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Driving Multifunctionality

An explorative study into motivations and interpretations of Multifunctionality in Agriculture at farm household level

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To my Mother,
my Father and my Family.

Édesanyámnak,
Édesapámnak és Családomnak.

A mia Madre,
a mio Padre e alla mia Famiglia.

"Because they consider the peasant world inferior to the world outside, they are bogged down by a feeling of either impotence or revenge. And impotence and revenge have never created anything living."
Carlo Levi, Christ Stopped at Eboli, (Translated by Frances Frenaye, p. 178).

"Ha a paraszti társadalmat alsóbbrendü társadalomnak tekintjük, minden tehetetlenségbe vagy a megtorlás szellemébe fullad, és a tehetlenség és a megtorlás szelleme sohasem alkotott semmit."
Carlo Levi, Ahol a madár se jár (Translated by Béla Mária, 1967, p. 147).

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List of Abbreviations

AoA	Agreement on Agriculture
ARDOP	Agriculture and Rural Development Operational Programme
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CORC	Concept oriented research cluster
DFID	Department for International Development
EM	Ecological modernisation
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FVM	Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMP	Integrated Meditarrenian Programme
KSH	Hungarian Central Statistical Office
LEI	Dutch Agricultural Economics Research Institute
MF	Multifunctionality
MFA	Multifunctinal agriculture
MFCAL	Multifunctional Character of Agriculture and Land
NRDP	National Rural Development Plan
NTC	Non-trade concern
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
P	Productivism
PP	Post-productivism
PPT	Post-productivist transition
SARD	Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development
SEA	Single European Act
SLF	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WTP	Willingness to pay

Chapter One

Introduction to the research topic and its relevance

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Introduction to the research topic and its relevance

Agriculture has arrived to a turning point following a long period characterised by its heavy modernisation and intensification (Dijk and Ploeg 1995). The competition crisis of the European agriculture has given space to post-productivist farming styles and in the sphere of political negotiations it has opened the path for the creation of an agricultural model based on multifunctionality. Today multifunctionality of agriculture and the diversification strategies could represent, on the one hand, an important solution for the manifold difficulties of the agricultural families, on the other, new opportunities for the agricultural sector and its role in the local society.

Starting from the McSharry reform, the revision of the European regulation mechanism of the agricultural sector has contributed to the process of putting into evidence the controversial effects that the modernisation and the specialisation of agriculture have caused in the EU-15, and have favoured the increasing attention towards a multifunctional agriculture (Arfini, 2002; Basile e Cecchi, 2001; Ventura e Milone, 2005; Del Mar Delgado et al, 2003).

Starting from the mid-1970s European farmers have been facing a continuously evolving and reformed Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) to which they had to adapt. Although, European farmers have already seen some territorial measures introduced in the 1970s[1], until the early 1990s[2] the CAP was still marked by a rigid, production oriented subsidy policy and farmers relied exclusively on these non-market forces in order to meet the general objectives in the agricultural sector put forward by the Community in 1945. This situation has dramatically changed with the Agenda 2000 and the 2003 CAP Reform when farmers theoretically were given more freedom to farm what and how they wished.

After more than half a century of external aid-dependency farmers, who may well have lost the ability to critically look into their own individual farm businesses (McElwee 2005), were thus required to act as responsible, independent and capable actors to run their activity in a market-oriented way being proactive to market forces. These changes interpreted from the sustainable livelihood perspective shed light on the increasing vulnerability of farming families due to the

[1] Regional and sectoral measures: Reg. 1035/72 the constitution of producer groups in the fruit and vegetables sectors, Dir. 268/75/EEC in support of agriculture in mountainous and certain less-favoured areas, Reg. 2355/77 to improve processing and marketing conditions for agricultural products. Socio-structural directives: Dir. 160/72/EEC encouragement to cease activity, Dir. 161/72/EEC qualifications for people working in agriculture.

[2] McSharry Reform (1992) and the introduction of the four accompanying measures: early retirement, compensation payments, forestation of agricultural area, agri-environment.

decreasing or at least changed-in-character support schemes that force them to adapt their livelihood strategies to the new policy environment. Despite though the continuously decreasing agricultural income, the numerous voluntary measures introduced by the Agenda 2000 reform (e.g to encourage farmers to diversify their businesses, to retire from farming, or to turn agricultural land to alternative uses), these policies often met with limited success (Burton 2004). To understand therefore how farming families adapt their livelihood strategies to the changing policy- and economic environment and what motivates them in these processes can be a useful proactive policy instrument to anticipate how farmers would comply with new approaches (Burton 2004).

In some countries the diversification of the agricultural activities and the subsequent development of the agricultural-rural areas have reached rather important levels (Ventura et al. 2006; Belletti et al. 2003). The best example might be that of Italy where the family farms of small dimension taking opportunities of the possibilities offered by the multifunctional agriculture paradigm and with the help of the public sector, have seen their own economic horizons changing in a positive way contributing also to the revitalisation of the wider socio-economic system in which they operate. In other countries of the European Union where the modernisation of agriculture has been even more intense, for example in the Netherlands, the process of diversification has reached more modest levels and, above all, it has followed different pathways (Renting et al. 2006). In both cases what is interesting to take into analyses are the strategies that the Italian and the Dutch families have adopted to respond to the crises of an agricultural model based on modernisation, and to its negative effects on nature, employment and more generally on the sustainability of the agricultural production processes (Ploeg 1995; Ploeg 2003; Renting et al. 2006).

In this scenario the 2004 EU enlargement has opened interesting reflections and prospective, in particular as far as the possible paths of change of the agricultural sector are regarded in countries which are still characterised by an agricultural sector imprinted by traditional models and only partially by technological improvement. In these countries, as a matter of fact, a dilemma emerges from the comparison between the hypothesis of a late re-modernization of agriculture and the one that privileges a jump in the development model capable to outline in an original way the relationship between agriculture and the local social needs.

The question thus emerges, as announced for example by Léon (Presidential Address, EAAE, August 2005), whether multifunctionality of agriculture can be a trajectory of development also in the New EU Member States, or the process of modernisation and specialisation taken place in the Western European countryside will necessarily be repeated also in the Central- Eastern part of Europe.

Strategies that the single farming families have been and will uptake in order to respond to the new challenges should therefore be dedicated pivotal importance to understand how these families adapt their livelihood strategies to the changing policy- and economic environment and what motivates them in these processes. However, as recent researches underline, current changes in modern agricultural regimes for a long time tended to focus mainly on exogenous factors influencing the agricultural change (e.g. policy changes, the political economy framework) (Burton and Wilson, 2004). As Wilson underlines " the dominant political economy discourse has… inevitably led to a heavy emphasis on the importance of the state and policies, a strong focus on the importance of macro-economic factors in decision making… and a heavy emphasis on food production and global market regimes… As a result, the farming community has often been viewed as responding almost entirely to *outside* forces, with little acknowledgement of possible changes from *within*." (Burton and Wilson 2004, original emphasis).

As a consequence, in the last few years the need to understand the responses of farmers to the different policy schemes has been increased. Attentions towards endogenous characteristics, actor-oriented components putting emphasis on individuals and their actions that accompany and mutually influence this change have been given increasing importance (Renting et al. forthcoming; Jongeneel, et al. 2005; Burton, 2004; Burton and Wilson 2004; Wilson, 2000; Howden, 2000). The importance of endogenous forces, actor-oriented and behaviourally grounded approach stressed in earlier works (Gasson 1973; Shucksmith 1993; Long and van der Ploeg, 1994) are being re-emerging.

This thesis has as its general objective to respond to the need for understanding farmers` motivation for multifunctional agriculture as one possible livelihood strategy of the farming population. The thesis will investigate what multifunctionality of agriculture implies for on the ground in terms of motivations and interpretations of multifunctionality by exploring the livelihood strategies of multifunctional family farms in two countries of the European Union, in the Netherlands and Hungary.

This goal gains its relevance when looking at the numerous declarations claiming for a better understanding of the notion of multifunctional agriculture (MFA) and for a further unfolding of theoretical groundings of rural development practices (Knickel and Renting 2000; Ploeg, Renting et al. 2000; Van der Ploeg and Renting 2000; Aumand, Barthelemy et al. 2004; Brunori, Rossi et al. 2005; Chaplin and Knickel 2005; McElwee 2005; Wilson 2007a). As Wilson (2007, p. 19) argues, more empirical work will be needed "to further substantiate theoretical and conceptual issues of multifunctional transitions". The recognition that the expressions of MFA are context specific

(Caron 2006; Renting 2007; Wiskerke 2007; Renting 2001; Renting et al. 2006; Idda 2005) contribute to the need to further explore the relation between driving forces and household strategies in the context in which it take shape (Renting 2007; Renting and Oostindie 2007).

The research follows the principles of the wider approach in studying MFA and situates itself in the research cluster "Farmers strategies and practices: multifunctionality, technical change, livelihood systems" identified by the MultAgri Project as one of the concept oriented research clusters (CORCs) related to the study of MFA (Aumand, Barthelemy et al. 2004). This research cluster concentrates at the farm level and perceives multifunctionality as a motor that drives agricultural practices. It has two major foci; one is the design and promotion of good practices, while the other one is the understanding of practices and farmers` individual choices and decisions by taking into account multifunctionality. It emphasises the need for new methods to assess and improve the procedure for farmers` decision making. This CORC integrates two basic research questions: 1. what is the interpretation of MFA in terms of farmers decision and behaviours?; 2. to what extent has the recognition of MFA led to a change in farmers` practices and strategies. The MultAgri Report (WP1, D1.1.) relates this CORC to the concept of technical choices and livelihood systems.

Therefore, through a qualitative exploratory research the thesis describes the different motivations, which drove family farms to turn towards multifunctional agriculture. It is assumed that the better understanding of what motivates, drives and hinder farming families to valorise the different functions of agriculture, can have an indispensable implication to better address policies in the interest of whom they are intended to be. Considering rural development as an endogenous process (Ploeg and Saccomandi 1995; Van der Ploeg and Saccomandi 1995) it is important that policy makers explore local practices and aspirations before designing policy to be implemented.

Considering that the research aims to explore phenomena where human decisions, motivations, and interpretations are of key importance, the unit of analysis in this thesis has been the farm household level. As stated by Knickel and Renting (2000) the interrelations that characterise multifunctionality "are only visible if analysis focuses on the right level" (p. 513).[3] I think about members of the farm household as consciously acting actors, who in the centre of the society, economy, politics, markets and institutions react to the effects deriving from these contexts

[3] Besides the farm household level Knickel and Renting (2000) propose three other levels of analysis such as the farm, the regional and the global level.

and taking into consideration their own needs decide on their income generating activities. Whether a farm household decide on the uptake of a given type of farming or even the ceasing of the farming activity as such it is determined by the complex set of values, motivations, needs, constrains and opportunities.

The fundamental consideration for this research was that policies in order to be able to enhance MFA need to have a knowledge about the context in which MFA takes place, its enabling and hindering elements, the motivations that determine farmers` decisions, furthermore the effects of policies, intuitions and market trends on farm households. Hence I needed an analytical framework that is able to cover all these aspects and provide elements for analysis. I have therefore adopted the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) as one possible adequate analytical concept. The SLF underlines farm households` centrality to the research as analytical units.

The research, by its exploratory nature, had no intention of drawing conclusions which could be taken as generally valid either on the national or international level. In the course of making comparisons the aim was to explore similar tendencies or peculiar differences among the two countries instead of looking for identical data. The research result therefore can not provide with information that could be generalised but it can contribute to the enlargement of the knowledge base on what regards the main driving forces for the multifunctional type of agriculture.

1.1. Research objectives and questions

The thesis wishing to contribute to the theory building on MFA that explains what is happening and why happening (Ploeg 2006) has identified the following research objectives and questions.

The *first objective* was to understand what drives to MFA at family farm level by analysing livelihood decisions of family farms and the interpretation of multifunctionality in general in each of the target countries, and by exploring the interpretation of MFA at farm level. This objective aimed therefore to gain a better view on the reasons, constrains, opportunities, objectives, motivations and interactions that characterise the livelihood strategies aimed at multifunctionality.

I argue that multifunctionality has become a keyword for an integrated policy domain without having very little knowledge to what extent people share the concerns of policy makers and

planners and how they perceive the relation between policy measures and their activity. This consideration lead to the second objectives and group of research questions focusing on the nexus between multifunctionality on the ground and the policy for rural development

The *second objective* thus was the facilitation of identification of practical priorities for action at policy level taking into consideration that policy targeting the development of rural areas needs to have a clear view on the ongoing processes at local level, the needs and drives that could be met and exploited and the difficulties that need to be eased.

The research questions in accord of the objectives of the research have been identified as follows:

1. What characterise the livelihood strategies of farm households that become multifunctional in terms of driving forces?

1.1. What motivates families to turn towards multifunctional livelihood strategies? In this, what constitutes the internal driving forces or hindrances and what are the external favourable or unfavourable factors that can stimulate or discourage farming families?

1.2. How family farms interpret MFA?

2. What practical priorities can be identified for action at policy level that aims to enhance the development of family farms?

2.1. What is the relation between rural development policy and the decision (motivations, perceptions) of family farms to turn towards MFA?

2.2. To what extent family farms are familiar with the rural development policy of the European Union?

2.3. What are the expectations of farm families as far as support from the rural development policy is regarded?

Finally, the thesis aims at discovering whether cross-country generalities can be developed on the basis of the results gained in the three countries as far as the favourable conditions necessary to turn towards MFA are concerned.

1.2. Outline of the thesis

The thesis is divided into seven main parts (chapters).

The first part offers an introductory guide to the research topic and its relevance. In addition, the first chapter includes the objectives and the research questions of the present work.

The second part provides information on the main concepts of reference that have been applied underlying their relevance for the research objectives.

The third part is a review of the history and interpretation of the concept of multifunctional agriculture at the international and European level, and on the other hand it serves as the description of the wider vulnerability context of the selected farm households.

The fourth chapter offers a detailed descripton of the methodology applied for the research. It introduces the general design of the research and it explains how the research has been set up including research areas, the procedure of the selection of the farm households, the process of data collection, recording and storing. Furthermore, it gives an account of the methodological techniques with the help of which the research objectives have been operationalised. The chapter provides also information regarding the difficulties encounterd during research proccces. Finally a short notice is provided on the interconnectedness of the different research methods and concepts applied.

The following chapters contain the country case studies. Chapter five is the case of the Netherlands and chapter six is the case of Hungary. The case studies have been structured in the following way. Each case study starts with the description of the socio-economic situation of the country`s rural areas and the role of agriculture in the national economy. Afterwards, the narrower vulnerability context of the selected farm households is presented. This part includes references to historical accounts, and to political and institutional transformations. Finally, the case study chapters close with the findings and discussions on the basis of the interviews that have been carried out in each of the case study area.

The seventh chapter includes the main conclusions and recommendations based principally on farmers` accounts.

Chapter 2

Conceptual Framework

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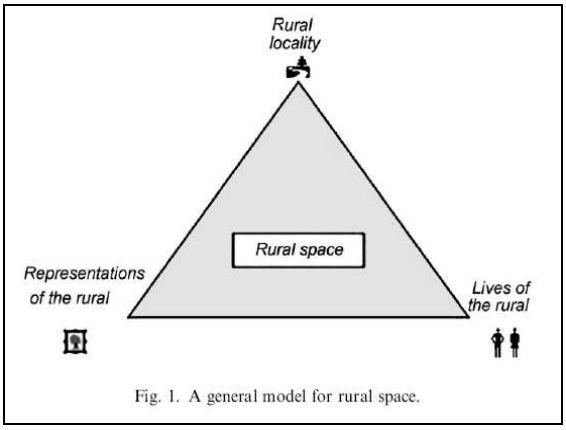
2.1. MFA and the Post-productivist countryside

Today, when countryside is perceived (production practices, multifunctionality), conceived (representation of the countryside by policy makers and by the media) and lived (by farmers, newcomers and visitors)[4] differently than 30 years ago, it can be considered justified investigating the interrelation among the actors, the production practices and the representation of the rural space.

Figure 1. The rural space



Source: Halfacree, 2007

One of the most recent and most intense debate concerning the representation and change of rural space has been connected to the debate on the concept of post-productivism (PP) (Shucksmith 1993; Ilbery and Bowler 1998; Turchetto 1998; Basile and Cecchi 2001; Wilson 2001; Evans, Morris et al. 2002; Burton 2004; Burton and Wilson 2006; Mather, Hill et al. 2006; Halfacree 2007; Wilson 2007). PP is a concept that describes the agrarian and rural changes that are more (in the Western European countries) or less (the Central – Eastern European countries) explicitly characterise the European Union countries. The term productivist has been actually brought into existing by the term post-productivist (Wilson, 2001; Mather et al. 2006), and therefore as a retrospective definition of the productivist era from the "post-productivist vantage point" (Wilson,

[4] The three-fold differentiation of the space is adopted from Lefebvre (1991).

2001). Though the term post-productivism is under increasing criticism it is unquestionable that the recent changes undergoing in the European rural areas and in the agricultural sector can not be any more defined as purely productivist

Shucksmith (1998) while examining why so many farmers and their families are averse to adjusting their farming practices to a post-productivist institutional and policy context explores that farmers were characterised by fundamental differences in behaviour, values and attitudes which were not explicable in structural terms.

According to *Ilbery and Bowler (1998)* the post-productivist transition (PPT) reflects a fundamental shift in consciousness and farming ethics and is associated with a movement towards sustainability, an emphasis on food quality and a reduction in farm output. This new 'food regime', as Ilbery and Bowler (1998) describe, is characterized by the production of fresh, organic and reconstituted food products for green consumers in a disintegrated and decentralized food production and distribution system. Ilbery and Bowler (1998) have characterized and termed the processes of the PPT as extensification, dispersion and diversification.

Wilson (2001) argues that productivism and post-productivism are "a spectrum of different views rather than two easily definable and 'separate' entities on their own" (p. 78). He suggest that P and PP can be conceptualised on the basis of seven inter-related dimensions which are the ideology, actors, food regimes, agricultural production, agricultural policies, farming techniques and environmental impacts. He provides with a detailed description of each of these dimensions of both productivism and post-productivism. Wilson argues (2001) that the prefix 'post' may merely signify something that comes after another thing, but does not necessarily mean it's opposite. Wilson (2001, p. 95) in arguing for a more appropriate term instead of PP says that PP "has only been defined…. As what it is not, rather than as what it may be". He says (2001, p. 87) that "For farmers as one of the key actors, for example, we should argue that only if farmers' *attitudes* (and eventual changes in their *farm management behaviour)* indicate substantial shifts toward post-productivist thinking, can we fully acknowledge that a transition toward the PP has taken place." This actor-oriented view would lead to a more inclusive understanding of PP." He argues that broadening the conceptualisation of PP by injecting an actor-oriented and behaviourally grounded component would enable an assessment of attitudinal shifts to PP at the grassroots.

Evans et al. (2002) provide with a strong critique of the concept of post-productivism and the related scientific work. They express their scepticism about both the relevance of the term itself and about whether the process the term is referred to is really happening. They find it difficult to accept that farmers will identify with the characteristics that today identify PP, "especially in terms of significant impact on their lives and businesses" (p. 316). Furthermore they argue that political

endeavours on the need for farmers to be able to be competitive on the liberalised global market still place more emphasis on the continuation of productivist principles. The article provides with a critical scrutiny of the term PP along with the five categories (mainly those established by Ilbery and Bowler (1998): shift from quantity to quality in food production, growth of pluriactivity, sustainable farming through agri-environmental policy, dispersion of production patterns, and environmental regulation and restructuring of government support for agriculture. Finally, they suggest the use of the term ecological modernisation (EM) or neo-productivism instead of post-productivism as these terms can provide sounder theoretical basis and contribute more to achieve progress in research.

According to *Durand* (2003, p. 4) "post-modern society also perceives productive rural land as a product for consumption, available for recreation, rest and leisure activity. In that context, there is a growing intolerance for the negative externalities of agricultural production systems.

Mather et al. (2006) seek to sharpen the meaning of PP but to widen the debate about its validity and applicability. While they agree that the term has been used too widely and too loosely they do not accept that it should be abandoned, as it was suggested by Evans et al. (2002). They acknowledge though that there is a relative lack of empirical evidence on which assertions on the characteristics of PP are based. Mather et al. (2006) argue that many characterisations of PP are based on antithesis with productivist and that in the rural debates tendency has been to characterise PP in terms of dimension (Ilbery and Bowler 1998; Wilson 2001; Evans, Morris et al. 2002) rather than definitions. Nonetheless, they recall Bradshaw's work (2004) in which he suggested the following definition: "post-productivism reflects the postulated reorientation of primary agriculture…. from meeting the singular goal of producing the greatest quantity of food at the least possible cost to meeting multiple goals such as producing quality food, maintaining rural livelihoods and landscape and promoting environmental stewardship" (Bradshaw 2004 quoted in Mather et al. 2006, p. 442). The paper further argues that large part of the objections to PP stems from a fuzzy definition or characterisation of the concept. One possible way to reduce fuzziness is to say that "a possible core characteristic of the term is a change in relative emphasis from commodity to non-commodity outputs- from maximising production of material goods in the form of food and wood, to broader objectives, including the provision of environmental services used as an umbrella term, encompassing recreation and amenity as well as the ecosystem services." (Mather et al. 2006, p. 443).

In answering to the question whether post-productivism is taking place in agriculture they points to the fact that several indicators[5] of agricultural activity have changed only in the last 10-20 years compared with their trends that lasted for nearly 50 years and this suggest a significant change. Although none of these indicators can be a confirmation of PP, but, as they argue, it is noticeable that these elements accord with the existence of PP and therefore provide an evidence for it.

The article argues that little has been said in the debate on PP about the magnitude of change required to justify the use of the term. They argue that the PP paradigm shift in policy resonate with the apparently accepted notion of a paradigm shift in rural development policy (Banks and Marsden, 2000; Ploeg et al. 2000). In this sense PP is viewed in terms of a shift in emphasis and not as an absolute change from material production to service production. They evoke Goodin (2001) who concludes that "'post-productivists are not opposed, or even indifferent, to economic output versus they have simply 'gotten over' being utterly fixated on it, as productivist have been'' (Goodin 2001 quoted in Mather et al. 2006, p. 451). Goodin points also to the fact that wider socio-political aspects of PP are evident "environmental and emotional values are now being recognised as well as economic value" (Goodin 2001 quoted in Mather et al. 2006, p. 451).

The article argues that if the concept of PP relates to the shift in policy emphasis away from material production, then the term clearly seems appropriate. Mather et al. (2006) disagree with Wilson (2001) who argues that MFA regime might be a more appropriate term. They argue that MFA regime perpetuates identification with agriculture alone. And it would ignore other rural land uses. MFA and PP may overlap but they are not synonymous. Similarly, PP may overlap with ecological modernisation, term that has been advocated by Evans et al. (2002). It is doubtful though whether the term ecological modernisation reflects the change in emphasis away from material production. MFA and EM can be applied to rural land use but they are not synonymous with the term PP.

Finally, the article contributes to the debate on how theorization of PP could be improved in order to avoid that it remains a "theoretical cul de sac" (Evans et al. 2002). In respect to theorization, Mather et al. (2006) mainly deals with three major challenges. The first of these are the causes and drivers of change. They argue that PP presents a challenge to our understanding in terms of the

[5] The article notes three indicators:

1. Lifestyle owners of farms who likely to be less concerned with production of commodities than with consumption of amenity and the countryside.
2. The number of non-agricultural horses, associated primarily with either or both recreation and non-agricultural business.
3. The increased area of land used for organic farming, that can be interpreted positively in relation to quality and environmental characteristic

fundamental drivers of land-use change, in particular about the possible role of societal change, particular circumstances including institutions and polices, cultural change as drivers. The second major challenge is to understand the spatial dimensions of PP. Amongst others PP (like MFA) raises questions about the scale at which it applies (at the level of the field, farm, region, or nation). Alongside the question of spatial application, are those of temporal characteristics. Lastly, the third challenge regards the introduction of new methodology of monitoring the changing land use. The study concludes with saying that at its core the definition of PP could relate to the de-emphasising of material production which is most clearly expressed in terms of changes in polices, which changes can be linked to public opinion and socio-cultural changes and to effects on the ground expressed in terms of land use.

2.1.1. Post-productivism adopted for the present thesis

For the purposes of the present thesis PP remains the appropriate term to describe recent socio-economic and political changes happening in the rural areas, which changes are accompanied by the emergent rural development practices coined as multifunctional. For the objectives of the thesis PP expresses a ***shift in emphasis and a change in focus*** in policy terms and, in the context of the changes on the ground, a ***change in attitudes that go from maximising production of material goods to another type of production with a broader scope***. PP does not therefore intend to refer to a countryside in which agriculture and the productive activities ceased to exist but that production has acquired a different character and it has been integrated with the provision of non-productive objectives, i.e. services, based on the perceived needs of the society.

To my understanding post-productivism is an incremental rather than a radical process (see Wilson 2001). P and PP practices and attitudes can exist contemporarily, intended in both spatially and temporally, as it has also been argued by Wilson (2001) ("productivist action and thought can co-exist alongside post-productivist patterns") and as it is expected to be shown in the result of the field work. As a result, the transition from the P to the PP agricultural regime will see differences in space and time when applied to different countries. Wilson (2001, p. 96) refers to this as "time-lag and spatial inconsistencies in the adoption of PP action and thought".

Production therefore remains an important activity of the rural areas, but the aim of the production is not any more or not only the maximising of the output of material goods ("deemphasising of production" Mather et al. 2006). Emphasis now is given to the quality, safety and authenticity of production. What counts today is the *way* of production. Therefore I argue that

production did not ceased to be an objective of the rural areas and that exactly the PP farming practices can be viewed as a kind of solution for the continuation of production. As far as quality and specialisation are regarded some explanation is needed. Specialisation and quality production in the PP countryside need to be distinguished from specialisation and quality issues as they are intended in P terms. Production of *parmigiano reggiano* is by no doubts a specialised activity, however, there can not be by no means put a sign of equality between this type of specialisation and the specialisation that was connected to intensive agriculture, the use of external inputs, environmental pollution, and the ignorance of quality and sometimes even food safety. Therefore, specialisation in terms of PP might be rather called neo-specialisation. As considers quality production, Evans et al. (2002) have pointed out that "quality exists within productivist food systems and does not necessarily represent a substitution of them" (p. 319). While this affirmation is true in itself, in order to shed light on the meaning of "quality" that characterise PP activities, there has to be made a difference between the two notions the word "quality" incorporates. On the one hand, quality can be interpreted in terms of the safety of food ensured through quality-management, quality-assurance systems, such as the Hazard analysis and Critical Control Pont System (HCCP). Evans et al. (2002) refers to this face of the concept of quality. On the other hand, quality production can be defined through characteristics connected to small scale, artisan, and farm-based production with regional, local/traditional features (IMPACT scientific approach, (FAIR-CT-4288 'The socio-economic impact of rural development policies: Realities and potentials). As it is defined by the IMPACT scientific approach quality products can include foods registered under the EU system for Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI). Quality production can exist also where there is less tradition of regional designation. In this case quality foods might include farmhouse cheeses, jams, and other products that might be characterised by the local tradition. These products on general are characterised by the use of specific ingredients, production techniques and on-farm processing (IMPACT scientific approach). Quality production in terms of PP refers to this face of the concept of quality.

If PP is referred only to agricultural regime and not to the rural space, multifunctional agriculture regime can be a more appropriate term (Wilson 2001). The notion of MFA regime seems to embrace productivist and post-productivist practices, actors, and thoughts (Wilson 2001). The diversity of practices, the heterogeneity of how agriculture is conceived and perceived can be in fact better expressed by the term 'MFA regime'. However, if referred to the rural space, then MFA regime might not be the substitute of PP because it would only refer to agriculture but would exclude the other uses of land (Mather, Hill et al. 2006).

In accord with the concept of PP the practices that aim at the development of the rural areas are diverse and multifunctional (Knickel and Renting, 2000). At farm level post-productivism is translated into multifunctional farm practices, households farming in line with the PP concept can be called multifunctional farm enterprises/households.

2.2. Multifunctional agriculture, Rural Development and Livelihoods: unfolding the main concepts of reference

2.2.1. Narrow versus wide approach to MFA

Multifunctional agriculture is a contested, multifaceted concept. In the different scientific disciplines it has been used with plentiful different meanings and interpretations. Recent debate around the notion of MF considers whether there exist a more concrete, grounded term such as countryside project (Cudlinova, Lapka et al. 2007) or versatile countryside (Dirk Roep) and the level at which multifunctionality shall be studied (farm level or at a more territorial level for example region, valley, watershed) (Sabourin and Roep 2007). As a matter of fact, its meaning differs also among the countries and regions reflecting its character of being context specific.

The scientific research on MFA has been unfolding in these specific contexts sometimes having its point of departure the emerging issues at the level of politics (OECD; WTO negotiations, CAP development, creation of the EU Rural Development Policy) (DeVries 2000; (Cudlinova, Lapka et al. 2007) Garzon 2005; (Idda, Furesi et al. 2005)Rodriguez and Gomez 2004; Thomson 2004; Velazquez 2001; other times the reality that is taking place on the ground (Di Iacovo 2003a; Di Iacovo 2003b; Di Iacovo and Ciofani 2005a; Di Iacovo and Senni 2005b; Oostindie et al. 2006; (Ploeg 2003) The interaction between agriculture and the environment and the other sectors of the economy and society has long constituted the subject of attention of numerous researchers. Researches that tackle explicitly the multiple role of agriculture go back as far as the 1970s (De Farcy 1975). Recent research embraces a wide array of arguments intersecting a broad range of scientific disciplines such as economics, agricultural economics, and sociology. The notion of multifunctionality is therefore not a new argument, the novelty can be found in the close association between multifunctionality and the capacity of agriculture to produce a net positive effect in terms of goods and services of collective interest.

According to the working definition established by the OECD (2001) these goods and services (often referred to also as non-commodities) have the character of public goods (negative or positive externalities) and as such their market is not existent or functions poorly. This basically means that the producers (in this case farmers) of these unmarketable services are not remunerated for their providing these public goods even if these services are to a large extent results of an existent and clear demand by the side of the society. On the contrary of food and fibre as clear commodities, these services include the broadest range of impacts of agriculture on the environmental state of the rural areas, biodiversity, and rural landscape, economic and social viability of the rural areas, food safety, animal welfare and the safeguard of the cultural and historical heritage.

