and multi-tool investigation of the above theoretical claims. Based on the quantitative and qualitative empirical findings, the results echo both the theoretical arguments of the above authors on the nature of development and migration, and previous findings on the general effects – or ineffectiveness – of development interventions.

The statistical data analysis confirmed, that, just as previous researches argued (Andersson, Höjgård, and Rabinowicz 2017, Bakucs et al. 2018, Monsalve, Zafrilla, and Cadarso 2016), it is indeed hard to find development policies effective. Nevertheless, this 'hardship' has serious policy as well as methodological reasons. First, development policies are seldom concrete in their goals: it is either general societal utopias (e.g. the contribution to sustainability, promoting equality and inclusion, strengthening local economies, preserving cultural heritages, etc.) or their expected direct outputs, what they circumscribe, and the evaluation of development policies (if there are any) are focusing mostly on a numeric review of the latter (e.g. number of people involved in projects, number of new enterprises). Yet, deep insights are very rarely provided, let alone long-term, comprehensive evaluations. The inadequate description of policy aims makes it impossible to reliably address their efficiency. Likewise, methodological limitations originate from the wideness of the development scopes: as development policies focus on multiple aspects of nature, economy, society and culture, it is challenging to determine the subject of researches. However, the limitedness of found effects of development policies might also imply that they are indeed inefficient, at least concerning those outcome variables that has been measured.

Results of the path models, demonstrated in this thesis suggested, that in general terms, rural development subsidies had an indeed quite weak, almost unnoticeable, though positive effect on both local enterprises, employment and incomes, however, they failed to either directly or indirectly influence outwards mobility. By analysing the different forms of development subsidies and different geographical areas of investment, a different picture is received. Besides the mentioned weak positive correlations between development subsidies and labour-market variables, it is especially the labour market and mobility patterns of the least developed settlements, on which development subsidies seemed to trail consequences. In these locations, rural development funds were more convincingly connected to a rise in enterprises as well as employment, although funds spent for agricultural development seems absolutely ineffective in contributing to employment (that is, share of employed people living locally). Both these factors influence incomes positively. However, with rising incomes and employment, a much higher level of outwards mobility is expected, while conversely, entrepreneurship seems to reduce the share of those deciding to move away. As these impacts balance out one another, the overall effects of the different forms of rural development subsidies vary, with agricultural investments rather contributing to immobility and non-agricultural

payments only doing alike because their incapability to promote new jobs. These findings are highly in align with the claims of Rhoda (1983) on both the different forms of development trailing different results, and the rejection of the common belief that development of sending areas generally reduce rural outwards mobility.

The outcomes of the series of fieldwork presented in this dissertation could not only provide a valid micro-approach of the problem in focus in parallel, but were also able to shed light on how and why these interactions work so in practice. The investigation itself was based on respondents' perceptions of changes within the local context and their narratives on personal (im)mobility considerations. As the localities that has been visited during this series of fieldwork were various with regard to their geographical locations and settlement-structure positions, as well as size and socio-economic status, the collected data provided a wide scope for the investigation of the research questions.

The results suggest that voluntary immobility is facilitated by positive changes in local career opportunities (instead of simply jobs), a sense of freedom and independence that the countryside may provide (instead of vivid local cultural life) and strong personal connections (instead of weak community ties). Nevertheless, programmes focusing on the development of utilities, infrastructure and cultural life, though typically do appear in personal narratives of voluntary immobile people, are rather considered secondarily in importance for staying. However, the few development programmes that facilitate personal career opportunities (such as those supporting family farms and manufacturing industry) are much higher in importance, but only among owners and managers. This helps to explain the negative correlation between enterprises and outwards mobility seen in the path models.

Conversely, as turns out from the narratives, job creation, at least seemingly, positively influences emigration through two factors. First, because the rise of employees are connected to the rise of nearby, rather than local jobs, and without infrastructure development, bad commuting opportunities significantly cause relocations. Second, because local jobs, especially those created through development programmes are temporary and thus, trail uncertainty – in general, they cannot compete with jobs elsewhere and may only delay migration. More generally, development programmes seem contributing to local labour market opportunities only temporarily, only as long as the given subsidies are being granted and are ineffective in trailing longer-term development consequences. In addition, their negative effects are universally recognised

by respondents: by trailing corruption, bureaucratic stress, indebtedness of local governments, the decrease of local jobs (e.g. as a result of land concentration and automatization), and creating distrust, they in several ways result in negative outcomes. These findings don't only support the results of the regression analyses, but also question whether the found more satisfactory elements of those models are permanent or conversely, only temporary.

Sen (2001) argues that development is an intrinsic part of freedom: development is constituted by the reduction of the different types of 'unfreedoms', which are a crucial part of people's welfare even they don't grasp the opportunities provided by freedom. de Haas (2014) connects the concepts of development and freedom to migration by arguing that migration, especially in its intrinsic form, is itself freedom: the fact that they could move, irrespectively of whether they actually move or not, contribute to people's wellbeing. This is to say that the opportunity of migration is only partially a tool for people to achieve their life goals and that migration is not constituted by geographical movements, rather, the "*freedom to choose where to live*" (26.).

Besides the interviews reflecting precisely this wellbeing-enhancing aspect of capabilities to migrate (see the difference between voluntary and involuntary immobile respondents), they also show, that these choices of mobility and immobility, are themselves facilitated by the will of achieving more freedom. Migration (to choose where to live), as a form of freedom, itself contributes to other forms of freedom, however, the narratives indicate that freedom is subjective and not universal, and consequently, aspirations whether or not to move are influenced by personal subjective understanding and ranking of its forms. For some, freedom guaranteed by space and the opportunity for a higher variety of physical activities, provided by the countryside is more important that city opportunities and vice versa. For some, self-actualisation opportunities provided by local activities are more important than city jobs which, besides the opportunities provided by a higher salary may not promise any possibilities for relevant careers. A communal worker, mother of three teenagers, explains this dilemma accurately:

> *"Well, we start by six in the morning, and do the gardening, the flowers outside besides the road. And then we discuss who does what. Some know how to crochet, they start that. We for example make [small toys], some make small puppets, everyone has their... what they do. Creative things. And meanwhile we fool around, we talk. [...] [With the dance group] we do parades with carts, and dance, and sing, and people are happy. We bring and distribute cookies, invite them for the evening ball. And then that's all good. [...] My husband works in [the county capital city] [...] I wouldn't have to work here either, as a communal worker, I just love doing these creative stuff here so much. It is different for me, because my husband has a good job, and so I can afford to just come here to the next building, to work here. [...] All who want, can find a job. My husband*

> *invited me many times to work at his workplace. One has to work a lot, that's for sure. One has to work a lot for that money. People could go for a job, because these men here, many of them... I can't even understand why they would settle down here for fifty thousand Forints."* (Respondent 4123, 47 years old female, communal worker. Own translation)

From the micro perspective, it is precisely the lack of freedom-enhancing factor of Hungarian rural development programmes (thus, their failure to be understood as development in the way Sen understands them), why they seem to be ineffective in trailing satisfactory outcomes. Instead, as seen, these are interpreted by several respondents as dependency-increasing interventions, let these dependencies be meant on either the personal or community level. Despite of a limited expansion in political rights, during the post-socialist period, especially along the Hungarian peripheries a fallback in various forms of capabilities can be witnessed, and these changes explicitly appear in most narratives. While rural development programmes are present in respondents' minds, they are embedded in general interpretations of change, including the decrease in personal opportunities for conveniently access services such as commuting (bad roads and mass transportation), education (closing of local schools), commerce and career opportunities, as well as community-level opportunities (continuous decrease of local governments' incomes and responsibilities). While positive changes due to development projects are thus acknowledged in many settlements (utilities, local culture, aesthetics, etc.), these are, as could be seen, not the factors that influence either immobility or mobility aspirations.

Those are instead personal freedom-maximalisation strategies that play a crucial role both among those being happy to stay and planning to move. Instead of jobs and employment, career opportunities (including entrepreneurship and education) and self-actualisation is, that seems to matter in either moving or staying. Instead of local cultural life, basic welfare services and rural idyll in general, it is personal connections and the liberating aspects of the rural idyll that seems to matter in staying. In is unsurprising thus, that those were exactly these aspects of development programmes that seemed to reduce outwards mobility, whereas other aspects had no or even, contrary effects, some of which lies in the very essence and organisational setting of subsidisation.

8.1.3. Addressing research questions

After reviewing the most important findings of the empirical research, it is now time for the evaluation of whether to confirm or disprove the previously formulated individual research questions. Though both the quantitative and qualitative elements of the research provided insights for all research questions, the reliance of the fourth statement on the high-validity interviews is somewhat higher than the others, therefore, in that case, a higher weight will be given to empirical results of the fieldworks.

Q01 Are rural development subsidies generally successful in reducing rural-urban migration in Hungary?

Negative. With the employed methodology, and in general terms, no influence of rural development subsidies on rural out-migration could be witnessed. Possible explanations include the general failure of these programmes to reduce employment of locals (which would contribute to incapability to move), and to provide competitive career opportunities locally (which would contribute to the aspirations to stay). Furthermore, achieved forms of development (such as utilities and aesthetic improvement) seems neutral in explaining migration behaviour.

Q02 Does the effect of rural development subsidies on migration show a variety between regions with different socio-economic background and geographical location?

Positive. Among peripheral, “least developed” villages, development subsidies, through contributing to the appearance of new enterprises, in parallel with their incapability to create jobs for local dwellers, negatively influenced outwards mobility. Explanations gained from qualitative fieldwork include the rising career opportunities of those managing enterprises sponsored by these investments. In parallel, subsidies contributed to the number of local employees in more advanced villages while couldn’t manage the same among underdeveloped settlements. Among many other explanations, the reliance of these development projects and project outputs on skilled labour can be emphasized, which skilled labour force is a scarce in peripheral regions. Furthermore, among agglomeration settlements, due to their specific situation, and the closeness of city services and job opportunities, development subsidies reach different results in migration outcomes. This is partially due to the fact that among these settlement, a higher share of employed people results in a lower share of outwards mobility.

Q03 Do rural development interventions, targeting different aspects of socio-economic life, trail different effects on outwards mobility?

Positive. Whilst agricultural subsidies and 3rd axis forms of development could contribute to the reduction of outwards mobility in less developed microregions, sustainability development and the LEADER programme, in overall, had opposite results. This phenomenon can be explained by sustainability investments contributing to the (partial) termination of agricultural production, while, in the case of the LEADER programme, by the external rural-urban ties that these subsidies develop. However, this latter argument is based mostly on previous researches' findings and the development literature rather than own empirical results.

Q04 Do the outputs of development programmes, by fostering changes in opportunity structures, affect migration aspirations in the respective localities?

Mixed-positive. This question is constituted by two major elements, and can be evaluated accordingly, in two steps.

a) Opportunity structure changes influence migration aspirations: In a sense, opportunity structure change is itself migration, if migration is defined as the capacity to choose where to live (de Haas 2014). However, if migration is regarded as inter-settlement relocation of one's personal address, local opportunities do indeed seem to reduce migration aspirations, however, these changes should be robust.
b) Development programmes foster opportunity structure changes: Development programmes really do seem to increase local opportunities, however, only for some, and supposedly only temporarily. Development programmes are not affecting most people's personal opportunity structures, or only negatively.

8.1.4. Synthesis

This section will present general, synthetizing commentary on findings. This thesis tried to mobilize results of two major empirical works to answer the simple question of whether we need (rural) development subsidizing or not. This first has to do with the question of what our intentions as a political community are. Development subsidizing target the socio-economic closing-up of specific social groups with the application of a redistributive tool. Therefore, this might seem as a system for contributing to social equality. It is not. In practice, the system in which this redistributive process operates combines the worst elements of both redistribution and the capitalist market: subsides are distributed in an over-bureaucratized system in which potential grantees have to compete for acquisition. Furthermore, redistribution is not provided on the basis of needs, rather, on the basis of ability of correspondence to the administrative (bureaucratic) terms. The system grants goods for those who are capable and fit to meet these expectations which fundamentally trail counter-productive and corrupted consequences.

Even further, effects of such subsidies are never analysed in a satisfactory way by policymakers. Instead, impact evaluations often appear as pure enumerations of spending, and the number of people targeted (i.e. happen to live in the respective area). As a result, actors might be satisfied with results, even in the absence of clear-cut and noticeable societal outcomes and the lack of growing equality. They might be happy with the pure fact of providing money for those in need, and with the false notion of at least avoiding further decline – what supposedly might have happened, having subsidies not granted. By keeping in mind Amartya Sen's understanding of development as freedom, this could not be further from truth. In contrast, these processes reproduce inequalities, and subsidizing, instead of trailing true development, only conserves a system of dependencies ('*unfreedoms*'). With the corrupted system of such development policies, people are in essence being deprived from the opportunity of auto-development. The major societal concern of various rural development policies (besides endorsing protectionism and security in food production, which is beyond the scope of this thesis) is to avoid the depopulation of target areas or, in essence to avoid social conflicts that emigrants might cause in receiving areas. Sometimes, in a peculiar way, these counter-productive elements of development policies are the ones meeting the original intentions.

With the combination of results from this thesis' two major empirical parts, this is precisely what we might find. What should we do, if our intentions are to 'keep people in

place'? The sardonic answer, based on quantitative and qualitative researches presented in this thesis would be that avoiding the rise of local incomes and employment in underdeveloped regions, keeping up the enormous rural-urban estate price differences and avoiding all rural-urban connections, thereby oppressing peoples' freedom might be an adequate first step. Nevertheless, I believe the results of the presented researches sheds light to a more tolerable way of thinking about rural development.

Table 4: Comprehensive synthesis of results

	peripheral/under-developed villages (e.g. fields DP, ILL, IV, FNY – see Table 6 in the Appendix)	**central/developed villages** (e.g. fields CD, DJ, LK, NK – see Table 6 in the Appendix)	**statistical data analysis**
subsidies	• local governments often lacking (economic & cultural) capital to run • subsidies matter more in local budget • social employment with temporary effects	• local governments' performance defined by ability to win tenders • labour market is less influenced by funds • subsidies mean a lot in infrastructure & utility development and cultural-community life	• low impact of subsidies on labour market • subsidies' influence is more visible in underdeveloped areas with low original set of opportunities • no effect on employment, but helps creating enterprises
employment	• dwellers depend more on local (public) jobs and communal work • hardship in acquiring jobs (locally or in cities)	• labour market is dependent on closeness to cities. • better opportunities	• any direct or indirect effects, influencing employment is unnoticeable
incomes	• low incomes	• more divided: some good opportunities	• incomes are strongly connected to employment and entrepreneurship
infrastructure	• worse intercity commuting • developing utilities • declining local services	• better intercity commuting – better labour opportunities • developing utilities • stagnating local services	• questions of local employment to be explained in relation with nearby city jobs
entrepreneurship	• no opportunities for self-actualisation • entrepreneurship in agrarian sector + cheap labour	• high opportunities for self-actualisation (business owners, managers, home office)	• the growth of enterprises doesn't influence employment
mobility	• dwellers: emigration aspirations (but lacking capabilities) • "fleeing"	• dwellers: mixed migration aspirations (e.g. middle aged people opt for staying) • self-actualisation opportunity, local idyll and personal ties contributes to staying • city jobs and incomes contribute to moving	• entrepreneurship decreases emigration • employment and incomes contribute to emigration

As **Table 4**, providing a structured synthesis of research findings shows, results from the two empirical parts point to the same direction. First of all, subsidies have failed to contribute to local employment as employment is strongly connected to places beyond the given settlements (e.g. nearby towns and cities). Commuting on the other hand is regarded by respondents as a less preferable (even, unviable) alternative to local jobs. Nevertheless, subsidies could contribute to an almost unnoticeable amount of local jobs, and the most often (universally) argued local problem is the lack of jobs. On the other hand, development appears in many narratives as infrastructure-related innovations (such as utilities, local roads) and contribute highly to local living standards, although these do not rise the value of rural places in contrast with cities, where these are present too, even for a long time. In the models, income rise is a good indicator of outwards mobility acceleration, but only among underdeveloped villages. Throughout the fieldworks, we witnessed a reason that can be aligned with other researchers' claim: besides their aspirations, respondents now became capable of moving (e.g. paying city rent). The analysis of the lottery-question provided a unique opportunity to grasp this phenomenon.

Entrepreneurship on the other hand seems as a great factor of rising aspirations to stay. While new jobs target the less capable people and might 'empower' them to move; above a certain level of wealth, further rising incomes and most importantly, opportunities for self-actualisation acts as a keeping force among those people who are affected by the local idyll and have strong personal community ties. Although we are unaware of the potential temporary effect of development subsidies in relation with entrepreneurship, the "tolerable way" of thinking about development, I believe, lies exactly in this and is completely in align with Sen's understanding of development as freedom. It is not the general closing-up of rural settlements to city life, what should be promoted or not in all senses. It is the freedom-enhancing aspects of development, that would in the long run positively (instead in a restrictive way) influence the desire to stay. By simply enhancing this factor, however, I don't think mid-term population loss of the countryside in Central-Eastern Europe would be avoidable: by rising wealth, a rising number of people become capable of moving (to cities, suburbs or abroad). Nevertheless, on the long term, this would be the only ethically tolerable way for rural development: enhancing the forms of freedom for self-actualisation via entrepreneurship, enhancing local political power, enhancing financial capabilities of individuals to stay and reinforcing the physical and societal forms freedom that only rural life can offer.

8.2. Relevance

8.2.1. Scientific relevance

A few decades ago, Rhoda (1983) concluded that there are no clear-cut answers in either theories or empirical investigations about the effects of development on migration. He adds, that despite of this, empirical findings suggest that "*different types of development interventions have different implications for rural-urban migration*" (54). Several authors have addressed this issue since, but – as De Haas (2010) depicts it – "*the significant empirical and theoretical advances that have been made over the past decades highlight the fundamentally heterogeneous nature of migration-development interactions as well as their contingency on spatial and temporal scales of analysis, which should forestall any blanket assertions on this issue*" (253). Though not especially interested in migration effects of development, Fertő and Varga (2015) analyse effects of 2002-2008 EU-funded development projects in Hungary. They conclude: "*the significance of identified effects is rather low and its direction can be both positive and negative*" and that "*irrespective of estimated coefficients, the impact of regional subsidies is negligible. As a consequence, further research is needed to explore impacts mechanisms of subsidies*." (117)

The scientific relevance of the research comes from its novelty in analysing development-migration interactions in the Hungarian context based on EU funds of the 2007-2013 budget period and considering rural development resources spent in non-agglomeration villages of Hungary. This dissertation is supposedly the first attempt to evaluate on the settlement level, how rural development programmes contributed to outwards mobility in rural Hungary. In a more global sense, this dissertation is one of the few empirical attempts to comprehensively evaluate how development programmes contribute to outwards mobility, moreover, it is also one of the few empirical attempts to validly evaluate the effects of EU-funded rural development programmes in general. By approaching the question with qualitative as well as quantitative methods, the research contributes to a comprehensive understanding of development-migration interactions and the role of development in migration aspirations. Furthermore, the dissertation contributes to migration theory by providing empirical support for the migration aspiration-capability framework as well as a possible qualitative method for the better understanding of the different aspects of immobility, both considering internal and international mobility phenomena.

8.2.2. Societal relevance and policy implications

Practical relevance of the thesis is the evaluation of the effects of development projects targeting local communities in Hungary, and the contribution to the understanding of potential limitations of such policies. More generally, this dissertation may help in understanding the boundaries and unexpected outcomes of subsidization, which are often trailed by the structure and nature of such interventions, both in intranational and international contexts. Results of this thesis revealed that despite of their high amounts, rural development subsidies might have been ineffective in facilitating positive economic changes in most rural areas of Hungary. Nevertheless, though the temporary aspects of the impacts are uncertain, some interventions seemed to trail some, though not extensive and all-including, positive economic outcomes in especially the least developed microregions. These concern mostly the creation of new enterprises. However, the results also suggest that these investments generally failed to influence outwards mobility, partially because they balance out one another's effects, and because investments were spent on issues which are irrelevant in influencing people's migration aspirations.

