

PhD Thesis

**ACHIEVING THE COMPLEX ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
OBJECTIVES OF THE LEADER PROGRAM, ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL
INVESTIGATION
IN THE EXAMPLE OF SÁRRÉT**

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Introduction

In Hungary – just like in every other countries – the social or economical investments are all achieved from multiple financial sources. Executing the projects is possible from national or foreign capital, support from companies, private people or the state, or maybe from community contribution. Just like the projects that are financed by the European Union through tenders, and sometimes co-founded by national sources. It is necessary to inspect the changes have been made in Hungary, in it's regions and in it's subregions, because Hungary became a member of the EU 14 years ago.

I am examining the complete process, from the founding of the European Community, through Hungary joining the EU and after that, up until today. Taking the concept of the LEADER programme into consideration and using it to examine the local capabilities, traditions in the villages and towns of the rural micro regions.

During my research I set the goal to examine the projects completed within the LEADER programme in 5 settlements that are located in the micro region called Sárrét. My choice was greatly influenced by the fact that in earlier times I have worked with several people living and working in this microregion and that I personally knew some of the mayors before.

The importance of the Sárrét micro region is shown by the large scale of international transit of goods and passenger traffic. The reason for this is that the Sárrét is located on the eastern edge of the Schengen border. At the same time, it is not a typical tourist attraction, so tourism is not the major source of incomes and cannot support the financial background for developments in the settlements of the Sárrét. In my opinion the local inhabitants have a strong identity and have a strong bound with their village. These are the reasons why I decided that the vicinity and the people living in it are suitable subjects for my research.

Based on my experiences, I am convinced, and this applies to all Eastern European countries, that we can only become full members of the EU if all of Hungary's 7 regions achieve the EU's average. For this it is necessary to strengthen the macro and micro environment of the local communities by involving all actors who live in them.

Hungary needs to be efficient when using the funding sources, it has won, and since there is a huge disparity between the economical, the environmental circumstances and in the quality of life as well, that makes the sources especially big. Unfortunately, the opportunities ahead of

us are limited in time, because we can already see the will to centrally modify and reduce the sources, which is due by 2020.

My research focused on 3 main areas:

The first topic is the distribution of the use of EU funds in the period 2007-2013, especially in the Northern Great Plain region and within it in the Sárret region.

The first and most important aspect for me was not the size of the source, but the evaluation of the region's independence, creativity, and the micro-regions ability to apply for the sources, so I examined the LEADER programs using the aspects that I presented in the material and method.

The second area of my research was to study the agricultural supporting capacity of the area. For this I chose a real, traditionally operating sector, the shepherding, which partly provided the livelihood of the people living in the Sárret region for centuries and has a long tradition among the local population.

The third element of my research was the public opinion of the projects made in the Sárret. Actually analyzing the evaluation of developments based on the opinion of the population. How do people living, working and originated from the area judge the development of their habitat, its directions and speed. Do they have a vision, how do they feel about the development of the rural existence. It was important to determine how much they know about their living space, how much they know about improvements, and whether they feel the changes in their individual lives. In order to answer these questions, I chose an in-depth interview and questionnaire method.

I did my research at the Doctoral School of History and Ethnography at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Debrecen. My research was primarily based on the anthropological aspects of the economy. This discipline combines the basics of economics with social science and historical foundations. This required a complex examination, which often set extremely difficult challenges during my research. Not only did I need to be aware of economic concepts and methodology, but I also needed to know a micro-region and its population, past, and habits in order to see the necessary connections properly. I found it important to examine the micro-region not only by itself, but as part of a larger unit, a system, because they interact with each other. Therefore, every decision affects the whole system and all its parts.

In order to understand the current economic and social situation in the Sárret micro-region, we need to look into all the details at the European Union's current cohesion and agricultural policy and the process that led to its present form. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of my research, the development of the social and economic and agricultural support system is of great importance for my research. The goal is to understand the background and motivation behind efforts of the poorer regions to catch up with the more developed regions.

Literature review

One of the most important aims of the European Union and its predecessors was to create a strong and uniform entity, which plays a decisive role in international economic and political life, by successfully working together to reduce and eliminate economic and social disparities at regional level. The purpose of the Cohesion Fund, set up in 1993, was to bring about major transport and environmental projects in the then poorest Member States of the Community. Only regions with a GDP per capita below 75% of the EU average are eligible. There are several such regions in Hungary which perform below 75% of the EU average, including the North Great Plain region, which is also home to the Sárret micro-region.