Researches that take as their point of departure this so-called narrow approach (Renting, Oostindie et al. forthcoming) to MFA take the market or the nature of goods as their main level of analyses and are principally concerned by the possibilities for creating markets for public goods (in this case positive externality) as a solution for farmers' remuneration. In case farmers' compensation is not achievable through market rules, this research domain investigates how the criteria to justify the legitimacy of public support given to producers can be defined (Renting, Oostindie et al. forthcoming). Furthermore, research argument on citizens' willingness to pay (WTP) for multifunctional agriculture in monetary terms has been recently added to this research type. Yrjöla and Kola (2004), for instance, analysing Finnish consumers WTP for MFA conclude that the EU CAP Reform of 2003 at least partially meet the requirements and preferences of the Finnish consumers. As they would be willing to pay a considerable amount for MFA (between 189 and 377 million EUR annually), policy planning should more comprehensively take into account consumers and citizens' preferences towards multifunctionality. Hyytia and Kola (2005) in another research with similar topic conclude that Finnish people are willing to support their domestic agriculture mainly for it being a producer of safe and healthy food. Notwithstanding, Finnish people have positive attitudes towards the other positive externalities of agriculture, this is not reflected in their WTP.

From the standpoint of the research on multifunctionality and agricultural trade negations multifunctionality is a principle that serves the legitimization of the continuing agricultural support. Research that follows this logic aims to investigate valuation methods that can serve governments in their policy formulation on farm subsidies. One opinion in this domain is that multifunctionality never can justify trade interventions, however it can justify production subsidies and taxes (Paarlberg, Breadahl, Lee). On the basis of this logic, nations must define precisely and value the externalities in order to design policies and defend those interventions in the WTO (Paalberg,

Bredahl, Lee). Institutional arrangements and policy measures that promote positive externalities or their governance structure constitute another focus of this domain (Hagedorn 2004; Arovuori and Kola 2005, Bartolini et al. 2005).

As Renting, Oostindiee et al (forthcoming) argues this narrow approach does not pay specific attention for transformations at farm household and territory level, and pays little attention for linkages and synergies between different markets. It focuses on the outcome and lacks attention for underlying processes and networks.

On the contrary to the narrow approach, the wider approach (Renting, Oostindie et al. forthcoming) situates MFA in a more general background relating to the transformations in the relations between agriculture and society. Instead of considering MFA as exclusively a response to market failure, it is regarded as a consequence of the evolving demands of consumers and society combined with the failure of the industrial, productivist farm models to meet society's demands. Among the driving forces to turn to MFA it considers important the reorganisation of the urban-rural relations, and the changing institutional and market environment of the farm households. According to the wider approach, the relevant functions cover a significantly wider collection of goods and services that are not always strictly derived from food or fibre production. These can be private goods produced for non-food markets like energy, care, tourism and functions as distinctive product attributes like food quality, animal welfare, and ecological production (Renting, Oostindie et al. forthcoming). Moreover, public benefits, like rural viability, food security, and maintenance of lagging settlements, make part of the functions. This includes internal decision making processes within the farm household and motivations of its members, also institutional relations with social networks, markets, consumer groups and policy frameworks (Renting, Oostindie et al. forthcoming). Policy recommendations often address constraining/enabling factors of MFA at farm level, and institutional linkages and social and policy networks at territorial scale. Issues of market regulation and the need to redefine the basis for agricultural support have less central role and are rather considered as one possible strategy for strengthening agriculture's capacity to respond to changing societal demands. The level of analyses is the farm household or enterprise and the social and institutional processes underlying its behaviour and development trajectories. (Renting, Oostindie et al. forthcoming).

Auspiciously, to my view, it has recently increased the number of studies (Burton and Wilson 2006; Cudlinova, Lapka et al. 2007; Dogot and Lebailly 2007; Guillaumin and Dockes 2007) that tackle farmers' attitudes and motivation towards multifunctionality in specific contexts (countries). They call the attention for that local expectation, which are linked to local problems, are interesting to be taken into account when studying MFA and farmer practices (Guillaumin and

Dockes 2007). They argue that the different ways of fulfilling of these expectations and the combination of different farms creates the multifunctionality of local agriculture (Guillaumin and Dockes 2007). Dogot and Lebailly (2007) with the assumption that the reactivation of alternative functions to production in agriculture is an opportunity to restore the dialogue between agriculture and society analyse how farmers perceive the MF concept in the Walloon Region of Belgium and compare the results with the societal expectation. They conclude that farmers, after years of separation from market and consumer demand, return towards activities driven directly or indirectly by societal expectations. Among the main motivations for farmers to engage in non-agricultural activities social enrichment, economic remuneration and the feeling to be recognised for their different functions occupy the first posts.

Cudlínova et al. (2007) in their work on the role of environmental subsidies in rural development in the Czech Republic find that agricultural policy must take into account factors that motivate farmers in participating in the ecologically friendly and alternative forms of framing. The lack of the comprehensive knowledge and incorporation of farmers' motivations into policies becomes, as they say, a general weakness of the Czech agriculture.

Certainly research on attitudes, behaviour and motivation of farmers or farm households is not only from recent times. Prominent research in this field goes back to some years ago but also until the 1970s (Gasson 1973; Herrman and Uttitz 1990; Shucksmith 1993; Burton 2004; Hennon and Hildenbrand 2005; Jongeneel, Polman et al. 2005; Burton and Wilson 2006)

I argue that one of the most important characteristics of these researches is that they aim at exploring how the notion of MFA interpreted by farmers who, from my point of view, are the main actors of the post-productivist countryside. Although, the number of researches oriented towards farmers' attitudes and motivation has recently increased it is widely accepted that more research is needed in this field (Kantelhardt 2006; Caron Forthcoming; Renting, Oostindie et al. forthcoming).

The wider approach emphasises the role of contextuality when studying MFA, reaffirming thus that the different expressions of MFA are always specific in time and space. This implies that the study of the context (be political, historical, institutional, legislative etc) in which MFA takes place will gain particular importance when trying to understand the livelihood strategies of multifunctional farm households. Besides the context, the wider approach calls the attention to the importance of the role of identities, values and motivations of farmers.

In consideration of the research questions and objectives of my research, this thesis follows the directions of the wider approach to MFA. ***It is in fact not possible to evoke the MFA policy implementation without treating the question of the values, the people and their history*** (Sabourin and Roep 2007).

Research that not explicitly tackles the notion of MFA but it focuses on one of its aspects like organic farming, short food supply chain, quality products, nature and landscape management, forestry and diversification, makes also part of the considerable knowledge produced on rural development policies and practices.

As far as diversification (e.g. producing non-food products like energy) is regarded, this seems a good moment to emphasis that diversification is not equal to multifunctionality of agriculture, even if these two concepts from time to time are – mistakenly - used or interpreted interchangeable.

There exist different viewpoints on distinguishing the two notions. (Durand and Huylenbroeck 2003) make the following difference between MFA and diversification. "Diversification refers to the workplace. It means that the scope of products and services produced and sold is enlarged. In most cases diversification is done to give or ascribe value or validity to existing production factors such as labour, land, equipment or to reduce risk to existing products. Diversification can of course be accomplished by adding non-agricultural activities. In this case diversification and pluriactivity are combined" (p. 12). Multifunctionality at the same time "refers to the various functions of the different activities performed. Both agricultural and non-agricultural activities can render a variety of different functions that satisfy different societal demands. Multifunctionality is the examination of both the commodities and non-commodities produced by the diverse activities of farmers or of the agricultural sector" (p. 12). Fehér and Bíró (2005) argue that multifunctionality is an activity oriented notion and it is a wide, more general concept than farm diversification. At the same time the two concepts have several common features. They are both connected to agriculture and as a consequence, refer to the activities carried out in the farm enterprise; furthermore, both enhance employment and the quality of life. MFA however embraces traditional farming while farm diversification refers exclusively to farming activities different from traditional. As a matter of fact, what Fehér and Bíró (2005) is explaining, without explicitly saying, is that farm diversification is included in the wider and more general concept of MFA.

The entry document of the 2006 Regional Conference of Agriculture and rural development in the Tuscany region also underlines the difference between multifunctionality and diversification. It defines diversification as the enlargement of the activities carried out in a farm enterprise (or in the agricultural sector) in respect to a nucleus of traditional activities.[6] Diversification and multifunctionality present important areas of overlapping taking into consideration that none of

[6] The introduction of new plants or animal breed to those already present, introduction of on-farm processing or selling, hospitality, are some of the manifestations to which we refer when we speak about diversification in case of a farm enterprise.

these two concepts have well-defined confines, neither their meanings have been univocally defined. Nonetheless, the two concepts include fundamental differences. The most important difference the document underlines is that while MF refers to the coherence between the expectation of the society and the performance of a system (at farm, local, sector level), diversification is a concept which measures, according to the prospective of a subject (farm, local agricultural system, rural area) a variation in respect to an initial situation. The document puts emphasis on the fact that not everything which is multifunctional is also an expression of diversification, and vice versa.

2.2.2. Rural development and multifunctionality at farm household level

Rural development, in terms of individual or collective practices (Brunori and Rossi 2000) that aim at the enhancing of the economic, socio-cultural and ecological viability of rural areas, has emerged as an endogenous process (Ploeg and Saccomandi 1995; Ploeg and Roep 2003; van der Ploeg and Roep 2003; Ploeg 2006; van der Ploeg 2006). Rural development initiatives have been taken and developed by the agricultural families themselves for whom rural development represented, and still represents, "a way out of the limitations and lack of perspectives inherent to the modernisation paradigm" (Ploeg and Roep 2003; van der Ploeg and Roep 2003). Rural development is thus considered the result of a well-understood self-interest of increasing parts of the European farming population (Ploeg and Roep 2003).

The endogenous rural development process has by time become accompanied by a socio-political debate of different intensity. By today rural development has become institutionalised at policy level and former endogenous practices are now regulated by concrete policy measures. The number and type of actors participating in the development project of the countryside has arisen. Besides farmers as the initial actors, new ones have entered the scene fulfilling various roles in the rural development process. Since the established policy follows the principle of subsidiary, rural development actors have emerged at all levels of the decentralised rural policy.

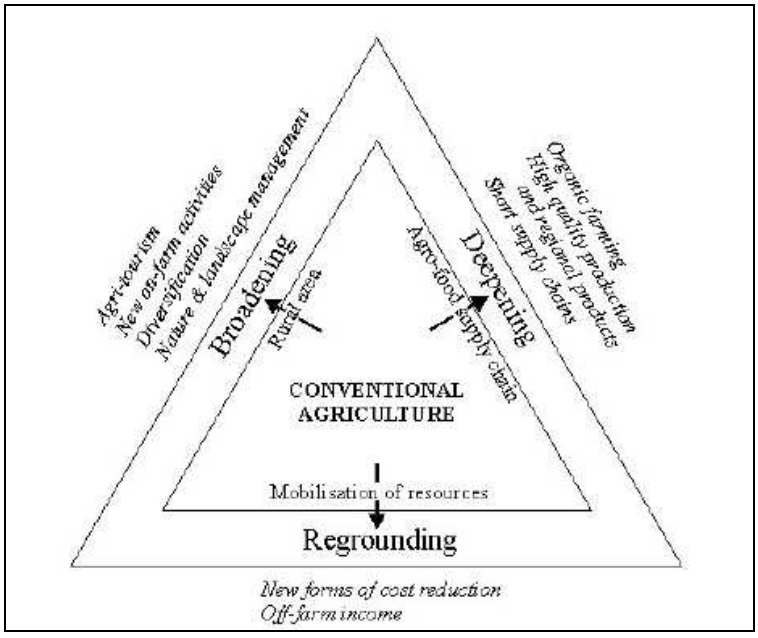
Rural development is therefore a multi-level, multi-dimensional and multi-actor process (Ploeg, Long et al. 2002; Ploeg and Roep 2003; van der Ploeg and Roep 2003; Ploeg 2006; van der Ploeg 2006; Wiskerke 2007). Taking into consideration the different levels, operationalisation of rural development can be done at the level of

- the global interrelations between agriculture and society,
- the agricultural sector,

- the countryside and its (economic) actors,
- policies and institutions and,
- the individual farm household (Ploeg, Long et al. 2002; Van der Ploeg, Long et al. 2002).

At the individual farm household level, "rural development emerges as a redefinition of identities, strategies, practices, interrelations and networks (Ploeg, Long et al. 2002, p. 11). The concept of multifunctionality at farm level (Ploeg, Long et al. 2002; Ploeg and Roep 2003) contrasts the structuring principles of the conventional farms with those of multifunctional farms. It describes multifunctionality on the basis of the relationship between the farm enterprise and the three external contexts they relate with. The first out of these contexts is the agro-food supply chain that is the production side of the enterprise. The second is the rural area in which the farm enterprise situates and it contains the ways by which the farm interacts with the rural context. The third one is the context of the different resources that are at the disposal of the farm enterprise and of which mobilisation the farm can develop the various livelihood strategies. On the basis of this differentiation the conventional farm and the multifunctional farm shows strictly different strategies.

Figure 2: The structure of rural development/multifunctionality at farm enterprise level



Source: (Ploeg and Roep 2003)

On the agro-food side the conventional farm aims at specialisation including the reduction of the number of activities it is involved in. Production is characterised by scale economy (Belletti, Brunori et al. 2003). As for the rural side, conventional farm has limited relations with the rest of the rural context, it is nearly exclusively acts at the land market, where it aims at the increase of the

farm size (Belletti, Brunori et al. 2003). On the side of resources conventional farm makes use mainly of external resources and disregard the mobilisation of internal resources. Preference given to external resources implicates the endeavour to decrease labour factor and increase capital as a means to maintain a certain income level (Belletti, Brunori et al. 2003). Finally, network relations of conventional farms are practically limited to market relations and lack any significant type of embeddedness in the local economic, social and cultural context.

On the contrary, the multifunctional farm enterprise jumps over the boundaries outlined by the conventional farm. This boundary shift is then described on the relative sides of the enterprise as deepening, broadening and regrounding (Ploeg and Roep 2003).

Deepening occurs at the side of agricultural production and it refers to the creation of more value-added per unit of production through for example of quality food production or processing of the farm's own products. That is farms aim to receive premium prices from consumers for the quality of the products, for their particular characteristics (organic products, typical products) and for the way of purchasing (direct selling) that allows consumers to try the products before acquisition (Belletti, Brunori et al. 2003).

Broadening occurs on the side of the rural context in which the enterprise is located. The multifunctional enterprise is characterised by a more accentuated participation in the local and regional economy and culture and "it is often an intrinsic part of the social fabric of the countryside" (Ploeg and Roep 2003). Broadening is realised through the launching of new non-agricultural activities that can be found at the interface between society, community, landscape and biodiversity. Agrotourism, landscape management, diversification such as for instance alternative energy production, or development of new on-farm activities like care activities are all activities that make part of this dimension and that create added value for the farm enterprise. For the multifunctional farm to broaden its activities it is essential to be involved in networks through which it can enlarge its knowledge and information base and can create foundations of cooperation. Broadening implies also a more intensive use of the available natural, social and cultural capital that the specific territory offers to its farm enterprises (Belletti, Brunori et al. 2003).

The third side of the multifunctional farm enterprise is characterised by regrounding of the available resources that is the farm enterprise becomes involved in a pattern of the use of new or different set of resources. As far as labour is regarded, regrounding refers to the prevailing use of household labour or the integrating of on-farm labour with off-farm one (pluriactivity). As far as the production base is concerned, regrounding refers to the endeavour of the use of internal inputs (own savings, grassland manure) rather than external ones contributing to the saving on input and environmental safeguarding.

This concept of the multifunctional farm enterprise has been adopted for the present work to refer to the multifunctional farm households, the level of which multifunctionaly has been studied.

2.2.3. In-between concept and technique: the sustainable livelihood framework and the - multifunctional - farm household strategies

As I have not had knowledge about the possible sources of driving forces for MFA respondents would recount I needed an analytical framework that included as many sides of life as the possible. I needed therefore a holistic framework, which places my selected actors (the farm households) and their priorities at the centre of the analysis but at the same time is able to underline the link between the level of the farm household and its micro and macro contexts.

Upon considering these needs of the research, the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF) proposed by the Department for International Development of London (DFID) has been adopted as the main analytical structure. The concept of multifunctionality has been thus viewed from livelihoods perspective interpreting the process of broadening, deepening and regrounding the livelihood resources (Oostindie, Roep et al. 2006). According to O'Connor, Renting et al. (2006) the attempts to diversify and become multifunctional can be conceived as an attempt to manoeuvre upwards in the livelihood spiral.

The SLF has emerged from the debate among research institutions, NGOs, development agencies and donors on sustainable development and poverty eradication offering a new way of thinking of the objective, scope and priorities of development. Researchers and field workers have long used the SLF for analysis of rural livelihood strategies in the poor rural areas of the developing world (Chambers 1989; Chambers and Conway 1992; Scoones 1998; Ashley and Carney 1999; Ellis 2000; Niehof 2001; Arce 2003). In the developed industrialized countries research has only recently, but in an increasing manner, started to employ the SL framework for analyzing rural households' decisions and strategies (Verspecht, Vandermeulen et al.; Kinsella, Wilson et al. 2000; Gorman, Mannion et al. 2001; Hocking 2003; Frederiksen and Langer 2005; Salmi 2005; O'Connor, Renting et al. 2006).

Livelihood as a concept has been defined in various ways however the common aspect in each definition is the emphasis on meeting (basic) needs. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) defined sustainable household livelihood as adequate reserves and supplies of food and cash to meet basic needs (Niehof and Price 2001). According to Chambers and Conway (1991) "a livelihood comprises people, their capabilities and their means of living,

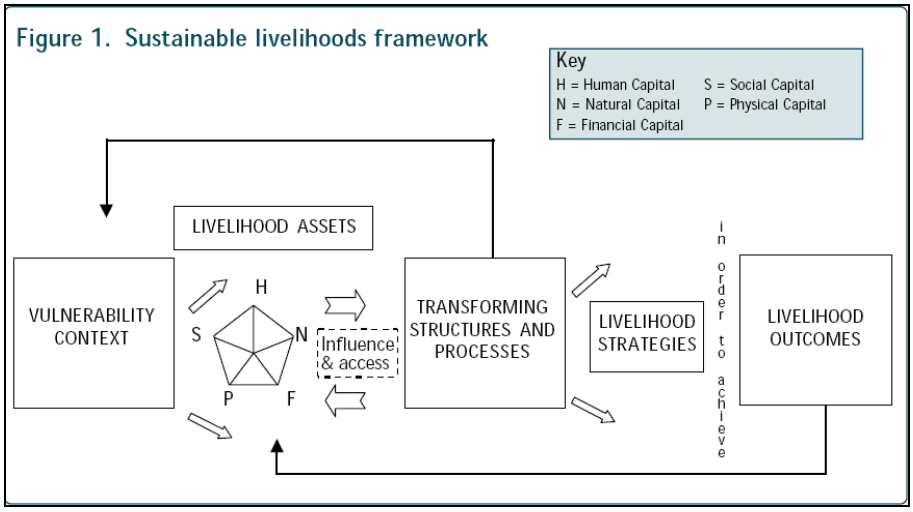
including food, income and assets" (p. 1). The term capabilities is derived from Amartya Sen and refers to the ability of individuals to realise their potential as human beings, in the sense of both being (to be adequately nourished and free of illness) and doing (e.g. exercise choices, develop skills and experience, participate socially) (Ellis 2000). Ellis (2000) proposed the following definition "A livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household" (p. 10).

The sustainable livelihoods framework presents the main factors that affect people's livelihoods, and relationships between these. In particular, the framework draws attention to core influences and processes and emphasises the multiple interactions between the various factors which affect livelihoods. Livelihood outcomes are the achievements of the livelihood strategies. In the case of the present thesis the livelihood outcome was the multifunctional way of farming, as the type of farming through which households' priorities could be met.

Livelihood strategies are carried out by employing a range of available livelihood assets (human, natural, financial, physical, and social) in order to pursue different activities. Livelihood assets have been defined and described in many different ways, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into debate over the different definitions of the livelihood assets. For the purposes of the present work the definition provided by the DFID Livelihood Guidance Sheets (number 2.3.) has been adopted. In this thesis livelihood "assets" and "resources" are used interchangeable.

On the one hand livelihood activities are influenced by the actors' own priorities and values; on the other hand, by the wider socio-economic context in which the livelihood strategy takes place. This wider context includes trends (economic, demographic, etc.), shocks (natural, economic, etc.) and seasonality (prices, production, health, employment). The existing policy and institutional environment determine access to livelihood assets and livelihood opportunities in terms of encouraging or hindering activities.

Figure 3: The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets 1.1.

2.3. Risk management and multifunctionality

Farms that have been selected for the purposes of this research were all multifunctional considering that the aim was to reveal what characterises these types of farms. Therefore, the livelihood strategy of these farms was already given and was defined as a strategy that takes towards multifunctionality in terms of broadening, deepening and regrounding practices. As a consequence it was not a question what type of livelihood strategy these farms undertake but instead why they undertake it and how they do that.

After a careful analysis of the research data I have found no direct connections between the social origin, the type of multifunctionality and the resources available or the other elements (institutions and policies) of the SL framework.[7] What type of resources farm household posses is highly subjective. On the other hand, it is not said that when two or more households have the same resources (availability of space, human capacities, etc.) or the same resources are available (natural beauty, cultural heritage, etc.) they will undertake always the same type of activity. Resources are therefore not sufficient in explaining what the households can do (Korf and Oughton 2006). Whatever resources are available households' decision will also be influenced by their own perception of the possible demand for the different type of services they can offer. Moreover, access to these resources and capabilities and capacities to use them will also determine whether taking up

[7] Yet, I would not argue that this kind of relation could not be drawn even in the case the sample population would be larger.

one activity or another. Organisational capacity can be just one of the many examples. De Doorgeange

Despite the limited sample population and the manifold specificity it is characterised by, it was possible to distinguish the type of multifunctionality undertaken by the twenty farmers however on the basis of a different criterion. This criterion was the type of risk management they have been following during their livelihood strategies. This type of construction of the types of farm households was helpful in seeking to interpret their actions.

Risk management in rural development – a logical deconstruction of the concept

The starting point of Kostov and Lingard (2003) is that the economic behaviour of the human beings can be described as a process of reducing uncertainty through the so-called "risk defusing operators" (p. 463). This process is called the risk management. They define uncertainty as a characteristic of the environment or of the objective world and risk as the subjective perception of this uncertainty. In order to act one need to have an understanding of the outside world and this understanding is gained by translating the objective uncertainty into a subjective perception (risk). "The rise of risk is a social phenomenon but its mechanisms are subjectively rooted" (Kostov and Lingard 2003, p. 465). This implies for risk to be dependent on the values of individuals or their groups.

According to Mythen (2008) risk refers to the possibility of being affected by adverse outcomes. The essence of these adverse outcomes is not that they are happening but that they might happen (Mythen 2008). The Oxford Paperback Dictionary (1979) defines risk as the "possibility of meeting danger or suffering harm or loss, exposure to this" (p. 556). Risk is therefore characterised by uncertainty, probability and futurity (Mythen 2008). However, risk also opens up the possibility of gains together with losses (Mythen 2008).

The essence of risk management lies in the endeavour of avoiding some losses and at the same time reaching gains. The principal way to do this is through ***control***. Kostov and Lingard (2003) call upon Beck's (1992) concept of risk to explain the logic of control. According to Beck risk is a psychological category, internal to the decision maker and it is related to the desire to control the environment. The purpose of control is to achieve security. At the end, "control becomes a tool to shape risk" (Kostov and Lingard 2003, p. 466).

An important determinant of risk is ***awareness***. According to Beck in Kostov and Lingard's interpretation risk and uncertainty can be transformed. Awareness can contribute to the transformation of uncertainty and to the avoidance of risk. Risk therefore can be avoided only if the risk itself is perceived (awareness is reached), that it to say the uncertainty which is out there gets

internalised and perceived as a subjective threat. Subjective perception of risk than leads to the subjective alteration of the reality and this represents risk management (Kostov and Lingard 2003).

The importance of risk management can vary in relation with the situation in which it is taking place. In situations where the role of "traditions"[8] is strong and the perception of the subjective world is more uniform, subjective risk management is given less significance. However, when the role of traditions decreases a ***transition*** starts towards the increasing role of the subjective risk management. Transition is therefore interpreted as the process that brings to heterogeneity and gives increasing importance to internal action to avoid risk in a situation when external risk management is not secured. This internal action can be either individual or collective; the important character of it is that it is done by individuals or a group of individuals and not by institutions as external actors.

Kostov and Lingard (2003) define rural development as a risk management process calling in uncertainty as the result of the vanishing well-defined aims and structure of the CAP and the heterogeneity of the new context in which rural development takes place. With the decreasing role and efficiency of the external factors, i.e. institutions, subjective perception and interpretation of the new situation receive an increasing role.

Risk management therefore reduces one type of risks "decoupling it from uncertainty" (p. 466) but at the same type it accepts other risks in order to achieve a desirable outcome (Kostov and Lingard 2003). The concept of risk management is based on the subjective attitude of the actors and not on the probability of risk occurrence.

As Kostov and Lingard (2003) say the integrated nature of rural development suggests that there are many elements that will influence its outcome. They state that the combination of all the relevant variables into a single decision making criteria would conflict with the multidimensional reality. On what decision makers shall then base their action? The approach of risk management which takes into account those elements that are subjectively deemed to be important would simplify the "objective" multifaceted problem. This confirms that the methodological approach and techniques have been chosen correctly for this thesis when the aim was to find investigation tools that enable the researcher to give an account of the interpretations and perceptions of the actors.

Kostov and Lingard (2003) distinguish two types of risk diffusing operators, the active ones (control and new alternatives) and the passive ones (precautions and worst-case plan operator). Agricultural diversification is a combination of control and new alternatives, rural tourism is a new

[8] Kostov and Lingard do not give an explanation of "traditions". In my understanding it is referred to a state of play that has been enduring in time, and as a consequence it is characterised by values, institutions, attitudes and structures that are deeply rooted in time and widely accepted by the society. A break in or collapse of these traditons results in a state of uncertainty. In my case this can be the decreasing role of modernisation of agriculture, the changing role of the CAP and the diminishing role of socialism in Hungary at the end of the 1980s.

alternative, insurance is precautions operator and sharecropping is a worst-case plan. In this thesis I considered MFA as a solution for uncertainty and in this sense as a tool of risk management.

Chapter 3

History and interpretation of the concept of Multifunctional Agriculture

i.e.

– The vulnerability context at international and European level -

Chapter 3

History and interpretation of the concept of MFA

– The vulnerability context at international and European level –

Although, the major part of the existing works on MFA makes reference to the working definition elaborated by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2001, the concept itself, even if not explicitly, has emerged much earlier in the international environment.

An early recognition of the multifunctional character of agriculture appeared already in the documents of the Rio Earth Summit (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) in 1992. The Conference established a framework for integrated land management and Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Development (SARD)[9]. As it is stated in Chapter 14 of the Agenda 21 document, the programme areas of SARD include "Agricultural policy review, planning and integrated programming in the light of the multifunctional aspect of agriculture, particularly with regard to food security and sustainable development".

In 1999 the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in the Outcome of the Conference on the Multifunctional Character of Agriculture and Land (MFCAL)[10] states that agriculture, such as all human activities, is multifunctional and contributes to a varied set of needs and values of society in addition to fulfilling the primary function (in the case of agriculture, to provide food and raw materials for society which is the basis for farmers to earn their living) which is its *"raison d' être"* (FAO, 1999). Among the reasons to consider the multifunctional character of agriculture and related land-use the document lists the capacity of agriculture to contribute in different ways to welfare including its direct impact on nature and environment and humankind subsistence. It has been agreed that, since in some cases the recent trends towards a more intensive and specialized form of agriculture have increased the ability to feed the world at the expense of social and/or environmental goals, agricultural policy should aim to achieve a "more optimal balance between social, environmental and economic objectives" (FAO, 1999, p. 7).

The widely known OECD publication ("Multifunctionality - Towards an Analytical Framework") that contains the working definition of MFA was a result of a nearly ten-year long

[9] The SARD Initiative is a multi-stakeholder umbrella framework designed to support the transition to people-centred sustainable agriculture and rural development and to strengthen participation in programme and policy development.
[10] "Cultivating Our Future", 12-17 September 1999, Maastricht, the Netherlands.

negotiation process started in 1987 when the OECD Council at Ministerial level adopted a number of principles for agricultural policy reform. These principles have been reaffirmed and extended through subsequent Ministerial Communiqués. The most relevant Communiqués were those issued following the OECD Councils in 1992, March 1998 and April 1998.

The 1987 OECD Ministerial Council highlighted the various difficulties agricultural markets have been facing. It has called attention, amongst others, to the serious imbalance between supply and demand, the costs of agricultural policies for government budgets, for consumers and for the economy as a whole, furthermore to the increasing distortion of competition on world market. Given the scope of the problems and their urgency, the OECD called for a concerted reform to be implemented based on some clearly defined principles such as:

- the reduction of agricultural support and the orientation of agricultural production;
- the consideration given to social and other concerns, such as food security, environmental protection, and overall employment;
- the prevention of a further deterioration of present market imbalances through the improvement of prospects on the demand side;
- the reduction of guaranteed prices and other types of production incentives to prevent an increase in excess supply;
- the reduction of possible economic distortions to permit better functioning of market mechanisms;
- the substitution of price guarantees or other measures linked to production or to factors of production with direct income support, and the support for comprehensive policies for the development of various activities in rural areas. (OECD)

The 1992 OECD Ministerial Council[11] discussed the current situation and the likely future developments in agricultural policies and markets. They considered that it was necessary to examine in a coherent manner the relationship among the agricultural sector (structural adjustment), environmental issues, and rural development, and the measures to address them. As far as rural development is regarded, Ministers emphasised that it should be addressed primarily through an integrated rural development policy, rather that only through agricultural policy. Furthermore, the primary focus of rural development policy should be the reduction of obstacles to, and the promotion of viable economic activities.