By understanding mobility as a counterpart of immobility within the capability-aspiration framework, the thesis helps to re-evaluate the political aim of withstanding rural depopulation. A more professional (and humane) approach would be to improve capabilities in general: capabilities to migrate as well as not to migrate. If understood as only one way to reach life goals, migration (i.e. the capability to choose where to live) is a means to extend 'freedoms'. Consequently, a responsible policy would enable both outwards mobility and the opportunity to stay: several respondents only chose to migrate because there were limited other opportunities left. Otherwise, the best means to improve 'population retaining capacity' of the countryside would be to contribute to rural-urban estate price differences, restrict local education, restrict local governments' liberties, to further restrict agri-career opportunities through land concentration and to promote underpaid local communal work. As was seen in this thesis, there are indeed immobile people living in rural areas, whose choice to stay can be understood from their free will, rather than necessity. Voluntary immobility is facilitated by positive changes in local career opportunities, a sense of freedom that the countryside provides and strong personal connections. Though these other factors might be useful to increase welfare, understanding that people strive to enhance their freedoms instead of 'unfreedoms' is a key to understand mobility in general, as well as reasons why development policies fail.

8.3. Limitations and research suggestions

This thesis intended to provide a comprehensive structural understanding of development-migration interactions instead of an exemplary case. This results in a relative insensitivity to unique cases, which concerns both the qualitative and quantitative parts of the research as well as their interactions. Foremost, the fieldwork were fit to provide results which helped to understand between-variable interactions received from the path analysis, and to provide additional depths in understanding how migration aspirations is influenced by the perceptions of local socio-economic changes. However, the two analyses are not organically connected to one another, therefore, these can be regarded as two, independent researches as well. This relative independence reduces the explanatory power that the fieldwork results might have.

Furthermore, the fieldwork themselves, though were originated from the same area of interest, and field choice considerations, too, were motivated by the understanding of development-migration interactions, covered a relatively long time period (6 years). During these years, not only did the social environment change, but also the composition of the research team, the structure and guides and scopes of the research: in some years, issues of migration were more desperately and forcefully addressed, while in other years, researchers were more permissive towards respondents not bringing up this topic. Though interviews are not made to be representative of any subsamples, the later categorisation of respondents into mobility-groups are in an extent influenced by the fieldworks' approaches. In general, interviews had often to be regarded as secondary, rather than primary data sources during the analyses. Furthermore, the comprehensive nature of the research series resulted in an indeed very rich set of qualitative data, creating challenges for categorisation, recognition of structural patterns and formulating coherent claims. Because of the expected comprehensiveness, the qualitative part of the research did not consider development successes or failures as case studies, rather, from a more interpretative standpoint, it engaged in the general analysis on how the perception of changes can be paralleled with migration aspirations within the narratives.

Similarly to the qualitative methodological component, the nature of the statistical data analyses applied in this thesis urge as well for the careful interpretation of results. The level of validity of the research could significantly be raised in an experimental setting, but due to explained reasons, in this case this was not feasible. Thus, a higher reliance on both theoretical claims, and previous researches' findings, as well as on lessons learnt

from the qualitative research element was necessary in order to formulate convincing arguments about the reasons of the found interactions. The validity is further narrowed by both the exclusive reliance on EAFRD data of the 2007-2013 budget period as explanatory variable. Moreover, the fact that migration data is provided by the statistical office based on citizens' place of living ('temporal address'), rises validity-questions, too. Though these data serve as one of the best source for the analysis of migration behaviour worldwide, no previous analyses dealt with the reliability of Hungarian legal address data.

Finally, the general field of research similarly creates limitations for the interpretation of the research results. As argued previously, the comprehensive examination of development programmes is problematic, because neither clear policy goals, nor clear-cut and single interventions are provided for this. Moreover, finding comparison groups is equally challenging. In this thesis, an investigation of development programmes under a certain period was presented, however, the formulated policy goals (i.e. 'population retaining capacity') originated from another period's development documents, and therefore could only serve as a general context rather than a starting ground for the impact evaluation analyses. Furthermore, the thesis did not aim to evaluate that the satisfactory elements of the found effects of rural development policies did indeed 'worth the value' – whether the amount of subsidies spent were in their price-to-value ratio efficient at all.

The above formulated arguments on this thesis' limitations mark several possible ways to further extend our knowledge on development-migration interactions in general, as well as focusing on EU-subsidies and rural-urban migration. Such a 'way' would be to not only reproduce the quantitative analyses based on the 2014-2020 cycle (once relevant data will be provided for post-period migration patterns), but also to combine the two cycles' outcomes and evaluate their relational behaviour. These relations can be understood in a geographical setting, too: to improve research results, possibly using GIS tools, a geographical analysis of local development and migration flows within the settlement structure might be grasped, with the inclusion of 'push-pull' factors as well. Similarly, the qualitative research part provides further opportunities as well. The rich data would enable the analysis of migration behaviour with the inclusion of various concerns: ethnicity, gender, education or location. Also, with the more systematic inclusion of 'lottery-responses' and general life aspirations with migration, a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between the different types of 'freedoms' might be reached in the future.

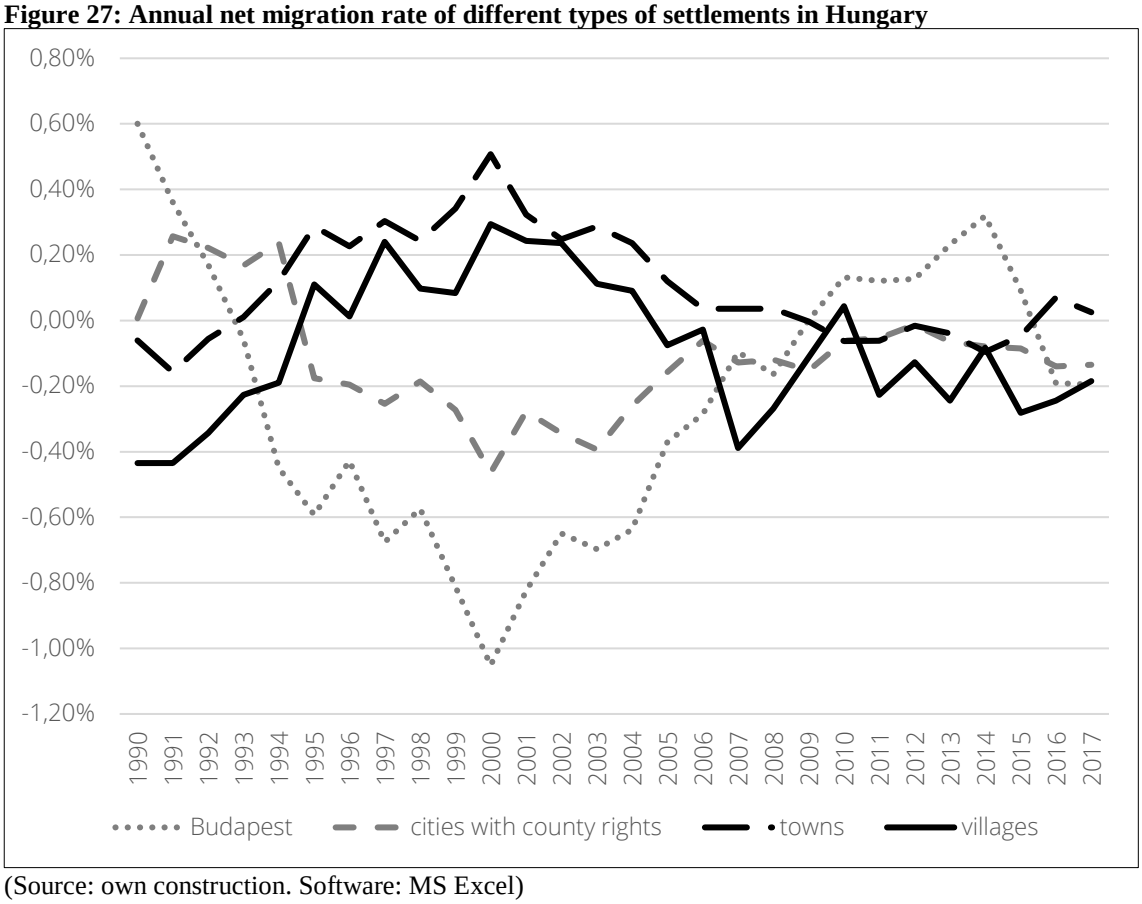
9. APPENDIX

9.1. The Hungarian case: Background statistics

In this section of the appendix, general background statistics of the Hungarian case will be provided. Though these data are not evitable for the understanding of the methodological steps and research results, they offer a context for the investigations, thereby contributing to the validity of research presented in this thesis.

Several authors have analysed internal migration within Hungary in the previous years (Bálint and Gödri 2015, Bálint and Obádovics 2018, Dövényi 2009, Faragó 2014, KSH 2012), their results and conclusions were summarized in the chapter dealing with the socio-economic backgrounds of the investigated topic. However, for analysing in details the contribution of development projects to rural outmigration in Hungary, a somewhat more detailed an focused scope would be necessary. In order to provide a general picture on the social environment, in this section, these previous results are expanded with some findings based on the database. By this, variables used in later models are introduced, too.

Figure 27: Annual net migration rate of different types of settlements in Hungary



(Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

Previous authors analysing internal migration patterns of the Hungarian population after the fall of the state socialist system in 1989 recognised processes of suburbanisation that lasted for around two decades with a peak in the years of the Millennium. An ordinary way to visualise these processes is a longitudinal presentation of annual net migration rates in a settlement-type division as shown in **Figure 27**. As can be seen, migration rates in larger cities accurately reflect towns' and villages' migration patterns, leading to a conclusion, that a migration phenomenon can be witnessed between cities and their suburbs. Processes start with a great decline in migration rates of the capital (from 6 permille to minus 6 permille within a decade), whereas in parallel, migration rates in villages go up from minus 4 to plus 2 permille during the same years. This processes of suburbanisation came to an end by the years of the financial crisis, when migration rates of the capital turned positive once again and rates of other settlement types stabilized around minus 2 and 0 permille. Budapest joined them in the past years. We might come to the somewhat misleading conclusion (reasons later) that internal migration is coming to an equilibrium.

Figure 28: Annual net migration rate (permille) by settlement size categories.

Annual net migration rate (permille)

Settlement size category (number of dwellers 1990)	n	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
0-199	266	-8,1	-11,0	-4,2	-2,3	-8,5	-4,3	-1,8	-3,3	-1,5	-6,6	-3,4	-6,6	2,3	-4,9	-2,7	-7,5	8,8	-15,1	-6,0	-3,3	-14,3	-0,5	-6,5	6,7	-13,2	-10,7	-3,3
200-499	652	-7,1	-5,6	-5,2	-4,5	-2,6	-0,3	-3,1	1,7	-2,1	-1,0	1,8	1,7	1,2	-1,2	-1,0	-3,1	-2,9	-6,5	-4,6	-1,2	-1,0	-1,9	-1,8	-3,3	-2,7	-3,7	-4,3	-3,3
500-999	705	-4,5	-3,4	-2,5	-2,1	-1,1	0,5	0,4	2,5	1,1	1,3	2,9	3,4	2,3	1,7	1,5	-0,1	-2,3	-2,3	-2,8	-1,1	-1,7	-0,9	-1,7	-1,9	-1,2	-1,5	-1,8	-2,5
1000-1999	641	-1,9	-3,1	-3,0	-1,4	-0,7	2,8	1,3	3,6	2,7	2,6	4,5	3,9	2,2	2,8	1,8	1,1	-0,2	-0,8	-1,2	-0,7	-0,7	-0,9	-0,7	-1,6	-1,4	-1,3	-0,4	-0,5
2000-4999	523	-0,9	-1,7	-2,3	-0,7	0,4	4,6	3,3	4,2	3,6	3,7	6,0	4,8	3,7	4,2	3,0	1,4	0,3	-0,9	-1,0	-0,7	-1,1	-0,6	-1,4	-0,7	-1,2	-0,1	0,2	-0,1
5000-9999	132	-1,4	-2,3	-0,3	0,7	1,1	3,7	3,4	6,3	4,5	5,1	8,1	5,2	5,0	4,5	4,0	2,1	1,1	0,9	0,4	-0,1	-0,7	-0,9	0,1	-0,2	-1,1	-0,1	1,6	1,4
10000-19999	79	-0,3	-1,3	-0,6	-0,2	1,6	1,1	1,9	1,9	0,8	2,6	2,2	1,1	0,8	1,1	0,3	0,0	-0,2	-0,5	-0,2	-0,7	-1,0	-0,8	-0,6	-0,4	-1,9	-0,8	-0,4	-0,2
20000-49999	42	-2,4	-0,5	0,4	0,9	1,8	0,3	-0,4	-1,4	-1,1	0,5	-0,1	-1,1	-1,2	-0,4	-0,4	0,3	-0,2	0,1	1,1	-0,2	-0,6	-0,8	-0,7	-0,9	-0,9	-0,8	-0,3	-0,8
50000-99999	12	-0,3	1,9	1,8	1,1	2,1	-2,2	-2,5	-3,8	-2,9	-5,7	-6,2	-2,2	-3,6	-4,4	-3,0	-1,7	-1,1	-1,9	-1,6	-1,7	-0,7	-0,4	0,4	-0,4	-0,6	-0,5	-1,6	-1,7
100000-199999	6	2,1	4,0	4,0	2,4	1,0	-1,9	-0,7	-2,1	-1,0	-0,7	-4,5	-5,3	-3,6	-4,0	-2,2	-1,3	0,6	0,0	0,0	-0,9	-0,5	-0,2	-0,3	-0,5	-0,5	-1,7	-2,3	-1,1
200000+	2	-2,4	0,2	-0,6	-0,4	3,3	-5,5	-6,7	-6,6	-6,8	-3,0	-7,4	-8,2	-4,8	-7,5	-5,6	-5,2	-4,1	-2,2	-3,1	-2,8	-2,1	-2,0	-1,8	-1,4	-1,9	-1,5	-1,7	-0,5
Budapest	1	6,0	3,6	1,7	-0,6	-4,5	-5,9	-4,3	-6,8	-5,7	-8,1	-10,5	-8,2	-6,5	-7,0	-6,4	-3,7	-2,9	-1,0	-1,6	0,0	1,3	1,2	1,3	2,3	3,2	0,9	-1,9	-2,0

Higher values indicated by darker colours. (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

By differentiating settlements based on size rather than legal status, suburbanisation processes are to be found, too (**Figure 28**). Taken from HCSO papers, a similar figure is presented by Dövényi (2009), who concluded the 'extreme' phase of suburbanisation was

coming to an end by 2010 and a more balanced migration between cities and suburbs was to be expected. On the figure, a negative-U shape is to be seen reflecting population gain of smaller and smaller settlements by year 2000, and slowly turning back to greater cities by the end of the first decade of the century. Afterwards, in recent years, medium grey colours indicate a phase of equilibrium between settlements of different sizes, with medium size settlements having stronger balance regarding migration patterns.

Figure 29: Outwards mobility rate (permille) by settlement size categories.

Outwards mobility (permille) (data until 2001: permanent + temporary migration altogether)

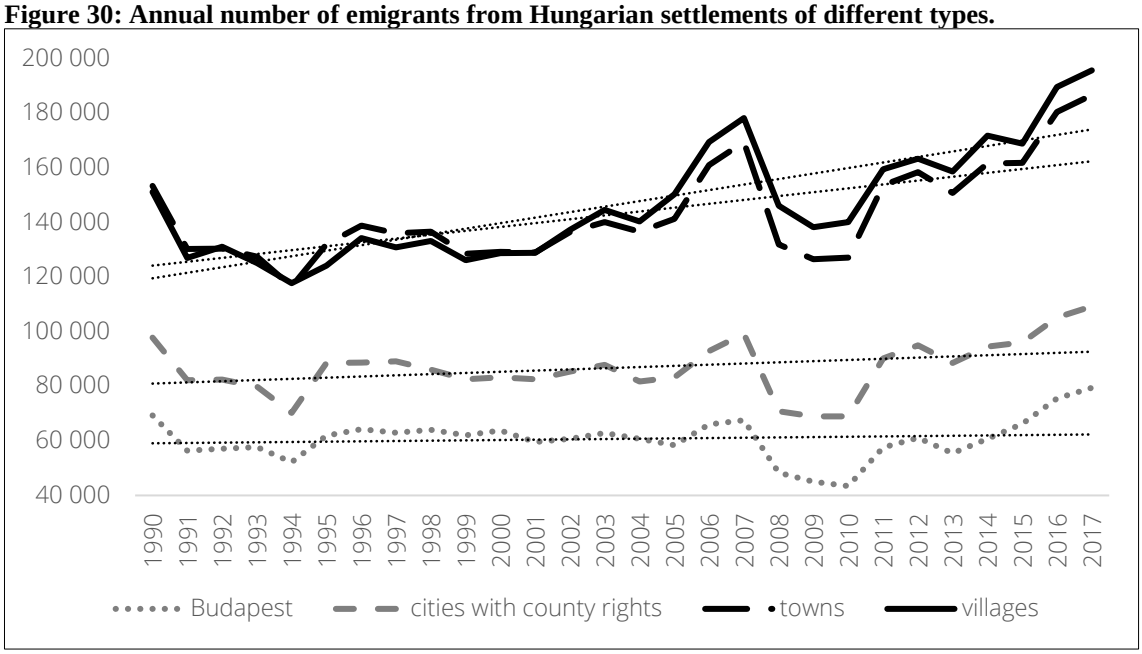
Settlement size category (number of dwellers 1990)	n	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
0-199	266	74	61	62	59	60	58	60	58	68	59	57	63	42	47	36	43	52	54	41	41	54	51	36	38	52	48	53	50
200-499	652	60	51	53	49	46	48	52	50	55	47	47	48	32	34	31	36	37	37	35	32	31	31	30	30	35	33	38	39
500-999	705	55	45	47	45	42	44	48	46	50	45	45	45	29	30	27	31	35	33	32	28	28	28	27	27	30	30	35	36
1000-1999	641	50	42	44	42	40	41	44	43	45	42	42	42	27	27	25	27	31	31	29	26	25	25	24	25	27	27	31	32
2000-4999	523	48	41	42	40	37	39	42	41	43	40	40	40	25	26	24	25	29	29	28	24	23	23	22	22	25	24	28	30
5000-9999	132	45	39	38	38	35	38	40	39	41	38	38	38	22	23	21	22	26	26	25	22	20	21	20	20	22	22	25	26
10000-19999	79	45	39	39	38	34	38	40	39	41	37	38	38	21	22	20	20	23	23	22	20	19	19	18	18	21	21	24	25
20000-49999	42	45	38	38	37	34	40	41	40	42	37	38	37	21	22	19	19	22	23	21	19	18	18	18	18	20	20	23	24
50000-99999	12	47	39	38	38	33	43	43	44	43	42	42	40	21	23	20	20	22	22	21	19	18	18	17	18	19	20	23	24
100000-199999	6	43	37	37	35	31	38	38	40	40	37	39	40	21	22	19	18	20	21	19	17	16	16	16	17	18	19	22	23
200000+	2	46	38	39	37	32	41	43	41	42	37	38	39	20	23	19	19	22	21	20	17	16	16	15	15	17	17	20	20
Budapest	1	35	29	29	30	27	33	34	34	35	35	36	35	20	21	20	17	20	20	19	16	15	14	14	13	15	17	20	21

Higher values indicated by darker colours. Note, that prior to 2002, data of 'permanent' emigrants were complemented with number of 'temporary' emigrants. (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

However, analysing only emigration patterns instead of net migration, we receive a different picture. In **Figure 29**, outwards mobility rates are presented by the very same settlement size categories, and once again, higher values (here thus, higher levels of emigration) are indicated by darker colours. It is important to note, that prior to 2002, no data is provided on only those permanently moving, rather, their numbers are complemented with those announcing a new 'temporary' address in another settlement while keeping their 'permanent' address of residence, too. After 2001, data on is provided separately, and as further on, only 'permanent' movers will be included in calculations, only their volumes are shown, leading to lower numbers. Colouring of the table was done accordingly and separately. Based on the data shown, two crucial observations can be made. First, migration from the smallest settlements (those under 1000 population, around half of all settlements) does not seem to change significantly during the past three

decades. Secondly, share of those leaving the biggest cities were at a medium level in the era of suburbanisation and really started to decrease only after the financial crisis of 2009-2010. This decrease lasted for a few years. Though migration balance seems to have reached an equilibrium, total volumes of mobility are not necessarily have been.