It is important for a country to be divided into territorial units to carry out development, as this is the only way to compare them and produce and analyse statistics to develop a successful development strategy. Regional policy is particularly important for Hungary. Although agricultural subsidies are extremely beneficial for the country due to its special characteristics, the low domestic GDP per capita also means that Hungary is significantly lagging behind in terms of the quality of life.

Europe, home of my country – as the famous saying goes. Going from global to local thinking, the same is true for the North Great Plain region, as the area under investigation in Hungary - the Sárret micro-region - and my home region, in the narrower sense of the word, is the administrative area in the eastern part of the country. Accordingly, we need to look at the situation in the world, in the Union and in the country.

Regional policy did not begin with the European Union, although the conscious organising activity and the establishment of institutions was performed in parallel to the history of the Union. Schuman dreamed up the necessity of cooperation between European countries and the principles of cooperation and summarised his ideas and concepts in the Schuman Plan (1951). This work laid the foundations for the development and organisation that we today call the European Union.

During the 2000-2006 period, community initiatives have been strengthened, providing EU policy objectives and a common political and economic context for the needs of local-based communities.

The sources for implementing Community initiatives are:

- INTERREG III: support for cross-border cooperation programs
- URBAN II: regeneration of urban areas in crisis
- EQUAL: combating discrimination and inequalities in the labour market
- LEADER +: rural development

LEADER is the name of a program developed by the European Commission as part of the European Union's rural development policy. LEADER is one of the so-called "Four Community Initiatives". The name of the program is derived from the initials of the French name *Liaison Entre Actions de l'Economie Rurale* (Zsigáné, 2013).

LEADER developments can be characterised by the following seven key principles:

- area-based development,
- bottom-up approach,
- tripartite partnerships (business, civil and public),
- innovation,
- an integrated sectoral approach,
- network operation,
- cooperation (Zsigáné, 2013)

Material and methods

During the examination of Topic 1, I was looking for answers to the question of how successful the Hungarian regional policy, especially with regard to Community Initiatives, was between 2007 and 2013. I made a comparative study of the North Great Plain Region, Hajdú-Bihar County and Sárrét. In the case of the 5 settlements selected in Sárrét, I conducted

a structured interview with the inhabitants of the settlements, with which I also examined the feasibility of the implemented developments and their adaptation to local conditions. My aim was to reveal whether the use of development funds invested in the examined period contributed to the catching up of poorer regions or they maintained or increased their economic and social backwardness. Based on the available data and the HCSO databases, I made a comparative analysis of the Hungarian regions. It is important to examine Hajdú-Bihar county and the North Great Plain region, which is the narrower home of the Sárret, because the economy of a small region is most influenced by the political, economic and social processes of its surrounding region.

The database used for my research was provided by the Institute for Rural Development, Training and Consulting - VKSZI (later NAKVI, currently Herman Ottó Institute). The data were collected by EPAP Kft. The database was obtained in a Microsoft Excel file and the statistics, graphs and tables used for the analysis were also done in Microsoft Excel. I have tried to choose and use an analytical method that will allow my research results to be used further by others. Continuing the analysis and further expanding the data may provide another perspective for practical use.

The methodology used in the survey of the settlements of Sárret was the following: Knowing the historical background of the region, I conducted a structured interview in which I asked 26 questions divided into three topics. This interview is shown in Appendix 1. In the first round, I was curious about the individual and their relationship with the community. In the second round, I asked questions about the developments that were made. Finally, in the third part, I was looking for answers to the extent to which the implemented developments fit into the spirit of the LEADER program and local conditions. Surveying the experiences and needs of locals provides the most accurate confirmation that the proper development has taken place or that there have been "dead-end" investments that are unjustified and their maintenance may even be a burden for the local community and the community budget.

As a second topic, I analysed the specific relationship between agriculture and rural development. I chose a long-standing traditional livestock breeding industry, sheep-breeding, which has a strong influence on the culture, heritage and traditions of the Sárret region. Peasant culture and traditions are ubiquitous in the Sárret region, and are an integral part of the lifestyle of shepherds and sheep-keepers and all other attributes.