[11] Among the members of the Bureau of the Council there was Mr. R. MacSharry, Member of the Commission of the European Communities responsible for Agriculture (and Rural Development). The year of the OECD Council coincided with the MacSharry reform of the CAP.

The 1998 Council of Ministers acknowledged that some progress has been made since 1987, but a lot still remained to be done, especially because new challenges have been emerging, such as the growing demand for adequate and safe supplies of food in efficient and sustainable ways; the need to recognise the diversity of agricultural, economic, and social situations and public preferences concerning the role of the agro-food sector. As a consequence the Council has agreed on that *"Beyond its primary function of supplying food and fibre, agricultural activity can also shape the landscape, provide environmental benefits such as land conservation, the sustainable management of renewable natural resources and the preservation of bio diversity, and contribute to the socio-economic viability of many rural areas. In many OECD countries, because of this multifunctional character, agriculture plays a particularly important role in the economic life of rural areas."* (OECD, p. 6). As a consequence the Ministers outlined a set of Shared Goals through the achieving of which governments should provide the appropriate framework to ensure that the agro-food sector:

- "is responsive to market signals,
- is efficient, sustainable, viable and innovative, so as to provide opportunities to improve standards of living to producers,
- is further integrated into the multilateral trading system,
- provides consumers with access to adequate and reliable supplies of food, which meets their concerns, in particular with regard to safety and quality,
- contribute to the sustainable management of natural resources and the quality of the environment,
- contributes to the socio-economic development of rural areas including the generation of employment opportunities through its multifunctional characteristics, the policies for which must be transparent,
- contributes to food security at national and global levels.

The concept of multifunctional agriculture has been definitely accepted by the OECD Members at the April 1998 meeting (Delgado et al. 2003). At this summit the EU managed to convince a range of countries about the importance of the concept and that it shall be defended at the next Multilateral Round of the WTO (Delgado et al. 20039. The Ministers reaffirmed that, *"in conformity with the conditions of Article 20 of the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture and including all the elements contained therein, further trade negotiations are due to continue the ongoing process towards the long-term objective of substantial progressive reductions in support and protection resulting in fundamental reform."*

Furthermore, Ministers stressed that *"agro-food policies should seek to strengthen the intrinsic complementarities between the Shared Goals, thereby allowing agriculture to manifest its multifunctional character in a transparent, targeted and efficient manner; and had agreed that the challenge in pursuing the shared goals is to use a range of well-targeted policy measures and approaches which can ensure that the growing concerns regarding food safety, food security, environmental protection and the viability of rural areas are met in ways that maximise benefits, are most cost-efficient, and avoid distortion of production and trade."*(Communiqué, OECD Council Meeting at Ministerial Level, Paris, 27-28 April 1998.)

Based on the discussion around the concept of MFA the OECD has launched a research programme carried out under the 1999-2000 Programme of Work of the OECD's Committee for Agriculture and of which result was the document "Multifunctionality – Towards an Analytical Framework". The OECD in this document defines multifunctionality through jointness in production (joint outputs), clear market-failure and pure public good characteristics. This definition has further become the reference point for further definition and discussion. The "working definition" of the OECD encompasses the core elements of multifunctionality that have been recognised by Member countries. The key elements of multifunctionality according to the OECD document are:

- the existence of multiple commodity and non-commodity outputs that are jointly produced by agriculture; and the
- fact that some of the non-commodity outputs exhibit the characteristics of *externalities* or *public goods*, with the result that markets for these goods do not exist or function poorly.

The need for a fundamental reform including reduction in support and protection of the agriculture sector formulated by the OECD has been essentially influenced by the international trade negotiations of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The Uruguay Round (-1994) of the international trade negotiations started a period of questioning the legitimacy of providing domestic support to farmers, which began to be considered as trade distortive. This led to a general debate on the rationale of such subsidies, especially in countries with a long tradition of supporting their farmers, such as the EU Member States, the United States and Japan.

However, the term "multifunctionality" was greeted with scepticism by major food exporting countries (Carins Group and the United States) and the developing countries[12], the Article

[12] Developing countries expressed concern that multifunctionality was just a "fancy term" for Europe and others to close their markets to agricultural imports, and to continue dumping excess production overseas.

20 of the Uruguay Round Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) provides that negotiations to continue the reform process in agriculture should take into consideration, *inter alia*, WTO Members' non trade concerns (NTCs), in particular food security and the need to protect environment. The views of countries relating to multifunctionality in the context of the WTO negotiations on agriculture were wide ranging and differed considerably. In particular, differences related to the extent to which multifunctionality is perceived as being recognized under the AoA and to the focus which should be given to the concept in the forthcoming negotiations on agriculture. The Outcome of the Twenty Second FAO Regional Conference for Europe (2000) describes this conflictual situation in the following way.

"A number of developed countries consider that the reference to non-trade concerns in the AoA encompasses "multifunctionality" and that agriculture, because of its unique role in serving multiple functions, should qualify for some degree of government support and the continuation of special treatment in the context of future WTO negotiations. Other countries consider that the existing "Green Box" provisions of the AoA provide sufficient flexibility to address legitimate non-trade concerns and that Article 20 calls for "fundamental reform" in agriculture so that national policies supporting the multiple functions of agriculture should not distort global markets. Finally, many developing countries consider that in the light of their experience with the implementation of the present commitments, and considering the generally under-developed state of their agriculture, a purely market-oriented approach to agriculture would not resolve their distinct socio-economic development concerns. Hence, they stress the need for allowing domestic policy flexibility, including modifications to the "Green Box", as well as special and differential treatment (SDT) for developing countries as an integral part of negotiations."

Source: Multifunctional Character of Agriculture and Land, Twenty Second FAO Regional Conference for Europe. Porto, Portugal, 24-28 July 2000, Agenda Item 9.

Notwithstanding of the disagreement among the WTO member states, the Uruguay Round laid down a new conceptual framework for public agricultural policy. It has established the "idea of uncoupling aid, that is dissociating it from quantities produced" (Hervieu,).

In the ***European Union*** considerations that by their nature can be connected to the content of the MFA concept go back to nearly 30 years in the past. It has been however given real voice only when agricultural subsidies had to be legitimized. As in the EU the major part of subsidies legitimized by the concept of MFA reaches farmers in the form of rural development measures, rural development policy and MFA are closely interlinked.

The first policy of the EU concerning its rural population and the primary activity of the countryside, the Common Agricultural Policy, was designed in a period in which the main concern was the adequate supply of the population with food. In this post-war period the main concern of the six founding members was to create their self-sufficiency of food supply and to provide an equitable standard of living for those who contribute to the creation of food security that is to

farmers. The introduced modernisation policies and technological improvement have soon brought the desired results: the EU in ten years has become a net exporter of food from being a net importer before (Delgado et al 2003). Bu at the same time modernisation went along with a strong intensification and specialisation of agriculture.

Controversies of the CAP have appeared already in the mid 1960s. By this time the CAP has become object of strong critics particularly because of the guaranteed prices and the coupled subsidies that led to production levels often highly superior to the domestic demand. In addition, these price policies have contributed to an excessive spending from the Community budget for the agricultural sector. This regime, due to the excessive agriculture protectionism, penalised the principal commercial partners of the CAP. Finally, the first sings of regional imbalances in terms of recipients of aid appeared. In reality, only a small proportion of farmers benefited from the CAP subsidies, while the rest of them have been facing serious difficulties. Another important effect of the CAP policy was that the entrepreneurship choices and the real market have become separated. To remedy these problems the Commission has elaborated a comprehensive plan in 1968 that was named after the actual agricultural commissioner Sicco Mansholt. Although the Mansholt Memorandum contained mostly recommendations that would have contributed to an additional modernization of the European agriculture, it was the first try with a structural approach. The following events that characterised the 1970s included an increasing societal sensibility towards environmental problems, increasing financial problems due to the high CAP expenses. In 1972 three economic and social guidelines have been introduced on the basis of which regional and sectoral measures and socio-cultural directives were approved in the same year or forthcoming to that. The regional and sectoral measures were: Reg. 1035/72 the constitution of producer groups in the fruit and vegetables sectors, Dir. 268/75/EEC in support of agriculture in mountainous and certain less-favoured areas, Reg. 2355/77 to improve processing and marketing conditions for agricultural products. While the socio-structural directives were two, the Dir. 160/72/EEC encouragement to cease activity, and the Dir. 161/72/EEC qualifications for people working in agriculture. Although these measures have contributed to some extent to the improvement of the social structure conditions, their results were not decisive.

In the meantime as the number of the member states increased, the regional differences have been more and more recognised. This has led to the introduction of three integral programmes in 1981 to remedy the structural problems of specific areas of Scotland, France and Belgium. In 1985 to help the less favoured areas of Spain, and later Italy, Greece and France, the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes (IMPs) have been introduced (Reg. 2088/85). In the framework of the IMPs other sectors not only agriculture, but tourism, services, agro-food, fishery were also helped.

By the mid 1980s when the Commission has published the Green Paper on the Perspectives of the CAP" (CEE/COM/85/33), besides the increasingly evident budgetary problems connected to agricultural price policies, the negative environmental consequences of the highly modernised fordist agriculture have also become central concerns (Franceschetti 1995). The role of the agricultural and forestry sector, as strategic in the environmental system being the main users of natural resources, has become reconsidered. The Green Paper itself, besides emphasising the need to create jobs in the rural areas outside agriculture (Maácz 2002), has made special reference to the fact that the function of agriculture is not exclusively of economic nature, but it is also connected to the conservation and management of the rural natural resources (Franceschetti 1995).

In 1986 the Single European Act (SEA) has created the legal basis of the future regional policy being the reference base for the forthcoming development of the policies regarding the rural areas. The SEA modifying the Rome Treaty has introduced a new title (Title XIV) Economic and Social Cohesion that states that the aim of the EU shall be to reduce the differences of the development levels of the various regions, applying special actions to the lagging regions and with particular attention to the rural areas (article 158).

In 1988 the Commission has published the so-called Delors I. Plan. that included recommendations for the coordination and concentration of the Structural Funds. It has suggested the creation of objectives and objective areas in order to ensure a more harmonized use of the available instruments. In the same year the Commission has published the document "The Future of the rural society". This Document has outlined the main lines for a future rural development policy inspired by a territorial logic. Although, it has been considered as a highly ambitious plan and though it had to wait another decade to become realised in the Agenda 2000, it has significantly contributed to the forthcoming debate on rural development. Inasmuch, that in coherence with the indications of the Document, a new community initiative, the Leader has been created in 1998 (Reg. 4253/88).

The first most important step towards a comprehensive rural development policy that takes into account the multiple functions of agriculture was the approval of the 1992 MacSharry reform. The Reform was on the one hand a response to the challenges that were demonstrated by the rural areas and by the crisis of the European agricultural sector, and on the other hand, to the international pressures of the WTO Uruguay Round. Therefore, the early recognition of an agriculture with multiple functions in the European Union has emerged as a response to a two-fold challenge: one was the on-going profound crisis in the agricultural sector and the rural world, the other was the need to respond to the WTO obligations.

The MacSharry reform has foreseen the gradual reduction of the guaranteed prices compensated by direct payments partially decoupled from the quantity produced. The reform has introduced the set-aside premium, inasmuch as the in the case of cereals and other arable crops payment of compensation was dependent on the withdrawal of land from production. The reform encouraged the extensification of the production methods by connecting the payment of compensations to individual or regional ceilings and on the basis of a maximum stocking rate per ha. Additional premia were payable when the stocking rate was less than 1.4 livestock (Segrè 1999). An important innovation of the Reform was the introduction of the so-called accompanying measures, which cover agri-environmental (Reg. EEC 2078/92), early retirement (Reg. EEC 2079/92), and afforestation measures (Reg. EEC 2080/92). These measures have contributed to the formulation of a new agricultural development model that was more sensible to the environmental issues and to the problems of the socio-economic development of the rural areas.

In the 1990s the CAP has seen new challenges to emerge. By this time the rationale of an agriculture based on the fordist model has been seriously questioned by the society. It has become clear that as a consequence of the intense modernisation, concentration of farms, employment in the rural areas were not stabilised but strongly weakened. The CAP was not crating new workplaces on the contrary, it "worked against employment" (Delgado et al. 2003 p. 23). The development imbalances among regions have increased. Farmers in regions with less favourable geographical location, natural and socio-economic characteristics could not keep up with the requirements dictated by the modernisation paradigm. At the same time, big modernised farms continued to receive much of the CAP subsidies, as the policy followed the logic of rewarding the quantity produced. This situation, that was lacking any mechanism of equity and solidarity, was further aggravated by the increasing environmental degradation (e.g. air pollution, green house gases, degradation of the soil, destruction of biodiversity) caused by the highly intensified and specialised agriculture. The legitimacy of an agricultural policy that was ignoring problems of a considerable quantity of farmers, that created huge regional disparity and an increasing unemployment in the rural areas, that subsidised big farms already competitive at the world market that were polluting the environment and, what is more, have become incapable to produce safe food (food crisis in 1997 and 2001), has logically become questioned by the society (Delgado et al. 2003;). It was high time for the Commission to recognise that the meaning of food security has changed during the years and instead of meaning adequate food supply, it gained a new meaning for the society in the form of supply of safe and healthy food that is produced in an environmental friendly way.

The crisis of the agricultural model created in 1956, the challenges sought by the emerging new societal demands, the complex socio-economic difficulties of the rural areas, have called for

the need to redefine the objectives of the CAP and to define a new agricultural model. This model was given a body in the new Common Agricultural and Rural Development Policy elaborated by the Agenda 2000 Document. This new Policy has been mainly based on "The Future of the Rural Society", the Buckwell Report (1998) and the Cork Declaration (1996), three reform documents that at their time were neutralized by the agrarian lobby.[13] Although, the new RD Policy has received considerable criticism (e.g. restricted attention paid to the territorial imbalances, the possibility to maintain certain coupled subsidies, a sole 10% of the CAP budget allocated to RD measures), it is "the most radical and wide-ranging reform of the CAP in its history (CEE, Agenda 2000).

The concept of the new European model of multifunctional agriculture has been officially approved at the Berlin European Council (24-25 March 1999). The Conclusions of the Council has specified that the *"content of the reform will ensure that agriculture is multifunctional, sustainable, competitive and spread throughout Europe, including regions with specific problems, that it is capable for maintaining the countryside conserving nature and making a key contribution to the vitality of rural life, and that it responds to consumer concerns and demands as regards food quality and safety, environmental protection and the safeguarding of animal welfare"*. That is it has been recognised and approved that agriculture is not limited to the sole production of food and fibers but it accomplishes, by its nature, numerous other functions, it provides commodity but also non commodity products that are valued (and demanded) by the society (it contributes to the viability of the rural areas, to the safeguard of the landscape, to the protection of the environment and it produces safe and quality food paying attention to animal welfare).

Multifunctionality of Agriculture has thus become the guiding principle of the CAP and it has laid down the foundations of the RD Policy. "The Rural Development Policy and the recognition of the multifunctional role of agriculture appear as the two faces of the same coin: one has a positive character: the analysis of the sector recognises its numerous functions; the other has a normative character: it establishes rules and enhances the development of all those functions that the analytical approach has recognised" (Magni and Costantini 2004, p. 80). [14]

The newly established Rural Development Regulation (Council Regulation (EC) No. 1257/1999) and the national rural development programs created on the basis of this latter, have become the concrete instruments for the consolidation of the European agricultural model based on

[13] For more information on the destiny of these reform packages and their role in the formulation of the Rural Development Policy see Delgado et al. 2003.

[14] In original language: "Le politiche di sviluppo rurale ed il riconoscimento del ruolo multifunzionale dell'agricoltura appaiono come le faccie di una stessa medaglia: una di tipo positivo: l'analisi del settore riconosce le sue numerose funzioni, l'altra di tipo normativo: detta regole e sostiene lo sviluppo di ciò che il nuovo approccio analitico ha riconosciuto (Magni and Costantini 2004, p. 80).

multifunctionality (Delgado et al. 2003). The Regulation besides incorporating several existing structural measures[15] has introduced a new and different type of set of instruments that are not directly linked to production. These are the so-called Article 33 measures[16] that have been set up to promote an integrated rural development and in this way to contribute to the maintenance of a living countryside. These measures are the following:

- land improvement;
- land consolidation;
- introduction of agricultural management services;
- marketing of quality agricultural products;
- basic services for rural economies and populations;
- renovation and development of villages, preservation of rural heritage;
- diversification of agricultural activities and connected activities, aimed at creating multiple activities or alternative incomes;
- management of agricultural water resources;
- improvement of rural infrastructure linked to agricultural development;
- promotion of tourism and crafts;
- environmental protection linked to agriculture, forestry and nature management, and improving animal health;
- restoring the potential of agricultural production following damage by natural disasters and introducing appropriate preventative measures;
- financial engineering.

In accordance with the Rural Development Framework Regulation, Member States were required to create a Rural Development Plan at the appropriate level.

[15] Reg (EC) n. 950/97 on agricultural structures (Dir. 159/72); Reg (EC) n. 951/97 on processing and marketing of agricultural products (Reg. 355/77); Reg. (EC) n. 952/97 on producer groups and associations (Reg. 1035/72); Reg. (EEC) n. 2078/92 on agri-environmental measures; Reg. (EEC) n. 2079/99 on early retirement; Reg. (EEC) 2080/92 on forestry measures; Reg (EEC) n. 867/90 on processing and marketing of forestry products; Reg. (EEC) n. 1610/89 on the provisions of regulation (EEC) n. 4256/88: development of wooded regions; and Reg. (EEC) n. 4256/88 on the provision of regulation (EEC) n. 2052: EAGGF-Guarantee. *Source: European Commission, DG-Agri, PPT on Rural Development by Jean-Marc Hardy (2004).*

Chapter Four

Methodology

Chapter 4
Methodology

4.1. Research design

The research positions itself at the crossroad of social science, from theoretical and methodological point of view and the agricultural science in terms of its research domain. The research wishing to concentrate on actors (multifunctional farming families) instead of the social system, and to develop analyses that make sense of the ways in which ordinary people understand their lives and shape the reality and the social world, followed theories of *micro*-sociological analysis (symbolic interactionism, social construction of reality) (Calhoun et al. 2002). It has applied the approach of social action of Max Weber inasmuch it claims that individuals shape their life as they are capable of conscious thought and self-awareness. "Human action is not simply a reaction to external stimuli, but the result of the meanings, theories, motives and interpretations brought into social situation by the individual. Social reality is a constantly emergent property not something fixed and inevitable." (Website of the sociological theory at Hevett, Annex 1). This has implied the use of qualitative methodological approaches -*exploratory/interpretative*- and techniques such as personal interviews (oral history) and observation.

The appropriateness of the choice for the qualitative approach is justified mainly by four reasons. First, qualitative approach is appropriate when a topic needs to be explored, as it is the case with the topic of the present research. Second, since the research intended to present a detailed view of the topic …

Third, qualitative approach was employed to study the individuals in their natural setting and to emphasise the researcher's role as an active learner who can tell the story from the participants' point of view (Creswell,). Finally, where investigation relates to the perceived reality of people and their behaviour, qualitative methods have been reported to be an effective way of conducting research. Meaning and motivation do not lend themselves readily to quantitative analysis (Bertaux, 1981; Sas, 2003).

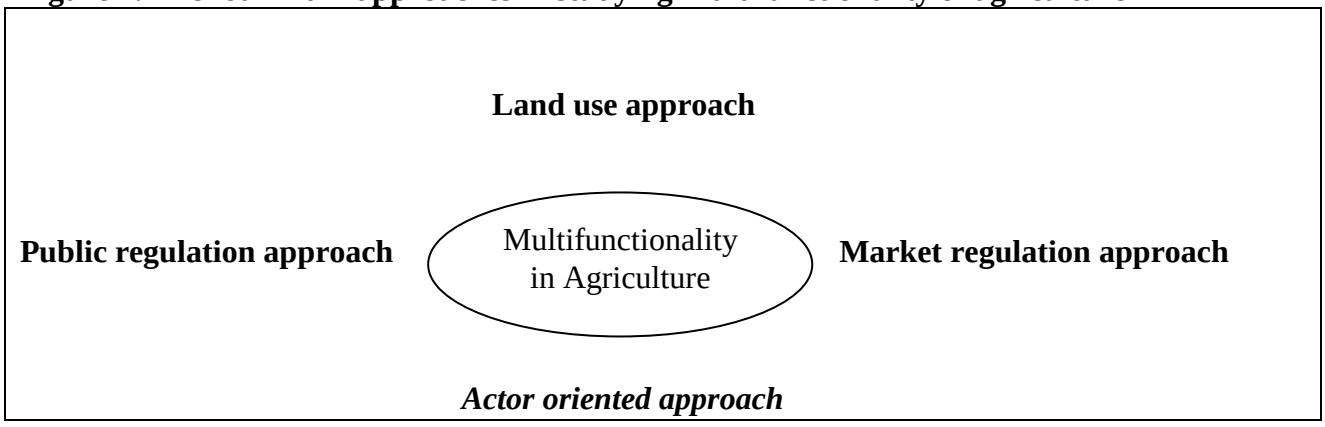
The works following thus the *interpretative approach of social research* aimed to understand people's action using a historical sense of understanding (understanding actions in their social and historical context) (Kemmis, 1991) and that it acknowledges that there is no single objective reality

and only one way of knowing it, but multiple realities constructed by human beings (Rap, 1997). This acknowledges that realities are multiple, constructed and holistic (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

The aim of the inquiry was to seek information about the reality of the person or group being studied. The research therefore sought information about the respondents' own perceptions and behaviour in relation with multifunctionality as livelihood strategy. The exploratory/interpretative approach lent itself to obtain this type of information. It has thus been taken into consideration that different perspectives will exists on MFA, and that the finding of the sole true and undisputed perspective could not have been the goal of the research. Therefore, on the one hand, the goal was the explore the different meanings people attribute to the phenomena of MFA, and to understand and interpret their private and social actions, the practices and interactions emerged from them and implied to turn towards MFA (in which manure). Secondly, it was aimed to specify and understand the conditions under which MFA emerges at family farm level and the reasons for specific sets of actions and interactions of farmers (for what **r**easons). Lastly, the socio-economic context in which farmers, as part of their livelihood strategies, decide to valorise the different functions of agriculture was also among the objectives of the research (in what context).

This research claims to investigate multifunctionality from the actors' perspective. Farm family households have been identified as the unit of analysis. However, rural development is a multi-actor process, the crucial role of farm households in this process has been already underlined by others (Knickel and Renting 2000; Van der Ploeg and Renting 2000). As in the centre of the research there are the farm families as main actors, actor-perspective has been used throughout the research.

Figure 4. The four main approaches in studying Multifunctionality of agriculture



Source: Wiskerke, 2007

The research has claimed knowledge through social constructivism epistemology (Rap, 1997; Creswell, 2003) with the major purpose to articulate concepts, develop hypothesis by interpreting

the conditions that give rise to the specific set of actions and interactions and processes pertaining to the phenomena of MFA. The goal of the research is then to rely as much as possible on the farmers' views of the situation being studied. The epistemological assumptions of the thesis therefore hold on that the individuals seek understanding the world in which they live and work, and that they develop subjective meanings of their experiences, in other words, that they socially construct the meaning of their situation (Creswell, 2003). It means that these subjective meanings are formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals lives (Creswell, 2003).

Due to its exploratory character, the research is not guided by the aim of representativeness but by the possible contribution to an improved understanding of the research problem. As a consequence, elements like specific geographical area, or the homogeneity of farms were not considered important distinctive factors during the selection of the farms.

Triangulation of methods has appeared to be useful technique in order to be able to provide a detailed in-depth picture as it is required by a case study-type-presentation of research results. As a result, the research process was not linear. Emerging issues and obstacles during research process influenced and contributed to the ongoing modification of the methodology and the techniques applied.

4.2. Research set-up and research techniques applied

4.2.1. Method and process of selection of farms

Multifunctional family farms constituted the unit of analysis of the research. The method of selection of farms was in this way purposeful. The number of criteria for the selection of farms has been significantly limited on purpose. As far as the objective of the research is to gain a better understanding on the characteristics in a wider sense of the MF farms, widening the number of sampling categories would have hindered to understand all the possible relevant factors that characterise family farms engaged in multifunctional agriculture. The criteria that have been applied were that farms needed to be multifunctional and family-run. To define multifunctionality the concept of deepening-broadening-regrounding developed by the Rural Sociology Group of the Wageningen University has been applied (section 3.1.2.). Therefore, that not the same

type/size/categories of farms have been selected and analysed is backed by the belief that as starting point in the study of MFA it is better to take a whole range and diversity of farms (see also {Renting, 2007 #39}. Certainly, the final composition, in terms of e.g. size, type of activities of the farms interviewed was significantly determined by the type of farms that have demonstrated availability and willingness for collaboration.

It has been important to gaining access to farmers through gatekeepers.[17] Furthermore, in all three cases I applied also the snowball technique. Interviews have been carried out after obtaining the permission of the participants.

4.2.1.1. Research areas

Field research was carried in the Netherlands and Hungary.

The Netherlands

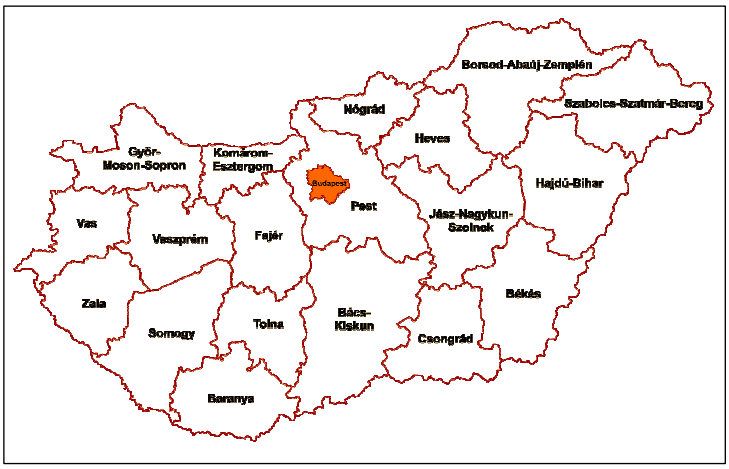
For practical (financial and logistic) reasons, farms situated in the Region of Gelderland (where the Wageningen University is located) have been identified as the wider population from which the sample of farms has been drawn. A list including approximately 500 multifunctional farms was made at my disposal by the Rural Sociology Group of the Wageningen University. After a first review of this list, family-run farms have been selected and contacted by email. This was followed by a solicitation by phone. Farmers have been identified also through the snowball technique and trough websites of, for example, social agriculture. Gatekeepers (Henk Oostindie, Maarten Fischer) had also important role in finding farmers. Finally, twenty interviews have been carried out between April and June 2007.

Map 1.
The region of Gelderland.
Source: Wikipedia

[17] Gatekeeper is an individual who is a member of or has insider status with a cultural group. The gatekeeper can be the initial contact for the researcher and leads the researcher to other informants. (Creswell).

Hungary

Data were collected in seven counties of Hungary. The research initially planned to use the list of the winners of the Agricultural and Rural Development Operational Programme (2004-2006). However, the preliminary research carried out in Hungary in the period of June and September 2006, has shed light on the fact that this list could not be the basic or the sole source of the potential farms to be interviewed as an important number of the winners were actually not farming. As a consequence I have applied the same method as in Italy. I have looked for farm addresses on websites and brochures offering multifunctional farm services (organic farming, open cellars, typical production, farm tourism, etc.). At the end, 100 emails have been sent out asking for availability for the interview. Out of these 100 farmers twenty-four answered. The snowball technique was applied also in Hungary. Finally, nineteen interviews have been made in counties Baranya, Bács-Kiskun, Fejér, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok, Pest, Somogy and Veszprém between September and November 2007.



Map 2
Counties of Hungary
Source: Wikipedia

4.2.2. Data collection, recording and storing

Information has been gained from multiple sources and mainly through two types of activity that of desk research (text analysis) and that of field research. Extensive forms of data collection have been applied such as analyses of scientific documents, articles and political statements, development reports. Information collected during desk research has been recorded in the format of literature review. Field research data and information has been recorded in filed notes, through interviews and general observation protocols.

To comprehend the crucial motivations for the different kind of rural livelihood strategies and the strategies themselves developed by the family farms in order to respond to the socioeconomic challenges episodic-narrative interviews (Flick 2002) utilising the life story

approach have been carried out. The interviews focused around the issues that were central to the research purpose. These issues were the following:

- ***Point of departure:***
  - family background of the respondents (agricultural, non-agricultural, childhood experiences or memories connected to the rural world)
  - motivations for taking up farming
  - the initial activities at the farm immediately after taking up farming
- ***Transition toward MFA***
  - the story of the farm and the farm household including
    - the life of the farm and the farm household prior to the turn to MFA
    - the reasons for MFA
- ***Current situation***
  - the current activities of the farm
  - the current composition of the farm household
  - future prospective including
    - plans for the future in terms of new activities
    - intention for ceasing agricultural activity
- ***Interpretation of MFA and relations with the RD Policy***

Intervention with questions was made only when issues were not covered with the life story unfolding. Questions were of no fixed order. However, an interview guideline was employed to help the interviewer (the researcher) to maintain the focus of the interview (Bertaux 1981). It was aimed to have a more open-ended interview as possible so that interviews could tell what they say or do in their life setting.

Nineteen-twenty interviews have been carried out in each study area. Each interview was carried out in the home settings of the interviewees, it means at the farm where they live. Interviewee and interviewer we were sitting in front of each other often with a cup of tee or coffee. Taking into consideration the framework theory of the research, that of Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF), the goal was to collect information, utilising the logical framework of the SL approach, on the one hand on the assets that rural families can activate to formulate their livelihood strategies, on the other hand, on the socio-economic and institutional context that influences the availability and quality of these assets. Interviews lasted between one and a half and four hours.

An initial trust was built by making a point of explaining the origin of the idea of the research, what are the main research questions, what is going to happen to the interview when it is completed and explaining what it is for.

Each interview was audiotaped or registered digitally and transcribed. However, I did not use only the recorder but I did make notes as the interview was progressing. It was useful to note especially important ideas that were emerging during story telling. Notes were important when a thought came to my mind in connection to what I heard and I wanted to remember it later. After the interview I could return to these thoughts and fill out my reflection. Interviews were transcribed by me. Transcription was done immediately after the interview or in a later stage. Transcription done by the researcher herself/himself has the benefit that it can recreate the scene of the interview and bring a flow of complimentary ideas (Goodson, 2005).