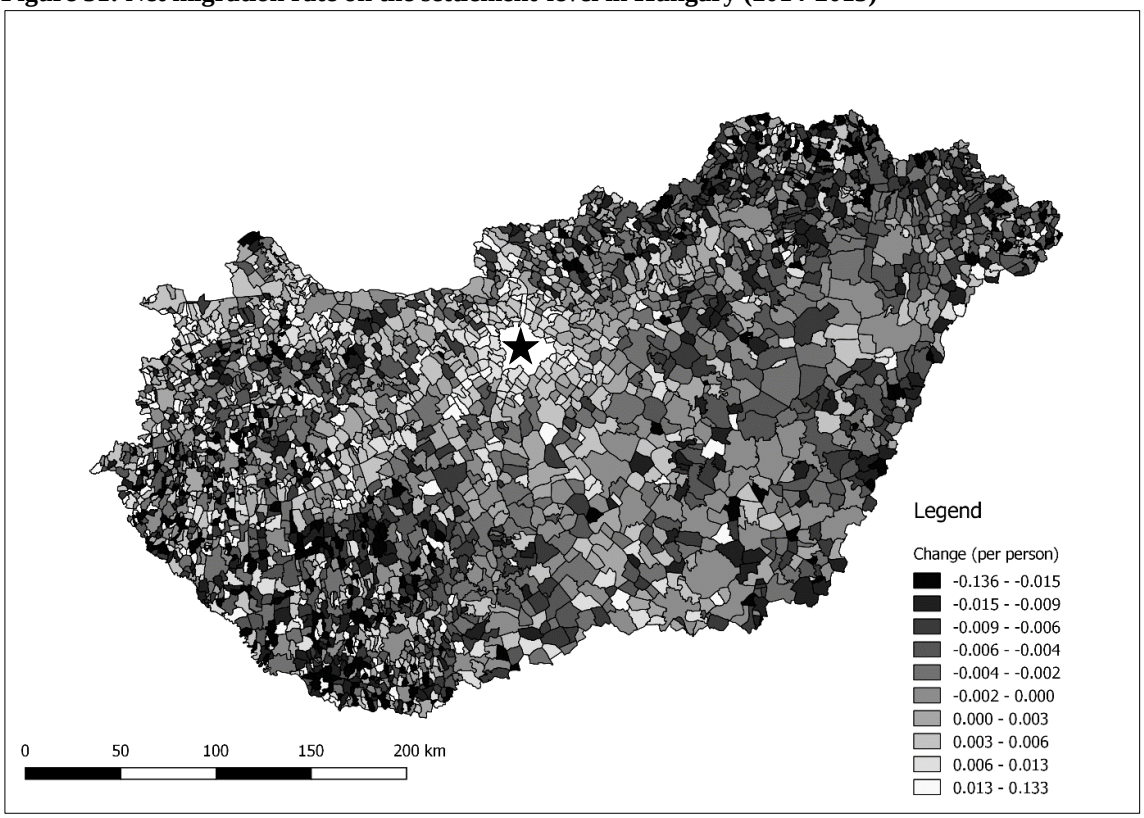
Figure 30: Annual number of emigrants from Hungarian settlements of different types.



All Hungarian settlements and both permanent and temporary emigrants are included. Linear trends indicated, computed by MS Excel (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

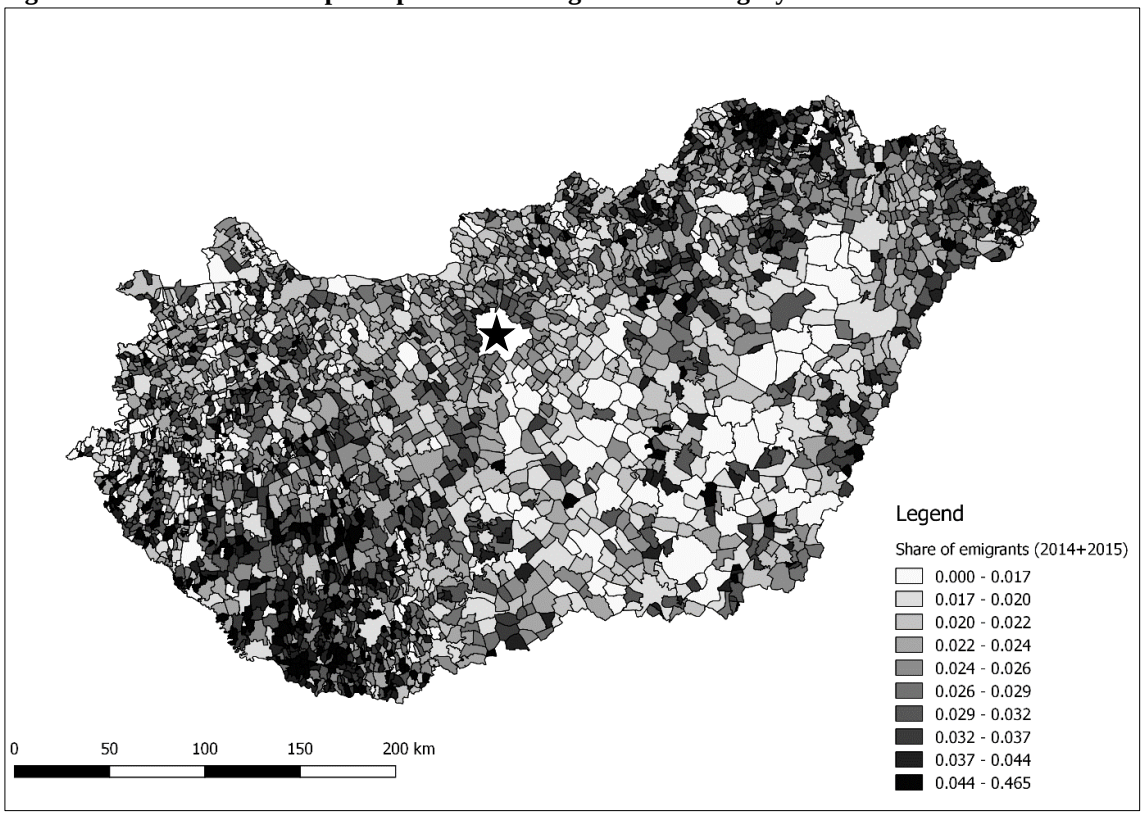
As former investigations on the topic revealed, after the post-socialist transition period, internal migration in Hungary is continuously growing, but these tendencies reversed around 2008 for a few years. This is explained by effects of the financial crisis (Bálint and Obádovics 2018), however, concrete causal mechanisms remain unrevealed. Based on previous researches, we don't know much about the contribution of various types of settlements to this growth and drop-back. When differentiating between villages, towns, cities and the capital (and taking into consideration the overall volumes of migration), we might see similar patterns, referring to serious external factors influencing migration, such as the crisis, which are beyond reasons connected to spatial differences and settlement types (**Figure 30**). However, between-category differences can be found, too. Though Budapest shows a quite stable trend in volumes of emigration even during the two-decade era of suburbanisation, overall trends of emigration show steeper growth among small towns and especially villages. A fitting linear trendline show a 50 percentage point growth in number of emigrants considering villages and only a 10 percentage point growth taking into account only cities with county rights. This questions prognoses forecasting a decrease in rural out-migration by arguing that "*in previous decades, everybody moved out, who could and wanted*" (Dövényi 2009, 348, own translation)

Figure 31: Net migration rate on the settlement-level in Hungary (2014-2015)



Sum of two years of 2014 and 2015 are calculated. Data on Budapest (marked by star) not included. (Source: Own construction. Software: QGIS 2.18.9.)

Figure 32: Settlement-level spatial patterns of emigration in Hungary 2014-2015



Sum of two years of 2014 and 2015 are calculated. Data on Budapest (marked by star) not included. (Source: Own construction. Software: QGIS 2.18.9.)

Previous demographic studies on internal migration revealed crucial regional patterns in major mobility flows. Usually addressing these questions on a NUTS-2 or NUTS-3 basis, authors argue that migration flows are directed towards the central and North-western regions of Hungary, which are characterised by a higher level of economic development and more enterprises. In addition, migration towards the North-western country borders of Hungary is influenced by the attractive Austrian labour market, which causes people willing to commute to settle in the Hungarian towns and villages close to the border, which is characterised by lower-price estates and costs of living while in parallel offering good paying jobs just across the border. In the regional analyses, migration flows are originating from North-eastern and Southwest border regions of the country, which are characterised by a generally very low level of net migration balance, whereas other regions are somewhere in between.

If we move below the regional and microregional scope and analyse net migration balance on the settlement level, we might find confirmation for these arguments, and additional patterns, too. Though it seems to be true that generally, areas around the capital are characterised by a more positive migration balance and depressed regions with much lower than average, positive population change is to be seen along motorways and within the least developed regions, too. On the other hand, and of course not contradicting previous findings on regional patterns, a few of those settlements with the most negative levels of migration balance are to be found in the most developed regions.

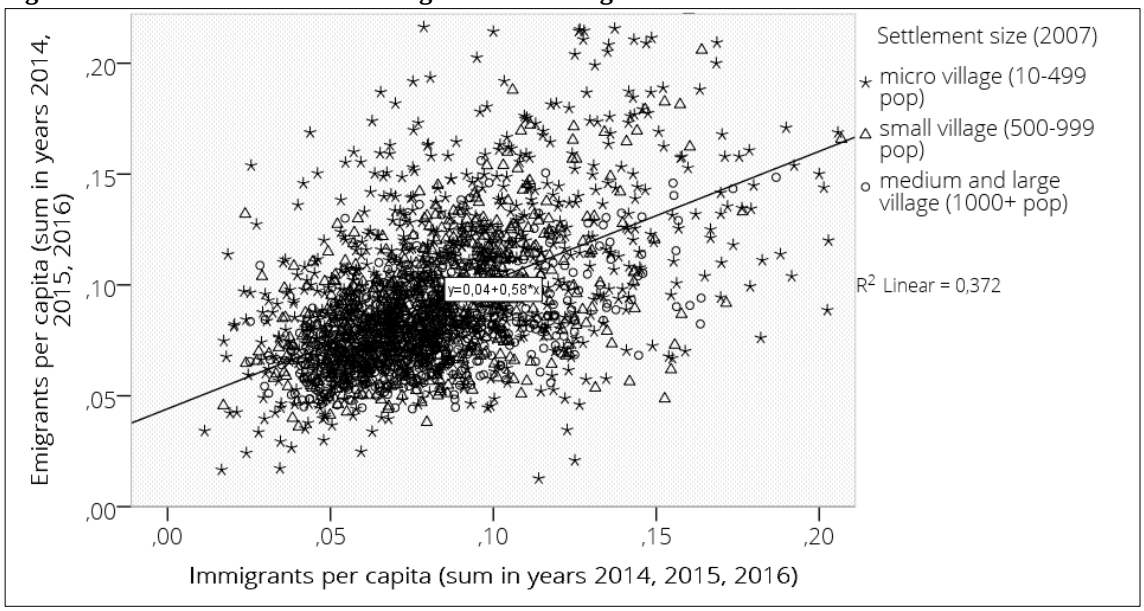
The cross-sectional picture of net migration is not necessarily in align with outmigration tendencies. Though settlements with the highest ratios of outwards mobile people are located in the southwest and northeast corners of the country (which is characterised by overall lower net migration values), some areas, especially in the eastern part of Hungary (South Great Plain and North Great Plain regions), moderate level net migration values overlay a relatively low level of outmigration in several settlements. Consequently, among these towns and villages, we can hypothesize a low level of overall mobility and more ‘closed’ local communities, which results in low levels of in- and outmigration in parallel, whereas in other settlements, the population is more mobile. The contrary can be seen for example among suburban villages next to Budapest, where a positive migration balance comes with a relatively higher share of emigrants. Based on the maps, it can be concluded, that there are regional differences in not only net migration rates, but also in the relationship between inwards and outwards migration. Net migration numbers hide underlying patters on immigration and emigration in an uneven way.

The division between more and less ‘open’ settlements is clear from the analysis of the interaction between the share of emigrants and immigrants in the subsample of Hungarian villages. This interaction follows a robust and positive linear trend (**Figure 33**). Those villages with lower share of emigrants in the years of 2014 and 2015 are more likely to have lower share of immigrants, too. This interaction is influenced by the size of the settlements, with the larger villages having less immigrants as well as emigrants per capita, while some of the smaller settlements can be described by as much as 20% of the population moving inwards to and/or outwards from the village in the 3-year period of 2014, 2015 and 2016. However, the difference between smaller and larger villages with regard to migration patterns are not necessarily only influenced by settlement size differences.

These differences can be due to several socio-economic factors, too, influencing the validity of results from later calculations. Reasons for this phenomenon might include the gradual attributes of internal migration, first identified by Ravenstein (1885). This graduality causes a higher flow in ‘in-between’ settlements in which newcomers from smaller settlements push away locals, or conversely, movers create a vacuum for newcomers (appearing for instance as lower real estate prices). Having inwards and outwards mobility correlating positively stresses the fact that the figures of net migration rate do often mask real volumes of migration flows. Besides this, the correlating migration values might also decrease the validity of further researches on emigration, as immigration has a fairly good explanatory value on outwards mobility. Therefore, and in a seemingly controversial way, one might argue that an efficient policy aiming to decrease emigration should be considering to forestall immigration first.

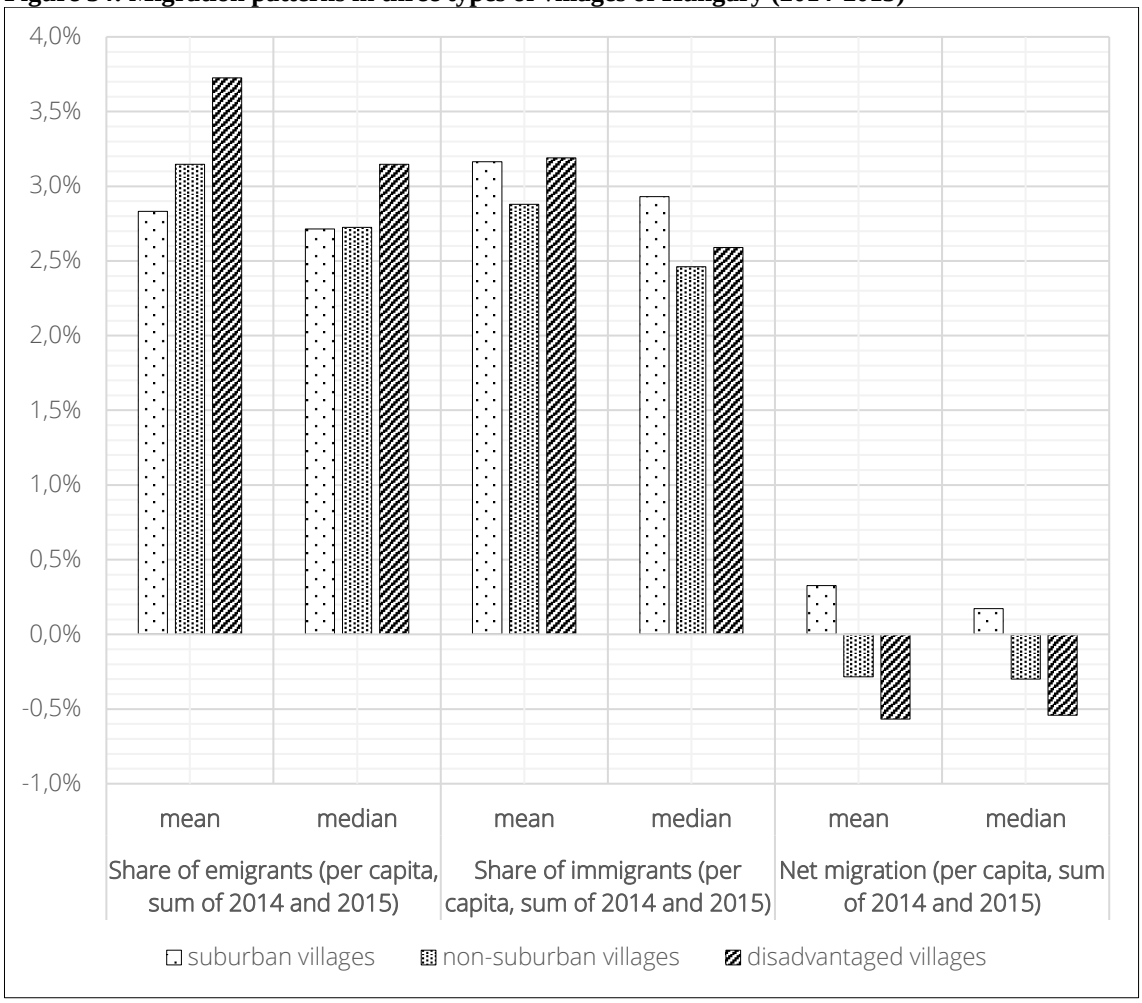
This paper cannot and does not aim to understand all factors of internal mobility on the macro level, only the ways in which development projects can be regarded as one among them. However, as only forces explaining emigration will be analysed later on (due to research goals), the correlation between inwards and outwards mobility should be considered seriously. Therefore, a longitudinal analysis is of importance: instead of having cross-sectional values included in calculations, the change in their values over time is what should be taken into consideration. This way, several disturbing factors can be opted out or reduced in their effects, including the interaction between these two variables. Regardless, it should be stressed and kept in mind that by analysing net migration rates instead of volume change of emigrants, differing results would very likely be reached.

Figure 33: Interaction between immigration and emigration on the settlement level



Data on non-suburban villages presented. Outliers deselected. n=2207. Linear correlation trendline indicated, computed by IBM SPSS 23.0 (Source: own construction)

Figure 34: Migration patterns in three types of villages of Hungary (2014-2015)



Proportion of those 1) leaving 2) coming to the village in 2014 and 2015 altogether; and 3) net migration rate in these 2 years altogether. Mean and median values. **Suburban villages** (n=462): Those located in 'agglomeration zones' or 'settlement clusters' of cities, identified by Hungarian Central Statistical Office. **Disadvantaged villages** (n=664): those located in the 33 "most disadvantaged microregions" identified by rural development policies of the 2007-2013 period. (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

Exploring out- and inwards migration patterns in a village-type division following the division that will be applied later, reveals several valuable patterns. In **Figure 34**, mean and median value of per capita share of emigrants as well as immigrants are presented, followed by net migration rates constituted by these two values. Villages are divided by their location (within or outside suburban zones of cities) and their socio-economic status measured by whether the microregion they are located in are one of the 33 least developed microregions identified by policies.

One of the main lessons to be learnt from this figure is the manner net migration rate indices mask immigration and emigration rates. Whereas around 3 percent of the population have left villages on the average during the two years and a similar proportions of them moved towards villages, net migration rates are between minus 5 to plus 5 permille. The other, more valuable lesson is the way net migration rates are constituted in the three types of villages. The number of immigrants are higher than average in both suburban and disadvantaged villages, whereas emigration rises with the decrease in geo-economic status (with suburban villages being below average and disadvantaged villages having higher-than average values). In general, the least fortunate a village is regarding its geographical location, the lowest is its net migration value. Villages in general experience a slightly negative migration balance, however, this balance is positive in villages around cities and much lower among the so called ‘disadvantageous’ villages.

As a general rule, it can be concluded that villages with better geographical location might be better in keeping the population which is already there, whereas the attractivity of villages are relatively good both if they are in the best and in the worst location. As for disadvantageous villages, a very high proportion of the population are willing to move out whereas these exact villages attract more potential incomers, too. Those not anymore being able to maintain their lives in towns or villages of a better-situated microregion, might be forced out of their previous homes to disadvantaged villages. Another, regional effect may contribute to this phenomenon: it is in the disadvantaged microregions, where people are more exposed to socio-economic crises, therefore, more likely to move to smaller settlements with lower prices. They may not be willing to move large distances, rather, they might seek better opportunities and lower-price real estates among villages of the very same microregion. These findings and hypotheses are in align with previous statements on differences in the composition of net migration rates: differences can be found not only in a regional division, but also in a socio-economic division of Hungarian villages.