The large number of Hungarian sheep farms in the less favoured areas can also be well integrated into the rural development instruments by choosing appropriate development directions. According to Madai (2000), the inclusion of support related to rural development and the sector in the strategy could better help the implementation of differentiated forms of support linked to the level of production and efficiency, as the aid linked to rural development could partially replace the income support. It is also important because, according to the calculations of Jávör and Nábrádi (1999), 25.4% of the ewe stock was in socially and infrastructurally underdeveloped settlements, while 15.3% was in settlements where unemployment is 1.5 times higher than the Hungarian average.

The natural maintenance of pasture farming, grasslands and less fertile areas, which is not an easy task for other types of farming, are the main areas where sheep breeding contributes to the maintenance of environmental balance (biodiversity and water quality, erosion, control of floods, avalanches and fires, storage of carbonaceous compounds in soil organic matter). At the same time, sheep play a key role in the social cohesion of agricultural areas.

In the third topic, which included the inhabitants' evaluation of the developments based on a structured interview, I wanted to examine how the inhabitants of the different villages experienced the development of their place of residence. Do they see the adaptation of the development in the life of their community, do they sense the improvement of the quality of life, or the change in the quality of services? Are there any population groups who have different perceptions of the changes in the life of their village? I was also looking for the impact of economic, social and infrastructural investments on village life. I also tried to ensure that the respondents reflect the composition of the population in terms of education, age, and gender.

Own analyses

The examined settlements are Bihardancsháza, Bihartorda, Nagyrábé, Sáp and Sárretudvari. All five villages, as they are often described in technical terms, are disadvantaged. In addition to the interviews, I examined the composition and proportions of the population living in the settlement according to age, education, religion, ethnicity, marital status and employment. These are all important factors for a better understanding of the responses of the inhabitants of

a settlement during the interview. They tell a lot about the satisfaction, the standard of living, the mental health of the local people, and the kind of communities that are present in the settlement and how cohesive they are.

In the light of these factors, I analysed and evaluated the interviews and the investments made.

The five settlements under investigation occupy 18,975 hectares, with a total population of 7159 people. Territorially, Nagyrábé is the largest settlement - albeit second only in terms of population -, which covers 8542 hectares, accounts for almost half (45.02%) of the total area, while only 1.38% of the county. The smallest settlement, both in terms of population and its size expressed in hectares, is Bihardancsháza, which occupies only 831 hectares, represents only 4.38% of the examined region and only 0.13% of Hajdú-Bihar County.

In addition to the number of inhabitants and the size of the settlement, the composition of the population is also important. The composition of age, gender, nationality and education largely determines the innovative character and opportunities of young people and their desire to stay or go. The future of an aging settlement like Bihardancsháza without a drastic intervention can be easily seen. Young people emigrate in a couple of decades and the rest of the elderly disappear, leaving the village depopulated.

An important part of the survey is the analysis of the population of the settlements in Sárrét by population density, marital status, education, employment, gender distribution, and ethnic and religious affiliation, as this gives a more accurate picture of the community and its mental health status. Mental status is greatly influenced by the fact that a person is single, married, or widowed, since there is also a place to belong for a person in a marriage, while a single or widowed person may be negatively affected by loneliness, which he or she may try to compensate for by trying to become an integral part of a community. Such a community can be a religious congregation or even an ethnic group.

Sárrét projects between 2007-2013

To track developments and improvements over the past decade, I have collected projects for the five settlements in the district of Püspökladány in the Sárrét micro-region, which were important to me because I wanted to know how and to what extent the population perceived the developments, how much they knew about them and did they take part in their

implementation? As a matter of course, I was also curious about their attitude towards further improvements.

In the assessed cycle, the five villages received a total of 173 million HUF of LEADER support, of which 154.7 million was used. It follows that, unfortunately, two grants received were not used in the case of Nagyrabé. As a result, investments of approximately 18.3 million EUR were not implemented.

The average of the small region was 19,951 HUF, i.e., it did not reach 20,000 HUF per person. I am convinced that this is very little for a pace of development that has the hope of catching up, especially because economic investment and development was only rarely found.

Altogether, economic development in the examined cycle from LEADER resources was negligible. Consequently, long-term job creation was not significant either. The development of accommodation can also have a spillover effect.