The fact that interviews have been carried out personally has enabled me to record also non-verbal communicative information. This has eased the more precise interpretation of what respondents intended to say. It was the case for example in Hungary where I have discovered significant difference in the interpretation of the concept of "standing on different lags".

Life story as the main data collection approach

> *"L'analisi dei fattori componenti la civiltà contadina è stata fatta dai cultori interessati secondo le varie direzioni – storiografica, economica, sociologica, etnologica, letteraria, politica… - ma la cultura italiana sconosce la storia autonoma dei contadini, il loro più intimo comportamento culturale religioso, colto nel suo formarsi e modificarsi presso il singolo protagonista.*
>
> ***Chi volesse, pertanto, assumere il singolo contadino come protagonista della sua storia, dovrebbe impostare la ricerca secondo la via più diretta dell'intervista e del racconto autobiografico."***
> *Manlio Rossi Doria,*
> *Prefazione per la 'Contadini del Sud' di Rocco Scotellaro,1954, p. 8.*

Interviews have been carried out on the basis of the characteristics of the life story method (Miller 2000). I have retained the life story approach suitable in order to be able get information that covers the elements of the livelihood framework. I supposed that unfolding, deconstructing respondents' life stories I could have obtained an overarching view of the different elements playing important role in the livelihoods of these people. The accounts of the past and present events in fact have provided a rich source of material about the main causes and driving forces that led their livelihood strategies towards MFA. Life stories were therefore the fundamental source of information for the present work. These were certainly not the lives themselves of these people but

a partial, selective commentary on lived experience, texts of lives, literary artefacts that "seeked to recount what these lives were like" (Goodson, 2001 p. 128.).

4.2.2. Interview data analyses

Analysis of the interview data has been a highly complex and challenging process. Considering that at the beginning of the field research I have had no thought about what the respondents would say, categories of the possible answers could not have been developed prior to the interviews took place. Respondents' account followed the design of free talking, therefore ideas, memories, opinions, experiences have not appeared in a temporal or logical order, but as these came to interviewees' mind. Armed with my theoretical, conceptual, and field knowledge I have constructed the main driving forces behind MFA interpreting respondents' accounts.

Interpretation has been unfolding following the grounded theory approach of Strauss and Corbin (1990). Categories have been developed on the basis of the procedure of thematic coding (Flick 2002). The main themes identified have been aligned to the principal foci areas outlined in the paragraph 4.2.2.

Farmers have been grouped on the basis of the main distinguishing driving element, which played the most important role in their decisions to turn towards MFA. These elements could emerge from their personal values, the socio-economic context, the policies and institutions, the livelihood resources base, etc. In order to be able to better determine the principal driving forces the information regarding farmers' interpretation of MFA has also been used. Furthermore, having carried out the interviews in the natural context of the farmers, at the farm itself, it has enabled me, even if only at a limited extent, to verify connections between what the respondents said and what he or she actually does.

Due to the particular historical background, when the Hungarian interviews were processed, I had to make permanent attention to make separated motivations that have lead to the take up of agricultural activity from those that have led to the adoption of multifunctional model of agriculture.

The IMPACT research framework (FAIR-CT-4288 'The socio-economic impact of rural development policies: Realities and potentials)[18] was useful for the analysis of the driving forces at the level of policies and institutions.

[18] Towards a methodology for the analysis of Policy Interfaces: An Impact framework. Guidelines for the RD Policy-Practice Impact Frameworks. RD Policy-Practice Impact (PPI) Framework for RD in general in Country. RD Policy-Practice Impact (PPI) framework for field of activity in Country.

4.2.4. Presentation of research results – case study

Research results are presented in *case study* format, which has been found as the most appropriate for the type of research I have conducted. Case study format is justified by the type of research questions of the thesis, "why" and "how", that favours the use of case study strategy (Yin 2003). Furthermore, the importance of the contextual settings that are assumed to highly influence the phenomena of the study further underpins the expedience of the case study framework.

The multiple cases (three country case studies) presented are rich in context and are narrated through techniques such as a chronology of major events followed by an up-close detailed perspective about the most important incidents (Creswell,). Although, due to the importance of the contextual setting, the three cases are analysed separately, in a subsequent chapter a cross-case analysis is also provided aiming to provide a clear framework at the first sight of the main differences and/or similarities that characterise the three cases. The case studies represent the interpretative phase of the research containing the "lessons learnt from the case" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Each case starts with the description of the socio-economic and political context of the country and if it is the case, the small geographical area subject to the analysis (Province of Bologna, Region of Gelderland). The interpretation of the socio-economic context has been based on the logic of periodisation. The agricultural sector and the rural areas in these three countries show significantly different development trajectories. Therefore, besides the requirements of the applied analytical framework the socio-economic and political context has been illustrated also for this reason for each country.

4.2.5. Boundaries of the research: limitations and difficulties

Generally I would say that reaching farmers was the main difficulty I have encountered during the research process. These difficulties were mainly economic, logistic, and language-related (English knowledge of Dutch farmers, I don't speak Dutch). It has also been a challenge to find multifunctional farms as such as there are no data base or collection of multifunctional farms exists. Although an interview lasted generally at least three hours, in the case when the interviewee could dedicate only one or one and a half hour to the interview, it was difficult to grasp all those non-verbal and in-depth information that appeared to be important when I was analysing interview data.

4.2.6. Interconnectedness of the different research methods and concepts

By closing the chapter of methodology, I would like to put emphasis on the interconnectedness that exists among life story, livelihoods framework and the case study approach. Expressions of MFA are always specific in time and space and therefore need to be studied within their specific contextual setting. The importance of the context is emphasised by all the three methodological techniques that I have applied. The life story approach underlines the importance of social origin as the initial context of a person, the vulnerability context is one of the main components of the SLF, while the case study ***As a matter of fact, through the telling of the life story elements of SLF have been crystallized and these were at the and presented in the case study format.***

Country Case Studies

Chapter Five
Driving Multifunctionality in the Netherlands

5.1. Challenges for the Dutch countryside: socio-economic situation of the Dutch rural areas and the role of agriculture in the national economy

From a Dutch policy perspective rural area is defined on the basis of population density and land use. According to the Dutch Agricultural Economics Research Institute (LEI) over 60% of the area covered by the Netherlands is defined as rural. Rural areas are areas with fewer than 100 addresses per km^2 (on the basis of postcodes) and with less than 10% built-up areas (LEI 2006). Although this delineation of the rural areas seems useful for planning and policy purposes, social construction of the rural by the society in general appears much more relevant for Dutch farmers' livelihood strategies. While scientific works find it often difficult to attribute the suitable meaning to the concept of rurality or rural space, ordinary people "have an undefined capacity to sense the difference between urban and rural areas" (Haan 2001, p. 6). This difference is mainly perceived in the experience of the natural beauty, landscapes, cultural and gastronomic traditions, quietness and security (Frouws 1998; Haan 2001; Dam, Heins et al. 2002).

The entire territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (the Netherlands) covers 33 873 km^2 (Ministry of Agriculture 2000). The country has a total population of 16.3 million (Statistics Netherlands 2007). With its 450 inhabitants per km^2 it is the most densely populated EU member state. One third of the country is situated at or below sea level with mostly coastal lowland and reclaimed land (polders) and with some hills in southeast. A characteristic aspect of the Netherlands is its flatness.

The Netherlands is administratively divided into twelve Provinces: Drenthe, Flevoland, Friesland (Fryslan), ***Gelderland***, Groningen, Limburg, Noord-Brabant (North Brabant), Noord-Holland (North Holland), Overijssel,

Utrecht, Zeeland, Zuid-Holland (South Holland). The Provinces are further subdivided into municipalities *(gemeenten).* As of today there are 448.

The Province of Gelderland (area of the Dutch case study) is the largest province in the Netherlands with an area of over 5 100 km^2. The Province is made up of four regions (Veluwe, Achterhoek, Arnhem-Nijmegen and South-West Gelderland) where more than 1.9 million people live. In general, Gelderland is considered one of the country's main tourist destinations with plenty of facilities for woodland, recreation parks and rural recreation. The Veluwe is known as a popular tourist centre with its dense woodland and expanses of moorland. The Arnhem-Nijmegen area is the most urbanised one out of the four regions and said to be the economic heart of the Province. The South-West Gelderland has a notable natural landscape that gives home for its famous fruit farms. Lastly, the region of Arhterhoek is mostly known for its rustic farmland that encourages the development of agribusiness.

5.1.1. The Dutch agricultural sector

The Dutch Agricultural Economics Research Institute (LEI) divides the Dutch agricultural complex into two main parts (LEI 2007a): the first includes the economic contribution of processing, delivering and distribution of domestic based agricultural raw materials, while the second part represents the contribution of processing, delivering and distribution of foreign based agricultural raw materials (like cacao and tobacco). The remainder of the agricultural complex contains the activities from gardening, agricultural services and forestry.

During 1995-2004 the share of the foreign raw material based component in the value added rose from 34% in to 39%, whereas the importance of the domestic raw material based complex declined from 62% to 52%. This shows that the share of the foreign raw materials increases over the years, but the share of primary agriculture and horticulture is showing signs of gradual decline (LEI, Agricultural Economic Report, 2006). At the same time, there is still a strong dependency of the Dutch agricultural complex on exports. The Dutch agriculture contributes around 7% to the total value of agricultural production in the EU-15 and it is the biggest agricultural exporting country in Europe and the fifth biggest agricultural exporters in the world (Renting et al. 2006). In 1998 about 60-70% of the Dutch agricultural production was exported to markets inside and outside the EU (Brouwer and Berkum 1998).

The Dutch agro-complex still has an almost 10% share in the national economy and of the national employment, but both proportions are gradually declining (LEI 2006a; LEI 2007a).

Table 1. Gross value added and employment of the Dutch agricultural complex, 2001 and 2004

	Gross value added (EUR billion) (a)		Employment (1,000 labour units)	
	2001	**2004 (estimated)**	**2001**	**2004 (estimated)**
Agricultural complex (b)	40.5	40.4	714	651
Share in national total	9.4%	9.3%	11.1%	10.1%

a. In current prices.

b. Based on domestic and foreign agricultural raw materials (including gardening, agricultural services, forestry, cocoa, alcohol and tobacco).

Source: Agricultural Economic Report of the Netherlands, 2006, LEI.

Farm size

The average land surface of the Dutch farms is 20.3 ha. Although, this is not much larger than in the EU-15, as a consequence of the modernization imperative the average economic size of the Dutch farms in 2000 was 5 times higher than in the EU-15 (84.1 compared to 16.7 Economic Size Unit) (Renting et al. 2006). However, as Renting et al. (2006) underlined, it has to be noticed the important differences within the Dutch farm sizes. According to their size Dutch farms can be divided into three groups. The first group includes those highly modernised with an average 100 ESU or more (also called mega-farms[19]). These farms account for two third of the Dutch agricultural production and occupy around half of the total agricultural land (Renting et al. 2006). Though their number tripled between 1994 and 2004 they still amount to just 1.5% of the total number of farms (LEI 2006a). The second group comprises the medium-sized family farms (50-100 ESU and 12-50 ESU), while the third groups includes those small farms (3-12 ESU) that are cultivated part-time or at a hobby basis (Renting et al. 2006). The number of medium-sized businesses increased between 1990 and 1995, but has been declining again since then. Since 1990 the number of small businesses declined the most, by almost half (LEI 2006a).

Over the last 15 years the structure of the primary agricultural sector has undergone significant changes. In general the number of farms in the Netherlands has declined by around 3% per year; since 1990 36% of the farms have closed down. Since 2000, the decline has been stronger than in previous years (3.5% versus 2.5% per year).

[19] 500 DSU (Dutch size unit) is used as a reference point for mega farms, equating to approximately 320 dairy cows, 12,500 pigs, 160,000 laying hens, 340 ha of arable land or 3.5 ha of horticultural greenhouses.

Table 2. Total number of agricultural holdings per year

Year	Number of farms
1992	120 125
1995	113 202
1996	110 667
1997	107 919
1998	104 873
2000	97 483
2001	92 783
2002	89 580
2004	83 855

Source: CBS 2008; (Jukema and Van der Waal 2007).

Farm income and labour

In 2004 the total income per farming family was 48,000 euros, out of which farm family income accounted to slightly less than 35,000 euros (LEI 2006a). However, the income distribution is highly differentiated if we consider that in 2005 around 14% of farming families had a negative total income and an equally large group had an income of more than 100,000 euros (LEI 2006a). What is more, in recent years, around one third of the farming families had an income lower than the minimum threshold derived from the social security schemes, which is equal to 22,300 euros (LEI 2006a).

The number of family members working on the farm has also declined steadily since 2000. In 2005 a total of 236,000 people worked in the agricultural and horticultural sectors, which is almost 20% less than in 1990 (LEI 2006a).

Table 3. Number of workers per year

	Regular workers, total	Family workers	Non-family workers
Year			
1992	290819	229817	61002
1993	290166	228852	61314
1994	281999	220921	61078
1995	276162	214952	61210
1996	281937	217730	64207
1997	282480	214537	67943
1998	286379	206495	79884

1999	270207	199426	70781
2000	282099	194352	87747
2001	268007	186132	81875
2002	258169	178395	79774
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The five major sectors of the Dutch agriculture

The major sectors of the Dutch agriculture are greenhouse horticulture and mushroom farming, open field horticulture, arable farming, grassland-based livestock production, and intensive livestock production.

In 2004 ***greenhouse horticulture*** together with mushroom farming had a 22% share in the value added and a share of 17.5% in employment for the agro-complex as a whole (based on domestic raw materials). Greenhouse horticulture is the only sector of which area has grown from 7,370 ha in 1970 to 10,540 ha in 2005 (LEI, 2006). Mainly due to the increasing energy price, costs have increased significantly resulting in a general fall of family farm income in the sector. The average total income per family on horticultural holdings amounted to around 39,000 euros in 2005 including off-farm income (LEI 2006a). Approximately 30% of the families working in greenhouse horticulture had a negative total income in 2005 (LEI 2006a). However, the sector employs more personnel in respect to the other sectors; the number of employees increased until 2000, but has since fallen significantly. The number of enterprises has declined rapidly (by 5.5%) since 2000 and also more rapidly than in the other sectors.

The ***open field horticulture*** consists of open-air vegetable cultivation, fruit cultivation, bulb cultivation and tree cultivation. In 2004 it had a share of nearly 8.5% in the added value and almost 10% in employment within the Dutch agro-complex. Both shares are gradually decreasing. The number of holdings with open field horticulture has declined by 70% since 1970 and also the total area has decreased by 6% (LEI 2006a). The area for open-air vegetable cultivation and bulb cultivation has been falling recently. As far as the development of incomes is regarded, farm income has increased by 2005 since 2004, with the exception of tree cultivation where the income remained stable (LEI 2006a).

In 2004 the share of the ***arable farming*** complex in the total added value of the whole agricultural complex was less than 20% and approximately 18% of the total employment (LEI 2006a). The number of arable holdings has decreased significantly since 1970 from almost 90,000 to less than 26,000 in 2005. Though the average arable family farm income doubled, it is still under 20,000 euros, furthermore, around a quarter of the arable farming families had a negative income in

2005 and only one third had a total income of more than 50,000 euros. However, this total income includes incomes from outside the farm as this is the case in approximately 60% of the farms (LEI 2006a).

The ***grassland-based livestock farming*** consist of dairy, beef cattle (except veal calves), horse, sheep and goat farming. The sector is still the most important within the entire agro-complex. In 2004 the sector had a share of over 28% of the total added value and almost 33% of employment (LEI 2006a).

In terms of numbers of farms, *dairy farms* constitute the biggest sector in the Netherlands. However, numbers of cattle have declined by 25% since 1990 and there has also been a slight decline in the number of grazing cattle, the percentage of grazing cattle is still high (85%) (LEI 2007a). Today approximately 4.8 million grazing animals are kept on about 1.34 million ha of farmland (LEI 2006a). Although, there has been an almost 50% decline in the number of farms since 1990, with a relatively stable 4% decline each year, in 2005 there were still 23,500 holdings with dairy cattle (LEI 2006a). At the same time the dairy cattle has declined to a little over 1.4 million following the introduction of the milk quota in 1984 (LEI 2006a). Generally, the average farm family income in the dairy sector improved from 44,000 euros in 2004 to 60,000 euros in 2005 (LEI 2006a). In recent years, there have been some significant investments, particularly in milk quota. However, some of the value of these investments in 2006 was lost due to a considerable reduction in the milk quota price. An average farm thus lost several Euro tonnes. In dairy farming, work is almost entirely performed by family members. Between 1996 and 2004, the number of employees declined by almost 30% to 58,000 (LEI 2007a).

The ***intensive livestock production*** consists of pig farming, laying hens, poultry for slaughter and veal production. In 2004 this sector had a share of 22% of both the added value and employment within the agricultural complex (LEI 2006a). The number of pigs has increased to 15 million by 1997 from 6 million in the early 1970s. However, in the following years the introduction of the manure policy resulted in a reduction of the pig population, which stabilised in some more than 11 million in 2005. The number of pig farms has declined by 55% since 1990. The number of farms with pigs (i.e. including non-specialised farms) has even declined by 70%. As a consequence of the decline in the number of intensive livestock production the scale has further increased. In 2005 an average pig farm had almost 2000 animals compared with 540 animals in 1980 (LEI 2006a). The chicken population has been decreasing since 1999 due to the manure policy, and outbreaks of infectious diseases. Veal production is still growing: in 1995 there were 670,000 veal calves and more than 800,000 in 2005. As far as income is regarded, both pig farms and broiler

farms have increased their income, farm incomes of laying hen farmers generally remained negative, while the incomes of veal farms has clearly decreased between 2004 and 2005.

Table 4. Change in the number of agricultural holdings per type

	1990	2000	2004	2005 (estimated)
Total agriculture and horticulture	124,900	97,480	83,890	81,850
Dairy farms	39,550	26,820	22,280	21,330
Pig farms	9,200	6,060	4,190	4,290
Layer farms	7700	660	550	570
Broiler farms	620	540	380	370
Arable farms	16,260	13,750	12,630	12,360
Glasshouse horticulture holdings	10,240	7,900	6,390	6,090
Mushroom farms	790	520	350	320
Open ground vegetable farms	2,500	1,460	1,130	1,080
Bulb cultivation	1,750	1,340	1,120	1,060
Fruit farms	2,810	2,210	1,840	1,810
Tree nurseries	2,930	2,810	2,590	2,520

Source: (LEI 2006b).

5.2. The Vulnerability Context of the Dutch farmers

5.2.1. Agricultural modernization era – The period of certainty

Farming has been heavily intensified in the post-war period when mixed-farms have been turned to specialised farms: the Dutch countryside immediately after the Second World War and just before the start up of the modernisation process was characterised by the presence of mixed farms with pigs, dairy and beef cattle, and poultry and cultivated both cereals and vegetables.

Following World War II the Dutch agriculture entered into a heavy development, with increasingly decreased use of labour and land, and with substantially increasing use of external inputs and capital (Wiskerke 1995). Between 1950 and 1990 the use of non-factor inputs (e.g. inorganic fertiliser) has grown at an average rate of 4.3% per year and the use of nitrogen has shown the most important increase (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). When it comes to the stimuli that

has contributed to the realisation of this level of specialisation and intensification, Brower and Berkum (1998) list the “easily accessible and stable internal market” together with the guarantee prices of the CAP market regimes, the increasing land values due to the scarcity of available land (and therefore to the “increased opportunity cost of holding agricultural land for nature purposes or managing it extensively”), and the more favourable price of inorganic fertilizers, pesticides and animal feeding than that of factor inputs.

The Netherlands has been by no doubt one of the most eager countries in Europe that has fulfilled with excellent results the initial aims the Common Agricultural Policy. (see chapter x.) The Dutch agriculture became “the most productive and intensive agricultural production systems in the world” (Renting et al. 2006). Intense production of food has become a national interest. The most industrialised farming types became horticulture and intensive animal husbandry. Modernization, intensification, and enlargement, the only conditions to be able to stay in the business, have become dominant convictions among farmers and all those involved in the agricultural sector (Renting et al. 2006). Farms have grown even to more than 100 ESU and reached a milk quota of 4-5 million kg per year (Oostindie 2007).

The number of pigs has increased to around 15 million by 1997 from almost 6 million in the early 1970s, which was facilitated by the cheap imported feed concentrates and by the favourable trading situation created by the internal market (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). What is more, following the decrease of cereal prices due to the cereal regime introduced by the Mac Sharry reform, intensification in the pig sector has further improved due to the lower feed costs (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). Due to this volume of intensification of pig production pig manure as a previously valuable fertiliser has turned to be a dangerous waste product.

Besides the pig and dairy sectors, horticulture under glass has been another sector that has undergone of major intensification and modernisation with serious negative environmental effects. In 1998 nearly 90% of the total energy consumption of the agricultural sector was related to horticulture under glass though this covered only 1% of the utilized agricultural area (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). Today greenhouse horticulture is responsible for 85% of the energy consumption of the whole agricultural sector and thus for a major part of CO2 emissions (LEI 2007a). The emissions of CO2 from horticulture under glass increased, in absolute values, from 6.9 million tonnes in 1989 to 7.5 million tonnes in 1995 (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). Until 1997 intensification of the production of a number of vegetables and fruits was boosted in reality by the intervention and the border measures of the CAP(Brouwer and Berkum 1998). In the case of some vegetables intervention price was so high that it actually served as an incentive to increase

production, and although following the 1995 GATT agreement a system of entry prices has been introduced, it still maintained a considerable protection level (Brouwer and Berkum 1998).

From the point of view of the social development of the rural areas one of the most important consequences of the modernization era was the significant decline both in the number of farms and the number of agricultural labour. The number of farms dropped sharply from 301,000 in 1960 to 145,000 in 1980 and further declined to 83 890 in 2004 (Renting et al. 2006 (LEI 2006b)). Employment in agriculture has followed similar patterns, it has declined from 505,000 people in 1960 to 236,000 in 2005 (Renting et al. 2006; LEI, 2006).

5.2.2. The Dutch farming sector in crisis: The period of uncertainty

The 1980s and the 1990s have brought noteworthy changes into the world of the Dutch agricultural sector. Though for a long time modernisation could ensure a secure income for the Dutch farmers, by the mid-1990s they had to encounter serious economic difficulties besides the increasing negative social effects of modernisation and the growing societal aversion against farmers.

By the 1980s the negative environmental effects of the intensive agricultural practice came to light, which have resulted in a general slew by the non-farming society from agriculture in general. Agriculture has become one of the major sources of pollution, mainly in terms of deterioration of water quality and emissions to the air (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). Aversion towards farmers has been boosted by the pig disease of the 1990s and consequently by the animal welfare questions and food scandals (Renting et al. 2006). In fact, the deterioration of environment has been one of the main issues of concern of society since the mid 1980s (Brouwer and Berkum 1998).

In 1997 the Netherlands was hit again by a severe epidemic of classical swine fever (CSF). During the epidemic 429 infected herds were killed and approximately 1300 hers were slaughtered pre-emptively, in addition around 10 million pigs were killed for eradication reason (Stegeman, Elbers et al. 2000; Pluimers, Akkerman et al. 2002).

The Netherlands had suffered also from the Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD, in Dutch: *MKZ*), that broke out in March 2001. The most affected area was the Province of Gelderland where also the first symptoms of FMD were reported at a farm with milking goats and veal calves at Oene (Pluimers, Akkerman et al. 2002). A total of 26 farms became affected during the FMD outbreak,

out of which 20 in the Province of Gelderland, 4 in the Province of Overijssel, and 2 in the Province of Friesland (Pluimers, Akkerman et al. 2002). Municipalities that were the most hit on the basis of the number of animals culled were ***Voorst, Epe***, Barneveld, Oldebroek and Heerde, all municipalities situated in the Province of Gelderland (Pluimers, Akkerman et al. 2002). Initially, ring vaccination of all susceptible animals within 2 km of an infected herd was introduced as standard procedure. As in the Noord Veluwe the disease was spreading more rapidly and was more dispersed than it was expected, vaccination had to be applied to a ring of ***10 km*** of an infected herd. This is how the vaccination was applied in the entire area between the Ijssel River and the forests of the Veluwe (Pluimers, Akkerman et al. 2002). Suppressive vaccination**,** with the outcome that all vaccinated animals had to be slaughtered, was selected as strategy.

While farmer's organisations were usually satisfied with the fast eradication of FMD, in the farming community it has evoked completely different emotions and it has left deep tracks in them. On the one hand, farmers demonstrated strong resistance and disagreement against the killing of healthy animals for eradication reasons. On the other hand, their farmer identity became seriously damaged, in some cases causing also the total termination of farming, or a complete change in their breadwinner activities.

The repetitive food scandals have intensified the economic difficulties that have been persistent already for several years in the Dutch agricultural sector. The so-called the "price-cost squeeze" (Ploeg and Roep 2003), was the result, on the one hand, of a long-term process, exactly that of modernisation, and on the other hand, of numerous additional factors. These latter were the decreasing producer price for agricultural products (reported to have fallen by 22% between 1985-1993, Renting et al. 2006), concentration trends in the processing and retail sector, the increasing price of labour, energy and land, increasing requirements for high quality standards by the agribusinesses, and finally the newly introduced regulations on animal welfare, environmental and food safety regulations (Renting et al. 2006). These elements have all contributed to the increasing costs farmers had to sustain and the consequent decrease in there overall farm income. Furthermore, the environmental and spatial planning regulations introduced in the 1980s have later contributed to the price-cost squeeze.

According to the Agricultural Economics Research Institute of the Netherlands in the coming years farm income is expected to be negatively influenced amongst others by the:

-strong position of the Euro compared with the dollar that inhibit export to some countries,

-threat of avian flu,

-rising energy prices (LEI 2006b).

Besides its historical significance, agricultural modernization has been important to be overviewed also because of its role played in the emergence of rural development practices. In fact, the inhuman aspects of this phenomenon, obviously in addition to the painful economic reasons, and its consequences were often at the deepness of the motives that drove farmers towards change.

5.2.3. Society and agriculture

The Netherlands is one of the most densely populated and highly industrialised countries. This significantly affects the nature, the importance and the use of the countryside. The function and the importance of the Dutch countryside have been revalued by the society to a significant extent. Today already around 55% of the Dutch population lives outside the 20 main urban agglomerations and this proportion is foreseen to increase in the future as non agricultural workers continue to migrate into the countryside (Ministry of Agriculture 2000; Commission 2003). This gives rise to an important tension between the predominantly urban society claiming right to the use of the countryside and the traditional farming society (Frouws 1998; Dam, Heins et al. 2002)

Urbanization accompanied by a growing general need for nature and recreational areas is, however, not the only factor that enlarges the circle of people demanding for land. As the coming decades is expected to see a strong increase in the ageing of the population (Ministry of Agriculture 2000) this will also increase the number of people claiming for recreational and tourist services. Besides ageing, the need to prevent further degradation of nature areas and landscapes (in order to counterbalance the high environmental pollution and loss of biodiversity), furthermore the alarming environmental challenges (e.g. climate change, rising sea level) will also require additional land to be converted into nature areas or to be used by the water management systems.[20] This increasing demand for land will increase the competition between farmers and the other actors of the society. More and more people will claim for the decreasing amount of land that traditionally was used by agriculture.

Distrust and concern for food production

*(Pluimers et al. 2002).*During the CSF outbreaks between 1997 and 1998, the public in the Netherlands was frequently confronted with televised pictures of slaughtered animals. During that period, more than 10 million healthy animals were slaughtered to eradicate the disease or to solve animal welfare problems on overstocked farms. Resistance against these eradication techniques

[20] In the period 2000-2003 80 farmers decided to cease their farming activities every week. The main reason was that the government started to buy up land and as a result intensive cattle farming in particular was reduced. Source: http://www.cbs.nl/en-GB/menu/themas/landbouw/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2008/2008-90101-wk.htm

increased. The feelings were even stronger during the FMD outbreak. The slaughtering of sheep, lambs, goats and cattle to eradicate a disease provokes greater emotion than when this occurs in pigs. The public does not accept that trade consequences prevent the use of vaccine for eradication purposes Eradication measures not only affect the agricultural community, but also have far-reaching consequences for most economic and social activities in the endangered areas.

It was difficult or impossible to convince farmers and the public of the necessity to slaughter vaccinated animals which were perfectly healthy and protected from developing the disease (they were not protected from infection). Politicians and the public at large are very strongly opposed to large-scale slaughtering of vaccinated animals in a future outbreak of FMD.

New consumer demands

Dutch society's needs and expectations towards agriculture in general, food production and rural areas has been characterised by significant changes especially starting from the 1980s (Oostindie, Roep et al. 2006). Under the pressure of modernization, associated with amongst others environmental pollution, landscape degradation, a growing concern of the quality of rural areas has taken shape in the 1980s. This has raised people's consciousness that the "rural" is a limited good (Haan 2001). The number of those claiming rights for the access to these areas has grown. Needs in the rural areas are multiple including residence, recreation, nature, and infrastructure, and it is demonstrated by multiple actors such as farmers, citizens, consumers, and real estate developers (Oostindie, Roep et al. 2006). Increasing clam for green space is well demonstrated by the fall of the Dutch rural area by approximately 90,000 hectares over a period of ten years as a result of development and urbanisation (LEI 2006a). As a consequence the area of land for agricultural use (except greenhouse horticulture) has decreased by almost 4% and the areas of woodland and natural areas increased in size (LEI 2006a). The area of farmland declined from around 2 million hectares to just over 1.9 million hectares during he period 1990-2005.

Besides demand for the green space demand also for healthier diet seems to increase. While the share of expenditure on food and beverages in general in the total consumer expenditure have been gradually declining (LEI 2006a), significant shifts have taken place in the consumption of foodstuffs. For example, the consumption of margarine and full cream milk has declined while that of semi-skimmed milk, cheese, pork, poultry and wine has increased Purchases of fruit and vegetables increased in 2005 for the first time in years (LEI 2006a). This can be interpreted as a sing of demand for healthy eating.

5.3. Transforming processes

5.3.1. Policies

The analysis of transforming processes has the aim to place multifunctional agriculture in the sphere of policies and institutions that supported, or on the contrary, impeded its emergence.