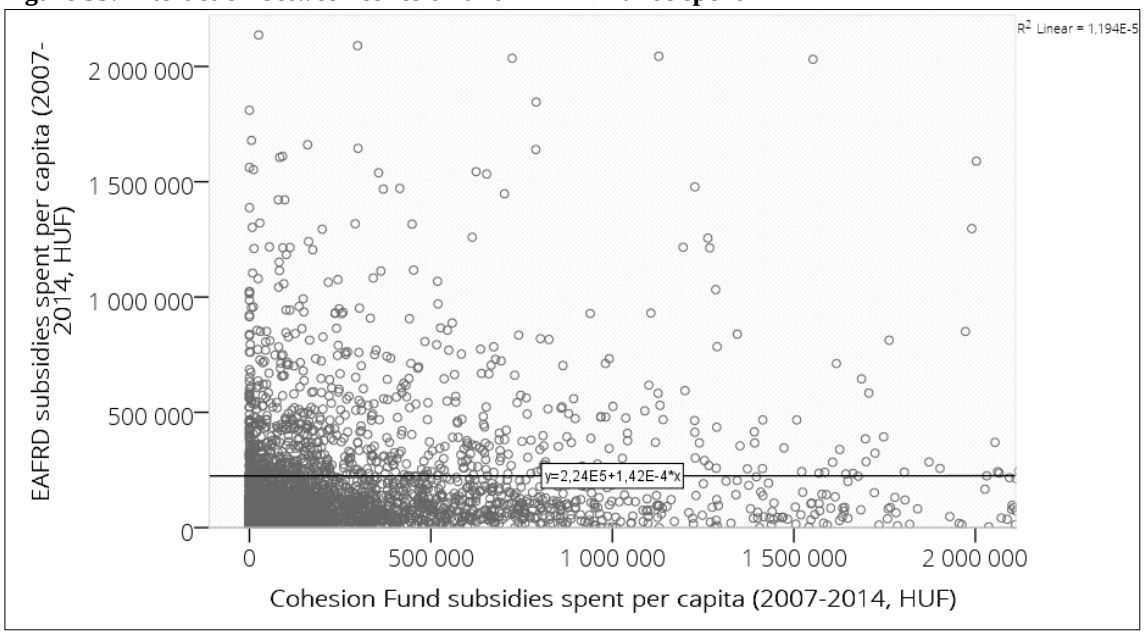
The analysis of internal migration tendencies in Hungary revealed some important facts, that should be considered later, during the analysis of development-migration interactions.

1. First, supplementing previous findings on Hungarian regional mobility, it can be argued that even though migration between different settlement types have reached an equilibrium and neither suburbanisation, nor reurbanisation is a serious social phenomenon, the volume of internal mobility is continuously growing. The annual number of emigrants from Budapest and larger cities are similar to what could be seen during the years of suburbanisation. Meanwhile, in the previous 30 years, the annual number of people moving out from villages grew almost by half. The depopulation of villages is a serious social issue with a growing importance.
2. Second, regional differences can be seen in internal migration. Between-region flows are shaped by certain patterns, but within-region mobility is also marked by territorial differences. With regard to the settlement-level, between-settlement migration in given regions are characterised by several possible socio-economic factors. This could raise the question whether rural development projects might considered be as one among them.
3. And finally, the interaction between emigration and immigration, analysed on the settlement level are unevenly masked by net migration rates. Though in general and among villages, immigration and emigration interacts positively, this interaction might be shaped by geographic (as well as social, economic) characteristics of the given microregions. This should warn researchers that during the analyses of internal migration, results from emigration and immigration might differ from results received by the analysis of the combination of the two (namely, net migration rates).

One major question when analysing effects of development programmes is how they interact with one another. From a purely experimental point of view, this question is important as the researcher should be able to differentiate between various causes to grasp the individual effect of one of them. When assessing causal relations, several alternative explanations might rise and opting them out one by one is a truly challenging, nevertheless crucial task. The possible interaction between Cohesion Funds (Regional Development Fund, Cohesion Fund, European Social fund) and European Agrarian Fund for Rural Development would either increase the seeming impact of EAFRD or mask it. There could be several reason for this, either from the policy side (targeting the same

areas more through the various sources) or in a more latent way, through the different social capital and leverage of the various actors which seems to influence the amount of subsidies received (Balogh 2012). However, as can be seen in **Figure 35**, if we analyse the interaction between cohesion and EAFRD funds on the settlement level, we find no linear correlation. This suggests that factors influencing lesser and more funds received from these two subsidy budgets are completely independent from one another, resulting in a great increase in the validity of the further results. Pearson's correlation coefficient between these two variables, analysing their interaction on the settlement level was only 0.005 and p = 0.798 which could convince ourselves about a high level of independency.

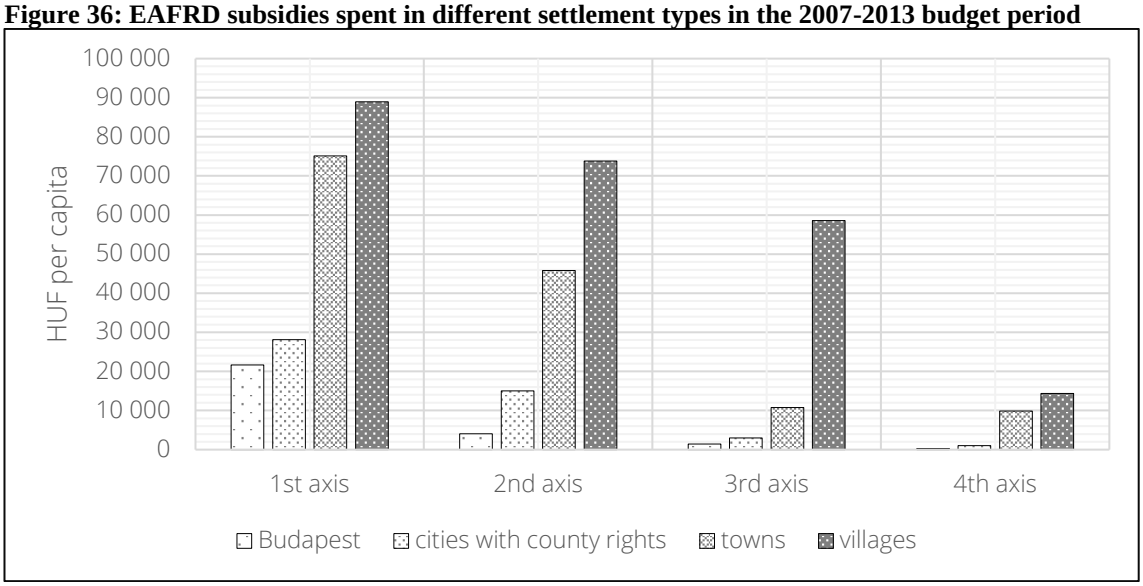
Figure 35: Interaction between cohesion and EAFRD funds spent



Per capita values calculated on the settlement level. Cases: Hungarian settlements. Axes' maximum restricted to HUF 2 million. Linear correlation trendline indicated, computed by IBM SPSS 23.0 (Source: own construction)

As in this dissertation, the possible effects of EADRD funds will be analysed in details divided also into the 4 'axes' of rural development, the composition of this source is important to be assessed (see **Figure 36**). In the figure, per capita funds spent through the 4 axes are indicated in a settlement-type division, and subsidies are computed per capita on the settlement level. As can be seen, most subsidies were spent on the agricultural production (through the 1st and 2nd axis), whereas, even in villages, not too much more than the third of these were spent on rural development in the narrower sense (that is, for instance infrastructure, utilities, human infrastructure and cultural types of development). The 4th axis, focusing on local community development had a really low budget: not reaching HUF 15,000 in villages and HUF 10,000 in towns per capita during the 7-year period.

Figure 36: EAFRD subsidies spent in different settlement types in the 2007-2013 budget period



EAFRD funds divided by the four 'axes' of rural development policies. Per capita values calculated on the settlement level. Prices in HUF. (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

Another finding from this figure is the between-settlement type differences of acquired rural development subsidies. As can be seen, EAFRD could really manage to develop rural areas more, though per capita amount of rural development money was more than HUF 25,000 in the capital, which is still a considerable amount, even though Budapest lies in the only territory of Hungary which is considered to be rural or underdeveloped by neither of the existing definitions. However, compared to population size, subsidies acquired by smaller settlements are considerably higher and gradually growing.

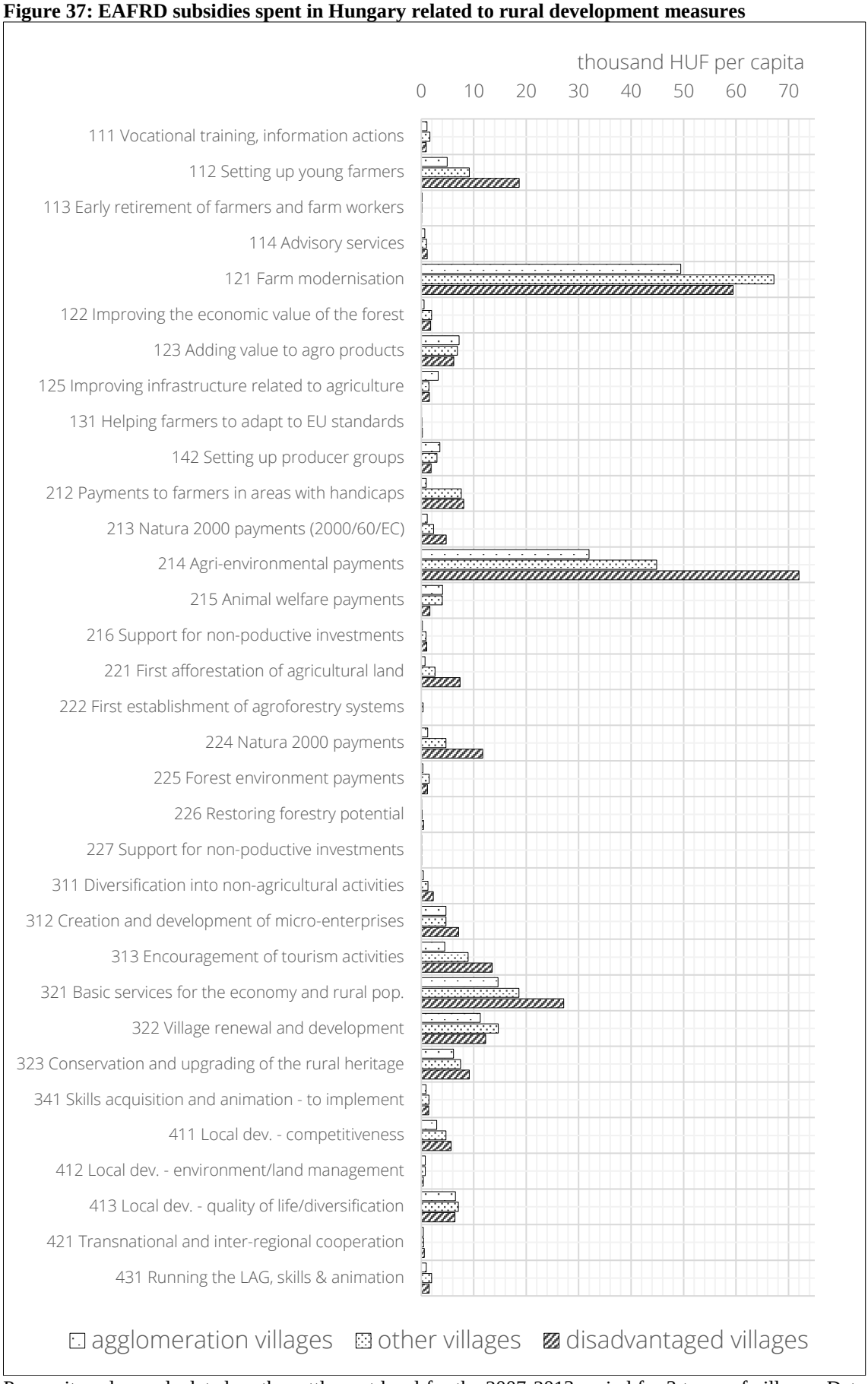
Taking into consideration only villages of the three types, and analysing differences in EAFRD subsidies through the different measures reveals serious variability. The four axes of rural development composed of the various measures or greater programmes, all of which aim to improve different aspects of the socio-economic life of the rural areas. Amount of subsidies acquired by organisations through these various measures are however not equal: different development aims were targeted by different share of the budget. Information on these subsidies were available on each individual settlement on each individual year, which were then computed for the whole budget period. The analyses reveal that within the first axis of rural development, most funds were targeting the measure of farm modernisation and knowledge transfer for the younger farmers. Whereas the firstly mentioned category show no great between-settlement type proportionate differences, most of the funds of the latter category were spent in villages of least developed regions.

As can be seen in

Figure 37, for farm modernisation, 50 to 70 thousand forints were spent per dweller throughout the budget period, which altogether lead to the primary status of this measure in the sense of funding. This is followed by agri-environmental payments measure from the 2nd axis, which show great between settlement type differences, gradually growing largely from agglomeration villages through non-agglomeration villages to disadvantaged villages. Funds spent through the 3rd axis are much more balanced between the various measures, and a gradual increase from better-off suburban to disadvantaged villages can be seen here, too among them. The low-budget measures of the 4th axis funds, targeting local community development does not show relevant between settlement-type differences, and quality of life and competitiveness measures are leading the axis in subsidy volumes.

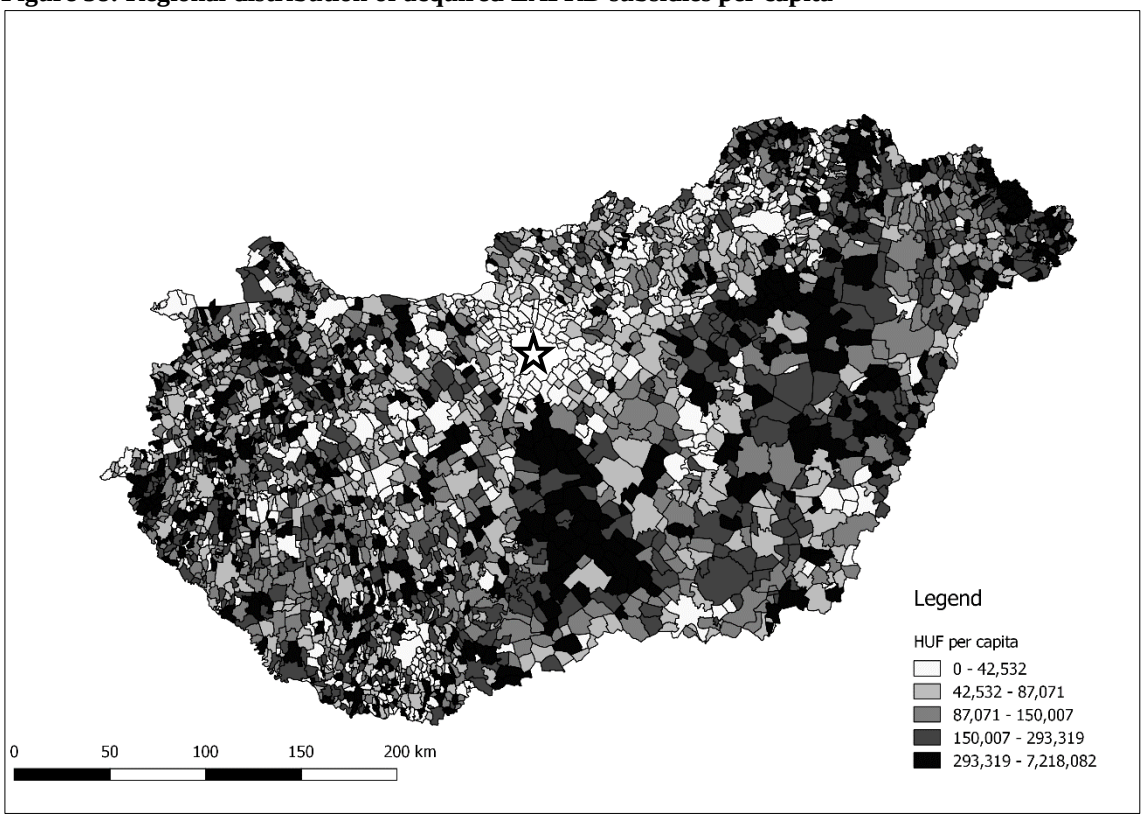
Regional differences between settlements do also occur in relation to EAFRD acquisition. Though previous categories of agglomeration, non-agglomeration and disadvantaged villages also grasp a sort of territorial factor, between-settlement differences are in several cases great within one given microregion, too. As **Figure** 38 indicates, even though the top quintile of settlements defined by per capita EAFRD subsidies are to be found in the more agrarian regions of Hungary, microregions are generally not good predictors of acquired funds. To circumvent the bias coming from the relative importance of agrarian-involved funds among EAFRD subsidies, **Figure 41** presents the regional distribution of only 3rd axis funds. The picture show similar within-microregion differences, with the top quintile located in regions without extensive agrarian economic background.

Figure 37: EAFRD subsidies spent in Hungary related to rural development measures



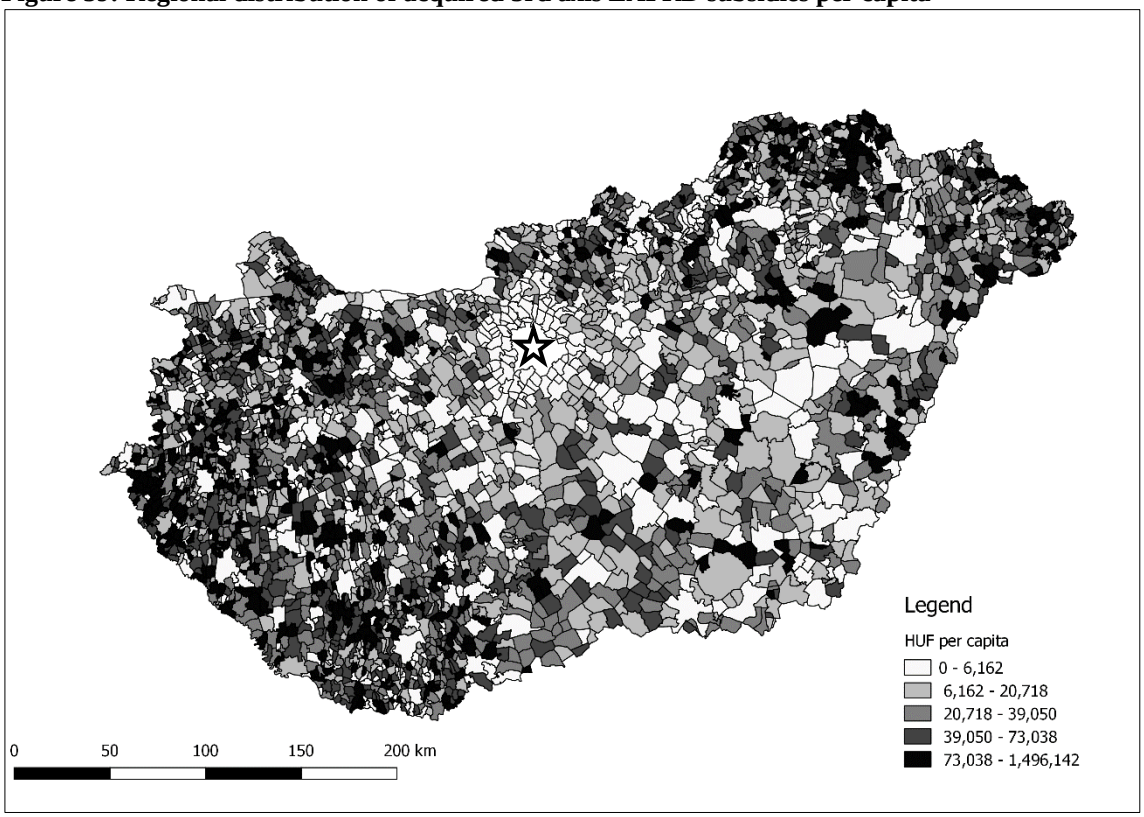
Per capita values calculated on the settlement level for the 2007-2013 period for 3 types of villages. Data on only villages are presented. Prices in HUF. Measurement titles shortened in some cases. 9 disadvantaged agglomeration villages regarded as disadvantaged. (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

Figure 38: Regional distribution of acquired EAFRD subsidies per capita



All 2007-2013 EAFRD subsidies included. 5 quintiles of settlements computed based on subsidies per capita (as of 2007 population) by QGIS 2.18.9. Data on Budapest (marked by star) not included. (Source: own construction)

Figure 39: Regional distribution of acquired 3rd axis EAFRD subsidies per capita



Only 3rd axis 2007-2013 EAFRD subsidies included. 5 quintiles of settlements computed based on subsidies per capita (as of 2007 population) by QGIS 2.18.9. Data on Budapest (marked by star) not included. (Source: own construction)

In later models, based on policy concepts, indirect effects of rural development projects on emigration through labour market variables will be assessed. In accord with the necessity of analysing these phenomena as being embedded in a wider labour market context, it is important to summarize some aspects of labour market change during the decade in focus, especially in relation to the countryside. Changes in incomes from full time jobs, the number employed people and the number of micro enterprises (those employing 1-9 persons) will serve as a basis for analysis of labour market background. The following paragraphs yield an account of the behaviour of these variables in Hungary over the past decades in settlement-type division.