Developments are also important in the life of a village because they can improve infrastructure, social conditions, health and schools. They can contribute to transport, environmental quality, job creation, economic attractiveness and income, which are key elements of the quality of life in rural areas. From the aspect of the running projects, it is very important how much investments reach the population and to what extent they are utilised, contributing to the population's mental state and vision. They also show how much they love their village and the reasons they have when planning to stay or emigrate. To determine these aspects, I developed a questionnaire, which can be found in the attachment.

In addition to personal data, the questionnaire includes the inhabitants' ambition, their relationship to the settlement and community life, and their knowledge of the development of the settlement.

I divided the interview questions into three groups. The first group contained questions that were meant to map the age of the individual and their relationship with the settlement. It was important for me to assess how long they have lived in their place of residence, what has connected them to the settlement, as well as what abilities, skills and opportunities they have had so far to become involved in community life. The second group of questions was mapping the involvement of the community in the projects. In addition, I intended to reveal how well they know the developments implemented and, if so, how they see their necessity and usefulness. The third and final group of questions concerns the LEADER program. It

assesses the respondents' awareness of the program and the extent to which its developments have been adapted to its principles and spirit. These questions assess current and future needs, the developments being implemented and the opportunities for involving the population.

Hypothesis results

Topic 1

1. Hungary was ready to receive EU funds by the time the accession negotiations were completed, because Community funds had been available even before accession.

No economic concept can be observed for the use of tender funds in the examined areas. Many projects (e.g. church renovation, development of sports grounds, etc.) have been implemented which, although beneficial, would have been better to be performed, in terms of both priority and cost-effectiveness, following the economic recovery investments that would have provided them with funding for implementation and operation. This seems to be a concept-free process. The country was not sufficiently prepared to apply for EU membership.

2. The LEADER program mobilises the rural population and municipalities as it is a bottom-up program.

The conducted interviews show that residents often do not participate in important processes affecting their settlement due to lack of information. This lack of awareness is one of the reasons why the civilian population does not apply for proposals and is not involved in the writing or implementation of applications. People are more interested in programs and events, which they usually attend, even if as passive visitors.

3. Because of the demand for jobs, I assumed that there would be a higher rate of investment to stimulate the economy.

In terms of the nature of the applications, the ratio of social and economic investment was nearly the same. This is also due to the unfavourable conditions of social institutions, churches and public spaces in the decades preceding EU accession. My assumption was wrong, because there was no greater investment in the LEADER program to stimulate the economy.

Topic 2

1. With the advancement of agriculture, the proportion of people living from agriculture is decreasing because efficiency gains require less labour.

According to my model calculations, I found that, in the case of a desirable level of development necessary for competitiveness, the number of people working in the sheep industry or those earning a living in the sector may fall to one-sixth. Sheep farms need less shepherds, which means they have to retrain themselves, i.e. they need to find occupation in a different area of agriculture or, more likely, in another sector. This is an excellent example for my assumption proving to be true.

2. If people leave farming, fewer people will have the same or higher income, which will increase the income of those in the agricultural sector and improve their quality of life.

Sheep farms operating with the current support can become profitable with optimal development.

Developments in the field of agriculture also mean increased efficiency. This includes mechanisation, increase in livestock per capita, or yield per capita in the case of the same population size. In Hungary, the number of sheep farms and the average number of sheep have changed. As a result, higher revenue is divided among the same workforce or, due to higher efficiency, fewer workers are required for the same farm size. This clearly demonstrates that both income and the quality of life have increased over the last decade among farming families. This assumption proved to be correct.

Topic 3

1. If people wanted to create new jobs, they preferred to invest in the economy or to stimulate the economy through tenders under the LEADER program in the settlements of Sárret.

The obtained results clearly show that economic investments in the five examined settlements in the Püspökladány district of the Sárret region were significantly lagging behind other developments. My hypothesis was not confirmed, i.e., the local government, the public and

businesses did not prefer economic stimulus investments, as the proportion of such projects did not reach 40% of all projects.

2. The communities of the examined settlements tried to take the lead under the LEADER program. For this reason, the seven LEADER guidelines were applied during the tenders in the settlements of Sárrét.

From the seven principles, the area-based approach, the partnership principle and the integrated approach have been implemented.

The principles of innovation and networking were not realised.

The principles of specific management and financing methods and area-based approach have been partially implemented.

Conclusions and recommendations

Hungary joined the European Union about one and a half decades ago, which happened after several years of preparation.