Though, due to the dominant approach to agricultural development, rural development concepts have long been ignored, nature and landscape policies were introduced as early as the 1970s as a response to the emerging environmental problems and the subsequent battle between farmers and environmentalists. The first significant policy plan introduced was the so-called Relation Paper (*Nota relatie tussen landbouw en natuur- en landschapbehoud, 1974-1975*) on the relationship between agriculture and the conservation of nature and landscape (Brouwer and Berkum 1998) Renting et al. 2006). This aimed to designate ecologically valuable areas as nature reserves to be taken out of agricultural use, and furthermore, it offered the possibility for farmers to receive compensation payments in the designated areas if complying with ecological restrictions and environment friendly management activities (Renting et al. 2006).

The *milk quota* introduced in 1984 has had a critical effect on the Dutch agriculture. 1984 therefore can be signed also as one of the most important milestones in farmers' livelihood strategies. The introduction of the milk quota has caused a drastic decrease in the number of cows. The dairy herd of milking cows has fallen to 1.67 million cows in 1996 from 2.37 million in 1985 (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). The number of dairy herd in 1998 was equal to the herd in 1939 (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). The limitation on the production of milk has not only provoked the decrease of the number of milking cows in general, but the significant decrease of agricultural holdings: most of those who had no sufficient number of dairy herd or did not have sufficient financial resources to increase their milk quota ceased farming. Those farms with fewer than 30 cows have practically disappeared (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). However, as it will be presented in the forthcoming parts of the present theses based on the empirical part of the research, this was not the only possible solution for the new situation created by the quota system, on the contrary, the quota has also contributed to the emergence of new type of activities at the farm.

Milk quota was not the only element causing hardship for Dutch farmers in 1984 but also the numerous legislations and regulations that aimed at the protection of environment introduced the same year. To control surplus manure production, the Interim Law on Animal Husbandry *(Interimwet Veehouderij)* was introduced, that has been mentioned as the most important one (Renting et al. 2006). Other relevant regulations regarded:

- "limits on the maximum amount of animal manure and chemical fertilizer to be applied on different soil types;
- standards for the capacity and effectiveness of manure storage;
- prescription of timing and methods of manure application.
- obligation for manure accounting;
- obligation to demonstrate how manure surpluses are disposed of when the maximum application limits upon the farm land are reached." (Renting et al. 2006, pp. 59).

Prescription of timing and methods of manure application included the obligatory injection of cattle slurry manure into the soil instead of applying it to the surface. Nonetheless, all the listed regulations have required serious investments by farmers, injection of animal slurry meant the most important costs mainly due to the heavy machinery the this activity needed (Wiskerke et al. 2003).

1987 was the year when the first measure of an important set of measures aimed to reduce the levels of ammonia emissions by livestock farms was introduced (Renting et al. 2006). Since ammonia is considered to be a major contributor to acidification, the "ecological directive" *(Richtlijn Amoniak en Veehouderij)* attempted to reduce the negative effects of acidification on ecologically valuable areas and landscapes limiting expansion rights of cattle farms depending on their distance from the acidification sensitive areas (Renting et al. 2006). The direct effect of the directive, that is the limitation of expansion of cattle farms, has become another important element influencing farming families' livelihood strategies.

In the Netherlands the *Nitrates Directive (91/676/EC)* is implemented as part of the Integral Note on Manure and Ammonia Policy. This has introduced a mineral declaration system for all intensive livestock holdings with animal density, which exceeds 2.5 livestock unit per ha (Brouwer and Berkum, 1998). In 1998 this system applied to three-quarters of the dairy farms (Brouwer and Berkum, 1998). A levy is charged on farmers if the acceptable losses of nitrogen and phosphate exceed certain standards. In the Netherlands the implementation of the *agri-environmental measures* of the *Council Regulation 2078/1992* have been arranged by the ***Regulation on Management Agreements*** (Brouwer and Berkum 1998). This Regulation can be considered as a follow up of the Relation Paper. The payments are based on the logic to compensate farmers that enter the management agreement for any income losses compared to similar holdings without management agreement. The management agreements contain amongst others the following restrictions: no grazing or mowing of grassland is allowed before June 15, no harvesting or rolling before June 15, use of crop protection products is not allowed, ploughing up is not allowed, fertilizer application on a 3-metre wide margin along field boundaries is not allowed (Brouwer and Berkum 1998).

As part of the set of measures aiming at the reduction of the level of ammonia emission, in 1996 the so-called **"stench-directive"** *(Richtlijn Veehouderij en Stankhinder)* was introduced "to regulate potential nuisances from ammonia odours of cattle farms for non-agricultural" inhabitants of rural areas (Renting et al. 2006). This directive had similar effect to that of the ecological directive introduced in 1987 in terms of limitations of enlargement and intensification. The directive limited expansion rights of farms on the basis of their distances from designated buildings (Renting et al. 2006).

Following the FMD in 2001 important food hygiene and safety regulations and policy measures to prevent the outbreak of contagious animal diseases have been introduced.

Besides environmental and food-hygiene policy, the largely sectorally-based *spatial planning policy* has also fulfilled important role in the livelihood strategies of the Dutch farmers. Due to the small dimension of the country and the high density of population, regulation of space and the activities allowed to be engaged in a given area has always had vital importance in the Netherlands. This is also the reason why in the Netherlands the first national spatial policy framework was initiated much before (in the 1960s) than in other European countries (Renting et al. 2006). The Regional Spatial Plan (*Streekplan*) (called ***zoning plan*** by the farmers interviewed) is a further specification of the national guidelines and it is elaborated by each of the twelve provinces. The lowest level of the spatial planning is the municipality and therefore each municipality has its own spatial plan, called *Bestemmingsplan* (Renting et al. 2006). These spatial plans regulate where cities and villages can extend and designate areas for agriculture, nature and recreation. Spatial plans are subject to review in every 10 years. They are very strict and in fact in a considerable number of cases they meant an important obstacle for farmers for two reasons. One the one hand because they limited farms in their growing in size and on the other hand because the designation of the use of the specific areas impeded farmers in taking up activities other than agricultural.

However, in 2006 a new Spatial Policy Document was approved by the Dutch Parliament that considerably expands the possibilities for residential and small-scale industrial functions (LEI 2006a).

Policy for Rural development

In the Netherlands rural development type policies have not been of significant concern until the beginning of the last decade. One of the main reasons for this has been that the government supported mainly and nearly exclusively the modernization model, including intensification, and scale enlargement of the agricultural sector (Renting et al. 2006).

In today's Netherlands the existence of multifunctional agriculture is a fact that can not be gainsaid. This happened so, however, not necessarily thanks to government policies but to the actions undertaken by the individual farmers who for necessity or for personal motivation have started to valorise resources of their main activity, other than primary production, having created as a consequence additional livelihood resources or resources of personal satisfaction.

Rural development programming 2000-2006

During the 2000-2006 periods the available European Union instruments for funding rural development have been catalogued into the so-called EU Rural Areas Programme *(EU-programma Landelijk Gebied)*. This Programme besides the Dutch Rural Development Programme *(Plattelandsontwikkelingsplan – POP)* included Objective 1 measures within the Structural Fund Programme (for Flevoland), four Leader+ programmes (north, east, south, and Randstad[21]), the Interreg IIIb and the LIFE Programme (Ministry of Agriculture 2000).

The Dutch POP is a horizontal rural development plan covering the whole territory of the Netherlands due to the broadly similar problems throughout the country. The plan was based on the one hand on the established government policy and on the other, on the Regional Operative Programmes *(Rurale Ontwikkelingsplannen – ROPs)* of the Dutch regions. Hence, the POP includes measures of both the national government and measures of the provinces. While the approach of the State is based on the existing state aid schemes, the provinces have opted for the programme approach. In this sense the provincial programmes are based on the provincial policy documents and the funds are earmarked in the provincial budgets (Ministry of Agriculture 2000).

Although the Dutch official documents put the broadening of agriculture among the most important priorities of rural development (Ministry of Agriculture 2000, p. 2), looking at the figures of the following table we can notice that the financial allocation and the policy documents are inconsistent. Measures that are designed to finance broadening activities (mainly priority 4 and 5) do not even count for the 7th per cent of the total funds.

[21] The Randstad (*Rim City*, i.e. a city at the rim of a circle, with empty space in the centre) is a conurbation in the western part of the Netherlands. It consists of the four largest Dutch cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), plus their surrounding areas, with 7.5 million inhabitants (wikipedia).

Table 5. Financial allocation per priority (million Euro)

Key priorities	Total public expenditure	EU contribution	% out of total expenditure
1. Developing sustainable agriculture (innovation, processing and marketing, training, LFA, organic farming)	312.76	113.62	29.5
2. Improving nature and landscape (agri-environment, reparcelling, afforestation, forest management)	386.45	141.81	36.5
3. Sustainable water management (combating water depletion, water recovery, optimising sewer system)	107.92	41.58	10.2
4. Promoting diversification	32.36	8.09	3
5. Tourism and recreation	32.70	16.35	3
6. Quality of rural life (health care, public transport, rural infrastructure, historical buildings)	62.30	27.96	5.8
Other actions	140.64	67.59	13.3
Total (*)	**1 057.39**	**417.00**	**100**

*Including technical assistance.
Source: (Commission 2003).

The full official POP is available only in Dutch. According to the authors of the Dutch Rural Development Plan the document is so complex that it is considered "not particularly accessible to the layman." I find this incorrect towards the layman and maybe because of this type of attitude I can understand why farmers said that they did not understand or they do not know the POP.

"There is explicit scope for private initiatives" (Ministry of Agriculture 2000, p. 3) – this sentence makes me think that however the priority is not given to private initiatives but for public initiatives and then the farmers told me the truth.

Although by today rural development including multifunctional agriculture has gained a major domain amongst rural and agricultural policy guidelines, further modernization remains still one of the policy options in the Netherlands as a way out of the current difficulties agriculture has to face (LEI, Renting et al. 2006).

5.4. Findings and Discussion

5.4.1. General characteristics of the interviewed farmers and their farm

The average age of the interviewed farmers is 48 years. The youngest farmer is 38 years old while the oldest one is 60.

Table 6. Number of farms by age class of farmers

	<35 years old	**<45 years old**	**<55 years old**	**<65 years old**
Number of farm	0	6	11	3

Out of the 20 farms 14 are grassland-based livestock farms, one is an intensive livestock, one is horticulture and three are fruit farms. One out of the grassland based livestock farm can also be defined as mixed farm inasmuch as besides the beef cattle it is involved also in squash production. One farm could not be defined in none of the type of farms since that farm has ceased all the agricultural activities.

Table 7. Number of farms per sector and per size

	Arable farm	**Horticulture**	**Fruit farm**	**Grassland-based livestock farm**	**Intensive livestock farm**
Total number of farm	**0**	**1**	**3**	**14**	**1**
<1 ha	-	-	**1**	-	-
1<5 ha	-	**1**	-	-	**1**
5<30 ha	-	-	**2**	**4**	-
30<100 ha	-	-	-	**10**	-
>100 ha	-	-	-	-	-

As far as the sex of the main farmer is regarded, only in case the main farmer was a woman. In 2002 at national level out of the 128 038 holders 28 215 (22%) were women (CBS).

The majority of the interviewed farmers have at least a medium level agricultural educational background. Five out of them have attended higher level agricultural schools and four of them have non-agricultural background.

Table 8. Number of farms by educational background

	Medium level agriculture school	High level agriculture school	Non-agricultural education	
			Medium level	High level
Number of farm	11	5	2	2

5.4.2. Why farmers go multifunctional?

5.4.2.1. The role of social origin

The first most evident element that distinguishes the interviewed farmers was their social origin. I mean for social origin the social background from where the farmer comes from. This background is characterised by specific social interactions defined by the specific context or culture in which these interactions take place. Interactions among family members or between individuals and the society are emerged as of equal importance. The origin, circumscribed essentially by the family as the smallest unit of the society and the cultural context, is therefore decisive in the shaping of the individual's values, attitude and behaviour.

Shucksmith (1993) uses Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* or disposition-to-act to explain the differences in farmers' behaviour, values and attitudes. "The concept of habitus invokes a process of socialisation whereby the dominant mode of thought and experience to which they are exposed are internalised by individuals, especially in their early years but also through continuing experiences and social interactions" (p. 468).

On the basis of the social origin the interviewed farmers could be divided into two groups. One group is constituted of farmers who come from farming family. The other group is made up of farmers who have non-farming background. Farmers with non-farming origin can also be labelled as *new-entrants* in consideration of the fact that they have had nothing to do with farming previously that is they do not have values or behaviour forms imprinted by farming traditions. On the other hand, I labelled farmers with farming origin as *resistant farmers*. On what criteria I based my choice I will explain in the next paragraphs.

The New-entrants

In the Netherlands out of the twenty interviewed farmers there were four who had a non-farming origin. Besides their family background they have another common characteristic that is they were born and grown up in town.

Research data reveals that new-entries are vitally influenced by their social origin as far as the type of activity they undertake. Socio-cultural factors, such as childhood experience and memories, personal conviction, ideology shaped by the family or the external world can all be elements that affect new-entries in their preference. In two cases this element was the environmentalist movement of the 1970s. Being emotively affected by the green movement Klaas and Jaret as soon as they could they broke with the urban life and move to the countryside to conduct a rural way of living that seemed much coherent with their life philosophy. Both of them farm in organic way from the very beginning.

"We were conscious about life, earth, environmental issues, and the social issues. We wanted to change the world. I looked for another way of life. Therefore I choose agriculture as an alternative way of life." (7:18; 32:53).

In the other two cases respondents have not made reference to the environmental movements but their decision was also drove by their desire for living in rural ambient. René has realised his childhood dream when he started to cultivate grape and make wine out of it by himself. They associated farming with a specific type of living and not with a job.

The Resistant farmers

If I wanted to describe resistant farmers in a simple way I would say that resistant farmers are those ones who have always been farmers and so remain nonetheless of the manifold obstacles they have to face. That is they do resist and continue with farming. In order to be able to give more details on the characteristics of the resistant farmers I invoke Van der Ploeg's (2007) concept of resistance and autonomy.

Resistance of the third kind as explained by Van der Ploeg (2007) refers to the "direct intervention and alteration of the processes of labour and production, which is omnipresent in today's agriculture" (p. 3). This means that resistance can be formed by reorganising labour and

production processes. According to Van der Ploeg (2007), “resistance often seeks autonomy” (p. 1.). Resistant farmers seek to re-gain or maintain autonomy, that is to say their independence and self-regulation. It is worth resisting if one can create autonomy. And the state of autonomy strengthens resistance.

In the case of resistant farmers farming tradition goes back high in the past (to the end of the 1800s and beginning of the 1900s). They have always worked at the farm since they were young. Farming for them is the natural continuation of the family tradition. In addition, farming for them signifies freedom. This freedom is referred to the possibility to have their own business and to make decisions on their own. Tradition, freedom and passion are the most important words to describe their motivation for farming.

“It is in my genes. My father was a farmer. I got it from him. You are a free man.” (16:18; 91:95)

“I was grown up with the idea of being a farmer. It is my passion.” (11:24; 70:70)

“My motivation was to have my own business, to make decisions on my own.” (9:11; 38:39)

Another important aspect of the resistant farmers is that they born into a modernised farm and when they take over the farm they follow the type of development path introduced by their ancestors. This path-dependency therefore determines their way of conducting the farm. What resistant farmers know about farming they had learnt at the farm, from their parents. Informal learning though was not the only factor to direct resistant farmers into the modern way of farming. Institutions, in the form of schools, have also had their role in that. Only two out of the sixteen farmers attended not agricultural school. Most of them accomplished a medium level education (MBO) and two of them did a higher level school (HBO).

“We were trained that producing milk is the most important”.
“In the school we learnt that we need to grow, milk more and have more cows and to use a lot of antibiotics. We were schooled how to farm in a modern way”.

The modernisation model was therefore the evident model to follow after farm takeover. Modernisation in the case of these farms included specialisation and mechanisation, extension of the farm size, increase of the number of livestock, acquisition of production quotas (milk quota

from 400 000 kg to 700 000 kg, and building of additional barns and stables for the animal stock and machinery. These activities in general required significant investments by the farm. Investments in most of the cases were financed from bank credit that meant a significant mortgage on the farm.

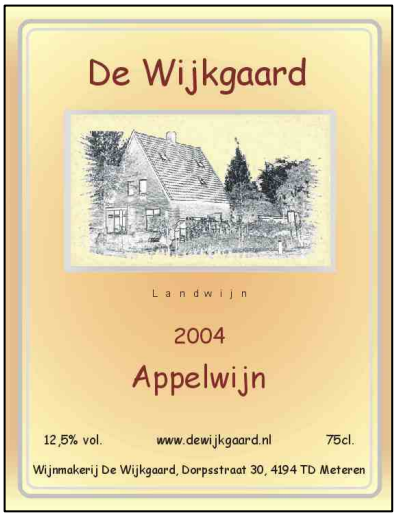
"I took over the farm in 1974. I had 25 cows and 20 ha. And the old stable…And then I started to grow. In 1974 I built one big stable for the milking cows. In 1984 I built one big stable for the calves. In 2001 I had 30 ha grass and 10 ha of mais and 75 cows and 75 calves. We were selling the milk to the factory. We had 550,000 kg of milk quota. We were doing well, we were still growing." (17:8; 36:42).

5.4.2.2. Driving forces behind Multifunctionality

Controlled multifunctionality (CMF)

A fundamental characteristic of the controlled multifunctional farmers is that they gain access to land through acquisition at the land market and not through inheritance or buying it from parents. This implies for two assumptions. One is that they have the necessary financial resources, two that the size of the land they buy will probably not be larger than what they feel to be able to manage. All four of these type of farmers start with a farm sized between 500m^2 and 1,5 ha. They use their savings (income gained from off-farm work beforehand) or family borrowing to cover the costs of land acquisition.

While all the other farmers are also having a medium level diploma mostly in agricultural studies, these farmers were found to be better educated in as much as they are all having a university degree.



From the point of view of the research question of this thesis the most important characteristic of the new-entrants is that at the time of their becoming a farmer they are contemporarily become multifunctional. There is no time lag in undertaking farming and shifting towards multifunctionality as the farm already at its birth is multifunctional. This means that at the case of new-entries the transition process from modernisation towards multifunctionality does not take place.

CMF farmers start with well-defined ideas. They buy land not to farm but to farm in a particular way. This way has to meet their personal motivation that underpins their engagement. The two farmers influenced by the environmental movements of the 1970s start farming in organic way from the very beginning. According to Kostov and Lingard (2003) organic farming as such assumes the prevention of unfavourable consequences. Organic products can never be accused to be dangerous for human health and therefore the risk of food scandal is excluded a priori. Besides exclusion of risk, organic farming is also a way of reaching higher prices and as such decrease possible vulnerability.

Renè makes wine and other alcoholic drinks. He has personalised his produce from the beginning. He has created his own vignette and makes part of the Betuwe Best initiative. He is therefore producing a special product: artisan regional product. He is selling his products at the farm and in small local shops.

Controlled MFA farmers could not suffer from the loss of the "tradition" (in this case of the collapse of modernisation paradigm) as they were never part of this "tradition" in as much as they have never shared the rules this tradition has established.

Controlled MFA farmers don't have transaction costs. They have been controlling also their supply chain from the beginning as they are involved or in direct selling at the farm or they commercialise their products in local area-shops.

"I sell the beer in other shops as well, but not in supermarkets, in area-shops, in 'landwinkels', so in small shops." (6:35; 109:109).

I sold the vegetables directly to different shops in the area. I sold only to small area shops, like Natuur Voeding. These are shops that sell organic products of the area." (7:17; 66:66)

Table 9. Multifunctional activities at the start of farming (or risk defusing operators):

	Deepening	**Broadening**
Farm 1	Organic farming	CSA
Farm 2	Organic farming	Short food supply chain (spatial proximity)[22]
Farm 3	On-farm processing	Direct selling

[22] Short food supply chain (SFSC) is used in the meaning identified by Marsden, Banks et al. (2000). The three main types of SFSC are: face-to-face, spatial proximity and spatially extended.

Resistant farmers

Modernisation has resulted in the nearly complete separation of the farm enterprise and the food supply chain and as a result farmers have practically lost any contact with final consumers. Farmers were less concerned with the mobilization of internal resources. As a consequence farm output was highly dependent on a few specific markets (Van der Ploeg, Renting et al. 2000). What is more, the industrial type agricultural production resulted in a large scale production of uniform bulk products that meet minimum quality criteria of food safety but had no any relation with sustainable production methods or regional provenance, let alone importance dedicated to taste and flavour (Renting et al. 2006).

Resistant farmers (re)construct new linkages with markets from which they have been disconnected or which were inaccessible for them during the modernisation period. They do this through creating short food supply chains or offering services where their performance can be directly valued by the consumers.

Resistant farmers express determination to regain and maintain control and to develop their capacities that are necessary to do so (Van der Ploeg, Renting et al. 2000). They try to limit the costs livelihood strategy change means. That is to say they choose those solutions where the transaction cost is the lowest.

Resistant farmers can be divided into two further groups on the basis of their risk management behaviour. These are the responsive and the precautionary farmers.

Responsive multifunctionality (RMF)

A majority of the Dutch interviewed farmers (12) can be said to be engaged in a responsive multifunctionality. They are those farmers who have been directly hit by the negative effects of the modernisation paradigm both in terms of the price-cost squeeze and the shock caused by the food scandals. They have indicated economic difficulties as the basic motivation for change in their livelihood strategy.

The price-cost squeeze (Ploeg 2003) hit farmers in two waves, in the middle of the 1980s and afterwards in the middle of the 1990s. What is common for all the 12 cases is that the main influencing factor, that is of the economic obscurity were in each case accompanied by other elements that played a crucial role in farmers' motivation going multifunctional.

Due to the increased cost of external inputs and the stagnating agricultural prices farmers have found themselves in a situation where the number of their livestock did not provide enough income. Further extension of the farm and the increase of the livestock might have been an instinctive choice of these farmers continuing the modernisation practices but the accompanying .

Growth was impeded basically by three elements. One was the milk quota regulation introduced in 1984 resulting in a significant constraint in production quantities. Secondly, by this time various regulations regarding spatial planning have been introduced in the country as a result of the increasing. Another element that still regards space was urbanization, that is the increasing need for space by the growing population. As the urban areas were expanding the space available for agricultural purposes (e.g. grazing) has started to decrease. Expansion and the increase of livestock were not any more a realistic solution.

At this point these farming families, lived until now exclusively from traditional agricultural production, needed to introduce new elements into their livelihood strategy. How they did this and what type of new elements they have employed was on the one hand determined by external, contextual factors and on the other, by their livelihood resources.

Precautionary multifunctionality (PMF)

Unlike responsive farmers, precautionary MF farmers do not fully loose control over their resources and endowments but their awareness of the possible uncertainties arises beforehand. They are able to foresee the risks and being aware of their possible occurrence they make preventative arrangements. They perceive risk before. Here awareness shows its importance. This is also the reason wherefore they have not been not directly hit by any shocks or crisis. They have thus managed to mitigate the level of their vulnerability by rendering themselves less dependent from the markets for external input. They see the probability of flowing into risk ad to avoid that they diversify their activities. Diversification means introducing activities over which they have the full control while they still continue with the other activities over which their control has been decreasing.

Precautionary MF farmers are able to prevent the incidence of risk in so far as they are able to recognise how the external environment changes. Changes in the external environment include on the one hand the emergence of uncertainty and on the other hand it conceals the opportunities on which risk defusing operators can be established. “We can reduce the occurrence of some

detrimental outcome, or alternatively increase that of favourable outcomes, only if we have such a causal model" (i.e. model of how the environment changes) (Kostov and Lingard 2003, p. 467).

Unlike RMF farmers precautionary farmers launch new activities at the farm but without being forced to decrease neither their farms size nor their livestock.

In the case of PMF farmers risk can be avoided or delayed.

The role of societal demand

When analysing Dutch farming families' livelihood strategies, society occupies and important place. Public opinion, societal demands, and the conflicts of interests between the farming community and the non-farming society are all elements that played a role in the formulation of farmers' livelihood strategies. How the image of the countryside including its main actors, farmers, has changed (van Dam et al. 2002) has influenced farmers' livelihood strategies. This implies for the important role that agriculture fulfils in the Dutch society, the increasing claim for green space and the increasing societal demands.

"But you also have to take care of the people around you. When you are in the neighbourhood of a big city you should try to think what the people want. To do something with the chances at the place you live. So if you live in a place where there are a lot of people you can use that chance to do something with that." (9:47; 167:173)

Table 10. Main MF profiles of the interviewed farms

	Controlled MF	**Precautionary MF**	**Responsive MF**	**Total**
Deepening	**4**	**2**	**5**	**11**
Broadening		**3**	**6**	**9**
Regrounding	4	5	11	20

The role of livelihood resources

One implication of the risk management in rural development is the possibility to have control over one's own recourses and the outcome of the resource use. Multifunctional farm households re-configure the way they use rural resources (Knickel and Renting 2000). Their livelihood strategies is characterised by the continuous moulding of these resources on the basis of the function a given

resource is called to fulfil. Resources that in one moment loose their function in a subsequent moment becomes upgraded or revalorized (Knickel and Renting 2000) as for example in the case of old and empty stables that are converted into group accommodation or farm shop. Previously unconsidered resources are put into use such as for example the experience in working with elderly people or the cultural capital of an area.

Basing activities mainly on internal inputs or resources is one form of regaining control. Regaining control therefore calls upon the concept of endogenous development (Van der Ploeg and Saccomandi 1995). And here at this cross road the concept of multifunctionality, endogenous development and risk management meet.

Considering that endogenous resources are subjective factors, farmers can build original paths of development trajectories (Brunori, Rossi et al. 2005). An important decisive factor of originality is therefore the subjective/particular character of the endogenous resources that distinguishes farmers from each other and enables them to personalise their offer.

Farm units that with the crisis of the modernisation became superfluous acquire new roles and became important elements of the new livelihood strategies. Grazing land that becomes unused following the cease of dairy farming is converted into camping area. Empty stables are altered into group accommodation or pension for horses. The availability of these capitals facilities the provision of new services at the farm. In case of unavailability of infrastructure construction requires further investment and therefore the acceptance of risk.

Resistant farmers tend to employ family labour. No responsive farm has been found to be pluriactive[23]. However, also in the case of the new-entrants only one out of the four farms can be defined as such. In this case the spouse of the main farmer has its own job off the farm and the income earned contributes to a significant extent to the household's livelihood.

Table 11. Labour division among the different type of MF farms

Type of MF farm	N of active family members		N of employees		N of volunteers/stagier
	Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time	
Controlled					
1	1				5-6
2	1				
3	1	1		1	1
Precautionary					
5	2	2	1	1	
6	2		1		
7	2				
8	1	1		1	

[23] I speak about pluriactivity when one of the family members has his or her job off the farm and the income he or she earns contributes significantly to the household's livelihood. In this sense pluriactive income enables the farming activity to be maintained.

9	1	1		1	
Responsive					
4	2				
10	2		1	7	
11	2				
12	2	2		1	1
13	2				
14	2	2	1	1	1
15	2				
16	2				
17	2				
18	2				
19	2	1			
20	2	1			

Family labour has been found crucial also as far as the future plans of these households are regarded. As a matter of fact, families try to avoid assuming employees and so the family labour force capacities confine the extent of their activities.

"If you plant more trees you need other machines and labour. And we did not want that." (2:14; 74:74).

"If I produce much more I need other people to help me. But I don't want this because I can not pay salary for him/her. But I don't even want to grow too big. I want to remain small. So I grow until I can do the job alone. This is my limit." (6:46; 162:164).

"And we try to fix all the work between the two of us…. and with the help of students. Because of the cost and problems around employees. When we need people we call them in. In summer season we have a lot of work here, but during winter there is not so much work around." (11:40; 131:133).
"

"If you want more activities you need more people but we don't really wan tot have more employees. It is important to look at the factor work." (9:38; 134:136)

Farmers are aware of their capabilities and skills. The explanation for why two farmers who face the same problem and have the same endowments choose two different type of activities (one for example the on-farm processing the other care farming) appears to be eradicated in their mindful decision based on their personal abilities. It is also possible as Shucksmith (1993) says that "many options potentially open to farmers may never be seriously considered because they are literally 'unthinkable'" (p. 468). What is unthinkable for farmers is guided by their *habitus*.

"No care farming, no education farming, no camping… , then you have to be nice 24 hours a day and I am only nice Friday afternoon when my shop is open." (14:41; 152:152).

"I followed my own intuition and not courses." (11:63; 207:207).

Rural development practices and Synergy at farm enterprise level – another way to increase control and decrease uncertainty

On-farm processing is not "only" a creation of added value. It is a risk reduction in the sense that what is produced by the farmer itself he can be sure that that food is meeting with the necessary hygienic requrements. Direct selling contributes to the reduction of risks by internalising the market. The farm itself becomes the market where the products are sold. On the one hand, this market is much more under control for farmers where farmer can establish the prices and can alter them on the basis of his or her rational judging of the demand. In this way he/she avoids the risk of selling his produce on unfavourable price. On the other hand, direct selling brings immediate income, which contributes to the reduction of financial uncertainty at household level.

"At the farm you have immediate income, at the auction you have to wait for the price. At the farm you can say this is my food and this is the price." (2.23; 105:117)

"The farm and the care activity belong to each other. One thing alone is almost impossible." (1:25; 103:105).