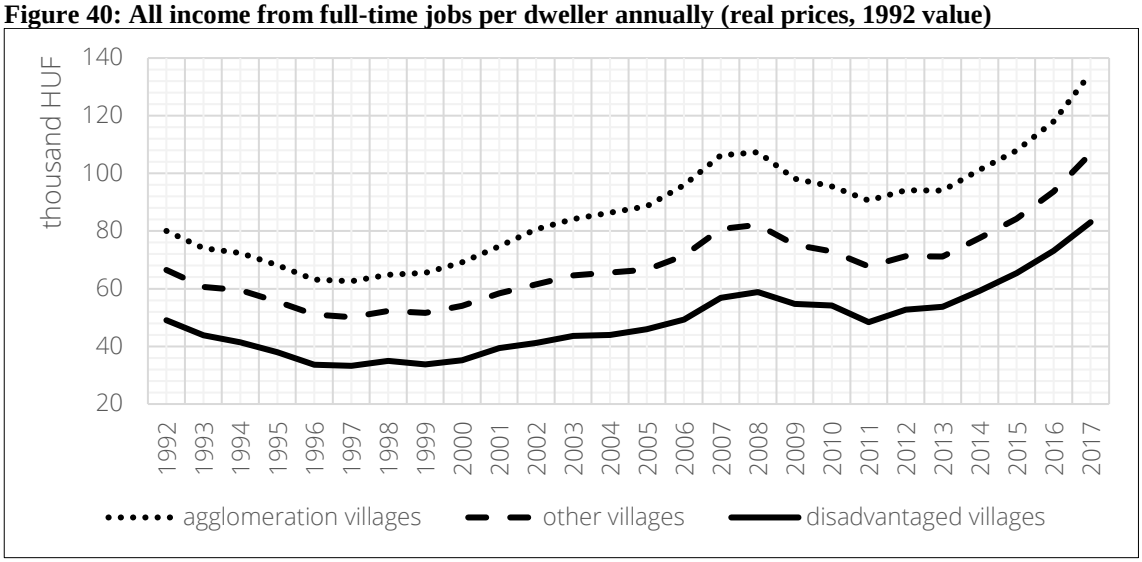
Starting with incomes, it is noticeable that the three types of villages follow the very same patterns over the years, although the difference keeps staying similar all along (**Figure 40)**. Incomes from full-time jobs (based on tax administration data) are lowest in disadvantaged, highest in agglomeration villages, and somewhere in-between in all the other ones on the average. Calculated as real prices with 1992 data set as base (that is, annual wage income data divided by the product of all annual inflation data since 1992 until the given year), we might see two periods of decrease and two periods of income growth.

The first period is to be seen after the post-socialist transition period when the economy witnessed a great fallback due to the downsizing of state socialist companies. This was followed by a decade-long growth period from around 1998 to 2008, until the years of the financial-economic crisis. During the time period in focus (namely, the EU's 2007-2013 budget period) was spent with a decline and a climb back towards the original 2008 level, which was reached by 2015. The bottom was reached in the year 2011, and from this year to 2017, a rapid growth is to be seen. What is more interesting, that this increase affected disadvantaged villages, too. On the other hand, it is noticeable that incomes in disadvantaged villages does has not even by 2017 reached the agglomeration villages' crisis-period value. In the further analyses, it will be interesting to assess whether development subsidies helped salaries to recover faster.

As mentioned, patterns are similar in both types of villages. However, by having a look at these data proportionately (**Figure 41**), it turns out that income inequalities grew slightly over a little more than the first decade of the examined period, and inequalities then decreased slightly, back to almost the starting values by the year 2017. This finding suggests that among less developed settlements, recovering from the crisis went in a

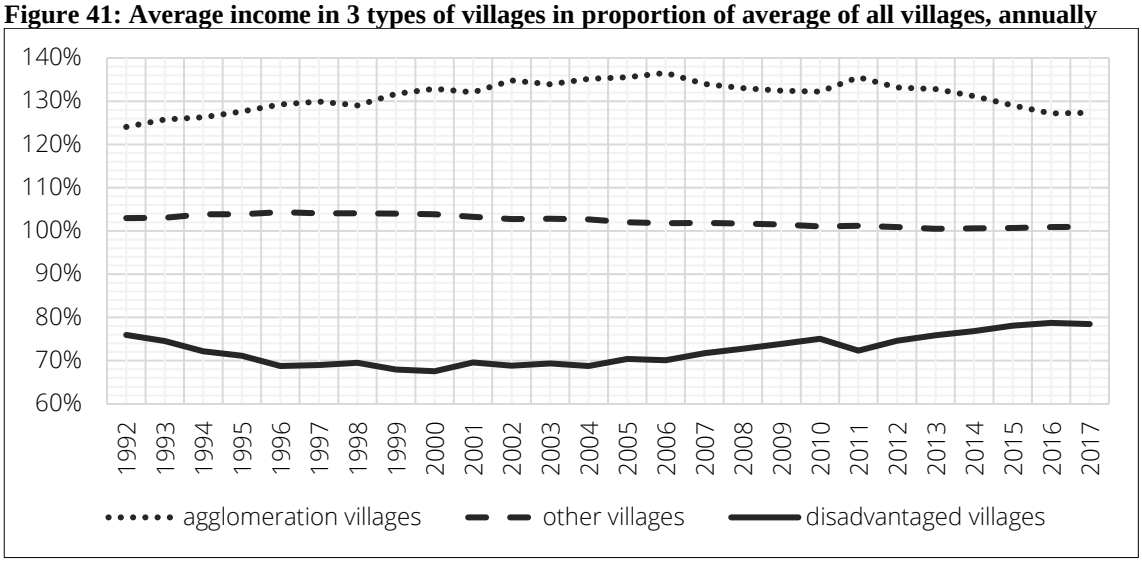
somewhat more efficient way than in other villages, even though other villages kept their absolute primary status throughout the decades in focus.

Figure 40: All income from full-time jobs per dweller annually (real prices, 1992 value)



Incomes in thousand HUF (real values, with inflation, prices on their 1992 value). Annual inflation values provided by KSH. All incomes are calculated on the settlement level in proportion of number of dwellers of the settlements. Only villages included. (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

Figure 41: Average income in 3 types of villages in proportion of average of all villages, annually



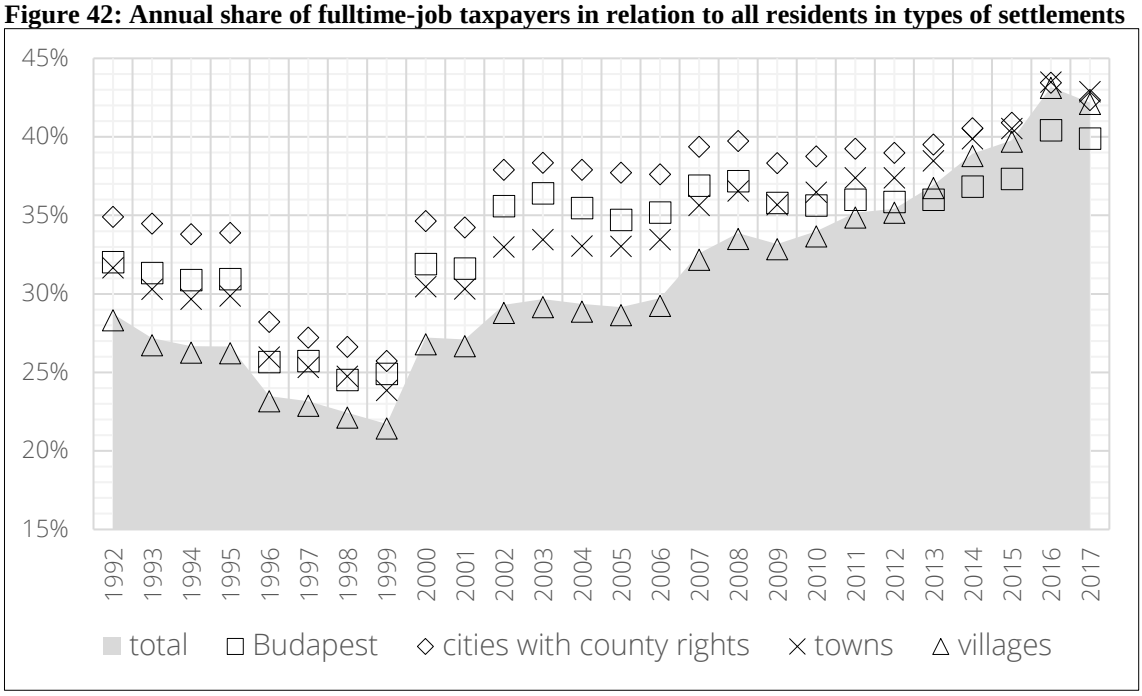
(Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

Settlement-level per capita average incomes of fulltime taxpayers, as they are computed per capita (number of dwellers in a settlement), can rise either by the increase of average incomes, with no regard of income distribution, or by an increase in the number of labourers without actual rise in their average income. It is thus important to analyse whether the number of taxpayers changed in parallel with incomes.

In a settlement-type division (**Figure 42**) a constant growth can be seen generally throughout the years of the new millennium, after the unemployment shock of the post-socialist transition period. Different types of settlements experienced different volumes

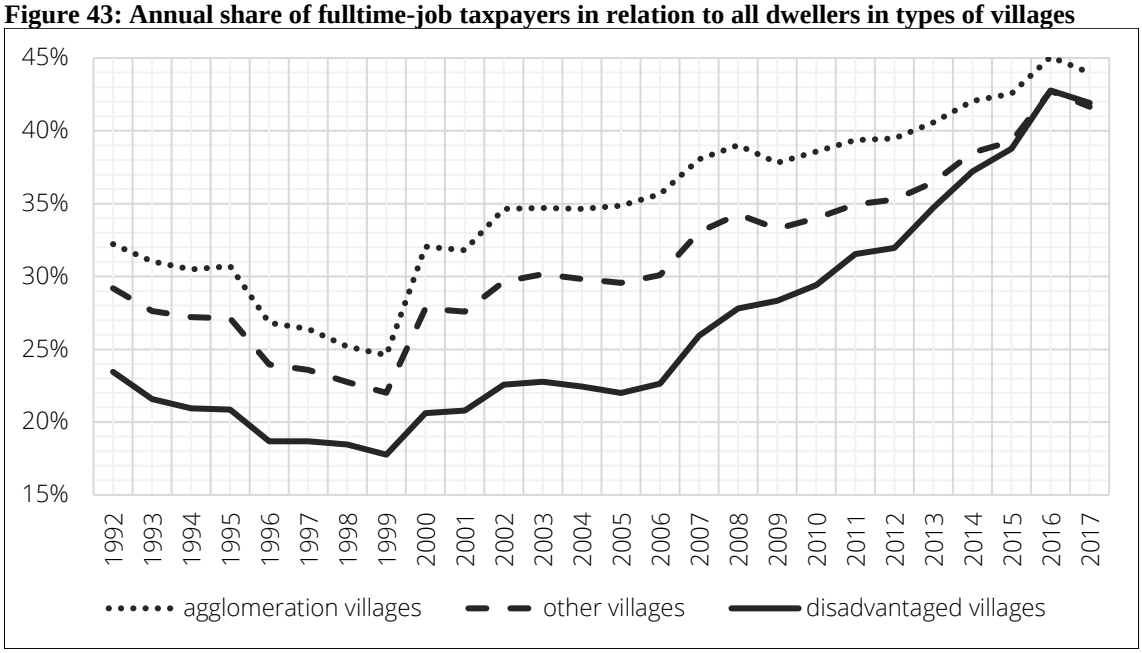
of change, however. Throughout almost the whole period in focus, biggest cities were the ones with the highest share of fulltime-job taxpayers, which was followed by the capital Budapest, then smaller towns and cities, and finally, villages close the line. However, this rank has changed in the past years. With the overall average growing almost by 60 percent from 2000 to 2017, villages seem to have been closing up and even by a little overtook Budapest in employment. This indicates an even more rapid and continuous employment growth among villages. Most of this period of closing-up took place during the 2007-2013 budget period of the European Union.

Figure 42: Annual share of fulltime-job taxpayers in relation to all residents in types of settlements



(Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

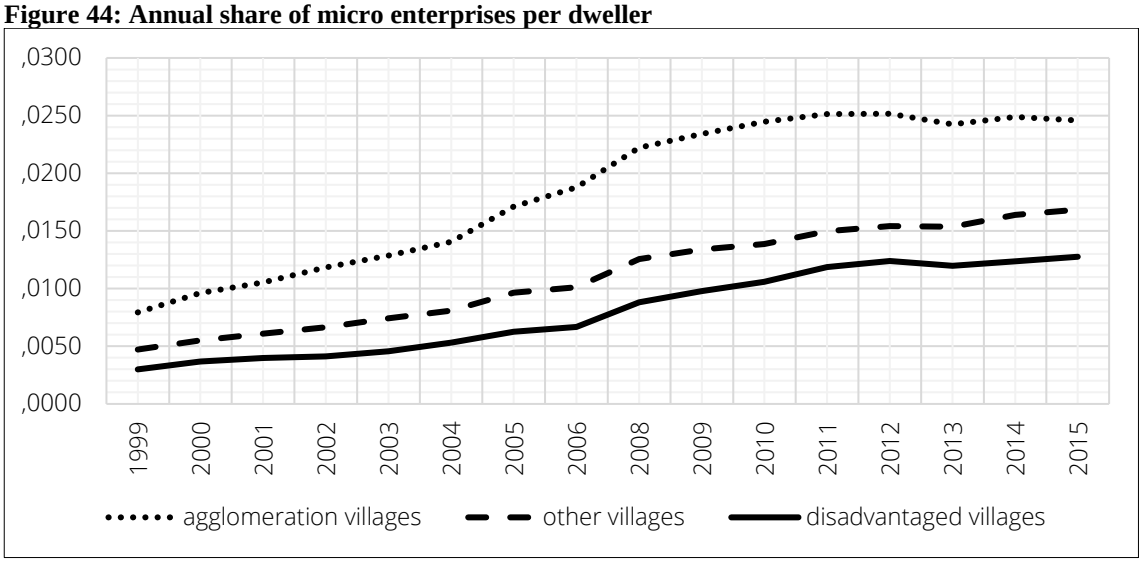
Figure 43: Annual share of fulltime-job taxpayers in relation to all dwellers in types of villages



(Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

Another graph shows (**Figure 43**), that the villages most accounted for this change were the ones not located in agglomeration zones of the biggest cities, and especially villages located in the 33 least developed microregions had the best performance in growth. During the decade from 2007-2017, the share of full-time job taxpayers almost doubled and went up as high as 42-43 percent, almost overtaking suburban villages. These changes might seriously have influenced the labour market perspectives especially within the less developed regions. What is more, employment growth was continuous even during the years of the financial crisis, indicating, that a fallback in average incomes per dweller was mostly due to the decrease in salaries rather than the increase of unemployment. The third and final aspect of local economy and labour market that will be assessed in this dissertation is the potential disperse of local micro enterprises, that several development policies aim to influence. Considering all enterprises in general, and their per capita share instead of absolute numbers, a continuous growth can be witnessed in all three sorts of villages (**Figure 44**). The figure indicates the change in per capita share of only the operating micro enterprises, and only joint venture enterprises are considered. Though this growth went parallelly in the three types of villages and the proportionate difference between suburban and disadvantaged villages are very similar nowadays than 15 years ago, even among disadvantaged villages, the share of micro enterprises increased by more than 400 percent. Among suburban villages, the more rapid growing tendencies between 2000-2010 came to an equilibrium and significant change cannot be seen since.

Figure 44: Annual share of micro enterprises per dweller



Only operating joint venture micro enterprises (those employing 1-9 workers) included for the three types of villages. No data before 1999, for 2007 and after 2015. (Source: own construction. Software: MS Excel)

9.2. Detailed tables of linear regression estimates

		OTHER VILLAGES (n=1666)				UNDERDEVELOPED VILLAGES (n=660)				AGGLOMERATION VILLAGES (n=460)			
		dependent variable				dependent variable				dependent variable			
		enter-prises	employ-ment	incomes	emig-rants	enter-prises	employ-ment	incomes	emig-rants	enter-prises	employ-ment	incomes	emig-rants
ALL EAFRD		↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.002$				↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.135$				↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.044$			
explanatory variable	subsidies	**0.050 (0.040)**	0.043 (0.076)	0.041 (0.093)	-0.047 (0.056)	**0.527 (0.000)**	0.073 (0.114)	0.071 (0.110)	**0.192 (0.000)**	0.005 (0.910)	- 0.010 (0.837)	- 0.010 (0.830)	0.043 (0.350)
	enterprises	- 0.006 (0.794)	- 0.016 (0.524)	0.033 (0.176)	- 0.045 (0.067)	**0.433 (0.000)**	0.057 (0.188)	- 0.002 (0.955)	- 0.050 (0.222)	0.028 (0.549)	- 0.025 (0.594)	- 0.013 (0.768)	0.003 (0.951)
	employment	0.015 (0.532)	**0.062 (0.011)**	0.010 (0.691)	- 0.029 (0.239)	**0.220 (0.000)**	0.036 (0.371)	0.053 (0.171)	**0.192 (0.000)**	- 0.061 (0.191)	- 0.030 (0.526)	0.006 (0.894)	**0.097 (0.035)**
	incomes												
AXIS 1		↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.003$				↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.111$				↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.042$			
explanatory variable	subsidies		0.029 (0.239)	**0.054 (0.034)**	0.030 (0.222)		-0.002 (0.968)	**0.161 (0.000)**	**- 0.283 (0.000)**		- 0.035 (0.458)	**0.216 (0.000)**	0.039 (0.412)
	enterprises			**0.181 (0.000)**	0.028 (0.272)			**0.245 (0.000)**	**0.091 (0.018)**			**0.180 (0.000)**	**- 0.142 (0.002)**
	employment				0.031 (0.215)				**0.155 (0.000)**				**0.186 (0.000)**
	incomes												
AXIS 2		↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.001$				↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.144$				↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.052$			
explanatory variable	subsidies		0.028 (0.252)	**0.051 (0.035)**	0.031 (0.211)		0.015 (0.707)	**0.148 (0.000)**	**- 0.345 (0.000)**		- 0.037 (0.796)	**0.216 (0.000)**	0.045 (0.338)
	enterprises			**0.180 (0.000)**	0.030 (0.228)			**0.243 (0.000)**	**0.084 (0.025)**			**0.180 (0.000)**	**0.139 (0.003)**
	employment				0.030 (0.234)				**0.145 (0.000)**				**0.186 (0.000)**
	incomes												

				OTHER VILLAGES (n=1666)					UNDERDEVELOPED VILLAGES (n=660)					AGGLOMERATION VILLAGES (n=460)			
				dependent variable					dependent variable					dependent variable			
				enter-prises	employ-ment	incomes	emig-rants		enter-prises	employ-ment	incomes	emig-rants		enter-prises	employ-ment	incomes	emig-rants
AXIS 3	explanatory variable	subsidies	↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.001$	**0.184 (0.000)**	**0.149 (0.000)**	0.038 (0.126)	- 0.011 (0.663)	↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.135$	**0.570 (0.000)**	0.086 (0.071)	0.042 (0.367)	**0.198 (0.000)**	↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.054$	**0.127 (0.006)**	**0.117 (0.013)**	- 0.014 (0.756)	**- 0.111 (0.017)**
		enterprises			0.002 (0.947)	0.044 (0.072)	0.032 (0.196)			- 0.026 (0.856)	**0.136 (0.003)**	**- 0.419 (0.000)**			- 0.050 (0.283)	**0.217 (0.000)**	0.054 (0.255)
		employment				**0.175 (0.000)**	0.030 (0.235)				**0.242 (0.000)**	**0.078 (0.038)**				**0.182 (0.000)**	**- 0.129 (0.006)**
		incomes					0.030 (0.233)					**0.149 (0.000)**					**0.185 (0.000)**
AXIS 4	explanatory variable	subsidies	↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.001$	**0.095 (0.000)**	0.013 (0.596)	**0.053 (0.030)**	- 0.024 (0.329)	↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.128$	**0.247 (0.000)**	- 0.036 (0.367)	**0.143 (0.000)**	**0.144 (0.000)**	↓ adj. $R^2 = 0.042$	**0.117 (0.013)**	0.038 (0.419)	**- 0.068 (0.000)**	0.001 (0.975)
		enterprises			0.028 (0.260)	0.046 (0.057)	0.033 (0.187)			0.032 (0.428)	**0.120 (0.002)**	**- 0.342 (0.000)**			- 0.040 (0.397)	**0.223 (0.000)**	0.039 (0.417)
		employment				**0.180 (0.000)**	0.029 (0.254)				**0.253 (0.000)**	**0.101 (0.008)**				**0.183 (0.000)**	**- 0.143 (0.000)**
		incomes					0.031 (0.219)					**0.135 (0.001)**					**0.186 (0.000)**

Note: linear regression model estimates computed for each of the 15 path model respectively. Significant β-values indicated by bold characters if $p<0.05$ (see p-values in parenthesis.) Standardised R^2 value for each path model indicate the general goodness of models. Computed by IBM SPSS 23.0

9.3. Fieldwork location statistics

The rich qualitative data constitute a valid source for a grounded analysis of development-migration, or, in more general, social change and rural urban interactions, especially with regard to the Hungarian case. The locations for the concrete fieldwork were in all cases chosen on settlement-level statistical background data. By filtering Hungarian, non-agglomeration villages based on subsidy and migration data (besides others, which varied from year to year as Table 5 shows), usually a dozen villages remained each year, from which the final choice was made by the research team, based partially on subjective matters. It should be added, that during the course of the 6 years, EAFRD subsidy and migration data considerations varied, too, as can be seen in Table 5. This results in a variety in attributes of final localities providing a comprehensive sample which allows the questions in focus to be addressed in an extensive way and from different perspectives.