As the Hungarian political, economic, social and legislative characteristics, as well as the order and operation differed from that of EU countries in almost every aspect, it made the adaptation and harmonisation of the country difficult.

After the first EU cycle, it was a natural task to carry out the Hungarian analyses (2007-2013) and to evaluate the effectiveness of the preparation based on the results of our early years.

I formulated the hypotheses related to my objectives in three areas:

1. economic and village development
2. agricultural and rural development
3. direct impacts of the LEADER program

As stated in the three topics, my conclusions were also drawn in this logical framework.

Concerning the first topic on economic and rural development, I have drawn the following conclusions:

1. Analyses of national databases have shown that they are not accurate enough, the sources used for different purposes are not sufficiently distinguishable and are not completely delineated. Also, overlaps between them make precise and accurate evaluation difficult. I have presented many examples of this phenomenon in my dissertation.

2. It also proved to be false in my assumption that more EU funds will be used to stimulate the economy, with priority being given to job creation and economic entrepreneurship and there would be less investment in infrastructure and welfare. The backwardness of the region in this area may be one of the reasons. The other reason is that there was a lack of own capital to realise economic development ideas. The desired balance of 60% economic and 40% welfare investments have thus gone in the wrong direction. Accordingly, welfare investments accounted for more than 50%, which increases operating costs in the long run, thereby further deteriorating economic positions.

3. Unfortunately, the greater involvement of the population in decision preparation, decision-making and the implementation of plans has not been sufficiently achieved. The roots of this problem can be explained by the habits arising from the former narrow possibilities of independence. Leadership authoritarianism and centralisation, which is completely alien to the spirit of the European Union, can still be considered unjustifiably high in Hungary. Social consciousness did not develop in proportion to the expansion of population opportunities.

4. The quality of services (school, cultural facilities, infrastructure, job opportunities) improved in the examined micro-region, but its degree was significantly below the desirable level. A particular problem was that the rate of development was extremely polarised even in the five examined villages. The reasons for this anomaly are extremely complex. The size of the village, its characteristics, the values it produced earlier and its leadership all contribute to the development of these differences. All of these factors affect migration, development, the mental state of the population, and even the preservation of values. Where there are more resources and more opportunities, more attention is paid to the needs of the population, to their high standards and to the preservation of the values of the past. People get into focus more.

5. There is a continuous migration of the population, although not all municipalities are affected, but mobility within the region has not changed significantly. The different conditions of employment increased the migration between villages, but only in a few cases did people change their place of residence. Even these cases were related to family changes. The reason for this phenomenon is primarily the lack of financial means needed for a major change.

The results of the evaluation of agriculture and rural development in the second topic have also made it possible to draw many conclusions and suggestions. These are the following:

1. With the development of agriculture, the proportion of people earning a living exclusively from agriculture has decreased significantly, but the proportion of primary producers and those who rely on agricultural income has hardly even changed, as people are dependent on the minimum income from this activity. However, this phenomenon is due to both the region's poor income-generating potential and relative poverty.

It is true that those who live and work in agriculture earn higher incomes, but their numbers have decreased considerably. Those who drop out of agricultural employment tend to re-enter the labour market without qualifications. Since there are few jobs available locally – even though the situation somewhat improved to varying degrees - they either move to work in another village or enter the public employment system. This process results in the poor quality of their lives and their vulnerability. Therefore, their training, further training and preparation for reintegration appears as a task in the activities of local governments.

2. Today, agriculture, with particular emphasis on livestock farming, and, more specifically, sheep breeding, which was significant in the region, can only provide a solution with significant development (productivity improvements, quality improvements, reaching economic size), resulting in the reduction of agricultural employment as mentioned above.

Conclusions and recommendations for the third topic on the impact of the LEADER program are as follows:

1. It is true for the analysed micro-region due to its economic backwardness that resources were not used in the professionally justified proportion of 60% economic and -40% welfare investments. However, the actual rate is slightly better than the national average, but in the present case even exceeding 60% could have been justified, since the maintenance of

welfare investments and developments deprive the local government of significant resources at the expense of the subsequent realisation of its tasks.

The evaluated LEADER programs were implemented locally and served the whole population or a specific target group. No irregularities were detected. As much as the inflow of foreign capital is desirable, it can be dangerous that it does not fully serve the purposes of the village. For this reason, the community's decision must remain significant. That is why it is important that the seven guidelines of the LEADER programs also apply. Unfortunately, the principle of efficiency and the rule of optimal task assignment have not always been fulfilled.