"We never thought to stop agriculture, it is an important part of the farm, people like it. People enjoy looking around what you are doing. It is part of the strategy." (11:64; 219;219)

Table 12. Synergy at farm household level in the Netherlands

	Activity 1	Activity 2	Activity 3	Activity 4	Activity 5	Activity 6	Activity 7
Controlled							
1 Nieuwe Ronde	Organic farming	Community supported agriculture	-	-	-	-	
2 Wijkgaard	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Workshop	Processing for other farms	-	-	
3 De Terp	Organic farming	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Care	Nature conservation	Packaging, trading and storage	
Precautionary							
5 De Woerdt	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Workshop	Groups	Open day	-	
6 Diervoort	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Horse pension	Boerengolf	-	-	
7 Doorgange	B&B	Care	-	-	-	-	
8 Catrien	Children groups	-	-	-	-		
9 Ilse	Children groups	-	-	-	-	-	
Responsive							
4 Het Ach	Care	Farmers' market	-	-	-	-	
10 Hoekelum	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Group accommodation	Workshop	Catering	Care	Nature protecion
11	Camping	Fruit trees	-	-	-		
12 Ijseelord	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Open days	-	-		
13 Hoenderik	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Workshop	B&B	Terrace	-	
14 Marente	Children groups	Adult groups	Care	Cow-hugging	Nature conservation	-	
15 Koperen	Donkey renting	Stroke farm	Terrace	Children groups	-	-	
16 Biologisch	Organic farming	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Groups			
17 Arie	On-farm processing	Farm shop	Terrace	Groups			
18 Wilgenhof	Care	Homeopathic treatment	-	-	-	-	
19 Vosselhoeve	Recreation (Boerengolf, archery)	Direct selling	Groups	Breeds	-	-	
20 Kooise	Camping	Care Social work for people under punishment	Terrace	Nature and Landscape conservation	-	-	

Respondents were asked to give an estimate of the percentage of their current income deriving from the various sources such as purely agricultural, multifunctional or pluriactive.

Table 13. Year of start MF and the % of income from MFA

Type of MF farm	% of income from the different sources			Year of start of MFA
	MF activities	Agricultural activities	Pluriactivity	
Controlled				
1	100	-	-	1996
2	50	-	50	1997
3	99	1	-	1984
4	100	-	-	1995
Precautionary				
5	50	50	-	1988
6	?	?	-	1997
7	10	90	-	2005
8	1	100	-	2000
9	1	100	-	2005
Responsive				
10	100	-	-	1985
11	35	65	-	2004
12	50	50	-	1987
13	60	40	-	1999
14	20	80	-	2001
15	80	20	-	2001
16	85	25	-	1996
17	60	40	-	1999
18	10	90	-	2004
19	20	80	-	2001
20	70	30	-	1995

If I list the percentage of the income earned by the year of starting MFA, previous findings (Van der Ploeg and Renting 2000) become confirmed. Generally if MFA has been recently started the income arising from it is lower than when MFA has been started much earlier and that is benefit can be expected to grow.

Table 14. Year of start MF and the % of income from MFA

% of income from the different sources			Year of start of MFA
MFA	Agriculture	Pluriactivity	Year
99	1		1984
100			1985
50	50		1987
50	50		1988
100			1995
70	30		1995
100			1996
85	25		1996
50		50	1997

			1997
60	40		1999
60	40		1999
1	100		2000
20	80		2001
80	20		2001
20	80		2001
35	65		2004
10	90		2004
10	90		2005
1	100		2005

Hungary

Chapter Six
Driving Multifunctionality in Hungary

6.1. Challenges for the Hungarian countryside: socio-economic situation of the Hungarian rural areas and the role of agriculture in the national economy

Hungary occupies an area of 93,040 km^2. On January 1, 2006 the number of inhabitants amounted to 10,077 thousand. According to the New Hungary Rural Development Program (FVM 2007) in the programming period 2007-2013 the settlement with a population density not exceeding 120 persons/km^2 or having less than 10,000 inhabitants are considered rural areas, excluding the settlements of the Budapest agglomeration, but including the outskirt territories. In this way rural areas in Hungary cover 95% of the country's settlements, 87% of the territory and 45% of the population. According to the OECD classification 62% of the total area of Hungary is rural including 74% of the population.

Out of the total country area of 9.3 million ha, 62.5% (5 million 817 thousand ha) is currently under agricultural cultivation. 48.5% is plough land, 10.9% is grassland and 3.1% is orchards and vineyards. 21.4% of the country's area is utilised by the forestry management, of that 19.1% is forested (1 million 777 thousand ha) (KSH, 2007; FVM, 2007). The highest proportions of agricultural areas are situated in the Northern- and Southern Great Plain (22%-23%) while the proportion in the Region of Central Hungary is only 7% (FVM, 2007). 41% of the total agricultural land is cultivated by corporate agricultural enterprises[24] while 31% is cultivated by private farms[25]. The remaining 28% was in other, and in half not in agricultural use (KSH, 2007).

The contribution of agriculture to the GDP, investments and employment was around 4.5% in 2006. As the following table shows, the role of agriculture in employment and GDP has been continuously decreasing in the last decade.

[24] Agricultural enterprise is a business unit with or without legal entity excluding private entrepreneurs and private farmers (KSH, 2006).

[25] Private farm is a holding operated by a household involved in agricultural activity or an individual business with a tax identification number (KSH, 2006).

Note: Though the KSH uses private farms to define individual holdings and individual enterprise, I preferred to use the "individual holding" as it expresses better the difference between individual enterprise and corporate enterprise.

Table 15. Role of agriculture in the national economy

	Role of agriculture (agriculture, forestry, fishery) in		
Year	**employment**	**GDP**	**investments**
	Current prices (%)		
1995	8.0	5.9	2.9
1996	8.3	5.8	3.5
1997	7.9	5.2	3.6
1998	7.5	4.9	3.6
1999	7.1	4.2	3.3
2000	6.6	4.6	4.7
2001	6.3	4.5	5.5
2002	6.2	4.0	5.5
2003	5.5	3.7	6.1
2004	5.3	4.1	4.3
2005	5.3	3.7	4.5
2006	4.9	3.7	4.2

Source: Mezőgazdaság 2006; KSH, Budapest, 2007.

In 2006 out of the total employed, 4.9%, that is 191 thousand people worked in agriculture (agriculture, forestry, and fishery) (KSH, 2007). According to the labour statistics, in 2006 agriculture alone employed 94 thousand people, which is 4.4% less than in the previous year (KSH, 2007).

The drop in the number of agricultural workers is connected to the decrease of the agricultural enterprises: in 2006 there were 53 769 agricultural enterprises (individual/private and corporate together) which is 4.5% less than in 2005. In addition, the use of labour force has decreased both at the big and medium sized enterprises, but most significantly at the small enterprises with less than 10 employees, as the number of these enterprises has decreased the most (from 32 434 in 2005 to 31 606 in 2006) (KSH, 2007).

The share of food economy in consumption and export shows a decreasing tendency as well. Although, the foreign trade balance is still positive, it has been significantly decreasing since 2004 that is after Hungary's accession to the European Union, due to the increasing consumption of import goods. In 2005 households spent one fourth of their expense to food stuff.

Table 16. Role of food economy in the national economy

Year	**Share of food, beverages, tobacco in (%)**		**Balance of foreign trade of food, beverages and tobacco (billion HUF)**
	consumption	**export**	
1995	..	20.3	227.6
1996	30.7	18.4	244.7
1997	30.4	13.0	295.6
1998	30.3	10.5	314.8
1999	28.2	8.0	273.3

2000	27.6	6.9	302.2
2001	27.7	7.5	374.8
2002	27.0	6.8	308.9
2003	26.6	6.5	303.2
2004	26.1	6.0	223.1
2005	25.1	5.8	181.1
2006	..	5.5	214.5

Source: Mezőgazdaság, 2006; KSH, Budapest, 2007

In 2006 in agriculture the monthly gross average salary was 111 978 HUF[26], the net average salary was 82 110 HUF at organisations with more than 4 employee. These data show an increase of 8.9% and 7.5% respectably since 2005 (KSH, 2007).

In Hungary the two main sectoral groups are arable farming and animal husbandry, with an increasing dominance of the first one. Arable farming includes mainly cereal (wheat, barley, rye, maiz), industrial crop (sunflower, sugar beat, rape), leguminous crop, potato, lucerne, vegetables and fruit production. Though the production of cereals in 2006 was 11% less than in 2005, it is still above the average production level (KSH, 2007). Vegetables and fruit production has increased in respect to 2005 with 15% and 18% respectably. There has been an increase also in grape production, which was 10% higher in 2006 than in 2005.

The decrease in the volume of animal husbandry including the quantity of livestock (bovine, sheep, and poultry) has been decreasing since 2004. The only exception was the swine sector, where the corporate enterprises have increased the number of their livestock. However, those individual holdings have at the same decreased their swine stock.

Although, the procurement price of the agricultural products has been increasing to a lesser extent than the agricultural input expenditure, in 2006 the agricultural scissors was positive in Hungary with 4.6% (KSH, 2007).

Today (2005) in Hungary 7900 corporate agricultural enterprise and nearly 709 thousand individual holdings operate. Since the 2003 agricultural census the number of corporate enterprises has not changed while the number of individual holdings has decreased by 8% (KSH; 2006).

Table 17. Number of agricultural holdings (2005)

Year	Individual holdings (includes households and individual enterprises)	Corporate agricultural enterprises	Total
	thousand		
1972	1 841,5	6,1	1 847,6
1981	1 529,6	1,4	1 531,0

[26] 1 Euro = 250 HUF

1991	1 395,8	2,6	1 298,3
2000	958,5	8,4	966,9
2003	765,6	7,8	773,4
2005	706,9	7,9	714,8

Source: Magyarország mezőgazdasága 2005; KSH, Budapest, 2006.

Demographically the rural areas are characterised by an unfavourable age-structure due to an overwhelming percentage of the ageing population. Due to the lack of subsistence opportunities, in the last decade migration from the rural areas has intensified (Márton, 1999; Kovács, T. 2004; FVM, 2007).

Although, the contribution of the agricultural sector to the national GDP has been continuously decreasing since 1995, agriculture still represents a decisive role in many rural families' life as often being their sole source of livelihood. Though industry and service sector have been growing dynamically in Hungary in the last two decades, it has been concentrated in regions with considerable development potential leaving agriculture for the already less prosperous rural areas as the only economic activity to rely on for their subsistence. This situation characterises mostly those areas with critical employment conditions and lack of jobs, such as the Northern Great Plain, and the dwarf villages mainly of the Western and Southern Transdanubia regions[27].

6.2. Vulnerability context of the Hungarian farmers

Triple collectivisation: 1945-1968

The post-socialist Hungarian policies on land restitution and property de-collectivisation have resulted in a fragmented property structure. This was however an inevitable consequence of the fragmented farm structure that preceded the socialist era (Kovács K., 2000). The pre-socialist farm structure has been developed by the 1945 land reform (Decree 600/1945 of 17 March 1945) when estates over 575.5 ha were expropriated. Almost 60% of the 3,222,800 ha of expropriated land was distributed among 725 thousand claimants, who were predominantly agricultural workers, farmhands, and the owners of dwarf estates (Csaki and Lerman 1997; Estok, Feher et al. 2004). The remaining 40% became property of the state, villages and co-operatives. The new owners received an average of 2.93 ha. "The plots of dwarf holders increased on average from 0.8 ha to 1.1. ha only" (Swain,). The 1945 land reform therefore caused a significant change in the production structure, and ownership relations in agriculture.

[27] The six NUTS2 regions of Hungary: Central Hungary, Southern Transdanubia, Central Transdanubia, Western Transdanubia, Southern Great Plain, Northern Great Plain.

In the period of 1945-1948 an intensification process took place in agricultural (Kovács T., 1997). Animal breeding and goods production was mainly done by larger farms of more than 20 holds[28] but smaller farmers of around 10 holds were also producing for the market (Kovács T. 1997). The total number of families growing vegetables, tobacco, grape and fruits grew to around 300 thousand. This was the period of the so-called traditional multi-dimensional peasant type[29] farming that is mixed farming with different livestock (poultry, pig, and cow) and crop cultivation. They were characterised by being involved in on-farm processing of their products and the commercialisation of these at the local market. Although, the majority of these farms still based their production on manual work and draught animals, they paid attention to market demands. Kovács (1997) describes them in the following way: "They were doing a professional job with intelligence, diligence and ambition in the spirit of venture. They were ambitious, intelligent peasants…" (p. 118-119). Two further characteristics of farmers of this time shall be mentioned here. One is that they shared their experiences in agricultural work from generation to generation. And the second is that the land reform gave hope to these people in a better future, and people "had individual perspectives and common will" (Kovács 1997, p. 118). Altogether, nonetheless half of the agrarian poor still did not receive the land to which they were entitled, and the number of unviable farms has increased, the 1945 land reform (carried out on historical justice[30]) has provided the landless recipients with the "opportunity to become owners and independent farmers" (Estók et al. 2004, p. 225.).

This opportunity has been later taken way by the forced collectivisation that was practically launched already in 1949, when the current Hungarian leaders made commitment to collectivisation following the expectations of the Soviet leadership (Kovács 1997;(Estok, Feher et al. 2004). The first collectivisation era lasted until 1953. Although at the beginning of this period a considerable amount of peasantry demonstrated resistance to collectivisation, by the economic year of 1951-1952

[28] 1 hold corresponds to 0,5754 ha.

[29] It corresponds with Shanin's definition of peasants (Swain, referring to Teodor Shanin's work "Introduction: peasantry as a concept "in T. Shanin (ed) Peasants and Peasant Society, 2nd edition, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1987. Mostly or exclusively family provides the labour at the farm. Mostly the farm provides for the consumption needs of the family and the payment of its dues. Their economic action is closely interwoven with family relations. Family division of labour and the consumption needs determine the livelihood strategies. The family farm constitutes the base of the "peasant property, production, consumption, welfare, social reproduction, identity, prestige, sociability and welfare" (Swain, p. 2).

[30] Between the two World Wars land was prevalently owned by the big landowners. Around 20% of the agricultural workers (1.8 million peasants and farm workers) had no property at all. They worked as servants or farmhands. 0.1 % of landowners owned 30% of all land, and 85% of all farm controlled only 19.4 % of land. This means that more than 80% of the rural population lived in poor conditions. They were able to carry out only subsistence farming and had no any chance to buy land. (Kovács T., 1997; Csáki and Lerman, 1997; Takács J., 2005). This situation has been changed by the 1945 land reform.

the burdens[31] on peasants grew so dramatically that farmers had no alternative to entering the co-operatives (Kovács T., 1997; Estók et al. 2004). Cooperative members had to submit all but 0.85 ha of their land (Estok, Feher et al. 2004). These 0.85 could be cultivated independently in the form of household plot. The increasing hardship has resulted, among other things, in a tremendous exodus from the land leaving approximately 570 thousand ha uncultivated (*parlag*) (Estok, Feher et al. 2004). As a consequence of the recognition by peasants that their elemental attachment to the land and previous lifestyle was hopeless, they surrendered their land to the state. Peasants seeing no future for individual farming encouraged their children to look for work outside agriculture (Estók et al. 2004).

The second collectivisation era was launched in 1955 following a two-year-period (1953-1955) of eased situation for farmers.[32] This was due to the fact that at the turn of 1954-1955 West Germany joined the NATO, which resulted in the increasing need of the Soviet Union of the development of the heavy and military industry that was mainly financed from the draining off the agricultural income (Estók et al. 2004). As a consequence, the previously cancelled burdens on peasants have been re-established and in some cases they have been increased.[33]

The second collectivisation era was ended by the 1956 revolution and war of independence. In the following two years policy was directed by the belief that tension could be the best alleviated if concessions were delivered to the villages. Political leaders in seeking of compromise with the society have alleviated among others the following obligations: compulsory delivery system, compulsory sowing plan, forced marketing, agricultural marketing contributions.

The third collectivisation (full collectivisation) campaign was launched in 1958, however at this time it has been done in the "Hungarian fashion". However, the political leadership was constrained to re-launch collectivisation as the Soviet Union put the completion of reorganisation of agriculture back on the agenda; they have also recognised that the Hungarian co-operatives have developed in a manner that was considerably different from the Soviet (kolkhoz) model (Estók et al. 2004). This has resulted in a situation when co-operatives though were forced to follow the Soviet style, they managed to disguise their particular initiatives and conceal them under new names

[31] Deprivation of the right to the free use of their land, expropriation of the devices of production, introduction of taxation and punitive sanctions, increase of the compulsory delivery quotas, land reallocation to destroy individual farming. The wheat kept for planting and making bread was taken away from peasants. Those who could not fulfil their obligations were prosecuted, imprisoned or taken to labour camps (Kovács T., 1997; Estók et al. 2004).

[32] This situation was the consequence of the willingness to ease the outstanding economic and social tension that has been created in the entire socialist bloc after the death of Stalin. Political leaders was concerned by the alleviation of tensions and appointed Imre Nagy to introduce changes that could ease the livelihoods of peasants (Kovács T., 1997; Estók et al. 2004).

[33] Delivery and tax burdens were increased, the three-year ban on leaving co-operatives was reintroduced, and income of wage and salary earners was reduced (Estók et al. 2004, p. 242).

(Estók et al. 2004). One of the most important out of these initiatives[34] was the introduction of share-cropping (or share farming) with a family based division of plots (*részesmuvelés*). This meant that co-operative members were given a direct share of the crops that they cultivated. In this way members had bread grain and forage to feed their household animal stock for the entire year. The fact that members become interested in crop cultivation brought advantage for the co-operative as well, as in this way the labour intensive crop maintenance and harvesting were carried out well (Estók et al. 2004). Another important feature of the collectivisation in Hungarian fashion was that while in the past the basis of collectivisation was the poorer, landless peasants, this time first the influential and experienced farmers were approached and persuaded to join the co-operative. In this way between 1959 and 1961 "more experts were channelled into agriculture that at any time previously" (Estók et al. 2004, p. 252.). It was common that a local farmer became the president of the co-operative and this, as it was hoped by the political leadership, often contributed to the acceleration of the increase in co-operative members. In the first three months of 1959 the number of co-operative members has increased from 200 thousand to 500 thousand, then by the beginning of 1960 it rose to 900 thousand and finally by the beginning of 1961 it amounted to 1.2 million (Estók et al. 2004).

The right to household spot has been re-established.[35] Co-operative members were entitled to a maximum of 0.57 ha, which has played an enormous role in the self-sufficiency of the members (Estók et al. 2004). By this time, when within one decade collectivisation took place three times peasants understood that individual farming was tolerated only provisionally. Their loss of hope has contributed to the emerging survival strategies that saw the male workforce (men of working age) seeking employment outside agriculture. During this last period of collectivisation around 350 thousand people left agriculture and sought employment in the industry sector, rather than accept the low and insecure income at the co-operatives. Mostly only one member (mainly women or an older member of the family) of the family joined the co-operative that enabled them to retain the right to the household plot.

Household farming became extremely important for another reason. This was the policy of the socialist era regarding rural settlements useless. As socialism saw development in industries and cities, it promoted municipalities with industry or bigger population. This has inevitable constrained development in the rural areas. Kulcsár and Jávor et al. (2000, p 5, 6, 7, 9.) describes the process of

[34] Others were for instance that co-operatives wanted greater independence and wished to regulate their internal affairs on the basis of their capabilities; and co-operative members requested a regular and appropriate income throughout the year instead of the income calculated on the basis of the work units.
[35] It was practically demolished in the most fierce collectivisation era of 1955-1956.

village destruction as follows. “Rural economies were left to die on the vine. Below a set population threshold, villages and farms were regarded to be uneconomical, and thus were not supported. This idea resulted in generating plans for village destruction. In 1948 the Hungarian Workers Party officially declared that farmsteads (Tanya) should be merged into villages. Tanyas were at the lowest level of the hierarchy of settlements and therefore they were sentenced to destruction in the near future. Rural areas became therefore heavily dependent on agriculture. More than one thousand municipalities lost their schools and the length of railway lines decreased by more than two thousand km.”

The industrial style agriculture – The productivist era (1968-1980)

Although the number of co-operatives grew significantly by 1961[36], nothing was like this as considers their productive performance. The average agricultural production between 1960 and 1965 barely reached the average levels of 1958 and 1959 (Estók et al. 2004). The hardships faced by the co-operatives were inherent to a complex set of reasons. One of these was the lack of labour force and motivation. Due to the low and insecure income increasing number of people was leaving the co-operatives. Those who remained worked only occasionally, the minimum required and without diligence. As Estók et al. (2004) describes “although the regime could force the peasantry to join the co-operatives, it could not make them diligent and painstaking in their work” (p. 255). The second was the permanent financial difficulty co-operatives had to face was due to the siphoning off of income from the co-operatives by the state price policy. Thirdly, in part as a consequence of the second reason, co-operatives lacked equipment and without sufficient financial resources they were unable to make investments in machines. This has led to the need of importing food as the country’s needs could not be supplied from domestically grown grain (Estók et al. 2004). Having recognised the unsustainability of the situation reform mechanisms have started in 1963, where regarding the agricultural sector modernisation appeared as the solution.

The New Economic Mechanism was introduced in January 1968. The main objective of this reform was to alleviate the problems of the planned economy and broaden the efficiency of the economy. Though mechanisation in agriculture started already in 1966, a significant increase in modernisation of the agricultural sector has been launched in 1968.[37]

[36] In 1961 there were 271 state farms, around 4,200 co-operatives and almost 165 thousand individual farms registered. The co-operatives owned almost 70% of the country’s plough land (Estok, J., G. Feher, et al. (2004). History of Hungarian Agriculture and Rural Life - 1848-2004. Budapest.)

[37] Mechanisation took place practically in three waves: 1964-1968, 1968- 1975, and 1976-1980.

Modernisation included basically four areas: mechanisation, the use of herbicides, pesticides and artificial fertilisers; amalgamation of co-operative lands; and specialisation. As far as mechanisation is concerned, due to the heavy machine investments by the end of the 1970s grain harvesting and trashing, maize harvesting, sugar-beet and potato harvesting reached 100% mechanisation (Estók et al. 2004). The use of herbicides and pesticides became widespread and complex artificial fertilisers also appeared. Furthermore, artificial fertilisers became the principal means of soil replenishment: by 1975 the use of artificial fertilisers grew by three and half times compared to 1967 (Estók et al. 2004). By that time 224 kg were used per ha. In parallel with this, the use of natural process of soil replenishment was suppressed and the strategy of mass production was thus built on chemicals (Estók et al. 2004). In the early 1970s the amalgamation of the co-operative lands has started in order to create the industrial style farming with large areas of land. This has resulted in the decrease of the number of collective farms from 2,441 in 1970 to 1,338 in 1980 with an average area of 4,000 ha (Estók et al. 2004). Lastly, specialisation, together with amalgamation, has contributed to the significant increase of the average area devoted per farm to one culture. Furthermore, the number of crops produced had strongly decreased. In the livestock sector, huge-capacity specialised animal farms have been created. "The minimal industrial concentration in cattle farms was 300 animals, in pig farms 3,000 animals, and for laying hens 20,000 birds" (Estók et al. 2004, p. 274).

The results of modernisation became visible soon. Yields of cereals grew to 11.4 million tons in the first half of the 1970s from 7-8 million tons of the previous decades (Estók et al. 2004). This dynamic increase in crop production has created the foundations of development for livestock keeping and meat production. By the end of the 1970s Hungary produced 2.7 billion of litres of milk while this figure was 1.9 billion at the beginning of the decade. Egg production and wool production have also considerably increased. Hungarian agrarian exports tripled between 1965 and 1975 (Estók et al. 2004). According to Estók et al. (2004), measures in terms of per capita were as follows: Hungary ranked fifth[38] in the world in grain production; second in wheat production (after Canada); and fourth in terms of meat production (after Denmark, the Netherlands and Australia). In terms of eggs produced in mass-scale Hungary became the second after the Netherlands.

The modernisation of agricultural production was however a privilege exclusively of the large co-operative farms. Notwithstanding of this, in the background of the dynamic development of the co-operative production, one could found the small household plots contributing to significant extent to the increased agricultural production. As for crop farming, household plots produced 25% of the co-operatives combined total income despite of owning only 12% of the co-

[38] Following the USA, Canada, Australia and Denmark.

operatives agricultural area (Estók et al. 2004). There was a unique division of labour between small household plots and large collective farms: while large farms concentrated on the highly mechanised branches of plough-land production, the more labour intensive vegetable, fruit and grape production as well as poultry rearing, egg production, pig farming and calf rearing were suited to household plots. As Swain () says one of the things on which Hungary's relative agrarian success was based was the "judicious intermingling of large and small-scale production techniques, and the development of the appropriate labour types to go with them" (p. 2.).

In this agricultural production quantity was the major objective, mass-scale products were produced, where quality and efficiency were not amongst the priorities (Csáki and Lerman 1997; Estók et al. 2004). Production ignored soil characteristics as well as the protection of origin of the products ((Dorgai 1999). The capital-intensive growth of the co-operatives was ended by the harsh economic circumstances of the 1980s.

Crises in the agricultural sector and the emergence of the second economy: the 1980s

By the turn of 1978-1979 a major turnaround occurred in the Hungarian economy. By this time the country's total outstanding debts had reached 8 billion dollars and it became evident that the country was unable to repay the interest and instalments on the loans it had taken out (Estók et al. 2004).[39] Signs of the country's complex economic crises became evident also in agriculture by the mid 1980s. By this time a considerable number (around 500) of the existing 1300 cooperatives run into debt. In addition, as the majority of them used bad soil, their production capacity could always only be maintained at a sufficient level. This situation was intensified by the initial deterioration of machinery. According to Kovács T. (1997) by the middle of the 1980s the rate of the worn-out machinery grew to 15%. Furthermore, co-operatives' situation was weakened by the fierce pressure of the industrial lobby on political leaders, whose components feared their privilege obtained in the period of heavy industrialisation (1950-1960). Economic stagnation became the norm.

As a consequence of the intensification of the internal and external pressures[40], the draining out of agricultural income has increased. This was accompanied by a dramatic cut in agricultural subsidies, the decrease in the proportion of state support in co-operation investments, new tax burdens on co-operatives, and doubling social security contributions (Estók et al. 2004). In general

[39] Word Bank, Structural adjustment.
[40] Following the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian reform was evaluated increasingly unfavourable by the Soviet leaders (Estók et al. 2004).

a restrictive monetary policy has been introduced including amongst others budget restrictions and the limitation of imports.

The tightening economic restrictions and the increasing draining of income forced the cooperatives to start to live off their assets. In addition, co-operatives in trying to increase farming results put emphasis on creating an ownership interest of workers. As a consequence a particular system of organisation and interest emerged in which framework co-operatives started to lease out land since the early 1980s (Kovács T. 1997; Estók et al. 2004). In 1981 large farms leased out 9,100 ha of plough-land, in 1987 the figure was 47,100 and by 1991 it reached 310,200 ha (Estók et al. 2004). Initially only plough land was leased, later on also more than half of the grape-growing area and 40% of the orchards of large farms was cultivated by small producers.

This is how, as the result of the economic restrictions, the co-operatives' need to rationalise farming, and the deteriorating living standards of the population, emerged the second economy that soon became a general trend and became integral part of the (rural) families' livelihood strategies (Csatári, 1997; Elek and Nemes, 2000; Brown and Kulcsár, 2001; Estók et al. 2004). Since in the rural areas there was no alternative, additional income was earned at the private household farm or at the leased land. By this time the scope of production was not merely production for own consumption, but and increasing number of families were involved in commodity production for the market.

Box 1. The development of household farming and its importance in the livelihood strategies of rural population

Co-operative members after performing a certain amount of work per year on the collective farm were entitled to a household plot of 0.57 ha. Although, the persistence of these plots were seen as provisional by the political elite, their role in both the livelihood strategies of the population and in the national production capacity has only increased throughout the decades instead of decreasing. Household plots originally were intended to ensure the self-sufficiency of co-operative members and to provide a supplementary income. After the 1970s they increasingly produced goods for the market.

The role of household farming was thus far more significant than it was supposed for a number of reasons (Kovács 1997; Kovács 2000;(Estok, Feher et al. 2004):

1. It created a transition from individual farming to the new work organisation of the collective farms.
2. It played a stabilising role in the success of the large farms.
3. It had a highly important role in the agricultural production becoming a significant factor in the production of national income and in the country's export capacity. In the 1960s some 40% of the country' agrarian output was produced from scarcely more than 10% of the agricultural area. In animal husbandry the proportion was 70%. In 1981 64% of the vegetables, 50% of vine and 53% of pigs were produced in small farms.
4. It supplemented the income of co-operative members.
5. With the increasing marketing of products, it offered an opportunity for making money and contributed to social elevation. It represented a large extra income for families.

6. It functioned as a holding force on the population.
7. It provided a sphere of autonomous decision making and individual responsibility, since besides production farmers had to be concerned with trade, information exchange. Therefore, the household farming has contributed to the preservation of a certain level of enterprise spirit and practice.
8. It contributed to the smooth land privatisation.

Agricultural workers spent nearly four times as much time on agricultural work on the small farms (in the evenings and at the weekends) as officially worked in the co-operatives. They were not interested in the management of the co-operative; the most important for them was to have the possibility to work on their household plot. In the 1970s besides the co-operative members, also blue collar workers and teachers started doing farming. The number of these farms was around 60 thousand in the 1980s and reached 100 thousand at the change of the political system. In the 1990s 60% of the Hungarian families were involved in agricultural production and two-thirds of these surpassed the levels of leisure time gardening. They sold around 60% of what they produced.

Kovács (1997) divided into the following three groups farmers involved in household farming:
1. Livestock breeders: they grew fodder-crops on 30-40 ha of rented land and had their own machinery and they provided services for others. Machines sorted out from cooperative were purchased by families and were occasionally repaired.
2. Viticulturist and gardeners. They were producing and storing wine themselves. They were also selling their products sometimes on foreign markets
3. Greenhouse farmers. The rate of farmers who were producing for the market was more than 15%.

People were doing household farming because they wanted to live better and there were no other alternatives especially in rural areas for getting extra incomes than private household farming. According to Kovács T. (1997) these people were saved from poverty by their diligence: in the middle of the 1980s one-tenth of the rural society was poor, “if these traditional farmers had not dealt with private farming one-third of the rural society would be poor now (1992)” (p. 123).

Change in the political system, privatization and poverty: the 1990s

The dismantling of the one-party system and the transformation of the economy started in 1988. This latter included the passing of the law on business organisation that made possible to create new forms of enterprise such as limited partnership, joint venture, limited-liability company, and joint stock company. The 1989 law on the transformation of business organisations made the transformation of the socialist company system possible in the coming years (Estók et al. 2004).

The Hungarian economy and political system has arrived to a dead-end by the end of the 1980s. In 1990 the reform process started. The agricultural sector similarly to the other sectors of the economy had no alternative than moving towards the market based privatized agriculture. This included the privatization of land and productions assets, and the restructuring of the large-scale cooperative and state farms. Privatization served also to compensate a large segment of the population that had lost their property due to collectivisation.