Table 5: Fieldwork dates, locations, motives for choice and number of interviews

Date of fieldwork	Settlement name	Field choice considerations	Number of transcribed interviews (sum length in parentheses, minutes)
August 2014	Illocska	Two micro (<500 pop) villages within the same peripheral microregion; one with, the other without receiving EAFRD subsidies.	14 (1177)
	Drávapalkonya		18 (1220)
August 2016	Diósjenő	Village's closeness to agglomeration zone, positive net migration balance between 2006-2015	24 (2506)
August 2017	Felsőnyárád	High level of received EAFRD subsidies (HUF 250,000< per person); Small or medium size village; Tourism irrelevant	28 (2400)
January 2018	Lajoskomárom	High level of received EAFRD subsidies (HUF 250,000< per person); High number of registered 1st sector firms (300+)	10 (657)
August 2018	Csákánydoroszló	Closeness to Western border; Positive migration balance between 2006-2015; Low level of received EAFRD funds (<HUF 70,000 per person); Growing tendencies in personal incomes (+HUF 50,000< per person during 2007-2013)	18 (1164)
	Iváncsa	Closeness to previous village; Positive migration balance between 2006-2015; Low level of outwards mobility (<2% in 2014-2015's average)	10 (893)
July 2019	Nagykörű	High level of received EAFRD subsidies (HUF 250,000< per person); Small or medium size village; High share of economically active population (64.8%<)	41 (2646)

Table 6: Fieldwork settlements' subsidy, migration and additional data.

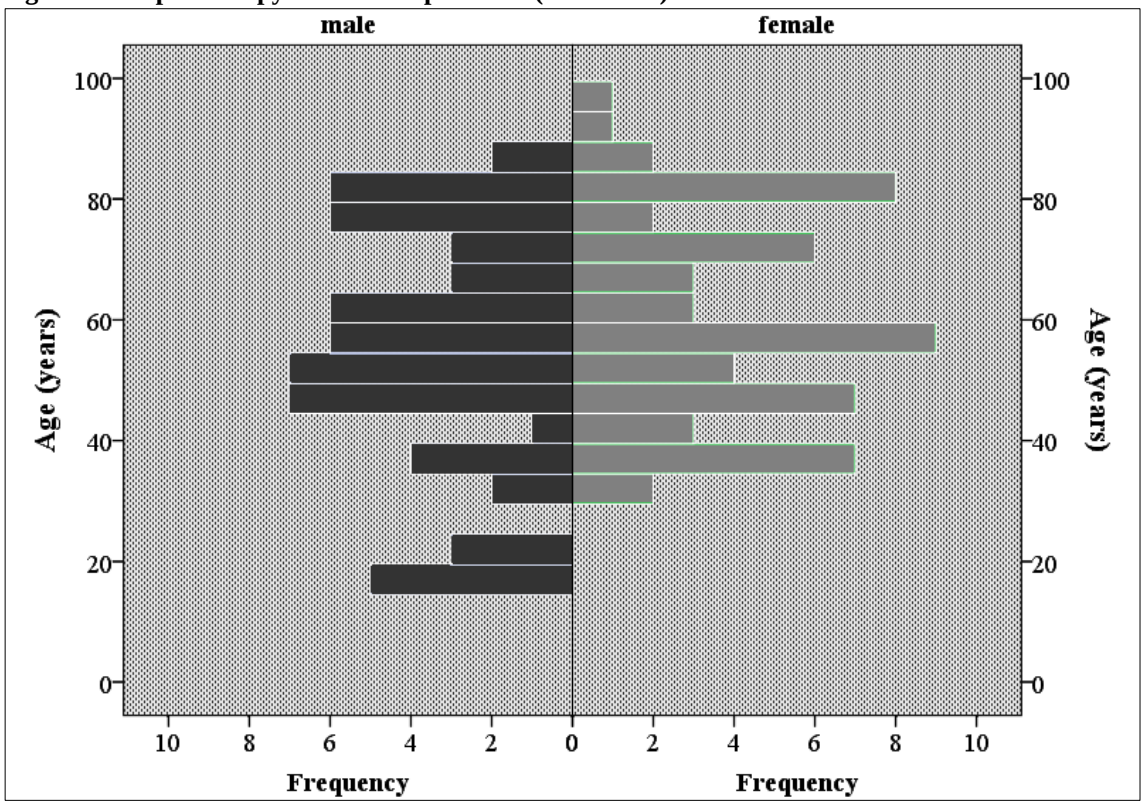
	Settlement name (abbreviation)								Data on all non-agglomeration villages: 3 percentiles' margins indicated	
	CSD	DJ	DP	FNY	ILL	IV	LK	NK	lower margin of 2nd per-centile	lower margin of 3rd per-centile
Fastest route length (in minutes) to Budapest 2008	194	77	212	160	207	196	83	133	121	166
Annual income from full-time job per dweller 2006, HUF	597 318	554 389	158 233	407 389	331 868	459 091	528 677	462 884	332 840	454 558
Share of fulltime taxpayers among dwellers (2006)	34.4%	33.7%	16.1%	28.8%	24.8%	32.9%	34.5%	27.5%	25.0%	31.9%
Joint venture micro enterprises per dweller (2006)	.0110	.0093	.0032	.0093	.0000	.0113	.0115	.0102	.0052	.0102
All paid EAFRD subsidies per dweller ('07-'14, HUF)	66 833	67 817	0	928 801	314 082	205 848	369 649	271 389	81 357	212 535
1st axis subsidies per dweller, ('07-'14, HUF)	6 224	24 201	0	656 091	0	118 212	233 328	91 737	8 759	54 586
2nd axis subsidies per dweller, ('07-'14, HUF)	7 615	4 856	0	162 617	0	54 883	51 016	75 232	2 566	45 322
3rd axis EAFRD subsidies per dweller, ('07-'14, HUF)	48 386	27 960	0	110 093	314 082	32 753	67 566	92 358	21 217	54 771
4th axis subsidies per dweller, ('07-'14, HUF)	4 607	10 800	0	0	0	0	17 739	12 061	733	9 736
Share of immigrants as average of two years of 2014-2015	2.43%	2.47%	4.11%	2.26%	9.53%	4.70%	1.65%	2.78%	2.09%	2.93%
Share of emigrants as average of two years of 2014-2015	1.83%	2.11%	6.07%	2.56%	2.06%	1.62%	1.84%	2.45%	2.35%	3.19%
Number of registered primary producers per dweller	.0500	.0240	.0000	.0170	.0000	.0000	.0726	.1254	.0000	.0312
Communal workers (social employment) per dweller	.0081	.0308	.1355	.0909	.0722	.0179	.0312	.0690	.0285	.0724
Number of registered NGOs per person	.0081	.0096	.0000	.0070	.0000	.0000	.0102	.0077	.0000	.0060
Roma population per dweller (based on census report, 2011)	0.67%	4.57%	17.91%	3.21%	4.35%	0.00%	0.00%	13.32%	0.33%	5.74%
Number of liquor stores, pubs and clubs per person (2014)	.0023	.0021	.0035	.0020	.0038	.0015	.0018	.0024	.0011	.0025
Number of SMEs per dweller (2016)	0.0006	0.0014	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0022	0.0030	0.0000	0.0009

Colouring: belonging to computed percentiles of non-agglomeration villages based on respective variable value (right two columns). **Dark grey**: lowest third; **mid grey**: middle third; **light grey**: highest third

Even though random sampling was not employed in either of the researches, during the fieldworks, the research teams aimed to ask people with different demographic status and socio-economic background for response. We also wanted to include people with different roles in the localities, thus, to call employed and unemployed, active and inactive

people, employees and entrepreneurs, farmers and service sector employee, NGO members and members of the local administration, priests, students and retirees proportionately. As a result, interviewees show a variety considering gender and age (as shown by **Figure 45**. No precise years of age could be identified in a quarter of all cases). Most respondents without concrete age are young or middle aged and 65% are female.

Figure 45: Population pyramid of respondents (2014-2019)



Note: Data on exact year of birth of respondents is missing in altogether 44 cases (27 percent of all respondents, as N=163). These 44 respondents are not included in the population pyramid. (Source: own construction. Software: IBM SPSS 23.0)

Around half of the interviewees were born locally, whereas the others moved in only later (on the average, in their 20s). Among immigrants, gender ratios are 4:5, with females being overrepresented. Median age of moving in the settlement is 22.5 years among males and 26.0 years among females, suggesting that women are more likely to move in after marriage. As for their marital status, we have no information about 21 respondents. Altogether, around half of all interviewees were married, 10 percent (17 persons) single and 16 percent (26 persons) widow. As they were not directly asked, and the reconstruction-categorisation based on the interviews is often very challenging, exact data on highest level of education has a low validity. However, in general, it can be determined, that a third of respondents are vocational-school skilled labourers, around 15 percent of interviewees have attended and passed higher education, whereas some 20 percent has only elementary qualification. The rest has other middle-level qualification.

9.4. Interview background: Perceptions of change in narratives

During the interviews, respondents in all cases were asked to evaluate what has changed in the respective locality since they live there. As half of all interviewees were born locally, these changes refer to their whole lives. Consequently, the perceptions of change are determined by changes in exterior opportunity structures as well as in personal capabilities, life events, nostalgia and other factors. Out of the 163 interviews, altogether 524 pieces of narratives (ranging from a few sentences to a page of length) were selected for analysis – these were narratives discussing changes in the local setting, mostly (but not exclusively) provided as replies to the call for evaluating the change.

The interpretations of change in the narratives are usually directed towards socio-economic (including labour market) issues and changes in the availability of local services, let these changes be either positive or negative. The focus on the local environment is facilitated by the respective interview question: 'What have changed in the village since you live here?'. However, some respondents mentioned changes that are more global and general in nature, without referring to the locality (even though these are most likely based on personal observations in the local context). Two categories need to be highlighted:

1) **Climate change**: some respondents emphasized that as the weather shifts, winters became less cold and snowy, and summers hotter. It is important to be emphasized, that these few respondents are not engaged in agriculture, and are older people. Thus, instead of being representations of 'climate anxiety', these narratives are rather to be understood as nostalgic interpretations of everything, including external circumstances having been unfamiliarly altered. As this is presented well in responses of an older male interviewee, who carries these global changes into his local context:

   "In a few decades it is possible, that people here would live differently again. One would think that things won't always be the same, because it changed a lot in 30 years since we live here, when we too were younger. But there is nothing strange about it. For us, it wasn't strange at all. It is rather the weather, which is strange. That does *change."* (Respondent 3111, 71 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

2) '**Accelerating world**': Another form of a 'general' change reported by respondents is referred to as the 'accelerating world', meaning an overall technological-cultural advancement, resulting in individualistic, competitive self-exploitation and an increased need for experiences as continuous stimuli.

> *"Well, the world accelerated. You were born in this, but we have a wider picture: the world accelerated. If we only consider when we watched a movie back then (...) five-ten minutes pass and nothing happens. Now, if you watch a film, you get impulses in almost every second, because it accelerated too, and old movies are now boring. Novels are the same: (...) they are boring for kids, and to be honest, for us, too, because we also got used to this mill, and that one should endlessly work and achieve in this world of information to which we can barely even adapt."* (Respondent 4121, 57 years old female, teacher. Own translation)

Irrespectively of the age of the respondents, interviewees did indeed report change, when being asked to evaluate what have changed since living locally. An immediate reply in some cases was the lack of change. The absence can be defined in a three-fold way:

- as a direct statement of stagnation, such as in the case of this unemployed man:

  > *"In the fifties, here was a school. Since then, nothing has developed on no level, nothing at all. We are like those living in homesteads. We go out and we see the same as we have twenty-thirty years ago. A few old grannies sit on their benches, that's all, that's it."* (Respondent 2111, 46 years old male, unemployed. Own translation)

- in relation with a comparison group (either another settlement/region or an ideal):

  > *"Not too many things have changed, I think, unfortunately. At the EU-accession, utilities and compulsory things were done. But given the beautiful location of [this village], we shouldn't be still at this point."* (Respondent 3113, 54 years old male, 1st sector employee. Own translation)

- by understating, minimalizing the importance of perceived development:

  > *"Tell me what sort of progress is here? Nothing (...) There is no development. That this nursing home was made,* is just a thing. *You can barely commute on these roads. Nobody cares about it."* (Respondent 1101, 53 years old male, physical worker. Own translation)

With these few exceptions, all respondents recognise changes in the local circumstances since the time they live there. Interpretations of changes always trail either positive or negative values and often deep emotions. In general, these interpretations can be divided into narratives of deterioration and development, which, being connected to different or sometimes the very same aspects of local life might as well appear parallelly. Thus, deterioration and development do not rule out one another in the narratives. On the other hand, narratives of deterioration both in their quantities and considering their interpreted weight highly exceed the importance of development narratives. Unsurprisingly, the interpretations of change refer to various aspects of life, which in most cases, even though they are sometimes argued to be interconnected, can be told apart. Consequently, narratives of deterioration narratives include 7 major topics of 1) local economy, 2) community, 3) demographics, 4) local services, 5) governance, 6) aesthetic characteristics and 7) psychological (people's attitudes) factors. Likewise, development narratives might be split up into the 5 subtopics of 8) infrastructural changes, 9) economic-labour market changes, 10) cultural opportunities 11) governance and finally, 12) aesthetic

characteristics. The following paragraphs will discuss these, altogether 12 topics of perceived change separately.

Narratives of deterioration:

1) **Post-socialist restructuring and economic decline**: By far the most often recognised field of change is constituted by observations of rural restructuring and the effects of the market economic change: de-industrialisation and agricultural automatization. The following response clearly demonstrates how this is regarded as a top-down intervention:

"Well [in the state socialist era] we set ourselves up for producing for ourselves. Our lands were taken, and practically, we became outlaws, proletarians, and from that point onwards we had to purchase everything in the shop. People were given one hectare of land for micro production each. And in practice, we have lived off it. Because in the beginning, the collective farm had so much deficit it couldn't even pay us" (Respondent 8102, 85 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

Regardless of settlement location and status, respondents often refer to the a) downsizing of industrial production b) the end of small-scale agricultural production and the decreasing relative value of homestead horticulture (due to privatisation of the land, automatization and a corrupted financial support system) c) unemployment and the lack of quality human resource in parallel d) decreasing of social safety net services and state supports e) incalculable attribute of personal lives, risk society f) general devaluation of incomes, rising prices and indebtedness g) tightening infrastructure and commuting opportunities. The next quote, taken from the interview of an entrepreneur demonstrates not only the passive role of locals in these course of actions, but it also shows how it contributed to cultural and community shifts in the eyes of respondents:

"When they took out [sic] the collective farm here, that set back this village a lot. People still went to work and tried to push commerce but... but for fuck's sake, they only bought a beer or a soda and the cooperative gently went bankrupt, around '98, 2000 it was down. Fields were split up, privates came, bought it bit by bit and started... still, there is a locksmith's, an oil cooler and whatnot, then, a marble... the guy splits fake marbles, then there's a concrete mixing shop, a carpenter shop, a car-wrecking yard... so gradually, the cooperative found its place but it's not that big as it used to be, you know... People went... the combines, there were six-eight combines and they went to harvest. As a child, I would watch them beside the old pub, they drove, their lights flashing, and people, I should say, people even almost, not really, but almost applauded them... that they started the... Nowadays, one machine does in a day what they did in a week together. The closing-up of the collective farm was a huge disaster for the village, certainly. First, jobwise, because the farm could employ people who are unemployable in this modern world. So, they could tidy livestock litter very fucking nicely, but they'd be unable even to join two screws in the Opel factory, because they know nothing about it. And then these problems came that there were such a vast number of these people for years, that they just hung around until this communal work programme was introduced. They sat either here or there, and if some odd job came, they went, did that. But you know, this was like three days this week, or three weeks a month, and then again nothing for the next." (Respondent 6126, 40 years old male, entrepreneur. Own translation)

A clear pattern nostalgia formulates in the narrative of a younger woman, who barely has any personal experiences about the state socialist system:

"[After the post-socialist transition] they gradually closed up the factories. Thousands of people became unemployed, when the government change occurred. It is well known that in the Kádár era, people scolded Kádár like hell, but despite of this, there were jobs, people could earn. Buses commuted to small villages, carrying people to [the regional centre city], so they had a job. Criminality was much scarce, it was not an issue for people what to do in life. They back then were disciplined for not having a job (...) If there were jobs, which there's not, and people wouldn't have to commute 60 kilometres or more, which, in the first place, they cannot even manage, then this situation couldn't evolve. And this affects mostly those living in small villages, because in cities it's much easier... Well, it's not easy for them either, because people struggle with unemployment there, too, but not in these great numbers. Life is much harder here: no cars, no buses. If there are buses, they are in a way that people won't get there in time, and therefore, firms don't employ such people living here. This is the most crucial problem." (Respondent 2105, 35 years old female, social sector. Own translation)

2) **Fragmentation of the local communities**: Another, often referred phenomenon is the perceived disintegration of local communities, which should be understood as an individualistic isolation (rather that for instance the appearance of contesting subgroups). This has strong connection with the cultural and 'attitude' decline, which is discussed below. However, a distinction can be made between the macro and micro aspects of this phenomenon. The general deterioration of social cohesion is explained by respondents through the a) diminishing number of communal spaces (partially due to the economic decline, which decreases the number of consumers) b) a relative decrease in cultural events (as reported by some respondents, in contrast with others arguing that there are cultural opportunities) and most importantly c) a general isolation and individualism. This change is present in the narrative of an older woman, whose grandchildren now have the opportunity to play videogames in the cultural centre where there used to be balls and clubs in back in her time:

"Back then, all programmes were organised by activists of the cultural centre. There was a youth club, which regularly... so, kids came home from the dormitories, and by Friday evening, the cultural centre was heated, then there were games, quiz nights, quiz nights and again quiz nights, a little bit of... a sort of a freshman initiation, with snacks and soda, games [and costumes] (…) And afterwards they had a party till I don't even know when and the cultural club was open on Saturdays, too. Now all cultural centres are closed, maybe elsewhere, too. These cultural centres went mad, for some reason... for some reason, they don't allow... kids don't go there, even though back then these were a common... so people were together. Now they are scattered, everybody goes different ways. And perhaps the internet, it might tear people apart very much. Though the Xbox might connect the boys. I know this from my grandson, that playing on the Xbox is a sort of sacred activity, when at 1 A.M. he's still not home, I call him 'Where are you my son, aren't you sleeping?' 'No – he'd reply – I'm still in the library, playing on Xbox' Now, playing on Xbox is a cultural activity." (Respondent 7121, 79 years old female, retiree. Own translation)

3) **Demographic changes**: Several respondents, again, regardless of location and status of the village mention negative demographic changes of a sort. These include the a) ageing of the present society b) the dying out of old generations

(which, even though a natural phenomenon, is serious demographic change for the surviving elder population and relatives) c) emigration and the 'brain drain' d) immigration of low-status people e) immigration from cities and tourism.