New scientific findings

1. Projects in the area do not reflect the view that economic-type developments are longer-lasting, have a longer effect and serve the development of the area better than social and infrastructural investments in maintaining population. However, the gap in infrastructure in the region I performed my investigations is such that it has strongly motivated the population and managers to encourage developments in this area. Investments of this direction were also encouraged by the fact that neither the population nor the economy had been adequately prepared to exploit the potential of the program more effectively. Therefore, and as a result of the limited financial resources available, these projects as a whole could not bring about profound changes in the quality of life of the examined villages.

2. Since the long preparations for EU accession did not provide the necessary preparation for running projects and receiving resources efficiently, there was no equal opportunity in the "LEADER competition" for the different municipalities. In the cases when there was an appropriate, dynamic entrepreneur in the community, a resident or a family with a willing, creative endeavour or even personal interest, and the management had sufficient agility and ability, then the settlement in question was more likely to compete for projects and the success of implementation. The leader of the village has a role in shaping the work efficiency and overall experiences of the given settlement, i.e., in improving the selection, implementation and effectiveness of the project.

3. As the previous political, economic and social system did not require the active participation of the population in decision-making and it could not go beyond a degree of autonomy, the approach that would have better served the effectiveness of the LEADER programs was missing. It would have been much more powerful and successful to activate the residents both in the implementation of the programs and in their emotional attachment to them. A new project needs to become more embedded in the life of a village, because success and efficiency increase activity. Effective investments are not just mood boosters that increase the ability and willingness of the population in a spiral manner to play a role in both decision-making and implementation.

4. It takes longer for the deeply embedded habits in these settlements after the political restructuring in 1989 to change in accordance with the position, task and role of each village in the life of the given micro-region. In general, there are communities and villages that play a role in employment, job creation, and the improvement of services, but in the case of other villages, only special and subdued functions develop.

5. The population of the area is clearly aging, with the exception of a village where a significant proportion of the population belongs to a minority ethnic group. This feature in itself gives a different perspective to the problem. In the case of Gypsies, it can be observed at the level of the whole society that there are more children and a higher rate of population growth. Thus, in the villages of the micro-region, it is necessary to prepare for the improvement of services that serve the elderly population, as well as to improve the network of nursery schools and kindergartens along with schools. In their case, it is expected that there will be further position losses in the region's development opportunities. If the population becomes more active and the appropriate means are found, there will be a greater chance of slowing down or possibly stopping the decline. However, in order to reverse the trend, the resources currently available in the micro-region are not sufficient, therefore, they need to be increased significantly.

6. The degree of cultivation of traditions and folk customs decreases in these settlements, which can further erode communities. Much more activity and intensity is needed to discover

and preserve values in education and in preserving traditions. It was also found that the past, values and thus the chances of the various villages in these areas were not the same.

7. Agricultural production in these areas is likely to remain more significant. At the same time, it can be stated that GDP and income from agriculture is higher, similarly to robotisation and digitalisation, which provides a better quality of life than at present, but this money will be sufficient for much less people due to the improvement in needs concerning the quality of life. There is a need for those who cannot survive in agriculture to find income-generating activities which not only ensure the full livelihood of the micro-region's population, even in other villages, towns, but also constantly improve living conditions and quality of life. My findings are also supported by the results of my research in the sheep sector, according to which thousands of jobs could be lost nationwide and tens of jobs in the region. This entails the release of new, unskilled labour force, which is less suitable for retraining due to its age and education. Accordingly, there is a need to further develop rural policy and increase resources in order to prevent further development of the villages in the micro-region. This is also important because it can have a major drain effect due to competition from prosperous villages and towns. This in itself can be twofold, both positive and negative. The low population growth rate further reinforces this process.

8. The sources and economic conditions of the current system, considering its size, are not suitable for eliminating imbalances and differences. In many cases, given the current circumstances, it may even lead to greater differences between villages. This is underpinned by EU processes, with little change in the position, location and effectiveness of EU regions.



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List of publications related to the dissertation

List of other publications

Hungarian book chapters (3)

1. **Jávor, S.**, Jávor, A.: A mezőgazdaság mint a vidékfejlesztés eszköze.
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