Box 2. Land restitution and compensation policy

Hungary opted for compensation rather than restitution due to the fact that at that time only one third of landed property was legally owned by its former owners, a small fraction of land belonged to state farms and the majority was the undividable property of the cooperatives (Kovacs 2000).

The land restitution and compensation was based on four compensation laws. Approximately 2 million families, who lost land themselves, were entitled to compensation. Besides, co-operative members and employees having no land in the past could also claim for land. Land privatisation was partial and market friendly (Swain, 1994). Partial compensation was carried out by the issuing of compensation bonds (that is financial instruments) and not by restitution of former property. Those owners of the past who never left the co-operative or who died and their children worked at the same organization and their land belongs to there, had also the right to reclaim their land. They were not concerned by the decreasing value (Kovacs 1997). Full re-privatization could not take place due to the severe economic and financial situation of the country. Those who received compensation bonds were entitled to participate in the privatization of agriculture and purchase land. Compensation bonds were tradable and exchangeable, this offered alternative to land purchase. The purchase of land was based on a bidding process. The majority of land auctions took place during 1993-1994. Not all the land was reclaimed. By 1996

Although land privatization was rather smooth, in Hungary the move to private farming for a lot of people was in a sense a return to nothing (Swain, transition from collective…). Those people who worked 20-30 years in the co-operative had been practically deprived of the ownership feeling.

From the point of view of endogenous rural development concept, considering land as a pure object of privatisation, the privatization process was seen by some having a principal role in the atrophying of the villages (Márton, 1999).

Rural areas have generally been described as the main loosers of the system change. The transformations in the agricultural sector and generally in the economy have significantly affected the every-day life of people living outside the capital and in some extent outside the major cities (Elek and Nemes, 2000). The crisis phenomena had different intensity in the different regions; however the most significant was the one between Budapest and the rural settlements. The regional differences became particularly serious in the northern-eastern part of the country. Hungary was at this time characterised by a prolonged economic downturn, decreasing living standards, high unemployment, significantly decreased social security, widening income differences and the disappearing of numerous jobs (Andorka 1999; Laki 1999; Kulcsár, Jávor et al. 2000; Brown and Kulcsar 2001). Unemployment in Hungary reached its peak in 1993-1994. As a consequence, poverty increased. As reported by Andorka (1999) in the 1980s there were one million, in 1992 there were one and a half million, in 1993 two and a half million while in 1994 there were three and a half million people living on an income inferior of that necessary to the minimum subsistence level. 8.6% of the population of Budapest lived in poverty, while the figure in the rural settlements was 25.3%, almost three times more than in the capital city (Andorka 1999; Brown and Kulcsar 2001). That rural Hungary found itself in an economic and social agony had several reasons:

- Employment has declined dramatically as co-operatives and industries have been dismantled and there has not been new workplaces created (Dorgai 1999; Laki 1999). Two-thirds of the large farm workplaces were abolished with 650 thousand agricultural employees becoming jobless between 1990 and 1994 (Estok, Feher et al. 2004).
- Many of the displaced workers who lost their job at the urban industries were village residents who had been commuting between their home and workplace. When industries were closed or downsized they returned to their villages. They further complicated the already difficult situation of their settlements contributing significantly to the number of unemployed people. (Kulcsár, Jávor et al. 2000; Brown and Kulcsár 2001). This is how it could happen that in certain rural settlements unemployment has reached even 40% (Laki 1999).
- The limited economic growth, including the new economic opportunities were concentrated around the capital or the larger cities (Kulcsár, Jávor et al. 2000; Brown and Kulcsar 2001).
- In the rural areas previously health, children and other social services were provided by the collective farms. With the dismantling of the co-operatives and with the decreasing role of the state in the maintenance of the social safety net, this gap has not been filled and rural families have become increasingly vulnerable (Kulcsár, Jávor et al. 2000; Brown and Kulcsar 2001).

Since no new employment opportunities were created in the forthcoming period; unemployment has become permanent in the rural areas. A considerable part of the rural society lived on unemployment benefits and other allotments, at a very low subsistence level. As natural consequence, poverty created serious psychological problems, alcoholism, increasing number of suicides and crime among the rural population (Andorka 1999).

Here we shall return for a moment to the on-going process of land restitution and compensation. To see clearly the linkage between increasing (rural) poverty and land privatization will be important when I will analyse the motivations for farming. Generally land privatization has been described as resulting in a very fragmented structure of land ownership creating a huge number (960 thousand) unviable (farm with lass than 3 ha) farms (Estok, Feher et al. 2004). This shows that even if the size of the land that one could claim back was most of the time very limited, people frightened of a possible unemployment and impoverishment saw in those few ha of land at least a minimal source of self-sufficiency and perhaps some income.

6.3. Transforming policies and structures[41]

In Hungary prior to 1998 spatial development *(területfejlesztési politika)* policy tried to find remedies for the development, infrastructural and income differences of the rural regions. In 1990 a new ministry, the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Development was established, but its importance was recognised only around 1992 when the regional differences become sharply visible and crises areas have been developing (Elek and Nemes 2000). From the point of view of regional and spatial development, the 1990 Act on Local Governments had outstanding significance resituating economic and institutional independence to local municipalities, paving the way for the decentralisation process (Petrics 2003).

Rural development as such was mentioned for the first time in the XXI Act of 1996 on Regional Policy and Physical Planning. This Act has been designed in line with EU requirements and besides creating the multilevel system (national, regional, county and micro-region) of territorial development and the institutional system of decentralisation, it also established the foundations of the bigger (NUTS2) regions (Petrics 2003).

Between 1990 and 1998 there was no unified rural development policy in Hungary, and this is well illustrated also by the fact that rural development type measures were administered in this period by seven different institutions such as the Ministry of Agriculture, Territorial Development Fund, Central Environmental Fund, Central Water Fund, National Employment Fund, Ministry of Public Welfare *(Nepjóleti Minisztérium)*, and Ministry of Industry and Commerce (Elek and Nemes 2000).

Following the 1998 elections, the institutions, resources and responsibilities for regional/rural development were moved into the new Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD). The Unit for Rural Development Programmes together with the Office for the National Development Plan and European Funds inside the Prime Minister's Office became the main responsible for agriculture and rural development policies.

In order to integrate the national agricultural policy and to some extent to prepare the country for the Sapard programme, in 2000 the MARD has launched a special rural development programme, the VFC *(Videkfejlesztési Célelőirányzat)*. The goal of VFC was to give opportunity to the micro regions to elaborate a socio-economic analysis of their area and to develop a strategy or an operative programme for the implementation of development measures based on the principal needs of the local population. The introduction of VFC has been considered as a response to the late

[41] For a comprehensive description of Hungary's rural policy before 1990 see Kulcsár, L., K. Jávor, et al. (2000). Rural Policy in Hungary: Challenges Raised by the Prospects of EU Membership. European Rural Policy at the Crossroads Conference. Aberdeen.

implementation of Sapard. With this initiative 200 micro-regions for rural development have been created. By the beginning of 2001 micro-regions presented 150 operative programmes including approximately 6750 projects to be accomplished in the forthcoming two years. In the end, 2796 projects have been financed from VFC in a total sum of 10.5 billion HUF (40.3 billion EUR) and have been distributed in four areas for development: agricultural structures, diversification; improvement of the villages and conservation of the rural heritage, and development of human resources (Petrics, Segrè et al. 2007).

Hungary, similarly to the other Central-Eastern European countries was eligible for the Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development (Sapard). In 1999 the Unit for Rural Development Programmes was formally appointed as responsible for the management of Sapard. Nevertheless, due to late accreditation of the Hungarian Sapard Agency and the postponed adoption of respective national legislations, the Programme was launched only in the second half of 2002. The first contracts were stipulated in March 2003 and the first payments were accomplished in May 2003. This meant a huge delay in the implementation of the programme and played a decisive role in its limited success. In the first two years of the Programme 8836 projects arrived out of which 2677 were financed for a total sum of 65.5 billion HUF. According to data from the end of 2006 (MVH 2006) with the assistance of the Sapard programme approximately 4300 workplaces have been created in the rural areas. Nearly 70% of these were related to the measure of "Improvement of the processing and commercialising of the agricultural and fishery products". Diversification had a marginal impact with its contribution to the creation of only 43 jobs or 1.1% of the total.

Table 18. Distribution of SAPARD funds between the measures (EU and national) (2000-2003) (EUR)

Measures	SAPARD resources 2000-2003	distribution (%)	Financial framework	distribution (%)
Investments in agricultural holdings	79 524 173,0	37,27%	98 529 734,0	32,11%
Processing and marketing of agricultural and fishery products	69 374 263,0	32,51%	76 453 547,0	24,92%
Improvement of vocational training	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Agricultural production methods designed to protect the environment and maintain the countryside	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Operation of producer groups	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Renovation and development of villages, protection and conservation of rural heritage	10 648 003,0	4,99%	22 586 497,0	7,36%
Development and diversification of economic activities, providing for multiple activities and alternative income	1 816 544,0	0,85%	51 713 597,0	16,86%

Development and improvement of rural infrastructure	51 713 597,0	24,24%	57 232 476,0	18,65%
Technical assistance	289 615,0	0,14%	289 615,0	0,09%
Total	213 366 195,0	100,00%	306 805 466,0	100,00%

Source: FMV 2006.

Probably the most important effect of the Sapard programme was that it has contributed to great extent to the administrative preparation for the forthcoming period (Kulcsár, Jávor et al. 2000), while it had limited results as far as the improvement of the quality of life of the Hungarian rural areas are regarded (Chaplin, Davidova et al. 2004) .

Hungary, according to Council Regulation (EC) No 1260/1999 laying down general provisions on the Structural Funds[1], regions and countries covered by Objective 1 prepared a strategic document, National Development Plan (NDP), for the planning period 2004-2006. One of the operative programmes of the Hungarian NDP is the *Agriculture and Rural Development Operational Programme (ARDOP[42])*,

The general aim of ARDOP is to provide support for a more competitive and sustainable agricultural sector (including agriculture, fisheries and food processing) and by promoting an integrated development of rural areas, based on the improvement of the income level and the job opportunities of the population. The Hungarian ARDOP includes the following three priorities Priority 1 - Establishment of competitive basic material production in agriculture; Priority 2 - Modernisation of food processing; Priority 3 - Development of rural areas; and Technical Assistance.

The main objective of the priority titled “Development of rural areas” is to promote the realignment of rural areas. Within this to reduce the economic and social disadvantages in rural areas; to improve the quality and conditions of life and income positions of rural population; and, as a result, to diminish the aging and depopulation of small settlements, the further deterioration of human potentials, i.e. their migration to (urban) areas with better infrastructure facilities, and the further erosion of the landscape and the image of the rural world.

As far as the importance of the priority is regarded, we again have to observe that despite the awareness of the serious socio-economic problems of the rural areas, the highest importance has been given to investments in agricultural holdings. This measure aims at the modernization of the agricultural production, but at the same time it is the highest labour force ex. Importance given to the different measures is shown in Table 19

[42] It is one of the five operational programmes thorough which the Community Support Framework (containing the financial commitments of the EU and the Member State related to the development programmes for the Member State) established by the European Commission has been implemented.

Table 19. Importance of measures by resource allocation, ARDOP

	ARDOP public participation total*	Ratio
Priorities and measures	€	**%**
Priority 1: Establishment of Competitive Basic Material Production in Agriculture	**241,094,962**	**57,0**
1.1. Assistance to investments in agriculture	223,457,332	51,3
1.2. Structural Assistance in the Fisheries Sector**	5,730,918	1,4
1.3. Setting up of young farmers	7,317,506	2,8
1.4. Assistance to vocational further training and retraining	4,589,206	1,5
Priority 2: Modernisation of Food Processing	**591,968,95**	**14,0**
2.1. Improvement of processing and marketing of agricultural products	59,196,895	14,0
Priority 3: Development of rural areas	**112,008,511**	**26,5**
3.1. Expansion of rural income earning possibilities	16,059,395	6,0
3.2. Development and improvement of infrastructure related to agriculture	52,944,640	12,5
3.3. Renovation and development of villages and protection and conservation of the rural heritage	23,848,626	3,5
3.4. LEADER+	19,155,850	4,5
4. Technical Assistance	**10,535,717**	**2,5**
Total	**422,836,085**	**100,0**
FIFG from total	**5,730,918**	**1,4**

* EU + national fund (75%-25%, in the case of FIFG 76.6%--23.4%).

** All measures are financed from the EAGGF Guidance Section

Source: Report for the European Commission on the implementation in 2005 of the ARDOP, FVM 2006.

6.4. Findings and discussion

6.4.1. Why farmers go multifunctional?

6.4.1.1. The role of social origin

Although it could seem senseless to distinguish the Hungarian farmers by their social origin that is whether they are form a family with farming or non-farming traditions, this division has been done also in the Hungarian case as I have discovered that this characteristic can indeed be significant in some dimensions of the respondents' life and livelihood strategies. Therefore the first division of the farmers was done on the basis of this criterion. Certainly, due to the historical background of the Hungarian agriculture and rural areas, some explanation is essential when the farming origin in the Hungarian context is treated.

The farming traditions in the case of the Hungarian respondents can not assume the same meaning as in the case of the Dutch and Italian farmers where generally the farming origin looks several decades back into the past and where the agricultural families have seen the continuous succession of the farming traditions from one generation to another. In Hungary instead family farming practices could not persist in time as they have been break off by the socialist agricultural regime. This also underlines the lack of classical path-dependency in the Hungarian case. For the same reasons historical resistance is also missing from the Hungarian reality. What has though persisted in time is farmers' memories of how once the farm was managed by their parents or grandparents.[43] These memories have come out when they have given their motivation in the turn towards multifunctionality or when they have attempted to give their own interpretation of the MFA. These memories were with no exemption connected to the peasant type farming that were still alive at the beginning of the 1950s and that has been preserved at the household plots - where it was possible to have. At these farms multiple activities were carried out sometimes including also on-farm processing done mainly with family labour use and with the involvement of mainly internal inputs preferably without or limited use of chemicals. When these respondents were asked to start telling their life stories including where they were come from they have underlined their childhood experience connected to this particular farm life.

[43] In two cases they were their parents and in other three cases the grandparents. Logically the first two respondents are over nearly or over 60 years old (63 and 66) while the other two respondents are nearly are or less then 50 years old (46 and 50).

"My parents were old-fashioned peasants. They had animals, cows and horses… they have grown their own food … They sold it also at the market… mainly dairy products. So my parents did also processing. I could get into touch with the peasant life already as a child. The old peasant farms conserved the land. There were a lot of different activities like cereal, fruit, vegetables growing, wine making, and animal husbandry. They also did artisan work. They sewed their own clothes… And if there was a necessity they also sold their products."(Terjeki)

Some of the MFA farmers had non-farming origin also in Hungary. While in the case of Italy and the Netherlands respondents with non farming origin could be characterised to have chosen farming mainly for life style considerations in Hungary this conclusion can not be drawn. The reason is explained by the particular economic-political situation that characterised Hungary at the eve of the regime change between the mid-1980s and the 1990s. As I will show in the next paragraph where a subsequent division of the farmers was made on the basis of the reason of their farming activity, farming has served as remedy for many respondents who had been struggling with economic difficulties or have lost their job with the collapse of the socialist system.

While in the Italian and Dutch case social origin could have been connected to the motivation for farming in the case of Hungary this connections could not be found. The motivations for the start of agricultural activity have emerged much complex in Hungary. Respondents could be grouped into three main groups.

The first group (9 respondents) is made up of farmers who have started farming for reasons connected to their subsistence. These reasons were more or less serious depending on the situation that has inclined them for the change in their livelihood. On the basis of the gravity of their situation they could be further divided in two groups. There were respondents who have started farming because they had been struggling with economic difficulties and in order to maintain their families they needed an alternative income source to integrate family budget.

It was clear that if we continued living from our salary we could have lived only from one day to another… It was not enough to make some savings… The greenhouse farming was excellent for this." (i.d. make savings). Nemes

In the other case respondents have lost their job when the socialist political system has collapsed and when, as a consequence, the multitudinous closing down of factories, cooperatives and institutions have started.

"In 1993 the place where I worked has been closed down. At that time everything was closed down in Hungary. I was 48 years old …. And we thought that we could not make ends meet with one salary… we still had to help our second son to obtain the degree … and we too had to live somehow…In the city we did not see any possibility…"(Bathorine)

The second group is made up of five farmers. They have started their farming activities for some type of life style consideration. For three of them the motivation was to conduct a healthier life than they previously did. This consideration has matured in them following some health problems that they had to face. In one case the respondent has decided to move to the countryside and start farming in organic way after it was discovered that she had cancer. In the other two cases health problems have emerged from the type of lifestyle that respondents have been conducting before starting farming. In both cases the respondents had suffered from back problems due to their professional work (mathematician and programmer). One of them has chosen farming because he saw in this activity the possibility to realise his personal ambitions (to produce cheese) and to conduct and independent life where he can be his own boss. The fifth of them has decided to get engaged in farming also for and independent lifestyle, however her motivation was rather complex. This family has decided to return to the countryside in order to conduct their life in dignity. This signified among others to be independent on food supply, eat healthy, and maintain the family cohesion that was to be lost due to the tense working rhythm they had in the city.

We wanted to change our lifestyle. And by around 1987 we have matured our desire for independence. .. It was not easy to support that my husband was sent to Iraq when there was the war going on…He had no alternative… otherwise he would have been fired… It was not easy that my husband was never at home (he was a truck driver)*… It was a harsh life... I had to struggle with everything alone… Then my husband left the company for family pressure but he was also crock. And then we started this… In 1986 there was a huge snowing and the whole city was blocked for three days… And we saw how defenceless the urban people are… We tried to re-balance this defencelessness." (Rendekne).*

The third group contains those farmers from whom farming is considered as a natural process conditioned by their childhood experience of farming and their devotion to the agricultural life style.

"I liked to work in the vineyard very much. I used to help in our peasant farm regularly… I liked the land, the animals, the forest and the rural life…It has not occurred to me to do something else… I wanted to do forestry, or animal husbandry or horticulture." (Opperheim)

Table 20. Motivation for farming among the Hungarian respondents

Subsistence	Life style considerations	Traditions
- to integrate income - to generate income	- to conduct a healthy life - to conduct and independent life and realise personal ambitions - to conduct and independent life with dignity	- to continue farming traditions

6.4.2. Driving forces behind Multifunctionality

Driving forces at the <u>level of the individual</u>

This group of farmers contains those respondents from whom the principal motivation for multifunctionality can be connected to their personal considerations. Therefore, the driving forces that make them turn towards MFA are generated at their individual level.

Convinced farmers

Convinced farmers are characterised to have been driven by their personal motivation in turning towards multifunctionality. They are characterised by a controlled multifunctionality, that is, at the time of their return or acquisition of the land they immediately start to be engaged in a multifunctional type of agriculture. The reason for this is principally embedded in their fundamental personal values, which is often conditioned by their social origin. As a matter of fact, three those farmers having childhood memories of their parents/grandparents peasant farm can be found in this group. In addition, they have tried to re-buy the one-time family land, or at least establish their farm in the proximity to the place where once their family's farm used to be.[44]

[44] In Hungary it was nearly impossible to get back exactly those parcels of land through privatisation that once was in the families' property. (WHO SAID)

"We started in organic… There now it has been five years that the vineyard was not sprayed. The cooperative had no money for it… And then I have decided that here we will not use artificial manure… We have been using manure … yes… but natural… as people used to do in the past, as my father and grandfather did. Yes indeed we wanted to show that it is possible to cultivate the land without loading it up with chemicals". (Bathroine)

"We farm in organic way from the beginning. This was born inside us… Because we called this traditional farming... This for us is protecting the environment… this has always been natural for us… we grew up in this. Neither our parents used chemicals. We did not even think to farm in intensive way. Standing on several lags was what we heard also at home… It was how people farmed in the past." (Rendekne)

"Standing on several lags" or "holding more irons in the fire" (Kiss 2000) is a typical Hungarian way of saying when a family has multiple income sources in order to be able to make ends meet. "Standing on several lags" is considered by these farmers natural (they saw this as the normality when they were children) and, what is more, they look at this situation with affection. When they speak about standing on several lags they refer back to the peasant type farming and they do not speak about this in economic terms (so that the several lags serve to ensure sufficient income sources) but in terms of a complex set of favourable conditions. In their view "standing on several lags" is indeed the harmonious form of farming that keeps in balance the human beings with the environment, create work for the family and ensure a healthy life (including diet). All in all, they consider the situation of standing on several lags positive and therefore required.

The other type of personal motivation is connected to the desire to conduct a healthier life than previously these respondents have done. Although all of this type of farmers farm organically from the beginning, in their case getting engaged into agriculture already signified a healthier lifestyle in as much as it enabled them to rebalance their physical activities. In the beginning the motivation for production is to meet family needs and then at a later stage when surplus is produced these farmers start to market their products.

Convinced farmers are characterised by complete on-farm processing, that is they process 100% of their raw products. They sell their products face-to-face to consumers or directly at the farm or at the organic market. It is also common that they sell other organic farmers' product. That

is they are involved in short food supply chains but they are not involved in the traditional commercial supply chain.

It was very distinctive for convinced farmers to be dedicated to the cultivation of rare plant varieties (e.g. some old Hungarian pear variety), typical Hungarian plants (e.g. kövidinka, kadarka[45]), healing herbs (e.g. homoktövis - Hippophae rhamnoides) and also keeping autochthonous animal breeds (e.g. racka birka, mangalica). That is to say they are involved in the production of niche products and at the same time of the maintenance of biodiversity. Autochthonous animal breeds make an integral part of the farm that is they are kept for their meat which is sold in processed or unprocessed form. As a matter of fact, the mangalica sausage produced by one of these farms is a slow food presidium

Besides being highly environmentally sensitive they are characterised also by significant social and cultural responsibility. This responsibility is in part connected to their desire to preserve the place where they used to live when they were children and where they live now.

Convinced opportunist farmers

Convinced opportunist farmers are also characterised by a strong personal motivation which in each case connected to their personal conviction regarding care of the environment and healthy diet. All these farmers are engaged in organic farming today. However, on the contrary to the convinced farmers when they explained their motivation for becoming organic farmers, they have also mentioned that they saw "opportunity" in this type of activity and that they have considered it as a "challenge".

Though they avow themselves to be highly sensitive to environmental questions and healthy diet -which can be achieved through consuming organic products-, they start farming in organic way only after they had come to know about this "possibility" from the organic agriculture organisation (Biokultura) or from some similar type of organisation (Human E'rtèkmegorzo Egyesület). I found this element significant and this has contributed to my consideration that these convictions might not take part of their basic values as it was instead in the case of convinced farmers. This certainly does not want to mean that they would be less devoted to for example organic agriculture than the convinced farmers; the distinction has been made only for the purposes to underline the difference in the initial driving forces.

[45] "Kadarka is an old red wine grape variety, most popular in Hungary, where it was introduced with the Turkish occupation. It is an important constituent of the Hungarian red cuvée Bull's Blood of Eger or Szekszárd." (Wikipedia)

"With this course (course on organic farming) *a new thing came to our life… the course has strengthened my conception…and then we started to farm in organic way."(Csanyine)*

… in 1999 I have realised that there was need for a change… I have always been sensible for environmental questions… and then the Bio-farmer course started here in the area…."
(Kiss Kalman)

Another difference I have noticed is that while in the case of convinced farmers the keeping of autochthonous breeds was much like the normality and made an integral part of their household court, in the case of the convinced opportunist farmer the animals were kept away from the nucleus of the farm, they were there but they did not make part of the every day life of the farm and the farm household. They were kept not for their meat but for their being autochthonous. It can give the impression that these animals are kept prevalently because some opportunity can derive from it for example in the form of subsidies or societal interest (e.g. school groups visits, tourist visits).

Convinced opportunistic farmers were also prevalently involved in SFSC, but in their case the spatially extended supply chain was also present.

Table 21. ***The most distinguishing*** **MF activities for convinced and convinced opportunistic farmers**

	Convinced	**Convinced opportunist**
DEEPENING		
Organic farming	x	x
On-farm processing	x	-
Traditional supply chain	-	-
Rare traditional plant varieties	x	-
Typical Hungarian plant varieties	x	-
Autochthonous breeds	x	x
SFSC		
Face-to-face selling	x	x
Spatial proximity	-	x
Spatially extended	-	x
BROADENING		
Peasant museum	x	-
Receiving people with disabilities, people in unfavourable situation	x	-
Receiving school groups/adult groups with educational purposes	x	x

Table 22. The most important livelihood assets utilized by type of farmer

	Individual		**Societal**	**Shock**	
	Convinced	*Convinced opportunist*	*Opportunist*	*Strategic*	
Social origin	x				
Human capital	x				
Social capital	x	x	x	x	
Cultural capital	x		x		
Financial capital			x	x	
Type of MFA	**Controlled**	**Precautionary**		**Responsive**	

Chapter 7

Conclusions

Chapter 7
Conclusions

The principal aim of the research was to attempt to contribute to the knowledge development and conceptualisation on multifunctionality in agriculture. The level at which the investigation took place was the farm household. The researched characteristics included motivations that drive households to turn their farm enterprise multifunctional, interpretation of MFA by farmers and the relation between multifunctionality at household level and the rural development policies. The work outlines the importance of research oriented towards understanding livelihood strategies that can serve as a means to better design policy instruments.

In order to answer to the research questions and reach research objectives triangulation of data sources, concepts and research techniques was applied. The following conceptual and methodological frameworks have been applied interwovenly:

- The concept of multifunctionality at farm enterprise level
- Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
- Risk management in rural development
- Life story technique
- Episodic narrative interviews
- Constructivist approach (in order to attempt to interpret farmers' motivation or the other causal elements that drive towards multifunctionality)
- Thematic coding
- Grounding theory
- Case study presentation

It has emerged that in order to be able to give a to some degree comprehensive account of the reasons that bring to multifunctionality research has to recourse to the complex set of theoretical concepts that have emerged on the long path of research on rural development in general.

The research confirms the shift in farmers' attitudes and farm management behaviour has been taking place and therefore it can acknowledge that the transition toward PP is on-going. As the results of the field research carried out in Hungary, it has been confirmed that MFA can be a trajectory of development also in Hungary, a New EU Member States with socialist past.

The research has confirmed the need and importance of the combination of understanding both structural endowments and the farmer's motivations and values when the aim is to explore what drives to multifunctionality (Shucksmith 1993).

On the basis of the research result, the Sustainable Livelihood framework is proposed to be extended with at least three elements:

- farmers` social origin
- farmers` attitudes and values
- societal expectations as part of the vulnerability context.

Levels of the driving forces

On the basis of the interview results, driving forces of MFA could be grouped at the

- Level of the individual
- Level of the livelihood resources (e.g. natural).
- Level of the vulnerability context:
- Macro-economic trends

  Shocks
- Level of the society: societal demands

The grouping of the driving forces was based on the most distinguishing provenience of the principal driving element towards MFA.

The level of the individual

Driving forces for MFA at the level of the individual emerge from personal ambitions, motivations, and values. Particularly important has been found the social origin of a person inasmuch as it influences to a great extent personal values and attitudes. Farmers interviewed had both agricultural and non-agricultural social origin. While in the case of Netherlands the type of social origin (farming or non-farming) could be directly connected to the motivation for uptake of farming, in the case of Hungary this direct relationship could not be found. While the Dutch farmers with urban background have started farming for lifestyle considerations - and were engaged in controlled multifunctionality-, this was not the case for the Hungarian farmers with non-farming background. In Hungary motivations for farming were much more complex due to the particular historical background of the country, independently of whether somebody had agricultural origin or not. On the basis of the motivation for farming Dutch farmers were named convinced new comers

and resistant farmers, while in Hungary the motivations for farming could be grouped in the following way:

Subsistence farmers	Life style farmers	Traditional farmers
- to integrate income - to generate income	- to conduct a healthy life - to conduct and independent life and realise personal ambitions - to conduct and independent life with dignity	- to continue farming traditions

Although the objective of the thesis was to explore driving forces for MFA and not for farming, analysis of the motivation for farming and the social origin took place because they have emerged important factors in determining some of the driving forces for MFA. Exactly at the level of the individual, overlapping has been found between motivation for uptaking farming and motivations for the multifunctional type of farming. This was the case of the convinced new-comers in the Netherlands who were driven principally by their personal values (environmental movements) In Hungary they were the convinced farmers whose motivation for MFA was principally embedded in their fundamental personal values, which were often conditioned by their social origin.

The following main type of farmers have been identified based on the most important influencing factors played a role in their turn towards MFA.

In Hungary: convinced, convinced opportunist, opportunist and strategic.

In the Netherlands: convinced new-comers, opportunist and strategic.

However, social origin was determinant not only in taking up multifunctionality but also in not taking it up. In the case of the resistant Dutch farmers path-dependency hindered them in being able to think out of the box and farm differently from modernisation.

I suggest that the probability to offer the highest spectrum of services for society through the valorisation of the highest number of functions of agriculture is the highest in the case of convinced farmers where the adoption of the model of multifunctional agriculture is based exactly on farmers' personal conviction.

Level of livelihood resources

As one of the Hungarian cases showed, the motivation for taking up MFA can emerge also at the level of the livelihood resources. In this specific case the quality of one the natural assets (land) available for the household has made them apply a farming model that could be based on the specificies of the given natural resources. Given the scarce productive quality of their land they needed to find an alternative form of farming that enabled them to generate income on the basis of

the resources they had. The only alternative they saw was grazing livestock breeding. They found the solution in autochthonous grey cattle breeding as this breed does not have specific nutritional needs, such as cereals, they fit exactly to the area where only natural plants are able to grow. Responding to a specific problem with economic character, this type of multifunctionality was grouped into the responsive category.

Level of the society

Societal demands can also constitute a driving force for multifunctionality. However, this happens only in the case these demands are perceived by the farm households. Perceived societal demands awaken interest in the farm household members who recognise some –economic or other type- opportunity in the existence of societal demands. Multifunctional farm households that based their decision on societal needs were categorised as opportunist farmers. From the risk management point of view I have considered opportunist farmers' strategy precautionary.