"The way I see this, as all villages, this, too is ageing slowly. The neighbouring village, well, there's nothing there, not even a decent pub. So where would the kids go out together? Their parents, they I overjoyed by even maintaining the family's things, so that they can stick together. (...) Effectively, there aren't even any pubs. So I mean... the population is ageing. Ageing. Youngsters try to get opportunities abroad or in cities." (Respondent 5105, 23 years old male, administrative worker. Own translation)

The dying out of old generations, as presented by the next respondent, an older woman does have serious personal aspects which obviously exceeds in importance its communal dimensions:

"There are 10 years missing from my life, when I used to live in Budapest, but even then, I came home occasionally, holidays or else... I visited my mother often. And I do care about this village a lot. I loved it very much and I always felt I should move back here. But unfortunately, I remained alone. My family died, my husband died, my mother died. I'd still love this village but this villages is dead. There are no people, almost everyone of the earlier times died. And the mindset of the youth has changed. They don't respect the elder, so this village does not have a future here." (Respondent 2109, 72 years old female, retiree. Own translation)

4) **Local services**: Partially connected to community-related changes, the decreasing number of local human and cultural services is a distinguished element of change, however, this varies greatly in narratives of dwellers of different settlements (with those living in more central and bigger villages mentioning such changes least often). The disappearance of schools, shops and pubs constitute the three major area of change. Schools are a central issue and the fear of losing them appear even in those interviews collected in villages with the presence of an elementary school. Likewise, the decrease in the number of pubs and other services (such as hairdresser, specific stores, etc) appear in interviews conducted in villages with a better status:

"The Hungarian countryside doesn't change that much. I think, we should tell two... things apart: first, the people, and then, the infrastructural circumstances, that compasses us. Education systems or offices where you could do your administrative things, or the shops, where you can buy stuff, and all other leisure, pleasure opportunities and naturally, the roads, as infrastructure. Now, these basically haven't changed. The village is lucky for still having its three educational institutions, so from nursery, [through kindergarten] to the end of primary schooling we can provide children education at a good quality. A rural settlement like this, with the population being around one thousand six-hundred and fifty-eighty, which we have, might owe its existence for these three institutions. In previous forty years, the population has dropped here from around three-thousand people. This was a bigger settlement." (Respondent 8139, 39 years old male, entrepreneur. Own translation)

5) **Governance issues**: Mostly appearing in narratives of people taking part in the political governance of villages (elected mayors, local councillors, administrative workers), a great change is reported considering the opportunities of the local

political boards, connected strongly to the gradual decrease of local governments' duties and rights since the post-socialist transition in 1990. Centralisation and acts against subsidiarity, along with tightening margins for action do appear in narratives of representatives regardless of being supportive or opposing in relation to the national government. The following excerpts originate from narratives of different local decisionmakers, who realise both their villages' tightening political and economic opportunities, which clearly is connected to a general local economic-community deterioration and the impossibility for taking actions:

"We're gonna be destroyed, we're listed, and even if a newly vacant, nice estate is provided here for a young person who'd like to live here and purchase it, he wouldn't receive even just a penny of government loan. Not even if he has a good job, not even then. Because these settlements like this - I say this rudely, but I dare to say - this is a covered village-destroying government operation like in the Ceausescu-era in Romania. And I dare to say this anywhere, even in the parliament if necessary. Everything is about this. And this is about the peripheries. This is about the peripheries. And this is like so in the areas within 8-10 kilometres from the border. (Respondent 1103, 60 years old male, decisionmaker. Own translation)

"These small settlements, and I think this is equally true to the neighbouring settlements, too, we are made very-very famished, and while our dwellers commute to work to the big settlement (...) they generate profit there and nothing comes back, except from the distressed labour force (...) Talking of the previous seven years, considering the national politics, but this may be true to the preceding twenty... we are... compared to the opportunities... how to phrase... so I'd like to phrase this politically correctly... we are supported way below our voting power [sic] by the centre." (Respondent 5101, 49 years old male, decisionmaker. Own translation)

"Money drains grow gradually, and now we are at the stage that it's lucky that the government took away the school, because otherwise we'd have a deficit. Now at least we don't have to pay the teachers' salary. Though we still must support it, because other staff still work there, but not that much as if we still had to run the primary school. What we still must run are the kindergarten and the local government. Without these tenders, no development would be present here, because everything that were built, were subsidy money. In essence, the purpose of this government is to destroy local governments. And we feel this very much! (...) Government supports remained, but [what increased] are the drains. All were here: automobile-tax; weight-tax, and so on, a percentage of the paid taxes remained here. And they took away more and more. These decreased. Having no money staying, we need to survive using the less. Because what else would you tax?" (Respondent 3104, 58 years old male, decisionmaker. Own translation)

"I'm not optimistic. The society, the society is extremely divided, the society was dumbed down, the society was purposely dumbed down, because it is easier to control and manipulate a dumb army than groups made of thoughtful people, because they have their independent ideas and opinions. I am very sorrowful to have to talk of this, but this affects villages, too. We see the consequences of dumbing down, here just like in cities. And what we thought during the transition: freedom of thought, this has suffered losses, too. And I'm saying this as a rural Christian person. And Christianism is not a label I use because nowadays it is favourable to use it, but because I can truly use it." (Respondent 5107, 54 years old male, entrepreneur. Own translation)

6) **Attitude shifts**: Shifts in the attitudes, or the 'mindset' of people are commonly reported as a decisive form of local change. This includes several community-specific elements, such as shifts towards a) individualism and personal isolation b) egocentrism, resisting to provide help to one another c) resisting to communicate personally to one another d) envy and distrust e) sloth and indolence, lack of civic engagement/activism, irresponsibility. Some respondents

connect this to global cultural changes, whereas even others drive connection between these attitudes changes and changes in the economic factors and the labour market, which resulted in local people not anymore working and commuting with or even knowing one another. Responders differ based on the time period they consider as a starting point of this shift, either by arguing that the emergence, or the downfall and collapse of the state socialist system (1950s vs. 1980s), or alternatively, the emergence of the globalised economy is to be blamed:

This might not be new, but this was a more inward society. And this broke up, maybe, let's put it this way, because of the development (...). People were closer to each other, they depended more on each other. Now there are separate families and people don't care much about each other. In effect, I think, back then, people might have felt better than nowadays, in this respect. (...) I can't mow the lawn anymore (...) and acquire help for the physical work. And I've got a helper who I wouldn't entrust with even 10 Forints. People depraved. They (...) don't mean to work. (Respondent 4108, 66 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

"This used to be a very nice village. People were ready to help, they helped each other and everything... Believe me, now, envy is huge. Envy is huge, number of vicious people... they don't help each other, it's rare that someone reaches out for others. This is not a village." (Respondent 1116, 53 years old female, unemployed. Own translation)

7) **Aesthetic decay**: In some cases, respondents reported a general aesthetic decline in the general picture of the settlement, such as gardening, the maintenance of public spaces, private zones and houses. However, mentions of an aesthetic decay appeared in only a few of the recorded interviews, such as in the narratives of the following women:

"In my childhood, people were obsessed with knowing what their job was. They would, after tidying their own parcels go outside in front of the house and tidy the pavement, the trench and clean the road up to its centreline or beyond, so that it'd be the cleanest in front my property. And now, on the contrary! 'I don't do tidying ever, I don't mow the street lawn ever, because why would I? What are then the communal workers for, don't we employ them to do this?'. Well, we don't." (Respondent 3101, middle aged female, local administration. Own translation)

"People started not to attend for communal work [in the past few years], they'd rather went to work for entrepreneurs in [nearby towns], to multinational companies, and communal workers are less and less here, they can't maintain the village, so that it gets continuously uglier. Though it was nice. Beautiful. Beautiful flowers, rose-beds and everything. And now nothing. Nothing. Very ugly. It's less nice walking 'cross the village as it was earlier. When there were beautiful flowers, tulips, roses, everything. And now nothing much." (Respondent 8112, 32 years old female, medical worker. Own translation])

Narratives of development:

The conducted interviews imply that respondents are well aware of concrete development intervention projects, even they might not know how and in what structures these are supported financially. Also, as could be seen in a previous quote, respondents usually do not consider these projects particularly crucial for the general development of the given localities as more serious necessities are present. Nevertheless, in contrast (and in many

cases, in parallel) with narratives of deterioration, interviewees report positive changes, too, in the local socio-economic and cultural environment. These are as follows.

8) **Infrastructural development**: In the narratives, respondents realise and report crucial infrastructural developments within the time period they live in the villages. These include transportation infrastructure development projects (such as local, and in some cases, external roads and nearby motorways, moreover, local government-owned minibuses for commuting), utilities – such as sewage system, social infrastructure facilities (such as kindergartens, nurseries) and cultural infrastructure facilities (cultural centres, internet cafés), moreover, cemeteries, and facilities for hikers and tourists. It should be noted, that even though those are the local political leaders and bureaucrats providing the most detailed narratives on infrastructure development projects – after all, they were the ones coordinating the administration – other dwellers find it important, too, to describe these changes. However, local politicians refer to the disadvantages, too, trailed by either the state support system or EU subsidies (for instance, the need for financial contribution, that brings some settlements into bankruptcy):

   Back then [before the political transition] organized waste removal was an unknown concept here, so first we organised that trash would be removed to a legal dump, and this in a few years made people (…) not to litter everywhere they want. Next, we developed a state-approved dump (...) Then, plumbing... in the 1980s, a plumbing system was made but very wisely [sarcasm], nobody cared about the sewage. Water consumption grew and sewage emission alike, but nobody in this world cared about its treatment and so the water wells got polluted. Water of most wells got undrinkable. So, we developed the sewage system in the village using government subsidies. During the transition, how many telephones were there in this village, maybe six, seven or eight. We organised that dwellers of the village have access to their telephones. (...) So in essence, we made this village fully equipped. Oh, yes and the other is the gas system development, which was not here earlier. (Respondent 6108, ~80 years old male, former decisionmaker. Own translation)

9) **Economic and labour market development**: Interviewees, sometimes in parallel with mentioning economic decline report the development of some aspects of the economic life. In general, narratives might be grouped into three subtopics: a) an opportunity for anyone to get a job, with or without commuting, either nearby or abroad b) investments of local enterprises c) the communal work system re-introduced in its new form around 2013-2014. These three subcategories need to be complemented with the already mentioned views on economic restructuring, trailing development-related elements (such as the automatization of agriculture or the shift from industrial production to services, with all its requirements and consequences). Nevertheless, this latter category is seldomly regarded in the narratives positively, rather as a new phenomenon requiring to be adapted to. Even

among those villages located in regions with a higher frequency and importance of tourism, service sector changes are seldomly found. Though this might be only a field choice bias, respondents in these settlements reported a decrease rather than a gain in tourism-related services, as an opportunity that was missed:

"(...) My personal opinion is that lots of people say they have no jobs. This is not true, not even a little. There are *jobs. There* are *jobs. It's another matter that they don't come or that they don't* wish *to work. But there* are *jobs, and they could have one. Not only in the vicinity, but also here locally - if we have a look, there are very few men. There are more women, than there are men. But if we have a look at the vicinity - take my husband as example. He works in [the microregional centre city] as a [physical worker] and they would need more workers, because they are fewer than optimal, but still people wouldn't go. So I think, that there would... there* are *jobs. There indeed* are *job opportunities, but people brag about they don't get paid this or that much."* (Respondent 4199, 38 years old female, communal worker. Own translation)

"[Here in this local industrial yard], we have a firm, that leases one of the halls, and another produces [mechanical instruments] in another hall. Yet another is half empty and we use the fourth one for storing our agricultural material, machines and other stuff. So several companies are here, we're searching for investors, leasers and stuff (...) I always cared about employing local people - not necessarily those living [in this village], but from the vicinity (...) all our employees come from a ten-fifteen kilometre radius. (...) And there were potential investors, leasers but everything they do requires human labour force. But there are almost none here, I couldn't phrase it better. Just for you to understand, there are almost 50 communal workers in [a nearby village], they receive their 60 thousand Forints a month, and won't even go to [an great international electric company in the regional centre city] where they also have a similar problem than we do, but they won't go there for a job to earn 160 thousand a month (...) even though the company's bus would come here for them daily and carry them back home. (...) I could make a list of labour force shortage from physical workers, drivers… I don't know, keepers, accountants, through gardeners, to tractor drivers, foresters, to stock breeders, all of it. And in essence, everywhere. It's not that there are one or two, but generally, in general, *there aren't (...) So we try to keep, the best way we can, those already working here and whom we are satisfied with."* (Respondent 4124, ~35 years old male, local company manager. Own translation)

10) **Culture:** Developments in the cultural lives of villages was one of the most often recognised, positive change. It is important here to make a distinction between cultural and community life as the number and quality of cultural events often comes in parallel with the perception of the fragmentation of local communities. Nevertheless, cultural life, especially among the older generations is argued to have been decreasing since post-socialist era, which can be due to the decrease in community events organised by local groups of friends themselves. In parallel, comparing local cultural life with the ones towns and cities have, respondents recognise the relative scarcity and more importantly, the invariability of such events and having much less opportunity to select from places and events to attend. On the other hand, several respondents report festivals (with historical, agricultural, musical topics), concerts, exhibitions and other events in which local people might have an opportunity to participate:

"The village has changed. It developed. It developed. Every mayors shifted it to a higher level. Changes are good. Though for the kids, it was better before. (...) There is no community. No community that integrates them (...) What there is... the mayor launched this [name] Club around

8 years ago, and we carried on the work after the mayor was elected. Dance balls are being organised, we go hiking, or if there is a charity programme in the school, we donate some for the children. Or as we have a sick neighbour, who needed blood donation, we stuck together and go help, hang out posters, we'd now like to organise a charity ball, so we try to keep the village together, so that more and more people would come. They love these balls very much, there is one in almost every month (...) And a dance group was also organised... folk dance... not always, but we usually dance at the grape harvest festival (...) we do a parade with carts, and dance, and sing, and people are happy. We bring and distribute cookies, invite them for the evening ball. And then that's all good. You must cheer people up somehow, because the elderly people have seen such parades only a very long time ago. Since we do this, they like it. They like to watch it. And we like to do it." (Respondent 4123, 47 years old female, communal worker. Own translation)

11) **Governance:** Changes in local governance might not only mean the tightening opportunities and tools for local governments for affecting the local life, but it also appears in a positive sense, in narratives mostly of those not being participants of local decision making. Compared with the state socialist era, respondents realise the growing political opportunities, which is not only understood in the global political rights of Hungarian citizens in general, but also in the local setting. Besides having the opportunity to travel and work abroad, having a wider range of products to choose from in shops, the fact that people can influence local politics appear in many narratives. Respondents seem to have come closer to local politics at least and even though it is recognised that its political opportunities decrease rapidly, dwellers report these post-socialist changes in a positive context:

"We have the mayor's consulting hours, but sometimes during community events, a 'tea house' was organised, where anyone, wishing to have a talk could come and find me, but mostly, people contact me on Facebook and Messenger, and on phone, these are the mostly used... Young people contact me on Messenger. This is truly so. (...) But not only the youth, but all who use computers, forty-fifty-sixty years old generations contact me, too. It's a zero-twenty-four customer service [laughs]" (Respondent 4116, mayor. Own translation)

12) **Aesthetics:** Positive changes and development are in many cases recognised as aesthetic changes in the settlements' look. More precisely, the aesthetic improvement of a village is often used as synonym for development. Here, both subsidised infrastructure development projects and the general maintenance of public spaces play should be considered, and generally, reports of improvements can be found in the narratives.

"[How has the village changed?] Undoubtedly, it was beautified, renewed. Just if we have a look at the bus stops, they weren't so shaped up, built up like now. Further, there is this statue in front of the shop. These flower stands, the... So, the village has been beautified. Then, the open-air stage behind the cultural centre, the benches, et cetera" (Respondent 4199, 38 years old female, communal worker. Own translation)

9.5. Interview background: Appearance of migration in biographies

Among narratives on changes, demographic changes and outwards mobilities, play an important role – as could be seen earlier. Nevertheless, in the interviews, issues of migration do not only appear through recognising local population change, but also regarding the interviewees' personal biographies. Even though, as previously mentioned, only around half of the respondents were born and raised in the respective settlements, the number of those experiencing the internal migration is even higher, as several among them have lived elsewhere during their lifetimes and returned back later. Obviously, the number of relocations is in strong correlation with one's age, but several younger persons can be considered return migrants, too. Moreover, as the interviews were mostly conducted with those having their permanent place of living in the given village, those already having been moved are outside of the scope of this research. However, as the aim of this analysis is to investigate outwards mobility aspirations, this common problem of migration studies does not play an important role in this case. By reflecting these issues. the current section presents respondents' reported concerns of migration and the role of migration in their reported biographies.

Migration in describing general tendencies and the village itself

Regardless of specifically asking or not, questions of migration appear in the narratives of most respondents. Even if not in narratives of change (e.g. as static characteristics), the description of general demographic patterns in the local life trail the emergence of the topic of migration, both in villages with, both without a declining population, and this concerns both immigration of low- or high-status people and emigration. In this sense, three major narratives can be caught:

1) **Describing a demographic change**: Respondents often introduce the given settlements through the demonstration of local demographic patterns. This means, that whether the population is declining or not, becomes a core descriptive factor of the villages in the narratives. Demographic change is referred to both as quantitatively (population loss or growth) and qualitatively (the characteristics of people moving in or out):

„This guy is a boss at some big bank, he bought a house here, an old one, he completely demolished it and built a new, but an old-fashioned peasant-style house. Now he bought the neighbouring parcel, too for his relatives. I often see him when he drives to Budapest in the mornings. And there are others [in a street] who bought and moved here, and then commute to Budapest for work. Well, I can't tell why would this be better for them here. Maybe they got fed up with the Budapest

mob. 'Cause when he gets home, this is freer here, he goes out in the backyard, can easily go out to the garden and then go back inside, doesn't have to climb the floors [laughs]. Or can go out to the forest on weekends. This is a freer life - listens to the birds' singing and his neighbour's rooster crow. (...) Well, what I don't like is that [Roma] men moving here... how shall we put it better, let's not call them men... individuals moving here cannot integrate into the community. This is what I don't like. But what they say is if someone wants to sell their houses to them, no one can prohibit it." (Respondent 3119, 79 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

2) **Discussions about differences of the rural-urban areas, and inland-abroad distinctions**: Several interviewees referred to the distinctive characteristics of rural-urban areas and some West-European countries in comparison with Hungary when describing, why these demographic changes can be witnessed in the given localities. It is important to note, that even in these cases (i.e. describing urban-rural and inland-abroad differences in relation to the general demographic patterns of the village), personal migration aspiration narratives refer to these general recognitions of the local population shifts. Overseas locations are seriously considered, sometimes even more characteristically than questions of internal differences. In these narratives, the opportunity for a higher-paid job and for exploring the world turn up, also becoming a synonym for progress and for 'doing something in life' among those having the 'imagination' or will. The importance of migration networks arises, too. Respondents also perceive the negative effects: the brain drain and distant relationships 'tearing apart' families:

"(...)Nothing is here. People are waiting for the local government to give them jobs. Well, how? (...) Everybody wants to be a licensed chainsaw operator just so they could go to the forest for their winter firewood. (...) People have just eaten up all their resources by now. But there are terrifyingly plenty of people living abroad. Around a year ago, people [from this village] living in the Netherlands thought of organising a meetup in Amsterdam. They put the event on Facebook at - let's say, noon, and by the evening, there were seventeen [locals from this village] joining. 'I'm here, too', 'I'm here too'. Young people leave this country one after the other. I think the data on the six hundred thousand might be correct, that that many people have left so far. And if being asked whether they'd like to return... [shakes head]. Especially those finding their boyfriends or girlfriends there. And by this, again, exactly those have left, who want to do something in life. Well, OK, there was this girl a few years ago (...) who, from the age of twelve, wanted to get behind the shopwindow in Amsterdam. Well, by now, she's exactly there. Her goal was this. But still, she wanted to do something instead of becoming a communal worker." (Respondent 3105, 64 years old male, teacher. Own translation)

3) **Lack of jobs:** By far the most likely topic to raise when discussing general local migration patterns is the lack of local jobs and the necessity (also, impossibility, difficulty or risk) of commuting. These narratives appear in parallel with arguing that after going to universities, young people seldomly return. However, regardless of respondents' age and even while concerning this a negative demographic trend, they seem to understand and support deeply these concerns of people deciding to move either for the search of job or a diploma.

Personal aspirations

Migration aspirations in relation to development will be issued in the next chapter, however, it is necessary to summarize arguments found in respondents' narratives considering migration in general – which the current chapter aims to do. Besides referring to general local demographic patterns, around half of all respondents explicated in detail their concerns in relation to whether or not to move elsewhere, with or without specific related questions being asked. Responses provided vary based on their composition: half of the interviewees providing opinions on personal migration aspirations mentioned only pro-staying matters, around an eight of them pro-leaving, and more than a third provided arguments on both sides.

There were only a few respondents, who provided detailed and identifiable narratives of personal calculations regarding migration, (i.e. calculations in its wider sense, including factors way beyond the labour market). Nevertheless, the aspirations for moving or staying is explicitly articulated in several narratives, however, a majority of them does include only weak impressions of benefits of moving or staying rather than hard calculations often not considering opportunities. Thus, the wish for staying and/or moving generally emerges from impressions and often as a rationally non-viable opportunity.

Beyond these impressions, the arguments for good and bad characteristics and consequences of either staying or moving can well be identified. As mentioned, pro-staying reasons are almost twice as likely to appear in the narratives, however, a third of all those respondents providing arguments on staying or moving mention both positive and negative factors, which include both their socio-economic, or even psychological opportunities and aspirations: Narratives on personal aspirations strongly involve perceived opportunity structures, as can be seen in the narrative of this teacher as well:

> *"It's nice living here [...] [Besides,] my parents lived in the neighbour village, my brother lives here, too, and, well, the estate prices, estates are cheaper here. An estate [house with garden] worth as much as does a block-flat in [the microregion centre city]. [There,] we'd have to pay three times as much for this, and this is something to consider, too. […] How did the village change? Well, I think the community life is more and more vivid, lots of programmes and bigger programmes, as I see it as an outsider, because I don't attend them [...] They try to ensure locally, entertainment for the local dwellers, for those who wish to attend. Or they organise cooking festivals, whatever... So I don't really attend, but I know about them."* (Respondent 4134, middle-aged female, teacher in microregion centre city school)

Having noted, that factors for staying can be divided to positive and negative dimensions, respective narratives on can be structured into six categories altogether, which are as follows:

1) **The local (rural) idyll**: Narratives about the idyllic rural is not solely the argument of urban out-migrants seeking for a quiet place to stay, but also rural dwellers, who emphasize the advantages of staying. Rural idyll-narratives include a) non-disturbance, quietness, and peace b) fresh air c) the beauty of the natural environment – quite irrespectively of how this is recognised by the tourism sector, how unique the environment actually is d) the opportunity and beauty for gardening e) a sense of freedom (not being the prisoners of small city flats) f) the rural countryside as an ideal environment for children to be raised. The next interviewee also demonstrates that it is indeed the concrete local, rather the rural idyll in general which attracts those already living there:

„This peace here, so, that I'm working in the town, 13 kilometres from here, and that when I come home from there, I can concentrate on things which are here, so that I've got a little distance from my workplace. But foremost, the air and these nearby hills, and you can even see the Tatra mountains from here (...) When I come from the town and have a look at this village from up the hill, it always makes my heart beat, whether or not the mountains are seen in the distance. So, after all, this is a beautiful little village." (Respondent 4121 57 years old female, teacher. Own translation)

2) **Integration**: A second dimension of recognising the advantages of staying include the sense of community, involvement and integration. Both among local-born people and immigrants, and contrary to narratives of the community being fragmented and coming gradually apart, local social integration is a major factor, usually in contrast with urban areas. Even if the reported fragmentation of community, the memory of the community life of the old times, especially among elderly people is a quite strong argument for staying. This dimension also include the higher level of public safety, compared to cities:

"I didn't think that I'd find my place in the village and feel good. And honestly, I should admit that there I times I wonder whether this is good for me. It is good here, and the teachers' board is soo good, and the village community... I have a good role in the community which I won't give up for a city life. So that I move to an block... because what I could afford is a [state-socialist residential estate block]. Because moving to a city garden house would require a lot... And a block community is not a community." (Respondent 8103, middle aged female, teacher. Own translation)

3) **Finding one's account:** The best way to phrase the third dimension for 'positive' narratives on staying is that people report they were able to 'find their account' in staying. Though this category include both personal economic development and growing career (such as by being a successful entrepreneur) and being satisfied with having a decent and stable job locally, or either having good commuting opportunities to well-enough jobs, both result in a positive argument for staying:

"We are sort of set up for this peasant lifestyle so we won't go anywhere, 'cause... 'cause... that's that. At other places, it is controlled how many swine you can keep, how much livestock, so it's

not that you could... so, we are fine with this peasant lifestyle." (Respondent 2117, middle-aged female, medical worker, entrepreneur. Own translation)

4) **Family attachment:** Family in several cases appear as negative (i.e. restrictive) factors for staying. This also can be understood as the negative form of social capital and could mean either not to move away or the return migration because of one's parents' illness or personal will. Also, children appear too, as restrictive factors: some of the respondents reported their children's wellbeing, schooling and community integration being an important factor for not emigrating, at least temporarily:

   "When I go married, we had a nice big house, it was big enough for us [my parents and us two], and we were still separate. But then unfortunately, my wife died. And I aspired very much for the city. And the flat was even settled, I had my flat granted, and... forgive me, please, but my mother went hysterical, she went literally hysterical that she imagined us always living together. And that she'd do this and that if we go and leave here. And so I just couldn't leave here. That's how I remained a villager." (Respondent 4108, 80 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

5) **Getting stuck / used to it:** In several narratives, the psychological cost of moving appear as a distinctive negative, restrictive factor for staying. This could include the financial incapability of moving, the fear from it and a new environment, the fear for having a new job environment, and explicitly reported sloth. Another dimension for this category interacts and overlaps narratives on 'finding one's accounts', more precisely those not reporting quite extraordinary careers and personal economic development. However, those narratives reporting this current aspect of 'getting used to' the local environment and local life are less hyped by it and filled with a little implicit regret articulating this as a reason for staying:

   "Now it's easy staying here because we established everything and I know everything's gonna work. We can operate things with minimal effort, because everything became automatic. So if I moved to an alien place, that'd be a challenge, it'd be interesting. There, I'd have to start everything new from sketch. Work everything out, whether it works or not. And I'm not gonna be any younger. So I don't know. So this is laziness. And I started to teach three years ago, I'm doing that, too. That's another bond. Well, to be honest, I don't teach here, but at [nearby village within 35 kilometres]" (Respondent 6132, middle aged female, cultural employee. Own translation)

Pro-moving factors reported by interviewees are less (half as) dominant but similarly diverse. Besides job opportunities playing an important role among these responses, social services, moreover, social and cultural life as well as the cultural meaning of moving is notable. Pro-migration responses may be structured as follows:

1) **Moving is developing**: Personal development and advancement is often a synonym for migration, especially among the youngest generations (considering strictly those under 20, not being significantly underprivileged and not having

children or local job), for most of whom getting to a city or abroad is an unquestionable personal prospect. In this sense, abroad, international career opportunities are considered almost as heavily as internal migration towards cities. This might contradict arguments of migration being gradual in the sense that movements are directed to nearby towns, then cities, then abroad:

"Those who want to advance, to get further go away from here. I mean advance jobwise. There aren't much opportunities for working, only the communal work and so they move out (...) I don't have any concrete plans, I'm still thinking. But not here at all (...) there aren't any opportunities here, I'd better go to study further." (Respondent 4130, 17 years old male, student)

"I'd like to stay here. But I wanna move, too. What we plan now is to move to the U.S. for a few months, and then maybe to Berlin for work. So it's not a fixa idea *for us to stay here in [this village] and here only. But several people think like this, because even [the nearby town] is very far for them and people here can very much crush down into this status. And that's why they cling so much to things, to their jobs, to their beliefs. To [the current mayor]. But it is really so, if this is your milieu, you cannot see beyond it 'cause there's no alternative. They say: 'It's not any better in [the neighbour village] Or [another neighbour village]'. But for god's sake, there are places beyond, too. Way beyond."* (Respondent 3116, 45 years old female, cultural worker)

It is important to address the question of international mobility. For many respondents, especially the youth the opportunity of international mobility was as feasible and self-evident as intra-national or intra-regional mobility (if not even more). As will be seen in the later investigations of personal mobility aspirations, no patriotic arguments were formed against international mobility either.

2) **Commuting problems**: Questions and problems caused by the complicatedness of commuting is one of the most characterising and factor of outwards mobility. As a high majority of employed people need to commute and commuting cause several practical problems (e.g. having to have a car, family-related and logistical problems), moving to the city where they work is a serious need in several cases. A young man, relocating into his home village, without anything to do locally, makes really serious efforts to earn money for sustaining his life and also achieving his life goals:

"I had to wake up at half past two in the night and it was a 10-12 hours shift (...) depending on the work to do. And the last train from [the regional capital city] departs at twenty-two-fifty-eight, I think. Now count this: from that station, it's still 40 minutes to get to [a neighbour village], then I need to ride the bike home from there and sleep like two-two and a half hours. I fell asleep on the train, I didn't even know where I was - my pal made me wake up: 'Bro, where the fuck are we' I said, I don't know. And so the train goes back to [a town], I look outside: field, cows - my god, what the hell is this? Where am I? And my legs dead, because that's how you sleep, with legs up. No, that was insane, inhuman. You know how long I did this? For two months, but even at the job, at lunchtime, or if there was something, I rather slept. So, it's unbearable. And 40 degrees in the summer. Well, you should move abroad. No matter what I do, because there's no less humiliating job than what I do. Anything can only be better than this. Or for more money." (Respondent 1117, 23 years old male, odd-job worker. Own translation)

3) **Lack of nearby jobs**: The lack of good-paying local or nearby jobs are surprisingly not the most often mentioned factor of migration aspirations. Though it still appear in several interviews, mostly as the description of general social phenomena rather than personal aspirations. However, these arguments are still distinct, and often connected to personal development factors (e.g. career opportunities rather than just any jobs for the time being):

On the one hand, I'd stay, on the other, I wouldn't. My heart bonds me here and I'd stay, but that'd hinge on entrepreneurship... I cannot think of any field for becoming an entrepreneur, but if I could do something, I wouldn't think for a second to stay. And of course, I get older - quote marks. Years pass, that's what I say. And one's eagerness decreases too, by time, and is replaced by comfort or what... This is a factor, too. But I'll stay, I'll hang on. And of course, for a good job, I'll go straight away, or I'll even move out, but I'd think about it a lot. (Respondent 6122, middle-aged male, self-employed. Own translation)

4) **Vivid social and cultural life in urban areas**: Communities and community lives in some interviews are connected to rural areas, but by others, it is rather the cities which are reported as being open and integrative. This is usually put in contrast with the rural countryside, where there are lesser people, who are in the same time reported to be exclusive and suspicious.

„Those events that there are in Budapest, that if anyone just makes up their mind to go out to an... I don't know an Indian restaurant or a Japanese restaurant... these are not events, but culinary pleasures. Or to an exhibition, because here, if I just have a look at what exhibitions are... (...) And for that, we had to travel a good two hundred kilometres. Organise things, where to put the child. So that's why those living in Budapest have a tremendous advantage." (Respondent 4103, 38 years old female, local government employee. Own translation)

Concepts connected to urban areas in contrast are progress and being progressive, having a variety of cultural (theatres, cinemas, party places) and leisure opportunities to choose from and to meet people. This can be put into contrast with regularity and boredom, within the local context: some report to think of moving because the countryside can't provide them cultural stimuli.

"My wife, she'd flee from here, this is too small for her: she was raised up here, so naturally, she'd want to move to a city, to have another life. Me on the other hand, I'm an incomer here. It's peace here and silence. I can moon along, mow the lawn, and so on, and so forth." (Respondent 3114, middle-aged male. Own translation)

5) **Everyday tasks**: Some respondents provide reflections about maintaining a house causing much more work for them than for those living in city blockhouses (no need for gardening, maintaining the building, no bother with heating, etc.):

"I always said I'd happily move to [the nearby town in a 14 km distance] to live in a flat 'cause ain't no one would miss coming home in the morning from work and go water the garden 'cause you're more than fine with your 8-hours shift." (Respondent 1101, 53 years old male, physical worker. Own translation)

9.6. Interview background: categories of lottery-responses

Respondents in altogether 87 cases were given valid answers for out of the altogether 128 interviews conducted based on guides including the lottery-question. By complementing them with the 3 cases in which interviewees spontaneously addressed this question in the earlier fieldworks, 90 narratives are provided. Respondents gave various types of answers when asked to imagine their behaviour after winning the lottery. Even though a special attention here is paid for migration-related issues, it is necessary to give a brief comprehensive summary on these types of responses, as migration aspirations might only be understood through these is many cases. In general, several people were arguing to have already imagined this situation, whereas others claimed they have never thought about this, at least in a mentionable account. Arguments can be grouped as follows:

- **Nothing; wouldn't need**: Some respondents claimed they wouldn't need that much money, but reasonings differ. Some, especially elderly people argued they don't anymore have anything to ask for in life, whereas others reported that this amount of money would change their lives in an extent they wouldn't need, or they fear of the responsibilities this amount of money would bring into their lives. In general, the first reaction of many respondents was the claim that winning the lottery wouldn't change their lives or their worldview, the way how they are thinking about different aspects of life:

  "I'd live the way I lived before. I'd live the way I lived before. I never even... let others know I won, to avoid them knowing I won. I'd live peacefully like before. Isn't that so? What for? I heard of people declaring that after they won the lottery, they became even more poor than before [laughs] Isn't that so?" (Respondent 3119, 79 years old male, retiree. Own translation)

  This is by far not only typical among older age groups. For instance, an entrepreneur argues that it is exactly his normal everyday, idyllic rural life that would be scattered by winning the prize:

  "One is scared of the idyll, that has been created by now after all, would be spoiled by welfare, by money" (Respondent 8139, 39 years old male, entrepreneur. Own translation)

- **Security and modern values**: A great share of responses have dealt with general life security. These included modernistic values such as buying a stable and convenient house for living, an ordinary car for commuting, the payback of loans and more commonly, to put the (rest of the) money securely in a bank without having to take it out while it would be possible to live from the interests:

"Well, I would buy a new car for sure. Surely go on a summer vacation. I'd invest it for sure... I don't mean business, but to put it in a bank, to a deposit, a system that works. Instead of just spending it all at once. And well, the house would really need some uplift as well, so I'd need some for that, too." (Respondent 6119, 54 years old male, physical worker. Own translation)

- **Family and friends**: Several respondents claimed they would distribute their money or at least a share of it among their acquaintances. Besides community-related purposes, this category included altruistic values, however, these two should be regarded separately. Distribution among family members and friends appeared in the third of all lottery-related narratives, and arguments often included specific aims of helping those acquaintances who are in the need of specific goods or who are generally in need:

"First of all, I'd pay my debts, and help my children. [...] It is natural that one thinks of her family first." (Respondent 8143, 49 years old female, minority representative. Own translation)

"Well, I'd save that properly, I wouldn't just spend it all at once for myself. Well, there wouldn't be any problem about where to work [laughs] I wouldn't have to work. Distribute it nicely, to have things that can be had. And I'd help a few mates who're in some deep shit." (Respondent 8140, 34 years old male, communal worker. Own translation)

- **Community and social support**: Both local communities, national, religious communities as well as religion in general played an important role in the lottery-narratives. To develop the local communities either in an infrastructural or cultural aspect was a very often mentioned, potential aim, almost as popular as helping family members and friends. This obviously can originate from a bias, caused by our special interest in the localities during the interviews, however, even this bias wouldn't explain the spread of such responses. Besides this specific aim of developing the local economy, infrastructure and culture, a very often received type of answers have dealt altruistically with social issues, namely, helping out strangers in need, let them be local dwellers or others:

"What would I do, if I were to win the lottery? I'd fix this road here and this ditch, too... I would surely spend some of it for the village, this is for certain, 'cause it's a lot of money. All those who are important to me and who love me live here as well, so then, why not? So I would certainly do something as... it is likely for example that we have thermal water beneath us, just sayin'... So something that lasts. Not only for others to say »this was built from her money, let's go and see«. But instead, if a spa could be built here, that would mean income for the village afterwards, or attract tourism so they bring their money here – or such." (Respondent 7104, 63 years old female, retiree. Own translation)

"Well, I'd get to find some poor people. But only who are trustworthy, that they wouldn't tell who they received the money from. I'd help them. But only those who are really poor, and yet others who I consider to be worthy of it. But not for... So I wouldn't scatter it away for everything. I'd give some for my brother. For my goddaughter. Noone else. And with the rest, I'd travel far away [laughs]. I don't even play, how'd I win anyway." (Respondent 4138, 74 years old female, retiree)

- **Hedonistic values and hobby**: Respondents weren't shy to share their hedonistic plans either, when the lottery-question was raised. Altogether the third of

interviewees mentioned such plans, including those who described a potential investment-requiring hobby. Most often described goals were to travel, to buy sports cars and to party:

"I'd buy five Ferraris in different colours, a Maserati, a KTM EXC-450, then I'd pay all my debts I owe my family. A fancy house, fancy condo, a fancy car and that's it! So no... listen, even if I were to win the lottery, there's people with even more money, and yet they *don't help, so why would I? I wouldn't give to foundations and stuff."* (Respondent 1117, 23 years old male, odd-job worker. Own translation)

"I wouldn't work here anymore, that's for sure. It's for certain. But [I have an old-style house], and from that point onwards I'd handcraft there. By myself and with children and all interested in the old times, to rediscover it. Spinning-weaving, everything else. Wood carving, leather craft, all the things." (Respondent 3101, middle aged female, local administration. Own translation)

- **Career and entrepreneurship**: As the latter quote implies, too, there were some respondents who are thinking of investing their lottery-money in the realisation of their own enterprise ideas. Altogether 14 narratives are provided out of the 90 that reflect self-actualisation goals of this kind, and such responses are provided partially by those already owning smaller enterprises (such as a pub, small restaurants and hostels, lands and agricultural enterprises, car repair shop):

"What a good question, my god! Well, the crazy people we are, we'd invest the money! Machines, you know... we'd develop, there'd be plans... We'd accomplish our plans and further develop them" (Respondent 3121, middle-aged female, farmer. Own translation)

"What would I do? I'd open a pizza place here [laughs] [...] Because what we recognise, that around here… so, nearby villages, there are several young people. And of course they usually go to [the microregional centre town] or [the county capital city] for a pizza, a hot-dog, a hamburger and all these stuff" (Respondent 4199, 38 years old female, communal worker. Own translation)

- **Migration and keeping/leaving the job**: The dilemma of keeping or leaving one's job also appeared in the lottery-narratives, however, these sometimes were regarded as a natural consequences or logical prerequisites of mentioned aims of another sort (Such as, by claiming that one would invest in local development means they would stay locally; whereas moving to Miami would require that one would leave their former job).

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