Level of the vulnerability context

Besides the driving forces emerging at the level of the individual, elements of the vulnerability context, especially macroeconomic trends and shocks, have been identified as the other most frequently occurring driving forces. Both in the Netherlands and Hungary agricultural market trends including price decrease of agricultural products, the decrease in wholesale prices, furthermore the need to use more efficiently productive capacities were the main elements that constituted driving forces for MFA. An important difference in time though has to be underlined. While in the case of the Dutch farmers economic difficulties emerged mainly in the first half of the 1990s, in the case of the Hungarian farmers economic hardship was experienced mainly starting from the end of the 1990s and beginning of 2000 until recent years (2006). Farmers generally have attributed this increasing economic crisis to the intensified commercial relations with and finally the accession of the country to the EU in 2004. In the Netherlands besides economic trends (the well-known price-cost squeeze) shocks in form of animal epidemics constituted the other main driving force at the level of the vulnerability context. Although this shock has translated itself also into economic difficulties, regarding that the causing element was the shock itself, the distinction between economic trends and shocks have been made. Besides the economic consequences, animal epidemics and the following food scandals have caused also an identity crisis for the farmers. Considering that these farmers have become multifunctional after having been hit by economic difficulties or by the shock caused by the animal epidemic, they have been categorized responsive

multifunctional farmers. In their case adopting multifunctional type of farming was the responsive to the various difficulties that have challenged their livelihoods.

Table 23. Level of the principal influencing factors in the turn towards MFA in the Netherlands

	Individual level	**Societal level**	**Context and asset based level**
Influencing factors	*Convinced*	*Opportunist*	*Strategic*
Human resources (social origin, values)	**x**		
Natural resources			
Financial resources			**x**
Cultural resources			
Social resources			
Societal demand		**x**	
Vulnerability context		**x**	**x**
Institutions/policies			**x**
Type of multifunctionality	**Controlled**	**Precautionary**	**Responsive**

Table 24. Level of the principal influencing factors in the turn towards MFA in Hungary

	Individual level		**Societal level**	**Context and asset base level**
Influencing factors	*Convinced*	*Convinced opportunist*	*Opportunist*	*Strategic*
Human resources (social origin, values)	x	x		
Natural resources				x
Financial resources				x
Cultural resources				
Social resources				
Societal demand		x	x	
Vulnerability context				x
Institutions/policies				
Type of multifunctionality	**Controlled**	**Precautionary**		**Responsive**

<u>The role of policies and institutions –the divide between root causes and influencing elements</u>

In my interview results policies and institutions have not appeared as driving forces however they have filled in important functions in form of enabling or constraining factors. The recognition of the difference between the different factors that drive or influence decisions for the uptake of MFA in terms of their importance played in the decision making process has raised the necessity to make an significant division among them. This division has been made on the basis of whether an element had a primary-originating or a complementary influence. Primary influences were called root causes. These root causes often have been accompanied by the complementary influences, which pulled or pushed the farm households towards MFA. One of the most visible examples for

the distinction between root causes and complementary causes can be demonstrated through the case of the responsive Dutch farmers.

Root cause	**Complementary causes**			
	Push factors		**Pull factors**	
	Policies	*Contextual elements(societal demand)*	*Policies*	*Contextual elements (societal demand)*
Economic hardship	Production limits: Milk quota	Urbanization	Green money for organic production	Demand for recreation
	Spatial planning (Ruimtelijke Ordening) at national level and Land use Planning (*bestemmingsplan)* at municipality level. Often called zoning plans by the farmers.		Regional policies favouring the selling of production quotas and diversification (*Waardevolle Cultuurlandschappen).*	
	Ammonia regulation			

As the table shows complementary causes can not be only policies or institutions but any other elements of the livelihood framework. A factor that in one given context and time was a root cause can appear as a complementary cause in another context or in another time.

Directions of the driving forces

The driving factors can have a positive (enabling) as well as a negative (coercive) character. On the basis of their character (positive or negative), driving forces can be grouped also on the basis of their directions, whether they push or pull.

Table 25. Direction of driving forces: push and pull factors

Push factors	Pull factors
Increasing scarcity of land	Personal motivation (values)
Decreasing access to fertile land	Societal demand for green space, clean air, and healthy and genuine food
Declining farm productivity	Higher return on labour in MFA
Declining returns from farming	Higher return on investments in MFA
Increasing price of farm inputs	Supportive policies
Temporary shocks (animal epidemics, food scandals)	
Constraining policies (spatial planning)	
Scarce natural resources	

Type of multifunctionality in terms of risk management

On the basis of the logic of the concept of risk management in rural development elaborated by Kostov and Lingard but taking into consideration the specificities of the interview data, three types of multifunctionality could have been identified on the basis of the risk management behaviour of the farm households, that is to say their perception, views, choice and action: controlled, precautionary and responsive multifunctionality.

To judge the risk management behaviour two basic aspects have been taken into account:

-the extent of control over livelihood resources and income generating activities and their outcome

-the extent of awareness (level of the perception of risk)

The extent of control and awareness determine the path of the transition towards MFA. However, there is no liner relationship between high level of control and awareness and a rapid transition (controlled MFA) and vice versa. Equally a very low level of control and awareness can result in a rapid transition that results MFA (the case of responsive MFA).

Figure 5. Relationship between farm household types and types of multifunctionality in the Netherlands

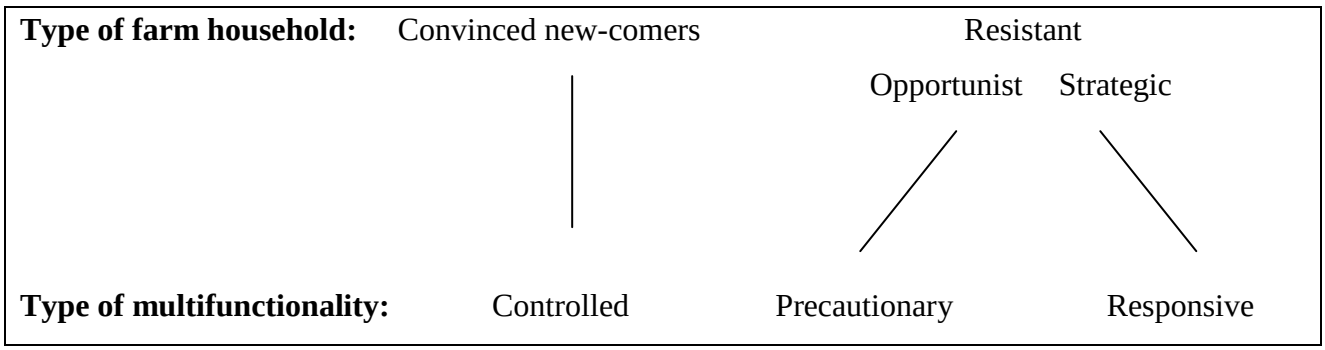
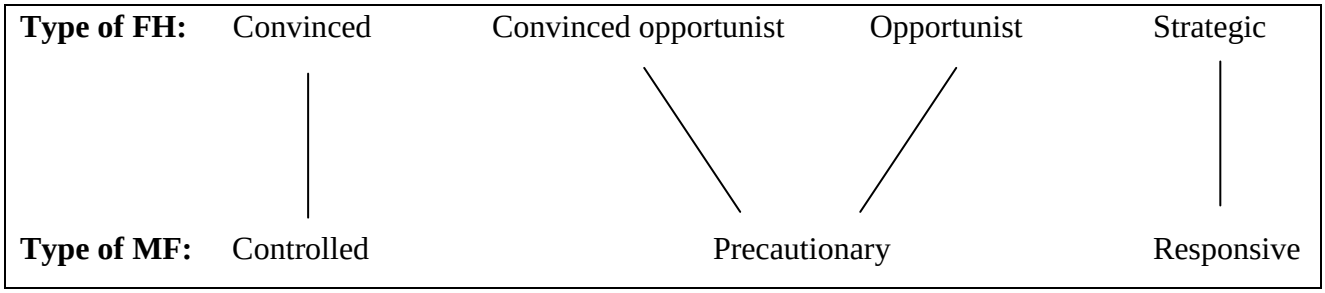


Figure 5. Relationship between farm household types and types of multifunctionality in Hungary



The transition towards MFA

The transition towards MFA can be interpreted in terms of intensity of the break of previous life-style of the farmer/farm household. In the case of controlled farmers this break happens rapidly and also drastically in case they come from an urban background. Rapidity and drastic character of their transition present themselves as a complete rupture of their conduct of life in terms of location of the living space and the income earning activities. Responsive farmers' transition towards MFA is also characterised by rapidity; however in their case rapid action is a necessity as the perceived shocks require immediate solution. Opportunist farmers' transition towards MFA can be described by a more balanced therefore slower path.

Table 26.

Type of multifunctional farmer	**Intensity of transition towards MFA**	
	Rapid break with previous life-style	Slow break with previous life-style
Controlled	x	
Opportunist		x
Responsive	x	

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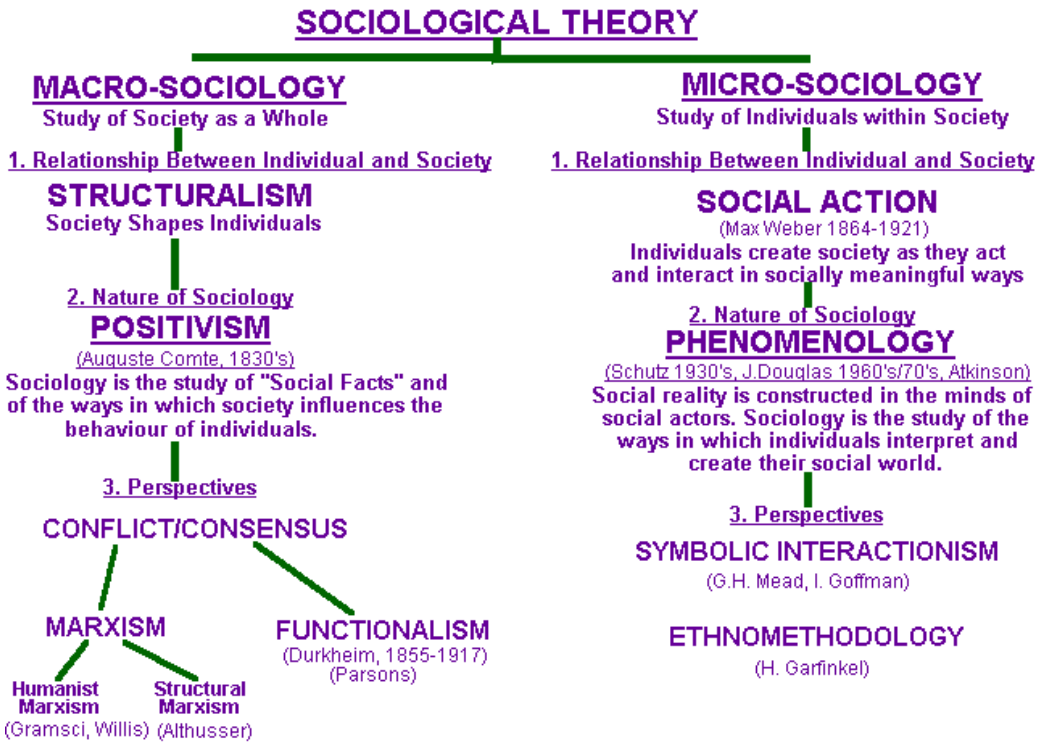
ANNEXES

Annex 1.



Source: http://www.hewett.norfolk.sch.uk/CURRIC/soc/theory.htm

Annex 2.

Questionnaire initially planned to be sent out to potential respondents, but finally used as interview guide.

Si chiede che le risposte vengano date dal /dalla <u>Condutture/Conduttrice</u> dell'azienda!

Si richiede che le risposte vengano scritte nelle caselle lasciate libere al lato destro oppure applicare la "X" accanto alla/e opzione/i della risposta scelta.

1. Nome e cognome del condutture dell'azienda	
2. Denominazione dell'Azienda	
3. Sesso del conduttore:	Femmina …… Maschio……
4. Indirizzo mail e recapito telefonico:	

1. Risorse disponibili per l'azienda

5. Anno della fondazione dell'azienda	
6. Sede dell'azienda (località e comune)	
7. A quale tipo di impresa appartenete?	• Impresa individuale Imprenditore agricolo…… Coltivatore direttto …… Imprenditore agricolo a titolo principale…… • Impresa associata Cooperativa…….. Societá (s.n.c.; s.a.s.; s.p.a.; s.r.l.)…….. Altre forme associtive.....
8. Caratteristiche dell'impegno dell'imprenditore e della sua famiglia	tempo pieno ……. part-time ……
9. L'azienda è …	di proprietà …… in affitto …….

	proprietà e parte in affitto…… altro ..... (specificare)
10. Superficie totale dell'azienda e S.A.U. totale <u>(in ettaro)</u>	……totale Di cui proprietà propria: …….. In affitto: …… Altro: …….
11. Giacitura dell'azienda *(pianura, collina, montagna)**:***	..... % SAU pianura .....% SAU collina .....% SAU montagna
12. Principali indirizzi produttivi (barrare le caselle interessate, più di una risposta è possibile)	Cerealicolo …… Vitivinicolo…… Olivicolo …….. .... Frutticolo…… Orticolo…….. Vivaistico……... Silviculturale…… Zootecnico (quanti e che tipo di animali):…… Altro: ……..
14. Tecniche colturali adottate	Convenzionale …… Biologico …….. Integrato …….. Altro: …….
15. Da quanti anni l'imprenditore svolge attivitá come imprenditore agricolo?	

16. Come e perché è diventato/diventata proprietario di terreno/ imprenditore agricolo?

La terra era sempre proprietà della mia famiglia e l'ho ereditata ……

L'ho comprata perché mi piace il lavoro agricolo ……

Il mio lavoro principale è un altro ma mi piace fare lavori agricoli (per hobby) ……

L'ho comprata per usufruire dai vantaggi provenienti dai sostegni comunitari ……

Dove vivo non ci sono altre possibilità di lavoro e di reddito che non quello agricolo……

Altro *(La prego di specificare.)*

17. Il suo parco macchine è sufficienti per esercitare i lavori agricoli?

Sì, completamente. ……

Sì, ma solo parzialmente, per alcuni lavori *(fare qualche esempio))*. ……

No, no ho macchinari. ……

18. Se lei non ha mezzi meccanici come risolve la lavorazione della terra?

Lo faccio fare ai contoterzisti. ……

Affitto i macchinari. ……

Altro *(La prego di specificare).*

2. Caratteristiche del forza di lavoro familiare

19. Quanti della Sua famiglia si occupano di agricoltura?

Solo io (il condutture/la conduttrice principale) ……

Anche mia moglie/mi marito. ……

Solo io e i miei figli ……

Tutta la famiglia partecipa nei lavori dell'azienda. ……

20. La tipologia dell'azienda dal punto di vista dell'obiettivo della conduzione	Si produce solo per consumo famigliare …… Si commercializzano i prodotti non consumati in famiglia …… Si produce principalmente per motivi commerciali …… Si offre principalmente servizi (agricoli) ……
21. Nel caso in cui oltre Lei anche altri membri della famiglia partecipano ai lavori dell'azienda, la prego di descrivere come sono suddivisi i lavori e i ruoli per sesso. *(Chi e che tipo di attività svolge, quanto volte alla settimana, ecc.)*	• Lavori svolti da componenti <u>femminili</u> della famiglia Questi lavori quanto tempo impiegano in una settimana? • Lavori svolti dai componenti di sesso maschile della famiglia: Questi lavori quanto tempo impiegano in una settimana?

22. Per quanti membri della sua famiglia l'attività agricola assicura un reddito soddisfacente(il che vuole dire che non deve avere altri lavori/fonti di reddito).	Almeno per uno. …… Almeno per due. …… Almeno per tre. …… Per quattro o più. …… Per tutta la famiglia. …… Altro:
23. Il <u>numero</u> delle persone che vivono insieme a Lei nella famiglia	Totale: Di cui: - in età attiva: ..... persona/e *(da 14 anni fino all'età della pensione)* - pensionato .....persona/e - disoccupato .....persona/e - altro inattivo ..... persona/e *(dei minorenni, altre persone a carico)*
24. Il sesso dei membri della famiglia (quanti femminili e quanti maschi)	

3. Diversificazione dell'attività agricola

25. La prego di segnalare con una "X" l'attività/le attività che Lei/la sua azienda svolge. La prego di segnalare <u>tutte</u> le attività da Voi svolte!

Allargamento delle attività	
Cura e gestione del paesaggio	
Gestione della natura	
Gestione riserve faunistico-venatorie	
Apicoltura	
Agricoltura sociale	
Servizi di cultura, di ricreazione, di tempo libero, e di benessere	
Coltivazione di piante energetiche	
Agriturismo *(ospitalità e ristorazione)*	
Turismo rurale	
Laboratorio dimostrativo (attività didattica)	
Servizi agricoli (macchinari, commerciali, tecnici)	

Trasporto	
Approfondimento delle attività	
Produzione di erbe medicinali	
Produzione di erbe spezie e aroma	
Frutteto / Fiori	
Allevamento di polli, conigli, papere, ecc. (bassa corte)	
Produzione biologica	
Produzione di alimenti e prodotti non-alimentari tipici e/o di qualità	
Produzione di artigianato tipico	
Trasformazione dei prodotti propri	
Vendita dei prodotti trasformati e/o delle materie prime proprie (La prego di elencare dove commercializza questi prodotti: in azienda, al mercato locale, in più posti diversi, ecc.) (Filiera corte)	
Membro di un'organizzazione collettiva dell'offerta (gruppi di offerta)	
Possibilità della raccolta diretta in azienda da parte dei consumatori (pick-it yourself)	
Riposizionamento delle attività	
Ha un altro impiego oltre quello agricolo? Se sì, La prego di descriverlo in qualche parola. (Pluriattività**)**	
La sua Azienda ha l'obiettivo di impegnarsi la meno quantità possibile di input esterni (forza lavoro, prodotti chimici, ecc.)? (Farming economically)	
Negozio rurale (piccolo negozio proprio per la vendita dei prodotti propri)	
Restauro e manutenzione vecchie costruzioni	

26. Per quanto riguarda il reddito dell'azienda, quale è la proporzione tra il reddito agricolo e quello proveniente dai servizi offerti (dalla diversificazione)?	Il reddito della diversificazione di atività in azienda costituisce un percentuale (*da segnalare*) del reddito totale dell'azienda familiare: 5% …… 10% …… 25%…… 30%…… 40%…… 50%…… 60%…… 70%…… 75%…… Altro:

27. Di chi era l'idea di valorizzare altre funzioni dell'agricltura?

Mia……
Di mio marito……
Di mia moglie……
Dei miei figli……
Dei miei genitori……
E' stata un idea comune……
Altro (La prego di specificare).

28. Perché l'azienda ha scelto di occuparsi della valorizzazione di altre funzioni dell'agricoltura? (quali erano le motivazioni, i fattori stimolanti, i bisogni, le esigenze, ecc.)

Per aumentare il reddito aziendale ……

Per creare occupazione, motivando la presenza in azienda di familiari ……

Per l'uso più efficace delle risorse e capacità presenti in azienda……

Per assicurare il reddito aziendale……

Per motivi etici ……

Altro (La prego di **descriverlo**).

29. Se lei dovesse ripensare ai suoi comportamenti passati come definirebbe la sua impresa?

Tradizionale attenta alla gestione delle risorse aziendali ……
Interessata all'ampliamento della dimensione di scala e alla specializzazione in campo zootecnico ……
Interessata all'ampliamento della dimensione di scala e alla specializzazione in campo vegetale ……
Innovatrice alla ricerca di soluzioni capaci di creare elevato valore aggiunto per unità di prodotto ……

Altro (La prego di descriverlo):

30. Vuole segnalare quali difficoltá (se c'erano) ha incontrato nella valorizzazione delle altre funzioni dell'agricoltura?

31. La prego di descrivere secondo Lei che cosa manca alla sua azienda per sviluppare di piú le diverse funzioni dell'agricoltura (per esempio mancanza di forza di lavoro interno, dotazione finanziarie, accesso al credito, altro..)

32. Ha ricevuto qualche tipo di aiuto finanziario per valorizzare altre funzioni dell'agricoltura?

Sì……

No……

33. Se sì, <u>quando</u> e <u>in che forma</u>?

Da fondi nazionali (anno …...)……

Da fondi nazionali, attraverso la Regione (anno ……..)……

Da fondi europei (anno ……..) …… Sia da fondi nazionali e fondi europei (anno …….)…… Altro (La prego di descriverlo)…….
34. Se non ha ricevuto nessun tipo di aiuto, quale era il motivo?

4. Relazioni dell'azienda con il contesto esterno

35. **Per avviare le nuove attività aziendali quali soggetti hanno contribuito in misura più rilevante, oppure le informazioni rispetto all'introduzione di nuove attività dove sono state prese?**
36. **Oppure con chi ha collaborato direttamente o indirettamente per acquisire e costruire le nuove attività)**

(Si prega di scivere una X dopo tutti gli attori con cui l'azienda ha qualsiasi rapporti, piú risposta quindi é possibile).

- **Sistema produttivo locale**

rapporti con altre aziende
con cooperative
con Circuiti enogastronomici
altro: .....

- **Sistema politico-istituzionale**

Istituzioni pubbliche nazionali, regionali, provinciali, comunali
Organismi sindacali
Associazioni produttori
Associazioni agrituristiche (specificare quale):
Gruppi di Azioni Locali (GAL del Leader+)
Communitá Montane
Organismi di Controllo
Organismi di Certificazione
Assocazioni della salvagaurdia dell'ambiente
Enti di tutela e di promozione
Consorzi
Altro (da specificare):.....

- **Sistema sociale**

AUSL
Mense scolastiche
Gruppi di Aquisto Solidare
Altro (da specificare).....

- **Sistema servizio**

Agromeccanico
Trasporti
Credito
Altro (da specificare):.....

- **Comunità scientifica**

Universitá
Istituti di Ricerca
Altro (da specificare):.....

5. L'evoluzione futura attesa in azienda

35. Lei pensa che ulteriori servizi, attività multifunzionali possano costituire fattori di sviluppo (economico e anche sociale) per la sua azienda/famiglia?	Sì …… No……

36. Che tipo di attività può immaginare per la sua azienda nel futuro?

Trasformazione di materia prima propria ……

Vendita diretta ……

Preparazione e vendita diretta di artigianato. ……

Aprire un negozio rurale anche in collaborazione con altri agricoltori locali per la vendita dei prodotti propri ……

Ospitalità ……

Ristorazione……

Degustazione ……

Agricoltura sociale……

Disegno di itinerari turistici e guida turistica ……

Fattorie didattiche ……

Fattorie aperte ……

Museo della civiltà contadina ……

Altro (La prego di **descriverlo**):

37. Ha partecipato a corsi di formazioni necessari per lo svolgimento di alcune dei servizi extra-agricoli?

Sì……

No……

38. Ha mai pensato di smettere l'attività agricola?

Sì……

No……

La prego di motivare la sua risposta. Perché sì o perché no…

39. Se lei/la sua famiglia smettesse l'attività agricola si trasferirebbe dal suo attuale domicilio?

Sì……
No……

40. Se Lei ha risposto sì, allora dove si trasferirebbe?

In una località vicina ma più grande. ……
Nella città più vicina. ……
Nella periferia della città più vicina. ……
In una città grande. ……
Nella capitale. ……
Altro (La prego di descriverlo).

41. Lei è d'accordo con l'ambizione dell'Unione europea che nello sviluppo delle aree rurali le attività non agricole o attività leggermente connesse all'agricoltura rivestono un ruolo sempre più importante? <u>La prego di motivare la sua risposta (perché sí o perché no).</u>

42. Per Lei cosa significa il termine "agricoltura multifunzionale"?

43. Lei conosce la nuova strategia nazionale di sviluppo rurale e il nuovo piano di sviluppo regionale che sono in preparazione?

Sì……

No……

44. Lei è/sarebbe capace di preparare da solo/a un progetto europeo per ottenere finanziamenti per avviare attività extra-agricole?

Sì……

No……

45. Se Lei ha risposto con no, da chi potrebbe ricevere aiuto per la preparazione del progetto?

Da nessuno ……

Da membri della famiglia ……

Da un servizio della Regione……

Altro: (La prego di descriverlo).

6. Dati anagrafici del l'intervistato

46. Anno di nascita	
47. Stato civile (pl. nubile, singolo, coniugato/a, divorziato/a, vedovo/a)	
48. Nazionalità	
49. Titolo di studio	Nessuno…… Licenza Elementare …… Licenza Media …… Diploma Scuola Superiore …… Laurea…… Altro: ……

50. Ha qualche commento o domanda rigaurdo le domande del questionario?

51. C'è qualcosa che non Le è stato chiesto ma secondo Lei sarebbe interessante parlarne riguardo all'argomento del questionario?

Annex 3.

Grid for analysis of the interviews

Name of farm:

Structural information				
Size				
Ownership				
Type of farming				
Crop				
Animal husbandry				
Family members				
Active family members (working at the farm)				
Employees				
Characteristics of the conductor				
Gender				
Age				
Level of education				
Family background				
Departure				
Year of start				
Resources				
Human				
Previous work				
Natural				
Land				
Physical				
Cultural (territory)				
Social				
Financial				
Initial activities				
Motivation				
Transition towards MFA				
	Broadening	**Deepening**	**Regrounding**	**Stop some agr. activity**
When				
Why				
Economic				
Personal				
Societal				
Context				
Policies				
Structures				
How				
Human				
Natural				
Physical				
Financial				
Social				
Difficulties				
Current situation				
MFA				
	Broadening	**Deepening**	**Regrounding**	**Agricultural activities**
Income				
Interpretation of MFA				
Plans				
What is missing				

Opinion on funds				
Opinion on policies				
What policy could help				
Opinion on RD Plan				
Stop agriculture				
Gender aspects				

Annex 4.

Social agriculture in the Netherlands

Social agriculture

Social agriculture is a unique form of providing care for people in need. Care is provided at the farm taking the best out of what the green environment, the quietness, the working with plants and animals can offer. The number of these farms, most often called "care farms" but also "green farms", "farms for health", has been increasing all over Europe including the Netherlands and also Italy (Di Iacovo and Ciofani 2005a; Di Iacovo and Senni 2005b). In the Netherlands the development of this activity is so significant that at national level it has become the most important exponent of multifunctionality at the farm (Hassink, Zwartbol et al. Forthcoming).

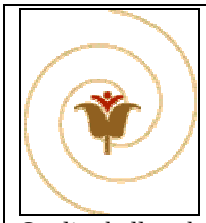
In the Netherlands care farms *(zorgboerderij)* have a long tradition. Already before the intensification of the agricultural sector, it was diffused to "employ" at farms that belonged to care institutions people with need of social care. Although modernization has swiped away most of these farms, initiatives for providing care at the farm has not ceased totally. Solidarity and the anthroposophy philosophy have contributed to a great extent to the rebirth of social farming in the country towards the end of the 1960s (Elings and Hassink 2006). Since then the number of *zorg* farms has increased to 720 by 2006. In 1998 the number of care farms was 75 (Elings and Hassink 2006). Social farming in the Netherlands enjoy a particularly high reputation thanks to the kind of solution it offers and the wide ranging beneficial circumstances it offers for its clients. As one of the most important characteristics of care at the farm the possibility to be involved in an existent productive activity is mentioned: it is very important for clients to feel that they are part of a real productive process and therefore to feel that their work is useful. Providing care at the farm does not bring benefits only for clients, but it is also a very important possibility for the farm itself for numerous reasons. Besides embodying an important alternative source of income, social agriculture contributes also to the re-establishment of the relationship between urban and rural areas reconstructing the image of farmers damaged by the negative effects of modernisation. Hassink, Zwartbol et al. (forthcoming) describes the positive effects of social agriculture for the farm such as that "the combination of agriculture and care contributes to the diversification of agricultural production, provides new sources of income and employment for farmers and the rural areas, reintegrates agriculture into society and has a positive impact on the image of agriculture" (Hassink, Zwartbol et al. Forthcoming, p. 4). Most of the care farms are family based farms (Hassink, Zwartbol et al. Forthcoming).

Due to its relatively long history and the level of its development, care farming in the Netherlands is well organised at each administrative level. At national level farms can refer to the National Support Centre for Agriculture and Care *(Landelijk Steunpunt Landbouw & Zorg)* which is a non-profit organisation and functions as a focal point for the different actors of social agriculture such as the government, the client organisations, the clients, social workers and the farms themselves. Besides the National Support Centre, another point of reference is the Association of Green Care Farmers *(Vereniging van Zorgboeren)*, founded by the care farmers and it is mainly aimed to protect farmers' interest. This Association is member of the Dutch Organization for Agriculture and Horticulture (LTO). Besides these two big organisations, as a natural process farmers often establish their study group locally where they can meet and discuss their activities and learn from each other.

Services offered by care farms are enjoyed by a wide variety of people in need. While at the beginning mainly mentally challenged and psychiatric patients benefited from green care, today the circle of clients has enlarged and includes people with addiction, ex-prisoners, people with burn-out, long-term unemployed, and people with learning difficulties (Elings and Hassink 2006). Recently it has been increasing to offer care services at the farm also for elderly people, for example elderly with Alzheimer's disease (Elings and Hassink 2006).

Good organization of social agriculture includes proper rules for financing and for the quality assurance of the service. Care farms are retributed from different sources for their taking care of people and providing effective service with curing effects. Today there are four different sources of payment for care farms and however there are still farms that do not receive compensation for their work, their number has been decreasing. Farms can be paid directly by a health institution in case they work as part of that institution. Another source of financing is the personal budget of the client (PGB) that is given to clients by the health institution but in this case farmer and client have direct contract without the interference of the institution. The PGB is a concrete sum of money from the government and the client can decide how to utilise for his or her therapy. The third method of financing for care farms is to have the so-called AWBZ accreditation, which is the general insurance for special medical costs (Elings and Hassink 2006). A care farm with AWBZ has the status of a health institution (Elings and Hassink 2006). Finally, farms can have payment for their services cooperating with a health institution. In this case the institution pays directly to the farmer after having negotiated the price for the care services.

Since several years a quality system and a hallmark has been elaborated by the National Support Centre. Only those farms that meet the requirements of the quality system can be registered by the National Support Centre and can be awarded the hallmark.



Quality hallmark for care farms
http://www.landbouwzorg.nl